

## **Paid work, unpaid time prosperity in European welfare regimes <sup>1</sup>**

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During the past decades, there has been a remarkable change in work and private life of Europeans: Whereas in the second modern age the institutions of the standard employment relationship and of the life-long occupation have structured the life-course of Europeans (at least of men), now on the threshold to the third modern age the deregulation of these institutions is on the way. Under this new model the tasks previously fulfilled by public institutions to secure people against the risks of life are been defined as the private responsibility of market actors – from private savings for retirement to procuring jobs. People have to get used to the idea of changing their job and their company several times in their lives. Short-term contracts become usual. The standard employment relationship no longer is the standard for men, the male breadwinner model no longer is the standard for European families.

At the same time, more citizens particularly in rich nations consider time prosperity as a new dimension of their quality of life beyond consumer's wealth. They define a "good life" also in terms of "time for their own lives". Thus, the question arises if the emerging patterns of work in Europe include chances of a new model of wealth. However, my analysis will not focus on unpaid voluntary work – this is the issue of the next German speaker Dr Kistler. When I speak about unpaid work

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I mean unpaid work done within private households which is an eminent source of welfare in the welfare mix of the three institutions, the market, the state or public economy and the household economy (which accounts for about two thirds of GDP)

The paths along which these trends develop vary considerably among European welfare regimes. The aim of this paper is to examine these different patterns in the work/private life interface, and the impact of institutional regulations of welfare regimes on everyday lives and life courses. Questions are analysed such as the actual and preferred working hours, the gender division of family and household work.

#### **1. A cross-national comparison of emerging patterns of work**

- increase in labour force participation of women
- erosion of standard working time
- spread of overwork and part-time work
- gap actual – preferred working hours on the couple level
- less stability of employment, more short-term and temporary agency work

## LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN 16-64 EU 1998

	pupil or student	employed	unemployed	looking after the family or home	retired
16-19	66,7	25,1	5,1	1,8	
20-24	34,1	48,8	9,1	6,0	
25-29	9,0	58,9	11,3	17,4	
30-34	2,9	62,2	8,3	24,6	
35-39	1,1	65,3	6,9	24,6	
40-44	0,7	65,6	6,9	24,2	
45-49	0,4	63,9	4,5	26,8	
50-54	0,6	56,6	5,3	30,6	
55-59	0,2	36,8	6,6	36,0	16,8
60-64	0,1	10,2	2,2	29,2	56,0

Data from European Foundation for The Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

## DIFFERENCE IN EMPLOYMENT RATES OF WOMEN AND MEN (%) 1998

Finland	1
Sweden	9
Denmark	9
Germany	15
United Kingdom	15
EUR15 + NOR	19
Portugal	19
France	20
Belgium	21
Italy	24
Austria	24
Greece	25
The Netherlands	25
Ireland	28
Spain	34

## PARTICIPATION RATES OF WOMEN AND MEN (%) 1998

Country	Participation rates	Not employed with wish to take up paid work
Spain	55	30
Italy	56	29
Greece	57	27

EUR15 + NOR	68	21
Belgium	69	16
France	70	22
Portugal	72	18
The Netherlands	73	15
Germany	73	20
Austria	73	15
United Kingdom	74	15
Ireland	75	23
Finland	76	19

Denmark	83	13
Sweden	85	17

Structure of employment: jobs in the service sector

## WORK REGIMES IN EUROPE

Regimes	Nordic corporatism	Centre social partnership	Anglo-Saxon liberal	Romantic polarisation
nations	Sweden Finland Denmark	Austria, Germany Belgium, The Netherlands	UK Ireland	France, Italy Spain, Portugal Greece
service sector	High	low	high	Low
central value	Equality	equity	self responsibility	modernization
central model	full employment	social partnership	deregulation	corporatist deregulation (e.g. contrato social)
economic system	mixed economy	social market economy	free market economy	"etatist" market economy
power balance	pro employees/ balanced	pro employers/balanced	changing	state intervention
extent of regulation of working times	High	high	low	medium to high
level of regulation of working times	Central	sectoral agreements	company/individual agreements	central and sectoral agreements

Own model based on Esping-Andersen 1990, Lessenich 1995, Carmona 1996, Crouch 1993, Ferner/Hyman 1992, Lane 1989, Slomp 1990

## DEVIATIONS FROM STANDARD WORKING HOURS: GERMANY – EU

Dimension	Deviation	1997/8/9 Germany percentage of gainfully employed	1996/8 EU15 percentage of gainfully employed
duration	overtime	71	62
	part time work 15-35 hours	17	17
	additionally < 15 hours	7-18	
position in the day	shifts, evenings and nights	25	33
position in the week	Saturday work	58	55
	Sunday work	27	29
place of work	paid work from home	19	17
employment status	self employment	9	14
	nominal self employment	3	
	non permanent contracts	12	
	multiple jobs	8	

## SPREAD OF OVERWORK AND PART-TIME WORK

## WEEKLY WORKING HOURS OF FULL TIME EMPLOYED-EUROPEANS 1998

Nation	average in hours	percentage of those with 48 hours and more amongst full employed
GR	49.3	37.7
<b>JAPAN</b>		35.0
A	46.4	25.8
IRL	45.8	23.8
UK	45.5	21.5
D	44.8	20.4
NL	44.7	17.4
<b>EU15 + NOR</b>	<b>44.0</b>	<b>22.4</b>
Portugal	44.0	19.9
S	43.7	15.8
E	42.9	16.6
I	42.9	16.2
B	42.8	13.3
F	42.3	10.7
FIN	42.1	12.3
DK	41.4	11.7

European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions  
Survey "Actual and Preferred Working Hours" 1998 in EU15 + NOR

DOUBLE-EARNER-COUPLES IN EUROPE PREFER TO WORK ...  
HOURS LESS PER WEEK 1998

UK	9.4
DK	6.9
A	5.1
IRL	4.8
NL	4.0
B	3.6
S	3.3
FIN	2.5
EU15 + NOR	2.2
D	1.8
F	0.6
I	0.1
P	0.0
GR	-2.7
E	-8.0

European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions: Survey  
"Actual and Preferred Working Hours" 1998 in EU15 + NOR, N = 17.807

PREFERRED PATTERN OF PAID WORK AMONG COUPLES IN THE EU 1998  
Couples with at least one of the partners in paid employment in %

	man full time woman full	man full time woman part time	Both part time
EUR15 + NOR	32	32	16
Ireland	21	39	15
Germany	26	37	15
United Kingdom	28	35	13
Belgium	29	33	21
Austria	29	35	13
Italy	30	32	12
Netherlands	12	40	31
Denmark	32	27	31
Sweden	36	26	30
France	37	29	18
Greece	47	19	12
Finland	50	19	19
Spain	55	17	10
Portugal	63	15	13

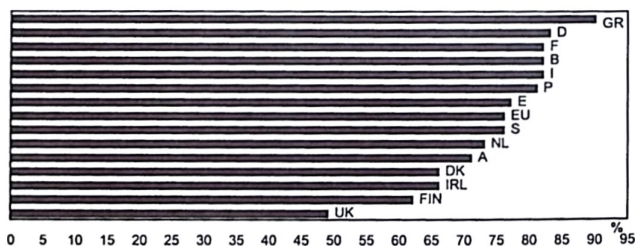
European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions: Survey "Actual and Preferred Working Hours" 1998 in EU15 + NOR, N = 17.807

LESS STABILITY OF EMPLOYMENT, MORE SHORT-TERM AND TEMPORARY AGENCY WORK  
Regime of employment in Germany and the U.S.A. (ideal-types)

	Germany Rhein-capitalism	USA Anglo-Saxon capitalism
Leading branch	Industry	Services
Financing of companies and corporate governance	long-term financing through credit by bank	financing through stock exchange shareholder-value
model of production	diversified quality production	low quality, low cost, mass production
educational system	professionalism dual training system skilled worker's tradition	— generalist qualification
staff policy of companies	protection against unfair dismissal long-term concentration on internal resources	hire and fire  low interest in long-term commitment to staff
<i>job and company mobility</i>	Low ↓	High ↓
Staying less than one year with the same employer OECD 1995	10%	25%
average job tenure OECD 1995	9.7 years	7.4 years

Modified acc. to Volker Wittke (SOFI-Göttingen) 2001, Michel Albert 1992, und Soskice, David, 1999

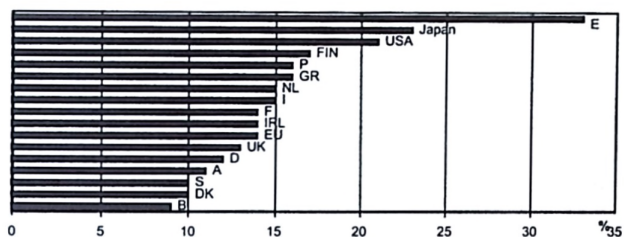
MEN OLDER THAN 50 YEARS STAYING LONGER THAN 10 YEARS WITH THEIR EMPLOYER 98



My analysis of data from the Survey "Actual and Preferred Working Hours"

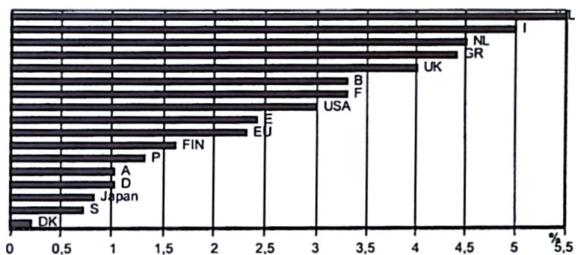


PERCENTAGE OF SHORT-TERM CONTRACTS INCL. APPRENTICES 2000



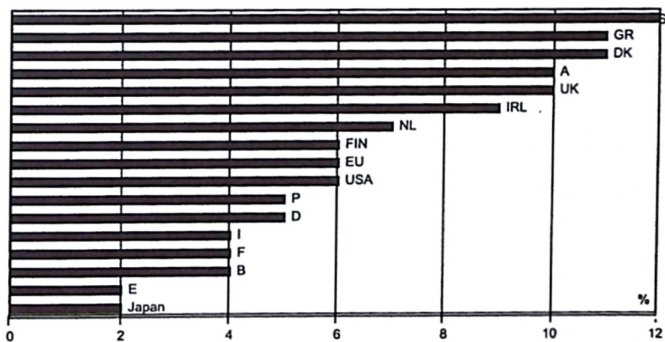
3rd European Survey on Working Conditions, European Foundation preliminary

PERCENTAGE OF TEMPORARY AGENCY WORKERS 2000



3rd European Survey on Working Conditions, European Foundation preliminary, national sources

GAINFULLY EMPLOYED '98 WITH MORE THAN ONE JOB



My own analysis of data from the European Foundation 1998

## 2. Welfare regimes regulating paid and unpaid work and time prosperity

- five welfare regimes
- gender distribution of family and household work
- economic and time prosperity
- Where does the European model stand?

FIVE WELFARE REGIMES

Regime	Nation	Social expenditures GDP in % 1999	Central value of the welfare and gender regime	Model for the welfare and gender regime
Scandinavian	Sweden Denmark Finland	33.7 31.4 29.9	equality	Universalism
conservative- corporatist	France Austria Italy	29.9 30.8 28.8 25.9	equity  participation of corporations	status hierarchy subsidiarity  male
welfare society	Japan	17.8	orientation to groups and companies	breadwinner model embedding in group
liberal	USA UK	21.0 26.8	Freedom	self responsibility
Southern European	Spain	21.4	family patriarchalism	family solidarity

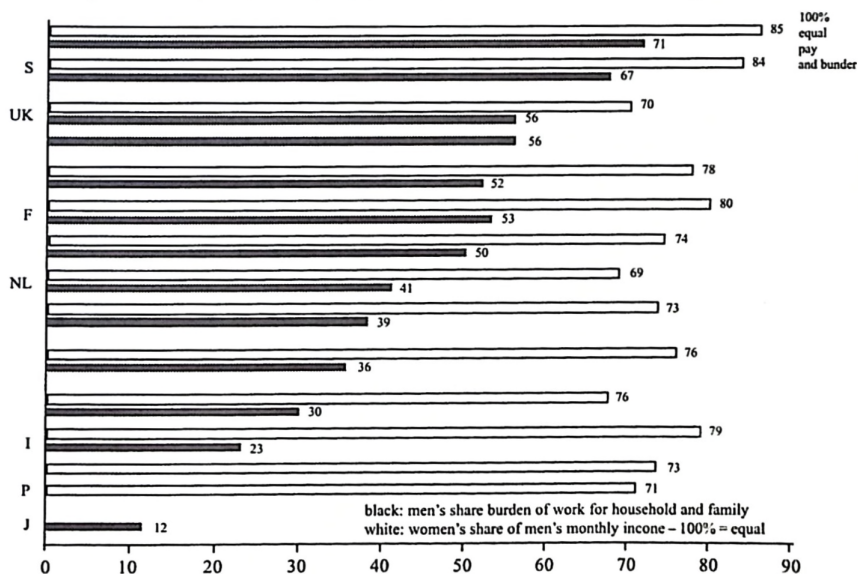
Own typology based on Esping-Andersen 1990; Leibfried 1992;  
Lessenich 1995/6, social expenditures: EUROSTAT

DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC AND TIME PROSPERITY IN THE FIVE WELFARE REGIMES

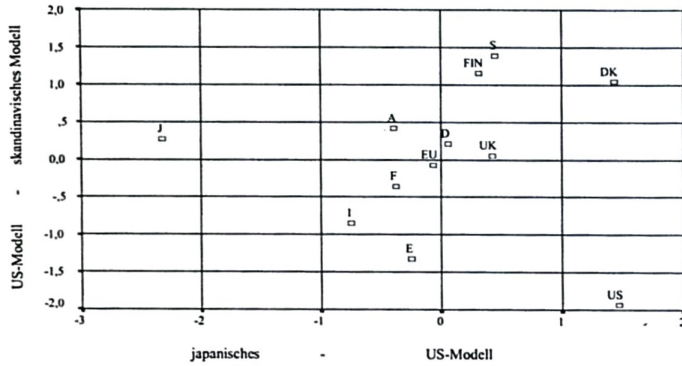
Regime	Nation	Central value in the welfare and gender regime	Central institution in the welfare mix	Economic prosperity	Time prosperity
Scandinavian	Sweden Denmark Finland	equality universalism	state	+	- + women
Corporatist	Germany France Austria Italy	equity in status hierarchy  male breadwinner  participation of corporations	state  families  corporations	+	- - women
Welfare society	Japan	orientation to groups/ companies	state market	++	- -- women
Liberal	USA UK	freedom self responsibility	market	++	--
Southern European	Spain	family solidarity patriarchalism	families	-	+ -- women

GENDER DIVISION OF PAID AND UNPAID WORKING HOURS AMONG FULL-TIME EMPLOYED

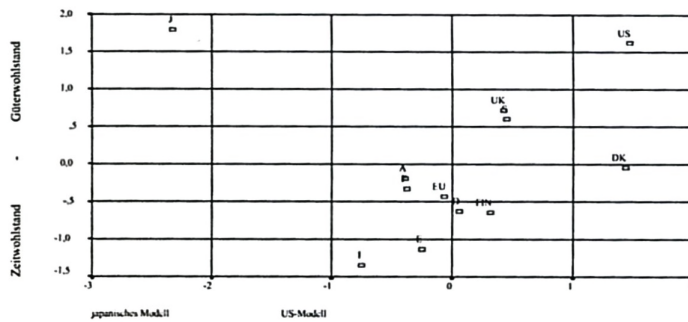
Equal burden (black) and equal pay (white) of women in five welfare regimes



## TIME AND ECONOMIC PROSPERITY IN THE EU, THE U.S.A. AND JAPAN



## INEQUALITY VS. EQUALITY: U.S. VS. SCANDINAVIAN MODEL

3. Challenges for European welfare regimes: from 2<sup>nd</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> modern age

- from the institution of occupational work to the job-model
- shifting boundaries between paid, unpaid work, learning, leisure time
- globalisation and learning from the U.S.-model?
- re-regulate flexible capitalism, re-profile the European model

The following comparison between the regulated and the flexible capitalism focuses on the impact of this de-regulation on the life-style and life-planning of employees:

1. In the first modern age, the *early capitalism* the type of labour mainly required was physical power and farmers or handcrafters' skills.
2. During the constant growth period of the 1960s and 1970s the *model of the skilled workers' occupation* was protected and demanded by the institutions of life career and occupation. This characterises the "second modernity".
3. The "third modernity" is characterized by de-regulation: Tasks previously provided by institutions are being redefined as a private matter. The planning security that is lost forces the individual to do more in co-ordinating.

In *each stage* of capitalism the commodification of work in the category "commodity of capabilities for work" calls for a far-reaching abstraction as these capabilities are attached to the worker's physics. In other words: His working hours make up his life time. The employee is forced to market his capabilities like any other commodity. To enable a *life perspective* for wage workers in their dependency on labour markets, the welfare state provided workers with arrangements against the markets' risks. They are necessary to protect them due to their inferior power in labour markets and within company organisations.

Compared to this job-and life-security the current *deregulation is a step backwards even if it does not lead back to the early capitalism*: individual workers become more dependent on changing conditions of labour markets. Of course, the manifold regulations of working conditions and participation rights of unions and works councils have not vanished. However, the qualitative type of regulation mode has changed: The more decisions on working conditions at national law or collec-

tive sectoral agreements level are replaced by contracts at the company and individual level the less counter-power of workers is possible, particularly in the face of high unemployment and globalised labour markets.

The institution of occupational work has set a spatial and a temporal boundary between the life domains of work and leisure life. At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century these boundaries are being liquefied (cf. Beck 1999, 469). Three consequences can be observed:

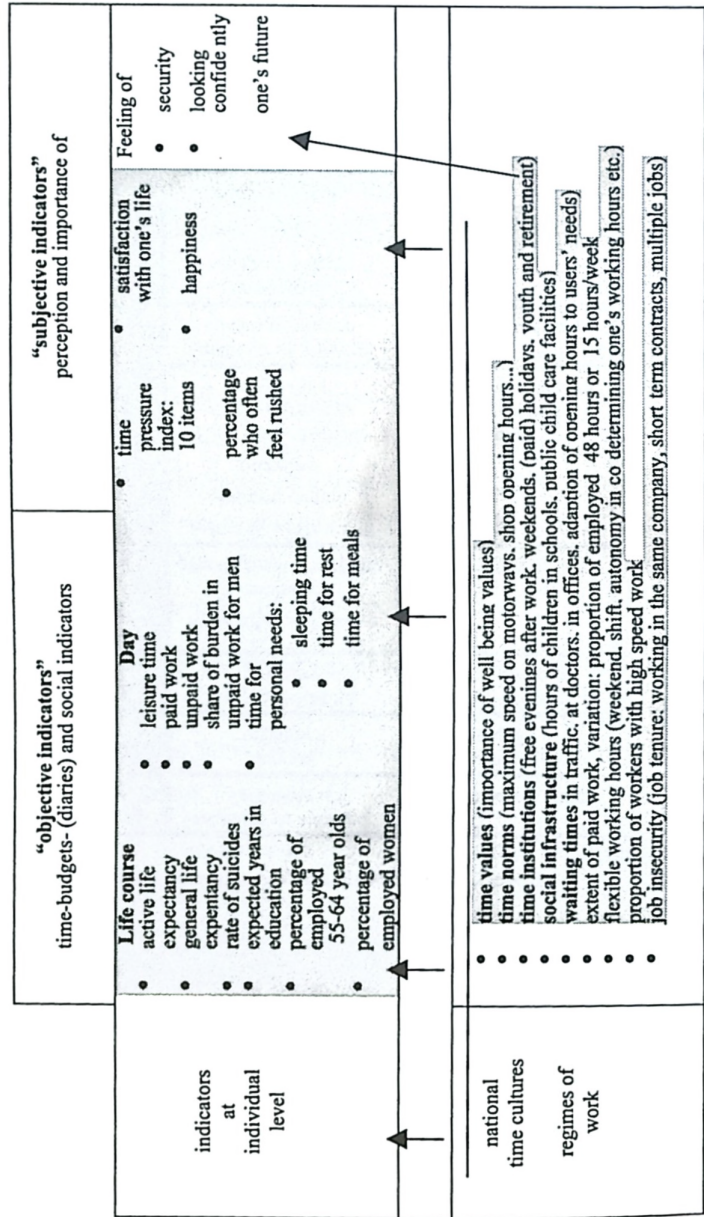
- *Economisation of private life style*: The employee has to market his capabilities. As in his love life the “end of monogamous work” (Gross 1996) results in being more on the alert and presenting oneself constantly. Organising his job portfolio becomes a time-consuming task in his private life. Multiple jobs have to be acquired and to be synchronised. The individual has to bring into play all his skills and his social relationships for this marketing. Social networks obtain a new importance.
- *As regards the spatial dimension* the boundary between work and leisure time is shifting, particularly through telework commuting from the office to the home, but also through mobile work which is demanded by globalisation and merging of firms.
- *Temporal boundaries* between work and leisure time are crossed in evenings, at night and at weekends.

FROM THE SECOND TO THE THIRD MODERN AGE

Stage	Second modern age	Third modern age
	Regulated capitalism fordist	Deregulated capitalism post-fordist
Quality of the capacity for work	time discipline  skilled worker's profession	constant flexibility and marketing of one's capacity for work occupation becomes less important
Control of work	control of results of work in company	self organisation and self control of work
Institutionalisation of work and free time	four time institutions: free evening after work weekend annual holiday youth and retirement	de-institutionalisation of work and free time:  shifting boundaries
Legal regulation	regulation of industrial relations corporatist regulation	liberalisation of social protection deregulation of labour markets
Central value in organising one's life	Security gain a profession	flexibility time sovereignty
Typical leisure activities	television holiday	Internet further education
time perspective	job biography: possible to calculate	Flexible adapting to market demands

Re-regulate the flexible capitalism, re-profile the European model

TIME PROSPERITY: INDICATORS AND INFLUENCES FROM TIME CULTURES AND REGIMES OF WORK





Regime	Nation	Social expenditures/ GDP in % 1999	Central value of the welfare and gender regime	Model for the welfare and gender regime	Model for the regulation of work
Scandinavian	Sweden Denmark Finland	33.7 31.4 29.9	Equality	Universalism	Full employment
Conservative- corporatist	Germany France Austria Italy	29.9 30.8 28.8 25.9	Equity Participation of corporations	Status hierarchy subsidiarity Male	Social partnership Social market economy
Welfare society	Japan	17.8	Orientation to groups and companies	Breadwinnermodel Embedding in group	"life long employment" in large scale companies
Liberal	USA UK	21.0 26.8	Freedom	Self responsibility	De-regulation
Southern European	Spain	21.4	Family patriarchalism	Family solidarity	Pacta social and de- regulation

Own typology based on Esping-Andersen 1990; Leibfried 1992; Lessenich 1995/6, social expenditures: EUROSTAT

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