

# 6

## Main Patterns in Attitudes to the Articulation Between Work and Family Life: a Cross-National Analysis

*Karin Wall*

### Introduction

This chapter examines one of the most important social changes that has taken place over the last few decades in the articulation between work and family life – the changes in the attitudes, expectations and practices related to women's work, particularly women with families and children. In the European Union (15 member states) female employment rates have been rising since the 1950s and stood at 54 per cent in 2001 (Eurostat, 2003).

Changes in both the attitudes to and the economic behaviour of women has led social analysts to underline the erosion of the 'male breadwinner model' of work/family life, where men were assumed to provide for the family ('breadwinning') whilst women took the major responsibility for childcare, housework and family life ('unpaid homemaking and caregiving'). Along with the continuing decline of the 'male provider/female carer' model is the anticipation of an increase both in women's work and in new attitudes to specific forms of articulation between work and family life, such as the dual earner/dual carer model and mothers' work outside the home (Lewis, 1993; Beck et al., 1995; Crompton, 1999).

However, although the gap between men and women's labour force participation has narrowed, gender differences are still substantial: men have a much higher employment rate (73 per cent), occupational segregation limits the choice of women entering or re-entering the labour market, female unemployment rates are higher, and part-time work is highly feminised (33 per cent of women in employment are working part-time, compared with only 6 per cent of men) (Eurostat, 2003). Research has also shown that men's employment patterns over the life-course are predominantly 'full-time, always-working' trajectories, whereas women still

have a variety of patterns: 'stay-at-home' trajectories, 'in and out of full-time work' trajectories, 'full-time, always-working' trajectories, 'full-time alternating with part-time work' or simply 'part-time earner' trajectories (Wall & Guerreiro, 2005). As a result, the paid division of labour, in families of couples with children, is rarely a full-time, dual-earner division of labour. In fact, in several European countries – West Germany, Ireland, Spain, Italy, Luxembourg – the male breadwinner/full-time housewife pattern is still a predominant, even if not the only, pattern (Franco & Winqvist, 2002).

Attitudes and norms, on the other hand, have been shown to be more favourable to women's and mother's work in some countries than in others. In general, attitudes are classified along a conservative–liberal continuum (or a traditional–modern one) and roughly portrayed according to three patterns: a 'modern' (dual-earner/dual carer) pattern, where women are more work-orientated; a 'traditional' pattern (male earner/female carer); and an intermediate pattern ('one and a half earner', also labelled the 'adaptive' pattern (Hakim, 2003)), where women are said to prefer to adjust their working hours to fit in with their caring responsibilities. The persistence of diversity in attitudes towards work/family articulation has been attributed to different factors – social, cultural, labour market constraints, public policies (lack of childcare services, for example), family preferences, etc. – but there is an expectation, based on the past increase in women's work, that the societal movement toward gender equality and individuation will imply a development of the 'dual full-time earner/dual carer' model. Within this 'modern' cultural model of articulation between work, childcare and family life, both partners in two parent households have professional careers, both participate in childcare and household tasks, and reconciliation between work and family is not only negotiated within the couple but is also supported by family-friendly workplaces and by governmental measures, such as leave and childcare services. Sweden and the other Nordic countries are usually considered as the main advocates of this modern integration of work and family life.

Other studies in cross-national perspective have mapped slightly different attitudinal patterns to married/cohabiting<sup>1</sup> women's employment. Treas and Widmer (2000), on the basis of a cluster analysis of 23 countries, found three broad attitude clusters: a work-orientated pattern where respondents are more likely to endorse women's paid work overall and mothers' part-time paid work when there are pre-schoolers (represented by Sweden, Norway, Israel, the Netherlands, Canada, the US); a family-accommodating pattern that supports a traditional, gender-based family division of labour (Austria, West Germany, Australia, Great Britain, Italy,

Japan); and a motherhood-centred pattern, with very strong preferences for women with children to stay at home (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Ireland, Poland, Slovenia, Spain). The authors emphasise that there is a remarkably high country-to-country similarity in attitudes. Despite some minor differences (which reflect welfare regimes), they conclude that there is a high level of agreement that mothers with children should reduce their labour force involvement by staying at home or working part-time.

In this chapter, I explore the diversity in attitudinal patterns to work/family articulation and the factors which influence them. Although attitudes are not the only factor influencing work/family practices, they are important, and they do not seem to be converging in a simple fashion towards the so-called 'modern' model or even the 'one and a half earner' model. Methodologically, this means that we will be challenging the idea of a cultural attitudinal change moving in one direction and trying to examine in greater depth the new ways in which norms and attitudes are evolving.

To develop an analytical strategy that might help us to identify different attitudinal patterns, we draw on recent analysis of gender regimes and the family/work system. Theoretical discussions have shown that it is essential to take into account various dimensions underpinning the cultural construction of work/family integration. Two important dimensions concern the attitudes to the family division of paid work and the family division of unpaid work. Beliefs and expectations concerning who should work outside the home (full-time or part-time), who should care for young children and be responsible for housework, who should spend more time at work or at home, are fundamental in order to understand families' and individuals' attitudes toward managing work and family life. For example, strong agreement with the ideal of the husband as main provider and the wife as secondary provider (part-time work) will make it difficult for the mother not to assume her conventionally assigned role of main childcarer and homemaker.

Recent discussions regarding gender regimes have also shown that it is essential to take into account the social construction of motherhood (Leira, 1992; McMahon, 1995; Pfau-Effinger, 1999). Motherhood may be interpreted in different ways, as a long phase of life in which (i) the special tasks of caring totally absorb women's capacity for work, thereby excluding maternal employment altogether; (ii) only certain periods absorb women's capacity for work, an approach which advocates that maternal employment during certain periods of the life-course has a negative impact on family life and the mother's relationship with children, particularly young children or (iii) motherhood does not absorb women's capacity for work and

maternal employment does not have a negative impact on children and should be managed alongside childcare and family responsibilities.

A further significant dimension is the cultural construction of the relationship between working parents and the Welfare State. In European societies, we have different ideological frameworks regarding the articulation between family and state. One point of view is that care for children may be regarded primarily as the task of the state. The underlying ideal, in this context, is that children are future citizens, and therefore the state is seen as more competent in fulfilling the task of care and education than private households. Caring for children, however, may alternatively be considered as a family task – the underlying attitude being that children need special care and support (usually by the mother) to become competent and balanced individuals. This alternative ideological framework is quite strong in Southern European countries but it is also present in other countries and seems to be part of an ongoing policy debate in most European countries.

The chapter will be divided into two main parts. First, the measures we derived using data from the International Social Survey Programme's Family and Gender Relations module, which was fielded in 2002, are briefly described. I then focus on attitudinal patterns to work/family articulation in seven different countries: Portugal, Spain, the Czech Republic, West Germany, Great Britain, France and Sweden. The main criterion for choosing these countries was to introduce diversity in different welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen, 1990), to include one example of an ex-state-socialist country, and to have countries with varying levels of female economic participation (see Appendix 6C). In the second part, I examine the impact of different factors in shaping these patterns: social factors (education, political positioning, religious attendance); work and work/life factors (the number of weekly working hours and the level of work/family stress); and demographic factors (age, sex, marital situation and household composition) (Appendix 6B).

### **Cross-national variations in attitudinal patterns to work/family articulation**

For the seven countries under discussion, we derived three different measures which are related to the above-mentioned dimensions. A division-of-paid-work index was computed from the individual responses to the five following statements and one question ( $\alpha$ : 0.68 for the seven countries):

- A job is all right but what most women want is a home and children
- Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay
- Having a job is the best way for a woman to be independent

- Both the man and the woman should contribute to household income and family
- Do you think women should work outside the home (part-time, full-time, not at all) when there is a child under school age?

A division-of-unpaid-work index was computed from the individual responses to the following statements (Pearsons' correlation = 0.70,  $p < 0.001$  for the seven countries):

- Men ought to do a larger share of the household work than they do now
- Men ought to do a larger share of childcare than they do now.

Finally, a maternal-employment index was computed from the individual responses to the following three statements ( $\alpha$ : 0.72 for the seven countries):

- A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work
- A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works
- All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job.

Tables 6.1 and 6.2 show the main patterns in family/work attitudes in Portugal and Great Britain. Higher scores (close to five) are indicative of greater work/family conservatism, lower scores (close to one) of greater work/family liberalism. As can be seen from Table 6.1, five main patterns of attitudes to family/work articulation were identified in Portugal.<sup>2</sup> The *strong traditional* pattern is conservative on all three indexes, meaning that, overall, individuals strongly agree with the male breadwinner/mother stay-at-home carer model. On the contrary, the *strong traditional modified* pattern of articulation is very conservative in terms of the division of paid work and the maternal employment index but very liberal concerning the division of unpaid labour. This is an interesting pattern, indicating a model in which individuals support segregated roles in terms of paid work but also want some sharing inside the home. In other words, it reveals a pattern of work/family articulation in which individuals advocate a male breadwinner model with respect to paid work, but find it difficult to accept the norm of total gender separation in daily domestic life, as if the values of modern family life – emphasising companionship, sharing, communication – imply a certain refusal of gender differentiation at home even when the husband is the main provider.

The *modern strong motherhood* pattern is quite different from the previous patterns, being liberal in relation to the division of paid work and unpaid work, but extremely conservative in relation to *maternal employment*.

Underlying this pattern is therefore another type of ambiguity, based on the contradiction between strong support for egalitarian professional roles and carer/homemaker roles accompanied by strong support for mothers who do not work full-time, as this has a negative impact on young children and family life. In Portugal, advocates of this work/family attitudinal pattern are supportive of part-time work for women when children are young (71 per cent), as in most of the seven countries (Table 6A.1, Appendix 6A).

The fourth pattern – the *modern moderate* – has scores that are close to the average scores on all three indexes; compared to the *modern motherhood*, however, it does not endorse dual-earning as strongly and, when mothers have young children, respondents are divided between support for stay-at-home and part-time working mothers. Finally, the *strong modern* pattern has scores which are much higher on all three indexes, indicating strong endorsement of the dual earner and the dual carer models of

Table 6.1: Main attitudinal patterns to work/family articulation – Portugal (average scores for 3 indexes\*) (n = 1004)

Main attitudinal patterns	%	3 indexes – average scores*		
		Division of Paid Work Index (Portugal: $\alpha = 0.55$ ; 7 countries: $\alpha = 0.68$ )	Division of Unpaid Work Index (Portugal: 0.51, $p = 0.000$ ; 7 países: 0.70; $p = 0.000$ )	Maternal Employment Index (Portugal: $\alpha = 0.60$ ; 7 countries: $\alpha = 0.72$ )
Strong traditional	8.4	2.91	2.59	2.70
Strong traditional modified	25.6	2.54	4.16	1.82
Modern strong motherhood	28.1	3.56	4.37	2.25
Modern moderate	23.1	3.01	4.12	3.10
Strong modern	14.8	4.01	4.46	3.88
All individual responses	100.0	3.18	4.12	2.61
Variance analysis		F(4,999) = 354.83, $p < .000$ , $Eta^2 = .59$	F(4,999) = 205.43, $p < .000$ , $Eta^2 = .45$	F(4,999) = 613.11, $p < .000$ , $Eta^2 = .71$

\* Meaning of scale:

1 – Greater Attitudinal Conservatism (male breadwinner, female homemaker and carer, negative impact of maternal employment)

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5 – Greater Attitudinal Liberalism (dual-earner, dual homemaker and carer, no negative impact of maternal employment)

work/family articulation, and disagreement with the fact that maternal employment, particularly full-time, has a negative impact on young children and family life.

Compared to Portugal, attitudinal patterns of work/life articulation in Great Britain are more varied. Within the more traditional patterns, there is a distinction between a *strong traditional*, a *strong traditional modified*, and also a *traditional* pattern which comes closer to average scores and is less negative in relation to maternal employment than the previous strong traditional patterns. The other patterns are quite similar to Portugal's, except for a new attitudinal pattern to work/family articulation which we labelled the *modern unequal caring* pattern. In the latter, individuals are quite liberal in relation to the division of paid work and the impact of mother's employment on family life, but very conservative regarding men's participation in the domestic sphere, even more conservative in fact than the individuals in the *strong traditional* pattern. In other words,

Table 6.2: Main attitudinal patterns to work/family articulation – Great Britain (average scores for 3 indexes) (n = 1494)

Main attitudinal patterns	3 indexes – average scores		
	Division of Paid Work Index (GB: $\alpha = 0.38$ ; 7 countries: $\alpha = 0.68$ )	Division of Unpaid Work Index (GB: 0.70; $p = 0.000$ ; 7 países: 0.70; $p = 0.000$ )	Maternal Employment Index (GB: $\alpha = 0.45$ ; 7 countries: $\alpha = 0.72$ )
All individual responses	3.03	3.63	3.22
1. Strong traditional	2.45	2.70	1.98
2. Strong traditional modified	2.37	3.98	2.01
3. Traditional	2.79	2.99	3.08
4. Modern strong motherhood	3.11	4.11	2.61
5. Modern unequal caring	3.40	2.62	4.08
6. Modern moderate	2.98	3.99	3.73
7. Strong modern	3.83	4.19	4.29
Variance analysis	F(6,1486) = 320.42, $p < .000$ , Eta <sup>2</sup> = .56	F(6,1486) = 534.75, $p < .000$ , Eta <sup>2</sup> = .68	F(6,1486) = 1166.29, $p < .000$ , Eta <sup>2</sup> = .83

these are individuals who advocate women's paid work and do not think this has a negative influence on family life, but do not agree with the dual carer/homemaker norm, in which men would be expected to do more household tasks and more childcare. In Table 6A.1 (Appendix 6A) we can see that in Great Britain and the other countries where this pattern emerges (Sweden, West Germany, France, the Czech Republic), respondents supporting this type of work/family articulation generally favour part-time work for women when children are pre-school age.

Figures 6.1 to 6.7 show the specific work/family attitudinal patterns and the relative proportions of each within the seven countries. Figures 6.1 and 6.2 highlight the same types of patterns in Portugal and Spain, with very similar proportions with regard to the traditional attitudes. In both countries, the *strong traditional* patterns represent just over one-third of the total (34 and 35 per cent). It is important to note, however, that the *strong traditional modified*, where agreement with a male breadwinner model also includes support for some sharing inside the home, is more popular in both countries than the old-fashioned male-breadwinner/female carer model. When we look at the other patterns, however, we see that the proportion of *modern strong motherhood* is very high in Portugal (28 per cent) whereas in Spain the proportion is lower (16.6 per cent) and the *modern moderate*, more supportive of stay-at-home as well as part-time working mothers, emerges as a more predominant pattern. Overall, however, three main patterns stand out in these two countries: the strong traditional modified, the modern strong motherhood, and the modern moderate.

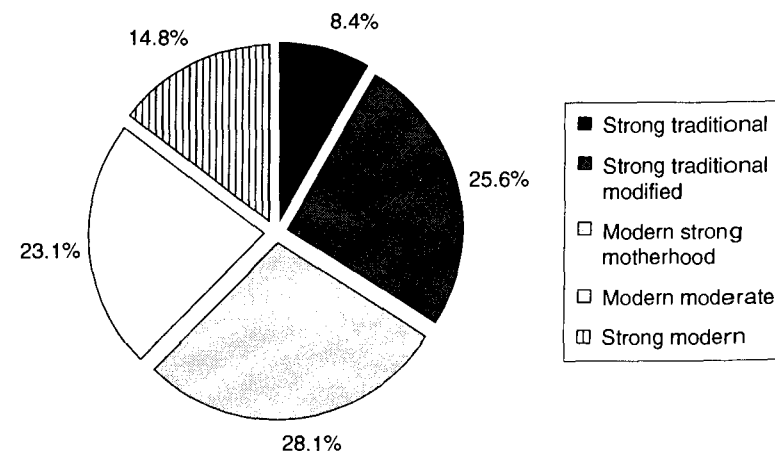


Figure 6.1: Main attitudinal patterns to work/family articulation, Portugal (%) (n = 1004)

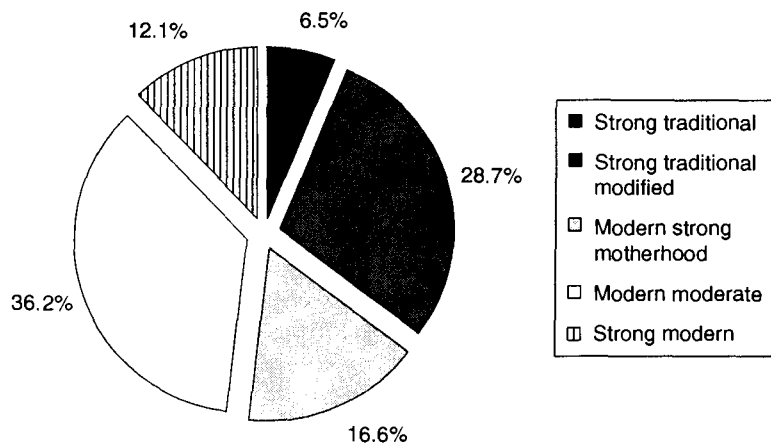


Figure 6.2: Main attitudinal patterns to work/family articulation, Spain (%) (n = 1993)

The Czech Republic (Figure 6.3) reflects a very different picture, the most striking feature being the very high proportion of *strong traditional* patterns. Together they represent 45 per cent, almost half of all responses. The *modern strong motherhood* is also a predominant pattern, the *modern unequal caring* is very low, and the two more *modern* patterns together stand at 30 per cent, a percentage which is one of the lowest within the seven countries but is nevertheless quite significant if we consider the 16 per cent of the *strong modern*, the main attitudinal pattern in the seven countries which is more supportive of full-time work for mothers over the lifecycle.

West Germany also features very high values in the more traditional male-breadwinner patterns. The *strong traditional* patterns alone represent nearly one-third (31 per cent), and if we include the *traditional* pattern, 46 per cent of the German respondents support more conservative work/family arrangements. For example, in these three aforementioned attitudinal patterns, the majority of German respondents agree that the mother of a pre-school child should stay at home (90 per cent of the *strong traditional*, 83 per cent of the *strong traditional modified* and 62 per cent of the *traditional* respondents). With the other patterns, we can observe that the *modern strong motherhood* represents quite a high proportion (18 per cent), the *modern unequal caring* an average value (8 per cent) and the two *modern* patterns, if taken together, the lowest percentage (28 per cent) of all the seven countries.

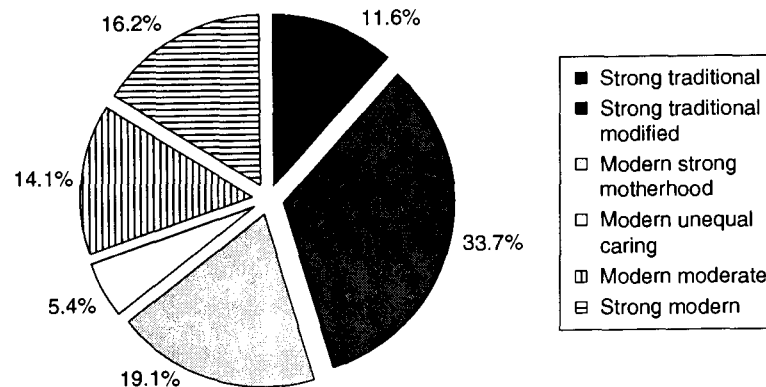


Figure 6.3: Main attitudinal patterns to work/family articulation, Czech Republic (%) (n = 1121)

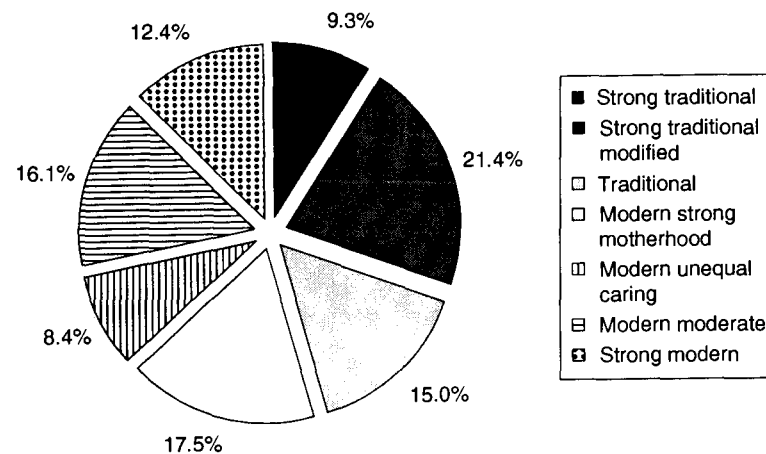


Figure 6.4: Main attitudinal patterns to work/family articulation, West Germany (%) (n = 646)

Great Britain initially appears to be rather similar to West Germany due to the diversity of its patterns. In fact, the differences are quite significant. First, support for the *traditional modified* is not as high as in the two previous countries, bringing supportive attitudes to the more traditional work/family patterns down to roughly one-third (36 per cent) of all respondents. Secondly, the *modern* patterns represent a high proportion (38 per cent in all, with 17 per cent for the *strong modern*; this last percentage is important, especially as this work/family pattern is the only one in Britain in which a majority of respondents advocate part-time employment (82 per cent) or full-time work (14 per cent) for mothers with young children. Finally, work/family attitudes in Great Britain are more evenly spread across the spectrum of patterns than in some other countries, in which two or three particular patterns predominate.

In France, one pattern of attitudes to work/family articulation stands out in relation to others (Figure 6.6). We labelled it the *modern moderate motherhood (mmm)* due to the fact that it behaves similarly on the three indexes as in the other countries, but is slightly less conservative on the *maternal employment* index than either Spain, Portugal, West Germany, Great Britain or the Czech Republic. In other words, the idea that maternal employment has a negative impact on young children and family life is, even in this pattern, less pronounced in France. Nevertheless, the *modern motherhood* French respondents mostly adhere, as in other countries, to the expectation that mothers with young children should work part-time (52 per cent) or stay at home (45.7 per cent) (Table 6A.1) (see Chapter 12). In contrast, in the *modern* pattern the majority of respondents (73.4 per cent) advocate part-time work for mothers, and in the *strong modern* either full-time (54.8 per cent) or part-time work (45.7 per cent). It is also important to note that although the *strong traditional* patterns have lower proportions than the countries above, they still represent 28 per cent. Again, however, it is the *modified* version of the male breadwinner model that is more popular (20 per cent of respondents). Compared to the other countries, the French respondents thus emerge as more supportive of egalitarian gender roles in paid and unpaid work, but also as strongly protective of the mother's role in the home when children are young. Nevertheless, together with Spain and Portugal, half of their strong modern respondents approve of full-time work for mothers with pre-schoolers.

The Swedish attitudinal patterns to work/life articulation (Figure 6.7) are fairly similar to the French in relation to the prominent position of

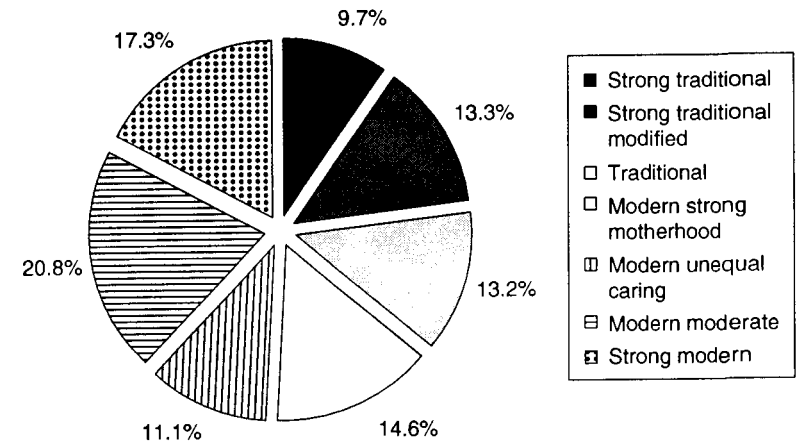


Figure 6.5: Main attitudinal patterns to work/family articulation, Great Britain (%) (n = 1494)

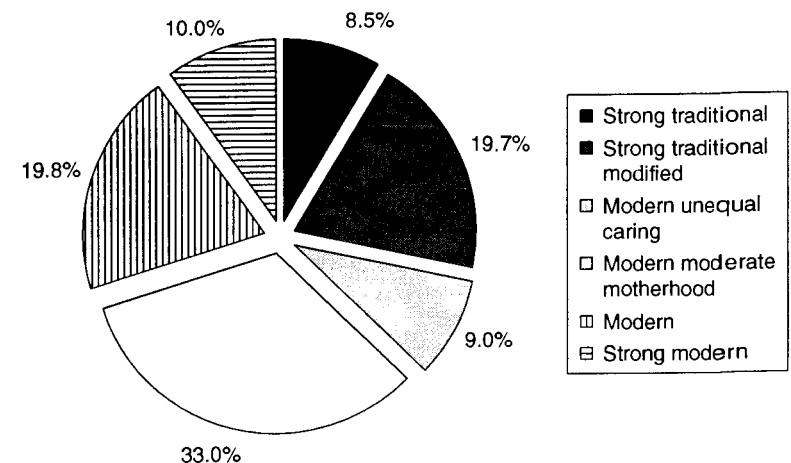


Figure 6.6: Main attitudinal patterns to work/family articulation, France (%) (n = 1546)

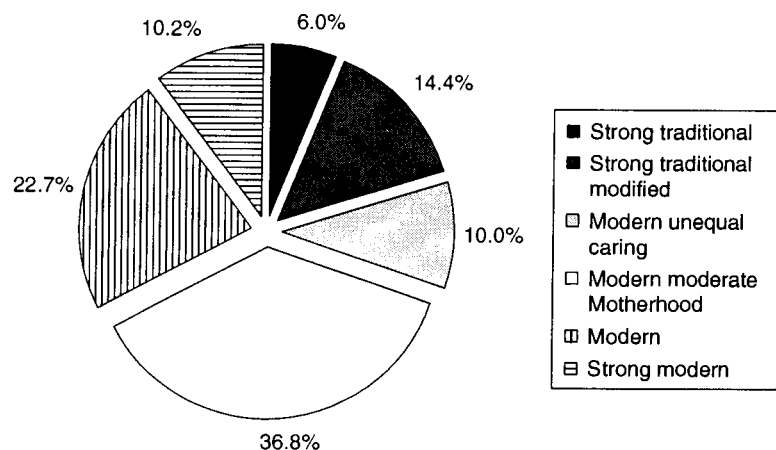


Figure 6.7: Main attitudinal patterns to work/family articulation, Sweden (%) (n = 772)

the *modern moderate motherhood* pattern and an average value for the *modern unequal caring* pattern (9 per cent). Nevertheless, compared to the French, who prefer either part-time or stay-at-home mothers, the majority of Swedish *mmm* respondents advocate a work/childcare balance based on mother's part-time work (83.5 per cent). Sweden also marks itself off from the other countries by the low proportions of the *strong traditional* patterns (14 per cent for the *strong traditional modified*, the lowest of all seven countries). Finally, we can see that the *modern patterns* represent, as in several other countries, one-third of the total. However, it is important to mention that, compared to some countries with a lower tradition of part-time work, such as France, Portugal and Spain, where the *strong modern* respondents are more supportive of mothers' full-time work even when the children are young, the majority of *strong modern* respondents in Sweden tend to support part-time work (63.3 per cent) for mothers with young children (Table 6A.1). In summary, Sweden is a country where attitudes have drawn away much more sharply from the male-breadwinner/female carer model (in comparison to all the other countries), but where the majority of respondents advocate a work/family balance with young children centred on mothers' part-time work within a dual earner/dual carer model.

### Main factors having an impact on attitudinal patterns to work/family articulation

In order to assess the relative impact of social, demographic and work-related factors (see Appendix 6B), we carried out a logistic regression with some of the main attitudinal patterns as the dependent variable.

The logistic regression on the *strong modern* pattern for all seven countries together (Table 6.3) shows that four variables are associated with this attitudinal pattern to work/family articulation: not being married or cohabiting (i.e. single, divorced); full-time female employment; higher levels of education (more years in school); and lower levels of religious attendance. The influence of two main factors – women's employment situation and levels of education – stand out as the two most important determinants.

Country by country, however, the determining factors vary slightly (Table 6.4). A higher level of education, an important measure of social positioning, continues to be a significant determinant in all countries except Great Britain and the Czech Republic. In the latter, sex (female) is the main shaping factor of *strong modern* attitudes to work/family articulation, whereas in Great Britain, the number of hours women work (more hours) and households with more young children are the only two predictors. The model is also the least predictive of all, and Great Britain thus emerges as a country where strong modern attitudes toward work/family articulation are more likely to be transversal, cutting across social positioning, religious attendance, sex or age.

Table 6.3: Logistic regression on *strong modern* (7 countries) (n = 4037)

	B	Wald	Sig.
Marital situation	0.19	4.09	0.04
Women's employment situation	0.25	102.66	0.00
Education (years in school)	0.09	50.90	0.00
Religious attendance	0.13	25.26	0.00
R <sup>2</sup> = 0.08			

If we now look at the most popular of the traditional patterns – the *strong traditional modified* – findings show that, at the level of all seven countries, there is an interaction between several determinants (Table 6.5), some of which are more significant than others, namely: the number of hours

Table 6.4: Logistic regression on *strong modern*, by country

		B	Wald	Sig.
<b>West Germany</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.17	Education (years in school)	0.18	19.08	0.00
	Women's employment situation	0.42	23.97	0.00
<b>Great Britain</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.06	Number of persons in household (children below age 5/6)	0.48	9.85	0.00
	Womens' working hours	0.02	28.40	0.00
<b>Sweden</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.09	Age	0.02	28.40	0.00
	Sex	-0.03	6.17	0.01
	Education (years in school)	0.70	5.46	0.02
<b>Czech Republic</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.06	Sex	0.15	11.80	0.00
	Difficulty in fulfilling family responsibilities	1.01	16.74	0.00
<b>Spain</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.11	Education (years in school)	0.51	5.90	0.02
	Religious attendance	0.06	6.05	0.01
	Number of persons in household (children below age 5/6)	0.17	7.50	0.01
	Women's employment situation	0.01	3.89	0.05
<b>France</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.12	Education (years in school)	0.33	26.60	0.00
	Religious attendance	0.22	13.98	0.00
	Women's employment situation	0.30	5.25	0.02
<b>Portugal</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.14	Education (years in school)	0.23	10.64	0.00
	Religious attendance	0.16	24.37	0.00
	Political positioning	0.25	10.80	0.00
	Difficulty in fulfilling family responsibilities	0.16	3.84	0.05
	Men's working hours	0.36	5.01	0.03

women work (less hours), age (older respondents), lower levels of education, a more right-wing political positioning, and the presence of children under five or six years of age in the household. The determining configurations again vary by country (Table 6.6). In the countries where traditional patterns have higher proportions, level of education is the most common factor exerting a major influence. However, Great Britain and the Czech Republic continue to be outliers: being a woman is the only determining factor in the Czech Republic, whilst fewer weekly hours of female work and higher religious attendance are the variables which have an impact in Great Britain (associated nevertheless with an extremely low level of prediction). In the countries where the traditional patterns have lower proportions (Sweden and France), most of the main predictive factors are those emphasised for all the seven countries: age, lower levels of education,

higher religious attendance (France only) and a work/life stress factor – more difficulties in concentrating at work (Sweden only).

In summary, we may say that supportive attitudes of the *strong traditional modified* pattern of work/family articulation are quite consistently

Table 6.5: Logistic regression on *strong traditional modified* (7 countries) (n = 4663)

	B	Wald	Sig.
Men's employment situation	0.13	7.14	0.01
Women's employment situation	0.25	14.13	0.00
Women's working hours	-0.02	17.68	0.00
Age	0.02	27.46	0.00
Education (years in school)	-0.06	26.92	0.00
Political positioning	0.07	17.29	0.00
Difficulty in concentrating at work	-0.21	15.38	0.00
Number of persons in household (children below age 5/6)	0.01	24.28	0.00
R <sup>2</sup> = 0.05			

Table 6.6: Logistic regression on *strong traditional modified*, by country

		B	Wald	Sig.
<b>West Germany</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.08	Education (years in school)	-0.09	4.33	0.04
	Marital situation	-0.91	8.01	0.01
<b>Great Britain</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.02	Women's working hours	-0.01	4.22	0.04
	Religious attendance	-0.16	7.16	0.01
<b>Sweden</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.11	Age	0.03	7.63	0.01
	Education (years in school)	-0.11	8.78	0.00
	Difficulty in concentrating at work	-0.69	14.70	0.00
	Men's employment situation	0.13	3.79	0.05
<b>Czech Republic</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.04	Sex	0.71	14.89	0.00
<b>Spain</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.03	Education (years in school)	-0.05	4.49	0.03
	Age	0.02	4.97	0.03
<b>France</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.11	Age	0.04	12.75	0.00
	Education (years in school)	-0.10	6.56	0.01
	Religious attendance	-0.17	4.75	0.03
	Womens' working hours	0.01	6.15	0.01
<b>Portugal</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.12	Education (years in school)	0.18	19.35	0.00



associated with certain variables, such as lower levels of education (which usually imply lower levels of satisfaction with professional life) and age, often pointed out as important determinants of more conservative attitudes to family life. Nevertheless, it is important not to forget two points. First, other factors which have nothing to do with older and less educated individuals are present in the explanatory models (religious attendance or being married/cohabiting, for example). Secondly, age does not always exert a major influence. Provisionally, we may interpret this to mean that support for the *strong traditional modified* cuts across age groups in some countries and this attitudinal pattern is therefore not necessarily moving systematically in the direction of a decline.

Curiously, the logistic regression on *modern strong motherhood* gives us a very weak predictive model (Table 6.7). When we take into account the five countries within this pattern (Table 6.8), three variables appear to exert some influence: lower educational levels, higher religious attendance and more difficulties in fulfilling family responsibilities. Overall, however, it is the last variable which seems to have a major impact. Country by country, it is also this factor which exerts some influence in Great Britain and Portugal. On the other hand, when we look at the determinants of *modern moderate motherhood* in France and Sweden (Table 6.9), the latter country is also associated with age (older individuals) and a high number of people living in the household, while France is more associated with the above-mentioned variables: more difficulties in fulfilling family responsibilities, less hours of female and male work, lower levels of education and marital situation (unmarried/uncohabiting).

Table 6.7: Logistic regression on *modern strong motherhood* (5 countries) (n = 2608)

	B	Wald	Sig.
Education (years in school)	-0.03	5.16	0.02
Religious attendance	-0.05	4.72	0.03
Difficulty in fulfilling family responsibilities	-0.21	19.26	0.00
R <sup>2</sup> = 0.02			

Finally, the regression carried out on *modern unequal caring* shows an explanatory profile centred on age (younger individuals), married/cohabiting persons, individuals living in households with a large number of members, women who tend not to work full-time and less difficulties in

fulfilling family responsibilities (Table 6.10). Situational variables, particularly younger age, and women's part-time work, are therefore the factors that exert an influence, whereas social factors, such as levels of education and political positioning, do not. In summary, findings suggest that the idea of managing work and care through *unequal caring* (in which individuals disagree with men's increased participation in the home) is linked to younger couples where women do not work full-time and individuals experience less stress in carrying out household and caring tasks.

Country by country, it is interesting to examine two or three cases in detail. In France, where this attitudinal pattern has quite a high proportion (9 per cent), four variables are predictive. The factor which exerts a major influence is age (younger individuals), which interacts with three other

Table 6.8: Logistic regression on *modern strong motherhood*, by country

		B	Wald	Sig.
<b>West Germany</b>				
R <sup>2</sup> = 0.02	Marital Situation	0.67	6.05	0.01
<b>Great Britain</b>				
R <sup>2</sup> = 0.01	Difficulty in fulfilling family responsibilities	-0.25	5.82	0.02
<b>Czech Republic</b>				
R <sup>2</sup> = 0.01	Religious attendance	-0.13	4.46	0.04
<b>Portugal</b>				
R <sup>2</sup> = 0.02	Difficulty in fulfilling family responsibilities	-0.25	5.83	0.02
<b>Spain</b>	-	-	-	-

Table 6.9: Logistic regression on *modern moderate motherhood*, by country

		B	Wald	Sig.
<b>Sweden</b>				
R <sup>2</sup> = 0.05	Age	0.03	17.16	0.00
	Total number of people in household	0.25	13.15	0.00
<b>France</b>				
R <sup>2</sup> = 0.06	Education (years in school)	-0.08	5.97	0.02
	Men's working hours	-0.02	11.35	0.00
	Women's working hours	-0.02	6.87	0.01
	Marital situation	0.45	5.19	0.02
	Difficulty in fulfilling family responsibilities	-0.28	8.25	0.00

significant variables: individuals' marital situation (married/cohabiting), sex (men) and fewer difficulties in fulfilling family responsibilities. The fact that this attitudinal pattern of work/family balance is more associated with men is obviously of interest, particularly as individuals advocating this work/family articulation do not agree that men ought to do more household work and childcare. Nevertheless, in Great Britain, where this pattern has a high proportion of 11.1 per cent (Figure 6.5), predictors also

Table 6.10: Logistic regression on *modern unequal caring* (5 countries) (n = 3546)

	B	Wald	Sig.
Women's employment situation	-0.19	5.07	0.02
Women's working hours	0.02	11.27	0.00
Marital situation	-0.37	7.05	0.01
Age	-0.02	12.57	0.00
Number of persons in household	0.30	8.41	0.00
Difficulty in fulfilling family responsibilities	0.33	22.79	0.00
R <sup>2</sup> = 0.04			

Table 6.11: Logistic regression on *modern unequal caring*, by country

		B	Wald	Sig.
<b>France</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.10	Marital situation	-0.94	9.77	0.00
	Sex	-0.67	5.94	0.02
	Age	-0.59	21.09	0.00
	Difficulty in fulfilling family responsibilities	0.26	4.02	0.05
<b>Great Britain</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.04	Age	-0.03	10.16	0.00
	Difficulty in fulfilling family responsibilities	0.34	7.56	0.01
<b>Sweden</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.03	Religious attendance	0.18	3.92	0.05
	Number of people in household (children below age 5/6)	0.47	7.16	0.01
<b>Czech Republic</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.12	Men's employment situation	0.60	11.96	0.00
	Religious attendance	-0.29	6.88	0.01
<b>West Germany</b> R <sup>2</sup> = 0.05	Number of people in household (children below age 5/6)	0.80	9.23	0.00
	Difficulty in fulfilling family responsibilities	0.39	3.84	0.05

include age (younger individuals) and fewer difficulties in fulfilling family responsibilities, but sex does not emerge as a significant influence.

## Conclusion

A substantial body of research has documented a decline in the male-breadwinner model of work/family articulation, and an increase in more favourable attitudes to married women's work and a dual earner/dual carer model. Nevertheless, research has also shown that, despite the changes in attitudes and practices over the last few decades, gender gaps in employment and in unpaid work are still considerable. Some authors have even emphasised that the general move is in the direction of a model based on the acceptance of women's employment, coupled with the view that mothers with children should work fewer hours or not at all, rather than one based on the norm of full-time employment for married women across the life-course (Treas & Widmer, 2000).

The aim of this chapter has been to look at the diversity in attitudes to work/family articulation and to try to identify and compare current attitudinal patterns within each country (seven in all). By establishing a country analysis as well as a cross-national one, our objective was to understand the attitudinal diversities and contrasts which are developing in European society in relation to work/family articulation. Rather than the idea of a consensual move in the direction of a *dual earner/dual carer* model or in the direction of a *one and a half earner/mother carer* model, we sought to provide a methodological context allowing for the analysis of different patterns.

Our findings suggest that there are a variety of attitudinal patterns to work/family articulation within each country. Some correspond quite clearly to the work/family articulation endorsed by traditional gender and family ideologies. For example, the male breadwinner/female stay-at-home carer model (labelled *strong traditional*), albeit a minority pattern (varying between 6 and 12 per cent), is identifiable in all seven countries. The fact that it is a minority pattern does not necessarily mean it is disappearing; in fact, cross-tabulation by age and sex shows, in some countries, that it is not only the older generations but also a significant proportion of the 30–44 male age group that endorses this type of work/family articulation (Wall, 2006).

At the opposite end of the spectrum, we find a *strong modern* attitudinal pattern, with only low to medium proportions (between 10 and 17 per cent), but it is interesting to see that this is the only pattern in all countries which emerges as strongly supportive of the dual-earner/dual carer/employment for mothers with young children with no negative impacts. Even so,

within this strong support for the dual earner/dual carer model, attitudes vary toward the type of employment for mothers with young children. In Sweden, the country with the lowest proportions of traditional patterns, we find that two-thirds of strong modern respondents advocate part-time work for mothers with pre-schoolers (in practice, more than two-thirds of mothers with pre-schoolers are at home or in part-time work (Table 6C.2, Appendix 6C). In 'conservative' West Germany, this proportion of strong modern individuals advocating part-time work rises to 81 per cent, in the Czech Republic to nearly 70 per cent and in 'liberal' Great Britain to 82 per cent (in all three countries, less than a quarter of mothers with pre-schoolers actually work full-time). A different situation occurs in France, where family policy until the late 1990s strongly supported childcare services for pre-schoolers rather than longer leaves, as in the Scandinavian countries. In France, more than half of all strong modern respondents advocate full-time work for mothers with pre-schoolers and 42 per cent of mothers effectively work full-time (Table 6C.2). In Portugal, where part-time work is rare and family policy has boosted childcare services since the late 1980s, a similar situation emerges: 42 per cent of the strong modern respondents advocate full-time work and 66 per cent of mothers with young children actually work full-time. Finally Spain, an outlier in this context, has *strong modern* respondents with similar attitudes to the French and Portuguese respondents (62 per cent think mothers with young children should work full-time) but only a quarter of women with children below school age actually work full-time. In contrast with Portugal, where political changes in 1974 led to strong support for women's employment and later on to the development of childcare services, public policies in Spain have lagged behind in terms of support for married women's employment: paid leaves are short, as in other Southern European countries, and childcare services have only been consistently developed over the last decade in some regions (Escobedo, 2005).

If some attitudes are clearly very traditional or modern in all countries, analysis also shows the development of other specific patterns. Two attitudinal patterns to work/family articulation stand out as particularly significant today. First, findings reveal a new traditional pattern (*strong traditional modified*: percentages between 15 and 36 per cent) which strongly supports the model of the male breadwinner/female carer/stay-at-home mother with young children, while advocating the increased participation of the male breadwinner in caring and household tasks. In other words, gender segregation is endorsed at the level of the family division of paid work as long as there is some sharing and involvement by the father/husband in

the home and in childcare. Secondly, data point to a *modern motherhood* pattern (with high values in most countries, varying between 15 and 37 per cent) where individuals are strongly in favour of the dual earner/dual carer model, but believe maternal employment has a negative impact on young children. Contrary to the aforementioned *strong traditional modified*, this attitudinal pattern favours part-time working mothers rather than stay-at-home mothers. Curiously, while the first pattern is strongly associated with lower levels of education, older age groups and more pre-schoolers in the household, the second pattern is mainly associated with difficulties in fulfilling family responsibilities and hardly at all with social or demographic factors.

Apart from these two more significant patterns, a third pattern, *modern unequal caring*, which is endorsed by only 5 to 10 per cent of respondents in some countries, strongly supports women's work and maternal employment but does not endorse increased male participation in childcare and household tasks. Part-time work for mothers with young children is advocated, but attitudes also spill over in favour of full-time work. In summary, this makes for a dual earner/unequal caring model in which attitudes are not opposed to maternal employment but do not support equality inside the home. In France, for example, it is associated with young men, rather than women, who are married or cohabiting (and this may be associated with the relatively high levels of domestic traditionalism in France, see Chapters 7 and 12).

In identifying attitudinal patterns in these seven rather different countries, we have shown, as might have been anticipated, that countries which have been placed as more 'modern' in relation to work/family articulation (such as Sweden and France) are in fact made up of a diversity of attitudinal patterns. For example, 'modern' Sweden is characterised by its fairly low proportions of *traditional* male-breadwinner patterns, an average proportion of *modern unequal caring*, a high proportion of the *modern motherhood* pattern and quite high proportions of *strong modern* and *modern* patterns. Overall, we can say that, apart from a third of Swedish respondents who are *traditional* in relation to work/family articulation (20 per cent in favour of the male breadwinner model and 10 per cent advocating a dual earner/unequal caring model), the majority of respondents endorse a dual earner/dual carer model in which part-time work for women with young children is a fundamental element of attitudes to work/family articulation.

Cross-national comparisons at the level of the seven countries show some differences, even if some countries are more similar than others. The Czech Republic and West Germany, where nearly half of all respondents

advocate traditional patterns, emerge as the countries that are currently highly supportive of the male breadwinner model (even if some respondents also associate it with some sharing in the private sphere). Great Britain presents itself with a wide variety of attitudinal patterns and, compared to West Germany, is less supportive of the male breadwinner models, modified or other, and with higher levels of the strong modern pattern. However, as discussed before, a majority of respondents in all three countries support part-time work for mothers with pre-schoolers (the Czech Republic, however, is more in favour of full-time work than the other two countries). In Portugal and Spain, on the other hand, respondents are on the whole very conservative concerning the impact of maternal employment on children (an attitude which may be partly explained by the fact that both countries emerge as very child-centred in terms of family values; Aboim, 2006) and divide themselves between four patterns: the *strong traditional modified* (but with values well below those of the Czech Republic and West Germany), the *strong motherhood* pattern and the *modern* and *strong modern* patterns. In the latter, however, a high proportion of respondents advocate full-time employment for women with pre-schoolers, a characteristic which draws them nearer to France. Finally, France and Sweden are similar on the low values of the male-breadwinner models and the presence of the modern unequal caring pattern, but differ in relation to their attitudes concerning mother's employment, with a high proportion of strong modern French respondents endorsing full-time rather than part-time employment for mothers with young children.

This chapter has also explored the shaping factors of some of the attitudinal patterns of work/family articulation. It is important to observe that not all the explanatory models are very predictive, and also that the major determining factors for specific patterns are not always the same for all countries. For example, social determinants, namely levels of education, are a major influencing factor of the *strong modern* attitudes to work/family articulation in all countries except for Great Britain, where women's longer working hours are the major influence, and in the Czech Republic, where sex (female) is the main determining factor. On the other hand, social and demographic variables do not always have an important effect on all patterns. The main example of this is the *strong motherhood* pattern, which is not only less predictive, but also seems to cut across social factors and to be mainly influenced by work/life situations, such as difficulties in fulfilling family responsibilities. Of course, the number of independent variables we used are limited and it would be interesting to see if this particular pattern is influenced by other factors such as specific family values (for example, the importance of mothering).

Our discussion so far suggests that we must be careful in interpreting the indicators related to gender roles and work/family articulation in European societies. Rather than subscribe to the idea of a movement in the direction of one or other attitudinal pattern, our data suggest that, within a general cultural context of a contested male-breadwinner model and of strong valorisation of motherhood and childhood, a plurality of attitudinal patterns to work/family articulation exists within and across the different countries. National cultures, political changes, recent and decade-old welfare policies, full-time or part-time working traditions for women and for mothers in particular, can all be detected as influences on current attitudinal patterns to work/life articulation in each country. Rather than leading toward two or three models, however, the restructuring of attitudes to work/family integration seems to have produced a more complex variety of work/family attitudinal patterns. In this short chapter, we have merely carried out an exploratory analysis. The existing variations suggest that further research on this topic should continue to explore not only the interaction between paid and unpaid work, but also how they relate in each country to the restructuring of gender and family ideologies, particularly motherhood, fatherhood, and the value of children.

#### Appendix 6A: Cross tabulation of attitudinal patterns to work/family articulation, by country, with responses to the statement 'Do you think women should work outside the home – part-time, full-time, not at all – when there is a child under school age' (%)

Table 6A.1

	Full-time	Part-time	Not working	Total
<b>West Germany (n = 646)</b>				
Strong traditional		10.0	90.0	100.0
Traditional	1.0	37.1	61.9	100.0
Strong traditional modified		16.7	83.3	100.0
Modern moderate	1.0	39.4	59.6	100.0
Modern strong motherhood	2.7	79.6	17.7	100.0
Modern unequal caring	5.6	59.3	35.2	100.0
Strong modern	12.5	81.3	6.3	100.0
Total	2.8	45.4	51.9	100.0

(Continued)

Table 6A.1 (Continued)

	Full-time	Part-time	Not working	Total
$X^2 = 241.26$ , DF = 12, $p < .000$ , $cf = .52$				
<b>Great Britain</b> (n = 1494)				
Strong traditional	0.7	9.7	89.6	100.0
Traditional		20.8	79.2	100.0
Strong traditional modified		2.0	98.0	100.0
Modern moderate		43.9	56.1	100.0
Modern strong motherhood	1.4	43.8	54.8	100.0
Modern unequal caring	11.4	60.5	28.1	100.0
Strong modern	14.3	81.8	3.9	100.0
Total	4.0	40.4	55.6	100.0
$X^2 = 640.49$ , DF = 12, $p < .000$ , $cf = .55$				
<b>Spain</b> (n = 1993)				
Strong traditional	2.3	16.2	81.5	100.0
Strong traditional modified	1.1	22.1	76.9	100.0
Modern strong motherhood	23.0	69.4	7.6	100.0
Modern moderate	19.4	60.3	20.2	100.0
Strong modern	61.4	38.6		100.0
Total	18.7	45.4	35.9	100.0
$X^2 = 1076.58$ , DF = 12, $p < .000$ , $cf = .59$				
<b>France</b> (n = 1545)				
Strong traditional		11.4	88.6	100.0
Strong traditional modified		22.4	77.6	100.0
Modern unequal caring	23.0	61.2	15.8	100.0
Modern moderate motherhood	2.4	52.0	45.7	100.0
Modern	7.5	73.4	19.0	100.0
Strong modern	54.8	44.5	0.6	100.0
Total	9.8	47.0	43.2	100.0
$X^2 = 824.08$ , DF = 10, $p < .000$ , $cf = .59$				
<b>Portugal</b> (n = 1005)				
Strong traditional	13.1	21.4	65.5	100.0
Strong traditional modified	0.4	13.6	86.0	100.0
Modern strong motherhood	16.0	71.5	12.5	100.0
Modern moderate	1.7	48.5	49.8	100.0
Strong modern	42.3	53.7	4.0	100.0
Total	12.3	44.5	43.5	100.0
$X^2 = 514.08$ , DF = 8, $p < .000$ , $cf = .58$				

Table 6A.1 (Continued)

	Full-time	Part-time	Not working	Total
<b>Czech Republic</b> (n = 1122)				
Strong traditional		21.5	78.5	100.0
Strong traditional modified	1.9	37.8	60.3	100.0
Modern unequal caring	54.1	29.5	16.4	100.0
Modern strong motherhood	15.4	63.1	21.5	100.0
Modern moderate	13.3	60.1	26.6	100.0
Strong modern	27.1	69.1	3.9	100.0
Total	12.7	48.5	38.8	100.0
$X^2 = 411.10$ , DF = 10, $p < .000$ , $cf = .52$				
<b>Sweden</b> (n = 772)				
Strong traditional		6.5	93.5	100.0
Strong traditional modified	0.9	43.2	55.9	100.0
Modern unequal caring	26.0	74.0		100.0
Modern moderate motherhood	2.8	83.5	13.7	100.0
Modern	29.7	68.0	2.3	100.0
Strong modern	36.7	63.3		100.0
Total	14.2	66.6	19.2	100.0
$X^2 = 428.10$ , DF = 10, $p < .000$ , $cf = .60$				

## Appendix 6B: Description and coding of variables used in the regressions (7 countries)

<i>Independent Variables</i>	<i>Coding</i>
<i>Demographic and Social Variables</i>	
Sex	1 male.....2 female
Age	Minimum 18.....maximum 96
Marital situation	1 married/cohabiting .....2 not married/not cohabiting
Number of years in school	0 no schooling.....30 years (95 – still at school; 96 – still at university)
Political positioning: left–right	1 left.....10 right
Religious attendance	1 several times a week.....8 never
No. of persons in household (children below age 5/6 years)	0.....4 children
Total number of people in the household	1.....14
<i>Work and Work/Life Variables</i>	
Men's employment situation	1 not working; 2 <part-time; 3 part-time; 4 full-time
Women's employment situation	1 not working; 2 <part-time; 3 part-time; 4 full-time
Men's weekly working hours	0.....96
Women's weekly working hours	0.....90
Difficulty in fulfilling family responsibilities	1 several times a week.....4 never
Difficulty in concentrating at work	1 several times a week.....4 never

## Appendix 6C: Characteristics of respondents in the seven countries by employment situation and sex

Table 6C.1: Respondents' employment situation (18–65 years)

	<i>7 Countries (n = 8876)</i>	<i>West Germany (n = 775)</i>	<i>Great Britain (n = 1648)</i>	<i>Sweden (n = 903)</i>	<i>Czech Republic (n = 1113)</i>	<i>Spain (n = 1965)</i>	<i>France (n = 1591)</i>	<i>Portugal (n = 882)</i>
<b>Men</b>								
Full-time work	71.9	71.6	73.4	75.8	73.4	69.4	70.1	72.4
Part-time work	3.0	1.1	4.5	4.5	0.6	4.3	2.1	2.6
<part-time	0.8	0.0	0.7	2.1	0.4	1.3	0.3	0.2
Not working	24.3	27.3	21.4	17.5	25.7	24.9	27.5	24.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Women</b>								
Full-time work	42.0	34.2	40.8	46.8	51.7	33.3	44.6	48.1
Part-time work	15.9	16.3	23.7	26.4	3.3	13.6	17.2	6.4
<part-time	2.2	1.3	3.4	2.1	0.5	2.3	2.9	1.3
Not working	39.9	48.2	32.1	24.7	44.4	50.8	35.3	44.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>All respondents</b>								
Full-time work	56.1	52.4	55.2	60.4	62.2	51.2	55.9	60.0
Part-time work	9.8	8.9	15.2	16.2	2.0	9.0	10.5	4.5
<part-time	1.5	0.6	2.2	2.1	0.4	1.8	1.8	0.8
Not working	32.6	38.1	27.4	21.4	35.4	38.0	31.8	34.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>cf</i>	0.31	0.38	0.33	0.32	0.23	0.34	0.30	0.24

Table 6C.2: Employment situation of respondents with children below age 5/6 (pre-school), by sex

	7 Countries (n = 3530)	West Germany (n = 118)	Great Britain (n = 267)	Sweden (n = 139)	Czech Republic (n = 143)	Spain (n = 306)	France (n = 288)	Portugal (n = 154)
<b>Men</b>								
Full-time work	65.7	86.0	82.7	85.5	84.6	88.7	91.5	82.2
Part-time work	3.1	2.0	0.0	5.8	0.0	4.0	2.1	2.7
<part-time	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not working	30.3	12.0	17.3	8.7	13.8	7.3	6.4	15.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Women</b>								
Full-time work	28.3	13.2	24.5	25.7	23.1	26.4	42.3	53.1
Part-time work	14.9	23.5	31.9	32.9	2.6	14.3	25.3	11.1
<part-time	1.8	2.9	0.6	4.3	1.3	2.7	2.6	1.2
Not working	55.0	60.3	42.9	37.1	73.1	56.6	29.9	34.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>All respondents</b>								
Full-time work	45.5	44.1	47.2	55.4	51.0	51.6	58.3	66.9
Part-time work	9.5	14.4	19.5	19.4	1.4	10.1	17.7	7.1
<part-time	1.4	1.7	0.4	2.2	1.4	1.6	1.7	0.6
Not working	43.6	39.8	33.0	23.0	46.2	36.6	22.2	25.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>cf</i>	0.36	0.59	0.51	0.52	0.53	0.52	0.43	0.30

**Notes**

1. Hereafter married is used to denote married or cohabiting.
2. These patterns were obtained through a two-step cluster analysis of the three indexes. The first procedure was a hierarchical cluster analysis of the indexes using the Ward method. Having obtained six meaningful clusters, the next procedure was a 'quick cluster' classification, that allowed us to optimise, through cluster centres readjustment, the first hierarchical cluster classification.