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OPERATIONALISING 'BREADWINNING' WORK:  
GENDER AND WORK IN 21ST CENTURY EUROPE

by

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# **Operationalising ‘breadwinning’ work: gender and work in 21st century Europe.**

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## **Abstract**

The past decade has witnessed the proliferation of a range of societal typologies which have been constructed to signify differences and similarities in the ways that breadwinner work is organised by gender across countries. At the core of these typologies lies the familiar proposition that the traditional male breadwinner model is in decline and is being replaced by more gender equal arrangements of breadwinner work. The first question of this paper is how this theoretical concept of breadwinning work has been operationalised. The second question concerns to what extent the new typologies reflect the reality of the gender distribution of breadwinning work in the EC in 2000. Using a descriptive analysis of data from the *European Community Household Panel Survey*, a range of approaches to operationalising breadwinner work are considered. The various approaches largely result in familiar rankings of societies according to their levels of gendered breadwinning – with dual breadwinning remaining an elusive ideal - but a number of aberrations alert us to the need to consider more fully just how we operationalise this pivotal concept in the study of gender and work. It is concluded that a new multidimensional approach to ‘breadwinning’ is required.

## **Key words**

Male breadwinner models, dual breadwinners, gender and work.

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## **Introduction.**

The decline of the male-breadwinner model has generated an immense literature with contributions from the study of gender inequalities, of work and employment and of the family; and from within varying disciplines including sociology, social policy, economics, history, gender studies and politics. Stimulating interest is that, whilst a decline in male breadwinning seems common across western developed countries, the modifications to the male breadwinner model vary substantially cross-nationally. Accordingly, a host of typologies have been conceptualised to both facilitate the comparison of dwindling male-breadwinning cross-nationally, and to theorise what is taking the place of the male breadwinner model. A central question of the paper is to what extent do the typologies reflect the reality of the gender distribution of breadwinning work in the EC in 2000. But the first question it asks is how do we actually go about operationalising breadwinning work in the first place? Before addressing these questions, the development of theoretical breadwinner models will be outlined.

## **The development of male breadwinner models**

One of the influences on later breadwinner models was Hirdmann's (1988) attempt to typologise variation in the societal gender order via her elaboration of the gender contract. She discussed the notion of a 'gender system' in which all aspects of life are divided into the domain of either women or men, but where men's domains are seen as having higher value. Yet within this prevailing gender system, different types of gender contract can develop out of the interaction between a number of economic and political forces. These gender contracts shape what is appropriate behaviour for women and men in society and, importantly, the contracts can change over time and vary between societies. In Sweden, for example, Hirdmann suggests that a 'housewife' gender contract dominated from the 1930's until the

1960's, to be followed by an 'equality contract' and then by an 'equal status contract' in the 1980's.

Subsequent typologies have developed to depict variety in the societal gender differentiation of work tasks, making more explicit reference to breadwinning, and include those devised by Lewis (1992, 2002), Sainsbury (1996), Pfau-Effinger (1998) and Han and Moen (2001), amongst others. These typologies represent variety in the gender organisation of labour as follows: a range with at one extreme a very gender unequal category in which women and men perform completely different tasks; the strong male-breadwinner model (Lewis)/male breadwinner model (Sainsbury)/male breadwinner-female carer gender arrangement (Pfau-Effinger)/breadwinner-homemaker model (Han and Moen). At the other extreme lies a category in which women and men perform identical work roles; a weak male-breadwinner or adult worker model (Lewis)/individualist model (Sainsbury)/dual breadwinner-dual carer arrangement (Pfau-Effinger)/two career couples model (Han and Moen). In Crompton's (1999) review, she identifies a continuum of breadwinner models that begins with the male breadwinner/female carer arrangement, ranges through a number of modifications that have developed in different societies, and ends with an ideal typical dual-earning/dual-caring arrangement in which there is a gender symmetrical distribution of breadwinner and care work (see also Fraser 1997).

It has been suggested that there has been a weakening of the least gender equal category of work arrangements and moves towards the ideal gender equality category. Most would agree that the male breadwinner model is in decline (Creighton 1999), but it is also widely agreed that the model has not disappeared (see Janssens 1997 for a useful review). Not only do gender relations retain a high degree of asymmetry, the ideology of the male breadwinner

family retains a hold and still impacts upon identity and expectations as well as on the structure of work in most countries (Creighton 1999; Han and Moen 2001).

Academic interest in the decline of male breadwinning is immense and there is also parallel concern with what proportions of couples in different societies are dual-breadwinners. The issue of dual-breadwinning feeds into numerous theoretical (as well as political and policy) debates. For example, the increase in women's access to an income in their own right that is part of dual-breadwinner developments feeds into one of the central demands of the feminist movement: that women should gain economic independence via paid work<sup>1</sup>. An independent income gives women more power and more control over resources within the home, as well as enhancing their choices and their abilities to make decisions concerning their own lives (Nyberg 2002). It is apparent that this feminist demand contrasts markedly with the campaigns of the male-dominated worker movements for de-commodification or being able to live without recourse to the labour market.

The growth in dual-breadwinner couples, and the socio-economic homogamy amongst them that can result, has important implications for economic theories of the family too. Blossfeld and Drobnic (2001) discuss what dual breadwinning means for the theory of role specialisation within the family, for example. If women's earning power rises relative to men's, then potential gains from a role-specialised partnership will decline for prospective cohabitantes/spouses. The growth of dual-breadwinning has also fed discussion over the polarisation of households into work-rich and work-poor (Deven et al. 1997; Hardill et al 1999) that links further to debates over the implications for families who do not 'dual-breadwin' of the growing need for two incomes to maintain material living standards, and to time squeeze issues and leisure time famine ramifications for the dual-breadwinners (Jacobs

and Gerson 2001). Finally, dual-breadwinners are of interest to researchers of the gender division of unpaid labour too since if we are going to find the equality of dual caring arrangements anywhere then, arguably, it would be amongst these couples. Indeed Blood and Wolfe had argued in 1960 that the share of domestic tasks undertaken by men rose as did women's earnings relative to those of their partners.

Clearly then, establishing to what extent there has been a decline in male-breadwinning and a growth in dual-breadwinning are key research questions. Yet despite the apparent universal similarity across the West in the weakening male breadwinner model, different countries display quite different male-breadwinner trajectories. Not only did diverse societies take varying routes towards the male breadwinner model in the first place, they experienced differences in the degree to which the model became core to the society's institutional structure. And these societies are now experiencing differences in the extent and rate of its decline.

A main question addressed in the paper, then, is to what extent the experiences of women and men throughout Europe have indeed diverged from the male breadwinner model to reach the more gender equal breadwinner typologies? So, as we move into the twenty-first century, have individual women and men become more alike in their breadwinner activities and have couples approached dual-breadwinning? Janssen questioned the historical actuality of the male breadwinner family as follows: 'the sole male breadwinner has been a powerful ideal in most Western societies. However, to what extent the male breadwinner family has been predominant in empirical reality is still open to dispute' (Janssens 1997: 9). We ask the same question concerning dual-breadwinning today. Before we can begin to answer this question, however, the first concern of the paper is how we explore breadwinner typologies

empirically. How do we move from the theoretical concept of breadwinning work to observable, valid and reliable, comparable indicators? To review the operationalisation possibilities that have been employed, the paper will utilise studies that have analysed data from large-scale surveys.

### **Operationalising breadwinning work**

The term breadwinner is used extensively in academic and policy literatures but only rarely is there any detailed contemplation of its specific meaning. Rather, the concept tends to lie implicit and unquestioned. Yet there are a number of different ways that breadwinning work has been operationalised and these can have ramifications for our analysis of gendered breadwinners. A literal interpretation of breadwinning involves who wins the families' bread. Indeed, Horrell and Humphries' (1997: 36) do ask whether men were able to 'win most of the bread' over the life-course in nineteenth century Britain. A more familiar articulation of the concept is an avowedly financial one that encompasses which family member brings in all or the vast bulk of a families' income. For example, for Janssens (1997: 1) the male breadwinner family involves 'a particular model of household organization in which the husband is the sole agent operating within the market sector, deploying his labour in order to *secure funds* necessary to support a dependent wife and children' (italics added). For Irwin, 'a key development in the family in contemporary society is the modification of male claims to a *breadwinner wage* and a growth in the prevalence and importance of the *financial co-resourcing* of households' (Irwin 1999: 31. italics added). For Pateman (1989), as a breadwinner, a man has the capacity to *sell* his capital and provide for his wife and family.

The emphasis on finances in these definitions of breadwinning is reflected in the common linkage of breadwinning debates to the consideration of a family or living wage; that the

breadwinner should be paid enough to support his/her (invariably his) family and not just himself (Horrell and Humphries 1997; Irwin 2003; Pateman 1989). Nevertheless, although the financial dimension is widespread in discussions of breadwinning, Horrell and Humphries (1997) have usefully employed three dimensions of breadwinning. These are earnings (the financial dimension again), but also labour force participation and time committed to the labour market. Supporting this broader, more multi-dimensional characterization of breadwinning, Janssens' quotation above refers to finances and 'securing funds' but also to the breadwinner operating and deploying their labour in the market sector, whilst Fagan (2003: 30) cites gender gaps in labour force participation and employment rates to maintain that male breadwinning is in least evidence in Europe in the Nordic countries.

If indicators of breadwinning are taken to be earning, and participating in and committing time to the labour market, if we are to identify levels of gendered breadwinning the next empirical question concerns our target population. A first simple approach has been to examine what proportions of women and men are in the labour market or in paid work in different societies, and to then conclude on gendered breadwinner (or other) roles from this. The target population is commonly working aged individuals and, in this way, the general overall position of women in a country is compared with that of men to produce a broad picture of the societal gender division of breadwinner labour at a particular point in time. This broad individual-level approach is seen in the popular construction of life-course profiles whereby the proportions of women<sup>2</sup> participating in the labour market or in paid work over the life-course in different societies have been contrasted. Three familiar life-course participation profiles result: the single, left-handed peak; the bi-modal and the plateau-shaped profiles. The former indicates countries where women enter the labour force when they exit full-time education, but leave the labour market completely on marriage or, more commonly

today, child-birth, and tend not to return. In countries marked by a bi-modal profile, women again typically leave the labour force on child-birth but return to the labour market once their children are older. The final plateau-profile mirrors the archetypal male participation profile and signifies countries where women enter the labour force when they leave school and remain here until they approach retirement. Spain, the Netherlands and Denmark have been cited as examples of the three different profiles, respectively.

Another common approach to comparing societies' arrangements of breadwinning is to take partnered women and men as the target population, and to exploit the information we have when data is available on their wages and/or paid working patterns. Categories of breadwinning have been devised, couples placed into a category, then the distribution of the various categories of breadwinner couple within each society calculated. Arber (1999) has reiterated the importance of identifying each partner's relative contributions and not merely researching absolute figures when exploring gender equality within families. Accordingly, the categories of breadwinning utilised have been based around variation in the relative financial positions of the partners or according to each partners' relative participation in paid work, but with financial positions – mainly wages/incomes – emerging as particularly popular indicators of breadwinning. For example, Horrell and Humphries' (1997) study cited above calculated men's earnings as a percentage of total household income to explore degrees of male breadwinning at the end of the eighteenth century in Britain. Breadwinner studies using more recent data have devised ranges of couple categories with, for example, dual-earner households at one extreme and couples where neither partner has any earnings at the other. Cook (2003) groups her sample of Italian and Spanish couples into dual-earners and male-breadwinners, with an (unstated) assumption that breadwinning involves earning a wage. Within the UK, Davies and Joshi (1998) examined information on partners to find out

what proportions of married couples were sole male earners, dual earners, no earners and sole female earners, whilst Harkness et al. (1996) used wages to identify the growth of dual-earning couples and to calculate the corresponding decline in solo male breadwinning. In Europe, Maitre et al. (2003) examined men and their female partners in twelve EC countries to calculate the mean contributions that the women made to total household incomes.

A sub-set of studies on couples' breadwinner work patterns have narrowed their focus to dual-earners only. Across Europe, Blossfeld and Drobnic (2001: 29) show that 'one of the most significant changes within advanced industrial societies...is... the shift from the single to the dual-earner family as the norm'. Yet dual-earners still represent a diverse category of couples with distinct variation remaining in the relative contributions to wages and paid work made by the partners. In essence, we cannot assume that dual-earning simply means dual-breadwinning couples (Hakim 2000; Leira 2002; Warren 2000). The dissimilarities amongst dual-earners are seen particularly vividly when we compare these couples across different societies (Kinnunen and Mauno 2001). As a result, there have been attempts to disaggregate dual-earner couples into different breadwinner sub-categories to signal the heterogeneity in gender equality amongst them.

Disaggregating dual-earner couples into different breadwinner categories necessitates first devising a plausible strategy for determining the contribution that each member of the couple makes to the couple's overall breadwinning work. One could either calculate what each partner contributes to total couple breadwinning, or estimate women's (or men's) contributions as a share of the breadwinning work of their partner. There have been a number of attempts to examine partners' contributions to breadwinner work along these lines, and to rate couples on a scale depicting gender equality. Again, the financial dimension of

breadwinning (wages/incomes) is utilised, in the main. For example, Hakim (2000) examined women's financial contributions to total household incomes amongst dual earner couples and found them to be low, around a third at most. Van Berkel and de Graaf (1998, cited in Hakim 2000) defined partners as 'equal earners' if they earned within 20% of each other. Dale and Joshi (1992) and Joshi and Davies (1996) defined equality as when women earned 45-55% of total couple earnings. Warren (2002), building upon Lewis's theoretical typologies of strong, moderate and weak male-breadwinning, labelled dual-earner couples in Britain and Denmark 'strong male-breadwinner' if women earned less than 25% of the couples' pooled wage pot, 'moderate male-breadwinners' if women contributed between a quarter and 44%, 'dual breadwinner' if women earned 45-55% and 'female breadwinner' if women earned 55% or more. A further option has been to use a scale of women's financial dependence ranging from -100% (single breadwinner wives) to +100% (single breadwinner husbands)(see the useful review in Hakim 2000).

So the financial dimension of breadwinning is frequently used to disaggregate dual-earner couples into more or less gender equal categories of breadwinning. A further option is to examine the contribution to paid work time made by women and men, but this option appears less frequently in the literature. It would be useful to see it more because the financial dimension of breadwinning, whilst very valuable, could be disguising interesting time dimensions to gendered breadwinning work roles. Indeed, the time dimension is at the heart of neo-classical models of the allocation of household work (Becker 1985), in which individuals' decisions to participate in the labour market are shaped by the relative value of their time spent both there and in the home. We know that examining women's earnings as a proportion of men's tends to conclude that women are secondary breadwinners. The reason for this is, of course, the combination of women's lower hourly wage rates than men *and* their

shorter working weeks in most countries. But one result of a wide gender hourly wage gap, linked to women's over-concentration in lower paying occupations, is that even if women were working as long or even longer weekly hours than men, they might still earn substantially less a week. Simply, if breadwinning is based only on earnings, women could emerge as secondary breadwinners even if they had longer working weeks than men and thus had less time to carry out unpaid care work in the home. Horrell and Humphreys (1997) found that women and children's time contributions to the household economy in eighteenth century Britain far exceeded their money contributions. So taking into account their third dimension of breadwinning; time in the labour market, can widen our understanding of the distribution of gendered breadwinning and caring roles.

In summary, there is now a wealth of studies that have produced gender pictures of the arrangement of breadwinning work, both within individual societies and cross-nationally. Most focused directly upon incomes and wages or used labour force participation as proxies for breadwinning, but hours worked in the labour market are useful too. The paper will use this range of options to explore gendered breadwinning in EC countries in 2000 using data available in the *European Community Household Panel Survey*.

## **Data**

The previous section discussed some of the issues that are involved in moving from the theoretical breadwinner models that have been devised by feminist analyses of gender regimes, and onto exploring the extent to which the models exist in reality using data on women's and men's breadwinning work. It highlighted a range of different approaches to operationalising breadwinning that have been employed. These approaches will be repeated here using descriptive data from Wave 7 of the Users Database of the *European Community*

*Household Panel Survey* (ECHP 2000, release of June 2003). The *ECHP* provides comparable information on income, work, poverty, housing, health, and so on, of private households and individuals in the EC. The survey has a centrally designed questionnaire, but it also allows for some flexibility for adaptation to different countries' situations by the 'National Data Collection Units' that collect the data. In its first wave in 1994, the sample size was around 60,500 nationally representative households (approximately 130,000 adults aged 16 years and over) in the then 12 Member States. Austria, Finland and Sweden have been added since and so 15 countries were included in 2000. The sample analysed was restricted to those aged 25-55 to minimise some of the cross-national differences that would arise in paid working because of variation between countries in patterns of early retirement and in the typical durations of education, that are reflected in the life-course participation profiles, outlined earlier. The sample thus consists of women and men in the peak years of child-rearing in EC countries in 2000.

### **Diverse breadwinning societies?**

It seems that in all countries in the EC, there has been a shift towards dual-breadwinning but the strength and pace of this shift is contingent on broader, structural, political and ideological country 'packages' (Drobnic and Blossfeld 2001). Cross-national differences in the extent of dual-breadwinning are expected in the 2000 data but how substantial are they? We know that a number of different methods can be used to categorise societies according to who performs the bulk of its breadwinning work. Using Horrell and Humphries (1997) broad approach, breadwinning is taken to be indicated by, in turn, participation in paid work, finances and time committed to the labour market.

### **Individuals' breadwinning**

*i. Individuals' breadwinning: paid work rates*

Beginning with individual women and men, the first simple approach to comparing gendered breadwinning is to explore gendered rates of paid work within each society. It is valuable to examine the ratio of women's to men's work rates because this controls for any country-specific characteristics that might be shaping the responses, and so this gender ratio approach will be adopted throughout the paper. The results on paid work rates show that familiar gender and societal patternings of breadwinning had persisted into the twenty-first century.

In Table 1, there was relatively little cross-national variation in male paid working rates, but distinct societal differences emerged for women. The three Nordic countries in the European Community at this time: Denmark, Sweden and Finland, stood out with the highest rates of paid work for women. At around 80% or more, these rates translated into the highest female/male work ratios at approximately 90% or, conversely, the lowest gender gaps in paid work of around 10% or less. At the other end of the scale, women in the Southern countries of Spain, Greece and Italy had low rates of paid work, reflecting the persistent low participation of Spanish, Greek and Italian mothers that pulls down the rates overall (Flaquer 2002; González-López 2001). The gender paid work gap hit fully 40%. Just above these Southern countries were Ireland, Luxembourg and France, and then Belgium and the Netherlands, all of which had moderate paid work rates for women. A group of countries consisting of Austria, the UK, Germany and Portugal formed a group behind the Nordic countries where women's paid work rates were moderate to high, with gender gaps of around 17%.

INSERT TABLE 1 AROUND HERE

If we wish to identify who are the breadwinners in a society and so gauge gender equality in breadwinning work, we can usefully begin by comparing the proportions of women and men in paid work in this way. Figure 1 clusters countries together and places them along a gender equality scale that ranges from dual- to strong male-breadwinning. On paid work (Figure 1i), the Nordic countries are at the most gender equal pole and Greece, Italy and Spain are at the other. Ultimately, however, the study of gendered paid work gaps disguises potentially tremendous variation in the degrees of labour market attachment of the workers. A key source of variation in gendered breadwinning work arises from the degree or intensity of labour market participation as indicated by the number of hours spent in the labour market. Accordingly, time committed to the labour market is one of our dimensions of breadwinning. Unfortunately, typical hours worked by the self-employed are notoriously difficult to gauge, particularly when the wish is to compare their hours over a set period such as a week or month with those of employees. As a result, the analysis of work time focuses on employees. But before moving onto this issue of time, we stay with our wider sample of women and men for the moment, and introduce the first of our financial indicators of breadwinning.

INSERT FIGURE 1 AROUND HERE

*ii. Individuals' breadwinning: financial dimension – income source*

We have already established that finances are vital in the operationalisation of breadwinning, and these are usually examined via wages. In the *ECHP* survey, however, respondents were also asked to report on the main source of their personal income. This variable shows whether their own income came largely from paid work, via wages or self-employment for example, or whether, at the other extreme, respondents had no personal income of their own at all and

were, by implication, fully financially dependent on family or a partner. There may well be differences in the ways that respondents interpreted this question in different countries, that are not controlled for here, but for the vast majority of men, their personal income largely came from paid work or benefits (hence data not shown). Looking at women since it was only they who exhibited cross-national variation, Figure 2 shows that, like men, almost all the women in the Danish sample reported that their personal income came from paid work of some type and, if not work, from benefits. The same was true of the other Nordic countries. The Nordic model, when compared with other broad welfare regimes, is characterised by a decline in an individual's dependence on family for their welfare (Esping-Anderson 1999), and a rise in the ability to obtain an acceptable standard of living either via paid work or welfare benefits, independent of family relationships (Lister 1994). This is seen particularly clearly for Danish women in Figure 1ii where both the high rates of employment for women and the high degree of defamilialization that are key features of a social democratic regime are in evidence.

INSERT FIGURE 2 AROUND HERE

In marked contrast to the Nordic countries, Italy, Greece and Spain were grouped together in terms of the low impact that paid work was making on women's personal incomes. In these Mediterranean countries, around 50% at most of women's personal incomes was work-based and substantial proportions (over one third) of the women reported no personal income at all. By implication, the latter were fully financially dependent on a partner and/or their families, reflecting that the welfare state regimes of Greece, Italy and Spain are characterised by limited social assistance and a high degree of familialism: the family remains a key welfare provider<sup>3</sup> (del Boca 1998; Papadopoulos 1998). The income contribution from women's paid

working was low in Ireland too. Accordingly, Irish women were also likely to be facing high degrees of financial dependency. However, they reported proportionally more benefit income than their Mediterranean peers and so the financial dependence of Irish women on the state would have been greater and their dependence on partners/family less than in the Mediterranean countries.

The lack of a personal waged income is important, no matter the reason for its absence, but the lack holds different implications depending on the alternative income sources that are available. In particular, for Nyberg (2002) there are significant differences between being financially dependent on individuals and on the welfare state. It is the former that holds the most disadvantages because financial dependence on individuals brings with it reliance on the benevolence of other people for ones' livelihood (Pateman 1989), and, although state benefits are not guaranteed, they are far less unpredictable than benevolence. The main source of an individual's personal income thus reveals intriguing information about gender and finances cross-nationally that can feed into the analysis of gendered breadwinning roles. In Figure 1ii, the broad country clusters that result see Denmark standing out, and Ireland slipping into the least gender equal group alongside Greece, Italy and Spain.

### *iii. Employees' breadwinning: time committed to the labour market*

The third gauge of breadwinning identified earlier concerned paid work time. For reasons of comparability, the analysis of paid work time focuses down on employees, but in excluding the self-employed, it should be remembered that workers with some of the longest working weeks in Europe are being lost.

Shorter hour's employment is female-dominated throughout Europe, and concentrated in jobs lower down the occupational hierarchy on the whole. Nevertheless, there is substantial cross-national heterogeneity in the proportions of women and men in shorter hours jobs, and there are vastly different ramifications associated with short hours employment in terms of wages and job conditions too. Adding to this complexity, there have been changes in both the levels of short hours employment and its associated working conditions in the past decades, and for some countries more than others. It is useful then to re-evaluate what we know about the gender distribution of working hours in the EC in 2000. More gender equality in breadwinning could be signified by comparability in women's and men's paid work hours, whether via higher average hours for women than is typical in the EC and/or by fewer hours for men.

One of the clearest indicators of persisting strong male-breadwinning in a country is when women who are in the labour market work very few hours there. In 2000, the Netherlands stood out amongst the EC countries since nearly half of female employees (aged 25-55) worked fewer than 30 hours a week in their main job (including any over-time. Table 2). This figure rose up to about three-quarters if the women had children aged under 12 (data not shown). Since men in the Netherlands worked full-time in the main, these results reflect the persistence of male dominated breadwinning here. The Dutch goal, however, is to achieve a 'combination model' that would see both women and men working moderate hours. In a 'twice three-quarters' arrangement, both sexes would work for around 32 hours a week in the labour market, probably over 4 days (Plantenga 2002; Plantenga et al. 1999). The conditions of part-time jobs have been improved to help bring this combination model about. After the *Equal Treatment (Working Hours) Act* became law in 1996, part-time workers became entitled to the same proportional pay, bonuses, holidays and pension rights as full-timers

(Corral and Isusi 2003). Nevertheless, shorter hours jobs still seem to be unattractive to breadwinners in the Netherlands because, while they are higher quality in international terms, they still offer lower proportional incomes than full-time jobs (Wielers and van der Meer 2003). For Plantenga (2002), then, there are clearly gender friendly elements to the moderate working hours that are characteristic of the Dutch working time regime, but the gender unequal model with women as secondary and men as primary breadwinners persists.

INSERT TABLE 2 AROUND HERE

Short hours employment was also very prevalent for women in Ireland, a result of a very rapid rise in part-time jobs in the 1990's (Rubery et al. 1999). Behind Ireland lay the UK, Austria, Luxembourg, Germany and Italy. In marked contrast, working few hours was relatively rare in France, Greece, Spain and Denmark (at less than 20% of female employees), and very rare in Portugal and Finland (fewer than 10%). Countries where longer hours bands (40 or more) were more common for women were Luxembourg, Greece, Portugal and Spain. As a result, women's mean hours were longest in Finland (38) where most female employees worked 30-9 hours a week, and Portugal (39) and Greece (38) where substantial numbers were working 40 or more, thus pulling up the average. They were shortest in the Netherlands (30) and Ireland (33) where higher proportions of women were working fewer than 30 hours, thus pulling down the average.

An indicator of weaker male-breadwinning in a society is when men work moderate hours in the labour market. In 2000, mean hours for men in most countries were around 40-42, but this range disguises substantial cross-national heterogeneity in the distribution of men's hours. Countries where restrained hours of under 40 were most prevalent were Denmark and France

with 71% of Danes and 67% of Frenchmen working under 40 hours a week. These figures reflect the successful campaigns in both countries to reduce the full-time week; to 37 hours in Denmark and to 35 in France. Whilst these two countries stood out for their moderate hours, in general throughout the EC, extremely long hours for male employees had been curtailed by 2000: a maximum of a fifth of male employees in most countries were working above the *European Working Time Directive's* weekly threshold of 48 hours. The UK remained a marked exception. Fully 31% of British male employees were working 48 hours or more, two years after the threshold was fully introduced, reflecting that the UK allowed its workers to opt-out and work more hours if they wished (the opt-out clause is under review).

Men's long hours in the UK were contributing to a very substantial gender hours gap of 22%. A similarly wide gap existed in Ireland where women's hours were rather shorter than in the UK, but men's were too. At 27%, however, the Dutch gender hours gap was the widest in the sample, largely because women's hours were so low, thus reaffirming the gender problematic elements of the Dutch working time regime mentioned earlier.

The country clusters that result from examining gender hours gaps (Figure 1iii) show weaker male-breadwinning across the board because only employees are considered and female employees are necessarily involved in some breadwinning work. However, there are new table leaders in Finland and Portugal. In addition, Spain, Greece and Italy have jumped right across the table from strong male to dual-breadwinning. This reshuffling is linked to the particularity of the groups of women and men who are included in sub-samples of employees in these three countries. Forty per cent or fewer women in Spain, Greece and Italy were in paid employment (compared with 76% in Denmark, for example), even though around half were in paid work. Female employees are minority groups in Spain, Greece and Italy: they

include the most highly qualified of women who fare relatively well, in work hours terms, when compared with other women and with men. The polarised choices facing women (and men) within Spain, Greece and Italy are well recognised and are reflected here: between either a traditional female dependent/male breadwinner household arrangement or a dual full-timer model.

*iv. Employees' breadwinning: financial dimension – monthly earnings*

The above patterns of diverse gendered paid working hours impact firmly on the take home wages of women and men. Wages are the second of the financial indicators of breadwinning to be examined. Importantly, weekly or monthly earnings can be used to better indicate breadwinning work than can hourly earnings since breadwinning is commonly seen as the possession of a living or family wage rather than in terms of having pro-rata pay rates. Of course, since gender gaps in weekly or monthly wages also take into account the impact that the variation in hours worked has on wages, they will reflect the results on hours, already presented. But as a composite indicator, weekly/monthly wages pick up on the number of different routes that narrow or widen gender gaps in breadwinning. To narrow the gender wage gap, women need to increase their hours and/or wages to approach the standard for men and/or men need to reduce their hours and/or wages towards the usual for women.

Using gender gaps in monthly earnings to signify gendered breadwinning sees Italy jump to the forefront of the gender equality league. It displayed a gender wage gap of only 10% (Figure 3) with even the two Nordic countries<sup>4</sup> lagging behind. Just behind the Nordics were the Southern states of Spain, Portugal and Greece; and France. So again looking only at female employees sees the Southern countries almost invert the gender equality table. Meanwhile, the countries with the widest gender wage gaps of over a third were the

Netherlands, and then the UK, Luxembourg, Germany and Ireland. In the summary in Figure 1iv, therefore, the strongest dual breadwinner societies are the Mediterranean and Nordic countries and France, with the Netherlands lying right at the opposite pole.

INSERT FIGURE 3 AROUND HERE

### **Couples' breadwinning**

It has been possible to show that even in the thirteen countries of the European Community represented by the ECHP survey, there were quite different societal gender gaps in paid work rates, in hours, and in income sources and wages in 2000. From this, it can be posited that the narrower these gender gaps, the further the societies were away from resembling a male breadwinner model. Yet central to breadwinner models is also how partners<sup>5</sup> share work, and how and why this varies cross-nationally. Analysing the work patterns of couples allows us to move beyond the aggregate pictures necessarily produced when we study individuals. Using data on women and men in couples, matched with their partners, takes us one step further since it is possible to explore what work is carried out in their households and by whom, to then categorise the households based on women and men's relative contributions to work, and then to see which household type is most prevalent for couples in each society.

#### *i. Couples' breadwinning: paid work and employment rates*

The couples analysed were those in which women were aged 25-55, and their male partners were of any age. These couples were more likely to be dual workers in the Nordic countries, Portugal and the UK than in the rest of the EC. Again, Denmark stands out with fully 83% of its couples engaged in dual paid work. In contrast, Spain and then Greece, Italy, Luxembourg

and Ireland had substantially lower percentages of dual workers at 50% or even fewer couples (Table 3).

Narrowing the focus from paid working to waged-earning as a signifier of breadwinning does not change the way that couples in most societies were categorised. Denmark, the Netherlands, Finland and the UK, for example, remained towards the top end of the gender equality table since the largest groups of couples were dual-waged. Narrowing the sample in this way did have important ramifications for how certain Southern countries were coded, however. Taking Portugal as an example, when we move from talking about paid work to discussing only waged work instead, Portugal moved away from the dual breadwinner pole, sitting with Finland and the UK, into a less gender equal category near Luxembourg (Figure 1v). Seventy per cent of Portuguese couples were dual workers but excluding the self-employed resulted in only 44% being classified as dual-waged (and in around a quarter being defined as no-waged Table 3).

INSERT TABLE 3 AROUND HERE

We are seeing repeatedly that the classificatory ramifications of narrowing our focus to employees are only small for most countries in the EC in 2000 but the findings on the predominantly male-breadwinner Southern societies are revealing. Operationalising breadwinning as engaging in paid employment served to intensify the intensity of male breadwinning amongst couples in Portugal, and to reduce the intensity of male breadwinning amongst individuals in Greece, Spain and Italy. In both cases, we are left asking whether their gender regimes have been represented in valid ways. Focusing only on employees could have important ramifications for operationalising breadwinning in the new EU countries too. We

know that the proportions of self-employed workers are higher here than in the old EU countries (22% compared with 17%), with the highest levels of self-employment in Poland (a third of workers) and in Slovenia and Cyprus (Paoli and Parent-Thirion 2003: 18).

*ii. Couples' breadwinning: financial dimension – monthly earnings*

The final classificatory option when operationalising breadwinning amongst couples that was identified earlier in the paper was to narrow the focus to the large sub-sample of dual-waged couples, and to disaggregate the strength of male-breadwinning amongst them using financial indicators. Based on women's contributions to the total couple monthly waged purse, and reflecting a commonly utilised methodology, if women earned less than 25% of couples' pooled wages then couples were labelled strong male-breadwinner. If women's contributions ranged between 25% and 44% then couples were moderate male-breadwinners whilst a figure of 45% or more signified dual breadwinning (Table 3).

Using this method of disaggregation, Denmark stood out in its prevalence of dual breadwinners (at around 50% of the Danish waged couples) and with very few strong male breadwinner couples. Not only does Denmark have higher proportions of dual workers and dual waged couples, then, the dual waged couples are more likely to be dual breadwinners. The different means of operationalising breadwinning are thus consistent for Denmark, all placing it at or near the very forefront of the gender equality table.

Denmark was followed in the gender equality league indicated by dual breadwinning couples by Italy and then by Greece, Finland and France (Figure 1). This combination of the Nordic countries, some Southern countries and France again shows that quite different gender regimes can produce rather similar breadwinner distributions of couples, depending on how

breadwinning is operationalised. In Denmark and Finland, dual breadwinning was prevalent amongst dual-waged couples because hours worked by women and men were moderate and the wage dispersion was relatively narrower. In France, as well as moderate full-time hours for men and women, there is widespread provision of child-care for young children (Fagnani 2002), both supporting more gender equality in breadwinning. For Italy and Greece, in contrast, moving the focus to dual waged couples had produced particular samples of couples. Only 28% of Italian and 20% of Greek couples were dual waged and focusing on this small pole of couples gives a very particular view of the gender regimes of Greece and Italy. This view is largely at odds with the Greek and Italian regimes that are suggested by a broader operationalisation of breadwinning work and a more inclusive target population.

If we now know which countries are most likely to contain dual-breadwinner couples, the next question is where male-breadwinner couples are most likely to be found. Strong male breadwinner couples, taken as those in which women earned less than 25% of dual-waged couples' monthly wages, were more common in Germany and the Netherlands, and then Austria, Ireland and the UK, than the rest of the EU countries in 2000. In all these societies, women's short hours of paid work were pulling down their wages relative to men. In Germany, the UK and Ireland, the strength of male-breadwinning was being intensified by women's very low hourly pay rates and, in the UK especially, by men's very long hours. Dual-earner couples' gender earnings gaps thus produce a new cluster of gender unequal countries (Figure 1vi), but Denmark emerges again as the most gender equal.

## **Conclusions**

The paper has been concerned with the different ways in which breadwinning work has been operationalised. The breadwinning concept is used extensively in academic and policy debate

but there is rarely any attempt to pinpoint its meaning, to discuss the validity and reliability of its indicators, or to identify any alternative interpretations. A focus on wages and income seems to prevail but, whilst the financial dimension of breadwinning is crucial, the reasoning behind the decision is seldom made explicit. Furthermore, levels of participation in paid work or in paid employment and the hours committed to the labour force can also be utilised. Using data from the *ECHP* to explore what findings are produced by these various unidimensional approaches to breadwinning work largely resulted in familiar rankings of societies according to their levels of gendered breadwinning. Yet a number of aberrations arose that alert us to the need to consider more fully just how we operationalise this pivotal concept in the study of gender and work. In particular, only focusing upon participation in waged employment as the indicator of breadwinning work raised concerns since it served to misrepresent the intensity of male-breadwinning in a number of the Southern countries, and potentially has ramifications for how we classify the gender regimes of new EU and non-European societies too. The next stage in operationalising breadwinning is to devise a composite indicator that takes into account the range of dimensions of the concept and that sees it as complex and multi- rather than uni-dimensional.

The paper was also concerned with exploring the gender division of breadwinning labour in EC countries as we entered the twenty-first century. To what extent did the experiences of women and men in different societies reflect the alleged divergence from the male breadwinner model and approached dual breadwinning? If the definition of breadwinners is taken to be those who participate most in paid work, have most of their income in the form of wages, and contribute the bulk of wages or paid work time, Denmark was the only society that was located at the far left of the table, at or near the forefront of the gender equality groups, on each indicator. Greece, Italy and Spain tended to cluster at the far right of the table

but, as discussed above, indicators that focused narrowly on employees (gendered employed hours and monthly earnings gaps) saw these countries move towards a more gender equal ranking. In the country that stood out as the most consistently gender equal: Denmark, whilst residual gender gaps persisted on all the indicators of breadwinning work that were utilised, these tended to be much narrower than elsewhere. Denmark, and perhaps Finland behind it, are the only potential candidates for dual breadwinning regimes. Even so, for monthly wages in Denmark, the gender gap was still quite substantial at 15%. Aside from Denmark and Finland, it is apparent that gender inequalities persisted in breadwinning throughout the EU in 2000. This gender inequality was extreme in many cases and strong male breadwinning clearly continued, but even though the gender equality of dual breadwinning was far from being realised in most countries, in general dual-earning was prevalent. As Lewis has stated; in most Western countries there is talk of dual breadwinner model becoming the norm but in reality 'often, given women's lower earnings and shorter working hours, this amounts to a more or less one and a half earner model' (Lewis 2002: 53).

Since the year of data collection (2000), there have been only slight changes in paid work and employment rates in the countries studied. There have been a number of work time developments that could affect the level of gendered breadwinning in different societies, however, if time committed to the labour market is used as one aspect in a new multidimensional approach to breadwinning. For example, France has seen the full implementation of the Aubry laws that brought the 35-hour full-time week to employees, and there have been reductions in full-time hours in Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands too. With very long full-time hours being curtailed across the EU, since men tend to dominate longer hours work, gender gaps in breadwinning hours are likely to have narrowed more. It would be useful to see more research exploring the impact of the new work time reductions

on gendered breadwinning roles, and asking whether there are any implications for gendered caring too.

Breadwinning work – its operationalisation and gendering - has been fundamental to this paper. A question we are now left with concerns unpaid care work in the EU countries. Olson (2002: 38) suggests that ‘feminist welfare research has made significant strides towards visualizing a new gender order in which domestic and caring labour is redistributed’. Is there any evidence that this vision is becoming a reality in any of the countries? Operationalising caring work should be facilitated by the theoretical attention that has been focused on what is actually meant by ‘caring’, which is substantial when compared with the attention that has been given to breadwinning (see Daly 2002; Daly and Lewis 2000; Drew 1998; Ungerson 1983). Unfortunately, although a theoretical concept is necessarily simplified in its operationalisation, even so the information that is collected on caring work, in large scale surveys for example, is based invariably on the narrowest of definitions. The extensive *European Community Household Panel* that has been analysed in the paper is typical. The survey does collect information on unpaid care work, but this data is collected in much less detail than that on paid work. Despite these limitations, the key question of whether the vision of the new gender order of domestic labour is more of a reality in some societies than others is being addressed in a separate paper.

A related and final concern is whether societal caring arrangements parallel typologies of breadwinning. To explore this, we need to combine a well operationalised multidimensional indicator of breadwinning work with a corresponding one of caring to research empirically the newly developing breadwinner-carer models. Only in this way can we explore whether the stronger the male breadwinner contract, the stronger the female-carer contract too, and

vice versa. Is there a more gender equitable allocation of joint breadwinner and carer workloads within certain societies and, if so, why?

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Table 1. Percentage of women and men in 'breadwinner' work (aged 25-55).

|             | <i>In paid work</i> |     |                      |                 | <i>In paid employment</i> |     |                      |                 |    |
|-------------|---------------------|-----|----------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----------------|----|
|             | Women               | Men | Women as<br>% of men | Gender<br>gap** | Women                     | Men | Women as<br>% of men | Gender<br>gap** |    |
| Sweden*     | 82                  | 87  | 94                   | 6               |                           |     |                      |                 |    |
| Denmark     | 85                  | 92  | 92                   | 8               | Finland                   | 71  | 73                   | 97              | 3  |
| Finland     | 79                  | 89  | 89                   | 11              | Denmark                   | 76  | 81                   | 95              | 5  |
| Portugal    | 76                  | 90  | 84                   | 16              | Portugal                  | 59  | 69                   | 85              | 15 |
| Germany     | 74                  | 89  | 83                   | 17              | UK                        | 62  | 74                   | 83              | 17 |
| UK          | 74                  | 89  | 83                   | 17              | France                    | 62  | 76                   | 81              | 19 |
| Austria     | 76                  | 92  | 82                   | 18              | Austria                   | 63  | 78                   | 80              | 20 |
| Belgium     | 70                  | 89  | 78                   | 22              | Ireland                   | 50  | 63                   | 78              | 22 |
| Netherlands | 71                  | 92  | 77                   | 23              | Belgium                   | 59  | 77                   | 78              | 22 |
| France      | 66                  | 89  | 75                   | 25              | Germany                   | 58  | 76                   | 77              | 23 |
| Ireland     | 60                  | 87  | 69                   | 31              | Italy                     | 41  | 59                   | 70              | 30 |
| Luxembourg  | 63                  | 94  | 66                   | 34              | Luxembourg                | 57  | 85                   | 67              | 33 |
| Italy       | 52                  | 84  | 62                   | 38              | Greece                    | 35  | 53                   | 66              | 34 |
| Greece      | 53                  | 88  | 60                   | 40              | Netherlands               | 54  | 84                   | 65              | 35 |
| Spain       | 48                  | 84  | 57                   | 43              | Spain                     | 39  | 64                   | 61              | 39 |

\* No information on employees in 2000

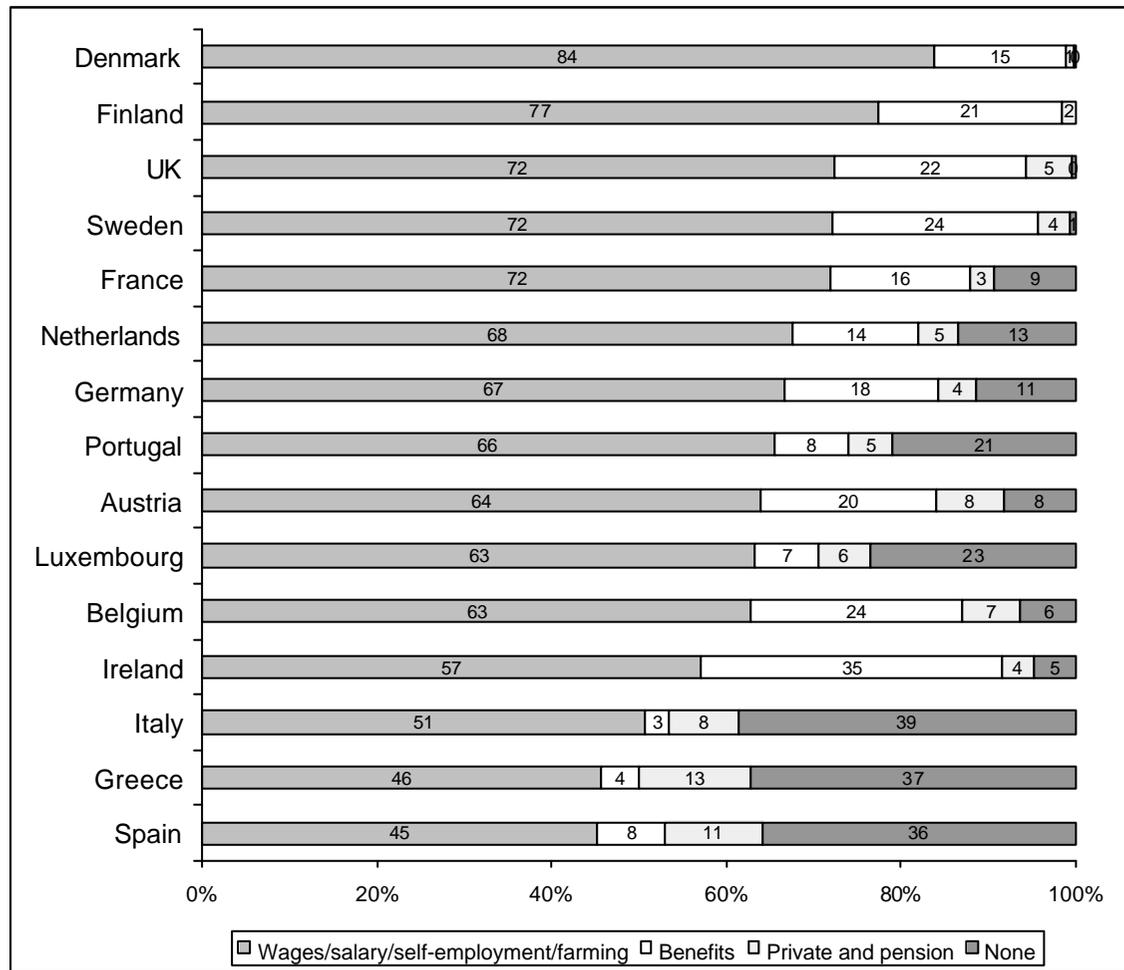
\*\* 100-(women's participation as % of men's)

Source: ECHP, 2000.

Figure 1. Operationalising breadwinning work using the ECHP, 2000.

|                                                                                               | <b>DUAL BREADWINNER POLE</b>                                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | <b>STRONG MALE BREADWINNER POLE</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Individuals aged 25-55</b>                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| i. Gender paid work gap                                                                       | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">=11%: Denmark, Finland, Sweden</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">16-18%: Austria, Germany, Portugal, UK</div>             | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">22-25%: Belgium, France, Netherlands</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">31-34%: Ireland, Luxembourg</div>                                                                             | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">38-43%: Greece, Italy, Spain</div>                                                                                                                                                               |
| (gender employment gap)                                                                       | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">3-5%: Denmark, Finland</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">15-20%: Austria, France, Portugal, UK</div>                      | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">22-23%: Belgium, Germany, Ireland</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">30-35%: Italy, Luxembourg, Greece, Neth.</div>                                                                   | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">39%: Spain</div>                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| ii. Women's main source of income<br>(% responding paid work)                                 | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">84%: Denmark</div>                                                                                                                                | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">72-77%: Finland, France, Sweden, UK</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">63-68%: Austria, Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal</div>                                     | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">51-57%: Ireland, Italy</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">45-46%: Greece, Spain</div>                                                                                     |
| iii. Gender employed hours gap<br>(employees)                                                 | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">8-9%: Finland, Portugal</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">11-14%: Denmark, Greece, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Spain</div> | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">17-20%: Austria, Germany</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">22-27%: Ireland, Netherlands, UK</div>                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| iv. Gender monthly earnings gap<br>(employees)                                                | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">10%: Italy</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">15-20%: Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Spain, Portugal</div>              | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">30-35%: Austria, Ireland, Germany, Luxembourg, UK</div>                                                                                                                                                      | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">39%: Netherlands</div>                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>Couples in which women aged 25-55</b>                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| v. Couple breadwinner type<br>(% dual working)                                                | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">83%: Denmark</div>                                                                                                                                | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">70-74%: Finland, Portugal, UK</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">66-67%: Austria, Belgium, Germany, Neth.</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">59%: France</div> | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">44-50%: Greece, Ireland, Italy, Lux.</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">37%: Spain</div>                                                                                  |
| (% dual waged)                                                                                | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">72%: Denmark</div>                                                                                                                                | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">57%: Finland, Netherlands</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">49-51%: UK, Germany, Belgium, France, Austria</div>                                                                      | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">41-44%: Luxembourg, Portugal</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">36%: Ireland</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">20-28%: Greece, Italy, Spain</div> |
| vi. Couples monthly earnings<br>(% of dual waged in which women earn<br>45+% of couple total) | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">47-50%: Denmark, Italy</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">42-43%: Greece, Finland, France</div>                            | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">35-38%: Belgium, Luxembourg, Spain, Portugal</div>                                                                                                                                                           | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">23-29%: Austria, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, UK</div>                                                                                                                                         |

Figure 2. Main source of personal income of women (aged 25-55).



Source: ECHP, 2000.

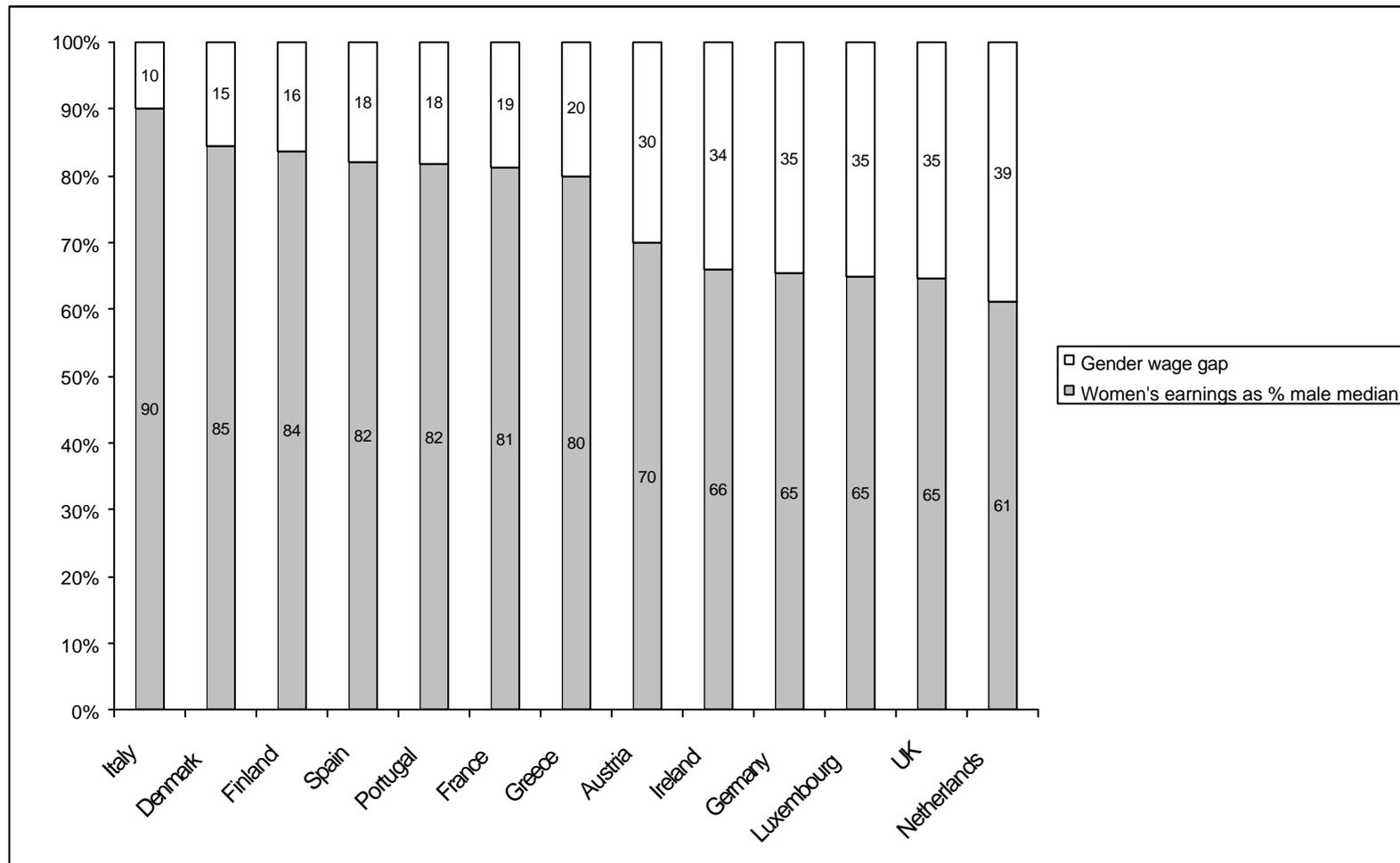
Table 2. Distribution of employees across hours groups, hours in main job plus over-time (aged 25-55).

|             | <b>Gender<br/>hours gap*</b> | <b>Women</b> |       |     |               | <b>Men</b>  |       |     |               |    |
|-------------|------------------------------|--------------|-------|-----|---------------|-------------|-------|-----|---------------|----|
|             |                              | 1-29         | 30-39 | 40+ | Mean<br>hours | 1-39        | 40-47 | 48+ | Mean<br>hours |    |
| Netherlands | 27                           | 46           | 35    | 19  | 30            | Italy       | 36    | 57  | 7             | 40 |
| Ireland     | 23                           | 36           | 42    | 22  | 33            | Luxembourg  | 5     | 92  | 4             | 40 |
| UK          | 22                           | 29           | 38    | 33  | 36            | France      | 67    | 20  | 13            | 40 |
| Austria     | 20                           | 28           | 30    | 41  | 34            | Denmark     | 71    | 20  | 10            | 41 |
| Germany     | 17                           | 24           | 30    | 46  | 36            | Netherlands | 40    | 46  | 15            | 41 |
| Luxembourg  | 14                           | 27           | 10    | 63  | 34            | Finland     | 37    | 53  | 10            | 42 |
| Italy       | 14                           | 24           | 41    | 36  | 35            | Austria     | 28    | 59  | 13            | 42 |
| France      | 12                           | 19           | 61    | 20  | 35            | Greece      | 25    | 60  | 15            | 42 |
| Denmark     | 12                           | 12           | 77    | 11  | 36            | Ireland     | 48    | 37  | 15            | 42 |
| Spain       | 12                           | 14           | 27    | 59  | 37            | Spain       | 16    | 66  | 17            | 42 |
| Greece      | 11                           | 15           | 21    | 64  | 38            | Portugal    | 19    | 69  | 12            | 42 |
| Finland     | 9                            | 5            | 71    | 23  | 38            | Germany     | 24    | 57  | 19            | 44 |
| Portugal    | 8                            | 7            | 29    | 64  | 39            | UK          | 28    | 41  | 31            | 46 |

\* 100-(women's mean hours as % of men's)

Source: ECHP, 2000.

Figure 3. Gender gap in net monthly earnings of employees (aged 25-55).



Source: ECHP, 2000.

Table 3. Couple 'breadwinner' types (women aged 25-55), sorted by the most gender equal categories.

|             | Based on paid working |           |             |              | Based on waged working |           |             |            | Dual waged only        |                           |                 |    |    |
|-------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------|--------------|------------------------|-----------|-------------|------------|------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|----|----|
|             | No paid work          | Male only | Female only | Dual workers | No waged               | Male only | Female only | Dual waged | Strong Male BW* (<25%) | Moderate Male BW (25-44%) | Dual BW+ (45+%) |    |    |
| Denmark     | 4                     | 10        | 3           | 83           | Denmark                | 7         | 12          | 10         | 72                     | Denmark                   | 6               | 44 | 50 |
| Finland     | 3                     | 15        | 7           | 74           | Netherlands            | 9         | 25          | 9          | 57                     | Italy                     | 16              | 37 | 47 |
| Portugal    | 4                     | 22        | 4           | 70           | Finland                | 10        | 16          | 16         | 57                     | Greece                    | 13              | 44 | 43 |
| UK          | 6                     | 18        | 6           | 70           | UK                     | 14        | 17          | 18         | 51                     | Finland                   | 13              | 45 | 42 |
| Netherlands | 4                     | 25        | 4           | 67           | Germany                | 9         | 26          | 14         | 51                     | France                    | 26              | 32 | 42 |
| Austria     | 4                     | 22        | 7           | 67           | Belgium                | 15        | 23          | 11         | 50                     | Belgium                   | 25              | 37 | 38 |
| Belgium     | 7                     | 23        | 3           | 66           | France                 | 13        | 26          | 11         | 50                     | Spain                     | 29              | 33 | 37 |
| Germany     | 5                     | 22        | 7           | 66           | Austria                | 12        | 26          | 13         | 49                     | Portugal                  | 22              | 42 | 36 |
| France      | 6                     | 29        | 6           | 59           | Portugal               | 23        | 21          | 12         | 44                     | Luxembourg                | 36              | 28 | 35 |
| Ireland     | 7                     | 39        | 4           | 50           | Luxembourg             | 10        | 43          | 7          | 41                     | UK                        | 43              | 28 | 29 |
| Luxembourg  | 5                     | 43        | 4           | 48           | Ireland                | 22        | 29          | 12         | 36                     | Germany                   | 52              | 20 | 28 |
| Italy       | 9                     | 42        | 5           | 44           | Italy                  | 28        | 32          | 12         | 28                     | Ireland                   | 41              | 32 | 27 |
| Greece      | 9                     | 42        | 5           | 44           | Spain                  | 27        | 41          | 9          | 24                     | Austria                   | 40              | 35 | 25 |
| Spain       | 8                     | 50        | 4           | 37           | Greece                 | 41        | 28          | 11         | 20                     | Netherlands               | 47              | 30 | 23 |

\* Breadwinner categories determined by women's contribution to couple monthly wages.

Source: ECHP, 2000.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> There is some dispute as to how relevant the feminist call for more access to paid work was to all groups of women, since black and/or working class women have long had to engage in paid working.

<sup>2</sup> Since men's profiles are very similar cross-nationally.

<sup>3</sup> This familialism combines with high rates of home ownership and low levels of social housing too, with the result that women remain dependent in the parental home for comparatively longer (Flaquer 2002; González-López 2001). By their 25th birthday, for example, 32% of Italian women born between 1956-60 and 23% of Spanish women had not left the parental home yet, compared with only 8% in France and around 0% in Sweden (González-López 2002: 35).

<sup>4</sup> There was no information on employees in Sweden.

<sup>5</sup> The data is limited to heterosexual couples.

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