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Thematic Network:
"Working and Mothering: Social Practices and Social Policies"

Final Report

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0. Abstract

The overall aim of the thematic network "Working and Mothering. Social Practices and Social Policies" was to establish new knowledge about constraints and incentives to reconcile working and mothering in the context of available supports and policy infrastructure. The focus of research was mainly on working mothers as they usually still face the main burden of balancing care and work. By exploring women's strategies and decisions on an everyday level research also touched on how today's couples share or divide care and work. Furthermore, our investigation into the impact of policies upon working mothers was taken to add new perspectives to policy research, which forms a second objective of the network.

Our research is located within the broader conceptual framework of social inclusion and exclusion. It departs from the assumption that women's integration into the labour market is a key to achieving more equitable opportunities both in public and in private life. Against this background, the network explored to what extent welfare states contribute to gender equality. Care and work-related social policies were considered to be important means to create incentives for more equal opportunities in the labour market and a fairer distribution of care and work responsibilities. Yet, they are only one factor when dealing with the issue of care and work, and, what is even more striking, we have hardly any knowledge of how social policies actually affect social practices and choices of individuals or families. For this reason the network took everyday practices of working mothers into account: The research group looked at the costs and benefits that are involved in working for mothers from different social backgrounds. We investigated the set of public or private resources that women use in order to combine professional and family live. This approach facilitated insights into the impact of policies upon women's lives and revealed policy incentives and deficits as perceived by the addressees of welfare legislation. Moreover, it opened up new vistas of cultural values and familial factors that also account for occupational decisions and every day strategies of working mothers.

The network was established by scholars from nine European countries and for three years (1999-2002) has been part of the research programme "Targeted Socio-Economic Research" (TSER) of the European Commission. We co-ordinated the joint work in a series of five international seminars on changing topics and a supplementary workshop on an ongoing book project.

1. Executive Summary

Project Synopsis

The thematic network "Working and Mothering. Social Practices and Social Policies" addressed the relationship between social policies and the practices of working mothers who combine professional and family life. It was established by eleven researchers from different European countries who brought together their expertise to facilitate a comparative perspective on this issue. For three years (1998-2001) the network was part of the research programme "Targeted Socio-Economic Research" (TSER) of the European Commission. During this period the network organised academic exchange in a series of seminars on changing theoretical, methodological and empirical topics. These workshops constituted a tense dialogue among network members and international guests, and offered new perspectives on a range of social policy areas across different European countries and the ways they relate to matters of care and work.

The overall aim of the network was to increase knowledge of constraints and incentives to reconcile working and mothering. Whereas the number of employed women has been steadily rising in Europe (though at a different pace and to a different extent), the birth of children in particular continues to represent a stubborn obstacle to women's professional development. The suggestion is that a comprehension of the persistent gendered implications of care and work balancing and the resultant constraints for employed mothers calls for a twofold approach: The network's research has covered both a detailed analysis of care and work-related policies and the consideration of women not only as receivers of welfare provisions but also as agents who reconcile working and mothering. Therefore, everyday strategies of women and today's interfamilial arrangements to share/divide paid and unpaid work were as much of interest as social policies. To do justice to both levels, we looked at each as independent topics as well as in relation to each other.

With regard to social policies the network covered different issues and approaches. Besides comparative analysis of social policies and their impact on women's employment, the investigation of path dependencies and welfare logics proved to be of high value in explaining why still single or sets of policies often fail to sufficiently support equal employment chances and a fairer sharing of family work. The discussion of welfare concepts and social policies also included a critical scrutiny of new debates, models

and demands, which are related to current transformations of European welfare states and developments in labour markets regarding social diversity and intergenerational exchange.

Concerning social practices, the network was especially interested in the ways mothers use, package or do not use existing policies, which included research into the everyday relevance of different public and private resources. Everyday practices of working mothers were at the centre of the qualitative surveys, which were carried out by network members parallel to the series of workshops. These studies focused on mothers of young children in partnership and also investigated how today's couples organise labour and care work. Though conceptualised as country-based studies, the empirical findings were – as far as possible - compared in a second step. Therefore, the seminars also offered the opportunity to adjust the framework of the country based studies and to discuss invited contributions on thematically related projects.

After the last regular seminar was held in September 2000, main targets for the last project period addressed a concluding evaluation of the results of the seminars as well as of the country-based studies. Network members decided to resume, continue and round off the previous work within a publication. The ongoing book project departs from the original starting point of the thematic network and problematizes the relation between social policies and practices, now introducing a further elaborated framework and a comparative perspective with additional attention to empirical research. The publication - edited by Ute Gerhard and Tidie Knijn and scheduled for spring 2003 - will further elaborate on the main findings of the network.

Overview of the Seminars

The *first seminar "Comparative Perspectives on Working and Mothering"* (Lund, Nov. 1998) focused on the correlation of female employment participation, different kinds of child care provisions and certain types of welfare regimes. The workshop combined statistical approaches with policy analysis and was important to obtain a comparative overview and a common platform for discussion.

A core task of the *second seminar on "Theoretical Perspectives"* (Frankfurt, April 1999) was to develop a common framework for the conceptualisation of women's strategies, and to integrate the question of care and work balancing into the broader con-

text of the public / private divide. A critical review of prevalent theories both on strategies and the public-private dichotomy highlighted the need and direction of a re-conceptualisation, which ought to be capable of considering the specificity of care work and analysing the interweaving of public and private spheres. Eventually, the seminar concentrated on the relevance of cultural concepts such as motherhood and fatherhood in different countries but also revealed the difficulty in capturing the complex relationship of cultural values, everyday action and law.

The *third seminar* (Florence, Sept. 1999) turned back to the country-based studies of network members from a methodological point of view. These surveys were conceptualised as independent case studies, but shared similar framework in order to allow for (selective) comparison in a second step. Therefore, the workshop on "*Research Frameworks and Methodologies*" was guided by the question of the comparability of qualitative research work.

The *fourth seminar* analysed "*Available Provisions and Policy Deficits*" (Paris, March 2000) with regard to a variety of social policies and underlying "welfare logics". Special attention was paid to current social and economic changes such as increasing the flexibility of work and the transformations of welfare concepts towards an individualised worker model. Contrary to the opportunities which might be associated with this new concept in comparison to the breadwinner model, it was, however, concluded that individualisation still lacks realisation as far as women are concerned. Despite a considerable diversification of women's work and family situations, it is, for example, still women that dominate in lower-paid part-time work and precarious jobs. Therefore, deficits in welfare concepts and in different policies were at the core. In this context, the logic behind forms of welfare was interrogated in light of the variety of historical, cultural, demographic, and socio-economic reasons that have led certain states to establish public childcare. On the other hand, it was asked if values such as equality matter with regard to ways in which today's couples organise care work. On the whole, the fourth seminar was very important for the network. Against the background of socio-economic change, it brought together a range of different dimensions, which have been considered to jointly affect opportunities and hindrances to combining working and mothering.

The *fifth seminar* (Madrid, Sept. 2000) continued discussion from the specific angle of "*Intergenerational Changes and Life Cycles*". Participants emphasised that intergenerational support (still) plays a constitutive role for welfare systems as well as for

everyday practices. Empirical contributions provided evidence that there is a vivid and balanced exchange between generations, which can serve as an example of intergenerational solidarity, whereas continuing deficits in any "solidarity of gender" remain hidden in the context of today's debates on intergenerational issues. With regard to demographic development the seminar participants also discussed the limits of existing pension systems and formulated new needs.

In addition to these seminars, the network held an additional workshop in July 2001 (in Salford, UK) which was dedicated to the joint book project of the network. The publication will resume and further elaborate on the work of the network. Moreover, it will introduce a comparative perspective on the findings of the empirical case studies. Thus, the last meeting of the network facilitated exchange regarding the empirical material. Moreover, it gave the opportunity to discuss first chapters, which had been completed already, and to conclude on main findings with regard to the final report.

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2. Background, Objectives and Approach

In Europe the number of employed women has been steadily rising. Looking more closely, however, we see that women's occupational decisions, as well as their opportunities, follow from different motives and are framed by different criteria from men's. In particular the birth of children continues to represent a stubborn obstacle in relation to women's professional development. Thus, how are we to understand this continued gender-coding of child-raising and waged labour, which has certainly been modified by women's mass entrance into the job market but has by no means been eliminated?

Social policies are one instrument in order support more equitable professional opportunities for women and men. Yet, they are only one factor when dealing with the issue of care and work, and, what is even more striking, we have hardly any knowledge of how social policies actually effect social practices and choices of individuals or families. For this reason, the network "Working and Mothering. Social Practices and Social Policies" chose a twofold approach that covers both a comparative perspective on social policies and an analysis of mother's everyday strategies. This approach takes account of the fact that women are not only receivers of welfare provisions but also agents who reconcile working and mothering. Against this background vital questions of the network included the following: Which factors motivate mothers' employment participation and the specific extent of labour market integration? How do today's couples share or divide care and paid work? Which strategies do they establish, i.e. which private and public resources do they package in order to combine professional and family life?

The network focused on the relationship between social practices and social policies from different angles and by means of different approaches in order to grasp a variety of dimensions crucial to the issue of care and employment. We combined statistical and qualitative methodologies and, furthermore, included different approaches to tackle social policies. Thus, social policies and social practices were explored both in their own right and in relation to each other.

The research of the network members work is located within the broader conceptual framework of social inclusion and exclusion. It departs from the assumption that women's integration into the labour market is a key to achieving more equitable opportunities both in public and in private life. Against this background the network explored to what extent welfare states contribute to gender equality. Our theoretical departure point was gender and comparative welfare state literature. This body of work refers to a

combination of approaches to explore welfare states from a gender perspective. For one, it investigates gender relevant variations in social policies across different countries and develops theoretical frameworks to explain these variations. This approach has been crucial for debate about conventional typologies of welfare regimes which are often questioned when introducing a gender perspective. As a result this research has led to a new clustering of countries and facilitated revised explanations and conceptualisations regarding welfare regimes. Moreover, feminist research has paid much attention to the ways that social policies are embedded into the triangle of market, family and state, thereby intervening crosswise in public and private spheres. By inquiring into motives and path dependencies of welfare legislation, literature has also highlighted regulating mechanisms and underlying norms which derive from specific concepts of social order and account for different gender regimes.

Overall, the gender perspective has contributed remarkably to broaden and revise the prospects of research on welfare states and systems. Our network went on from this literature and added to it. Despite the richness of the literature, further research is needed in various regards especially when a comparative perspective is introduced. The network has tried to tackle some of the under-researched issues, for example with regard to the relevance of cultural aspects both for social practices and for social policy formulation. Whereas the importance of cultural factors is widely stressed in literature, the difficulties in capturing this issue have led to significant research gaps which, obviously, a thematic network cannot fill. However, network members developed approaches to target the question of cultural concepts such as motherhood, fatherhood, childhood or citizenship as they underlie socio-political measures.

Another set of research questions aroused from new debates, models and demands related to current transformations in European welfare states and developments in labour markets. Eventually, the network's approach, to inquire into the impact social policies have upon women, opened up new perspectives for research on welfare states in their own right. In this regard, the project has taken what could be called an interactional method: looking at how women use and interact with available resources, both private and public, helps to uncover effects and deficits of social policies in the context of specific needs and resources.

The examination of *daily practice and strategies* of employed mothers proceeded mainly on the basis of qualitative studies carried out by network members. Though con-

ceptualised as country based surveys, they share a common frame in order to allow for selective comparison in a second step. For instance, empirical research focused on employed mothers with young children who live in partnership with a man. Surprisingly, there has been little research on this group of women so far. This was one of the reasons for our selection. A second motive was to gain insight into ways in which today's couples organise job market and childcare work. The focus on mothers with young children was due to the particular difficulties that this group of women usually faces in combining care and work. Moreover, these women are at the forefront of the rapid transition that is taking place in female life-courses. Further, most country-based studies were particularly interested in women with low income (either exclusively or as one income group among others) for it is especially these women who are most likely to rely strongly on public services.

It has to be noted that we were a thematic network, i.e. that we did not conduct a joint research project in any narrower sense, but that scholars from different countries with similar research interests and projects brought together their knowledge in the context of the network. With regard to the case studies this means that they derived from different research contexts, varied in scope and approach, followed different timescales and were also financed separately from the network's general funding by the European Commission. Yet, to a certain extent it was possible to co-ordinate the case studies, to adjust foci and relevant criteria and to cover a selection of countries which represent different welfare regimes. By the end of the thematic network's running time, the case studies were sufficiently developed to permit a subsequent comparison on a limited scale. Full exploitation of the empirical findings is object of the research group's ongoing book project which further elaborates on the findings of the thematic network and will presumably be published in spring 2003. By means of joint authorship constellations and thanks to an additional workshop, which allowed focused exchange in this regard, a selective comparison of empirical results can now be introduced into the network's publication.

3. Research Results

The summary of research results is based mainly on the outcomes of the network's seminars. The research group has held a series of five seminars on changing topics, which constituted a tense dialogue among network members and international guests. Contributions to the seminars and an overview of the proceedings have been published in the previous five reports of the network. Rather than summarising results in the sequential order of the seminars again, this report bundles up the main findings according to different focal points of research.

The structure of this chapter reflects the effort of the network to capture the relationship between social policies and social practices from different angles and by use of different approaches. The first section takes a macro perspective in order to give an overview of the relationship between female labour market behaviour and social policies across Europe. Against this background the paper turns to a different comprehensive approaches which have tackled social policies with regard to their historical, political and cultural contexts. The network's research also included critical scrutiny of current changes of welfare states resulting from transitions in the labour markets and demographic developments. After looking at current trends, debates and new welfare models from a gender perspective, the last section of this chapter addresses everyday strategies of working mothers and resumes main findings of the qualitative research of network members.

3.1. Female labour market behaviour and social policies

One approach to target the relationship between working and mothering started from analysis of macro data on women's integration into the labour market. Several contributors to the network's seminars focused on the statistical correlation between women's labour market attachment and the provision of single or packages of policies. The aim was to identify and explain patterns of female labour market behaviour across different countries and to inquire into the shaping effects of social policies and welfare systems. Whereas one set of contributions mainly looked at women's labour market situation as compared to men's, another set of seminar papers focused on the differentiation between women's working conditions.

3.1.1. Patterns of female labour market behaviour

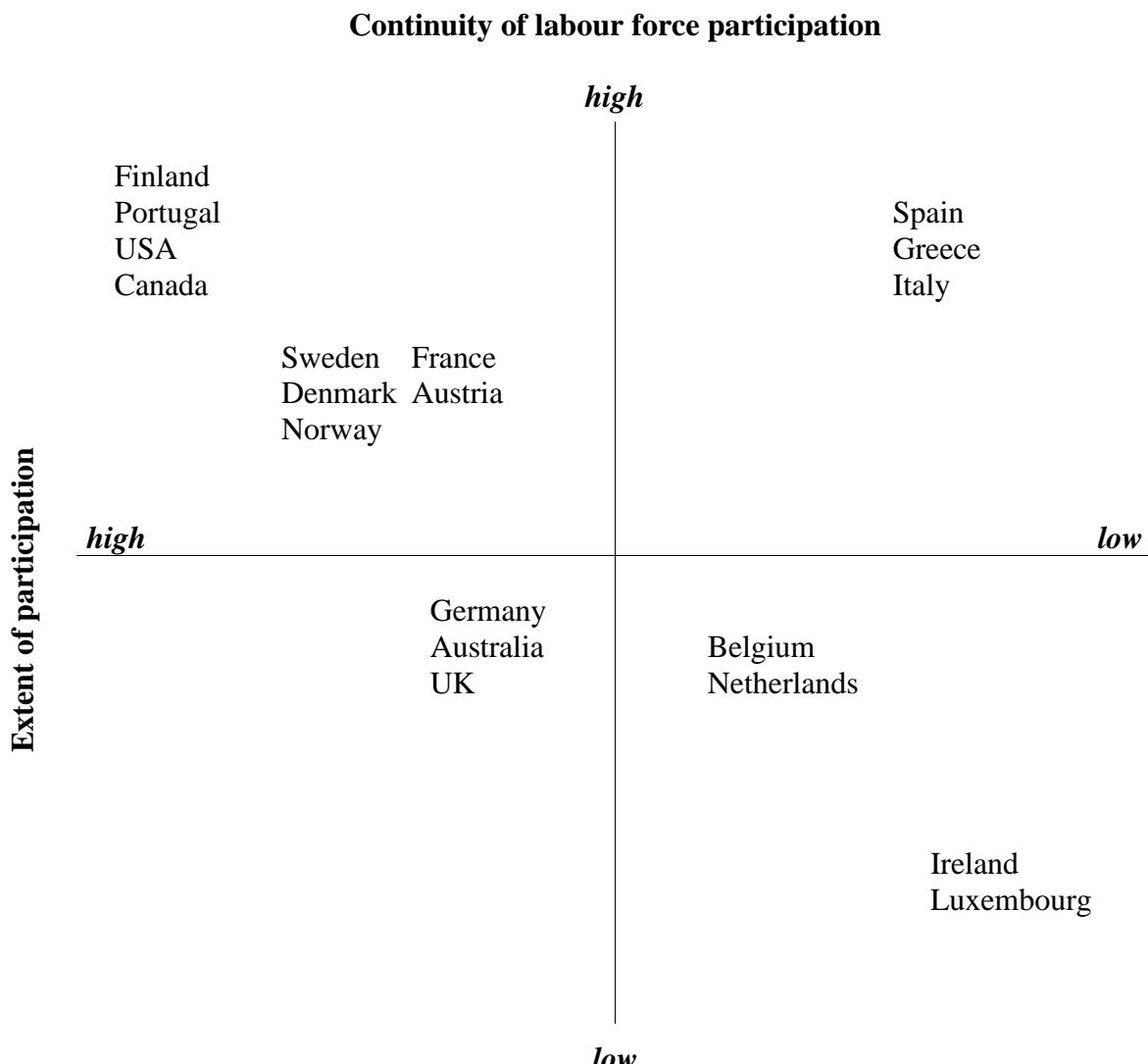
At the first seminar of the network, Mary Daly (1998) provided the research group with valuable macro information on the development of female labour market participation in 14 industrialised countries. By covering a long term perspective of 25 years, the paper elucidates changes and variations in female participation rates within and across countries. Daly considers both overall participation rates and rates of women's attachment to the labour market which reflect the continuity of employment and the hours of work.

With regard to overall participation rates the paper confirms to a certain yet rather limited degree what has become a somewhat generalised assumption of a convergence between countries. To the extent that converging trends are observable they are mainly owing to asynchronous developments with regard to "take off periods", i.e. the periods when women started to enter the labour market massively, but also with regard to pace and even direction of change. Whereas in most countries the development of female participation rates is characterised by an upwards trend (though varying in detail) Sweden and Denmark in particular have experienced a decline in women's labour force participation. Yet, together with Norway, Sweden and Denmark are still in the lead regarding female employment rates across countries. In all, despite converging trends it must be noted that variations in women's labour force participation remain high, ranging from 73% in Sweden to 47.4% in Spain (in 1996). The integration of analysis by age-cohorts furthermore supported the suggestion that the birth of children remains an influential factor for women's labour market behaviour.

Overall participation rates are, however, only of limited value if we are to understand the labour market behaviour of women. For example, reduction in working hours and temporary interruptions of employment are crucial strategies for many working mothers in order to combine working and mothering. Overall participation rates thus tend to mask these factors and suggest a higher integration of women into the labour market than is the case once the actual amount of attachment to work is considered and compared to the labour market attachment of men. As Daly points out, a standardisation of female employment rates by the hours actually worked results in quite a different clustering of countries with Portugal and France climbing from medium positions in overall female participation rates to leading positions in weighted calculations. However, country ranking changes again if the continuity of labour market attachment is

considered. On the basis of these observations Daly identifies six female labour profiles which take account both of hours worked and of the continuity of employment.

Figure 1. Women's labour profiles in a cross-national context



Source: Daly 1998.

Figure 1 illustrates the following female labour market profiles:

- 1) Countries with high female participation rates in general and with a relative constant and extensive attachment of women to work. This cluster is represented by Finland, Portugal, the USA and Canada.
- 2) Countries with high female participation rates (in some cases overall participation rates are even higher than those of the countries belonging to the first cluster), which

are characterised by a higher volume of part-time work and a moderate continuity of female employment. Represented countries: Sweden, Denmark, Norway, France and Austria.

- 3) Countries with lower participation rates still above average which are, however, cancelled out by a high degree of part-time employment among women. Australia and the UK belong to this profile and to a different extent Germany. Though Germany has a lower volume of female part-time involvement it comes closest to this cluster because of the discontinuity of women's employment.
- 4) Countries with moderate participation rates and relatively high discontinuity. The Netherlands in particular belong to this profile with an overall high volume of part-time employment, which is especially high amongst mothers. Despite differences Belgium comes closest to this profile.
- 5) Countries with low overall participation rates, which are, however, characterised by a relatively continuous employment and mostly full-time involvement of women. Daly speaks of a "bipolar female employment profile. Many women, both mothers and non-mothers, are not active at all in the labour force but on the other hand those who are active, even mothers with young children, tend to follow a continuous, full-time pattern." (Daly 1998: 31)
- 6) Countries with a low and highly discontinuous integration of women into the labour market: This profile is represented by Ireland and Luxembourg; women tend drop out of employment once they have their first child. Yet, labour market behaviour of younger women might point to changing patterns as they make more extensive use of temporary leaves instead of quitting work permanently. Part-time jobs are hardly available in these countries.

Some of Daly's results as expressed in the six labour market profiles are quite astonishing. Especially surprising is the finding that some countries show considerable similarities with regard to female labour market attachment which, however, vary from each other significantly in many other respects, for example as concerns their welfare systems. This is especially the case for the leading cluster of high female employment rates which comprises countries as 'different' as Finland, Portugal, the USA and Canada. What then explains the partly surprising clustering and what about the relevance of social policies?

3.1.2. The relationship between social policies and female participation rates

Social policies are understood as one explanatory factor that accounts for cross-country variation of women's attachment to work. Several contributors to our seminars have presented research findings regarding the relation between women's integration into the labour market and social policies. As the six labour profiles indicate, the supportiveness of social policies might be a weak explanatory factor for some of the variations. However, as Daly and other contributors have highlighted, correlation between form and generosity of social policies and the occupational involvement of women is quite strong in many other cases.

Today, all industrialised countries provide family and social policies that include to varying extents some kind of parental leave, public child care and public education. However, their progress in adopting policies that support women's employment opportunities varies considerably. In order to classify the generosity of state support Daly and Meyers, Gornick and Ross (1998) have developed a ranking of countries according to coverage and extent of state support regarding publicly funded childcare, maternity / paternity leaves and parental leave options. As a result the following clustering of countries is suggested.

Table 1: Classification of countries on the basis of the degree to which they support employed Motherhood through child care provision, maternity and public parental leave policies

Belgium	High
Denmark	High
Finland	High
France	High
Sweden	High
Austria	Medium
Australia	Medium
West Germany	Medium
Italy	Medium
Netherlands	Medium
Norway	Medium

Canada	Low
Greece	Low
Ireland	Low
Luxembourg	Low
Portugal	Low
Spain	Low
United Kingdom	Low
United States	Low

Source: Daly 1998.

- 1) The first cluster consists of countries offering generous support with regard to childcare-related policy provisions. It includes the Nordic countries (with the exception of Norway)*, Belgium and France. Policy provisions in these countries cover generous wage replacements at the time of childbirth, paid parental leave and relatively extensive public childcare facilities.
- 2) The second cluster comprises the remaining continental countries and Norway. Childcare for infants and/or pre-schoolers is less extensive in these countries. Parental leave schemes, on the contrary, are above average and in some cases very generous.
- 3) The less supportive tier of countries is constituted by the liberal and Mediterranean states together with Ireland and Luxembourg, which are characterised by an overall low performance as regards childcare provisions.

As can be seen from these clusters in comparison to the female employment patterns there is a strong relation between the supportiveness of care-related policy provisions and the labour market attachment of women for most countries. This is especially the case for the Scandinavian nations with high female participation rates and generous care-related policy provisions. At the other end of the ranking one can find countries such as Ireland, Luxembourg, Greece and Spain that are characterised by poor public support and low female participation rates. However, there are also exceptions to the correlation between supportive social policies and high female employment rates; especially the USA and Portugal, which are characterised by low policy performance but

* Norway has legislated a series of care-related policies during 1990s which are not yet considered in the ranking as illustrated in table 1. Table 1 is generally based on policy legislation as of the beginning of the 1990s. However in most cases policy changes are not severe enough to change the clustering of table 1.

have a high degree of women's labour market integration. As has been proposed, these countries need a closer scrutiny in their own right which should also consider the general economic development of the respective countries, the financial situation of families (is there a mere necessity for both partners to work full-time?) as well as cultural factors (see Daly 1998, Klammer 1998). Moreover, one might ask if we can expect the correlation to be straightforward. Generous wage replacements for parental leaves and options to reduce the working time temporarily certainly entail incentives to reduce the attachment to work. Nevertheless, these policies are experienced as substantial help by many working parents. Ute Klammer, for example, has proposed to discuss more throughout how to deal with the issue of part-time work. Subsequently, further questions can be risen: Which *combinations* of policies are needed to achieve more equitable opportunities for women and men and how can policies address fathers more explicitly as *carers*. For the moment, however, we will look at what actually characterises the countries grouped together as in table 1.

Contexts and concepts of Welfare Systems

Marie-Thérèse Letablier (1998) undertook a welfare-regime orientated approach that focuses on concepts and contexts of social policies in order to work out how different welfare systems support or constrain the reconciliation of working and mothering. Letablier highlights the importance of cultural values and their impact on social policies - as well as on statistical categories, by the way. Among others, these values contain cultural perceptions of the family, gender relations in general, and of the gendered responsibilities concerning care and employment. By looking at the ways these values are conceptualised by social policies Letablier distinguishes between four types of welfare states, which might overlap partly as concerns generosity of provision, but which are driven by different principles and conceptions of gender, motherhood etc:

Analogous to table 1 (see above), the *first cluster* consists of countries offering policies which highly support a combination of care and occupation. This support is, however, a function of different factors. The Nordic countries aim mainly to achieve an improvement in gender equality, whereas France and Belgium provide this support as "a commitment to family well-being and to women as mothers" (Letablier 1998: 70). As for the latter two countries, gender equality has traditionally not been the focus of policy

legislation, which nevertheless introduced care-related provisions that enhance mother's working opportunities and facilitate the combination of care and work.

The *second cluster* groups together countries such as Austria, Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands which also maintain policies to allow a reconciliation but this is mostly a reconciliation either between caring and part-time work or at the cost of discontinuous working patterns. Compared to the clusters of table 1, Luxembourg is somewhat of an exception as it provides less support than the other welfare states in this group in the medium range regarding childcare performance. Yet, what draws all of these countries together when concepts and contexts of policies are considered is the following characterisation: "This pattern is linked to a »strong male breadwinner model« (Jane Lewis) in which male and female roles are clearly identified, women being primarily mothers and spouses with bad consequences for career progression." (Letablier 1998: 70)

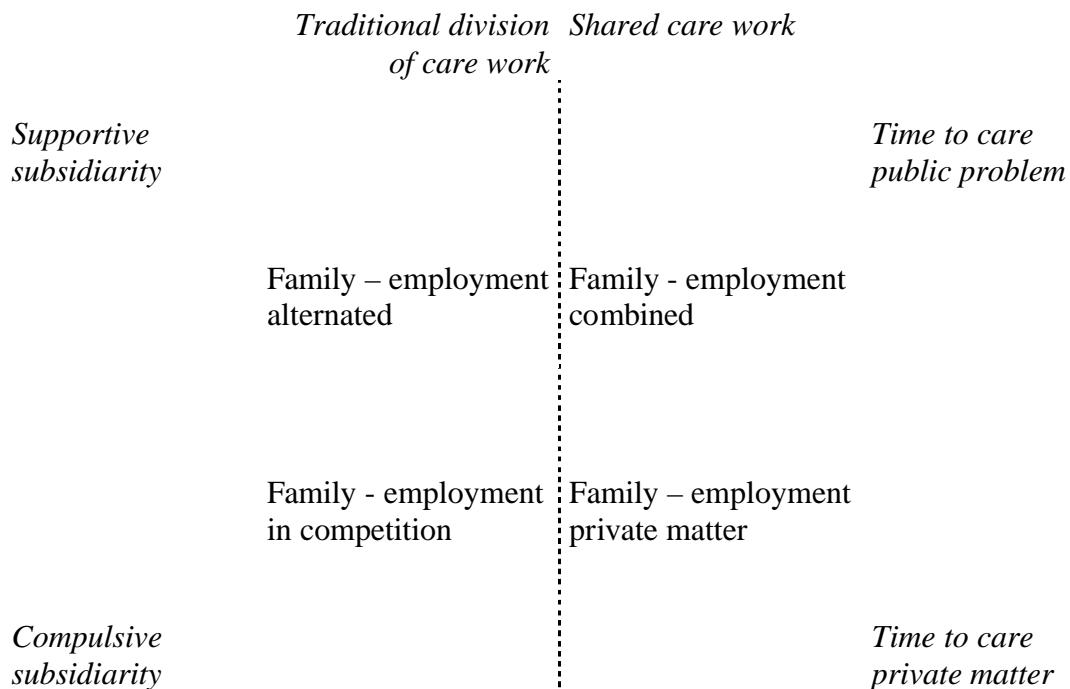
The less supportive countries as in table 1 can be sub-divided into two further types of welfare systems. Thus, a *third set of countries* (Ireland and the UK) provides only a low level of public support due to a liberal concept of non-interference in the private spheres of both market and family. As a result, they also treat the reconciliation of employment and care as a private matter. The *fourth and last cluster* consists of countries offering only weak support - these are countries which generally limit their social support to cases of existential need, partly because of constraints resulting from their economic situation. As the social system relies on traditional family structures, the employment of mothers conflicts with the prevailing concept of the family.

In her commentary on the contribution of Letablier, Rossana Trifiletti (1998) has developed a figure that illustrates how different factors shape welfare systems more or less supportive of combining family and professional life. Like Letablier, Trifiletti points to the relevance of cultural factors (general values and attitudes) both for practices and welfare states. Thus, to understand the characteristics of different welfare states she considers

- § the ways in which care and work are divided in society,
- § whether care is considered a private or public matter in policies,
- § the role that kinship and other supportive networks play within the welfare system.
(In the case of "supportive subsidiarity" a good functioning of the family and/or other networks is assumed and policies support/assist them; in the case of "compul-

sive subsidiarity” a good functioning of the family and/or other networks is presupposed and compensates for lack of public action.)

Figure 2. Possible combinations of working and mothering in relation to forms of state intervention



Source: Trifiletti 1998

Figure 3 illustrates the impact of different factors for the relationship between care and work and highlights differences between four groups of countries:

1. In the first cluster a supportive subsidiarity coincides with a traditional division of care work in the family. It leads to an alternation of family tasks and employment as in the pure case of Germany.
2. In the second cluster supportive subsidiarity is combined with practices that are a bit more directed at sharing care work. Against the background of supportive policies this scenario makes it possible to render work and family tasks compatible, as in the pure case of Sweden.
3. The third group of welfare states is based on a combination of compulsive subsidiarity with a traditional division of care work in the family. Given the lack of care-

related policies these welfare systems produce a deep competition between family and employment as in the pure case of all Mediterranean countries.

4. In the last cluster a compulsive subsidiarity coincides with a practice of at least partly sharing care work whereas the relation between family and employment is conceived as an entirely private matter. This kind of welfare system is typical rather for the US and not as much for European countries; however, "the UK and Ireland are approaching this scenario, the former coming from within the first square, the latter from within the third one." (Trifiletti 1998: 87)

The Relevance of Single and Packages of Policies

As we have seen from the previous sections, state support varies considerably between countries with respect to both concepts/context and particular provisions of policies. In the latter regard, however, "variations are not only in generosity, but also in quality and in the form of support, in tax reductions, cash benefits or in kind" (Letablier, Jönsson *forthcoming*). Against this background the network rose question how specific policies as well as their packaging relate to female labour market participation and the gender division of paid and unpaid work. Rather obviously and confirmed by research, state supported childcare services are core incentives for mother's employment opportunities. Therefore, questions increasingly concerned the relevance and effects of policies like parental leave and taxation systems.

Parental leave, for example, has been the object of European standardisation. The Parental Leave Directive of 1996 obliges Member States to implement entitlements that enable parents to leave the labour market for a period of at least three months. The directive establishes a certain minimum standard; however, national regulation differs significantly since most European countries had already introduced parental leave schemes well before 1996 (see Plantenga 2000). Cross-country differences concern in particular the existence and generosity of wage replacement, the duration and flexibility of parental leave regulations (are both full time and part time leave options available?) and the introduction of special incentives for fathers ("daddy quota"). To give an example of cross-country variation: Whereas parental leaves are unpaid in the Netherlands, Ireland, Greece and Portugal, Norway provides a 100% wage replacement for the first 42 weeks (or 80 % for 52 weeks). Countries like the Netherlands, UK, Ireland and Greece limit parental leave to a period of three months. France, Spain and Germany, in

contrast, guarantee entitlements for a maximum leave of 36 months. Moreover, Sweden and Norway have introduced special incentives for fathers to take up leaves by reserving four weeks which cannot be transferred to the partner.

Jannette Plantenga (2000) highlights that parental leave is an important incentive for reconciling care and family work. However, it has ambivalent effects on women's employment participation as it tends to support traditional gender division of care and paid work. Experiences with the "daddy quota" that tried to counter this problem show that focused policies for fathers do entail some incentive for men to engage in care work, but the take-up rates are generally rather disappointing. Plantenga suggests that "encouraging effects" are enhanced by generous wage replacements and flexible entitlements regarding number of weeks and hours of leave. Besides policies, however, cultural factors seem to remain central in men's hesitation to leave the labour market temporarily. As a result, the majority of employees on parental leave are still women who might experience severe disadvantages when re-entering the labour market especially in cases of long absence. Yet, the correlation between parental leave schemes and women's attachment to the labour market varies considerably across countries. Thus, what makes a difference is the way individual policies are packaged. In Germany, for example, there is some evidence that parental leave is directed more at 'family needs' than at women's employment. Here, generous parental leave schemes (generous especially in terms of duration) are combined with a far reaching absence of state supported childcare for the youngest.

The relevance of the package of policies (and its consistency) is also highlighted by Irene Dingeldey (2000) who contributed a comparative paper on tax systems and their impact upon work-family balancing. Dingeldey compares the average taxation rates for different family patterns in 10 countries. Generally, Dingeldey distinguishes between two basic types of taxation systems:

- 1) The joint taxation system takes the married couple or the family as the basic unit. As a splitting system this model is especially lucrative (with regard to total household income) if one partner earns either no wages or has a significantly lower income than the other partner. Joint taxation systems are usually associated with a strong breadwinner model. By including part-time work in the analysis Dingeldey

shows that splitting systems not only reward the sole breadwinner model, but also the “one and a half earner” household.

- 2) The fully individualised taxation system, on the contrary, privileges neither particular family forms nor uneven income distributions within families. Thus, it is associated with more gender equitable welfare models.

Dingeldey points to the fact that welfare states “usually extend these basic types by adding provisions in accordance with marital status and/or the family pattern of labour market behaviour” (Dingeldey 2000: 107). In order to assess the shaping effects of taxation systems Dingeldey considers their relation to "family patterns of labour force participation", i.e. the way family members are integrated in the labour market. However, she concludes that the shaping effect is not so clear. The Danish tax system, as an extreme example, has a strong splitting effect that privileges the sole breadwinner by 7.2 percentage points compared to the tax rates singles and couples with even income distribution have to pay (the average tax rate is 44 % for both groups). At the same time, however, Denmark accompanies Sweden in maintaining a leading position regarding a more balanced distribution of working hours between partners. For this reason, Dingeldey considers further influences on women’s labour market behaviour and comes to the conclusion that it is the package of policies and its consistency which account for most of the shaping effects. Against the background of social policies that are otherwise very supportive of combining paid and unpaid work, Dingeldey concludes for the case of Denmark: The “tax concessions granted to the sole earners are of no significance, or are interpreted largely as an aid to bridging the extremely short period of inactivity following the birth of children” (Dingeldey 2000: 121). Denmark, certainly, is an extreme example. In conclusion it can be said that fiscal policies indeed seem to influence occupational decisions in some cases, but *strong* correlation relates to policy packages.

The shaping effect of certain policies certainly varies depending on how directly a provision relates to the needs of combining care and work. With regard to care-related policies Meyers, Gornick, and Ross (1998) make the point that those countries which guarantee generous provisions with regard both to leave options and care facilities prove to be most supportive with regard to mothers' employment opportunities. Combinations of poor or moderate public support for childcare and more generous entitlements to pa-

rental leave, in contrast, tend to contribute to a continuation of the male breadwinner model or its modernised version, the 'one and a half earner household'.

3.1.3. Diversification of women's employment patterns

So far, the focus has been on overall information on women's and especially mothers' labour market situation and related policies. However, diversification among groups of women is considerable and increases as an effect of labour market change. Tess Kay (2000) presented a paper on the heterogeneity of female employment patterns to the network. She highlights the "extreme variation in women's employment rates across the social spectrum and the impact of motherhood in further accentuating these differences" (Kay 2000: 75). Starting from the case of Great Britain Kay points out that class (along with education, family size, household composition, ethnicity and migrant status) is a key variable to explain variations in women's attachment to work. Her paper expands these findings in a comparative perspective. Because of limitations of available comparative data, Kay restricts her analysis of women's occupational diversity in the EU to the influence of the education variable. It is suggested that educational standards entail "some indirect and approximate indicators for social class" (80) though the relationship between class and education is not straightforward.

In 1996, labour market participation amongst highly educated women in the EU was almost twice as high as it was for lower educated women. Moreover, the extent of cross-country variation also depends considerably on levels of education: Whereas the differences in female employment rates are rather low between the European countries if only high educated women are considered, cross-country variation increases with decreasing educational levels. Yet, there is no clear clustering of countries if educational standards are considered. Belgium, for example, is ranked in the middle for its employment rates of highly educated women, but belongs to the laggards regarding rates for low educated women.

With regard to the occupational attachment of *mothers*, variation in overall participation rates is also related to different educational attainments. However, when turning to rates for part-time work one can observe converging trends: Highly educated mothers are almost as likely to work part time as mothers with a lower level of education. Yet, Kay doubts that this is a result of common experience: "If mothers of different educational levels are equally likely to work part-time, and this similarity occurs despite

overall variations in female employment rates, the question arises as to whether this indicates common experience, or whether it is actually evidence of how differently mothers relate to the labour market and perceive the role of paid work in family life. [...] Mothers who work part-time range from those who do so because their labour market activity is highly constrained, to those who enjoy an extreme degree of freedom in their choices [of] employment – and therefore, [of] motherhood.” (Kay 2000: 85)

In conclusion Tess Kay states that the diversity within female labour markets is so significant that there are sometimes bigger differences in employment rates within the female population than there are between men and women. Against this background she criticises the tendency of cross-European comparison to focus one-sidedly on differences between men and women, which results in negligence regarding the diversity of women. Her point is that variations among women refer to different policy needs. Lower educated women, for example, are more likely to have more children than higher educated women. They are also more likely to have children at an earlier age, i.e. before establishment in the labour market, and more often experience single motherhood. They can hardly afford private childminders to compensate for policy deficits and consequently rely much more heavily on public childcare provision. Thus, care and work related policies have to consider different needs of women and should give more priority to the social inclusion of lower educated mothers.

To summarise: As highlighted by the previous section, the nexus between social policies and female labour market participation is rather complex. Statistical approaches have supported the assumption that the availability and extent of social policy provisions is in many cases a strong explanatory factor accounting for cross-country variation in female employment patterns. Whereas childcare provisions most obviously support the combination of care and work, the relationship is, however, not so clear regarding policies like parental leave and taxation systems. As a central outcome, the contributions on parental leave and on taxation systems have highlighted that the shaping effects of these policies are very much related to their integration in the entire package of care and work related policies. These findings are of high importance for policy formulation as they reveal that the effects of single measures are deeply related to the set of policies which frames them. With child care facilities as a core provision for working mothers, it is the direction and combination of a range of policy measures that matters. If welfare

legislation is to create more equitable employment chances for women and especially for mothers, it will be important to consider the interdependency of policies – both on a national level and with regard to efforts toward European harmonisation. Yet, dynamics and effects of single policies and their combinations are still an under-researched issue. More scrutiny is needed in order to find out which combinations of measures are especially supportive of a fairer distribution of employment opportunities and care responsibilities.

This issue gains further complexity if differences between women are taken into account. Because of shortages of comparable data on social class, researcher looked at the relationship between educational attainment and women's employment opportunities. As a result the diversity of women was stressed: Across European countries higher educated women are twice as likely to be employed as lower educated women. Moreover, cross-country variation is lowered when only higher educated women are considered, and it increases with decreasing educational attainment. In some cases the variations between women are even stronger than those between women and men. This finding should have implications for social policy legislation as low educated mothers can be expected to rely more heavily on public childcare though the relation between education and income is clearly loose.

The previous section has also highlighted that an investigation of the concepts and contexts of polices is of high value in order to comprehend how welfare states conceive the relation between working and mothering. For this reason, the network has broadened the research on this topic.

3.2. Social Policies, Cultural Norms and Attitudes regarding Concepts of Motherhood, Fatherhood and Gender Equality

In order to develop a more comprehensive understanding of social policies, welfare systems and the ways they relate to the needs of working mothers the network turned to concepts and path dependencies of social policies: Against which background and for what purposes were these policies put in place? Research looked at historical developments in welfare states and the concepts and cultural norms underlying policy initiatives. We suggest that the breadth of this kind of approaches helps to elucidate some of the inconsistencies among different policies *within countries*, but also contributes to comprehension of welfare systems in *a comparative perspective*. In particular, this

prospect of social policies targets inquiry into cultural concepts, e.g. of motherhood, fatherhood, childhood and gender equality, which are taken to be important both to policies and practices.

One set of seminar contributions that approached comprehension of social policies in the mentioned way, focused on concepts of fatherhood, motherhood and gender equality. Overall, these contributions were guided by a triangle of questions: How are certain socio-cultural concepts perceived, maintained or altered by social policies? Do social policies shape social practices? How are we to understand the interrelation between cultural norms and social practices or attitudes? Though the approaches differ from each other, most authors targeted in some way the relationship between social policies, practices and cultural norms. Apparently, research into this kind of relationship has to consider traditions and values as they have developed differently in different countries and political regimes. For this reason, the contributions take either the form of country-based investigations or limit themselves to a selective comparison.

3.2.1. Motherhood: Policies, Practices and Cultural Values

Concepts of motherhood in East and West Germany

With regard to the shaping effects of policies (and politics) the case of Germany is especially intriguing. Ute Gerhard has presented a contribution to the network which starts from the following assumption: "In a Germany that experienced 40 years of separation into two different social systems, yet sharing a history of every day experience, social structure and politics, the influence of systemic and socio-political factors can be identified as in a sociological experiment." (Gerhard 1999: 118)

Ute Gerhard points to a common history of thought which put a strong emphasis on motherhood as a value to be protected. Since the end of the 18th century, this history of thought was considerably inspired by Rousseau's pedagogical work *Emile or on Education*, which insists on strong gender segregation for the functioning of society, yet at the same time revaluing the traditional role of women in the family as caring wives and educators of their children. This perception of gender difference as a fundament of social order had lead to a conservative or even reactionary concept of the family, which became a common ideal in German society at least by the end of 19th century. The cen-

tral element in this family model was the idea of a wife and mother who sacrifices herself lovingly on behalf of her family's wellbeing.

As in other countries, a strong notion of motherhood was also shared by the women's movement (partly even by its proletarian activists), certainly, though, according to other conceptions and goals. Especially the moderate wing of the bourgeois women's movement concurred with emphasis on motherhood in the sense of a an esteemed value attributed towards women. Although the allied conception of gender difference was meant to strengthen women's positions in all areas of society, it remained problematic.

The national socialists adopted the emphasis on motherhood and, moreover, made it part of their racist ideology by combining state-sponsored forced maternity with eugenic legislation and mass murder of Jewish and any other 'unwanted' populations. Despite the break made by future governments the ideal of motherhood as a moral duty and a service to "the people" continued to be influential beyond the nazi regime in West Germany. In the aftermath (and even now), two German states approached matters of family- and motherhood in quite different ways.

In East Germany gender equality became an explicit goal in socialist restructuring of society and the state. The constitution declared "all laws which impede equality of men and women [...] void" and the Family Law Code univocally claimed that the "[r]elations between marriage partners must be arranged in a manner that the woman is enabled to combine her professional and social obligations with motherhood". This way, the integration of women into the labour market was explicitly tied to matters of gender equality. But there was just as clearly a second reason which led government to support women's occupational opportunities, that is to become involved in children's education at an early age in order to raise them as convinced socialists. As a result childcare facilities (crèches and kindergartens) were provided on a large scale and even mothers with young children were very likely to work. In 1990 the employment rate of women in East Germany was 78% compared to 58.5% in West Germany.

Gerhard points out, though, that the one-sided privileging of women was unable to transcend the traditional division of labour between the sexes. East German women usually had to carry a double burden, too. Moreover, GDR family and social politics were imbedded in a totalitarian system, which intruded massively into the private sphere and offended liberal human rights in several regards. After the unification process, this

fact tended to discredit the achievements which had been obtained, however, with regard to occupational opportunities for women and high coverage of child care services.

Gender equality was also integrated into the constitution of the FRG as of 1949, yet it was not before 1977 that discriminatory paragraphs were entirely removed from civil law. Until that time the Civil Code (passed in 1900) had inscribed the wife's legal responsibility for housekeeping and raising children. The wife had the right to work outside only after she had attended to all her domestic duties! To understand legislation and discussions concerning the family against the background of socialist women's liberation and state involvement in childcare in East Germany, Gerhard suggests: The socialist model served as an exact negative model to be contrasted with West German politics. Thus, the West German reconstruction phase was characterised by conservative and restorative concepts of the family based on a strong gender division of paid and unpaid work. Again, traditional concepts of motherhood were discussed as a matter of value and moral duty owed to the children and, consequently, to society. In contrast, working mothers - especially those of young children - were widely identified with the negative image of a "Rabenmutter", a bad mother; a prejudice that is quite wide spread even to-day.

After the 1977 reform of marriage and family law, the traditional division of labour in the family was preserved under the catchword "freedom of choice". In the following decades German policy legislation entailed strong incentives for mothers to leave the labour market at least temporarily as long as children are young: Relatively generous maternal / parental leave schemes and a taxation system¹ privileging both, marriage and the breadwinner model, were accompanied by a lack of publicly financed childcare services. As of January 1, 1996, government passed an act which formulated a legal right for children aged three and older to state supported day care on a part-time scale. However, demand still exceeds supply in some regions and availability of childcare support continues to vary in the eastern and western parts of Germany. Childcare support for children under 3 and for school children remains a particular problem in Germany; the latter is due to short schooling-hours accompanied by a lack of after-school care facilities. In 1996 only 4.5% of all three-year-olds and 11% of first graders attended a kindergarten or an after-school care facility in the western part of Germany compared to

¹ The fiscal legislation was changed in reaction to a verdict of the Supreme court from 1998.

33% of children under 3 and about 60% of seven-year-olds attending corresponding institutions in eastern Germany.

Ute Gerhard concludes that the connection between cultural concepts of motherhood, social policy legislation and female labour market behaviour is quite obvious for the case of Germany, but that it is also manifold and complex, especially when one tries to identify the direction of influence: Is it the policies which shape practices or vice versa? And what exactly is the relation between values and policies on the one hand and between values and practices on the other? With regard to the nexus of female employment rates and care-related policies, Ute Gerhard states for the case of East Germany that women's labour market entry clearly preceded policy legislation. Still, the question remains, what led women in East Germany to enter the labour market massively whereas West German women engaged in employment with far greater hesitation and to a lesser extend. Apparently, political and societal context contributed to a social climate that more or less forced women's entrance into the labour market. As concerns attitudes, it is interesting to note that the differences between East and West Germany are still marked. For example, many studies highlight that women in East Germany do not agree that a job or profession detracts from their role as mothers, whereas 70% of West Germans took it for granted that pre-school aged children suffered if their mothers were employed. Gerhard concludes that social policies apparently did have some shaping effect for attitudes and practices after all even though they did not precede women's entrance into the labour market in first instance.

Concepts of motherhood in Norway

Another author who has targeted motherhood concepts is Arnlaug Leira (1999). Her approach is not as much directed at cultural concepts of motherhood, but at changes in motherhood as they become visible a) in every day practices of mothers as earners and carers and b) in the ways welfare states refer to mothers as earners, carers and citizens. A further set of questions relates to the different factors that facilitated motherhood change. The focus is on Norway and Leira points to fact that Norwegians' process of social policy legislation in the 1970s and 80s differed considerably from development in other Scandinavian countries. In Sweden and Denmark social policies were more supportive towards working mothers whereas in Norway preference for a traditional family

model based on a gender division of paid and unpaid work was more pronounced. By the time Norwegian women started to enter the labour market in large numbers in the 1970s, public support was hardly available and initial approaches of policy legislation only provided some limited support. It was not before the late 1980s that more extensive policy efforts would target the matter of reconciling professional and care work. Thus, Leira comes to a similar finding with regard to Norway as Gerhard does regarding East Germany: Women's occupational involvement and, therefore, motherhood change preceded policy legislation. "It is by now fairly well documented that a considerable proportion of Norwegian mothers in the late 1970s and the early 1980s did not wait for generous policy reforms to take up employment. Motherhood change preceded policy reform." (Leira 1999: 112-3)

As Leira, Tobío and Trifiletti highlight in a most recent article, "ideological barriers against women's employment [were] rather strong in Norwegian society and in the government administration" until the late 60s (Leira, Tobío, Trifiletti *forthcoming*)². Even increasing demands for labour did not alter gender segregation in line with conservative family models. This did change, however, in the late 60s when Norway experienced severe transformation which comprised economic restructuring, reform of the welfare state and changes in the family and labour force. Women played an important part in this transformation process. An important demand factor for women's occupational involvement resulted from economic restructuring and from the expansion of the welfare state as a service provider. Thus (and in a way ironically), the welfare state did play an important role in extending women's attachment to work, however, as an employee and not as a provider of services directed at the needs of working mothers. In 1975 only 7% of pre-schoolers had access to childcare services, and paid maternity leave comprised only 12 weeks. Thus, women had to develop informal coping strategies as visible in part time working schemes and in a vital increase in private and/or informal care arrangements.

Another factor that enhanced women's autonomy in employment decisions was their increased control over reproduction by means of access to oral contraception and abortion on demand. Moreover, cultural concepts of motherhood were altered in the context of societal change and revival of the women's movement. As a result, matters of work-

² Here and in the following paragraphs: As quotations refer to a manuscript version no reference to page numbers is made.

ing and caring were raised as a political issue that challenged both, the traditional gender division of care and work and the "traditional boundaries between public and parental responsibilities". Yet, despite increasing claims for supportive policy provisions major improvements only occurred in the late 1980s and the 90s. Today, care-related provisions cover entitlements for children to state-supported care, parental leave for a period of a maximum of 52 weeks at 80% wage compensation (or 42 weeks at 100% wage replacement), incentives for paternal leave, but also cash for care benefits for parents (and as a matter of fact still usually for mothers) of children aged 12 to 36 months who decide to do without public day care.

However, despite the observation that women's entrance into the labour market and motherhood change preceded policy formulation, Leira "is not say[ing] that the welfare state was not important for the development of new approaches to motherhood" (Leira 1999: 114). For one, Scandinavian data show asynchronous developments with regard to women's labour market entrance. These may result in part from delay in the Norwegian welfare state's reaction to the increasing problem of reconciling care and work by means of some, though initially limited support. Secondly, improvements in welfare provisions and individualisation of rights certainly meant real gains for women and especially mothers, for example, in the sense of greater autonomy vis-à-vis their husbands or partners. Moreover, the welfare state started to perceive mothers as citizen-workers and thus adopted motherhood changes. However, Leira argues that a gendered notion of citizenship rights persists and that the way the Norwegian welfare state refers to mothers as carers, earners and citizens remains ambiguous. This is because citizens-as-caregivers are still not treated equally compared to citizens-as-workers: Despite an individualisation of entitlements in Norway, work-related benefits are more generous than care-related benefits. At the same time care is not thoroughly collectivised in Norway. As a result caring responsibilities "for the very young, the very old and the very handicapped remain[] in private hands, most often in the hands of women – and often at considerable economic cost to the carers" (Leira 1999: 114). Against this background, Leira concludes with regard to motherhood change as adopted by welfare states: "My point is mainly that the social and political construction of motherhood is set within a framework in which the social rights of citizenship clearly express a preference for formal employment over informal care, and thus, for men's activity patterns over women's." (Leira 1999: 115)

3.2.2. Fatherhood: Policies, Practices and Attitudes

Whereas the issue of motherhood has been targeted by feminist research for a longer time and from a variety of perspectives, interest in fatherhood is relatively new. Can we identify concepts of fatherhood as we have discussed them with regard to motherhood in the previous section? How do welfare states deal with fatherhood and what do we know about attitudes of fathers towards care work? In her contribution on “Fatherhood in The Netherlands, Great Britain and Germany. Policies, attitudes, practices and concepts” Tijne le Clercq (1999) approaches these questions by bringing together data and main findings from existing research. Her focus is on the Netherlands, Great Britain and Germany as these countries experience a transition from welfare regimes supportive of the breadwinner model towards welfare regimes that increasingly consider and promote the combination of working and mothering, though not always in comprehensive ways.

Despite differences, the three countries compared are characterised by what is often referred to as the “modernised breadwinner model” as evidenced by a significant share of one and a half earner households. Even in the Netherlands as a ‘high part-time country’, only 7 % of Dutch fathers with children under ten worked part time in 1998. In contrast, only 14 % of mothers with the youngest children under 14 were occupied full-time in the same year. While more mothers work full-time in Great Britain and Germany, the tendency is the same: Fathers are usually employed at full time scale whereas part-time work is a core strategy for mothers to combine working and mothering. Moreover, women in all of the three countries under consideration tend to withdraw from the labour market at least temporarily once a child is born.

Thus, employment patterns remain gendered in all of the three countries, though in different ways. What does this mean for fatherhood as earner *and* carer? Le Clerk targets this question by looking at the distribution of unpaid work among mothers and fathers and comes to the conclusion that the countries compared are very similar in this regard: Women perform between 65 and 70 % of the unpaid work and men 30 to 35 %. Moreover, there is a difference between the tasks men and women fulfil regarding care and household work with men preferring repair work and more ‘pleasant’ tasks such as shopping and playing with children. However, what is perceived to be more agreeable by men differs somewhat across countries. In any case, the care aspect of fatherhood seems to play a rather limited role as concerns everyday behaviour. In order to under-

stand the persisting gender bias le Clerk considers different factors. In the following the focus is on policy issues, time constraints and attitudes.

Le Clercq considers flexible working arrangements and parental leave options as two areas of policy formulation that might promote paternal involvement in care work. As concerns parental leave, regulations vary somewhat across the countries under comparison, especially between Germany and the other two countries. Great Britain introduced statutory entitlement for parental leaves only in 1999 in reaction to the European Directive on parental leave of 1996. The parental leave schemes of Great Britain and the Netherlands are rather similar: In both cases parental leave is unpaid, whereas in Germany a flat rate is provided for leave takers, which is, however, low and income tested after a certain period. The duration of leave is limited to three months in the Netherlands and in Great Britain while a maximum leave of 36 month is available in Germany. Parental leave schemes are especially flexible in the Netherlands in the sense that the leave can be taken until the child is eight years old. In all of these countries parental leave is taken mainly by women. Though parental leaves are directed at men and women, no incentives were created in either country to encourage fathers to actually take up parental leaves. Low allowances in Germany and unpaid schemes in the Netherlands and Great Britain may be seen instead as disincentives for paternal take up of leaves.

With regard to flexible working arrangements the Netherlands introduced the Law Adjusting Working Hours in 2000, which entitles employers to reduce (or extend) working hours, and employees can only reject if they can prove the company is threatened. A similar law has been passed by the red-green government in Germany. (Knijn, Jönsson, Klammer *forthcoming*) Great Britain does not guarantee entitlements for employees to work part-time but increasingly recommends flexible working patterns.

Apparently, the promotion of part time entailed considerable changes in the structure of the labour market in the Netherlands. Yet, as regards data from 1998 “even” Dutch fathers hardly ever chose part time working patterns so it will be interesting to trail future developments as entitlements have been introduced recently. However, irrespective of the statutory rights to flexible working hours, part-time work was and is a wide-spread employment pattern for women in all countries under comparison. Against this background the attitudes of fathers toward part time-work deserves further exploration in its own right.

As for the Netherlands le Clercq states that time constraints resulting from long working hours are often mentioned by fathers as a key obstacle in allocating more time to the household and the children. Fathers report on problems related to a reduction of working hours and refer especially to objections from both bosses and colleagues.

However, the relationship between working hours and fathers' involvement in care and household tasks is not quite clear. As a matter of fact, time budget studies highlight that in several cases the time fathers allocate to care and housework is actually often independent of their working hours. As for Great Britain and the Netherlands, what seems to be more important than the work-related time budgets of fathers is the time resources of their wives or partners. Thus, fathers' involvement in care and housework is related to the occupational decisions of mothers. Interestingly, a striking relation is found between the mother's economic status and the father's involvement in care and household work as evidenced in the Netherlands and Germany. To quote a passage on the German situation: "The wife can also play another role in the division of labour; for example, in dual earner households men do more of certain activities (such as shopping and taking care of the sick) when the relative contribution of the wife to the family income is higher. However, men do not do more at home when the amount of hours worked by his partner or the status of her job is higher." (le Clercq 1999: 164)

Attitudes towards fatherhood and the gender division of care and work also seem to be rather similar in the three countries, according to opinion polls on this issue. "Overall, it seems that more or less half of the people in these countries perceive that an equal division of paid and/or unpaid work is to be preferred" (le Clercq 1999: 146). Thus, these surveys also reveal that traditional conceptions of gender segregation are still widely spread. Further, they suggest a gap between attitudes and behaviour with regard to those in favour of more equitable solutions.

Regarding paternal roles, case studies have shown that modern concepts of fatherhood are linked to a greater perception of gender equality and a fairer division of work. However, case studies also show that gender identity still plays an important role in the perception of care and paid work. The hierarchical setting of the gender division of care and employment turns out to be an obstacle for many men to take care work more seriously and to reduce waged-working hours.

In conclusion, it can be said that notions of fatherhood are characterised by change, yet, they still vary from the traditional breadwinner model (often perceived as masculin-

ist) to more modern prospects of fathers as workers and carers. Whereas men in favour of modern concepts of fatherhood tend to increase care and household work, studies indicate a lag between attitudes and behaviour. They also show that fatherhood change is related to motherhood change in the way that the breadwinner status of the partner matters for fathers' care and household behaviour. Overall, however, men only perform a third of these tasks, while women still take over the bulk of work. At the same time, welfare states in Great Britain, Germany and the Netherlands do not respond to fatherhood change in any deeper sense.

Le Clercq points out that most of the studies she considered did not approach fatherhood as an issue in its own right. A lot more research is needed to increase insight into the issue of care and work from the perspective of fatherhood. It would be especially interesting to gain more knowledge about the relationship between attitudes, practices and macro- and meso-factors related to social policies, labour market development and working arrangements.

3.2.3. Gender Equality in Practice of Dual Earner Couples

An interesting insight into the relevance of cultural values and practices in family relationships was presented by Ulla Björnberg (2000). In her paper on „Gender Equality in Dual Earner Couple Relationships“ the author highlighted some results of a qualitative empirical study of 25 couples living in the same household and having children, with most of them (80%) both working full time. The investigation focused on the marital discourses on equality from a 'lay' perspective, i.e. on the principles husbands and wives apply, when they give reasons for their way of organising domestic work and their economy. Besides the fact that gender equality in modern couple relationships is a legal norm or even a respected ideal in the level of society, especially feminist research is curious to know what equality means in interpersonal everyday relationships, how far it is practically implemented especially with regard to the distribution of care work and the balancing of decisional power. Björnberg discerns three types of discourses about what seems to be fair or unfair in couple relationships, explained as 'norms of reciprocity': 1. A responsiveness-orientated discourse, in which "equality is basically not regarded as an important goal but rather mutuality" (193). Partners adhere to a kind of fairness, regardless whether the distribution of work is fair in terms of time spent on domestic work. 2. An agreement-oriented discourse, a more individualised principle,

which requires agreements and negotiations about the distribution of time and work. However, also in this case the sharing is not necessarily equal, rather it is dominated by 'the norms of gift economy' that regulate family life. The third type is a gender ascribed discourse, in principle a traditional way of division of labour, which is not necessarily outspoken, yet hidden behind the aim "to contribute to the status of the husband" (193-4).

From a social policy perspective these findings are illuminating since they again verify that a particular family culture, also identified as the 'moral economy of families', might undermine equal gender arrangements. Or as Björnberg concludes: "The lack of gender equality within families is one of the core problems behind the slowness in the improvements of the position of women on the labour market. The fact that women still take the main responsibility for domestic work and still take the most part of parental leave contribute to that they are regarded as less reliable and less devoted to their jobs at the workplaces." (194). Since these "norms of reciprocity" are "hidden behind notions of love, altruism and moral gift economy", Ulla Björnberg suggests that in political debates "the moral economy of families should be translated into more pragmatic economic terms", for "the traditional conception of love and commitment is at the expense of equal rights of women" (195).

To summarize: The above mentioned articles target concepts of motherhood, fatherhood and gender quality and the ways they relate to policies and/or practices. Ute Gerhard (1999) approaches this question by focussing on cultural concepts of motherhood in East and West Germany. Gerhard stresses the importance that cultural values have both for policies and practices. However, she also points to the complexity of this relationship and the difficulties in identifying the direction of influence. Like Arnlaug Leira (Leira 1999; Leira, Tobío, Trifiletti *forthcoming*) she concludes that women's entry into the labour market and thus motherhood change preceded policy legislation. Though women did not wait for supportive policies in order to enter the labour market, the authors agree that welfare states were important for facilitating the employment of later generations of mothers. Especially Gerhard, focussing on the German case, comes to the result that social policies did have a shaping effect on attitudes and practices after all.

But welfare states are also crucial agents in conceptualising the relationship between care, work and citizenship. Whereas welfare states have started to consider mothers as

citizen-workers and thus adapted to 'motherhood change', the care side of the triangle is still not treated in equal ways – even in Norway. Thus, Leira concludes, the way welfare states consider the needs related to motherhood (or parenting) is still oriented toward male activity patterns, that is to say that the working side is promoted. In a way, this conclusion corresponds with Le Clercq's (1999) point that policy incentives for fathers to engage in care and household related work are very limited: Whereas only very few countries have started to create focused policies to address fathers as carers, most of the existing socio-political measures entail little or no incentives to care *if regarded from the perspective of paid work*. It must be said, however, that countries differ from each other considerably concerning the way they treat care. Today, Norway's welfare politics consider care in a much more supportive way than is the case especially for Germany, the UK, and for the Netherlands: countries which formed the background for the work on fatherhood. But what remains similar across countries is higher social esteem and welfare recognition of paid work. A question related to the investigation into fatherhood is, therefore, how this hierarchy of work corresponds to concepts of fatherhood and 'fatherhood change'. Le Clercq points out that gender identity still plays an important role in fathers' perceptions of care and paid work and that the hierarchical framework of the gender division of care and employment is an obstacle for many men to engage in care work and to adjust working hours. However, changes in fatherhood concepts are also apparent. They are related to higher esteem for gender equality, but also to motherhood change, especially with respect to the breadwinner status of women.

Yet, even if men and women say that they regard notions of gender equality as leading principles, these notions are not always straightforward. Ulla Björnberg (2000) analyses marital discourses on equality, the ways in which couples speak about organising domestic work and their household economy. Her research is based on qualitative interviews with couples in Sweden, mostly double earners. Like le Clercq, Björnberg also emphasises that a joint economy is not always associated with equality; but if it is (as it is in most cases), couples often nevertheless avoid to recognise their unequal positions in the family. Norms of reciprocity tend to be “hidden by notions of love, altruism and moral gift economy” (Björnberg 2000: 195). As a result, a gendered division of care is maintained.

3.3. Policy Logics of Action about Caring for Children

Another set of contributions continued with inquiring into contexts and concepts of welfare systems by taking a different perspective: Marie-Thérèse Letablier and Géraldine Rieucau (2000) have contributed a valuable approach on how to capture the "logics" which undergird social policies and welfare systems. Whereas the existence of some kind of family and social policy is most often the starting point of research, the leading questions in this paper take another perspective: "What reasons have led certain states to furnish child care? What principles legitimise state intervention in an area some consider a private affair? Finally, what are the justifications underlying changes taken" by the state in the private domain? (Letablier, Rieucau 2000: 214)

The authors underscore that childcare-related policies are historically related to a set of different motives such as demographic and economic concerns, perceptions of the family, motherhood and fatherhood and the status attributed to children. Moreover, conceptions of citizenship and the self-understanding of states regarding their involvement in matters of childcare and education are important factors. Thus, policy legislation is oriented alongside a variety of factors reaching from concrete historical needs and occasions to broader conceptions of societies and their constitutive units. In this context, the matter of reconciliation of working and mothering is not only a relatively new issue, but also only one among others.

Regarding care-related policies in Europe, the authors observe a trend of convergence as concerns the trajectories of legislation. Despite remaining differences, a number of similarities can also be identified, for example, with regard to the increasing attention paid to the needs of balancing care and work. Another common tendency, though accentuated to different extents, concerns the transition shift from primarily family-orientated policies to a greater recognition of needs and claims of individuals as citizens - be it the child, the mother or the father. However, common trajectories meet different historical and cultural backgrounds and different legitimising principles once they are to be implemented as policies. Thus, this "background" is at the centre of the authors' work: The aim is to identify the underlying principles or, as they call it, the logics behind policies, and the ways they shape different welfare policies and systems despite converging trajectories of political programmes. The authors suggest to locate these "policy logics" within the relationship between the state, the market, the family and civil society. Thus, the policy logics are not conceived as invariable configurations, but

as a result of a concurrence of different influencing factors. Among others, these factors include cultural norms and values e.g. of motherhood, childhood or of gender equality, which relate to “historical and cultural development among which we cannot ignore the fight of women, or other organised social groups, claiming from the state action to subsidise a part of childcare costs”. (Letablier, Jönsson *forthcoming*)³

Despite diversity and historical change in motives and conceptions underlying policies, the authors suggest that they can be associated with identifiable traditions strong enough to speak of a logic. This is not to say that policy measures themselves are merely consistent, but that the underlying principles have a shaping effect, that is they shape certain “childcare regimes”. Most recently, Marie-Thérèse Letablier and Ingrid Jönsson (*forthcoming*) have broadened this approach, initially developed for a study on France, into a comparative perspective. Their article considers France, Sweden, the UK, Germany and Spain as they represent different kinds of “childcare regimens” relating to five categories of logic:

The logic of citizenship, gender equality and the rights of children: the case of Sweden

The Swedish welfare state, like other Nordic countries, targeted needs related to combining working and mothering long before integration into the European Union. Beyond the early moment of care-related policy legislation, what characterises the Swedish welfare state is that public action was explicitly directed towards the transition from a breadwinner to a more equitable family model. Gender equality was and remains a key motive of policy legislation, and social rights are perceived as citizenship rights. As a result the family disappeared as a unit from social policies. Instead, social rights were individualised and social services and benefits became more important than family allowances and tax reductions. Public childcare and parental leave were meant to enhance mothers’ occupational choices and to facilitate stable working patterns over time. Moreover, policy legislation increasingly created incentives for fathers to engage in care, e.g. by the introduction of a “daddy quota” with regard to parental leave. A further core objective behind policy legislation was the child and his or her social and psychological

³ Quotations refer to a manuscript version; thus, no reference to page numbers is made regarding forthcoming book chapters.

development to be assisted by high quality services and institutions for care and education.

The logic of collective socialisation of children and demography: the case of France

Like Sweden and other Nordic countries, public action directed at childcare and education is strong in France. Here, scope, targets and motives of policy legislation are closely attached to republican and secular traditions. As Letablier and Jönsson point out, “The history of public childcare in France is tied to a conception of the state, ‘l’Etat paternaliste’ with the obligation of protecting children and working mothers, a conception that arose at the end of [the] nineteenth century under the Third Republic.”⁴

Overall, the authors identify three objectives underlying state involvement in childcare: The first is linked to motherhood which is in turn tied to citizenship. Mothers, working or not, have been generally protected by the French state. Even though some policies entailed disincentives as concerns women’s employment, political focus on working mothers has a long tradition in France and became especially important in the 1960s and 1970s. As Letablier points out, it is exactly this time of societal change when a greater neutrality of the state toward private lives was claimed. With regard to working and mothering this tendency led to a promotion of the “freedom of choice”, that is that mothers should be free to choose if they want to work or not without experiencing disadvantages for any decision they take. However, the “freedom of choice” solution as a principle was and remained a very political and not a private matter.

A second key objective of French childcare-related policies is linked to republican concepts of childcare and education, with roots in principles of the Third Republic. These principles contain a strong notion of equal opportunities regarding education and the development of the child. The authors highlight that French pre-school, which is attended by 99% of children between three and six, belongs “more to the field of education than to social policies. The pre-school is part of the public services that the state has to offer to the citizens”. Thus, entitlements are directed at children as citizens.

A third objective targets demographic concerns, which traditionally have been linked to policy legislation in France. Natalist ambitions remain vital motives that underlie provisions such as cash transfers, tax reduction and leave schemes.

⁴ Here and in the following: Letablier and Jönsson, *forthcoming*.

In contrast to the above-mentioned objectives, gender equality has become an explicit concern of policy legislation only recently. However, it has increasingly substituted for the “idea of the state protecting mothers and children, maternity and childhood.”

The logic of non-state intervention: the case of the UK

In the liberal welfare model of the UK, childcare has traditionally been considered a private matter. Public childcare provisions are very limited. During the Thatcher era the poor coverage of publicly supported childcare services was further decreased. Instead, policy governance promoted an independent care sector consisting of registered child-minders and private care services. Lack of affordable quality day-care was enormous. Since 1996 politics started to support mothers' employment by means of fiscal incentives and a voucher scheme for half-day care in educational settings for young children. Whereas education was perceived as a public task, childcare was not and had to be paid for by parents.

The new Labour government replaced the voucher scheme by a childcare policy that was explicitly directed as "Meeting the Childcare Challenge". Important aims of the National Childcare Strategy were to create incentives for mothers' employment, to fight poverty as disproportionately experienced by children and to facilitate the combination of care and work. However, the privatisation of childcare has not been revised. Instead, parents are assisted in buying market driven support by means of childcare-related tax benefits. Overall, state support for childcare remains poor and is still seen mainly as a private matter to be organised by families. Against the background of the gendered division of work, which has a strong tradition (also) in Great Britain, the perception of childcare as a private matter entails continuous disadvantages for mothers in the market sphere. The part-time rate of working women ranks second after the Netherlands in European comparison.

The logic of socialisation of children in the family and the gender division of labour: the case of Germany

In Germany, care-related policies have traditionally been linked to conservative views of motherhood and the family. Women were seen as housewives and mothers and were integrated into the social insurance system indirectly as wives of the male breadwinner.

Some care-related social rights are individualised today; pension schemes, for example, recognise care work. However, income-related entitlements are much more generous and old age poverty remains a problem for women who lack continuous working biographies.

As for the development of children, mothers are seen to play a key role in providing a stable social and emotional background. Publicly funded childcare for children under three is still almost absent in Germany (especially in West Germany), a lack in line with the wide spread assumption that an intensive mother-child relationship is especially important for the very young. Against this background relatively generous parental leave options are family and child orientated rather than devised to promote mothers' employment decisions in the first instance. Lack of childcare support was also severe for children aged three and older when a policy of 1996 eventually guaranteed entitlements to state sponsored child support for all children of this age group. However, entitlements only cover half day care and, together with half-day schooling hours, mainly encourage women's involvement into part time work.

Recent policies have targeted the needs of children and of working mothers, especially of single parents, more directly because of high poverty rates among families with children, especially among lone parent families. High tension still allied with combining care and work in Germany is also visible in declining birth rates.

The logic of family care and kinship solidarity: the case of Spain

The issue of reconciling working and mothering is rather new in Spain. Traditionally, care has not been considered a matter of state intervention but of family care and kinship solidarity. In Spain, perceptions of the family are based on the idea of mutual responsibility: a principle inscribed into the constitution. Public action is limited to families that cannot manage on their own. Women's entrance into the labour market has not changed the 'principles of state absence': Public childcare is almost exclusively available as an effect of public education. However, schooling times often do not correspond to the working hours of parents. Only recently has Spain implemented parental leave schemes. But parental leave is unpaid and the entitlement linked to permanent occupation, whereas a lot of women work on the basis of fixed term contracts. Overall, neither the state nor the male population assist mothers to any considerable degree to combine professional and family life. Thus, balancing of working and mothering relies heavily

on kinship support as provided by female family members, especially by grandmothers. Declining birth rates (the lowest across Europe) indicate that the renunciation of children seems to be a strategy increasingly used to enhance occupational opportunities.

Outlook: Transitions and challenges regarding policy logics

“Policy logics” are a matter of historical path dependencies, but they are also subject to change. As a matter of fact, welfare states experience a series of transitional changes at the moment as evidenced by alterations in private life, transformations in the labour market and modifications in the political context. Changes in private life, for example, include processes of individualisation, a democratisation of family life in the sense of greater equality of partners and a pluralisation of family forms. Welfare states are confronted with the necessity to react to these changes in some ways and, apparently, the above-mentioned logics do not seem to fit the transitions and new needs equally well. However, guiding principles change and so do welfare states (among other reasons as a result of the rise of left governments in Europe in the recent decade). Thus, further questions include how new principles relate to existing policy logics, how they change them, and what tensions are to be expected in terms of contradicting justification principles.

3.4. Labour Market Change and Transitions of Welfare Systems

Welfare states increasingly shift the focus of public action from welfare to work as employment is considered to be the 'best form of welfare'. This conceptual transition to politics of 'workfare' is accompanied by a strong notion of individualisation: Policies tend to address all adult citizens as workers and thus seem to break with traditional concepts such as the breadwinner model. However, the gendered dimension of current transformations needs more critical scrutiny. What are the implications of new welfare models if the employment-related individualisation of women and especially mothers still lacks realisation? How do these models deal with unpaid care as opposed to paid work? Do these concepts provide any instruments to address a more equitable distribution of care and work?

Transitions in welfare concepts are linked to societal, demographic and economic changes. Among these factors, changes in the labour market structure and high employment rates are important motives guiding new policy principles. In order to depict

the current scenario more closely the following section will look at changes in the labour markets first and will then turn to the discussion of new welfare models.

3.4.1. Working women in the age of flexibility

In her paper “Working women in the age of flexibility”, Ute Klammer (2000) investigates current trends toward flexibility and the impact changes in the labour market have upon women. She highlights that the overall trend towards flexibility has positive and negative effects on the situation of women in the labour force. For example, there is some evidence that strict employment protection legislation tends to protect the core labour force at the cost of outsiders such as young people and still often women. Furthermore, Klammer highlights that flexible forms of employment (part-time, fixed term contracts) sometimes ease re-entrance into the labour market, e.g. after a period of unemployment or childcare. Between 1991 and 1996 the percentage of European women in part-time jobs rose from an average of 27.5% to 31.5%. In 1996, the share of part-time occupation was even 40 % for women that returned to work after a period of unemployment. During the same period fixed-term contracts gained in importance and accounted for 12.5% of women’s employment in 1996. Overall, 55% of all people re-entering the labour market after periods of unemployment contracted for fixed-term conditions.

Yet, these developments remain ambiguous: Flexibility does not only open up occupational opportunities, but also leads to new risks. Part-time and precarious jobs most often imply low wages, involve the risk of discontinuous employment patterns, and expose workers to low security standards *if* these jobs entitle to social protection at all. As women predominate in part-time and precarious jobs, Klammer concludes that many of them tend to belong to the “losers” in these new developments. This assessment is supported by the fact that women’s working situation is often not a matter of choice: “Less than 10% of female part-timers in Spain and Portugal, and less than 20% in Belgium, Austria and Finland said they didn’t want full-time work. More than one third of female part-timers in Spain, France, Italy and Finland, on the contrary, said they couldn’t find full-time work. [...] An overwhelming majority in many countries (more than 75 % of all women with temporary contracts) said they couldn’t find a permanent job, which means their temporary contract is involuntary.” (Klammer 2000: 137-8) Klammer highlights that these figures show very clearly that women’s employment pat-

terns are not a mere case of cultural context and social policies but are also strongly related to labour market demands.

However, it is unlikely that the current trend toward flexibility will be reversed. For this reason Klammer points to new needs for social protection and discusses whether current policies are capable to catch up with the new situation. Klammer suggests that social security of flexibility (or "flexicurity") has to target the following tasks:

Task 1: Social Protection of people with minor jobs

People with small, low-paid and precarious jobs need access to social protection, i.e. must not be "liberated" from otherwise obligatory insurance systems. Klammer stresses that several countries still limit access to social security systems by making low working hours or incomes non-contributory. On the contrary, Sweden, France and Portugal "insist on the payment of social security contributions beginning with the first working hour". (Klammer 2000: 143) Moreover, some countries like the Netherlands and France subsidize insurance payments of low income groups or persons who have been out of employment. Klammer highlights the importance of this kind of social protection. Yet, it presupposes that "employment generates sufficient income or sufficient security claims" to maintain a living (Klammer 2000: 144).

Task 2: Minimum Protection

Minimum protection gains increasing importance in order to prevent poverty and social exclusion of people working in precarious low paid jobs that fail to be self-sufficient. So far, no European country provides a basic income that is not means-tested and all of them give priority to policies that enable people to earn an income of their own. However, concepts of basic protection exist and can be found most frequently in two fields of policy legislation: old-age and health security systems. With regard to the latter, Denmark, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Sweden and the UK provide health insurance for all citizens, which is usually tax financed and prevents exclusion from health services for people in precarious and/or interrupted working arrangements. As concerns pension schemes, generosity and derivation of entitlements vary considerably across Europe. In contrast to Germany, most European countries provide some kind of minimum pensions. However, they are not always sufficient to prevent old-age poverty.

Klammer recommends to extend universal minimum protection systems in order to guard people with non-standard work as well as those who change from dependent to self-employment. Other than income based security systems, basic protection systems are furthermore adjustable to different life biographies and allow to compensate for the affects of the gender division of care and work.

Task 3: Individualisation of claims

The individualisation of claims is a third crucial task, which is connected to the above mentioned recommendations. This topic has been also targeted by the European Commission as derived rights are increasingly seen to be problematic for various reasons. Among others, they contradict gender equality by manifesting dependencies of spouses on their partners. They also entail a discrimination of non-marital partnerships as they are usually tied to marriage status. Moreover, if the social security for a whole family relies on the occupational status of one person in sole breadwinner families, the social risks accompanying the flexibility of working conditions affect all family members simultaneously. Klammer points to the fact that none of the European countries does completely without derived rights; however, variations in the extent of individualisation is high. Whereas countries like Luxembourg, France, and Germany still make extensive use of derived rights, the Scandinavian countries have gone furthest in individualising entitlements.

Task 4: Activation Policy and Labour Market Transitions

Eventually, Klammer highlights the importance of combining activation policies with a securing of labour market transitions. She distinguishes between five kinds of transitions which need to be protected: Transition between part-time and full-time work; employment and household; employment and retirement; education and employment; and employment and unemployment. These transitions have started to become a general concern of welfare politics due to changes in the labour market structure. Rather obviously, however, most of these transitions also imply a gendered dimension as evidenced by the high amount of women in part-time work and the high proportion of women and mothers with discontinuous working patterns. Thus, core questions relate to the ways care is acknowledged by a society in the deeper sense that it entails entitlements to social security. Generally, possible ways to recognise care in social policies cover parental

leave options, acknowledgement of care periods in pension schemes, but also other benefits which are immediately directed at the carer. However, one has to be aware that the issue of recognising care is as important as it is ambiguous if policies entail disincentives for women's employment and thus promote the gender division of labour. Including the issue of care in the perspective on labour market change and new needs for social protection leads in a more general sense to the question of how to consider care at times when employability and active labour market policies are at the core of public action in Europe.

Klammer points to the rise of policy measures that address the transition between unemployment and employment. One key strategy of the Netherlands, for example, was to enlarge the number of employed persons by increasing the rate of part-time work. Other attempts to increase employability consist of efforts to generate (and subsidise) jobs for long-term unemployed persons and some of the measures also contain repressive elements to force employment. Against the background of high unemployment rates, activation policies are a core concern across most European countries; partly in reaction to the recommendations of the European Commission to shift from passive to active labour market policies (e.g. in the 1995 report on employment). Furthermore, the Amsterdam Treaty declares that the promotion of employment shall become a "matter of common concern" (Article 2 of the EC Treaty). However, as Klammer argues, concepts of employability "still have to be developed further in many fields to meet the new requirements of a flexible world of labour and private life" (Klammer 2000: 150). Whereas Klammer identifies a set of policies which entail starting points in order to meet the need of social protection, her observation of general policy trends rather leads to a sceptical perspective: "Many countries have raised eligibility requirements and especially the Bismarckian, insurance based systems have tried to reduce the amount of redistribution in their systems. This implies that social risks are less collectivised than before. The individual increasingly has to manage his or her own working abilities and career and to face new risks while at the same time collective coverage of these new risks is being reduced." (Klammer 2000: 150) Klammer points to the regulating idea behind the "standard full time job", that is the idea of "a sufficient income and a complete access to social protection". With regard to current trends of flexibility she concludes: "The task will be to transfer it to other forms of work and to adapt it to the new

requirements of discontinuous biographies and frequent transitions between one status and the other." (Klammer 2000: 151)

3.4.2. The adult worker model

Regarding current concepts of employability the question arises if and how care is considered in new work-related welfare models. Jane Lewis (2000) targets this question in her article "Work and Care".

Starting from the situation in Great Britain, Lewis describes the shift from welfare to workfare, which was initiated by Conservatives and has been "developed so strongly by Labour" (26). This shift is driven by the suggestion that work is the best form of welfare and thus results in claims on work for all adults who can work, i.e. for all "able-bodied adults with no obvious reason not to be in employment" (26). The further integration of women into the labour market is an explicit goal of the new model which even officially proceeds from the assumption that "[t]he welfare state based around the male breadwinner is increasingly out of date". (Tony Blair, quoted in Lewis 2000: 27) However, as Lewis points out, the care side of the work and care equation has not been thoroughly considered, a fact that runs counter to the optimistic prospect of women's economic independence underlying official statements. Lewis' point is not to say that government policies have completely neglected the issue of care. In contrast she highlights recent policy efforts to tackle problems related to combining working and mothering. Yet, provisions are not sufficient and there is no coherent care-related policy to match the policies on workfare. Given the continuing gendered division of care and work the underdevelopment of care-related policies leads to several problems. The first is related to the question whether the breadwinner model is really "out of date". Despite the increased numbers of women in the labour force, data on women's working and caring situation contrasts with the idea of an adult worker model. As women usually still perform the bulk of care and housework, most mothers with dependent children work part-time and often even short part-time hours. Women's wages are considerably lower than men's; 46 % of women earn wages that are not even high enough to be self-sufficient. This indicates that the drive toward an adult worker model has not yet occurred, but that transition is characterised instead by a shift from the traditional breadwinner model to its modernised form, the "one and a-half-earner household".

Lewis concludes: "The problems of moving towards a full adult worker model in respect of the gender dimension alone are fourfold. First, unpaid care work is unequally shared between men and women, which has substantial implications for women's position in the labour market. Second, given the lack of good quality affordable care in the formal sector, many women have little option but to continue to provide it informally [...] and to depend to some extent on a male wage. Bradshaw et al.'s (1996) cross-national comparative study of lone mothers' employment rates showed that access to affordable child care to be the key explanatory variable. Third, a significant number of female carers want to/feel that it is 'right' to prioritise care. Fourth, women's low pay, especially in care-related jobs, means that full individualisation is hard to achieve, on the basis of long part-time or even full-time work." (36-7)

As "care has to be done", be it childcare or care for the elderly, crucial questions are who shall care and how society will compensate them. According to Lewis, there is evidence that some women want to care and that welfare states have to ask themselves whether they can justify supporting directly or indirectly the fact that caring leads to a situation of dependence. In Great Britain, to care very often implies dependency on the male breadwinner which goes along with limited integration into security systems. Simultaneously, state-supported care is too underdeveloped to speak of a "free choice" provided to mothers who also want equal job opportunities. This situation contradicts the emphasis on an adult worker model and entails claims for a more thorough consideration of care.

Despite peculiarities in the British welfare system, the increasing attention to employability as a privileged form of welfare is a European trend (see above 3.4.1) Letablier and Jönsson (*forthcoming*) show, in examples from France and Sweden, how policy focusing on an adult worker model effects care related policies in these countries. In both cases matters of care are considered. However, Sweden and France are taking rather different directions in the ways they treat the issue of care in current policy concepts. In France, government's aim to increase the number of employed persons has led to new developments regarding childcare principles. Here, care work itself is increasingly seen to form a sector with expanding employment potential. As a result, private care services providing individual assistance are receiving increasing attention. Special programmes have been created to promote privatised help for families to care for their children and the elderly. Together with the re-establishment of allotments for the care of

young children this trend has encouraged parents to employ private childminders. As argued by Letablier and Jönsson, these developments have highly ambivalent effects: “[T]hese changes also alter the conception of childcare as a public issue. They represent the dissolution of a national consensus regarding an ideal of childhood, and of equal opportunity. In France, the crèche was the symbol of a certain form of equal opportunity for children, the necessary prelude to educational principles that prevailed beginning with the écoles maternelle.” In contrast, privatisation of care introduces the rules of the marketplace into the field of care. On the one hand this development has made visible work that had previously been hidden in the informal economy. On the other hand, it introduces stratification to a field previously characterised by the idea of equality. “Indeed, they [the changes – A.W.] contribute to a stratification of services based on economic and social level: home help, financial subsidies and tax advantages for the wealthier households, crèches for the middle classes and mothers with stable employment, and finally, local networks and intrafamily help for households with the lowest income.”

In contrast to France, Sweden has not changed “policy logics” in order to adapt to current transitions. The crèches were extended and policies met greater needs for flexible arrangements with a higher variety of provisions. In the process of decentralisation “[f]amily and personnel co-operatives, voluntary organisations and employers appeared as organisers of non-municipal childcare, which however still is publicly funded. In one sense, this leads to a ‘de-marketization’ of childcare as the need for privately arranged and privately funded child-care decreases.” Jane Lewis, as well, perceives the Scandinavian model as a welfare system that succeeded in combining an individualised adult worker model with an adequate recognition of care. A variety of provisions, all comparable in generosity, allow parents a real choice of options to combine care and work. In contrast to welfare systems that indirectly promote mothers’ exit from the labour market by giving privilege to cash benefits and leave options, the Swedish model simultaneously avoids subtracting women from the labour market. Yet, Lewis also points to the fact that the Swedish labour market is the most gender segregated in Europe.

3.5. Intergenerational Solidarity as a Matter of Practices and Policies

The topic of intergenerational solidarity is another topic which currently attracts much attention due to demographic developments and societal changes as experienced in all European countries.

Obviously, women play an important role within these changes. Deficits in child-care provision, labour market demands and remaining gender inequalities impede the balancing of care and work as well as equitable employment and career chances. As a result, in many countries especially higher educated women increasingly decide to renounce children or to delay birth. As a result, many observers predict a severe threat to old age security and the principles of intergenerational solidarity and justice. On the other hand, old age security systems tend to disadvantage women in many countries because of discontinuous working biographies. Thus, the issue of intergenerational exchange and solidarity becomes quite complex once various dimensions are considered from a gender perspective.

The network dedicated a whole seminar to the topic “Future Perspectives: Intergenerational Changes and Life Cycle Processes”. The seminar set out to closely examine manifold forms of public and private transfers. Concurrently, it also targeted presently discussed reform proposals for pension systems both as a matter of sustainability and as a question of intergenerational and gender justice. Moreover, attention was paid to intergenerational exchange as performed in daily practices.

One of the contributions that concentrated on intergenerational exchange as a matter of practices was presented by Claudine Attias-Donfut (2000). Her paper “Changing times and the renewal of gendered relations” summarises the main results of a trigenerational survey on intergenerational relationships in France, which puts special emphasis on the solidarity between generations of women. Unlike pessimistic assumptions of a decline in familial aid, Attias-Donfut observes an increase of support in kind. She also asserts a continuing gendered dimension of in-kind assistance, yet, highlighting a new form of solidarity resulting from gendered relations. Exemplified by grandparenting, she outlines that middle-aged mothers provide more assistance to their adult children and especially daughters than they formerly received from their own mothers. Attias-Donfut speaks of a “new contract between the generations of women” (25), which implies a conscious decision by middle-aged mothers to support the employment decisions of their adult daughters and, thereby, to contribute to an improvement of gender equality

in the labour force. Thus, Attias-Donfut concludes that the closeness between generations of women is linked to an equality between the genders.

Claudine Attias-Donfut also emphasises the importance of distinguishing between different definitions of “generation” in order to avoid confusion with regard to multiple meanings of this term. Her survey comprises the notions of “familial generations” referring to the lineage between grandparent, parent and child; “welfare generations”, which concern the sequences of education, work and retirement; and “historical social generations” derived from the theory of Karl Mannheim. Mannheim relates the formation of a generation to shared experiences of social change which contribute to a collective consciousness. Claudine Attias-Donfut criticises, however, that Mannheim reduces his concept to marking events as, in his view, the emergence of a social generation can only be expected in times of severe transformation. In contrast, Claudine Attias-Donfut highlights the “continuous imprint of time” (18), which allows us to speak of a historical social generation independently from far-reaching changes. To her, it is the “participation in peer groups at different ages [...] and the experience of the same collective time, its fashions, films, music, its small events, which create common reference and shared memories” (19). It was then also of special interest to the trigenerational survey to encompass how and due to which indicators values and behaviours towards gender equality are passed on and changed from generation to generation.

Gerhard Bäcker (2000) shifted to intergenerational justice as a principle of welfare systems. His paper “Solidarity of Generations and Solidarity of Gender” departs from current discussions in Germany, which assume a violation of intergenerational justice due to an unequal distribution of financial burdens between welfare generations in an ageing society. The FRG government has responded to these fears with plans for a pension reform which aims at a part-privatisation of the old age security system. Gerhard Bäcker's paper problematizes both the pessimistic assumptions regarding intergenerational solidarity and the political conclusions derived from them. As concerns the first aspect, Bäcker pleads for a closer understanding of the manifold public and private transfers in property, money and in kind as well as the time dimensions of intergenerational exchange. He asserts a vivid and reciprocal exchange within families also for the case of Germany. Furthermore, he points to an overall positive income situation of pensioners which is mainly due to the statutory pension system.

However, problems of justice occur with regard to the intergenerational continuation of intra-generational stratification, which, for example, still leads to old age poverty as it is disproportionately experienced by women. Thus, Bäcker stresses the necessity of connecting the question of solidarity between generations to the question of solidarity of gender. Income based security systems as prevalent in Germany are known for their long-term gendered effects and Bäcker asks which solutions can be thought of also in view of current challenges and reform proposals. With regard to the German reform process, Bäcker questions often-asserted advantages of capital-based security systems from an economic perspective. Further, he highlights the problems of a part-privatisation of old age security systems by pointing to the declining potential to correct social inequalities and to compensate for phases out of employment. Bäcker favours public systems as they remain at least attached to democratic decisions. With regard to demographic development and the prolongation of education, Bäcker proposes an extension of working life (as soon as the general employment situation has improved), which, simultaneously, shall be linked to a redistribution of working times: Temporary leaves or reductions of working hours during child-raising phases could, for example, be complemented by a subsequent prolonging of working life. The proposal is also directed towards a new structuring of working time for men and women in order to improve gender solidarity. Whereas the success of the proposal remains dependent on the acceptance of men and women, the welfare state would have to establish improved outline regulations.

Demographic challenges of pension schemes were also at the fore in the contribution by Kari Skrede (2000). Skrede stresses the necessity of reforms, which are also considered an occasion to identify options as well as opportunities. Her approach strives for intergenerational solidarity as a means to achieve sustainable and legitimate systems on the basis of redistributive principles, which have to conceive both, intergenerational and intra-generational relations. In this regard she focuses especially on gender differences in work and income and on the distribution of private and public costs of social reproduction.

In order to understand the effects of social policies and their relation to demographic characteristics of age cohorts, Skrede presents a statistical analysis with special emphasis on the Norwegian situation. With regard to gender, she highlights the distributive effects of a citizenship-orientated welfare system, which guarantees basic entitlements

independently of occupational background. Further, she refers to positive effects of political incentives toward a fairer division of care work and to the combination of family and professional life, which alleviate the income gap between genders of different age groups. By and large, Skrede also asserts an increasing financial well-being of the elderly, not only in Norway, but to different extents in all OECD countries. However, as present pension schemes are in need of reform Skrede proposes an extension of intra-generational savings (while guaranteeing independent basic entitlements). In line with Bäcker, Skrede point to the necessary to reduce widespread early retirement. Skrede also pleads for substantial support of families with children as statistical data indicate a correlation between care related policies and birth rates. Simultaneously, policies should motivate “more equal distributions of lifetime earnings between the genders” (p. 75) and adopt changed patterns of marriage, cohabitation and divorce in order to achieve an additional security for lower-paid partners.

To summarize: The focus on an intergenerational perspectives stressed the problematic long-term effects of gendered labour markets and the division of care and paid work especially when combined with merely income based security systems. Yet, not only gender relations but also demographic changes urge reforms of pension schemes. Against pessimistic assumptions of a declining solidarity between the generations in ageing and individualising societies, the seminar accentuated lively exchanges. The seminar mostly consented that the deep dependency between generations, which has been highlighted in all contributions, also underlines the continuing need of a strong notion of solidarity as concerns pension reform. It is suggested that old age security systems have to entail redistributive schemes both with regard intra-generational and intergenerational aspects. Despite different economic estimations of the advantages of intra-cohort saving models, similarities of the reform proposals of contributors especially concerned the extension of life working times and their fairer redistribution between generations and genders.

The approach to include social practices into policy research proved intriguing as it demonstrated the manifold public and private dimensions of intergenerational exchange and also pointed to new forms of a solidarity between generations of women. As has been highlighted also by network members, intergenerational assistance is one of the

crucial care resources which form the basis for everyday strategies of working mothers in order to combine employment and care.

3.6. Everyday Practices and Strategies of Working Mothers

A whole series of seminar contributions and broad discussions provided a conceptual framework for interpreting the various responses and strategies of working mothers confronting the necessity to balance their double burden in everyday life. A first step in this direction was taken by debate on the notion of 'strategy'. In her seminar paper, based on research on Spanish women, Constanza Tobío (1999) drew a useful distinction between 'habitus', taken to mean the reproduction of old roles, and 'strategy', which in her definition involved the construction of new practices. The Spanish case is particularly interesting for sociological analysis since the current generation of mothers with small children is the first in which a majority of its members is in paid work, thus facing new problems that their mothers did not have. The concept especially indicates that these new practices have to do with agency in a context of social change. Tobío explicitly distinguishes between family strategies that have often been used in family history and family sociology, and women's individual strategies that sometimes conflict with family strategies. However, if we look at these strategies as patterns of behaviour at such a large frequency, these practices might also be identified as collective behaviour, as Rossana Trifiletti (1999) pointed out. Tobío proposed a fourfold typology for elaborating the concept of strategy to explain how Spanish mothers combine paid work and motherhood: Main strategies, for example calling on another woman to help; complementary strategies, e.g. restructuring the everyday timetable; undesirable strategies, e.g. leaving the child alone; indirect strategies, e.g. delaying or not having children.

Maria S. Rerrich's (1999) empirical study of how working mothers in Germany 'conduct everyday life' also revealed patterns of behaviour as an increasingly complex construction, resembling a puzzle with many different parts consisting of support and resources, which have to be put together on various levels to organize time, allocate practical resources and form a social organisation of relationships and contacts.

Inquiry into the ways working mothers combine care and paid work on an everyday level was also object of the country based case studies carried out by network members. By the end of the thematic network's running time, the case studies were sufficiently developed to permit a subsequent comparison at least on a limited scale. Comparative

exploitation of the empirical findings has proceeded on the basis of joint authorship arrangements in the context of the ongoing book project of the research group. The following sections will turn to the main results of the related book chapters.

3.6.1. Kinship and Informal Support

Kinship and informal support are childcare resources that are usually underrated. Arnalaug Leira, Constanza Tobío and Rossana Trifiletti (*forthcoming*) point to the importance of this kind of aid especially for the first generation of mothers entering labour market massively. Whereas the relevance of family and informal networks is often conceived as a distinguishing mark of Southern European countries, the authors suggest that the importance of this recourse is rather linked to social change than to cultural specifics of certain countries. The everyday relevance of informal networks would then be a characteristic of a period of transformation, which leads to a shift from a breadwinner to a dual earner model. This shift has taken place at different times in different countries. In order to capture strategies of the first generation of working mothers in a comparative perspective, the authors analyse empirical material which, consequently, has been collected at different times in Norway, Italy and Spain. Thus, the focus is on countries, which experienced women's labour market entrance not only at different times, but under very different social and political circumstances.

In Norway, women entered mass employment during the 1970s at a time of social and economic change. The feminist movement succeeded in putting women's and mothers' interests on the political agenda and, favourably, coincided with an increased demand for labour residing in an expansion of both the economy and the welfare state. As in many other countries, the welfare state became an important employer for women. In Spain, on the contrary, women started to enter employment massively during the 1980s and 90s, a period characterised by a difficult economic situation, but also by political change. On the one hand, economic recession led to severe retrenchment and dismissals in the industrial sector. On the other hand, between 1982 and 1996 social democrats had majority in government and established basic elements of a welfare state. Again, the extension of welfare services facilitated women's employment. Though female employment rates are low compared to European average, it has increased rapidly in the last two decades and even has more than doubled for women between 30 and 40 years

during this period. However, unemployment rates remain high - also and especially amongst women.

In Italy, women started to enter labour market in the late 1970s. Other than in Spain and in Norway, one cannot clearly identify a marked take-off period in Italy regarding women's entrance into the labour market. Female employment has increased much more slowly than in other countries and is still the lowest in Europe. At the same time, a big sector of informal jobs tends to hide the actual activity rate of women in employment.

In all countries compared women's mass employment is associated with an enormous increase of working mothers living in marriage or partnership.⁵ These women were/are confronted with a lack or even absence of publicly funded childcare services as their labour market entrance preceded care related policies in either country. Thus, they had to develop coping strategies in order to combine working and mothering. Leira, Tobío and Trifiletti highlight that kinship and informal support were/are core resources for the first generation of working mothers. While Spain faces the first generation of working mothers at the moment, kinship and informal assistance *continue* to play an important role in Norway and, more extensively, in Italy with regard to children under three. In Norway, informal support is mainly provided by private childminders, nannies or domestic help. Though informal support is and always has been paid, care providers "were recruited via informal network of kin, friends or neighbours and thus based on confidence and close relationship between the mothers and carers. The normative content of their activity was based on the mother as a model, a substitute of the real mother during her absence that blurred the underlying market relationship." (Leira, Tobío, Trifiletti *forthcoming*) Other coping strategies of the first generation of working mothers consisted of part-time occupation and to work shifts. For Norway, there is hardly any information on the assistance maintained by kin, but the authors assume that grandmothers were probably important in some child-care arrangements though is a much lesser degree than in Spain and Italy. In the latter two countries, kinship support is a crucial source of aid for working mothers. It is mainly provided by grandmothers and to a lesser yet considerable degree by grandfathers. However, there also differences in the ways working mothers utilise kinship support in Italy and in Spain: "In the former the proportion of grandparents providing daily care for their grandchildren is higher but less intense. This is explained because grandparents complement nursery schools (that most

children attend), filling in the gaps between the children's schedules and the work-hours of parents. In Spain in one in three cases (when the mother works) grandparents take care of small children during their absence, a commonly used resource in periods of transition or crisis that has been reported in other countries like Germany (ex-RDA) [...] or Russia [...]. In addition, Spanish grandparents fill in the gaps when the children do go to a crèche or they are old enough to go to school." (ibidem)

Still, similarities between Italy and Spain are pronounced and contain a paradox notion. For both countries, traditional family ties are often seen to hinder greater gender equity. This assumption gets a re-interpretation as Leira, Tobío and Trifiletti can show that strong family networks actually facilitate women's occupational chances. Moreover and in line with Donfut's findings for France, the authors point to a solidarity between generations of women as a motor of social change. Though informal networks functioned differently in Norway, here again, it were women and usually mothers who facilitated other mother's employment on the basis of social networks and neighbourhood arrangements. The fact that informal childcare was usually paid in Norway led to a 'confusing' situation: "Individually, these agreements may appear insignificant, almost trivial. However, when added up private child minding (including support from kin and social networks) represented informal labour markets in childcare, in which the informal labour of some women supported the formal employment of mothers of young children." (ibidem)

Whereas the Norwegian welfare state provides fairly generous childcare provisions today,⁶ state support remains considerably lower in Spain and in Italy. However, in Spain 100% of the children above the age of three got to school and 87% of the three year olds attend a crèche or a pre-school. Here, as well as in Italy and still in Norway main problems are related to a lack of care services for the very young. Moreover, school hours are not adjusted to the working hours of parents, who usually work full-time in both Italy and Spain (if they work) as part-time occupation is not very common in these countries. Furthermore, parental leave regulations are very weak in Spain and in Italy as they do not define an universal coverage in Italy, expel parents working on the basis of fixed-term contracts in Spain and lack statutory entitlements to payments in either country. In Spain as well as in Italy childcare in many regards still relies on "fa-

⁵ Lone mothers have started to enter labour market earlier.

⁶ see section 3.2.1 et passim for details.

milialism", i.e. on family networks as policy substitute. However, models of familialism rely on family members who have time to care on behalf of the parents. Thus, their sustainability can be questioned as future generations of working mothers are not likely to be supported in similar ways by a generation of grandmothers, which will then be in the labour market itself.

3.6.2. Care Packaging

In order to connect the macro-level of social policies with the micro-level of everyday practices and attitudes of working mothers Trudie Knijn, Ingrid Jönsson and Ute Klammer, in their comparative analysis of The Netherlands, Sweden and Germany, introduced the concept of 'care packaging'. This concept indicates that "working mothers will have to make a personal mixture of available resources provided by the institutional pillars of the 'welfare mix'; the state, voluntary organisations, the market and the family." (Knijn, Jönsson, Klammer *forthcoming*) Moreover, the concept of 'care packaging' implies a strong notion of agency as it points to the high amount of management involved in combining different resources of childcare. Employed mothers have to develop and combine a range of strategies on the basis of alternative sources of assistance, only then the continuity of their jobs is guaranteed. The authors highlight that "not all parts of the care package are available as rights. Some parts have to be 'claimed for' on the basis of moral rules, reciprocity or solidarity" (*ibid.*), others depend on social conventions, the mother's own ideas about good care and eventually statutory and customary entitlements.

In comparing the most common patterns and conventions of care and care packaging, Knijn, Jönsson and Klammer discern interesting differences in the ways working mothers package care resources across the three countries compared. They also discover striking differences between East and West Germany, which bring East German patterns more in line with the Swedish, whereas West Germans have to cope with difficulties similar to those of Dutch mothers. What care package women choose, from the moment they have a baby, partly depends on the national care system and its provisions and partly on conventions and personal preferences concerning childcare. The package varies also with regard to different age groups of the children.

The comparative analysis focuses on the use of parental leave schemes and career interruptions, on reductions and adjustment of working time, on the use of public and

private childcare and after school care as well as on unpaid childcare by fathers, relatives or friends.

Taking a break

To take a break from employment is a very popular strategy of women across the countries compared. However, patterns of temporary leaves vary considerably. The authors report: "About half of the Dutch mothers stay at home till their children reach school age, in particular lower educated mothers. A majority of West German mothers take a three year break (in line with the parental leave scheme). The majority of Swedish and East German mothers return to work within one to two years after childbirth" (ibid.). The national parental leave regulations offer some explanation for the different patterns of work interruptions, but cannot account for all variations.

Swedish parental leave schemes provide a wage compensation of 80 % (90% for civil servants) for one year plus a flat rate for three further months of which one month is reserved for the other parent. Parents can take up the leave until the child is eight years old and have the choice between part-time and full-time leaves. Thus, it is not surprising that most Swedish mothers make use of this regulation, but also return to work after a relatively short period, on average after eleven months. Dutch parents, in contrast, usually do not receive any wage replacements except if they work as civil servants or in specific branches that have set up collective agreements. Still, 75% of the lower educated mothers and 30% of the higher educated mothers interrupt employment in the Netherlands. In Germany parental leave covers a maximum of three years. In most cases the flat rate of EURO 307 is only paid for six months as it is means-tested afterwards.⁷ As in the Dutch case, West German women make extensive use of the parental leave despite low allowances that are usually only paid for a relative short period of the break. East German women often take shorter breaks. In recent years a third of them returned to work after one year. Besides economic reasons, the different behaviour of East German women still seems to be owing to habits shaped by the former GDR-regulation, which entitled to one "baby-year" only.

In all countries, fathers interrupt work to a much lower extent. Yet, cross-country variation is marked: Whereas the take-up rate of fathers is 36% (1999) in Sweden, it

⁷ A new regulation rewards parents who leave labour market for a maximum of one year with higher payments (up to ~ EURO 450)

only amounts to 11 % (1996-1998) in the Netherlands. In Germany, less than 2 % of all parents taking the leave were fathers. Furthermore, in all of the three countries fathers only leave the labour market for a short period.

Working mothers of either country stated in interviews that economic reasons account for the decision that they take up parental leave while their partner continues working. In most cases men earn higher wages and in order to avoid negative effects on the family income these women accepted a gender division of care and work. However, many women also said that they wanted to stay at home in order to care for their children as long as they are young. On the other hand, some of the Dutch mothers did not interrupt work either because they were not entitled to wage replacement or because they wanted to work part-time anyway.

Part-time work and adjustment of working hours

Another main pattern of reconciling work and care is part-time occupation and the attempt to adjust working hours. Many women decide to reduce working hours when they return to work after parental leave. However, part-time means quite different things in the three countries under consideration (and even within countries as in the case of Germany). In Sweden and East Germany part-time hours are fairly long.

In East Germany, 65 % of all working mothers with a child below the age of ten worked full-time in 1999, 23 % between 21 and 36 hours and only 12 % less than 20 hours a week. In contrast, 53% of West German working mothers worked below 20 hours a week and only 17 % worked between 21 and 36 hours. These figures, again, draw East Germany closer to Sweden and West Germany to the Netherlands. In the Netherlands "almost no employed mother works more than 32 hours a week" (10) Here, part-time work is very frequent among higher educated mothers, however, it is also an important reconciliation strategy of low educated mothers who decide against withdrawing from the labour market: Many of them say that they would opt out if they were not able to reduce working hours. As a matter of fact, in the Netherlands a third of the lower educated mothers withdraw from employment compared to 10 % of the higher educated mothers.

As regards women in full-time employment, some of the Dutch and West German mothers say that they would prefer shorter working hours. East German women, too, start to think about lowering working hours, however, most of them do not actually plan

to reduce their attachment to work and claim on longer part-time work suggesting that 30 hours a week would be a good compromise to combine employment and care.

For mothers working full-time the possibility to adjust working hours is of high importance across the countries compared. Again, higher educated mothers, many of whom are working in the public sector, often have better options than lower educated mothers.

Public and private childcare and after school care

Public childcare provisions differ extremely between the investigated countries. In Sweden and Germany most pre-school children attend publicly subsidised kindergarten. Other than in Sweden, however, full-time care is hardly available in Germany and kindergarten only supplies care for children aged between three and school-age. In the Netherlands only 17% of pre-schoolers are in kindergarten and almost none of them attend it full-time. There are no legal entitlements to publicly funded childcare in the Netherlands, whereas Swedish municipalities are obliged to provide services for all one to twelve year old children of employed or studying mothers. In Germany, entitlements are limited to children above three and only cover half-day care.

As regards attitudes, Knijn, Jönsson and Klammer point to very different perceptions of what mothers assume to be the best form of childcare. "In contrast to the majority of Dutch and West German mothers, both Swedish and East German mothers regard public childcare as a 'must' for the social benefit of their children. [...] When childcare centres are known for their good professional care, as is the case in Sweden, this is an important reason for taking children to public childcare." (ibid.) In the Netherlands, on the contrary, many mothers distrust public childcare and perceive home care provided by the mothers as the best for the child. This attitude is especially wide-spread among lower educated mothers.

Besides the quality of care, the costs of childcare matter to occupational decisions of working mothers. Women with lower incomes stated for the case of Germany that the combination of maximum taxation for the second income and the costs of childcare makes it highly unattractive to work at all or to extend working hours. Similarly, Dutch mothers who did utilise collective childcare mainly complained about costs and long waiting lists. In all countries under comparison, state supported childcare is paramount compared to other forms of paid childcare. Even though day-care mothers are part of the

public childcare system in Sweden and in the Netherlands, they only account for a minimal share of the total childcare provisions in either country.

Matters of childcare are not limited to young children, but continue to be of importance for school children. The lack of after school care is a problem both in Germany and in the Netherlands. Children return from school between noon and 1 p.m. in the former case and at the latest at 2 p.m. in the Netherlands. Among the countries compared, Sweden is the only one to provide care services before and after schooldays: "Out-of-school care, also open during vacation time, is offered at leisure time centres, by day-care mothers or by clubs organising leisure time activities. The services are often organised in school buildings and there are nor sharp borders between pre-school arrangements, regular school hours and leisure time centre. By consequence parents are relieved of arranging the transport of the children from on activity to another." (ibid.)

Unpaid childcare by fathers, relatives and others

Fathers have increased their share in care work across all of the countries under consideration. Yet, women still take over the main burden and fathers tend to come in as an additional source of help. Whereas most women have adjusted their working times to the needs of their children, only 5-10 % of the fathers work part-time in the three countries. In either case, Knijn, Jönsson and Klammer have "found mothers who are satisfied as well as mothers who are dissatisfied with their partner's help in caring and house-work, irrespective of the mother's workload and the amount of help she got from resources." (ibid.) Whereas some women justify their partner's lack of help by pointing to his occupational duties or his lack of care and household abilities, other women clearly express the wish for a more even distribution of care and household related work. Regarding ideals of partnership arrangements, differences between groups of women are marked: "In Sweden, better educated parents of children younger than 7 years see both parents working part-time and sharing the care-work as the ideal. In contrast a third of the lower educated parents with children younger than 7, prefers a family with a working father and a homemaking mother. Few parents, irrespective of educational background, see two full-time working parents as the ideal family type [...]. In the Netherlands, the dominant trend among parents of young children is the one-and-a-half earner family, with mothers doing the part-time job and most of the care-work. The exceptional family types are both parents working part-time, both parents working full-time

and the one earner family. Of these 'deviant' family types the mothers who work part-time themselves and who share care with their also part-time working partners have the fewest wishes for changing their life patterns. Full-time working mothers with full-time working partners as well as housewives have the most wishes for change. The full-time working mothers wish that they themselves as well as their partners would have more time for care, while about half of the housewives intend to find a large part-time job." (ibid.)

Beyond help of father, Knijn, Klammer and Jönsson confirm for the cases of Sweden, the Netherlands and Germany that kinship support "is negatively related to the availability of public childcare": Kinship support hardly exists in Sweden and in East Germany, but it is of high importance in West Germany and especially in the Netherlands, where grandparents "the fill the gaps or care in cases of emergency".

Knijn, Jönsson and Klammer conclude that "[c]hildcare is above all a mixed economy of welfare. In none of the investigated countries, and probably in no other country, is it provided by one institutional domain alone. All four domains in the welfare regime - the state, the market, voluntary organisations and the family – are involved, but to a different extent in different countries." (ibid.) In all of the countries under consideration the family and in particular mothers play the key role in maintaining childcare. The author highlight that the relevance of the particular coping strategies are most often tied to the availability, affordability and quality of publicly funded childcare. However, strategies of mothers are also linked to economic consideration and to attitudes towards what mothers perceive to be the best for the child. As a result, the authors discern interesting differences between both countries and groups of women.

4. Conclusion and Policy Implications

The thematic network "Working and Mothering. Social Practices and Social Policies" has focused on the relationship between social practices and social policies from different angles and by means of different approaches in order to grasp a variety of dimensions crucial to the issue of care and employment. The combination of statistical and qualitative methodologies and the inclusion of comprehensive approaches that captured context and concepts of social policies proved to be of high value. It allowed to tackle the so far under-researched question of how social policies influence social practices of working mothers from a comparative perspective. The following dimensions of research were at the centre of attention: 1) on the side of social practices, the labour market situation of women and strategies of working mothers to combine employment and care; 2) on the side of social policies, the form and generosity of social policy provision as well as the logic underlying caring regimes and welfare transitions; 3) socio-cultural factors as mediating instance. The overall aim of the network was to open up for new prospects of comparative welfare state research and to gain further knowledge of the intended and unintended effects of social policies by bringing together different levels of observation.

Variations and Convergence: Social Policies in Europe and the Challenge of European Standardisation

Against the background of European standardisation, a first set of research questions targeted the relationship between labour market participation and social policies in different European countries. Statistical approaches have supported the assumption that the generosity of social policy provisions is in many cases a strong explanatory factor accounting for cross-country variation in female employment patterns. As Mary Daly (1999) has shown, despite converging trends cross-country variation regarding female participation rates is still high, ranging from 73% in Sweden to 47.4% in Spain (in 1996). Whereas all industrialised countries provide policies that include to varying extents parental leave, public child care and public education, their progress in adopting policies that support women's employment opportunities varies considerably. Against this background several contributors to the network's seminars asked how specific policies as well as their packaging relate to female labour market participation (see Daly 1999; Mayers, Gornick, Ross 1999; Dingeldey 2000; Plantenga 2000). Whereas child-

care provisions most obviously support the combination of care and work, the relationship is not so clear regarding policies like parental leave and taxation systems. Plantenga (2000) and Dingeldey (2000) highlighted in their contributions on parental leave and on fiscal systems that the shaping effects of these policies are very much related to their integration in the entire package of policies.

These findings are of high importance for policy formulation as they reveal that the effects of single measures are deeply related to the set of policies which frames them. With child care facilities as a core provision for working mothers, it is the direction and combination of a range of policy measures that matters. If welfare legislation is to create more equitable employment chances for women and especially for mothers, it will be important to consider the interdependency of policies – both on a national level and with regard to efforts toward European standardisation.

In order to provide a more comprehensive explanation of policy variation across Europe the research group also adopted approaches that turned to concepts and path dependencies of social policies. Research was geared towards the historical development of the welfare states and the principles and motives underlying policy initiatives. In particular, this approach also made it possible to take into account the varying concepts of motherhood, childhood or citizenship that underlie socio-political measures. Crucial questions behind respective contributions of Letablier and Rieucau (2000) and Letablier and Jönsson (*forthcoming*) were the following: "What reasons have led certain states to establish child care? What principles legitimise state intervention into a sphere some consider a private affair?" Finally, how do states justify alteration of policies affecting the private domain? (Letablier, Rieucau 2000: 214)

The authors speak of "policy logics" when pointing to the political and cultural traditions and legitimising principles underlying care-related policies. As a result of their comparative perspective on Sweden, France, Germany, the UK and Spain, Letablier and Jönsson (*forthcoming*) suggest that these countries represent different kinds of "child-care regimes" relating to five categories of "policy logics". In Sweden, for example, a particular understanding of citizenship, gender equality and the rights of children led the state to establish childcare. As an effect, the Swedish welfare system is very supportive towards working mothers. In line with a strong notion of gender equality the Swedish welfare state increasingly promotes a more equitable division of care work. In contrast, to give a second example, family care and kinship solidarity are core principles in

Spain. Proceeding from a concept of family that entails a strong notion of mutual obligation the welfare state hardly intervenes in childcare. The approach of Letablier and Jönsson highlights that one and the same policy may take different directions according to the underlying logics.

Yet, regarding care-related policies in Europe, a tendency of convergence can be observed concerning the trajectories of legislation. Despite remaining differences, a number of similarities can be identified such as the increasing attention that is being paid to the necessity to balance care and work and to the shift from primarily family-orientated policies towards a greater recognition of individual needs and claims of children, mothers and fathers alike. Nevertheless, once they are to be implemented as policies, similar trajectories coincide with different historical and cultural backgrounds and different legitimising principles, which thus may lead to diverse forms of adoption.

The European Parental Leave Directive serves as an illustration of such a process. The Directive was meant to ensure a possible reconciliation of care and work and to contribute to a convergence of different welfare state policies. However, whereas the content of the Directive lagged far behind the existing provision of some member states, other countries adopted only the minimum requirements. As a result, cross-country variation is huge regarding the provision of parental leave regulations. Whereas the European Directive on parental leave was meant to encourage mother's employment, Janneke Plantenga (2000) stresses that parental leave policies apparently do not have a statistical relevant impact on female employment - as far as available data allows assessments. Against this background, Plantenga points to the fact that the parental leave regulation "may be implemented for a number of reasons including for example, the maintenance of family life, the situation of the labour market, a declining birth rate or the interest of the child". (Plantenga 2000: 201) Thus, it does not necessarily promote mother's employment. A strong example for this argument is the case of parental leave regulation in Germany. According to the "logic of socialisation of children in the family and the gender division of labour" (Letablier, Jönsson *forthcoming*), parental leave in Germany still tends to be family-orientated rather than promote the employment of mothers. Together with a far reaching absence of state supported childcare for children under three, generous leave schemes produce counter effects as they tend to subtract women from employment. Thus, what apparently makes a difference is a set of factors: the context of policy implementation in the sense of policy logic and/or occasion, the

exact 'content' of parental leave policies, and the way in which the regulations are combined with other policy provisions. Whereas the European Directive indeed did lead to initial legislation of parental leave regulations in a series of countries, which eventually provide at least some minimum protection for parents as workers and carers, the above mentioned findings also point to the limits of European standardisation. Simultaneously, they also call for closer attention to the interdependence of policies. As for this interrelation of policies, those countries which guarantee generous provisions with regard to both leave options and care facilities prove most supportive to employment opportunities for mothers. In contrast, a combination of poor or moderate public support for childcare with more generous entitlements for parental leave tends to contribute to a perpetuation of the 'male breadwinner model' or its modernised version, the 'one and a half earner household'.

The issue of cross-country variation gains further complexity when differences between women are taken into account as well. Because of a shortage of comparable data on social class, Tess Kay, in her research on women's diversity, focused on the relationship between educational attainment and women's employment opportunities. As a result, she emphasises the impact of differences among women: in all of the European countries considered in this study, highly educated women are twice as likely to be employed as women with lower education. Moreover, cross-country variation is lowered when exclusively women with a higher education are considered, and it increases with decreasing educational attainment. In some cases the variations between women are even stronger than those between women and men. While the relationship between education and income is clearly imprecise, this result nevertheless should have implications for social policy legislation since mothers with a lower income can be expected to rely more heavily on public childcare.

Policies, Practices and Cultural Norms: Concepts of Motherhood, Fatherhood and Gender Equality

A series of contributions on concepts of motherhood, fatherhood and gender equality undertook another approach to target the relationship between social policies and social practices. The interest of the network in cultural norms and attitudes is owing to the assumption that they involve guiding principles for both policies and practices and can be conceived as an intermediating instance. Overall, the contributions were guided by a triangle of questions: How are certain socio-cultural concepts perceived, maintained or altered by social policies? Do social policies shape social practices? How are we to understand the interrelation between cultural norms and social practices or attitudes?

Ute Gerhard (1999) approached these questions by focussing on cultural concepts of motherhood in East and West Germany, illustrating the importance of cultural values for both policies and practices. The case of Germany is especially intriguing, because two opposing political regimes as well as their policies conceived motherhood in very different ways. Gerhard points out, that the relationship between cultural values, policies and practices is highly complex, and it is difficult to identify and determine the direction of influences. Like Arnlaug Leira (1999) for the example of Norway, Gerhard concludes with regard to the former GDR that women's entry into the labour market and changes in approaching motherhood preceded supportive legislation. Both authors agree that, although women did not wait for supportive policies in order to enter the labour market, the welfare state was still important for facilitating the employment of later generations of mothers. Moreover, Gerhard comes to the result that social policies did have a shaping effect on attitudes and practices after all at least in Germany. For example, studies emphasise that women in East Germany do not agree that a job or profession detracts from their role as mothers, whereas 70% of West Germans took it for granted that pre-school children suffered if their mothers were employed.

But welfare states are also important as agents in conceptualising the relationship between care, work and citizenship. Whereas welfare states have begun to consider mothers as citizen-workers and thus have adopted a changed notion of motherhood, the care side of the triangle is, however, still not considered equally important – even in Norway. As Leira (1999) concludes, the ways in which welfare states consider those needs related to motherhood are still oriented towards male activity patterns; thus, the

work side of the triangle is promoted but now is simply meant to include women and mothers.

In a way, this conclusion corresponds with Le Clercq's (1999) point that policy incentives for fathers to engage in care and household related work are very limited: Whereas only very few countries have started to create focused policies to address fathers as carers, existing socio-political measures hardly entail any incentives to care at all *if* regarded from the perspective of paid work. It must be said, however, that countries differ from each other considerably concerning the way they treat care. Today, Norway's welfare politics consider care in a much more supportive way than is the case especially for Germany, the UK, and for the Netherlands: countries which formed the background for the work on fatherhood. But what remains similar across countries is higher social esteem and welfare recognition of paid work. A question related to the investigation into fatherhood is, therefore, how this hierarchy of work corresponds to concepts of fatherhood and 'fatherhood change'. Le Clercq points out that gender identity still plays an important role in fathers' perceptions of care and paid work and that the hierarchical framework of the gender division of care and employment is an obstacle for many men to engage in care work and to adjust working hours. However, changes in fatherhood concepts are also apparent. They are related to higher esteem for gender equality, but also to changes in concepts of motherhood, especially with respect to the breadwinner status of women.

Yet, even if men and women say that they regard notions of gender equality as leading principles, these notions are not always straightforward. Ulla Björnberg (2000) has analysed marital discourses on equality, the ways in which couples speak about organising domestic work and their household economy. Her research is based on qualitative interviews with couples in Sweden, mostly double earners. Like le Clercq, Björnberg also stresses that a joint economy is not always associated with equality. But even if couples put emphasis on values of gender equality, this nevertheless often does not alter behaviour. Many couples avoid to recognise their unequal positions in the family even if they generally assert a high esteem for gender equality. Norms of reciprocity tend to be "hidden by notions of love, altruism and moral gift economy" (Björnberg 2000: 195). As a result, a gendered division of care is maintained.

From a social policy perspective the findings on the relevance of cultural values are illuminating; they verify that particular notions of family tend to undermine equal gen-

der arrangements in practice. Björnberg concludes: "The lack of gender equality within families is one of the core problems behind the slowness in the improvements of the positions of women on the labour market. The fact that women still take the main responsibility for domestic work and still take the most part of parental leave contribute that they are regarded as less reliable and less devoted to their jobs at the workplaces." (Björnberg 2000: 194)

The above summarized findings underline both the 'shaping effects' and the 'limits' of social policies. For the case of Germany it has been shown that in the long run social policies apparently did have an impact on the ways in which mothers of young children either take wage work for granted or perceive it as a moral problem with regard to the child's well-being. Yet, labour market behaviour and policies have hardly changed the gendered division of care in East Germany. Björnberg has plausibly argued that this gendered division of care is a strong obstacle to establishing equitable occupational opportunities for men and women. In the light of these findings, the question of their implication for social policies is paramount. While it certainly is not the task of policies to intrude into people's lives, they can and do nevertheless provide incentives. Whereas so far most incentives have been directed more or less explicitly at mothers and/or children, it is increasingly important to include fathers as well into the perspective of policy making. The introduction of incentives for fathers into parental leave regulations has not altered the gender division of care-related work in Sweden and Norway, but it is a first step. While periods of paternal leave are usually quite short, the acceptance rate of fathers in these countries is at least much higher than in any other country. However, for the time being social policies will also remain a necessary compensating feature to cancel out some of the affects of gender inequality. Furthermore, they are a prerequisite for more equitable conditions of wage labour and care-related work as parents rely on a framework that enables them to combine employment and care: above all on the basis of available, good quality childcare.

Everyday strategies of working mothers: How far do social policies matter anyway?

In order to gain knowledge of how social policies actually effect social practices the network has inquired into the ways working mothers combine care and paid work on an everyday level. Examination of daily practices mainly proceeded on the basis of qualita-

tive case studies and was especially interested in the coping strategies that women develop on the basis of different private and public resources.

In their paper on "care packaging", Knijn, Jönsson and Klammer point out that "childcare is above all a mixed economy. [...] All four domains of the welfare regime – the state, the market, voluntary organisations and the family – are involved, but to a different extent in different countries" (Knijn, Klammer and Jönsson *forthcoming*). The article is based on qualitative country-based studies from Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands analysing the ways in which working mothers combine care and employment. The authors introduce the concept of "care packaging", which implies a strong notion of agency as it points to the high amount of management involved in combining different recourses of childcare: Employed mothers have to develop and combine a range of strategies on the basis of alternative sources of assistance, only then the continuity of their jobs is guaranteed. The authors discern five coping strategies which are of central importance in they countries under consideration, if to varying extents:

- § Taking a break from work
- § Part-time work and the reduction of working hours
- § Public childcare and other forms of paid childcare
- § School attendance and after school care
- § Unpaid childcare by fathers, relatives and others

Which relevance particular strategies actually gain in everyday lives of working mothers partly depends on conventions and personal preferences concerning childcare. On the other hand, their relative importance owes to the particular childcare regime and especially to the availability, affordability and quality of public childcare. This coherence is also underscored by Trifiltti, Leira and Tobío (*forthcoming*), who have dedicated their research to the support provided by kinship and social networks in Italy, Spain and Norway. It has been often stated that intergenerational and kinship support is primarily of importance for the Mediterranean countries and tied to specific cultural structures. However, recent research sheds a different light on this issue: women have begun to enter the labour market massively at different times in Europe; whereas this development started in Norway already during the 1970s, the process repeated itself in the 80s and 90s in and Italy and in Spain. Thus, the authors focus on the ways in which this first generation of working mothers made use of kinship structures and informal support. In all of the countries under consideration women's mass entrance to employment preceded

policy legislation in the field of childcare. As a result, kinship and informal support was the key strategy for women to enter the labour market in either country. As extra-parental care is most often women's affair provided by grandmothers, female relatives, or female childminders the authors highlight the fact that it is actually women that facilitated other women's employment.

In their article on care packaging Knijn, Jönsson and Klammer confirm for the cases of Sweden, the Netherlands and Germany that kinship support "is negatively related to the availability of public childcare" (Knijn et al. *forthcoming*): Kinship support hardly exists in Sweden and in East Germany, but it is of high importance in West Germany and especially in the Netherlands, where grandparents "fill the gaps or care in cases of emergency" (*ibid.*). The authors also consider the role of fathers in current care arrangements. They point out that fathers have increased their share in care work in all countries examined. Yet, women still take over the main burden and fathers tend to come in as an additional source of help. Whereas most women have adjusted their working time to the needs of their children, only 5-10 % of the fathers work part-time in Sweden, the Netherlands and in Germany. Women partly justify their partner's lack of help by pointing to his occupational duties or his lack of lack and household abilities. Other women, however, clearly express the wish for a more even distribution of care and housework.

Knijn, Jönsson and Klammer make an important point by distinguishing between claims and rights. In contrast to rights, claims express "what mothers want, hope for and get". Whereas some claims express the need for specific rights, others "result from pleas and bids and from a process of convincing alternative care providers that care should be offered in order to support the mother to keep her job." (*ibid.*) Claims without adequate rights imply economic and personal costs for working mothers. As previously mentioned, the degree to which rights are guaranteed across Europe still varies considerably. Among the countries considered, Sweden is the only welfare state that maintains a high coverage of childcare support also for the youngest children. In the other cases, also in Norway, childcare for children under three is hardly or at least not sufficiently available and thus relies on individual strategies of working mothers. But difficulties continue (especially in (West) Germany and the Netherlands) when children grow older, either because of lack of affordable good quality kindergarten or because childcare services or pre-school only provide only half-day care. Eventually, short and irregular schooling

hours accompanied by a lack of after school care hinder a greater attachment of women to work and necessitate individual coping strategies.

In all countries the family and in particular mothers play the key role in maintaining childcare. Interviews with working mothers revealed the importance of attitudes towards what mothers perceive to be the best for the child. These attitudes vary between countries, but also between social classes.⁸ Knijn, Jönsson and Klammer resume: "In contrast to the majority of Dutch and West German mothers, both Swedish and East German mothers regard public childcare as a 'must' for the social benefit of their children. [...] When childcare centres are known for their good professional care, as is the case in Sweden, this is an important reason for taking children to public childcare." (ibid.) On the contrary, lacking availability and especially affordability of childcare were mentioned as obstacles to extend working hours as additional costs for childcare soon cancel out the increase in income (an argument made by Dutch mothers).

The articles on every day practices highlight that informal sources of assistance are often underrated in debate on childcare. These resources even gain in importance regarding the current development of welfare states towards a "welfare pluralism" which entails a changing and decreasing function of the state within the system of social security. However, it should be kept in mind that the reliance on informal strategies is associated with costs for those who do care, if not personally then economically due to reductions in incomes which are related to reductions in working hours: a further important coping strategy.

Changes of welfare states and labour markets

Current transformations of European welfare states and the flexibility of work have a highly ambivalent impact on women. As Ute Klammer (2000) argues, the trend towards flexibility of work can have both positive and negative effects for women. For example, there is some evidence that strict employment protection legislation tends to protect the core labour force at the cost of outsiders. In contrast, flexible forms of employment sometimes ease re-entrance into the labour market, e.g. after periods of unemployment or childcare. Yet, part-time and precarious jobs entail high social risks. As women predominate in non-standard work, they tend to belong to the 'losers' of labour market

change. As evidenced by macro-data, in many cases their occupational situation is not a matter of free choice: most women across Europe who are employed on the basis of a fixed term contract say that they would prefer permanent employment, and more than one third of female part-timers in Spain, France, Italy and Finland state that they did not find a full-time job. These findings highlight that, besides social policies, specific demands of a changing labour market are of crucial relevance to women's occupational status. As current trends are unlikely to be reversed the 'flexibilisation' of work entails new needs for social protection. Ute Klammer has proposed five tasks which need to be addressed by social policies:

- § People with small, low-paid and precarious jobs need access to social protection, i.e. must not be expelled from otherwise obligatory insurance systems. Furthermore, Klammer recommends that insurance payments for this low income should be subsidized; a solution which has been taken in some countries already.
- § Minimum protection gains increasing importance in order to prevent poverty and social exclusion of people working in precarious jobs which are partly not even self-sufficient. Today, concepts of minimum protection can be found particularly in two fields of policy legislation, old-age and health security systems. Other than income based security systems, universal minimum protection systems are better adjustable to discontinuous working biographies and period of very low income. Last but not least they also allow to compensate for the affects of the gender division of care and work.
- § Individualisation of claims is a third important target which has also been promoted by the European Commission as derived rights increasingly appear to be problematic for various reasons. Among others, they contradict gender equality by manifesting dependencies of spouses on their partners. Moreover, if social security benefits for an entire family relies on the occupational status of one person as in the case of single-breadwinner families, the social risks accompanying a flexibilisation of working conditions affect all family members simultaneously. Klammer points to the fact that none of the European countries does completely without derived rights; however, variation in the extent of individualisation is high. Whereas countries like

⁸ For example, Dutch mothers with low income were very skeptical about the quality of state supported childcare (or any form of collective childcare), whereas higher educated women made more extensive use

Luxembourg, France, and Germany still make extensive use of derived rights, the Scandinavian countries have gone furthest in individualising entitlements.

§ Eventually Klammer stresses the importance of combining activation policies with a securing of labour market transitions: between part-time and full-time work; employment and household; employment and retirement; education and employment; and employment and unemployment. These transitions have started to become a general concern of welfare politics due to changes in the labour market structure. Rather obviously most of these transitions also imply a gendered dimension as evidenced by the high amount of women in part-time work and the high proportion of women and mother with discontinuous working patterns. Thus, proposals on how to cope with these transitions also have to include a perspective on how to acknowledge care in current welfare concepts.

Currently, activation policies are a core issue in Europe. Against the background of economic restructuring, high rates of unemployment and financial needs of European welfare states the European Commission recommends increasing employability in order to combat unemployment. The last part of this conclusion shall therefore concentrate on the gendered implication of new models of welfare.

Jane Lewis targets this question in her article “Work and Care” (2000). Starting from the situation in Great Britain, Lewis describes the shift from welfare to workfare. This shift is driven by the suggestion that work is the best form of welfare and thus results in claims on work for all adults who can work, i.e. for all “able-bodied adults with no obvious reason not to be in employment” (Lewis 2000: 26). The further integration of women into the labour market is an explicit goal of the new model. However, as Lewis points out, the care side of the work and care equation has not been thoroughly considered. Given the continuing gendered division of care and work the underdevelopment of care-related policies leads to several problems: As women usually still perform the bulk of care and housework, most mothers with dependent children work part-time and often even short part-time hours. This indicates that the drive toward an adult worker model has not yet occurred, but that transition is characterised instead by a shift from the traditional breadwinner model to its modernised form, the “one and a-half-earner household”.

of these services and mostly were content with the quality.

As “care work has to be done” (*ibid.*: 37), be it childcare or care for the elderly, crucial questions are who shall care and how society will compensate them. In Great Britain, to care most often implies dependency on the male breadwinner which goes along with limited integration into security systems. Simultaneously, state-supported care is too underdeveloped to speak of a “free choice” provided to mothers. This situation contradicts the emphasis on an adult worker model and entails claims for a more thorough consideration of care.

Despite peculiarities in the British welfare system, the increasing attention to employability as a privileged form of welfare is a European trend. Letablier and Jönsson (*forthcoming*) show, in examples from France and Sweden, how policy focusing on an adult worker model effects care related policies in these countries. In both cases matters of care are considered. However, Sweden and France are taking rather different directions in the ways they consider care in current policy concepts. In France, government’s aim to increase the number of employed persons has led to new developments regarding childcare principles. Here, care work itself is increasingly seen to form a sector with expanding employment potential. As a result, private care services providing individual assistance are receiving increasing attention. Special programmes have been created to promote privatised help for families to care for their children and the elderly. Whereas privatisation might alleviate parents’ needs of flexibility in the short term, these trends, as argued by Letablier and Jönsson, have highly ambivalent effects as it introduces the rules of the marketplace into the field of care. On the one hand this development has made visible work that had previously been hidden in the informal economy. On the other hand, it leads to stratification: “Home help, financial subsidies and tax advantages for [...] wealthier households, crèches for the middle classes and mothers with stable employment, and finally, local networks and intrafamily help [for] the lowest income.” (*ibid.*)

In contrast to France, Sweden has not changed guiding principle in order to adapt to current transitions. In the process of decentralisation “family and personnel co-operatives, voluntary organisations and employers appeared as organisers of non-municipal childcare, which however [remained] publicly funded. In one sense, this [led] to a ‘de-marketization’ of childcare as the need for privately arranged and privately funded child-care decrease[d].” (*ibid.*) Jane Lewis, as well, perceives the Scandinavian model as a welfare system that succeeded in combining an individualised adult worker

model with an adequate recognition of care. A variety of provisions, all comparable in generosity, allow parents a real choice of options to combine care and work. In contrast to welfare systems that indirectly promote mothers' exit from the labour market by giving privilege to cash benefits and leave options, the Swedish model simultaneously avoids subtracting women from the labour market.

Recommendations

The network is well aware that current European politics run counter to the Swedish model. In contrast, welfare states tend to withdraw public investments and instead promote the neo-liberal credo of "self-responsibility". The obstacles, however, which go along with a lack of policy provisions are evidenced in unequal job and income opportunities for men and women, especially for mothers, in the claims of mothers as asserted in several interviews, but also in declining birth rates. Gender equality and redistributive justice cannot do without public provisions:

- § Care-related policies should generally target fathers and mothers. Unpaid or low paid leaves, for example, seem to discourage fathers from taking a leave. Thus, the specific form of policy provision already entails a gender dimension.
- § Parental leave needs to be combined with available, affordable, good quality childcare. Several European countries still have not implemented legal entitlements to care, while in many others demand exceeds supply. Especially state sponsored care for the very young is scarce in most countries and the absence of support leads to obstacles for women's employment. More generally, the contributions to the network's seminars have highlighted a high interdependency between different policies, a finding that should find more throughout consideration in policy making, but which also needs further research.
- § Qualitative and quantitative research has highlighted the problem that both hours of childcare and school hours often do not correspond the working hours of parents. Thus, state supported childcare services should become more flexible. Moreover, debate on care also has to consider the educational system and the different possibilities to combine care with education. In order to promote flexibility of care supply, cash benefits are increasingly discussed currently. However, they are by no means unambiguous: though they recognise care as work, they tend to perpetuate

the gender division of care and work.

- § Flexible working hours are just as important as they are ambiguous for women. Countries which prove to be most supportive for working mothers are those, where full-time working hours are short and part-time working hours relatively long. Statutory entitlements to reduce or *enlarge* working hours are important means to enable mothers and fathers to combine care and employment.
- § A topic in its own right is related to intergenerational solidarity. Against pessimistic assumptions of a declining solidarity between the generations in ageing and individualising societies, a whole set of seminar contributions have accentuated lively exchanges. The articles also underline the continuing need of a strong notion of solidarity as concerns pension reform. It is suggested that old age security systems have to entail redistributive schemes both with regard intra-generational and inter-generational aspects. Despite different economic estimations of the advantages of intra-cohort saving models, similarities of the reform proposals especially concern the extension of life working times and their fairer redistribution between *generations and genders*. Among other things, care work should be recognised for old age security on generous terms.
- § Research has also focused on the diversity between groups of women, who have different needs and partly different preferences. Current changes in the labour market tend to reinforce the diversity among women and imply new needs for social protection such as minimum protection, individualisation of rights, protection of transitions from one employment status to another etc. Simultaneously, it is, again, a task of child-care related policies to enable mothers, also mothers with low income, to earn an income of their own by providing affordable good quality childcare.

The manifold approaches of the network to target the relationship between social policies and social practices proved to be very productive in order to target a variety of dimensions crucial to the issue of care and employment. Yet, inquiry into cultural concepts such as motherhood and fatherhood and examination of the relevance of social practices in everyday life are still at starting point and in any case deserve further research in a comparative perspective. Moreover, further research is needed in order to find out which packages of policies are most supportive for different groups of women. In order to capture the effects of different policy packages a range of single policies

should be considered in their own right: e.g. regarding services for child care, policies on working hours and also on parental leave regulations, which are still under-researched. Eventually, current transformations of welfare concepts lead to a variety of fundamental questions regarding developments and legitimising principles of welfare states; for example: How does and how shall regulation function against the background of an increasing privatisation of welfare issues? And who, after all, shall care on which conditions?

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Tobío, Constanza (1999) Women's Strategies, Working and Mothering, in: *Theoretical Perspectives on Working and Mothering*, report no. 2 of the TSER-Network "Working and Mothering. Social Practices and Social Policies": 15-50.

Tobío, Constanza (2000) Comments on "The Policy Logics of Action about Caring for Children", in: *Available Provisions and Policy Deficits*, report no. 4 of the TSER-Network "Working and Mothering. Social Practices and Social Policies": 233-235.

Trifiletti, Rossana (1998) Comments on 'Comparing Family Policies in Europe', in: *Working and Mothering: Comparative Perspectives on Working and Mothering*, report no. 1 of the TSER-Network "Working and Mothering. Social Practices and Social Policies": 82-89.

Trifiletti, Rossana (1999) Comments on 'Women's Strategies, Working and Mothering, in: *Theoretical Perspectives on Working and Mothering*, report no. 2 of the TSER-Network "Working and Mothering. Social Practices and Social Policies": 51-56.

6. Dissemination of results

Besides contributing to the previous reports of the network, the members of our research group have published intensively on the topic of working and mothering. The annex to this report contains a list of most recent publications. In some cases, network members have also added information on contacts with policy makers, which contributed to an exchange of knowledge.

As aforementioned the network will publish a book, which further elaborates on the findings of the joint work. The book project is conceived differently from a mere collection of articles joined by a single thematic concern; instead it aims to provide a more comprehensive publication whose contributions have been trimmed to complement, amplify, and comment on one another. Because the contributors are drawn exclusively from the ranks of participants in the network, they have already benefited from prolonged cooperative work. Network members have developed a comparative perspective also with regard to the findings of the empirical studies, which shall be assured by cooperative authorship of several essays. The book is titled "Working and Mothering in Europe. Social Practices and Social Policies" and edited by Ute Gerhard and Trudie Knijn. The German edition is scheduled for spring 2003; afterwards an English edition shall be published.

Structure of the book and content of chapters

The *first part* of the book concentrates on social, cultural and economic aims or concepts underlying welfare regimes or social policies. This perspective will be introduced in a chapter by *Jane Lewis* on contemporary changes in welfare states with special emphasis on new concepts, which shift the focus from welfare to work and aim at an individualisation of social security systems. Debate about individualisation as a core concept of modernity is pursued in *Ute Gerhard's* contribution. Gerhard examines individualism in relation to its counterpart, the institutions. Processes and theories of individualisation serve as a prism through which the context of social change, welfare policy and daily praxis can be viewed. While these first two chapters introduce key concepts in today's welfare debate and examine them for gendered implications, the next essay concentrates on the motives and occasions which have led social policy initiatives; *Marie-Thérèse Latablier* and *Ingrid Jönsson* will ask about the "logic's" underlying care related policies.

The book's *second part* focuses on the everyday practices and strategies of employed mothers and the labour marked behaviour of women. The section opens with a contribution by *Rossana Trifiletti* and *Constanza Tobío*, who develop a concept to take strategies into account once applied to empirical analysis of their case studies (see 2). Emphasised here are the strategies and options of employed mothers to combine paid employment and childcare. The following article, by *Mary Daly and Ute Klammer*, turns to mothers' labour market behaviour and the complex conditions influencing it. Against the background of increasing employment rates of women and the flexibilisation of labour markets, the chapter concentrates on the differentiation in women's labour market participation, which must also be viewed in a comparative perspective. Differences among women also represents the starting point for *Tess Kay's* essay which focuses on the influence of differing education on employment patterns and daily life choices of various groups of women.

Altogether, the above-mentioned chapters offer an overview of the methodological approaches and relevant dimensions with regard to women's labour market behaviour and everyday practices. The following essays turn to concrete resources for childcare and strategies for uniting work and care. Focusing on kinship and intergenerational aid, *Constanza Tobío*, *Arnlaug Leira* and *Rossana Trifiletti* reveal an often underestimated resource, which is, however, of central importance for women's daily practices. Significant at present is, particularly, parent's dependence on a combination of various childcare options. Such combinations are further explored in the section's final contribution by *Trudie Knijn, Ingrid Jönsson* and *Ute Klammer*. They close the circle, going back to changes in European welfare states which presage a decreasing role for the state in welfare arrangements. As a result, the authors highlight various private and public resources, asking how and for what reasons women might exploit these for their benefit, and which deficits exist.

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Mary Daly

Mary Daly has been a Professor of Sociology at the School of Sociology and Social Policy at Queen's University Belfast since September 1998. Before that she held research and teaching positions in Germany, Italy and the Republic of Ireland. Among the fields on which she has published are poverty, welfare state, gender, family and the labour market. Much of her work is comparative. One of her recent books, *The Gender Division of Welfare*, which was published by Cambridge University Press in 2000, undertakes a comparative analysis of how the British and German welfare states affect gender inequalities. Among her recently completed research projects are a study of family policy in five countries in Europe as well as a qualitative research project on the experience of low income families with children in Ireland. She is a member of a number of European networks on topics related to the welfare state, family and gender.

Main Recent Publications

(2002) 'Care as a good for social policy', *Journal of Social Policy*, 31, 2: 1-20.

& C.. Saraceno (2002) 'Social exclusion and gender relations' in B. Hobson, J. Lewis and B. Siim (eds) *Contested Concepts in Gender and Social Politics*, London: Edward Elgar.

(2001) 'Care policies in Western Europe' in Daly, M. (ed) *Care Work The Quest for Security*, Geneva: ILO, pp. 33-55.

(ed) (2001) *Care Work The Quest for Security*, Geneva: ILO.

(2000) "Globalization and the Bismarckian welfare states", in: R. Sykes, B. Palier and P. Prior (eds.) *Globalization and the European Welfare States: Challenges and change*, London: Macmillan Press.

(2000) "A fine balance? Women's labour market participation patterns in international comparison", in: F. Scharpf and V. Schmidt (eds.) *From Vulnerability to Competitiveness: Welfare and Work in the Open Economy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

(2000) *The Gender Division of Welfare*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

(1999) "The functioning family: Catholicism and social policy in Germany and the Republic of Ireland", *Comparative Social Research*, vol. 18: 105-133.

(1999) "Welfare states, gender and poverty", in: O. Hufton and Y. Kravaritou (eds.) *Gender and the Use of Time*, Amsterdam: Kluwer Academic: 127-149.

& J. Lewis (1998) "Introduction: Conceptualising social care in the context of welfare state restructuring", in: Lewis, J. (ed.) *Gender and the Restructuring of Social Care in Europe*, Aldershot: Ashgate: 1-24.

(1998) "A more caring state? The implications of welfare state restructuring for social care in the Republic of Ireland", in: J. Lewis (ed.) *Gender and the Restructuring of Social Care in Europe*, Aldershot: Ashgate: 25-50.

(1998) "Regimes of social policy in Europe and the patterning of homelessness", in: D. Avramov (ed.) *Coping with homelessness: problems to be tackled and best practices*, Aldershot: Ashgate: 309-330.

(1997) "Welfare States under Pressure. Recent Changes in Cash Benefits in West European Welfare States", *Journal of European Social Policy*, vol.7, no.2: 129-146.

(1997) "Die Modernisierung von Geschlechterverhältnissen", in: I. Ostner (ed.) *Mutter, Ehefrau und Erwerbstätige. Sozialpolitik als Geschlechterpolitik im internationalen Vergleich*, Frankfurt/New York: Campus.

Contacts with policy makers

I have been involved in a wide range of activities in this regard at both national and international level.

At national level I have carried out two relevant studies for policy makers. The first, a study of family policy changes in five European countries, was funded by the Irish social security ministry – the Department of Social Community and Family Affairs. The results of this study have already been fed back to the policy makers and they will be published, in a publication funded by the ministry, during 2002. As an outcome of this, I have been involved with the ministry in planning a conference on family and family policy for 2004 when the Irish government has the Presidency of the European Union.

2004 is also the International Year of the Family and the Irish government plans to mark it, and its EU Presidency, by hosting a major conference.

The second relevant study which involved me in working closely with policy makers was a study which I carried out in 2000 for the Combat Poverty Agency. This was a qualitative study of adults and children living in poor households in Ireland. The main objective of the study was to inform policy and I have been involved in a number of discussions with policy makers on the results. This report will also be published in the coming months.

Internationally, I was involved in training EU Commission (DGEmployment/E.2) staff on the gender dimension of poverty on 31 May 2001. This was part of a general training programme in preparation for the onset of the Social Inclusion process (NAPs/incl).

I was the national expert, funded on a consultancy basis by the Commission from May to August 2001, to assist with the evaluation of the Irish National Action Plan against Poverty and Social Exclusion (NAPS/incl).

I was a keynote speaker at a conference organised by the ILO on March 29th 2001 in Geneva to launch the research project on 'Paying for Care: the Quest for Security'. This brought together policy makers from a wide range of policy domain as well as from different parts of the world.

I am currently writing a report for the Council of Europe on 'Access to Social Rights in Europe'. As well as analysing relevant policy and provision across the 43 member states of the Council, this involves working with an Advisory Committee which is mainly composed of policy makers. It also involves developing policy recommendations.

Ute Gerhard

Professor of Sociology with a special appointment in Gender Studies, Department of Social and Political Science, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt. She is director of the Centre for Women's and Gender Studies since 1997 and a founding member and chair of the interdisciplinary graduate centre "Public Spheres and Gender. Dimensions of Experience". She was co-director of the "Institut für Sozialforschung" in Frankfurt from 1997 to 1999. Main areas of research and publications are gender in the history, theory and sociology of law; women's movements in international comparison; citizenship, welfare states and social policies.

Memberships and Consulancies (selection): Academic board for women's policies of the Ministry of Family, Health, Youth and Women, Bonn (1989-1993); executive committee of the European Sociological Association (ESA) (1995-1997). Presently, she heads the academic board of the research centre of the protestant church (FEST) and participates in the European Network ATHENA ("Advanced Thematic Network in Activities in Women's Studies in Europe"). She is a member of the academic board of the federal state Lower Saxony and of the advisory board for social policies of the city of Frankfurt. She is a founding member and co-editor of "Feministische Studien" and co-editor of "L'Homme. Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft".

Recent Publications

(2001) Politique Sociale et Maternité: le cas de l'Allemagne a l'Est et a l'Ouest, in: Travail, Genre et Societes, L'Harmattan, 6/2001, Paris 2001, 59-80

(2001) Neue Staatsbürgerinnen – die deutsche Frauenbewegung in der Weimarer Republik (together with Klausmann, Christina/Wischermann, Ulla), in: Ute Gerhard (ed.), Feminismus und Demokratie. Europäische Frauenbewegungen der 1920er Jahre, Kronberg/Ts.: Ulrike Helmer, 176-209

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(2001) Feminismus und Demokratie. Die europäischen Frauenbewegungen der 1920er Jahre, Kronberg/Ts.: Ulrike Helmer

(2001) Debating Women's Equality. Toward a Feminist Theory of Law from a European Perspective, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press

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(2000) Das Geschlecht der Europa, L'Homme. Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft, 11.Jg., H. 2/2000, Ute Gerhard/Edith Saurer (eds.), Wien 2000: Böhlau

(1999) Women's Working Time in a Historical Perspective: The Ambivalence of Protective Laws, in: Yota Kravaritou (ed.): The Regulation of Working Time in the European Union, Brüssel: P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 371-381

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(1999) Social Policy and Motherhood. The East-West-German Case, in: 2nd Report of the TSER Seminar of the Thematic Network "Working and Mothering: Social Practices and Social Policies", Frankfurt/M. 118-139

(1999) Menschenrechte - Frauenrechte - Unrechtserfahrungen von Frauen, in: Hans-Richard Reuter (ed.), Ethik der Menschenrechte. Zum Streit um die Universalität einer Idee I, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 201-236

(1999) Droit et principe d'égalité, in: Jacqueline Heinen (ed.): Précarisation et citoyenneté, Cahier du Gedisst no. 23/1999: L'Harmattan, 123-141

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(1998) Das Konzept der Ehe als Institution - eine Erblast im Geschlechterverhältnis, in: Kirchenamt der EKD (ed.), Gottes Gabe und persönliche Verantwortung. Zur ethischen Orientierung für das Zusammenleben in Ehe und Familie, Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 81-96

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(1997) Grenzziehungen und Überschreitungen. Die Rechte der Frauen auf dem Weg in die politische Öffentlichkeit, in: Ute Gerhard (ed.), Frauen in der Geschichte des Recht Von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart, München: Beck, 509-546

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inistischer Rechtskritik zu einer Theorie sozialer Staatsbürgerrechte, in: Stefan Hradil (ed.), Differenz und Integration. Die Zukunft moderner Gesellschaften. Verhandlungen des 28. Kongresses der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie in Dresden 1996, Frankfurt/M.: Campus, 402-420

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(1997) Femminismo e diritto: verso una concezione femminista e contestualizzata dell'egualanza, in: RAGION PRAKTIKA 8/1997, 53-62

(1997) Feminism and the Law: Towards a Feminist and Contextualized Concept of Equality, in: Gender and Citizenship: Equality Revisted, Seminar 3 of the EU-Programme Gender and Citizenship, Oktober 1997, 39-51

(1997) Die soziale Unsicherheit weiblicher Lebenslagen - Perspektiven einer feministischen Sozialpolitikanalyse, in: Jahrbuch für christliche Sozialwissenschaften, No. 38/ 1997, 172-191

Sientific Exchange with Policy Makers

- Member of the scientific advisory board of the City of Frankfurt Social Report
- Contact and dissemination of the research project results “The Development of Affirmative Action Policy” with the Federal Ministry of Family, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth
- Publication of the research project “Working Mothers and the Tension between Social Policies and Social Practices” at the Hans-Boeckler-Stiftung (Foundation of the German Trade Union Federation). An intensive exchange with the Institute for Economic and Social Research in the Hans-Boeckler-Foundation (WSI)

Ingrid Jönsson

Associate Professor in Sociology, Senior Lecturer and international co-ordinator, Department of Sociology, Lund University Sweden (1991 to date). Research interest in welfare and family policies in Sweden from a gender perspective and in the sociology of education. Participation in a longitudinal study of segregation and education in Sweden (National Board of Education, National Swedish Board of Universities and Colleges, 1972-1992); comparative project on Choices of Education and Occupations among 16 to 20 year-olds in the Nordic countries (Joint Committee of the Nordic Social Science Research Councils, 1989-92), studies on changes of the Swedish steering system of schools (National Agency for Education); contributor to the Loughborough project on the interaction between policy and demographic change (DGV 1997-98), "Everyday lives of working mothers. Strategies, solutions and adaptation" (Swedish Council for Working Life Research 1999-2001), "Improving Policy Response and Outcomes to Socio-economic Challenges; Changing Family Structures" (EU 5th framework programme).

Main recent publications

Jönsson, I. (2002). "Verfügbarkeit von Berufs- und Familienleben in Schweden", in *WSI Mitteilungen* 3/2002 (forthcoming)

Jönsson, I. (2001). "Working and Mothering: Social practices and social policies", in Hantrais, L. (ed.) *Researching Family and Welfare from an International Comparative Perspective*. From papers presented at a dialogue workshop held in Brussels on 14-15 June 2001. Conference proceedings. Improving Human Research Potential and the Socio-Economic Knowledge Base, Brussels, November 2001.

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Jönsson, I. (1999/2002) "Women and Education in Europe", *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology*, Vol. 36, No. 2, pp. 144-162. Also in *Sociology of Education. A Handbook of International Perspectives*. Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, forthcoming 2002.

Jönsson, I. (1999) "Changing Patterns of Education and Training for Women in the European Union", in Hantrais, L. (ed.) 4. *Changing Gender Relations and Policy*, Cross National Research Papers. Fifth Series: Socio-Demographic Change, Social and Economic Policies in the European Union. The Cross-National Research Group, European Research Centre, Loughborough University.

Jönsson, I. "Reconciliation of Work and Family Life", in *Le contrat social à l'épreuve des changements démographiques. The Social Contract in the Face of demographic Change*. Actes/Proceedings, 2e Rencontres Sauvy, Paris: INED.

Tess Kay

Tess Kay is a Senior Lecturer in the Institute of Sport and Leisure Policy at Loughborough University, UK, where she has responsibility for research into leisure, gender and social inclusion. She has a background in Leisure Studies research on the relationship between employment, free-time and family lifestyles and a main research focus on the interaction between employment, gender and family. She has a particular interest in comparative research into diversity and inequality in family situations in Europe, and the role of social policy in challenging, mediating or upholding these. She has contributed to a number of research initiatives in these areas, including the European Commission DG V research project on the 'Interaction between family policies and social protection in the context of recent and future socio-demographic changes' (1997-98), and is a member of the co-ordinating team for the Framework Programme 5 project on 'Improving policy responses and outcomes to socio-economic challenges: changing family structures, policy and practice' (2000 –2003). She is a member of the Editorial Board of the Leisure Studies journal and is currently writing a book on leisure, gender and family life (2003).

Main recent publications and presentations

(forthcoming 2002), 'Women, sport and social exclusion'; in Collins, M.F., 'Sport and social inclusion', Routledge.

(forthcoming 2002), 'Sport, leisure and gender', in Houlihan, B. (ed.), 'Sport and Society', Sage.

(2002), 'Leisure and social change: research challenges and opportunities', invited presentation to the 4th Annual Colloquium of Welsh Tourism and Leisure research, Gregynog, January 2002

(2001), 'Leisure, gender and family: challenges for work-life integration', invited presentation to the Economic and Social Research Council Seminar Series - Wellbeing: Social and Individual Determinants, Seminar 2: 'Work, employment, leisure and well-being', Manchester December 2001

(2001), 'New women, same old leisure: The upholding of gender stereotypes and Leisure Disadvantage in contemporary dual-earner households', in Clough, S. and White, J. (eds), *Women's Leisure Experiences: Ages, Stages and Roles*, Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Association, pp. 113 – 128.

(2001), 'Parents under pressure: when families fail', plenary presentation to the International Colloquium on Talented Children in Music, Dance and Sport, University of Toronto, September 2001.

(2000), 'The sexist state: leisure, labour and the ideology of welfare policy', in Brackenridge, C., Howe, D. and Jordan, F. (eds), *Just Leisure: Equity, Social Exclusion and Identity*, Eastbourne, Leisure Studies Association, pp. 3 - 16

(2000) "Leisure, gender and the family: the influence of social policy context", *Leisure Studies*, vol. 19.4.

(2000) "Sporting excellence: the impact on family life", *European Physical Education Review*, vol. 6.2: 151 – 170.

(1999) "The family consequences of changing gender relations in the United Kingdom", *Cross-National Research Papers Fifth Series*: 31 – 38.

(1999), "Gender ideologies in magazine portrayal of sport: King Eric v. the Billion \$ Babe", *Journal of European Area Studies*, vol. 7.2: 157 - 176.

(1998) "Having it all or doing it all? The construction of women's lifestyles in time-crunched households", *Leisure and Society*: 435 - 454.

(1997) "Invisible women: research into women's unemployment", *newsletter of Research Committee 13*, International Sociological Association.

Ute Klammer

M.A.-equivalent in philosophy and literature 1990, diploma in economics 1991, PhD in economics 1995. Worked as a researcher at the University of Frankfurt a.M./Germany and at the Center for European Social Policy at the University of Mannheim, Germany. Present position (since 1996): senior researcher in the field of social policy at the WSI (Institute for Economic and Social Research), Düsseldorf, Germany. Lecturer at the Universities of Essen, Frankfurt a.M. and Cologne, Germany. Fields of research: social policy (pension systems, health systems, family policy), income distribution, labour market policy, feminist and gender research. Numerous publications on the future of social security and the welfare state, social protection for women, old age and health care systems etc.

Selection of recent publications

& Bäcker, U. and G. (2002) The Dismantling of Welfare in Germany, in:

Schaffner Goldberg, Gertrude/Rosenthal, Marguerite G. (ed.): Diminishing Welfare. A Cross-National Study of Social Provision, Auburn House: Westport, Connecticut/ London.

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& Klenner, Ch. (2000) (Männliche) Entwürfe zur Zukunft der Arbeitswelt. Kritik und Reformvorschläge aus Frauenperspektive, in: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (Ed.): Die Abendröte der Industriegesellschaft, Sankt Augustin.

(2000) Working women in the age of flexibility – new diversities, new needs for social protection, WSI-discussion paper no. 85, Düsseldorf .

(2000) Bas salaires - un défi pour l'État social, in: *La Revue de l'IRES*, vol. 33, 2/2000.

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(2000) Low Pay - A Challenge for the Welfare State, in: *Transfer*, vol. 6, 4/2000.

et. al. (2000) *WSI-FrauenDatenReport*, Sigma, Berlin.

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& Ochs, Ch. (2000) "Les différences de salaires entre hommes et femmes en Allemagne: un rattrapage limité et fragile", in: *Travail et Emploi*, n. 82, Avril 2000.

(2000) "Zuckerbrot oder Peitsche? Zur Diskussion um das 'ob', 'wie' und 'für wen' einer Subventionierung von Sozialbeiträgen", in: C. Schäfer (ed.): *Geringere Löhne – mehr Beschäftigung?* VSA: Hamburg.

& Plonz, S. (eds.) (1999) *Menschenrechte auch für Frauen? Historische Forderungen und der Wandel der Arbeitsgesellschaft*, trafo Verlag: Berlin.

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(1999) "Restructuring Germany's Pension System", *Pension Reform and Aging Populations: North American and European Perspectives, Looking Ahead* vol. XX, no. 4, April 1999.

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(1998) "Gerechtigkeit in der Gesundheitsversorgung – von der Verfehlung des Ziels zur Auflösung der Zielvorstellung?" in: S. Blasche and D. Döring (eds.) *Sozialpolitik und Gerechtigkeit*, Frankfurt am Main / New York: Campus.

(1997) Alterssicherung in Italien. Eine institutionelle, theoretische und empirische Analyse, Duncker & Humblot: Berlin.

Trudie Knijn

Professional Career: Associate professor at the Faculty of Social Science, University of Utrecht since 1989 (Dept. of Comparative Cultural Studies). Assistant professor Women's Studies, Utrecht University, 1985-1989; Assistant Professor Cultural Psychology, University of Nijmegen, 1978-1985.

Involvement in other EU projects: 1996-1999: Participant in the thematic network "Gender and Citizenship" (EU/TSER) co-ordinated by Dr. B. Siim (University of Aalborg).

Main Recent Publications

& Selten, P. (2002) Transformations in Fatherhood: The Netherlands, in: B. Hobson (ed.) *Making Men into Fathers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 168-190.

Grotenhuis, S., T. Knijn, T. Korver, E. Tonkens & J. van der Zwaard (red.) (2002) Hoeksteen of zwerfkei. Het moderne gezin tussen individualisering en pedagogisering. Amsterdam: De Balie/ NGR, pp. 191.

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van Wel, F. (2001) Careful or lenient? Welfare reform for lone mothers in the Netherlands. *Journal of European Social Policy*. Vol. 11, no. 3. Pp. 235-252.

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& van Wel, F. (2000) *Alleenstaande ouders over zorgen en werken*. Den Haag: Elsevier Bedrijfsinformatie.

& van Wel, F. (1999) *Zorgen voor de kost. Alleenstaande moeders en de nieuwe bijstandswet* (Care for Breadwinning. Single Mothers and the New Law on Social Assistance), Utrecht: SWP Uitgeverij.

& Sevenhuijsen, S. (eds.) (1998) *Care, Citizenship and Social Cohesion: Towards a Gender-perspective*, Utrecht: Netherlands School for Social and Economic Policy Research, 68.

& Phalet, K. (red.) (1998) *Sociale Wetenschappen: Themanummer Methoden van Internationaal Vergelijkend Onderzoek*, vol. 41, no. 4, Tilburg University Press, 122.

(1998) "Social Care in the Netherlands", in: J. Lewis (ed.) *Gender, Social Care and Welfare State Restructuring in Europe*, Aldershot: Ashgate: 85-110.

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& Ungerson (eds.), C. (1997) *Social Politics. International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, vol. 4, no. 3 (Special Issue: Care, Work and Gender in Welfare Regimes).

& Kremer, M. (1997) "Gender and the caring dimension of welfare states: toward inclusive citizenship", *Social Politics. International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, vol. 4, no. 3 (Special Issue): p. 328-361.

(1997) "The Rationalization of personal care: Time is money isn't it?" in: B. Hobson and A. M. Berggren (eds.) *Crossing Borders: Gender and Citizenship in Transition*, Stockholm: The Swedish.

& Bussemaker, J., van Drenth, A., Plantenga, J. (1997) "Lone mothers in the Netherlands", in: J. Lewis (ed.) *Lone Mothers in European Welfare Regimes. Shifting Policy Logics*, London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers: 96-120.

Arnlaug Leira

By training a sociologist (M. A., Ph. D.). Full professor of sociology at the University of Oslo, with welfare state and social policy studies as a main field. She has published extensively in Norwegian and English on family and social policy, the reconciliation of work and family, gender, caring and citizenship.

Presently she heads the PhD-programme of the Department of Sociology. During the past five years she has chaired the Norwegian Research Council's Committee for Sociology, served on the Joint Committee of the Nordic Research Council for the Social Sciences, and on the Executive Board of the European Sociological Association.

She is one of the editors of the "Yearbook of Comparative Social Research", and the volume editor of the 1999 issue entitled: *Family Change: Policies, Practices and Values*, and has recently served on the Review Board of "Contemporary Sociology" and on the editorial board of "Social Politics". She has been the Norwegian partner in the EU/TSER-funded Research Networks "Gender and Citizenship: Social Integration and Social Exclusion".

Main recent publications (in English)

(2002), *Working Parents and the Welfare State. Family Change and Policy Reform in Scandinavia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

& C. Saraceno "Care: Actors, Relationships, Contexts". In Hobson, B., Lewis, J., Siim, B. (eds.), *Contested Concept in Gender and Social Politics*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

& T. P. Boje and A. Leira (eds.) (2000), *Gender, Welfare State and the Market. Towards a new division of labour*, London and New York: Routledge.

(2000) "Combining work and family: Nordic policy reforms in the 1990s", in: T.P. Boje and A. Leira (eds.)

& T. P. Boje (2000) "Introduction: gender, welfare state and the market - towards a new division of labour", in: T. P. Boje and A. Leira (eds.).

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Marie-Thérèse Letablier

Marie-Thérèse Letablier, geographer and sociologist, is a researcher at the CNRS and the Centre d'Études de l'Emploi in Paris, where she is conducting comparative studies on gender and labour market, gender and social and employment policies, public policies and the family-employment relationship. She has been involved in various cross national European projects, on Families and Family Policies in Europe (1993–95), on the interaction between policy and demographic change (DGV, 1997–98). She is currently the French team leader and contributor to the Loughborough project on Policy responses to socio-economic challenges concerning population ageing, changing family structures and changing gender relations (DG XII, 2000-2002). Presently, she conducts research (with Jeanne Fagnani, CNRS, Paris) on “The impact of the flexibilisation of working time on family life and child care practices in France”.

Main recent publications

& J. Fagnani (forthcoming 2002) « La politique d'accueil de la petite enfance aux prises avec la politique de l'emploi en France », *Feministudie*, (à paraître 2002,)

(forthcoming 2002) « La promotion de l'égalité entre les sexes : un enjeu pour les politiques familiales », *Informations sociales*, (à paraître mars 2002).

& J. Fagnani (2001), *Familles et travail : contraintes et arbitrages*, Paris : La documentation Française (Problèmes économiques et sociaux.

(2001) « Le travail envers autrui et sa conceptualisation en Europe », *Travail, Genre et Société*, n° 6/2001, 19-42.

(2001) « L'égalité entre les sexes, un enjeu européen », *CEE 4pages* n° 46, juin 2001.

& Rieucau (2001), *Garder et accueillir les enfants : une affaire d'Etat ?*, document de travail CEE n° 6, janvier.

& M. Lurol (2000) « Les femmes entre travail et famille dans les pays de l'Union européenne », *La Lettre du CEE* n° 63, juillet.

& A. Fouquet, A. Gauvin (2000) “Des contrats sociaux entre les sexes différents selon les pays de l'Union européenne”, in: *CAE, Egalité entre femmes et hommes: aspects économiques*, Paris: La Documentation française.

& M.-T. Lanquetin, J. Laufer (2000) "From equality to reconciliation in France?" in: L. Hantrais (ed.) *Gendered Policies in Europe. Reconciling Employment and Family life*, London: MacMillan Press.

& J.-C. Barbier (1998) "Etat et familles: politiques publiques comparées en Europe", in: Auvergnon, Martin, Rozenblatt et Tallard (eds.) *L'Etat à l'épreuve du social*, Paris: Editions Syllepse (coll. « le Présent Avenir »): 139-151.

(1998) "L'activité professionnelle des femmes à l'épreuve des transformations du marché du travail", *Annales Marocaines d'Economie*, no. 22-23: 151-170.

& L. Hantrais (1998) "La démarche comparative et les comparaisons franco-britanniques", *La revue de l'IRES*, no. 28, spécial Comparaison France-Royaume-Uni: 145-162.

& L. Hantrais (1997) *Familles, Travail et politiques familiales en Europe*, Paris: CEE/PUF.

Overview of the contacts with Policy makers.

Membership in advisory boards

2001: member of advisory board organised by the "Service des droits des femmes" in order to prepare the French Presidency of the European Union. The aim was to work on social indicators to improve the knowledge on the reconciliation between work life and Family life.

2001-2002: member of the advisory board in charge of the preparation of the "Conférence de la famille" to be held by the Minister of the Family and Childhood, this spring. The working group is composed of members of trade unions, of employers unions, by members of the French ministry of the social affairs, and of researchers. The aim of the group is to prepare policy measures to be announced at this conference. The measures will be in the area of work and family balance, and more precisely on the implication of the firms on that question. In this context, we have been invited to introduced the first meeting, in the presence of the Minister herself. We also have been heard as expert on the rôle of enterprises in the improvement of the work and family balance.

2001-2002: in relation with the research on the effects of work flexibilisation on family life, I am involved in with J. Fagnani, we have been asked by the Ministry of Labour to

introduce in our questionnaire a specific question on the effects of the law on the reduction of working time on the reconciliation of work and family life. The Ministry of labour has funded a qualitative survey on the effects of the 35 hours law on the life of parents with at least one child under six. Nearly 30 in depth interviews have been done on that topic. A paper will be published in the revue “Travail et emploi”.

2000-2002: several contributions have been done to meetings organised by different trade unions.

The case study is funded by the CNAF (Caisse nationale d’allocations familiales) which is the institution in charge of paying family allowances and of implementing the family policy. The project is realized in co-operation with Jeanne Fagnani, one of the counsellors of the director of this institution. The main results of the case study will be published primarily in the revue of the CNAF “Recherches et Prévisions”.

Jane Lewis

Professional Career: Prof. of Social Policy, London School of Economics, 1979-1996; Prof. of History, University of Oxford, 1996-1998; Prof. of Social Policy, University of Nottingham, 1998-2000; Barnett Professor of Social Policy, University of Oxford, since 2000.

Involvement in other EU Projects: HCM Network “Gender and Welfare Regimes”, Co-ordinator (1993-6), TSER Network “Gender and Citizenship”, Coordinator: Birte Siim, University of Aalborg (1997-9), “The Enterprises and Organizations of the Third System: A Strategic Challenge for Employment”, DGV funded, coordinated by CIRIEC, Liege. J. Lewis is Member of the Management Commitment COST Action 15, “Social Protection Systems in Europe”.

Visiting Professor: University of Oslo, EC Summer School, 1997; EC Summer School, Greece, July 1998.

Recent Grants: Joseph Rowntree Foundation grant for research on father involvement, £85,000, 2001-2EC TSER grant for research on childcare, 60,000 euros, 2001-3

Main recent publications

(2001) *The End of Marriage? Individualism and Intimate Relations*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

(2002) ‘Legitimizing Care Work and the Issue of Gender Equality’. In M. Daly (ed.) *Care Work. The Quest for Security*. Geneva: ILO.

(2002) ‘Das Vereinigte Konigreich: Auf dem Weg zu einem neuen Whlfahrtsmodell unter Tony Blair?’ . Zeitschrift fur Sozialreform 47 (6) 2002: 585-604.

& T. Knijn (2001) ‘A Comparison of English and Dutch Sex Education in the Classroom’. Education and Health 19 (4).

(2001) ‘The Problem of Fathers: Policy and Behaviour in Britain’. In B. Hobson (ed.) Making Men into Fathers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

& G. Pascall (2001) ‘Care Work Beyond Beveridge’. Benefits issue 32.

(2001) 'Orientations to Work and the Issue of Care'. In J. Millar and K. Rowlingson (eds.) *Lone Parents, Employment and Social Policy*. Policy Press.

(2001) 'Is Marriage the Answer to the Problems of Family Change?' *The Political Quarterly* 72 (4).

(2001) 'The Decline of the Male Breadwinner Model: Implications for Work and Care' *Social Politics* 8 (2).

(2001) 'Social Insurance and the Future of Work'. In *Labour Law and Social Insurance in the New Economy: A Debate on the Supiot Report*, Centre for Economic Performance, LSE and The Leverhulme Trust. , Discussion Paper 500, July 2001.

(2001) 'Marriage'. In I Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.) *Women in Twentieth Century Britain*, Longman.

(2001) 'Women, Men and the Family'. In A. Seldon (ed.) *The Blair Effect. The Blair Government 1997-2001*. Little Brown.

(2001) 'Les Femmes et le Workfare de Tony Blair'. *Esprit* nos. 3/4, Mars-Avril 2001

(2001) 'Debates and Issues regarding Marriage and Cohabitation in the British and American Literature'. *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family* 15 (1).

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(2000) 'Esado de Bienestar y trabajo de cuidado no remunerado'. In Paloma de Villota (ed.) *La politica Economica desde una Perspectiva de Genero*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.

(2000) 'Family Policy in the Post-War Period'. In S. N. Katz, J. Eekelaar and M. Maclean (eds.) *Cross Currents. Family Law and Policy in the US and England*. Oxford University Press.

(2000) 'Politica Familiar y Mercado de Trabajo: el caso de Gran Bretana desde una optica europea'. In M. Maruani, C. Rogerat, T. Torns (eds.) *Las Nuevas Fronteras de las Desigualdad*. Barcelona, Icaria Antrazyt.

(2000) 'Women and Social Citizenship in Twentieth Century Welfare States'. In Solvi Sogner and G. Hagemann(eds.) Women's Politics and Women in Politics. In Honour of Ida Blom. Oslo, J. w. Cappelens Forlag as.

(2000) 'Work and Care'. Social Policy Review 12.

& M. Daly (2000) 'The Concept of Social Care and the Analysis of Contemporary Welfare States'. British Journal of Sociology 51 (2).

(2000) 'Family Policy and the Labour Market in European Welfare States'. In J. Jenson, J. Laufer and M. Maruani (eds.) The Gendering of Inequalities: Women, Men and Work. Ashgate.

(2000) 'Why Don't Fathers Pay More for their Children?' Benefits issue 27.

(2000) 'Gender and Welfare Regimes', in G. Lewis, S. Geewirtz and J. Clarke (eds.) Rethinking Social Policy, Sage Pubs.

Recent Addresses for academics and policy makers

- 'Social Insurance and Labour Law Reform', Address for SASE Conference, LSE, July, 2000
- 'Gender, Welfare and Globalisation', Address for RC 19, ISA Conference, August, 2000.
- 'Work and Care', Paper for the British Association Conference, September, 2000.
- 'Globalisation and Welfare', Address for COST ACTION 15 Conference, Cologne, October, 2000
- 'Family Change and Family Policy in OECD Countries', Address for the Central Policy Unit, Government of Hong Kong, November, 2000.
- 'Family Change, Gender and Social Policy', Plenary Address for the Hellenic Social Policy Association, University of Thrace, May 2001.
- 'Towards a New Welfare Model in the UK?', Plenary Address for the German Sociological Association, Hanover, May 2001
- 'Changing Family Structures', Address for the President and LCD, June 2001
- 'Towards an Adult Worker Model?', Plenary Address for the Social Policy Association Conference, Sydney Australia, July 2001.
- 'Gender, Social Policy and Globalisation', Plenary Address for the European Social Policy Association Conference, August 2001.

- The Goodman Lectures: ‘Family, Gender and Policy’, University of Western Ontario, Canada, September 20001.
- ‘Welfare State Change: Convergence at Last?’ , Address for the Institute of Human Sciences, Vienna, November, 2001.

Constanza Tobío

She graduated in Political Science and Sociology at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, where she presented her doctoral dissertation in 1987. She is currently Profesora Titular at Universidad Carlos III de Madrid and Vice-dean in charge of the degree in Sociology. She has been Academic Secretary of the Department of Political Science and Sociology (1994-1997) and Head of the Department (1997-1999). She has been visiting professor at the universities of Bilbao, Granada, Bath, Siena and at the Centre d'Etudes de l'Emploi in Paris. She is currently Director of the Master in European Political Culture at Universidad Carlos III de Madrid.

Her main areas of research are urban sociology, social structure and the family-employment relationship. More specifically she has worked on social segregation and exclusion in Spanish cities (particularly in Madrid), space and gender (focusing on different spatial mobility trends by gender and the underlying gendered models in urban planning), dual earner families, lone parent families and women's strategies to combine employment and motherhood in Spain focusing on the role of grandmothers. She has done a broad research financed by the Spanish Ministry of Social Affairs on lone parent families in Spain using quantitative secondary sources (census and labour force surveys) and primary qualitative data, based on which several articles and a book have been published recently. She is a member of the TSER network on "Working and Mothering: social policies and social practices" and of the Research Training Network "Grandparenthood and intergenerational relationships in aging European populations". She is currently engaged in research on Spanish women's strategies to cope with family responsibilities and paid work both from a qualitative and quantitative perspective.

Recent publications:

(2001) "Working and Mothering. Women's strategies in Spain", *European Societies*, 3,3, 339-371.

(2001) "Women's Strategies and the Family-Employment Relationship in Spain" in Mazur, A.G. (ed.) *State Feminism, Women's Movements and Job Training. Making Democracies Work in a Global Economy*, Routledge, New York and London, 49-64.

(2001) "La familia y el empleo: prácticas y discursos de las mujeres" in Rita Radl Philip (ed.) *Cuestiones Actuales de Sociología del Género*, Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas/Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, Madrid, 129-148.

(2001) "La contradicción familia-empleo y las estrategias de las madres trabajadoras" in Lourdes Gaitán (ed.) *Demografía y Cambio social*", Consejería de Servicios Sociales/Comunidad de Madrid, Madrid, 91-106.

(2001) "Marriage, Cohabitation and Youth Residential Independence in Spain", *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family*, 15, 68-87.

(2001) "Chez les parents jusqu'a trente ans. La spécificité espagnole en Europe", *Esprit*, 273, 156-173.

& Sampedro, R., Montero, M. (2000) *La actividad laboral de las mujeres en las periferias madrileñas: discursos y prácticas*, Dirección General de la Mujer/Comunidad de Madrid, Madrid.

& Fernández Cordón, J.A. (1999) *Las familias monoparentales en España*, Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, Madrid.

& Fernández Cordón, J.A. (1999) Monoparentalidad, familia y empleo, in: *Revista Internacional de Sociología* , 22, pp. 67-97.

(1999) Solidaridad y cambio entre generaciones de mujeres, in: Ortega, M.; Sánchez, C. and Valiente, C. (eds.) *XII Jornadas de Investigación Ciudadanía y Género: revisiones desde el ámbito privado* 11-13 de marzo 1998, Instituto Universitario de Estudios de la Mujer de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (proceedings), Ediciones de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 469-484.

& Fernández Cordón, J.A. (1988) Las familias monoparentales en España, in: *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 83, pp. 51-86. (English version in: *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas, English Edition* 1999, pp. 143-180).

(1998) Roles de género y la relación familia-empleo, in: *Asparkía. Investigació feminista*, 9, pp. 21-44.

(1997) Zonificación y diferencias de género, in: *Astrágalo*, 5, pp. 61-76.

Rossana Trifiletti

Rossana Trifiletti is associate professor in Social Policy and Sociology of the Family at Florence University's Faculty of Political Sciences "Cesare Alfieri".

She is a member of DISPO, a Department which is composed by sociologists and political scientists with a special interest in the transformations of Italian political and social system, public policies, local social services, international risks and political and social deviance, often from a comparative perspective. Her research interests are in qualitative sociology of the family, social policies, gender issues, women's work, qualitative methods and history of sociological thought. She took part in several European networks on social work, family obligations and work-care arrangements. She participated in some CNR funded national strategic projects about feminisation of poverty and the reform of Italian welfare regime and conducted a research for the Italian Ministry of Social Affairs about the local welfare system of 12 Italian towns. She is now directing another one focused on local family policies, covering 21 towns (of all Italian Regions) for the National Observatory on Family and Family Policy, directed by prof. Marzio Barbagli, of which she is a member.

She is the national contractor for Italy of an EC funded TSER research about "New kinds of families, new kinds of social care: shaping multidimensional European policies for informal and formal care".

Main recent publications

(in print) "Le famiglie monogenitore", M. Barbagli (ed.), Rapporto sulla famiglia in Italia, Bologna, Il Mulino.

(in print) "Dare un genere all'uomo flessibile: le misurazioni del lavoro e delle pensioni delle donne a confronto con materiali di ricerca", in F. Bimbi (ed.), Differenze e dimensioni della vita quotidiana. Percorsi di ricerca per la costruzione di indicatori di genere, Bologna, Il Mulino.

& A. Pratesi, S. Simoni (2001) "Care Arrangements in Single Parent Families. National Report: Italy". SOCCARE "New Kinds of Families. New Kinds of Social Care": <http://www.uta.fi/laitokset/sospol/soccare/>

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(2001) "Mosse narrative e strategie di identità: una ricerca sulle madri sole", in: G. Chiaretti M. Rampazi and C. Sebastiani (eds.), *Conversazioni, storie, discorsi. Interazioni comunicative tra pubblico e privato*, Roma Carocci.

(2000) "Obblighi di famiglia, dipendenze preferite e messa in visibilità del lavoro di cura", *Inchiesta*, 128, aprile-giugno: 105-112.

(2000) "Politiche sociali, città e relazioni di cura", in: A. Del Re (ed.) *A scuola di politica. Reti di donne e costruzione dello spazio pubblico*, Milano: Angeli.

(2000) "Processi identitari e costruzione delle politiche. Storie di vita a Firenze", in: F. Bimbi (ed.) *Le madri sole. Processi di inclusione ed esclusione sociale*, Roma: Carocci.

(1999) "Mediterranean Welfare Regimes and the Worsening position of Women", *Journal of European Social Policy*, 9, 1: 49-64 .

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(1998) "Famiglia e servizi sociali di fronte al lavoro di cura. Antiche rigidità e trasformazioni in corso", in: R. Giommi and M. Perrotta, *Educazione sessuale come prevenzione. Nuovi modelli per la famiglia, la scuola, i servizi*, Tirrenia: ed. del Cerro: 120-140.

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(1997) "Politiche sociali in un'ottica di genere:il caso italiano", in: F. Bimbi and A. Del Re (eds.) *La cittadinanza delle donne a 50 anni dal voto*, Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier.

Annex II: Country Based Studies

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Germany

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France

Marie-Thérèse Letablier
Jeanne Fagnani

Title **Les effets de la flexibilité du travail sur l'organisation de la vie familiale en France** (The effects of work flexibilisation on family life in France)

Authors Marie-Thérèse Letablier (CNRS/CEE) with Jeanne Fagnani (CNRS/CNAF).

Funding CNAF (Caisse nationale d'allocations familiales, Paris)

Timescale 1999-2002

Aims of the project - understanding the effects of changing working conditions (flexibility; changing working time conditions, etc) on family life and family arrangements concerning child care.
- comparing family practices in different contexts (urban, rural) and in changing working patterns.
- assessing the share of domestic work and childcare within the family

Data collection - Postal questionnaire survey sent to parents having at least one child under six (age of compulsory school in France). The sample is drawn from the recipients of family allowances. The recipient can be the mother or the father (on their choice). - In depth interviews on specific topic.

Sample 7000 questionnaires have been sent to families in five regions: two regions in the Paris area where many "crèches" are available, one rural region in the centre of France where it is expected to find forms of family solidarity, one old industrial region in the north of France with a high level of unemployment and two regions in the south of France , one around Montpellier, a large city , and the other around

Béziers, a smaller town with a high unemployment rate, and with a high level of women's seasonal employment.

Content Questions are organised around two main topics: working conditions of the parents and specially working time, and caring arrangements (children only). We try to look at the different caring arrangements used by parents. The mothers can be working full time or part time or been looking for a job.

State of the Art 3500 responses to the postal survey have been collected. Nearly 20% of the questionnaires have been filled up by the fathers and the rest by the mothers. The statistical analysis of the responses has been done. And a report is being prepared for the Cnaf. Nearly 30 in depth interviews have been realised on the question of the effects of the reduction of working time and its effects on family life and on child care arrangements, on behalf of the ministry of Labour and social affairs. Two papers are in process, one for the revue "Recherches et prévisions" and the other for "Travail et emploi". Several conferences have been done on the topic, in research workshops and also in governmental areas. Participation to a workshop preparing the national conference on the family on spring 2002.

Activities (seminars, publications etc.)

- Conférence to European Regional meeting of the International Social Security Association on Social Security, *The family and the individual a new sharing of responsibilities*, Luxembourg, 19-21 April 1999. Title of the conférence : "la relation famille-emploi, une comparaison européenne" (published in Série européenne de documentation sur la Sécurité sociale).
- Conférence to the meeting organised in Paris, 19-20 may, by the CEDIAS and UNAF on *Les implicites de la politique familiale*. Title of the conférence : "Vers une convergence des modèles d'emploi féminins en Europe ?" revised version published under the title *Les femmes entre l'Etat, la famille et l'emploi, une comparaison européenne*, in Chauvière et al., *Les implicites de la politique familiale*, Dunod éditeur, Paris).
- (with J. Fagnani), « Progress in Gender relations in France », communication au colloque *Progressing Gender Relations in Europe : Questions of Equality in Paid and Unpaid Work*, European Studies Research Institute, University of Salford, and Centre for Gender Studies in Europe, University of Sheffield, 6-7 septembre 2001. « Progressing Gender Relations in paid and unpaid work in France », communication aux journées *Leggere le differenze : Percorsi di ricerca per la costruzione di indicatori di genere*, organisées par les départements de sociologie des universi-

tés de Milan, Florence et Padoue, Prato, 23 et 24 novembre 2001.

« The work and Family balance in France : the new trade offs », communication au colloque *Changing Work and Life Patterns in Western Industrial Societies*, organisé par le WZB et le DIW à Berlin en coopération avec la Brandeis University (USA) et le Murray Research Center at the Radcliffe Institute for advanced study, Harvard University, (USA), les 20 et 21 septembre 2001 à Berlin.

« *Conciliation vie familiale et vie professionnelle : les différentes dimensions d'une problématique d'ensemble*», Introduction to the conférence headed by the Minister of family affairs, Paris, 11 octobre 2001.

Germany

Prof. Dr. Ute Gerhard
Dr. Ute Klammer
Dr. Isolde Ludwig
Vanessa Schlevogt, MA

Title **Erwerbstätige Mütter im Spannungsfeld von Sozialpolitik und sozialer Praxis**
(Working mothers between social policy and social practice)

Authors Prof. Dr. Ute Gerhard; Dr. Ute Klammer, Dr. Isolde Ludwig; Vanessa Schlevogt MA (Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main/ Institute for Economic and Social Research (WSI in der Hans Böckler Stiftung), Düsseldorf)

Funding Hans Böckler Stiftung, Düsseldorf

Timescale Nov. 1998 - Feb. 2002

Fieldwork, data collection and data analysis: 1999-2000, project report finished in February 2002.

Aims of the project The focus of the project is on the everyday life of working mothers. We are especially interested in the strategies that women develop in order to combine paid work and family life. The intention of the study is to explore women's experiences in the context of available supports and infrastructure. Further, the aim is to analyse existing social policies in Germany with regard to the conflicting demands of working and mothering.

The project pays attention to the different cultural and policy traditions of East and West Germany. Besides, we interviewed women with different income and education in order to see which group is better served by existing policies and how combination strategies differ.

Data collection The main focus of the study lies on guided interviews and qualitative analyses of case studies. Besides, experts in labour market and social policy have been interviewed. In addition quantitative data from the German Socio-Economic-Panel (GSOEP) have been analysed.

Sample Qualitative interviews with nearly 60 women living in partnership with at least one child age 3 to 10 years. The women and their partners work more than 30 hours per week. The sample consists of four subgroups: East- and West-Germany (represented by interviews of women in Frankfurt am Main (West) and Leipzig (East)), and in both parts of the country families with higher as well as lower income and education. Some interviews with women who deviate from the sample (lone mothers, families with more than three children, housewives, women who work part-time and unemployed mothers). The quantitative data analysis refers to the same groups of families as the qualitative sample.

State of the Art Final report finished in February 2002.

Activities

(seminars, publications etc.) Participation in different conferences and meetings of experts.
Workshop with the presentation of first results in December 1999.
Two articles in the journal "WSI-Mitteilungen" (5/2001 and 3/2002).

Italy

Prof. Franca Bimbi (scientific coordinator)

Prof. Rossana Trifiletti

Prof. Carla Facchini

Prof. Francesca Zajczyk

Title **Gender and Social Indicators: Images of Women and Men in Italy**

Authors Prof. Franca Bimbi (scientific coordinator), University of Padua; prof. Rossana Trifiletti, University of Florence; prof. Carla Facchini and prof. Francesca Zajczyk, University of Milan-Bicocca.

Funding Funded by MURST, Ministry for University and Scientific and Technological Research. National projects of relevant scientific interest, but partially co-financed by Working and Mothering funds as concerns Florence's local research unit.

Timescale April 1st 2000 until March 31st 2002

Aims of the national project Identify and propose new more gender sensitive indicators for statistical data collection in Italy in a number of fields: gender contracts, poverty, family violence (Padua research unit) health, housing, network of relations of elderly (Milan research unit) work and pensions (Florence research unit).

Aims of the research by Florence's research unit Housework, family work and maternity do affect everywhere women trajectories in the labour market and in social protection; and yet, in Italy they seem even more affected by family structures, also because of the important weight of the informal sector of economy. It has already been supposed that women's work could be more difficult to see in Italy by "European" statistical criteria, but it becomes now more important to test the hypothesis, since the globalising trend will foster even more flexibility in the labour market. The research target being the social construction of a normal definition of presence/absence in the labour mar-

ket, it seems reasonable to build upon an interdisciplinary approach and upon long time series: an analysis of changes in official statistical data collection may contribute to clarify the National style of statistical surveys (Desrosières 1994) and to a still lacking time-sensitive analysis of gender discrimination. The research aims at analysing in particular a large grey zone between work and non-work, a zone about which too little is known, but of greater import on women's difference. We will try to reconstruct in time series how this grey zone has been visible or invisible to official data and we will inspect more deeply by empirical research some types of female trajectories approaching or getting into labour market by flexible "new economy" jobs and to connect them to ways in which women redefine work and care and try to reconcile them.

<i>Data collection</i>	The secondary analysis of the historical series of the labour forces surveys has shown that none of the 3 revisions of Istat's criteria or reformulations of the questionnaire had a real impact on the reliability of the measure of women's participation as revisions of the census had in the past. Therefore secondary analysis has been addressed to other surveys describing the newest transformations of the nature of womens' work. This last one has been the background of the field study, done collecting 26 in depth interviews with a detailed work-story of partnered women mothers and workers-on-call or on a recently introduced contract for term work (notula coordinata e continuativa), which is supposed to introduce some partial protection for these type of jobs. 20 among them are mothers of young children.
<i>Sample</i>	26 in depth interviews and work-stories of women workers-on-call and on a specific Italian atypical contract for temporary employment.
<i>State of the art</i>	A new idea of conciliation between work and care burdens seems to emerge in these mothers: they give up the hope in a more stable type of work, in a future coverage by social security, but they try to be in the labour market much more on their own conditions, to control more their quality of life without the heroic dedication of regular employed mothers, but, at the same time, having access to much less help than them. Meanwhile, however, the evolution of womens' entitlement to pension rights seem to question seriously this evolution which multiplies very complex trajectories among very different types of jobs: the coverage by maternity and parental leaves is too very uneven.

"conference and publication activities" An international meeting has been held in Prato "Leggere le differenze. Percorsi di ricerca per la costruzione di indicatori di genere" on November 23rd/24th 2001, with the participation of several local and national politicians and administrators (see leaflet attached). The first results of the research were illustrated.

A book edited by Franca Bimbi, *Differenze e dimensioni della vita quotidiana. Percorsi di ricerca per la costruzione di indicatori di genere*, is now in print by Il Mulino, in Bologna.

The Netherlands

Ass. Prof. Dr. Trudie Knijn and Dr. Frits van Wel

Title **The combination of work and care by mothers: motives, problems and strategies**

Authors Dr. Trudie Knijn and Dr. Frits van Wel

Funding Ministry of Welfare and Health care and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment

Timescale September 1999- September 2000

Aims of the research Central Questions:

- a) Which factors contribute to the employment of mothers with young children and a partner? Which factors can explain the differences in labour participation of low and highly educated mothers?
- b) Which problems do mothers experience with the combination of work and care and what strategies do they use to solve these problems?

The focus of the study

The study will focus on the combination of labour market perspectives, attitudes on motherhood and work and social policies as indicators for the motives mothers have either to find a job (part-time or full-time) or be housewives. These indicators will be used to study which problems working mothers have in combining work and care, what financial and normative motives they have for being employed and which social policies they perceive as contributing or hampering their labour participation.

This study will make use of some standardised scales (motives, attitudes) and will

focus on the typical Dutch situation in order to contribute to the intended cross-national study those elements which are of importance for Dutch mothers.

Data collection

The study exists of three parts:

- 1) A social policy analysis of those measures and arrangements which might influence Dutch mothers' labour participation.
- 2) A survey among 4000 mothers having young children and a partner
- 3) in-depth interviews with low educated employed mothers having young children and a partner.

Sample

40 in-depth interviews with low educated employed mothers having young children and partner. The in-depth interviews will focus on the strategies low educated working mothers use to combine work and care.

State of the Art

The project is finished by publishing a book:

Trudie Knijn & Frits van Wel (2001) Een wankel evenwicht. Arbeid en zorg in gezinnen met jonge kinderen. Amsterdam: SWP Uitgeverij.

Norway

Prof. Dr. Arnlaug Leira
Cand. polit. Borghild Godal
Cand. polit. May-Linda Magnussen

<i>Title</i>	Hvem skal passe barna? (Who shall care for the children?)
<i>Authors</i>	Cand. polit Borghild Godal, Prof. Arnlaug Leira, cand. polit. May-Linda Magnusson
<i>Funding</i>	The project forms part of a larger group of projects financed by the Norwegian Research Council to evaluate the cash benefit for childcare reform
<i>Timescale</i>	October 1st 1998 – January 31st 2001
<i>Aims of the research</i>	<p>Following the legislation of a cash benefit for childcare The Norwegian Research Council was asked to do an evaluation of the reform.</p> <p>This project examines the combination of work and childcare among Norwegian parents of under-3s. Focus is on mothers' and fathers' use of the childcare 'policy package' that includes paid parental leave, the use of state sponsored childcare facilities, claiming of the cash for childcare. Main questions deal with why parents have chosen different forms of childcare, including sharing or not sharing the parental leave and the cash benefit periods, and how the use of the policy package has affected mothers' and fathers' involvement in paid work. In conclusion the report discusses the impact of childcare policy reform on gender equality in childcare and paid work respectively.</p>
<i>Data collection</i>	The main data collected for this project consist of semi-structured interviews conducted with 40 mothers, 30 users and 10 non users of the cash benefit reform. (In addition, data from a nationwide representative survey done by Statistics Norway gave valuable background information about general aspects of take up and use of the cash benefit and the use of state-sponsored childcare).

Sample see above

State of the Art The main project report “Hvem skal passe barna. Kontantstøtte, barnetilsyn og foreldres lønnsarbeid” (Who shall care for the children?) was published in January 2001.
Further presentations include: A. Leira: “Time for Work Time for Care: Norwegian parents in the 1990s”, paper presented at the European Sociological Association Conference, Helsinki, August 2001.
Leira, A. “Work, Family and the Welfare State: Family Change and Policy Reform in the Nordic Countries”. Paper presented at the conference Progressing gender relations in Europe. Manchester, September 2001.
Project presentations for the Research Council and the Ministry of Children and Family Affairs.
Invited paper to be presented April 2002 for the planning of a follow-up study of the cash benefit reform by the Research Council and the Ministry.

Spain

Constanza Tobío

Queti Arteta

Juan Antonio Fernández Cordón

Title **Estrategias de compatibilización familia-empleo. España años noventa.**

Authors Constanza Tobío; Queti Arteta; Juan Antonio Fernández Cordón

Funding Instituto de la Mujer (Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales)

Timescale The field work was done between September and December 1995. The preliminary report was finished in 1996. Final report 1998. Articles, papers and book chapters 1999-2002.

Aims of the research Even though the female global activity rate in Spain is low a majority of mothers are in the labour market. Part time employment is low, social policies to help combine family and employment scarce and participation of men in domestic tasks very limited. In this context the aim of the research is to find out about practical strategies developed by working mothers in their everyday lives to cope with both worlds.

The research has two different parts. The first on women's ideological discourse on employment: why do they work? The second on practical strategies to manage family and employment. A typology has been defined based on main strategies, complementary strategies, extreme or undesirable strategies and indirect strategies.

Data collection Qualitative approach. In depth interviews and focus groups.

Sample Working mothers living with a masculine couple (married or in partnership) with at least a child below 18 years old with them in the four main Spanish cities (Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Bilbao). Six focus groups (eight persons each) and twenty five in depth interviews. The main variables to select the interviewee were age and social class based on the women's occupation.

State of the Art Further analysing (The preliminary report was finished in 1996; see above).

Art

Sweden

Ass. Prof. Ingrid Jönsson

Title **Working Mothers' Everyday Life: Strategies, Adjustments and Solutions**

Authors Ass. prof. Ingrid Jönsson

Funding Swedish Council For Work Life Research

Timescale 1.1.1999-31.12.2001

Year 1: Review of public statistics and literature on the historical development. The contemporary situation will be analysed in relation to social policy, family policy, educational policy, tax policy and labour market policy. Special attention will be paid to national policies with regard to the care of children, elderly and handicapped and entitlement rules to social benefits. Report at the end of 1999.

Year 2: A case study of 40 working mothers in Sweden. Report at the end of 2000.

Year 3: Comparisons of working mothers' everyday lives built on case studies from some of the countries participating in the TSER network supplemented with studies on the combination on work and family-life reviewed during the first year. Report at the end of 2001.

Aims of the project The aim is to study strategies, adjustments and solutions applied by working mothers as to combine work and family life. Similarities and differences in how working mothers in Sweden and in some European countries handle the work-family relation will be analysed within the framework of different social welfare systems representing variations in the relation between state-market-family. Measures facilitating as well as conditions complicating mothers' labour market participation will be focused.

<i>Data collection</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Review of public statistics and literature on welfare states at a macro level. 2. Case study building on diaries and interviews with 40 working mothers in Sweden. 3. Results from case studies made by partners in the TSER network.
<i>Sample</i>	The sample consists of 20 highly educated (ISCED 5+6) and 20 lower educated (ISCED 3+4) women with small children (pre-school ages or early school ages; 5-7 years old) living in partnership and working full-time or nearly full-time. The mothers will be selected with regard to private/public employment, employment sector, status at work and economic situation.
<i>State of the Art</i>	<p><i>Fieldwork</i></p> <p><i>Activities (seminars, publica- tions etc.)</i></p> <p>Jönsson, I. (1999) "Women, work and welfare", in Littlewood, P. with Glorieux, I., Herkommer, S. and Jönsson, I. (eds.) <i>Social Exclusion in Europe. Problems and Paradigms</i>. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 113-134.</p> <p>Jönsson, I. (1999/2002) "Women and Education in Europe", <i>International Journal of Contemporary Sociology</i>, Vol. 36, No. 2, pp. 144-162. Also in <i>Sociology of Education. A Handbook of International Perspectives</i>. Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, forthcoming 2002.</p> <p>Jönsson, I. (1999) "Changing Patterns of Education and Training for Women in the European Union", in Hantrais, L. (ed.) 4. <i>Changing Gender Relations and Policy</i>, Cross National Research Papers. Fifth Series: Socio-Demographic Change, Social and Economic Policies in the European Union. The Cross-National Research Group, European Research Centre, Loughborough University.</p> <p>Jönsson, I. "Reconciliation of Work and Family Life", in <i>Le contrat social à l'épreuve des changements démographiques. The Social Contract in the Face of demographic Change</i>. Actes/Proceedings, 2e Rencontres Sauvy, Paris: INED.</p> <p>Jönsson, I. (2001). "Working and Mothering: Social practices and social policies", in Hantrais, L. (ed.) <i>Researching Family and Welfare from an International Comparative Perspective</i>. From papers presented at a dialogue workshop held in Brus-</p>

sels on 14-15 June 2001. Conference proceedings. Improving Human Research Potential and the Socio-Economic Knowledge Base, Brussels, November 2001.

Knijn, T., Jönsson, I. and Klammer, U. (2001) *"Care Packaging: Minding the Children and/or Work"*. Paper presented at the 5th Conference of the European Sociological Association "Visions and Divisions", Helsinki, August 29-31, 2001.

Jönsson, I. (2002). "Verfügbarkeit von Berufs- und Familienleben in Schweden", in *WSI Mitteilungen* 3/2002 (forthcoming)

UK

Dr. Tess Kay
Liz Such

Title **Leisure and family lifestyles: the construction of individual and household time-use patterns in dual-earner households**

Authors Liz Such (Research student)
Dr. Tess Kay (Supervisor)

Funding Loughborough University

Timescale 1.10.98 – 30.9.2001

Aims of the project This research was a doctoral study carried out by Elizabeth Such under the supervision of Dr. Tess Kay. The study took place during the period that the Network met and was greatly assisted by the opportunity to participate in Network meetings.

The research investigated the role that leisure plays in the way in which men and women construct their lifestyle in British dual earner households in which there are dependent children. In Britain, dual-earner households have become the most common form of household for two-parent families: by 1994 60% were in this category, compared with 47% ten years previously. At the same time, the number of two-parent households in which there is only one earner has declined by about a third, from 43% in 1984 to 30% in 1994. These changes suggest that the role expectations of male and female parents' may be becoming less strongly differentiated than previously, and that new forms of household activity patterns are emerging to meet the time-demands on dual-earner families.

The study investigated the role of men and women's expectations of personal leisure entitlement in sustaining gender inequalities within the household dynamic.
The study examined:

- i. the leisure and non-leisure activity patterns of mothers and fathers in dual-earner households;
- ii. the overall leisure and non-leisure activity profiles of dual-earner households;
 - iii. the processes through which time is allocated to activities by mothers and fathers with particular reference to the level of freedom/constraint which mothers and fathers experience in individual time-use and activity patterns
- iv. the interaction between partners' activity patterns, with particular reference to the relative priority given to conflicting preferences, and the basis on which such conflicts are resolved.

Data collection Data collection consisted of in-depth interviews and oral histories with both partners in 14 dual-earner couples with dependent children. The analysis examined the work and family histories of partners, the relationships between work, family and leisure for individuals at different stages in the lifecourse and the contextual meanings of leisure, which are shown to be dynamic and mutually dependent both at an individual level and between partners. The research demonstrated the value of considering leisure as a central component in investigations of lifestyle across the lifecourse and highlighted its crucial role in the formation and maintenance of gender relations within the home.

Sample Dual-earner households with pre-school/school-age children in which both partners are in employment (n=14 couples)

State of the Art Completed 2001