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Mia Tammelin

Working Time and Family Time

Experiences of the Work and Family Interface among Dual-Earning Couples in Finland

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ABSTRACT

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Finnish Summary
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This study investigates working time and the work-family interface among dual-earning families. The study explores the central aspects of working time: time, timing, tempo, autonomy and predictability of hours. The analysis of the statistical data sources show that working time practices have slightly changed from 1977 to 2003. Increasingly more dual-earners work long or short hours, compared to the standard 35-40 hours a week. There is more shift work, and work is carried out at a higher tempo, but with greater working time autonomy. The predictability of work hours is lost because of frequent contacts outside office hours. The boundaries between work and private life are blurring, but only from the direction of work stretching over to home. In international comparison, it is exceptional that dual-earner men report a slightly higher work-family time conflict than compared to women. The joint family working time of Finnish dual-earners, compared to the EU (15) average, is amongst the highest and dual-earners would prefer a twelve hour reduction in the weekly working time of the family. The analysis of the interviews of ten dual-earner couples identifies four time related strategies: fixed and negotiated schedules, synchronising and off-synchronising, scaling back, and gender role division. Overall, the study finds that the work-family interface is not just about how much time is spent at work, but also about work tempo, scheduling, predictability and autonomy. Dual-earner men and women in Finland have been affected differently by the changing working time regime. In their everyday life, families use strategies for time coordination and the allocation of time.

Keywords: work-family interface, working time, dual-earner, Finland, household working time.

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PREFACE

I started this study in 2000 in a Finnish Academy funded project "the Changing Nature of Paid Work and the Household". The study was conducted within the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. I wish to express my gratitude to my supervisor Professor Jouko Nätti, who has advised and supported me from the very beginning of this study. Among other support, he has shown amazing flexibility in my aspirations to work and study abroad. Furthermore, I want to thank colleagues in our projects on working life. Firstly, I thank Timo Anttila for his time, advice, and thoughtful questions on the work. My thanks also go to Ilkka Virmasalo, Mika Happonen, Tomi Oinas, Piritta Selin, Maarit Manninen and Kaisu Väänänen with whom I worked in various projects.

This study was reviewed by Doctor Irja Kandolin and Professor Päivi Korvajärvi. Your excellent comments assisted me in finalizing the work. Doctor Minna Salmi, Doctor Teppo Kröger, and Doctor Raija Julkunen commented the draft in an earlier stage. Your comments assisted me greatly.

I received funding from the Research School on Work and Welfare in 2004-2006. I would like to thank Professor Pertti Koistinen for setting up and managing the research school. I received many helpful comments from supervisors and students of the research school, and got to know many wonderful people and skilled researchers.

A great number of friends have supported me in my work – as well as outside work. Particularly I would like to thank Anna Pärnänen, Marika Jokinen, Johanna Moilanen, Johanna Kiili, and Minna Malkamäki. I am in debt for your time! I also thank colleagues within the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy and my other friends. Sometimes not asking about the work assisted me the most.

Furthermore, I would like to thank my family. Janne, you gave me the time and space to work, even when that required postponing other things. Only with your patience, we avoided work-family conflict at the final stage of the work. Moona has been the reason to detach myself from work. I also thank my other family members, especially my mother.

Finally, my thanks go to those thousands of people who have responded to the questionnaires, and particularly to those couples who agreed to be interviewed for this study.

Jyväskylä, February 2009

Mia Tammelin

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1 INTRODUCTION

There has been an increasing political and scientific interest on the work - family interface since the 1990s. The main reason for the international interest on the topic is the increase of female employment participation rates. The increasing women's employment rate is also on the political agenda as a policy target of the EU. It seems right to assume, as Minna Salmi (2004a) does, that the international interest on the topic has increased the interest in Finland as well. In addition to the increase of female employment, other changes in the nature of work have also increased the topicality of the issue. Although we describe employment practices by change, significant continuities prevail and changes should not be overstated (e.g. Julkunen & Nätti 1999). There have also been changes in the sphere of family life. Family forms have diversified, and a family with two adults has become less common compared to previously, yet, regardless of the changes, there is also remarkable stability in the sphere of family life (Ellingsæter & Leira 2006).

Several theorists claim that society has become more diversified, leaving more room, and even a compulsion, to choice (Giddens e.g. 1991; Beck e.g. 1997). Phyllis Moen (2003) has claimed that societal change in particular, challenges the conventional templates of everyday life. Consequently, individuals are required to reflect the organisation of life (Wallace 2002). Metaphors used, for example, on family policies in the Nordic welfare states reflect individual choice (Ellingsæter & Leira 2006; also Kivimäki 2003). In addition, the employment strategy of the Government states that the development of the work-family relationship within work organisations is based on voluntary action (Kivimäki 2003). Therefore, parents have the responsibility and they are assumed to be free to make their decisions. However, Kivimäki (ibid. 196) asks, "What options or freedoms do parents have to reach an agreement based on negotiations, for example, for staying on long family-leave? [...] Cultural factors restrict the choices, options and internalised assumptions on what is right and allowed, as well as the pay-gap

between men and women, […] Integration of work and family is overshadowed by the myth of free choice" (*translated MT*).

Equally in employment, the changing employment relationship is often characterised with individual flexibility. Conversely, choices on the number of children, childcare, consumption and paid work, for example, depend on the power relations or resources within the family (Ellingsæter & Leira 2006; Skevik 2006; Kivimäki 2003; Repo 2002). In addition, individuals and families are not isolated from the structures of the surrounding society, but those direct actions. For example, time structures of the society direct everyday life, as well as family policies and institutions. Although unproblematic at the level of metaphor or discourse, individual choice is not a straightforward principle when analysed empirically. For example, gender-neutral family policies, which advocate for choice, have gendered effects (Ellingsæter 2006; Lammi-Taskula 2006). Anne Lise Ellingsæter and Arnlaug Leira (2006, 270) point out that if individualisation is connected with a conception of autonomous actors who have to make choices in all life situations, the "conceptualisation of the actor is too limited and needs to be supplemented with an understanding of the individual as being anchored in different social relations, characterised by varying degrees of autonomy and dependence over the life course."

Individual actions, whether they are unconstrained choices or strained patterns of actions, concern the close social surroundings. The closest social surroundings of the individual are regularly the family. We often discuss employment practices from the perspective of the individual, while it is important to acknowledge that individuals' labour market behaviour affects family; an individual is anchored in this social network.

This study stems from the question of how dual-earning couples experience work-family relations, and if the working time practices have changed over time, as suggested by research. Given the discussions on change in various life spheres, for example, in the sphere of working time, it is interesting to see the statistical portrait of the development of working time practices over time. There is also a need to learn more about the associations of working time practices and the work-family interface.

In the heart of the study: time

In the study, I explore various aspects of time, as time is an essential part of daily life, and an important factor in the interplay of work and family. Kerry Daly (2001, 1) says that "time is fundamental to the orchestration and synchronisation of social life". Phyllis Moen (2003) argues that dual-earning couples are especially prone to difficulties with time, due to the number of schedules tied together. In Finland, Minna Salmi (1996) has compared the family time structure to a time screw, which gets tighter with each schedule the family has. The tighter the time screw, the less flexibility there is and the more demanding it is. Lack of time is said to be a new social problem (Garhammer 2002).

It is not possible to explore the nature and sociology of time profoundly here, but some comments need to be made about the nature of time (for extensive reviews on time and clock time, see e.g. Zerubavel 1981; Adam 1995; Pohjanen 2002). Time is a multifaceted phenomena and I perceive time as social construction and adopt a *politics of time* approach where "time is more than the value-neutral quantification of minutes and hours" (Daly 1996). This means that time is more than the quantifiable measure and has qualitative properties; it is subject to control, possession, exchange, negotiation, competing interests and conflict.

A central feature of time is its division to linear and cyclical time. The predominant conception of time is the linear time in western societies. Linear time is associated and measured with clock time, and the time is seen as unidirectional, which is calculated and marked as seconds, minutes, hours, days, weeks, years, and so on. Cyclical time dominated the conception of time in the pre-industrial society, when agriculture followed the cyclical time of the seasons. Cyclical and linear times are not opposite to each other, but coexist. (Davies 1989; Pohjanen 2002) Although clock time equals with the objective approach to time, clock time is fundamentally a representation of social time. Clocks have assisted the timing of social activities, since the beginning of the monastery clocks to the present day with standardised time zones across the world. (Pohjanen 2002, 41; also Zerubavel 1981) A qualitative difference of time exists between clock time and process time (e.g. Daly 2001, 9). Clock time is the objective segmentation of time into quantitatively equal units, and task oriented 'process time' is the time unit used for undertaking an action. (Davies 1989; Adam 1995) Kerry Daly (2001, 9) prefers to call 'process time' as 'care time'. I understand the concept of 'care time' as a form of 'process time', but I think it is too narrow to be a synonym with it.

Barbara Adam (1995) talks about shadow times when discussing the perception of time that is different from the economic, clock time. For example, unemployed young people that are between school and work experience shadow time. Although it is usual to talk of women's time in this context, Adam points out that shadow time can equally refer to all who are outside the time economy of employment relations, and "that it does not apply to all women at all times of their lives" (Adam 1995, 94). It is typical to understand women's time as process- and task-oriented time, as opposed to clock time, which equally needs to be treated cautiously. The division is problematic as it re-creates and strengthens existing dichotomies. (Adam 1995)

I want to make some additional remarks on Finland because of women's long history in the labour markets, changes in the role of men in family life and changes in the production systems. Firstly, women in Finland have a long tradition of being integrated in full-time paid employment; therefore women's time has long been defined by economic time. Secondly, men and fathers' role in the family has changed (Huttunen 2001) and men have slightly increased their share of household tasks and care responsibilities (Huttunen 2001; Niemi & Pääkkönen 2001). Therefore, it is simplification to say that process or task

oriented time of the family does not affect men. Another third point, relates to changes in employment where production systems and the conception of time is increasingly organised as task based project work.

Everyday life is lived within complex and coexisting time structures and people have increasingly adopted a vocabulary of time management (Adam 1995; Hochschild 1997), which assists in controlling time and can be a way of obtaining an increased agency on time (Daly 2001, 10). The organisation of time, and for example, the feeling of time squeeze, is seen as a private problem as opposed to a largely public issue (Daly 2002, 338; also Jarvis 2005). Community time has a great effect on the private time structures of the family[1] (see also Jarvis 2005).

In order to discuss the integration of work and family, it is useful to consider the temporal order of families in more detail. Time has a specific structure, with a specific way of organisation and synchronisation. Time serves as one of the key dimensions along which families' organise their life. Belonging to a family means that one is part of a particular family history, and possible daily routines and schedules of a family. In other words, the temporal order of families (Daly 1996). Equally to family time, working time also includes various, interrelated aspects. Essentially time, timing, tempo (Adam 1995), working time autonomy (e.g. Fagan 2001), and the predictability of working time (Garhammer 1995) impact on the use and experience of time in employment. As discussed later, the industrial working time regime is dissolving and replaced by diversifying working time practices.

I approach time from diverse, but interrelated approaches. Time can be measured and is allocated between activities, with each time fragment technically similar in length to the other. Essentially the time used in one activity cannot be used in another. This conception of time describes how the interface of work and family is perceived; that time spent at work is away from the family. However, the complexity of everyday life includes activities based on process time and activities taking place in various time structures. (See also Adam 1995, 97) In addition, the experience of time varies. Therefore, I approach it from various angles. This study understands time both as a social phenomenon that has qualities and is not experienced evenly, but also as a quantifiable issue.

Structure of the study

Both life spheres, employment and family, should be understood in a constant state of flux. The main aim of the study is to investigate the working time practices, and the experiences and practices of the work-family interface among dual-earning families. Specifically the study is interested in the associations of working time characteristics to the work-family interface among dual-earning

[1] The times of the city – framework (Boulin & Mückenberger 1999) draws attention to community time structures and how synchronisation can enable time coordination at the community level.

families. I aim to contribute to the existing work-family research by concentrating on dual-earner families in Finland. Regardless of the typicality of this family type in Finland, it seems that there are only a few studies concentrating on them.

I have organised the study into eight chapters. Research on the work-family interface has a long history, but the topic seems to have actualised recently. However, there is still substantial conceptual multiplicity on the topic, which I discuss in **chapter 2**. Various academic disciplines using different theoretical angles study work-family issues. Disciplines include, for example, psychology, management, sociology and social policy. In this chapter, I introduce some theoretical approaches used to study the work-family interface, and explain the approach of this study.

Chapter 3 contextualises the setting of the study, introducing the economic and social situation of Finland, family models in Finland and in the EU and finally the chapter introduces the post-industrial working time regime. The brief account on the economic development, particularly concentrating on the turbulent 1990s, serves as a background for the empirical investigation. The way that social policy is organised affects the way women and men (can) participate in the labour markets; therefore, I discuss Finland as a Nordic welfare state in this chapter. This chapter discusses another contextual factor of the study; the family models, in particular the reasons for the prevalence of dual-earning couples in Finland. The traditional male-breadwinner model was never prevalent in Finland, as it was in some central and south-European countries and there has been a transition towards dual-earning couples everywhere in Europe. In the study, I explore the work-family interface from the perspective of time. I discuss the diffusion of working times in this chapter.

In **chapter 4,** I present the research tasks, methods and data. This chapter mainly discusses family level research and the multi-method approach. Family level research acknowledges that it is important to look at the entity of the family, as members affect each other's lives. Yet family cannot be treated as a black box, whose members are similar and have equal power. This chapter also describes practical difficulties in implementing family level research, and introduces the quantitative and qualitative data sources and methods.

The empirical examination starts in **chapter 5**. First, I examine the central aspects of working time, and secondly the working time practices of dual-earning couples over time (1977-2003). **Chapter 6** describes the experiences of work and family over time (1984 to 2003, applicable waves), and analyses the positive and negative experiences of work and family. In the study, I am interested in learning how working time characteristics are associated with the positive and negative experiences of the work-family interface.

Following the statistical examination of working time practices and experiences of the work-family interface of dual-earning couples, I turn the attention in **chapter 7** to question how families organise their everyday life. I approach this research task with interview data. The chapter starts with the examination on the temporal order of families, which is located within both

private and public spheres. I discuss the temporal order of families with an empirical example. Secondly, an aim of this chapter is to question if couples adopt specific strategies related to time in the organisation of everyday life. The chapter discusses the identified strategies. Finally, **chapter 8** summarises and concludes the previous discussions.

2 WORK AND FAMILY INTERFACE

Since the 1990s, the work-family interface has been in the focus of increased discussion both internationally as well as in Finland, yet the topic has already been studied since the 1920s (Mauno 1999, 9). As a distinctive research area, the topic of work and family emerged in the 1960s and 1970s (Perry-Jenkins et al. 2000; Lewis 2003). The main reason for the recent growth in the interest on work-family issues is the increase of female employment participation rates. In addition, the EU policies aim at increasing women's employment participation rates. It seems correct to assume that the active EU level discussion also amplified discussion in Finland (Salmi 2004a), although in the Nordic countries the question is not about increasing women's labour force participation rates and consequently developing family leave and day-care systems, which are in place already. Rather, the discussion circulated, for example, around increased feelings of hurriedness.

2.1 Conceptual multiplicity

Suzan Lewis (2003) discusses how the issue of work-personal life was initially conceptualised as 'work and family', but has evolved over time, and since the 1990s the term 'work-life' emerged. According to Lewis, the reason for that is to use conceptualisation that is more gender neutral and inclusive, that it includes both the needs of women and men, and those with family responsibilities other than children and also those who do not have family responsibilities, but who just 'want to have a life'. While it is important to acknowledge the limitations of the concept of work-family, it is equally important to note the limitations of the concept of work-life. The difficulty there is that the concept explicitly proposes that work and life are separate spheres of life, which is in fact in sharp conflict with the current understanding with the research in the field, as well as distant from the everyday experience of people. In practice, research, policy debates and general discussions use both concepts - work-family and work-life. In this

study, I particularly look at experiences of bringing together paid work and family life, and therefore use the concept of work-family.

The conceptual multiplicity continues on how to describe the relationship between work and family. There is variation about whether work is *reconciled* with family (OECD 2005), if the study focuses on the work-family *balance* or *fit* (see Clarke, Koch & Hill 2004) or whether it discusses the work-family *interface* (e.g. Becker & Moen 1999; Grzywacz & Marks 2000)[2]. According to OECD (2005, 11) definition, reconciliation policies are "all those measures that extend both family resources (income, services and time for parenting) and parental labour market attachment". Studies that discuss balance or fit (see Clarke, Koch & Hill 2004) refer to the appropriate fit of the life spheres, suggesting that the goal is to reach a good balance or fit. Studies on the work-family interface (also referred to as interplay or interaction) seem to not make any assumptions of whether there is a balance or not, but rather refer to the practices and experiences of putting the life spheres together. When referring to the practices and experiences of putting the life spheres together I use the concept interface. I also use the concept of the work-family fit in the empirical section, when I particularly explore the experiences on the work-family interface empirically.

Negative and positive experiences and work-family fit

There seems to be a consensus that the work-family interface is bi-directional and double-layered (e.g. Greehaus & Beutell 1985; Kinnunen & Mauno 1998), which is also the assumption of this study. Accordingly, work can interfere with family and family with work, and furthermore, the relationship of work and family can be negative, a source of conflicts or interference, but there can be a positive, facilitating, relationship between the two.

A substantial amount of the work-family research relies on the conflict orientation where the demands of work and family are incompatible because of time, behaviour, or strain (e.g. Frone et al. 1997). As Jeffrey Hill (2005, 793) puts it, the conflict approach is based on the scarcity hypotheses, where the relationship of work and family comprises a zero-sum game and the limited resources of time and energy are viewed as fixed and conflict is seen as being inevitable. This applies both at the individual level, but also at a wider level: the demands of work and family for an individual can be in conflict with each other, but the needs of the work organisations can also be different from the needs of the family life. For example, time structures of work and services can be in conflict with each other. In the empirical examinations, work-family conflict is a two-dimensional construct where work can interfere with family and family with work (e.g. Frone et al. 1997; Grzywacz & Marks 2000; Hammer et al. 2003). In line with the idea of two-dimensionality conflict, the dimensions have different antecedents, as well as consequences. Furthermore, there is also a

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2 Also see the Report on National Debates on the reconciliation of family and employment (2005) for a review on the summary of work-family terminology used in selected EU countries.

connection between the two; Michael Frone and colleagues (1997) and Patricia Voydanoff (2005), for example, have showed some reciprocal relationships between the constructs, although in the empirical examination the correlates remain at a modest level.

Although the positive effects of acting in various life spheres has been acknowledged since the 1970's (Kinnunen et al. 2006), research in this area is not as well established as work-family conflict (but see Hill, Märtinson & Ferris 2004; Hill 2005; Kinnunen et al. 2006). The positive effects of work and family are also conceptualised work-family facilitation, resource enhancement, work-family success or balance, positive spillover or work-family fit (Grzywacz & Marks 2000; Voydanoff 2002; see Kinnunen et al. 2006 for review). There seems to be a slight difference on the focus of research on positive effects: whether there is a *role balance*, if work and family *facilitate each other*, or if there is a *fit between the life spheres* (see Clarke et al. 2004). Role fit or balance indicates a degree of comfort between various roles, relying on the psychological role theory, while facilitation or resource enhancement reflects the extent to which aspects of the work or family provide resources that assist the other life sphere (e.g. Voydanoff 2002, 2004a). Furthermore, although facilitation and fit are sometimes used as synonyms, Maribeth Clarke, Laura Koch and Jeffrey Hill (2004) make a distinct separation of these. According to them, work-family fit describes the relationship between the demands placed on people and their efforts to meet those demands. Thus, if individuals easily meet the work, personal and family aspirations, they have a good fit. Lack of ease suggests a poor work-family fit. Balance is often a synonym for work-family fit, but it is associated with equilibrium or maintaining an overall sense of harmony in life. (ibid. 121-122) I agree with the suggestion that the positive experiences of the work-family interface (facilitation) and work-family fit are different from each other, and will treat these separately.

As opposed to concentrating on the positive and negative effects of the various roles of the individual, i.e. role balance or role conflict, here I understand that each life sphere can offer resources that have a positive effect for the other life spheres or create demands that causes conflict between spheres. For example, the positive effect can be associated with obtaining resources from work, which can equally concern the skills of the individual as well as time resources provided by the organisation that assist with the needs of the family life.

2.2 Theoretical approaches of research

Various academic disciplines and orientations study the work-family interface. In the study, I connect to various theoretical orientations of research, which originate from different academic disciplines, but as proposed in this study, are not in conflict with each other. The approaches of research to which I connect to

are divided into four, which enable locating the main focus of the approaches, while at the same time the division is somewhat arbitrary; approaches share common characteristics and are overlapping.

First, theoretical orientation is the ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner 1979; also e.g. Grzywacz & Marks 2000), which I discuss because it puts together different contexts of work and family and assists with locating the phenomena. I do not implement this approach in the empirical part of the study, but it rather illustrates the overall approach of the study.

Secondly, the study connects to the analysis of social policy and welfare states, where the connections of social policy are taken as an important factor which impacts the interface of work and family (see e.g. Kröger & Sipilä 2005; Ellingsæter & Leira 2006). This is vital in order to contextualise the surroundings within which individual's organise the interplay of the life spheres, although I do not investigate the societal institutions empirically.

Thirdly, the study connects on specific measures of individual experiences, based on the psychological stress theories. Fourthly, the study also connects to the cultural frameworks. These emphasise that institutions do not determine actions, but that practices also depend on the cultural assumptions and understanding, either at the level of the workplace, within family or at the wider society. The next brief account only presents some studies in the field; it is not possible to make an exhaustive review in the vast literature.

Work-family interface as an interplay of two microsystems

First, I present Urie Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory, because it is a broad theoretical orientation. Recently it has been used in several studies on work-family interface. The theory is examined here because of its' ability to emphasise the importance of contextual issues, at the wider (such as national context) and narrower level (e.g. spouses working hours), and as it assists in positioning the focus of the study.

The ecological systems theory was developed to understand the socialisation of children. Since its' development it has, in addition to development psychology, been applied in educational studies in Finland (Piensoho 2001), social sciences and management (Niemelä 2006). The theory is a dynamic systems theory, which understands the evolving interface between a developing person and the environment (Bronfenbrenner 1979, 3). Bronfenbrenner has described the social surroundings within which children are socialised through the concepts micro-, meso-, exo-, and macrosystems. Individuals act actively with various systems at different levels (Piensoho 2001).

A microsystem is the direct environment of the individual (including e.g. work hours), which is experienced. Mesosystems are created when microsystems meet; an example of a mesosystem is the work-family interface. It comprises of interrelations among two or more settings. An exosystem comprises of the collective environment, and also surroundings to which the individual is not in direct connection with or where the person is not an active participant, but in which events occur that affect, or are affected by, what

happens in the setting (such as a partner's work place). A macrosystem is the overall societal context and environment, values, attitudes, specific policies, legislation, and culture. (Bronfenbrenner 1979) I also present the work-family mesosystem in figure 1, which I draw based on the theory. Various systems affect either directly or indirectly to the individual. Each layer is interconnected and their influence is reciprocal.

Later Bronfenbrenner (1981; see Viljamaa 2003) added time dimension[3] to his theory, emphasising the dynamic nature of the interface between individuals and surroundings. Adding time dimension to the theory shows the similarities with life course theories. Earlier Brofenbrenner (1979, 26) already identified "movement through ecological environment", an ecological transformation, in which a persons position in the environment changes because of a change in role, setting or both. Such examples are children going to school or a promotion at work. The significance of an ecological transformation is that each change is both a consequence and a lead of the change, and that change can occur at any of the four levels of the ecological environment.

Ecological systems theory has three assumptions on the nature of the relationship between the individual and surroundings. (Piensoho 2001) First, an individual is active who influences the environment. Secondly, the environment forces individuals to adapt to its' (restricting and enabling) conditions. These two assumptions represent the interface between individuals and the environment. Thirdly, it assumes that the environment comprises of various systems, which are different from their scope and inside each other.

Ecological systems theory has been adapted to especially suit the work-family interface (Grzywacz & Marks 2000; Voydanoff 2002; Hammer et al. 2003; Hill 2005). Bronfenbrenner (1979, 285) identifies work and family as the most pervasive and powerful primary settings. As it has been widely agreed that work and family are not separate spheres, the theory can provide a holistic approach. In the ecological systems theory work and family are used by microsystems that consist of patterns of activities and roles (Voydanoff 2004a).

The application of the ecological systems theory seems to be a particularly suitable theoretical framework for work-family studies, as it acknowledges that the relationships between two microsystems can be either positive or negative, and unidirectional or reciprocal. (See also Voydanoff 2002) Using the ecological systems theory as a framework recognises that individual's attitudes and behaviour are influenced by other individuals in their work and family environments, which provides a more comprehensive understanding of work-family dynamics compared to studies concentrating on an individual's work or family characteristics, as Leslie Hammer and colleagues (2003, 420) note. They use the ecological systems theory, because the study analyses couple's; the framework provides a comprehensive framework to understand the cross-over

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[3] Time refers to historical time, but also includes timing, i.e. the significance of an event may depend on the timing of it (in the person's personal life course or at wider level). (Bronfenbrenner 1995, 621)

effects between partners. Overall, the ecological systems theory is useful in contextualising the work-family question.

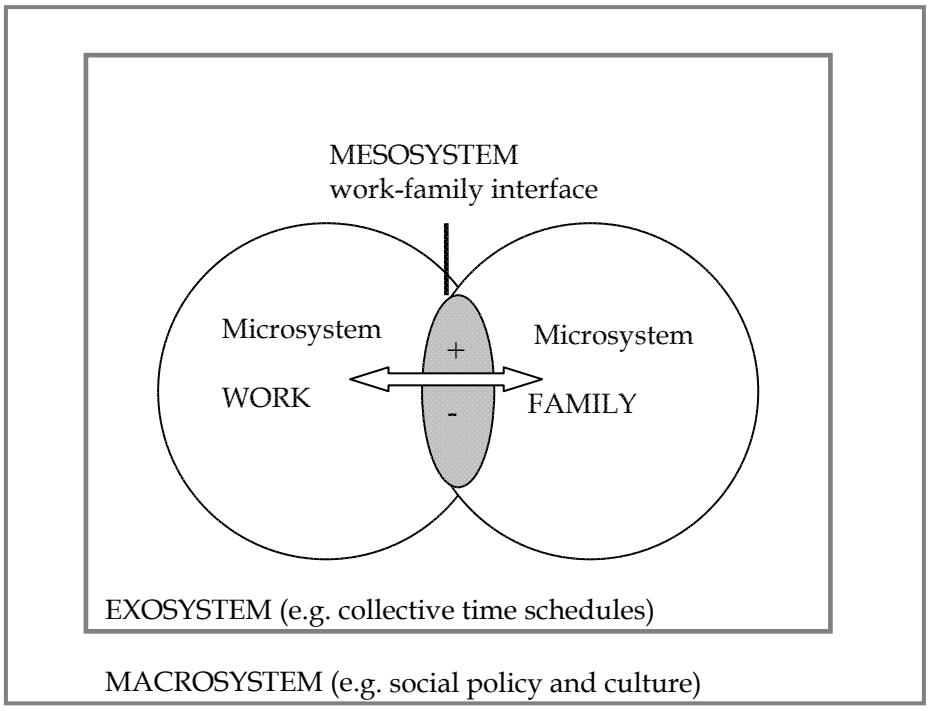

FIGURE 1 Illustration of the work-family interface mesosystem

Societal policies and practices supporting economic provider and carer roles

There is a wide range of social policy or policy oriented studies that have investigated the work-family question analysing the societal setting and work-family interface. It is impossible to review this topic extensively here. Studies on the societal policies, employment and the interface between work and family often focus on the state-labour market relationship and on how to integrate women into paid employment (Pfau-Effinger 1999, 69) and particularly the way societal policies support the two roles of parents; economic provider and carer and nurturer (Leira 2006, 28).

In her study, Arnlaug Leira (2006, 28) uses the two parental roles, namely economic provider and carer/nurturer, when outlining the main trends in the social and political redesign of motherhood and fatherhood in Scandinavia between the 1970s to early 2000. Her claim is that on the one hand, we must recognise the policies and practices that support the economic provider role of citizens, while on the other hand those that support and enable the caring role of the citizens. Although the proposition places particular policies, such as family leaves, to supporting carer role, in practice these can also support the economic provider role. This is because these policies assist in temporarily stepping out from the labour market.

The two aspects are similar with the proposition of the OECD (2005) study, which suggests that the public policy aims to increase the choice for parents in finding their preferred work and family outcomes by reducing barriers to both parenting and employment. Time-related policies support parenting and childcare policies support employment. However, the OECD study (ibid. 10-11) also emphasises that policies have to find a balance between different policies, such as enhancing equity between different income groups, family types, men and women, as well as the reinforcement of economic growth and ensuring future labour supply, and guaranteeing the financial sustainability of social protection systems. While the policies often reinforce each other, there can also be some tension between them.

The analysis must also include gender relations, which identify the assumptions of motherhood, fatherhood and parenting, as well as the assumptions on family models. Gender-specific norms are embedded in social structures and in women and men's decisions related to employment and family. These assist in understanding mothers and fathers' work and care practices. (Boje 2006, 195) For example, Anita Haataja and Anita Nyberg (2006) discuss how parental policies in Sweden and Finland support and direct the family work model. Figure 2 illustrates the proposition, and explains particular policies which support either role, some of which I will discuss in more detail later.

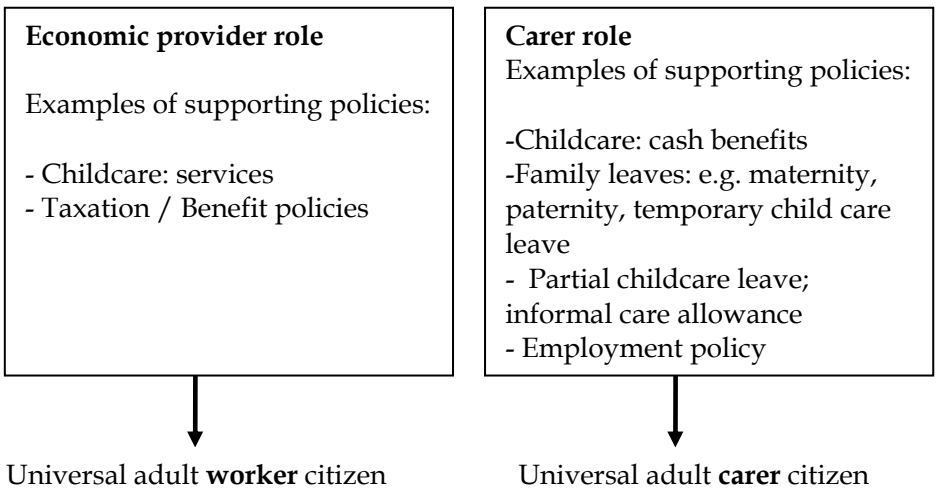

FIGURE 2 Illustration of policies supporting economic provider and carer roles

For the economic provider role, a profound factor is the equalisation of the parental roles, in other words, the break up of the traditional family arrangements. The expectation for all adult persons is to be able to provide for both themselves and their children economically. (Leira 2006) In Finland, a Committee Report on women's position stated this in the 1970s (Naisten asemaa tutkivan komitean mietintö, 1970:A8; cited in Julkunen 1994). Although public, affordable, childcare services enable women's employment, the

historical development of public childcare did not precede women's labour force participation in the Nordic countries, including Finland (Leira 2006). Yet, as has been noted elsewhere (e.g. Bosch 2006) the lack of childcare prohibits maternal employment elsewhere, for example in Germany.

The recent OECD studies "Babies and Bosses" (2005) analysed societal context and workplace practices and parental responses of the practices in OECD countries, and concluded with the family-friendly policy recommendations. In addition to contextualising the socio-economic environment, the study looked at mothers and fathers at work, childcare support, tax/benefit policies and parental work and care decisions, and time-related workplace supports for parents. The study suggests that taxation and benefit policies are another aspect that encourages the economic provider role. First, individual based taxation encourages people to obtain this. Finland has an individual based taxation system. Secondly, the interplay of the taxation and benefit system is important; the question is whether it pays off to work. (OECD…2005, 134) The study (ibid. 170) concludes that in Finland, among other countries, it also pays off to work for the secondary earner of the family. However, the study points out that there are some benefit traps in Finland, e.g. among sole mothers to increase hours of part-time work, because of the loss of benefit income.

The OECD study (2005) on Canada, Finland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom concludes, "At first sight, parental labour market outcomes in the four countries do not seem to reflect these different histories in policy development." However, that "on closer inspection, female and maternal labour outcomes are very different in terms of if, where, and under what conditions women and mothers work." Particularly there are differences in maternal working hours. The policies supporting maternal employment, or family friendly policies discussed by the OECD, started in the late 1960s and early 1970s in Finland and Sweden, while Canada and the United Kingdom have been cautious against direct intervention in family matters and industrial relations. Their widespread public work-family reconciliation support is a much more recent feature (ibid. 12).

Societal childcare policies, which include cash benefits for caring for children (or other relatives) at home, support the carer role. Finland has a home care allowance cash benefit system that is accompanied with home care leave. It supports the carer role when the child is under three years old. In addition, there is a statutory right to reduce working time when the child is small (until the end of the second school year), if the worker has been employed for at least six months with the same employer during the year. Temporary childcare leave allows either parent to stay at home (maximum of 4 days) to care for a sick child less than 10 years of age.

Increasingly more employees belong to the so-called sandwich–generation, individuals who care both for their aging parents or relatives and children. In addition, increasingly more people need to step out of the labour markets temporarily to care for an elderly person requiring intensive care. It is

not sufficient to only concentrate on parenthood; other carer roles require similar attention. In Finland, the informal care allowance supports the universal carer role beyond the role as a parent. The informal care allowance is, however, often very modest by its' level[4].

Employment policies and practices, and work place practices support the carer role, as well as the economic provider role. Among others, the working time policy directs the extent to which the carer role is supported. The Working Time Policy Working Group concluded in 1999 (Työaikapolitiikka… 1999, 92) that from the individual perspective there is a wish to adapt working time more according to the needs of the individuals over the life course. The Working Group suggested, for example, that the use of working time banks offer a new type of flexibility, which assists in the work-family interface. A study (Oinas et al. 2005) on working time banks found, however, that especially those with family responsibilities can find it difficult to work longer hours to save hours to be used later for individual and family needs. Care tasks and everyday routines might not be flexible, but rather timebound, and therefore cannot be postponed to later. Recent studies on work and family (e.g. Lewis 2001; Mauno, Kinnunen & Ruokolainen 2005) have pointed out the importance of workplace practices and culture (or climate); culture can strengthen practices that support meeting the needs of the family.

While useful in identifying the role of various policies in support of the other role, the division fails to acknowledge the interplay and interface of the policies, which can in fact operate against each other's principles. Therefore, analysis of various policies needs to be simultaneous. For example, in Finland, Minna Salmi (2004a) proposes that the work-family interface should be approached through three fields, which are working life and employment policy, family life and social policy, and gender structures and structures and equality (in employment and family) policy. Salmi suggests that each of the fields is undergoing profound changes, which not only affect the field in question, but also might influence the other. However, research and policymaking does not often recognise the processes that set conditions and consequences to the other fields.

Individual experiences

Although studying the individual experiences on the integration of work and family has a long history, the topic has mainly concentrated on the negative aspect, which is looking at what is the negative effect of work to family life. According to Saija Mauno (1999) this is because (psychological) work-family research is reducible to the problem-focussed paradigm, which is formulated within general stress theories. Shortly put this suggests that certain factors or

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4 In 2007 the informal care allowance is at minimum appr. 310, 44 €/month (taxable), but reducible based on certain criteria, and in practise it varies between municipalities.
(http://www.stm.fi/Resource.phx/vastt/sospa/shvan/omaishoito.htx)

life events operate as stressors, which lead to negative effects on individuals well-being (ibid. 10).

There are five specific theoretical models which have been used extensively in the study of individual experiences of the work-family interface, namely the compensation, segmentation, instrumental, spillover and conflict models (see e.g. Barling 1990; Mauno 1999). Each of the models assume that the linkages of work and family are twofold, work and family can both affect the other. *Compensation theory*, in brief, states that experiences in the two spheres of life are completely opposite to each other. For example, if the work role is unsatisfactory there are greater investments put towards the family role. *Segmentation theory* perceives work and family spheres as separate fields. Segmentation occurs by time, space and tasks. Instrumental theory assumes that a role in one domain is utilised to fulfil a role in another domain. The weaknesses of the theories are that the segmentation and compensation theories assume that the work and family spheres are isolated constructs, and these three theories have been rejected, to a great extent, and the more recent research has concentrated on the spillover and conflict models. (Mauno 1999)

Spillover theory takes a more holistic approach and assumes that the work and family spheres interact, essentially because the experiences of the two spheres are similar (Mauno 1999, 12). Therefore positive or negative emotions, attitudes, skills and behaviour is experienced in one domain but spills over to other life spheres. Fundamentally the approach emphasises that a person is not segmented into a worker and a mother, for example, but that each role coexists at the same time.

Conflict theory has been most widely used in work-family studies since the 1980s. Work-family conflict is an interrole conflict where the demands of work and family roles are incompatible. Participation in one role is more difficult because of participation in the other role. (e.g. Greenhaus & Beutell 1985) For example, investing in building a career requires taking time and effort from the family and as a consequence the family life will suffer. (Mauno 1999) Many studies using the conflict theory rely on the theorisation of Jeffrey Greenhaus and Valerie Beutell (1985) who suggest that there are three types of conflict, namely time-, strain-, and behaviour – based conflict. Time- based conflict occurs when time invested in the other sphere, for example, long working hours take time from performing the other roles, such as being a mother or a father. Strain -based conflict occurs when strain experienced in one role hinders performance in another role. Finally, behaviour -based conflict occurs when behaviour patterns adopted in one role is unsuited in the other role. (Mauno 1999) According to the conflict theory, work can interfere with home and home can interfere with work. I later study the work – family conflict model empirically.

In the context of dual-earning couples it is interesting to note Saija Mauno's (1999, 12) suggestion that researchers acknowledged the importance of studying dual-earner couples simultaneously when adopting the spillover model. Focus on dual-earner families augmented because of the prevalence of

these types of households, but also because of the realisation of the cross-over effects between partners, i.e. that one partner's experience might spillover to the other partner and affect the well-being, emotions and behaviour of the other partner. Equally the model could be extended to concern children (e.g. Rönkä et al. 2005).

Although some theoretical approaches assume work and family to be isolated or segmented life spheres, it seems that a consensus has been reached that work and family are not regarded as separate spheres of life. Although the positive effects of having several roles has been recognised since the 1970's (see Kinnunen et al. 2006) research in the area is not as well established as work-family conflict, and has only amplified recently (see Hill 2005; Kinnunen et. al 2006).

The adoption of the view that work and family can affect each other both negatively and positively does not necessarily signify that the two are different aspects of the same continuum. There is mixed evidence on the interconnectedness of the negative and positive experiences of work and family (for review see Voydanoff 2004a), but there seems to be support that the two are separate, independent constructs rather than different ends of the same continuum (Voydanoff 2004a, 399; also Grzywacz & Marks 2000). In practice, an individual may experience both negative conflict and positive facilitation of work and family spheres simultaneously.

Emphasis on culture

Culture also plays a role in the context of the work-family interface and there are some theoretical frameworks that discuss the importance of it. There are many definitions of culture, as well as disputes about how it is to be analysed, but David Rubinstein (2001, 1) claims that "the basic programme is relatively clear: systems of belief - norms and values, attitudes, worldviews and so on - are adduced to explain conduct". Clifford Geertz (1973; cited in Rubinstein 2001, 2) defines that culture is "an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life". The definition explicitly points out that culture directs and constraints individual actions, their knowledge and attitudes toward life, and corresponds well with the understanding of this study. What the definition does not capture, however, is that culture is created and transforming over time.

I relate on two specific frameworks that point out the importance of culture in the context of the work-family interface, gender arrangement (Pfau-Effinger 2000) and sense of entitlement (Lewis 1999). The first framework provides a broad theoretical framework in understanding cross-national differences in gender relations and social practise, and pays attention to the importance of culture. The second one is able to pinpoint the importance of shared values and norms, which – especially during a proposed increase of

individual choice – can explain why practices are slow to change, and why for example, certain rights secured by law are not taken up.

Gender arrangement is a theoretical framework by Birgit Pfau-Effinger (e.g. 1998, 2000, 2004), which in particular explains the cross-national differences in gender relations and social practice, and is a useful tool when analysing the connections of work, family and society. An essential aspect of the gender arrangement is the importance of culture. Placing an emphasis on culture underlines that employment patterns cannot be attributed to the differences in the institutions of societies, although they play an important role (also Morris 1990). In brief, the leading idea underlying the framework is that the complex interrelations of culture, institutions and social actors explain the differences in the practices of employment patterns of women and men. Gender arrangement is a result of societal negotiations, although not necessary by equal partners. In addition, while it is commonly shared it can also include marginalised or opposing ideas. (Pfau-Effinger 2000)

An essential part of the gender arrangement is to acknowledge that 'motherhood', 'fatherhood' and 'childhood' is culturally constructed; social relations influence those, and vary between space and time. (Pfau-Effinger 2004, 59) Nonetheless, the emphasis of the cultural aspects and at the same time gender arrangement, includes institutional differences, which have developed based on the cultural tradition, and are maintained and (re)produced through the prevailing gender arrangement. This framework points out that differences between societies cannot only be equated to differences in structural arrangements, such as access to childcare, although these factors are clearly important in shaping choices as well as preferences (e.g. Rubery et al. 1999, 306).

Suzan Lewis (e.g. 1999) has introduced the framework of *sense of entitlement*, which concerns the beliefs and feelings about rights and entitlements, based on what is perceived to be fair and equitable. It is affected by legal rights and entitlements, although it is not based on legal and official rights, but rather is the cultural understanding of fairness. It defines what is accepted, normal and in accordance with the rules and behaviour. This understanding is constructed by comparing oneself to others, and essentially to others who are perceived to be in the same position as oneself. A fundamental difference occurs between men and women. Studies have shown that men and women have different expectations of, for example, earnings and family life. (Lewis & Smithson 2001) According to Lewis (1999), family friendly politics or other ways of enhancing the work-family balance need workers belief to change the common practice of work-family integration. Lewis has used the framework in studies investigating organisational behaviour and young Europeans expectations for support for the reconciliation of employment and family life.

3 SETTING OF THE STUDY: THE CASE OF FINLAND AND DUAL-EARNING COUPLES

In the study, I investigate working time practices among dual-earning Finnish couples. The social and economic context of the study places the framework within which individuals and families perform their daily life. This section makes a brief account of the social and economic situation of Finland. I make this short overview, because the empirical part of the study investigates the development of working times over time; the period covers the time from 1977 to 2003. The overview first presents the economic development. I discuss the economic crisis during the 1990s in more detail, because it had a profound effect on the Finnish labour markets. However, in the brief account it is only possible to discuss a few main issues. Secondly, this part discusses Finland as a Nordic welfare state, which influences how the division of work is organised in the society. Thirdly, the contextualising factor is to investigate family forms, and especially the long history of dual-earning couples in Finland. I consider these factors as being important to the research focus, because these are the characteristics of the macrosystem for the work-family interface.

3.1 Economic development in Finland

In the European perspective, the industrialisation took place late in Finland. The traditional industrialisation period continued until the 1950s, when rapid restructuring followed it from the agrarian and limited industrialisation to the post-industrial service society. (Alestalo 1980; Böckerman 2002) The structures of working life reformed in many ways during the change in the 1960-70s. For example, urbanisation took place and the proportion of farmers fell from just above a quarter to around ten percent of those in employment; the proportion of middle-class salary earners almost doubled; and the proportion of the population in paid employment increased throughout the 1960s as increasingly more women entered the labour markets. (Blom et al. 2001) In the 1960s and

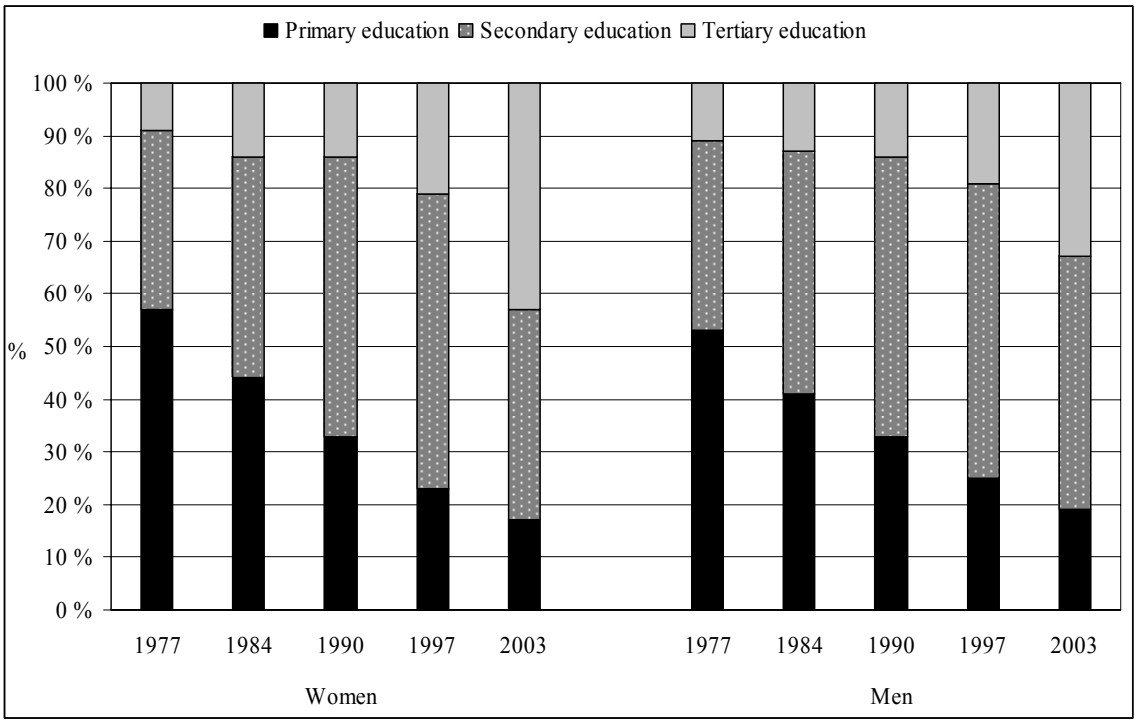
1970s, employment in the public sector expanded. While the proportion of the public sector in employment in 1960 was 8 percent, it was already 18 percent in 1980. In particular women were employed in the public sector services. (Julkunen 1994, 193) The development of economic fields in Finland is different from the majority of European countries; Finland did not go through the extensive period of industrialisation, but leaped from agriculture to a service economy. (Blom et al. 2001)

The 1990s was a dramatic decade in Finland in economic terms. Although the economic recession was shared with most western European countries, the crisis was exceptionally deep here. The first half of the decade was characterised with the emerging recession, which included the growth of unemployment, bank crises and crises of public finance. During the second half the recovery started with the increase of the gross national product in 1994, although it was still accompanied with mass unemployment. (Julkunen & Nätti 1999) The recovery, or survival policies, according to Raija Julkunen and Jouko Nätti (ibid. 22) emphasised the competitiveness of export industries, integration into the EU and a common currency, the cutting back of the growth of the public debt, cuts in public income policies and market oriented reforms in the public sector. The recovery policy lead to a steady growth, low inflation, and balanced state budget, and an increased level of employment, as well as improved competitiveness, reliable public institutions and high levels of education, for example.

The short and long-term social consequences of the recession were many. One of the consequences was increased unemployment; during the 1990s unemployment rose from a moderate 3% in 1990 to a radical 17% in 1994, signifying an increase of 398% (Virmasalo 2002). Since the recession unemployment rates stand at around 8 % (in 2004: Statistics Finland). Another social consequence was the worsening of working conditions, for example, increased feelings of time pressure. Although time pressure increased during the 1990s in almost all economic fields, the female dominated healthcare work has become the most pressured. By the employers sector, municipalities have taken the lead on time pressure at work during the 1990s. (Lehto 1999, 36) An additional change in working conditions was the increase of job insecurity, which in the end of the decade was most prevalent among those with temporary employment contracts and the public sector (Happonen & Nätti 2000, 72-73). Another change occurred in the use of temporary employment contracts. The proportion increased from around a tenth, to 18 percent in 1997 (Sutela 1999, 138), and has since stabilised. Temporary employment contracts are more of a concern for women. While the above changes concerned all employed people, women were more affected because of the changes in the world of work.

Böckerman (2002, 84) discusses the economic restructuring from the end of the 1990s which increased employment in the so-called new economy, namely information and computer technologies, which are often described as the fourth

sector. According to the Finnish Labour Force Surveys[5], employment decreased in agriculture and forestry, industry and construction, for example, but increased in (public and private) services in 1990–2006. Work demand reflected the economic restructuring; there are increasingly more workplaces for those with a higher university degree. The increase in the qualifications required from the employees explains this. (Böckerman 2002, 89) The demand has been met with an increase in the educational levels (figure 3). The proportion of employees with primary education has decreased from around a half in 1997 to around a fifth in 2003. At the same time, the proportion of those with tertiary education has increased from around a tenth in 1977 to 40 percent among women and over a third among men in 2003. The increase of education is therefore even stronger among women, compared to men. (Lehto & Sutela 2005)



Source: Lehto & Sutela: Threats and Opportunities, 2005

FIGURE 3 Male and female employees by degree of education, Working Conditions Survey 1997, 1984, 1990, 1997 and 2003

5 Statistics Finland, www.stat.fi/tup (8.3.2007)

3.2 Finland as a Nordic Welfare State?

Work and family do not exist in isolation but within the surroundings of the society. Integration of work and family relates with the societal institutions and division of work. Although the empirical part does not investigate the societal institutions and practices discussed in this part, these place the context within which individuals and families act.

An important societal factor is the ways and practices by which the different areas of society organise the division of work. (Heiskala 2006, 18). The welfare state typologisation of Gösta Esping-Andersen (1990) is probably the most widely used characterisation, although also heavily criticised[6]. According to his typologisation, the welfare states fall into three main regimes, liberal, conservative and the universal model. The regimes have resulted from different historical forces and followed qualitatively different development trajectories; they have also been organised according to their own logic and produce different outcomes (Kautto & Kvist 2002).

In the liberal model the security offered by the state is the lowest and welfare risks are based on the individual and market. The United States and United Kingdom are often given as examples of liberal countries. In the conservative model the state does not provide services in situations where the family can provide welfare tasks. The conservative model is marginal in organising social services, but may provide social support for citizens for buying the services. This model supports the male provider family model instead of the dual-earner model. Social security and services are not based on universal rights but tied to participation in the labour markets. Therefore, married women's entitlement to social security is often founded on their husband's participation in the labour markets. Examples of the conservative models are Germany and France, for example.

The third model, the universal or Nordic social-democratic welfare state model, represents countries where the state has many universal tasks that are used for correcting and preventing social risks. The universal[7] right signifies the same entitlements for all, regardless of the participation in the labour market or gender, for example. Sweden and Denmark are examples of these countries,

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6 For example, Jane Lewis (1997) has pointed out that the post war writing on welfare states made very little mention of women, and similarly did not pay any explicit attention to race. Feminist analysis has stressed the importance of gender in respect of the outcomes of social policies, as well as its importance as an explanatory tool in understanding social policies. For example, as Lewis (ibid.) discusses, the access to income and resources has been gendered in the form of access to education. Another point of critique is that social policies have traditionally been based on certain assumptions of the roles of women and men in the society, and hence also within family.

7 Universalism is widely used as a characteristic of the Nordic welfare state regime, but Anneli Anttonen (2002) argues that while it has rather served as an important goal for social policies in the Scandinavian countries, it is not complete. For example, services for the elderly (equality between population groups) and equal services for the poor and rich (equality based on income) are not met sufficiently.

and Finland is known as one of the universal welfare states. Esping-Andersen (2001, 4) states, "the Nordic model may be famous for its generosity and universalism, but what really stands out is its emphasis on employment and the "de-familization"[8] of responsibility for providing welfare". Although it is assumed that the Nordic welfare states rely extensively on the state provided care services, it has been pointed out that the role of informal care, such as care provided by grandparents, is vital in the care of children for example. (Lammi-Taskula et al. 2004) In addition, although the Nordic welfare state regime is often described with extensive public social services, the service provision is better described as a welfare mix; the private sector and not-for-profit sector also provide services (Anttonen 2002).

Finland cannot be considered as a typical universal welfare state, because of the moderate level of social security provided by the state and because the security systems are based on universalism, but also professional or work based (i.e. state provides a certain level of universal services or security, which is further increased by work based entitlements). (Heiskala 2006) In addition, some argue that the commitment to full employment has been weak. Therefore, Finland has also been named as the corporatist-conservative model, together with Austria, France, and Italy, for example. (ibid. 21)

From expansion to crisis of the welfare state

In practice the Finnish welfare state, including policies on family leave systems, started to develop since the 1960s. (Salmi 2004a, 3) The period of expansion finished in 1980, which was around ten years later than in other OECD countries; therefore in Finland both the start and finish of the expansion lagged behind some ten years compared to the OECD average (Heiskala 2006). In Finland the crisis of the welfare state peaked during the 1990s with the economic recession, which affected the basis of the welfare state, for example, through a radical increase of unemployment.

The 1980s and 1990s raised the discussion of a crisis of the welfare states, and comparative studies have concluded that retrenchment was all-encompassing, as almost all advanced industrial democracies cut entitlements in some programmes[9] (Ellingsæter & Leira 2006, 268). In Finland, public and in

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8 According to Esping-Andersen (2001) the result of familialism is to make it more difficult for women to reconcile the demands of family and paid work. Therefore, he continues, the traditional familialism has a perverse result – fewer children than are desired, as are seen particularly in the Southern-European countries. The lack of de-familization (e.g. state provided or compensated care facilities) can result in a situation where there is a significant problem in the lack of affordable care services. He gives an interesting estimation that a full-time year-round day care, for example, in Italy costs about half of what an average full-time employed mother can expect to earn.

9 Kautto and Kvist (2002) contend that during the crisis of the welfare state, policy makers were faced with the new situation; instead of deciding on policy reforms to guarantee more and better 'social rights', cuts and other balancing measures were considered. Instead of 'social rights' the focus was turned on the 'social duties',

particular social costs have been cut down since the 1980s, and welfare politics has moved from growth to an era of restrictions and retrenchment (Julkunen 2001), and Finland seems to be the most deeply affected by the 1990s recession among the Nordic countries (Ellingsæter & Leira 2006, 266). Even so, Kautto and Kvist (2002) argue that towards the end of the 1990s there emerged a rather broad consensus among researchers that the welfare state is not being dismantled or retrenched in a fundamental manner, rather that it is undergoing a process of gradual reforms and revisions. "The crisis rhetoric has given way to rhetoric favouring welfare state challenges and pressures for change." (ibid. 190) Anne-Lise Ellingsæter and Arnlaug Leira (2006, 268) also conclude that the Nordic welfare state has been partially reformed but has proven remarkably elastic.

Since the economic recession there was a period of strong economic growth in Finland. The growth did not, however, lead to increases in the social security, but the cuts done during the economic crisis remained. Therefore the 1990s affected Finland extensively, both in economic and social terms.

3.3 Family models: transition towards dual-earning couples

Internationally the main trends of family life are falling birth rates, aging populations, rising employment rates of mothers, and increasing divorce and parental separation which have all given rise to crisis language on the future of the family institution (Ellingsæter & Leira 2006; see appendix 1 for Finnish family types, 1950-2004). In this chapter, I first run through changes in family models and secondly discuss dual-earner couples and working time regimes in the European Union and in Finland in particular.

"A shifting gender balance of employment has come to characterise both the post-industrial labour markets and the predominant family form of late modernity," argues Arnlaug Leira (2002, 81). The model family of industrialism, or traditional family form[10], is based on the functional specialisation of parental roles; work and family is to be combined with the male-provider model, where the father is the economic provider and the mother is the homemaker/carer. This is known from the work of Talcott Parsons. Parsons (1949) suggested that the functional specialisation[11] of the partners, one partner (male) in paid

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namely on taxation, social contributions and tougher work obligations, as well as moral responsibilities.

10 However, it should be borne in mind that what is 'traditional' in one country might have never been that way in another. For example, Finland has never undergone a time-phase where women would have been part-time employees or been full-time careers; there the women's employment pattern developed directly from family worker (in a farm) to full-time worker in paid employment (Pfau-Effinger 2000).

11 The New Household Economics model was developed by Gary Becker (1981), who, similarly with some other American economists during the 1970s and 1980s, based his economic theory of the family on Parsons' ideas on the functional specialisation between partners. Following the economic theories of the family employment and

employment and the other (female) in un-paid household work and caring work (reproduction), prevents disruptive status competition between the spouses. (Blossfeld & Drobnic 2001) Lydia Morris (1990) has pointed out that Parsons was aware that the functional specialisation was partially done at the expense of women who do not acquire similar human capital. Furthermore, the traditional family form was based on the assumption of heterosexual couple families.

There are two family models where the functional specialisation between the partners has changed. First, the second provider model (or one and half-earner model) illustrates a family in which mothers take more of the economic provider responsibilities, provided that the responsibilities of paid work are not in conflict with the responsibilities of motherhood. (Leira 2002, 82) Even when maintaining the primary role as caretakers, women are secondary earners in the family. This continues to describe the typical family models of two adult families in many Western European countries, such as Germany and Great Britain, for example. Typically, there is a high proportion of part-time work, which enables women to work while children are at school.

The second model, which is the shared societal roles or shared roles model, describes the family form where there are two parents, two workers, two citizens and two individuals (Leira 2002, 82). Theoretically this model assumes that the two parents are equally sharing paid work and care tasks, while in practise the traditional gender role division is still maintained; men work longer hours at paid work and women are the main carers of the family, furthermore women remain as secondary earners of the family. This family model is often described as the dual- breadwinner or -career family.

Anita Haataja and Anita Nyberg (2006, 218) discuss the problems associated with using the terms male-breadwinner and dual-breadwinner models. First, using the male-breadwinner concept means that only men are visible and the unpaid work of women remains invisible. Secondly, when using the dual-breadwinner concept it is equally blind to the unpaid caring and household work at home. Here women are only included in the concept when they enter the labour markets. It is their proposition to use the dual-earner/dual-carer model to describe a strong situation for women in the labour market and men's greater (than before) responsibility for children and domestic work. While I agree with the proposition and acknowledge the shortcomings of using the dual-earner model concept, as it does not explicitly point out the care tasks of the family, I still argue that the dual-earner concept is more descriptive

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non-employment are seen as rational choices, and a rational calculation process within the household: the partner with the better human capital position (male) participates in the labour markets, while the partner (female) with less human capital and possible interruptions in the work career carries out the unpaid household work and reproductive tasks. It is further assumed that young men and women behave like trading partners who decide to marry if each partner has more to gain by marrying than by remaining single. Becker also suggested that altruism is an important element in the function of the family. Based on his theorem the altruist is the male partner and the beneficiary is the female partner. (Blossfeld & Drobnic 2001)

for the purposes of this study. The focus here is on dual-earner families, i.e. on families where both adults work in paid employment. The weakness of the dual-earner/dual-carer concept is that it implicitly assumes the equal sharing of household and care work within the family, which is still not often the case, even when men have increased their share of unpaid work and care. In addition, women carry the main emotional and organisational responsibility of care, household tasks and time coordination. Thus, concentration merely on the number of hours is not satisfactory.

Dual-earning couples and working time regimes in Europe

The following is an overview on dual-earning couples and working time regimes in Europe, which I later use in the empirical part of the study. As the title suggests there has been a transition towards dual-earning couples. The labour force participation of women, which increased significantly during the 1990s, has accounted for the increase of dual-earning couples. The average female employment rate reached 56 per cent in 2004 in the EU, while that of men has remained at a stable 70 per cent. (Employment in Europe 2005) Increasing the proportion of dual-earning couples is also an implicit objective of the European employment strategy; one of its objectives is that the average employment rate of women should exceed 60 per cent by the year 2010 (Rubery et al. 2001; Employment in Europe 2005).

There is little comparative information in the European Union on employment patterns at the household level. The European Labour Force Survey has been used (Rubery et al. 2001) to investigate the increase of dual-earning or dual participant families. The data excluded three Northern European countries (Sweden, Denmark and Finland). However, even with the missing data of the Northern European countries where female participation rates are high, over half (62%) of the working couple families are dual-earning families, compared to 38 per cent of the single labour market participant households in 2000.

Overall, there has been a shift from the male-breadwinner to the dual-earner model, but with a varying pace (Drobnič & Blossfeld 2001). It is important to note that when we explore the employment patterns of families, it is important to explore the time allocation pattern, not only the employment rate (e.g. Ellingsæter 1998, 63). It is well known that part-time work (usual working time of less than 30 hours a week) is more common among women; altogether some 80 per cent of part-timers are women. (Employment in Europe 2000). Approximately a third of all women worked part-time in 1999, while the corresponding figure for men is only 7 per cent (Employment in Europe 2005).

Although part-time work is widespread among women when looking at the working time practices in employed households in 2000, the most common dual-earning household form was two full-time jobs. The share was lower only in the Netherlands, where the share of one and a half earners was greater (Rubery et al. 2001). Nonetheless, quite substantial differences occur in the working time practices within families around Europe. These differences

mainly account for the variation of maternal employment patterns. In many countries (such as the United Kingdom and the Netherlands), women with children work part-time more frequently than women with no children. (E.g. Hantrais & Letablier 1996)

In order to capture more carefully the variation of the family working time patterns, the EU countries (of 1998) and Norway have been classified into four working time regimes (Fagan et al. 2001). These regimes identify working time practices and the extent to which state policies encourage or inhibit women to take employment (see also Lewis 1992; Anttonen & Sipilä 1996; Ellingsæter 1998). The regimes are not simply derived from the actual working time practices, but also identify policies on maternal employment. The regimes are: (i) universal breadwinner (Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Norway); (ii) modified breadwinner (France, Belgium); (iii) male breadwinner with limited part-time work (Portugal, Greece, Italy and Spain); and (iv) male breadwinner with part-time work (Austria, Germany, Ireland, United Kingdom and Netherlands). The regimes are based on the assumption of heterosexual couple families and as such do not recognise the diversity of family practices.

The universal breadwinner model characterises the Nordic countries, where the male breadwinner model has been challenged the most and women participate extensively in the labour markets. Nordic countries also have the most comprehensive public childcare services and family leave provisions, which offer women the opportunity to enter the labour market (Anttonen & Sipilä 1996). Although the universal breadwinner model characterises the Nordic countries, it does not signify what it implicitly suggests - that labour markets would be equal to men and women. I discuss the reasons for the prevalence of the dual-earner model in Finland in more detail later.

France and Belgium are categorised to have a modified male breadwinner model; the public childcare services are widespread and the public family policies facilitate maternal employment, however, some policies still support the male breadwinner model (Fagan et al. 2001). Extensive day-care and pre-school systems have mainly been built to support families with children, rather than women's autonomy through employment (Anttonen & Sipilä 1996).

The remaining countries provide less support for public childcare and fewer possibilities for mothers to combine employment and family (Anttonen & Sipilä 1996; Fagan et al. 2001). These male breadwinner countries have experienced a significant increase in female employment rates, but the female employment rates are still lower than in the universal breadwinner countries. Regardless of the shared characteristics, the male breadwinner countries vary in the available working time options, and the main division is the possibility (or necessity) to work part-time.

The Southern European countries (Portugal, Greece, Spain and Italy) have a limited welfare state and rely more than elsewhere on private family systems. State support for maternal employment is also limited when compared to other European Union countries. Furthermore, mothers are more likely to opt

between full-time employment and non-employment, while the proportion of part-time work is small. (Fagan et al. 2001)

Austria, Germany, Luxembourg, the United Kingdom, Ireland and the Netherlands are categorised as the male breadwinner model with a part-time work regime. State policies facilitate maternal employment, but are more limited than in the universal and modified breadwinner countries. Maternal part-time work is extensive. The Netherlands stands apart from the other countries, representing a wide use of part-time employment. (Fagan et al. 2001)

The analysis here does not cover Eastern European countries, although these have already joined the European Union. As far as working time practices are concerned, the Eastern European countries have a tradition of both women and men working full-time (Cousins & Tang 2003); therefore, these have similarities with the universal breadwinner regime. However, upon closer examination of the working patterns of mothers' of small children in for example Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania and Slovenia, shows that the situation is different (Tang & Cousins 2005). Cristine Cousins and Nign Tang (2003, 210) conclude that mothers' of small children have the option of working full-time or staying at home. I need to make a further point about the grouping of these countries: although these countries share a similar economic history, the countries vary in the pace and mode of transition. This concerns the development of a social policy as well. For example, Slovenia has affordable daycare for children, while that is not the case in all countries (Tang & Cousins 2005; for review see Wallace 2003a and 2003b).

Dual-earning couples in Finland

Finland is one of the universal breadwinner countries; the employment rate (proportion of working age population in employment) was 66 percent among women and 69 percent among men according to the Finnish labour force survey of 2004. The employment rate is even higher among parents of children under 18 years of age (81% among mothers, 94% among fathers), compared to non-parents (among men and women 68%) (Naiset ja miehet…2005, 36-37). Although the dual-earner model is a typical family work pattern in various countries, in Finland almost all (92%) dual-earner couples comprise of two full-time workers. In comparison, in the UK the proportion stands at 28 percent and in Sweden 39 percent, respectively. (OECD 2005, 17)

The maternal employment rate is a revealing indicator on the extent to which parenthood prohibits employment among women. In Finland, the maternal employment rate is relatively high, for example 75 percent of mothers whose youngest child is aged 3 to 6 are employed in 2002, while the maternal employment rate when the youngest child is under three years old was 32 percent (Anttonen & Sointu 2006). As indicated by the maternal employment rate, it is typical in Finland for the mother to stay at home for long periods when the child is born, which we note in the proportions of children in childcare. In 2003, of the one to two year old children, 36 percent of Finnish children were in publicly financed childcare, and also 68 percent of the three to

five year olds. In other words, the majority of the small children and still a third of the older children are cared for at home[12]. (Haataja & Nyberg 2006)

Finland has a long history in women's participation in the labour markets, the reasons for the tradition of women's full-time work are historical, cultural and economical (Pfau-Effinger 1998; Julkunen & Nätti 1999). The central historical reason for dual-earner families is that in Finland urbanisation took place late. In the agricultural society both men and women worked side-by-side and both were needed for the household economics. During the rapid transformation from an agricultural society into an urbanised and industrial society, women along with men, were included in the labour markets in the 1960s. (ibid. 48) Raija Julkunen and Jouko Nätti (1999, 48) state that women entered into wage work "spontaneously", and it was based on economic necessity, historical continuity and their own will.

Another important factor is that Finland is a work-centred culture and the Central European middle-class norms of modern childhood were never established there, but rather children were taken care of along with work in the country side. (Julkunen & Nätti 1999) The cultural understanding has approved of school-aged children being alone at home while parents were at work[13], which lay down the foundations for the cultural acceptance of a working mother. Prior to the formal care arrangements, care was the responsibility of relatives, neighbours, and friends, but that source of care dried up when the potential caregivers enter paid employment. In addition day-care was already organised by voluntary organisations and private companies since the 19th century, and some municipalities since the early 20th century (Salmi 2005; also Anttonen 2003). Often day-care services are given as a reason for women's full-time work, but in Finland women had already entered paid work before the development of extensive day-care facilities for children (e.g. Salmi 2005) and childcare for all under school aged children was only secured by law in 1996 (Anttonen 2003).

The economical reason for women's integration into the labour market is the separate taxation of spouses. Along with taxation, women's high education levels also encourage paid work. Additionally, the employment based social security system encourages paid employment; universal social security only guarantees marginal entitlements. (Julkunen & Nätti 1999, 49)

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12 Haataja and Nyberg (2006, 222) clarify that the explanation for why the older children, who are no longer entitled to the child home care allowance, are also often cared for at home is that there is at least one child under three years old at home. This is in sharp contrast to Sweden where half of the older siblings are at municipal care. In Finland only around 3% of children in full-time care and 2% of those in part-time care have a parent on parental or child home care leave.

13 However, there has been an increasing debate on the 'lone child' problem, referring to school-aged children spending time alone without adults' supervision. The problem is not evident with under school-aged children, who are taken care of at home or at organised day-care. (Alanen, Sauli & Strandell 2004, 186) Leena Alanen and colleagues point out that as there has not been an increase of working hours of parents, the change of discourse is due to a change in the cultural standards of childhood.

In addition to the above-mentioned reasons, the practise also depends on the societal institutions. The policies of parenthood in Finland consist of parental leave with benefits and publicly financed childcare (Haataja & Nyberg 2006, 219). In the 1990s Finland's childcare policies were organised both by introducing the right of parents to choose between the states supported services or receiving economic support for parental care at home, which Arnlaug Leira (2002) names as dual track for childcare policies. However, on the one hand parental care for small children may not be a possible choice for all parents, as the level of compensation is not often enough to cover the needs of the family[14]; while on the other hand a lack of work may force mothers' to stay on the home care allowance[15].

Maternity, paternity and parental leaves support parental care. These types of leave support secure the work position, if one has one, while taking care of the child at home[16]. Home care leave can be extended until the child is three years old, but after the cuts during the economic recession, the level of income is modest. (Haataja & Nyberg 2006) These parenthood policies promote equal sharing of both paid and unpaid work and care. Increasing attention is given to the role and possibilities of fathers for parenting, while in practice women are still the primary carers during the statutory leaves. (Ellingsæter & Leira 2006; for review on paternity leaves in Nordic countries see Lammi-Taskula 2006)

In addition to the leave periods and benefits, the publicly organised care supports families. In Finland the publicly organised care is supported by the individual right for full-time day care. Since 1990, all children under the age of three are guaranteed a municipal childcare place. In 1996, this subjective right to day care was extended to cover all children under school age (7 years). (Salmi 2005, 97) In addition, school meals have supported dual-earning couples in Finland. Since 1948, there has been a free-of-charge school meal for all pupils[17], which frees parents from this time-bound care of children.

In spite of the tradition of dual-earning couples in Finland, women and men are not equal in the labour markets nor do they meet similar responsibilities and expectations at home or regarding caring tasks. Women still do most of the household work, although men have gradually increased their share (Niemi & Pääkkönen 2001). In addition, as elsewhere in the Nordic

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14 The current benefit for one child is around 294 euros per month, with additional payment for other children (for a detailed description see e.g. Ellinsæter and Leira 2006), and possible supplemental payments made by the municipality.

15 Recent studies indicate that 40% to 50% of the mothers receiving a child home care allowance have no real choice between paid and unpaid work, because they have no job to return to; mothers might be on long full-time home care leave instead of being unemployed (Haataja & Nyberg 2006, 226).

16 Finnish maternity leave is 105 weekdays and secures 43-82% of the earnings (66% in average). There is a minimum flat-rate allowance for those not employed before the birth (since 2005 this is 15.20 euros per weekday). Parental leave is 158 days and can be divided between the parents. The wage compensation is similar to maternity leave. (see e.g. Ellinsæter & Leira 2006, 20-21)

17 www.edu.fi; (11.12.2006)

countries, the economic fields are highly gender segregated (e.g. Haataja & Nurmi 2000), women suffer from temporary employment contracts (Sutela 2006), and wage inequality is also evident, women earn approximately 80 percent of men's salaries, thus in a way labour markets still support the male breadwinner model and 'the family wage' (Lehto 1999).

Anita Haataja and Anita Nyberg (2006, 224) even suggest that Finland is on the direction of a more traditional gender model (male earner/female temporary homemaker), because part-time work (defined as 34 hours and less a week) increased from 1989 to 2002 (17% to 25% respectively) and the extensive use of home care leave[18]. However, it should be noted that Haataja and Nyberg's definition of part-time work is longer than often used in research (often defined as under 30 hours a week), which increases the proportion of part-time workers. Furthermore, an increase in the proportion of part-time workers does not, as such, explain change in the gender model. In fact, part-time workers are typically young adults (students) or older workers (part-time pensioners) (Hulkko 2005, 11). Laura Hulkko (2005, 11-12) reports that a common reason for part-time work amongst the middle-aged workers is a lack of full-time hours. According to the Finnish working conditions survey of 2003, part-time work is least common among two adult families with children, and that a common reason for part-time work is a lack of full-time work, not family responsibilities, also among women with children (Sutela 2005, 27). Therefore, I propose to consider cautiously the proposition on a change in gender relations; an increase of part-time work might reflect the labour market situation, not a changing gender model.

Rianne Mahon (2002) has also argued that recent development of the parenthood policies in Finland has moved towards neofamilialism, which encourages parents to stay at home for long period after the child is born. Mahon fails to acknowledge that the home care allowance already originated in Finland at the end of the 1960s (Anttonen 2003, 170). Also, as Minna Salmi (2006) discusses, the assessment of the parenthood policy towards neofamilism in Finland ignores the introduction of the universal right to day care and the comprehensive pre-school provision, which in fact supports the universal breadwinner model. It can be argued that the recent claims of Finland moving away from the universal breadwinner model, along with women's subordinate position in the labour markets (in terms of temporary employment contracts, pay, and horizontal segregation), slightly disrupt the image of Finland as a universal breadwinner. Nevertheless, there is a strong case to conclude that the dual-earner family model is the dominant family work model, supported by policies in Finland.

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18 In addition, according to their analysis, women's paid income contributes to around a third of the total household income, even when the focus is on families with school-aged children (Haataja & Nyberg 2006).

3.4 Erosion of the standard employment contract and post-industrial working times

The erosion of the standard employment contract, specifically the emerging post-industrial working times, changes the foundations of the employment contract and conditions of work. In the study I particularly concentrate on time, as "time is a key component of work, as it is in all aspects of human activity" (Noon & Blyton 1997, 55) Time is not only an important aspect of work as a measure of time spent at work, but it also defines how work is experienced. Moreover, work time is bargained for, sold, and controlled (Adam 1995). Barbara Adam (1990) argues that fights over time control can be "observed through the history of strikes where the duration of the working day, week, year, and working life, the pace of work and break times, overtime and time off, holidays and paid leisure time are at the centre of the arguments". Since the 1830s, the maximum length of the working day has steadily reduced. The earlier disputes were fights against time, the alien rhythm of the standardised clock time discipline. The fights against time were replaced by the fights about time, the length, pace, intervals, and sequencing of work. (ibid. 111) The history of 200-300 years of industrial working time includes two simultaneous trends, first the reduction of working hours and second, the standardisation of work and leisure time (Anttila 2005, 23). As a background for the study it is important to discuss the standard employment relationship, and particularly the reasons underlying its' erosion or crisis. While the standard employment relationship also includes other aspects besides time, the focus here is only on time.

Standard employment contract

Standardisation of work and leisure time is one of the aspects of the standard employment relationship, the traditional full-time core worker (SER: Mückenberger 1989; cited in Supiot 2001). The standard employment relationship is linked with stable, continuous and full-time work. It is also connected to a normal life-course; consisting of studies and apprenticeships, working years and finally retirement during old age (Supiot 2001, 63). Although referred to as the standard employment contract, this tradition refers to men and men's work history; in many countries the majority of women have never been integrated into the labour markets in the standard employment contract. (Pfau-Effinger 2000; Boje 2006) Also, as pointed out by Alain Supiot (2001, 63), differences have existed between sectors or professionals where the practice has been different from the SER.

Since the development of SER during the 1950s and 1960s, the conditions of work have changed to the extent that there is talk of erosion or crisis. Jean-Yves Boulin and colleagues (2006, 15) place the origin of the crisis or erosion of SER to the oil-crisis of the mid-1970s, which accompanied a new era. The rising unemployment and uncertain economic growth changed the bargaining power

between employees and employers. This gave way to new forms of work, different from the lifetime full-time (male) employment pattern.

Change has occurred because of the flexibilisation of product markets, which has changed the production system of the manufacturing industry. The manufacturing industry departs from the Taylorian principles, and adopts the 'just in time' model, and production patterns to match the short-term fluctuations and demand (Supiot 2001, 69). Timo Anttila (2005, 34; also Supiot 2001) argues that a significant challenger of working time practices and its regulation has been the expansion of the service economy, which essentially signifies different production systems from the industrial work. Flexibility of work takes diverse forms. Peter Knauth (1998, 14) explains that there are two main axes according to which forms of working time flexibility vary; first, flexibility for the company and secondly, autonomy for the employee. Various forms of flexibility are responses for employers or employees' needs.

Gerhard Bosch (2006) identifies high unemployment as the most important factor, together with the labour market regulation system, contributing to the change of SER. While SER developed during the 1950s and 1960s with full employment and during economic growth, it has been challenged during high and persistent unemployment and economic recession. With rising unemployment, the competition in the labour markets increases and employees have less bargaining power. The same holds true in the opposite direction; demand for labour increases the bargaining power of employees. Bosch (ibid 56) argues further that the foreseen demand in labour and decrease in unemployment may strengthen the SER on a lasting basis. However, Bosch (ibid. 51-58) shows that in empirical terms the erosion of the SER cannot be identified as a universal trend because the full-time permanent employment relationship is still often the dominant form of employment.

The traditional employment contract also includes other aspects, not only working time, such as job tenure and the permanency of the employment relationship, but in this study the focus is now turned on working time only. The examination of working times concentrates on the erosion of the industrial working time regime and on the central aspects of working time, especially from the perspective of integrating work and family.

Post-industrial working times

Shortening and normalisation of working time was the central question of the industrial time regime (Julkunen & Nätti 1999; Anttila 2005), which was replaced with deregulation and differentiation during the 1980s (Julkunen & Nätti 1999). On the one hand, there seems to be a consensus that the organisation and regulation of working time in industrialised economies has changed in far-reaching ways (Rubery et al. 2006) and Manfred Garhammer (1995) sees it as a fundamental change of the time culture, which affects all levels, macro-, meso- and micro-levels. On the other hand, there does not seem to be a consensus on the extent of the changing working time practices or on the implications of the change (Rubery et al. 2006). However, the change of

working time arrangements also has other profound influences than just restructuring the hours of work. Importantly the researchers suggest that this affects the negotiations over time, which was at the heart of the standard employment relationship, and was protected by trade unionism and collective bargaining arrangements.

Raija Julkunen and Jouko Nätti (1999) suggest that the essence of the industrial time regime is the normal working time. Normal working time is full-time (8 hours a day), daytime work, which is work carried out from Monday to Friday. Gradually the post-industrial time regime changed the industrial time regime. In essence this is the arrival of "a more differentiated and flexible landscape of working times" (ibid. 193). The post-industrial working time regime has many dimensions, which are flexibilities, deregulation, differentiation, depoliticisation, local bargaining, deinstitutionalisation, variability and fragmentation.

The industrial time regime created four time institutions; free evenings, free weekends, annual holidays and retirement. (Julkunen & Nätti 1999) Time institutions brought both security but also responsibility. Security was associated with the predictability of the time off work, but also with the responsibility to follow the rules and norms placed by the employer. Along with the principles of SER, the private life of the employees was made easier by establishing standard working time and rules which need to be followed, such as payment of premiums and giving notice for changes of working time (Bosch 2006, 45), and it enabled for the planning of everyday life.

Supiot (2001) suggests that one of the features of the industrial order was to make a clear distinction between 'subordination time' (working time) and 'free time' (rest time). The conditions that sharpen the division include, for example: pay and rewards linked to time, work for the employer outside standard hours, workspace and personal space clearly separated, and regular scheduling of working hours to facilitate the planning of private activities without the risk of disruption. Supiot (ibid. 64-65) also notes how this distinction exists within legal rules on working time, and that the distinction fails to recognise reproductive work, which distances working time from the actual practices of life. The conditions have blurred, the time-pay relationship is less clear-cut (Rubery et al. 2006), the work process expects flexibility for the employer, work done at home or on-call work blur the spatial distinction, and working times are not only non-standard but can also follow irregular schedules.

In Finland, the transition from industrial to post-industrial working time was contextualised with economic and social crisis, which legitimised the demands of the employers to change the prevailing norms and rules (Julkunen & Nätti 1999, 193). I explore the changing working time regime in the empirical part of the study. The post-industrial working time regime ultimately transforms the setting of everyday life.

4 RESEARCH TASKS, DATA AND METHODS

4.1 Core themes of the research and specific research tasks

Agnes Heller (1986, 152) stated some decades ago that "everyday life has become a problem because it has become problematic", referring to the increased preoccupation with everyday life. More recently, Phyllis Moen (2003) has made similar claims, arguing that particularly during societal change, the conventional templates of everyday life are challenged and individuals, and families, are required to actively reflect the organisation of life (also Wallace 2002). In Finland, Eeva Jokinen (2003) has suggested that everyday life is becoming one of the key concepts of social- and human sciences. The two central spheres of everyday life, work and family, of employed men and women are at the heart of the investigation of this study. Similarly with Penny Becker and Phyllis Moen (1999), I understand that the work-family interface occurs in the intersection of public policies and private strategies, or using Brofenbrenner's conceptualisation, it is a mesosystem of the microsystems work and family, which are located within a macrosystem society.

This research started as part of a research project that investigated the changing nature of paid work, and the focus was especially on households. Therefore, the research stems from the framework of erosion or change of the standard employment contract. In the course of the research, I noted that there are hardly any studies in Finland, which concentrate on dual-earning couples, although it is a typical family form. This oriented my research focus on dual-earning couples. I became curious and concentrated only on dual-earning couples, asking if dual-earning couples are an uninteresting focus of research.

The research tasks originated from two core themes, which form four research aims (see appendix 2). The first core theme is time, which has a central role in our lives and which seems to be one of the key dimensions where families seem to experience trouble. I became interested on the multifacetedness of it. In particular, there are arguments in the context of dual-earning couples, where families are more prone to have difficulties with time and putting

together various timetables for the family. There is a long history of full-time work in Finland and in an international comparison, working time practices are homogeneous. In the framework of the erosion of the standard employment contract, I wanted to explore in more detail how working time practices have changed over time among dual-earning couples.

The second core theme of the research is the experiences and practices of the work-family interface. This theme circulates around the questions, 'what are the experiences of employed dual-earning families' and 'how do families' organise their everyday life'. As much of the literature on work and family characterise these through change, I want to describe the experiences of dual-earning couples on the work-family interface over time.

Furthermore, I set an objective for the study to explore the interaction of the two core themes: time and the work-family interface. Particularly I wanted to analyse the associations of working time characteristics with negative and positive experiences of work and family. While I found that there is lot of research that explores the associations of length or the pattern of working time with, for example, work-family conflict, there is less research on various aspects of working time. I started to wonder that if time is a multifaceted phenomenon, is the work-family interface only about the length of working days? Although research also identifies other core aspects of working time, in addition to the length of working days, much of the research on work and family experiences concentrate solely on this aspect. This reduces the work-family question as a matter of a zero-sum game where time spent in one area is away from the other. In the study, I wish to examine if the other working time characteristics are also associated with work-family experiences.

Finland is an atypical case among Western Europe, because of the long history of dual-earning couples, and therefore I look at the working time practices and preferences of dual-earning couples in Finland and in the EU. Working time preferences can be an indicator of the experienced fit between work and other life spheres, and an additional research interest focuses on what is the perceived work-family fit in the EU.

Regardless of the positive or negative experiences on the work-family interface and of working time practices, families somehow organise their everyday life. In the study, I research the time-related strategies, which families use to orchestrate their everyday life. I explore the previous research questions with statistical data, but believe that to better answer the core research themes – the work-family interface and time - I also need to approach the theme from a different angle than that offered by statistical surveys. While the questionnaire data allows me to answer the questions related to change and extent, I explore how couples orchestrate everyday life with the interviews on dual-earning couples. Therefore, I question if couples adopt specific strategies related to time in the organisation of everyday life.

4.2 Family as a unit of analysis

In addition to the individual level investigation in the study, I use family as a unit of analysis. This is because family is often the closest social surroundings of the individual, which affects and is affected by its' actions. In the study, I particularly examine dual-earning couples, where both partners are economically active. The concept of family can be understood through its' functions (Jallinoja 1985), relationships, lived practice or ideology (Forsberg 2003). The functionalistic interpretation of family, in simple terms, understands that family is a social institution whose purpose is to take care of various functions, such as nurturing and bringing up children (Jallinoja 1985, 12). As a concept, family means a set of relationships between partners (such as love, power and sexual relationships), generations (including e.g. nurturing, care and upbringing), and kin relations that define legal relations. As lived practice, family can represent people sharing same physical premises (home) and belonging to the same household, the economic unit and division of work of the household. Increased divorce rates, reduced fertility rates, increased stepfamilies and legally acknowledged same-sex couples have challenged the assumptions on family. The nuclear family is no longer "the family", but rather a family builds on various forms of relationships. (Forsberg 2003, 11-12) Hannele Forsberg (ibid. 12-13) points out that many wish to abandon the use of the concept of family which would be to some extent artificial, because people use the concept of family in their everyday language.

Above all, critical family research, although it cannot be isolated as a clear defined research stream, understands that it is necessary to depart from the understanding of *a family,* but to understand that there are several *family forms* (Forsberg 2003, 10). Although I investigate the family form which represents the traditional heterosexual couple family, I wish to avoid its' normative weight in that it would define "what a family is?" Although the study concentrates on this particular family type, I present it as a form of diverging family practices (Morgan 1996; Forsberg 2003). The focus of the study, the heterosexual couple family, is one form among others.

Although family is the focus of the study, it is important to acknowledge that family is not a black box whose members share the same characteristics and act towards the same goal. Often this is an implicit assumption. Katja Repo (2002) explains that the Anglo-American research in particular has drawn attention to the fact that members of the family do not necessarily share the same interests and power. We cannot treat the family or household as a black box. Although the individuals are part of the same entity, their position might differ in their aims and characteristics. Essential differences exist between men and women, and between adults and children, for example. In this study, I only concentrate on the parents' of the family; therefore, the family level investigation is not complete.

Implementing the family level analysis in the study is not without problems, even when concentrating on the partners' of the family, and leaving other possible family members, such as children or other adults, outside the scope of the investigation. In only two data sources of the four, is there information given by each spouse themselves, rather than limited information given by one partner on the other. The questionnaire data "Household, work and wellbeing" and the interviews both include information provided by the partners themselves. In two other data sources – "Working Conditions Surveys" and "Employment Options of the future"- one partner has also provided information on the other partner. Therefore, in some instances I am only able to obtain some basic information about the household composition, such as the number and age of possible children, possible partner and the economic activity of the partner. This leaves a lot of information unanswered, even information of the sex of the partner or whether there are other children or adults living in the household.

I was faced with several questions when deciding on carrying out the interviews[19]. I had decided that the interviews focus on higher educated 35 (+/- 5) years old, heterosexual, dual-earner households with children living at home. I wanted to interview both partners of the household, and the practical question associated with this is whether to interview partners simultaneously or on separate occasions. I assumed that simultaneous interviewing would allow for looking at the interplay of the partners, as well as the power relations of the partners. However, as the focus was not on the interplay of the partners as such, I decided that it is more suitable for the purposes of this study to conduct separate interviewing. In addition, from a practical point of view I anticipated that it would be very difficult to get the partners (without their children) to participate in the interviews. As it turned out, when I allowed the respondents to name the place and time of the interview, they took place during a workday and at the workplace in most cases. Simultaneous interviewing would not have allowed this. Kerry Daly (2002) describes his experiences on including both individual and joint couple interviews in his study 'Time, gender and the negotiation of family schedules'. He explains that when comparing the individual and joint interviews, the descriptions on time were equal. The value of the joint interviewing was to observe how the couple talked and negotiated time in their lives. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this study separate interviewing was suitable.

The way partners often referred to their separate interviewing in practise showed that it was also problematic. For example, in the interviews the respondents were asked about carrying out household work and if the respondents have enough time for themselves and for the family. Some men and women gave their responses by guessing how their partner would answer, and one respondent even said that he/she feels like participating on a famous TV – show, where couples compete on how well they know each other. It is

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19 The interviews were conducted by myself and a MA student in Social Policy who did her MA thesis using the same interview data (See Bodbacka 2004)

clear that the separate interviewing raised the concern of whether the answers of the partners will be compared to each other, if the aim of the study is to investigate the conflicting opinions of the partners. The aim of the interviews of both partners was to draw a more comprehensive description of the overall family situation; the purpose was not to find out conflicting narratives of the partners, which I explained to the interviewed people.

4.3 Multi-method approach

The acknowledgement of coexisting complexities of time in the everyday life of families calls for an investigation that concentrates on various aspects of time. Therefore, I have adopted a multi-method strategy. When using a multi-method strategy the aim is to capture various sides of the research objects. I have adopted Alan Bryman's (1992) view, that the research problem should guide the decision about whether to employ quantitative or qualitative research, as opposed to Norman Denzin (1970) who has suggested that all research should in fact implement a multi-method approach. This means that mixing methods is neither always appropriate nor necessary. As I perceive that the research questions should guide the adoption of appropriate methods, I agree with Alan Bryman (1992, my emphasis) who has noted, "It is highly questionable whether quantitative and qualitative research are tapping *the same* things even when they are examining apparently similar issues". It is rather that the methods tackle *different aspects* of the phenomena (also Kandolin 1997).

There are several ways and reasons to implement a multi-method strategy. It can be sequentially organised, in other words, that either is preliminary research for the other (sequential explanatory strategy). Typical examples of this are to design and test a survey questionnaire through interviews, or to select people for interviews after completion of a survey. Sometimes the two are combined to fill in the gaps left by the other approach. For example, quantitative methods are used to illustrate the extent of the phenomena within the population, while qualitative methods help to explain the factors underlying the broad relationships that are explained, which are often impossible to study with cross-sectional questionnaire data.

There are several concepts used to describe combining qualitative and quantitative research. Among those used are multi-methods (Bryman 1988; 1992), complementary research (Brannen 1992), multiple research strategies (Burgess 1982; cited in Brannen 1992), integration of information (Raunio 1999), mixing methods (Creswell 2003) and triangulation (Denzin 1970 and 1988). Each of the concepts refers to, in the broadest sense, the same phenomena, although some refer more specifically to the methodological mixing of quantitative and qualitative methods and data, and some in a broad sense using both qualitative and quantitative research. For the purposes of this study, I have adopted the concept of the multi-method approach.

Overall, I use qualitative and quantitative data and methodologies that complement each other and investigate different research questions. The complementary strategy best describes the multi-method strategy of this study. The aim is to add knowledge on different aspects of the work-family interface.

4.4 Quantitative data and methods

This study uses three different types of questionnaire data and interview data of ten dual-earning couples. The statistical analysis relies on three types of questionnaire data. Chapters 5.1-5.2, 6.1 and 6.3 use ”Finnish Working Conditions Surveys”, chapter 6.2 “Household, work and wellbeing” survey and chapter 6.4 “Employment options of the future” survey. Chapter 7 uses the interview data.

Finnish Working Conditions Surveys 1977–2003

Finnish Working Conditions Surveys are representative surveys of Finnish salary earners, which have been collected at regular intervals (1977, 1984, 1990, 1997 and 2003) by Statistics Finland (see e.g. Lehto 1996; Lehto & Sutela 1999; Lehto & Sutela 2008). In addition to salaried employees, entrepreneurs were included in the original sample of waves 1977 and 1990, but were excluded from the study sample; the analysis only concentrates on salaried employees aged 16 to 64. The survey includes between 3000 to 6000 salaried employees (see Lehto & Sutela 2008, 7).

The surveys have been implemented as face-to-face interviews, lasting on average for a little over an hour. The interviews include questions on the physical, psychological and social work environment, and employees' experiences. Central themes of the survey include background information of the workplace (such as sector, size of the organisation), work career (such as tenure at the organisation, interest in changing work), conditions and characteristics of work (managerial responsibilities, working time characteristics, physical and emotional strain at work, use of computer), and workplace relations (support from the supervisor and colleagues). In addition, the survey questions family characteristics (e.g. spouse's economic activity, working time, number and age of children), experiences of work and family, and importance of various life spheres. Background information includes information on the education and socio-economic status. (See e.g. Lehto & Sutela 1999)

Household, work and well-being 1999–2000

Secondly, the study uses household-based panel data, called Household, Work and Well-being (1999-2000). The data were obtained from a random sample (n= 1878) selected from the files of the Population Register Centre in 1999 and

restricted to those between 25 and 64 years of age. Data was collected both in 1999 (Time 1) and 2000 (Time 2), the postal questionnaires had the same code number, and a separate questionnaire was sent to the possible spouse of the respondent. Altogether, 608 couples answered the questionnaire in 1999. The second round was collected in 2000, when everyone who had replied the previous year received the second questionnaire, which was similar to the first one. Altogether 655 persons and 468 spouses replied. (See also Kinnunen et al. 2000) The analysis only concentrated on married or cohabiting dual-earning couples (either salary earner or entrepreneur in Time 1, with both spouses having responded to both questionnaires, n=271). The questionnaire included questions of the household situation (such as characteristics, financial situation), work (including characteristics of work, working conditions, job insecurity), the work-family interface and overall subjective well-being.

Employment options of the future 1998

Thirdly, this study uses the Employment Options Data by the European Foundation of Improving Living and Working Conditions, which was collected by Infratest Burke Sozialforshcung of Munich and a set of national research institutes. (Bielenski 1999; Atkinson 2000; Latta & O'Conghaile 2000). The survey includes a representative sample of over 30000 people in the European Union Member States (of 1998) and Norway (see appendix 3 for sample sizes). The sample includes both salary earners and entrepreneurs. They were asked about working now and in the future, in 5 years time (including information e.g. on family characteristics, work situation, working time preferences).

The analysis relies on the weighting procedures carried out by the European Foundation[20] (see e.g. Atkinson 2000). The data was weighted in several steps so that the national samples would be representative samples, on the national level on the one hand, and on the European level on the other hand. The analysis focused on those aged 16-64 and employed either as salary earners or self-employed, representing 63% (n=1 937 515) of the total weighted data.

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20 The first step transformed the household representative sample to an individual level representative sample. In the second step, the person-representative sample was re-adjusted, taking into account gender, age and region, in the structure of the national residential population aged 16 to 64. The third step integrated basic and boost samples for each country into one consistent data set. A basic sample comprised of the residential population aged 16 to 64, but it only provided a sufficient number of cases for one of the core target groups, those currently in employment. In order to get a sufficient number of cases for the other target groups (young entrants, women returners and unemployed persons) a special boost sample was designed including those presently not employed aged 16 to 64. Finally, national sample sizes were adjusted so that the weighted sizes of the national samples correspond to the actual size of each single country among the total population in all 15 EU Member States and Norway (Atkinson 2000).

Quantitative methods

The study uses descriptive statistics and a multivariate analysis. In the multivariate analysis, the aim is to see associations between the variables, but as the data is cross sectional, the analysis does not acknowledge the direction of the association.

The multivariate methods that are used are the regression analysis, logistic regression analysis and the analysis of covariance. In the regression analysis, the dependent variable is continuous and independent variables are categorical. The analysis investigates the explanatory power of independent variables (standardised beta). In the logistic analysis, the dependent variable is dichotomous and independent variables categorical. Logistic regression is used to identify the odds (ExpB) of the event to occur, compared to reference groups. In the analysis of covariance, the dependent variable is continuous. In addition to investigating the main effects of the independent variables, the analysis also investigates the possible interface effect of the independent variables.

4.5 Qualitative data and methods

The interview data consists of thematic interviews of 19 persons conducted at the end of the year 2001 and the beginning of the year 2002. I describe the analysis in chapter 7. The interviews included 10 women and 9 men, representing 10 families. We conducted the interviews separately for the partners and lasted between approximately 45 minutes to an hour. Overall, there are 470 pages of transcribed text[21]. The purpose for the family interviewing was to investigate and capture differences between families, but also gendered practices and interpretations of women and men. The interviews were collected specifically for this study and for a MA thesis (see Bodbacka 2004), and conducted by a Social Policy MA student and myself. The thematic interviews covered questions on family structure, work characteristics and work content, organisation of daily life, household work, consumption and plans for the future.

The interviews focused on dual-earning partners, including both public and private sector salary earners and entrepreneurs. Both international and national studies have found that an important factor defining employment behaviour and organisation of everyday life is family phase; therefore, the focus was on families with children, with parents that are approximately 35 years old. In practice, those interviewed were between 29 to 44 years old. All couples were heterosexual. Interviews were restricted on those with higher education, to

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21 There are some direct citations in the text. On some occasions the text is completed with additional words, which are indicated with parentheses []. On other occasions some words are left out, indicated with the sign […].

capture, at least to some extent, similar working conditions. Focusing on families with similar working situations allowed for investigating particular work-family time strategies, influenced by a similar family phase and situation. Therefore, the focus of the qualitative analysis is different from that of the quantitative analysis where all socio-economic groups were included in the study. In practice, not all people interviewed had higher education, it was possible that only the other partner of the couple had a university degree, but all had at least vocational education. The interviewed lived in a middle-sized Finnish city, or at the close surroundings of the city, and therefore all shared a city or a semi-city living environment.

One of the selection criteria for the informants was the family phase, namely the age of the interviewed and having children living at home. Families had between 1 to 3 children, aged one to seventeen. All families live rush years; having at least one child under teenage and requiring time dependent care from the parents. Family's life stage can be divided into three sub-categories: families with (a) infants to toddlers, i.e. only a child under 3 years old; (b) toddlers to school aged children, i.e. children between 4 to approximately 7; and (c) only school aged children. It is also significant for time use that children did not have any special needs, which would require specific care and place time demands. It was not intentional that all the children would be biological children of the couple, but this turned out to be the case. Therefore, the couples are 'nuclear' families, couples in their first marriage and only having biological children, and had no children living elsewhere.

The interviewed did not inform of substantial time commitments due to caring for aged parents or relatives, for example. None of them belonged to the so called 'sandwich' generation. This is likely to be a result of both the young age of the respondents, and of self-selection on who accepted for the interviews. I assume that interviewing both spouses in particular restricts participation. Based on the interviews it is evident that a great majority of the families were rather satisfied with their allocation of time between life spheres. The couples experienced a good work-family fit.

The majority of the interviewed did knowledge intensive work. Usual weekly working time varied between approximately 23-45 hours a week and many of the interviewed had difficulties defining usual hours, in line with suggestions on the post-industrial working time regime (Julkunen et al. 2004). Regardless that men and women equally shared higher education, women worked more typically in positions where working time is more regulated and controlled, while men enjoy working time autonomy and self-regulation. The gender difference is due to sectoral and horizontal segregation, which is typical in Finland, and among those interviewed. The self-employed enjoy working time autonomy, although their work is bound to meeting the agreed commitments and direct association with pay. Work was mainly carried out during the daytime and weekdays, with some occasional evening or weekend work. By employment status the interviewed showed a mixture of possibilities, a working contract mosaic; nine had a permanent contract, six had a fixed term

employment contract, two had a permanent contract but currently worked in another position for a fixed term, one was both fixed term employed and self-employed, and one self-employed.

The commuting time can have a great effect on the organisation of days. However, in a middle-sized Finnish city traffic does not have such a great influence. There are specific times of day when traffic reaches its' peak, but the potential delays because of these are not substantial. It is probably the living environment which meant that commuting to work was not an issue in discussing the organisation of time in everyday life. Therefore, time-tagging (Avery & Stafford 1991), estimating the duration of commuting time, is relatively easy.

The focus of the interviews was on families who live the intense years of life by many definitions; children are young, work is characterised by growing demands and, in some cases, the achieved supervisory position, and the financial situation is burdened with housing loans (or planned loans). It is characteristic for families to need two incomes. Although families are rather satisfied with the income levels, they say, "not much is saved". Unless families cut down on consumption, the financial situation of the family requires both parents to be working. Some state that consumption cannot be reduced; the financial situation of some families is more stringent compared to others.

The interview situations were relatively easy. Eeva Jokinen (2005, 41) claims that we are experienced in interview situations, as we are interviewed by nurses, doctors, in recruitment, and even for schools. Interviews are also essential media material for the radio, TV and magazines and newspapers. I am not concerned about the truthfulness of the narratives the interviewed people present to me, although I assume similarly to Jokinen (ibid.) that those interviewed would not spend approximately an hour telling stories of a made-up life.

Qualitative content analysis

As a specific method, the study uses qualitative content analysis, which is a way of organising and categorising the qualitative data. Although content analysis is often a natural part of all qualitative analysis, it is not always clear what is meant by it (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002). Data is first organised and coded. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002; Graneheim & Lundman 2004) Some types of content analysis, such as discourse analysis, rely on the perception that it is essential to understand the invisible (the latent content; e.g. Graneheim & Lundman 2004).

Ulla Graneheim and Berit Lundman (2004; also Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002, 107) explain that content analysis in the 1950s initially dealt with the quantitative description of the content, but later content analysis has expanded to also include a qualitative description of the data analysis. They suggest further to make a distinction between the different forms of content analysis, on the one hand content analysis that is used to quantify the data and on the other hand content analysis that could be described as qualitative content analysis. Qualitative content analysis looks, not on the number of particular themes or

categories (or interpretations) occurring in the data, but rather on the content of the themes or categories, regardless of the number of them.

There is still some confusion on the used concepts for the types of content analysis. Jouni Tuomi and Anneli Sarajärvi (2004, 107) explain that Martti Grönfors (1982) has used *content* analysis to describe the quantitative content analysis, and *context* analysis to analyse the context where the focus of interest occurs (qualitative content analysis). Furthermore, the researchers (ibid. 107) suggest to use the concept of *content categorisation (or content specification)* to signify the quantitative description of the text data, and *content analysis* to describe the qualitative analysis of the text. Graneheim and Lundman (2004) refer to *qualitative* and *quantitative* content analysis. I have adopted the use of the concepts qualitative and quantitative content analysis. This study uses qualitative content analysis.

5 WORKING TIME PATTERNS OF DUAL-EARNER FAMILIES OVER TIME

5.1 Characteristics of dual-earner couples 1977–2003

In the following empirical chapters I investigate the working time practices of dual-earner couples over a quarter of a century (1977-2003; chapter 5), and experiences of the work-family interface among dual-earner families (chapter 6). I start by presenting an overview of the primary questionnaire data (the Finnish Working Conditions Surveys). The overview on the characteristics of the respondents serves as background information for the later investigation of working time practices and experiences of the work-family interface.

Firstly, to find out the proportion of coupled respondents, I look at those respondents who are married or cohabiting over the study period (1977-2003). Overall, across a quarter of a century the proportion of those employees who are married or cohabiting has not changed radically. The number of married or cohabiting employees has increased slightly since 1977 to the 1990s, when it stood at around 72 percent. The increase is partly due to a change in the survey, namely that cohabiting was also recognised. It was first recognised in the 1984 survey. In 1994 and 2003 the proportion has stayed at 74 percent. There are no differences between men and women.

The majority of those who have a partner are dual-earner families, and the proportion of dual-earner couples stood at 77 percent in 2003. Women more often, compared to men, have a partner who is employed, and men are more often coupled with a partner who is on parental leave or taking care of the home[22] (table 1). This difference is explained by the gender differentiation of the household and care tasks. Men's share of parental leave day's remains low (5% in 2003) in Finland (Lammi-Taskula 2006).

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22 The survey did not question if the partner is the same sex, but it is assumed that only a minority of the couples are same-sex couples.

Altogether, approximately 3/4 of salaried Finns have a partner, of whom approximately 80 percent is a dual-earner couple. There are no radical changes in the economic activity of partners of the salary earners over time. The employment level has remained at around 80 percent, reaching its peak in 1990 at 85 percent and lowest at the end of the 1990s, in 1997 (76%). This is explained with the turbulent economic development in the 1990s, and reflected in the proportion of the unemployed.

The most substantial change over time occurred among those taking care of the home, which has decreased substantially. While in 1977 over a tenth (12%) of the partners took care of the home, this proportion has decreased to 2 percent in 2003. In 1977 there were no partners of women who took care of the household, but a fifth (23%) of the male partners was full-time home carers (housewives). Since 1984, the proportion of those taking care of the home decreased steadily and reached its' low point in 1997 (4%) where it has remained since. Yet, development of the parental leave system signifies that many more women were on parental leave, temporarily full-time home carers. The proportion has varied between 7-8 percent.

TABLE 1 Economic activity of the partner by gender, 1977–2003 (%)

	1977		**1984**		**1990**		**1997**		**2003**	
	Men	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
Employed	70	88	78	89	80	89	69	82	71	*82*
Unemployed	1	2	2	2	2	1	11	7	6	*5*
Parental leave	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	8	-
Student	2	1	3	2	5	2	6	3	6	*2*
Old-age or inability pension	3	8	3	7	3	7	3	8	5	*10*
Taking care of home	23	-	14	-	9	-	4	-	4	-
Other	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	2476	2185	1668	1514	1558	1468	1018	1170	1434	1583

Source: the Finnish Working Conditions Surveys 1977, 1984, 1990, 1997, 2003

Employees of dual-earner families differ in many ways compared to other employed people (table 2). As expected, the non dual-earner respondents are younger, and dual-earner respondents belong more frequently to the age groups of 35 to 54. Expectedly, dual-earners also have children more often. By employment status, dual-earners are more often white-collar workers, which is possibly connected with the younger age of the respondents. Dual-earner men are less often temporary employed, but there is no such difference among women; dual-earner women and other women are both often temporarily employed. The only background characteristics where dual-earner and other men do not differ are in the employment sector.

Looking at the working time characteristics of non-dual earners and dual-earners, dual-earner respondents work short hours less frequently (1-34hrs/week) and daytime work somewhat more frequently, compared to the other working time pattern.

TABLE 2 Background information by gender, 2003 (%)

	All			**Men**			**Women**		
	Not dual-earners	**Dual-earner**	**Sig.**	**Not dual-earners**	**Dual-earner**	**Sig**	**Not dual-earners**	**Dual-earner**	**Sig**
Gender			.004						
Male	50	44							
Female	50	56							
Age			.000			.000			*.000*
16-24	14	3		13	2		14	4	
25-34	24	21		32	20		17	23	
35-44	21	30		23	29		19	31	
45-54	23	33		18	34		27	32	
54-65	19	12		14	15		23	11	
Mean age	40	43		38	43		42	42	
Socio-economic position			.000			.000			*.000*
Higher white collar	21	30		23	35		19	27	
Lower white collar	38	40		21	19		55	56	
Blue collar	41	30		56	46		25	17	
Marital status			.000			.000			*.000*
Married or habiting	37	100		41	100		32	100	
Children			.000			.000			*.000*
Yes	25	51		25	52		25	50	
Employer sector			.000			ns			*.001*
Government	11	10		11	12		11	8	
Municipality	24	30		13	15		35	42	
Private	65	60		76	73		53	50	
Working contract			.000			.000			*.ns*
Permanent	83	88		85	93		82	84	
Temporary	17	12		15	7		18	16	
Normal weekly working time			.000			.000			*.009*
1- 34	19	15		13	7		26	20	
35- 40	74	76		77	79		70	75	
41 +	8	8		10	15		5	5	
Mean working hours	36	38		37	39		34	37	
Working time pattern			.000			.001			*.001*
Day work	64	71		64	72		65	69	
Evening or night work	3	1		2	1		4	1	
Shift work	22	20		21	17		22	22	
Other	11	9		13	10		10	8	

continues

TABLE 2 continues

Partner's working time	-			-			-		
Full- time		93			90			96	
Part-time		7			10			4	
N	1781	2323		867	1023		914	1300	

Sig = Chi-square value

1) Men and women are not partners' to each other.

2) Respondents who are not dual-earner couples can have a partner who is not employed or have no (married or cohabiting) partner.

Source: the Finnish Working Conditions Surveys 2003

5.2 Working time practices of dual-earner respondents

The central aspects of working time

According to Barbara Adam (1990) the central aspects of working time are *time, timing and tempo* or as Mike Noon and Paul Blyton (1997, 56) phrase them *duration, arrangement and utilisation*. These three interrelated elements shape the workers overall experience of working time. Noon and Blyton (1997, 56-57) point out that the temporal aspects have been the focus of relatively few investigations. In particular, the subjective nature of time has remained under-recognised. The concentration on only one aspect of working time has sometimes lead to unforeseen effects when conditions have been changed. For example, the reduction of working time has lead to increasing the tempo of work (Noon & Blyton 1997) or in some cases in changing the timing of work to a more unsocial time, which is not appreciated by the employees (Anttila 2005).

Colette Fagan (2001, 1200-1201) discusses an additional central aspect of working time, working time *autonomy*. She uses the term working-time schedules to refer to the number of hours worked, when they are worked and the degree of time autonomy the individual worker has over the working hours. Fagan proposes that working time autonomy may be important when work-time intensity, and working time tempo, is heavy. I suggest that working time autonomy is a central aspect of working time, particularly for the work-family interface. In addition, the *predictability of hours* (Garhammer 1995) is an essential aspect of working time, particularly affecting the planning and organisation of the everyday life of families. In this study I understand that work hour autonomy and the predictability of hours are central elements of working time. These are particularly important elements for the work-family interface; working time autonomy potentially allows for individual flexibility while the predictability of hours assists in coordinating the activities of everyday life.

The central focus of this study is time, and in this part I present the working time practices of dual-earning couples from 1977 to 2003, using Finnish

Working Conditions Surveys. The descriptive statistics investigate all central aspects of working time - time, timing, tempo, autonomy and predictability of hours - which I later examine in the context of experiences of the work-family interface.

Length of working time 1977–2003

The duration (time) of working time is an essential aspect of work. It measures the time used for work, the measurable clock time, and has been the central focus of disputes about time (Adam 1995). The historical development of working time is marked with the shortening of annual working time. Recently - along with the increase of individually regulated working time - the debates point out the differentiation of the workforce; on the one hand there is concern over those working exceedingly long hours (overemployed), while on the other hand there is concern over those working short hours (underemployed).

First, there seems to be a shared concern on the trend towards exceedingly long working time (e.g. Boulin 1998; Julkunen & Nätti 1999; Hill et al. 2006) For example, Jean-Yves Boulin and colleagues (2006, 19) suggest that long working hours are "making a comeback", at least at the individual level. The increase of long hours has amplified discussion to legitimise short or 'normal' hours, which is particularly relevant for workers to meet family responsibilities or in general to 'have a life' (Lewis 2003). Another concern is to maintain the workability of the workers. Long hours relate with stress and exhaustion. As a counter movement to the long hours culture there are suggestions of "time pioneers" (Hörning et al. 1995) and a recent U.S. study (Hill et al. 2006) promotes a 60 hour family working week as an alternative for the "an opt-out revolution" where professional women step out from the labour markets to be full-time carers.

Secondly, there is concern over exceedingly short hours, marginal part-time work or secondary jobs (Tijdens 1999), and overall concern over "bad quality part-time work" (Kalleberg 2000). The proportion of part-time work has increased in Europe, and – although part-time jobs and workers are heterogeneous – part-time work is often associated with marginal employment, low-paid, low status work in Europe (Kalleberg 2000). These concerns over long and short hours include a gender concern. The division of the workforce to the over and underworked can strengthen the traditional gender roles and maintain the division of work; long hours concern especially men and a great majority of part-time workers are women. For the family this translates into maintaining the male breadwinner family and traditional division of work.

With the erosion of the normal working time practice, there has been a diffusion of the length of working time in Finland, where traditionally working times have been remarkably homogeneous. (Julkunen & Nätti 1999) However, looking at the mean hours from 1977 to 2003 among respondents in dual-earner families, shows a remarkable stability; the mean hours stand at around 39-38 hours a week for over a quarter of a century (table 3). The distribution of working times is also relatively stable. However there is some variation in the

distribution of hours, the proportion of respondents working between 35 to 40 hours a week has reduced; it stood at 83 percent in 1977 and at 76 percent in 2003, respectively. Conversely, the proportion of respondents working a long working time, 41 hours and more, has almost doubled and stands at 9 percent in 2003. The proportion of part-time work (i.e. up to 29 hours a week) has also increased since 1990. Therefore, it seems that the economic recession of the 1990s polarised the dual-earners; there are more of those working long hours (also Julkunen & Nätti 1999).

TABLE 3 Length of working week of dual-earning respondents, 1977–2003 (% and mean hrs)

	1977	**1984**	**1990**	**1997**	**2003**
1-29	7	6	4	7	8
30-34	4	3	8	6	7
35-40	83	86	82	80	76
41 +	5	5	6	8	9
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
N	2946	2644	2124	1661	2323
Mean hrs	38,9	38,3	37,7	37,7	37,6

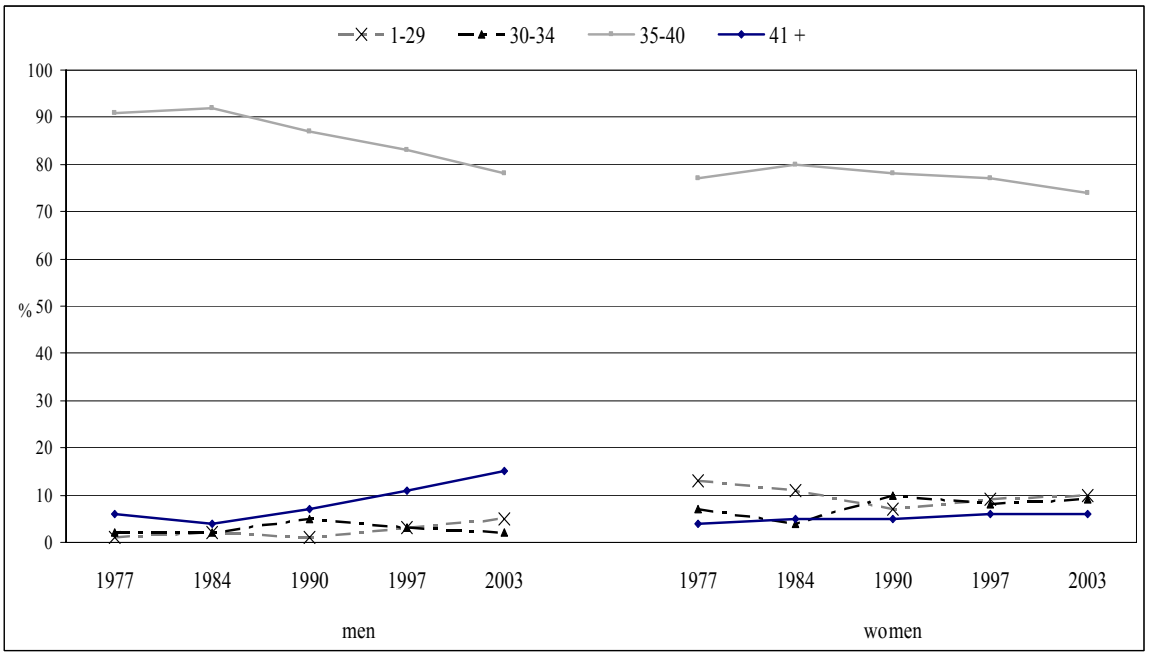
Source: the Finnish Working Conditions Surveys 1977, 1984, 1990, 1997, 2003

In order to see the differences between men's and women's working time we need to investigate the length of working time separately for dual-earner women and men (figure 4). When concentrating on the typical hours worked (i.e. 35-40 hours a week), over the cross-sectional follow-up period from 1977 to 2003, dual-earner women show more stability compared to men. Among dual-earner women, 77 percent worked between 35 to 40 hours a week in 1977, and the proportion is roughly the same in 2003 when it stood at 75 percent. The proportion of men working between 35 to 40 hours has reduced from 91 percent in 1977 to 79 percent in 2003. More dual-earner men work a shorter working week and in particular a long working week in 2003 compared to 1977. The proportion of men working a long week has increased from 6 to 15 percent, respectively.

All in all men work longer hours more often, while women shorter hours, representing the well-known division of work. Still in international comparison, men's and women's working time is relatively homogeneous with only 2 hours difference, on average. While in international comparison Finnish men and women work homogeneous hours, the overall Finnish working times are around the EU average. According to the European Labour Force survey of 2002 (Employment in Europe 2003) the average weekly working hours of employees stood at 37 hours in Finland, while the EU average was 36 hours, and varied between 40 hours in Greece and 30 hours in the Netherlands.

As discussed by Raija Julkunen and Jouko Nätti (1999) the development of the length of working time is best described by slow change. Working times have diversified, especially among men, but the change is not radical, rather a

gradual shift. It is interesting that women's working time has remained relatively stable.



Source: the Finnish Working Conditions Surveys 1977, 1984, 1990, 1997, 2003

FIGURE 4 Length of weekly working time: dual-earner men and women, 1977-2003

Homogeneity of working time practices within families

Previous studies have found that couples are homogeneous on certain background characteristics, for example, being unemployed concentrates within families (e.g. Virmasalo 2002). As a consequence families tend to be either 'work rich' or 'work poor'. This adds interest and the necessity to study families. The homogamy between partners is a consequence of similarities, for example, in education and age, as well as a shared economic, social and geographical situation (e.g. Henkens & Kraaykamp & Siegers 1993; Bernasco & de Graaf & Ultee 1998; Halvorsen 1998; Bernardi 1999; Virmasalo 2002).

A previous study (Nätti & Väisänen 2000, 56-57) investigated couple's labour market position and working time using the Finnish Labour Force statistics (1998), where it is possible to combine the individual responses of female and male partners. This gives a precise image of the working time practices of the couples. The study divided working time on short working time (up to 34 hours a week), normal working time (35-40 hours a week), and long working time (41 hours and more). The main findings showed that the majority (70%) of the employed (including entrepreneurs) work between 35 to 40 hours a week. At the couple level the findings suggest that long and short working time concentrates on families. Furthermore, the long working time of women is associated with the male partner also working long hours. Long working time is typically associated with higher education and high socio-economic status.

Couples often represent each other based on the educational level, which explains, at least to some extent, the concentration of long working time within the same households.

In the European comparison, the concentration of dual-earner couples in full-time work in Finland is strong. Most Western European and OECD countries exhibit more variation in the working time practices of dual-earning couples (see e.g. Kröger et al. 2003; OECD 2005). For example, while the proportion of full-time dual-earner couples among families with dependent children stood at 59 percent in 2002 in Finland, the corresponding figures stood at 45 percent in Canada, 39 percent in Sweden and 28 in the United Kingdom (OECD 2005, 74). Therefore in Finland having children does not affect working patterns to the same extent as in many other countries. However it needs to be remembered that children affect women's working career in Finland typically through a temporary withdrawal from the labour markets.

Working time pattern 1977–2003

Timing or the arrangement of work places it to a specific time of the day, week or year. Based on their study, Jill Rubery and colleagues (2005, 105) conclude that "the temporal boundary that was erected as part of the emergence of post-World War II industrial relations agreements in the UK has slowly but surely been eroded, as more and more of economic activity takes place outside of the 'standard' working day". This is also true elsewhere. Consequently, there is less time that is social in the sense that it would be collectively shared time off work. Although there has always been work which has been carried out outside the standard hours (also Noon & Blyton 1997), it is characteristic for the post-industrial work regime that the social quality of collective time erodes and that there is a lack of financial rewards linked to time.

Working during evenings and nights is connected to the qualitative aspect of time and is often called unsocial working time. Unsocial working time is not only unsocial in terms of social life, but can also cause negative health outcomes. For example, it is connected with difficulties with sleep and is found to be associated with an increased risk for cardiovascular diseases. (Boisard et al. 2003; Åkerstedt 2003; Nätti & Anttila 2006).

Looking at the working time patterns of dual-earner salary earners, the long term perspective shows a remarkable stability in the proportion of workers who perform daytime work (table 4). It has stood at around 70 percent, and reached its peak in 1984. Other working time practices were categorised only to shift work and other working time arrangements, as the categorisations vary across the years.

Men's and women's working time patterns do not show any major differences, although among dual-earner women since the late 1980s and early 1990s, the proportion of daytime work has slightly decreased and shift work has increased. In 2003 a greater proportion of women work in shift work compared to men, but equal proportions of men and women still work during the daytime. Among women shift work increased slightly between 1990 and

2003, when the proportion rose approximately to a fifth of salary earners. The difference may be due to the slight increase (14% in 1990 to 22% by 2003) of women salary earners working in the health care (Lehto & Sutela 2005, 9), which typically includes shift work.

From an international comparison, the proportion of salaried employees working shift work is relatively high. According to the European Working Conditions Survey of 2005 the proportion working shifts stood at 24 percent in Finland, when the average in the European Union stood at 17 percent, respectively (European Working Conditions Surveys 2005).

TABLE 4 Working time pattern of dual-earning respondents by gender, 1977 -2003 (%)

	1977		**1984**		**1990**		**1997**		**2003**	
	Men	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
Day work	75	70	78	77	77	75	77	69	72	69
Shift work	14	16	15	15	12	14	12	19	17	22
Other (1)	11	14	7	8	12	11	11	12	11	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1419	1543	1302	1348	984	1143	706	955	1023	1299

(1): Other working time arrangements include e.g. morning, evening, night work, weekend work, periodic work. It also includes 'don't know' /'cannot tell' answers (few cases per wave).
Source: the Finnish Working Conditions Surveys 1977, 1984, 1990, 1997, 2003

Working time tempo 1990–2003

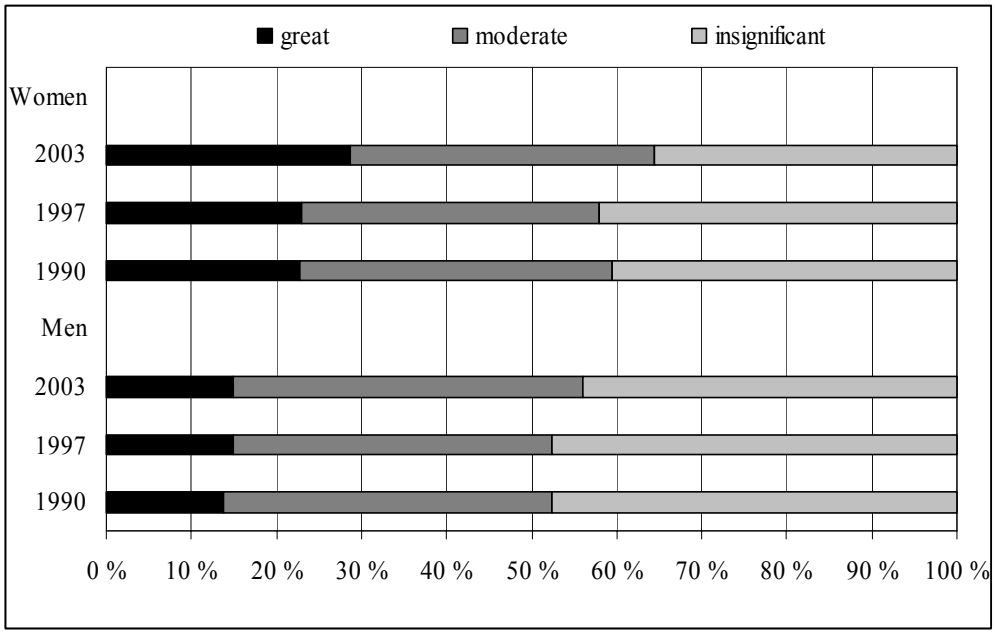
Tempo or the utilisation of working time acknowledges how time is used at work. Particularly, Mike Noon and Paul Blyton (1997, 56) state that the concept of utilisation refers to the extent working time is actually spent in productive activity. Working tempo can intensify the production process, and even substitute for the loss produced, for example, the reduction of working time. Timo Anttila's (2005) study showed how the reduction of working time did not substantially reduce effective working time in the private sector; the reduction of hours were introduced along with the abolition of extra holidays and breaks, and combined with a faster work tempo.

Alain Supiot (2001, 73) discusses the overall reduction of working time and explains the paradox that workers feel no less overworked with the concurrent qualitative change. Where taylorism segmented work tasks and de-personalised workers, currently the shift in production to services has re-personalised work, which requires a more subjective involvement from the employee. Therefore, concentrating on the number of hours overlooks the qualitative changes taking place.

There are several alternative ways to measure working time tempo, and here it is investigated through the perceived feeling of hurriedness at work, which has been asked in various waves; 1990, 1997 and 2003, which gives a thirteen-year perspective (figure 5). The question asks about the proportion of working time where the respondents work under such pressure that one has no time to talk or think of anything except for work. The alternatives are almost all the time at work, three fourths, half, one quarter, and less than one quarter of working time and not at all.

Dual-earner respondents feel increasingly hurried at work. Feelings of hurriedness have increased particularly from 1997 to 2003, and especially concern dual-earner women. The proportion of women who feel great hurriedness at work stands at almost a third, among men the proportion is at around 14 percent, respectively. Therefore, there are nearly twice as many women reporting high working time tempo at work, compared to men. Among dual-earner men the proportion of those experiencing great hurriedness has not increased during the 1990s, although there are more men reporting at least moderate hurriedness in 2003 compared to 1997. Therefore, dual-earner women have been more affected by the increased working time tempo. Overall, over half of all dual-earner respondents experience to some extent a high working tempo.

Anna-Maija Lehto (2002) suggests that an increase of work tempo is the most evident problem in Finnish working conditions. By employer sectors, the municipal sector has taken the lead in feeling hurried, and especially health care work –women's work – is affected with it. Hurriedness is not only an experience that affects the individual but also the work organisation. High tempo is linked with negative individual and organisational level outcomes, such as with adverse psychological and somatic effects, errors at work and absence (ibid.). Furthermore, the negative effects of hurriedness are not restricted to the individual; family life is also equally affected with it, as is presented in the following analysis (see table 7).



Great: all the time – ¾ of working time; moderate: ½ - ¼ of working time; Insignificant: less than ¼ - not at all. Source: the Finnish Working Conditions Surveys 1990, 1997, 2003

FIGURE 5 Feeling of hurriedness at work by gender, 1990, 1997 and 2003 (%)

Noora Järnefelt (2002, 23-52) studied, based on qualitative interviews, the reasons that affect working time tempo, and locates them as originating at four levels. At the organisational level the reasons are, for example, the lack of staff, requirements for efficiency and organisational change, and at the level of the work unit the difficulties in division and organisation of work and tight schedules. Furthermore, the reasons relate to work tasks and individuals. At the level of work tasks the increase of work demands, interruptions at work, and ICT which increases workload or makes work more complicated, as well as the difficulties to plan work contribute to the increase of hurriedness. In addition, individuals can create hurriedness themselves, because of an inability to organise work or high work ethics.

Although there are several reasons behind the feelings of hurriedness, Järnefelt (ibid.) reports that some reasons affect some sectors more than others. Consequently there is a sharp gender difference, due to the segregated sectors in Finland; other reasons are more typical for women's work, others more typical for men's work. The analysis relies both on the interviews and on the Finnish Working Conditions Survey (1997). Among women's work, such as health care and education, the reasons for hurriedness relate, for example, with a lack of staff, interruptions at work and the inability to plan work. Among men's work the reasons related with increased efficiency and the use of ICT's that increases workload. Organisational change, distribution of work and the inability to organise work, tight schedules and increased demands at work, equally affect both typical women's and men's work.

The increase of working time tempo is not only a Finnish phenomena, but it has increased across the European Union (Lehto 2002). However, in the European comparison Finns report a higher working tempo. According to the European Working Conditions Survey of 2005, altogether 78 percent of Finns agree that they have to work at a very high speed compared with 60 percent of the EU average. The proportion is only higher in Sweden, where it stands at 85 percent. (European Working … 2005)

Working time autonomy and predictability of hours

Working time flexibility is often offered as a solution for problems related with the work-family interface. What is meant by flexibility often remains unclear. In their research project, Heikki Uhmavaara and colleagues (Uhmavaara et al. 2005) studied the flexibility of work from various perspectives, namely the place of work, time flexibility, team work and multiskilling. Therefore, the flexibility of work takes various forms and the concept 'flexible work' is vague and imprecise, as it can refer to a variety of different issues. In their study, Pascal Vielle and Pierre Walthery (2003, 7-8) use a categorisation of flexibility where the main forms are on the one hand quantitative and qualitative flexibility, and external and internal flexibility on the other hand.

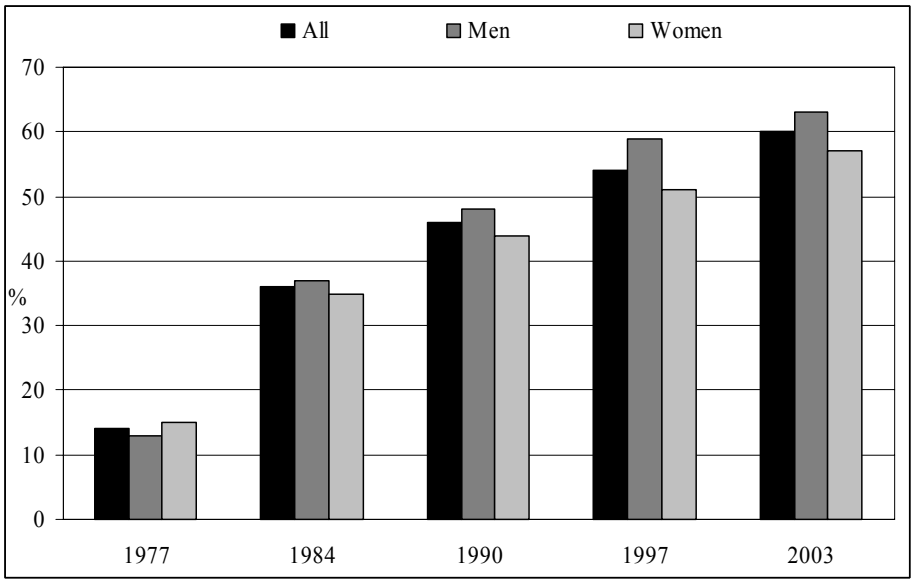
In this study, I examine quantitative working time flexibility. I explore the degree to which the individual has working time autonomy. In principle, working time autonomy can mean that the individual is contracted to complete particular tasks rather than a specific time, or that the individual can vary their hours provided that agreed hours are worked during a given period (Fagan 2001, 1201). The time reference can be either daily, weekly or a longer period. For the work-family interface, working time autonomy can potentially provide a means to integrate work and family demands and responsibilities, and allow individual flexibility to meet family responsibilities.

Working time autonomy is investigated here as having the possibility to influence both starting and finishing times. It is only a modest form of work hour autonomy, but still allows individual autonomy for starting and finishing work days. Overall the proportion of employees who can influence their working time has increased radically (figure 6). While it stood at 14 percent in 1977, it was 60 percent in 2003. Overall, the increase of the influence over working time is associated with the changes in the nature of work; more people work in knowledge intensive work.

In 1977 women were more likely to have an influence on their working time, but since then men have taken the lead in this respect. The difference between men and women was most pronounced in 1997, but has slightly decreased since then. It is interesting that the higher educational level of women does not translate into having more influence on working time. More dual-earner men are higher white-collar workers, compared to dual-earner women, which is likely to explain the difference. Sectoral segregation explains this; women's work in the public and private services is connected with fixed

opening and closing times that reduce possibilities for individual working time autonomy.

From an internationally comparison, having an influence on working time is more usual in Finland compared to other EU countries. According to the European Working Conditions Survey of 2005 (European Working Conditions Surveys 2005…) half of Finns, compared with 39 percent of the EU (25) average do not have fixed starting and finishing times.



Source: the Finnish Working Conditions Surveys 1977, 1984, 1990, 1997, 2003

FIGURE 6 Working time autonomy: possibility to influence starting and finishing time by gender, 1977-2003 (%)

Another important aspect of working time is predictability. Manfred Garhammer (1995) argues that the balancing of everyday life has become more difficult for employees due to the loss of predictability. The daily and weekly regulation of working time is known as central time institutions, which give rhythm for the industrial society. Leisure time is dependent on these temporal institutions, which have blurred. The loss of predictability, in the extreme case of working on demand (on call), destroys the predictability of daily life offered by the normal working time. When thinking about the metaphor of the time-screw it is possible to understand the importance of the predictability of working time for family life in particular, and especially for other time dependent activities.

With the Working Conditions Surveys it is possible to investigate the lack of predictability of hours and the frequency the employee has been contacted outside the office hours, which also disturbs the division between free time and work time. The questions have only been asked in the 2003 survey, thus it is not possible to investigate the development over time. All in all, the demand for time flexibility, which affects to which extent working hours are predictable, is relatively frequent among dual-earners. Over a third of dual-earners state that

they need to meet time demands weekly and nearly a tenth need to respond to time demands daily (table 5). Men experience demands for daily time flexibility more often compared to women, but the requirement for weekly or monthly flexibility is equally widespread among dual-earner women and men. Also, equal numbers of dual-earner men and women are never affected by the lack of predictable hours.

TABLE 5 Meeting work hours' demands by gender, 2003 (%)

	All	**Men**	**Women**
Daily	7	9	5
Weekly	24	24	24
Monthly	22	21	22
Less frequently	34	32	35
Never	13	14	13
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*
N	*2323*	*1023*	*1300*

Source: the Finnish Working Conditions Surveys 2003

Contacts from work can disturb the predictability of hours outside the office, and blur the division of free time and work time. A Finnish study (Antila 2006) showed, similarly to this study, that contacts from the workplace in hours outside office hours are typical in Finland. The study concluded, however, that contacts from work are not always disturbing.

Dual-earner men and women are relatively often contacted in work related matters outside office hours (table 6). The question refers to the previous two months, and during that reference time over a third of all employees have been contacted more frequently than once or twice. Men in particular report that they have been contacted more frequently outside the office hours. Women seem to be more protected from contact outside the office hours from the workplace; almost half of women say that they have not been contacted at all, while the corresponding proportion stands at a third among men. It is assumed that this is because of both the vertical and sectoral segregation of the Finnish labour markets. Dual-earner men are more often higher white-collar workers and work within the private sector, compared to dual-earner women (see table 2). Their work process requires more instant contacts and work is personal which leads to contacts outside office hours. It is also likely that organisational culture and management practices support this. It would be interesting to explore in more detail if there are differences in women's and men's workplaces.

Contacts outside the normal working hours are, according to the European Working Conditions Survey (2005), more frequent in Finland compared to the EU average. While the proportion of employees who have been contacted outside the normal working stands at 44 percent in Finland, the EU average stood at 23 percent, respectively. (Statistical annex, European Working… 2005)

TABLE 6 Contacts outside the actual working time by gender, 2003 (%)

	All	Men	Women
Never	38	27	46
Once, twice	28	28	27
More frequently	35	45	27
Total	100	100	100
N	2323	1023	1300

Source: the Finnish Working Conditions Surveys 2003

5.3 Summary: Changing working time characteristics

In this chapter, I investigated the working time characteristics of dual-earner couples from 1977 to 2003 using the Finnish Working Conditions Survey (applicable waves). The proportion of dual-earner couples has varied slightly over time, following the economic waves and development of social security. The economic downturn in the beginning of the 1990s signified an increase of unemployment, which has remained at a higher level since. The working time characteristics show that two full-time workers are the prevailing family type. As elsewhere, couples with two part-time workers remain scarce.

I examined working time practices, looking at length, timing, tempo, autonomy, predictability of hours and borders between home and work. The length of hours shows remarkable stability when examined, with the mean hours being worked over the study period, from 1977 to 2003. However, the distribution of hours shows that the normal working time practice, working between 35-40 hours a week, has become less frequent, and both those working short and especially those working a long working time has increased. While the working time practices of women have remained relatively stable over the study period, those of men have changed more radically. There has been an increase of dual-earner men working a long working time, representing almost a fifth in 2003.

The length of working time and working time patterns has diversified the working time practices of dual-earning respondents. Nonetheless, because there is no information available on the working time practices of couples over time, it is difficult to assess the importance of the changed practises for the work-family relations. What the cross-sectional descriptive statistics suggests, however, is that increasingly more dual-earning men work a long working week in 2003 compared to the early 1980s. Consequently, that means increasingly more dual-earning men experience difficulties in meeting the time demands of home. Accordingly, women might be more burdened with the household tasks and care responsibilities. Yet, the concentration on the number of hours overlooks other aspects of time, including tempo, and work characteristics, such as a supervisory position, which can influence the experiences of the work-family interface.

Working time patterns have also changed slightly; the day-time work pattern has become more unusual. We have moved towards a 24/7 society. Work during evenings, nights and early mornings are more and more typical among dual-earners. The increase of shift work means, if not erosion, at least diffusion or a subtle change of collective time. However, dual-earners with children and with other family schedules need to adapt and cope with the time schedules of the society. Schools, hobbies and day-care operate, in most cases, during the daytime. Although shift work is a potential cause of difficulty for the work-family interface among dual-earner families, it can alternatively assist in putting the life spheres together. The way shifts are organised (regular or irregular) and whether there is an individual influence on the shifts are important factors. In addition, of crucial importance among dual-earning couples is the working time practice of the other spouse in the family and the availability of services outside the regular day shift. The availability of other sources of informal care (e.g. grandparents) is also another important factor.

In addition to time and the timing of work, the tempo of work has changed over time. Increasingly more dual-earners experience a more intense tempo of work, and it has increased to the extent that it has been named as the most evident problem in Finnish working conditions (Lehto 2002). More dual-earners experienced at least moderate hurriedness at work in 2003 than a decade earlier, and dual-earning women in particular are affected by it. The reasons for the intensification of work originate at different levels, down from the work organisations to the individual worker, and concern not only the increase on the number of work tasks, but also things such as difficulties to plan work, constant interruptions at work and the use of ICT's (Järnefelt 2002). The increase of the tempo of work is not a mere result of an increase of the number of tasks to be completed by the individual, but it has more profound effects on the overall nature of work. Consequently the attempts to decrease work tempo are faced with a complex task, simply just doing less might not be the answer. High work tempo is related with adverse psychological and somatic effects, of which the individual carries within oneself from work to home. Therefore, the adverse effects of work tempo affect work-family relations. It was shown that this especially concerns women.

While in the industrial working time regime, working times were tightly regulated and predictable; the post-industrial working time regime has changed this. More employees have an influence on their working times, and in 2003 the majority of dual-earners can influence their starting and finishing times. There is no comparative information on the development of the predictability of hours over time, but the cross-sectional situation shows that around a third of dual-earners need to respond to the demands of the work organisation weekly or daily. Finally, I also briefly investigated the boundary between home and work. Dual-earners experience surprisingly loose boundaries between work and home; the majority of dual-earner employees have been contacted from the workplace during the last two months. Dual-earning men in particular experience loose boundaries. This makes working time less predictable which

potentially causes problems for the work-family interface. The extent to which contacts from work are disturbing is not clear; equally infrequent contacts can disturb family time or do not mean any disturbance at all for the individual or the family.

Overall the qualitative and quantitative changes of working hours are a matter of concern for the work-family interface and at the family level, both women and men have been affected with the changes of working time characteristics. The increased tempo at work has particularly touched women's work, while men have been more affected with the lengthening of working time and face more difficulties in predicting work hours. At the family level this suggests that women might be more burdened with household tasks, simply because of the longer work hours of men. At the same time the increased work tempo of women means that time at work is more exhausting. It seems that women and men face different challenges in the integration of work and family. The next chapter explores if there are differences between men and women in the experiences of work-family conflict, fit and the positive outcomes. In light of the descriptive statistics it is interesting to see how the different characteristics of working time affect the work-family interface.

6 EXPERIENCES OF THE WORK-FAMILY INTERFACE

In this chapter, I explore further the extent to which boundaries between work-family are blurring, and the negative and positive experiences of the work-family interface. I am particularly interested to see if work-family experiences have changed over time, which I study with different waves of the Finnish Working Conditions Survey. I also explore if the central aspects of working time are associated with the positive and negative experiences of the work-family interface. I expand the investigation to look at the entity of the family and explore the importance of family working time to experiences of work-family conflict. Finally, I am interested to look at the work-family fit in European Union (15) countries. The international comparison gives a perspective in evaluating the Finnish dual-earners experiences in the work-family interface.

There is vast research literature on studies of the work-family interface, especially on the negative experiences that work has for family life (work-family conflict), and there is less research investigating the positive experiences between work and family. Studies looking at the work-family fit – the perceived balance between life spheres – remains relatively scarce. I review previous research in the field in the subsequent chapters, but the review concentrates only on studies that have looked at time -related issues. Examples of these are responsibilities that demand time (such as having care responsibilities at home) or practices related to time that are assumed to provide resources for the individual (such as short working time).

The empirical analyses of the study investigate the associations of work and family *constraints* and *resources* with the negative and positive experiences of the work-family interface (figure 7; see Voydanoff 2004a and 2004b). Constraints are factors which potentially increase the negative experiences, such as work-family conflict, or decrease the positive experiences between life spheres. Constraints also potentially decrease the experienced work-family fit. Time- based constraints can originate from work or family. Examples of

constraints originating from work are long working time and a requirement for time flexibility because of the needs of the employer. Often studies concentrate on the number of hours worked, but in this study, I aim at widening the scope by looking at time- related constraints more extensively. However, concentration on time leaves other constraints, such as stress, outside the scope of this study.

Time related resources can equally originate either from work or from family. Resources are factors that can potentially decrease the negative experiences, increase the positive experiences between life spheres, or may assist the fit between work and family spheres. Time related resources can be, for example, working short hours or having working time autonomy.

Although I propose that certain work and family characteristics are placed as either resources or demands, it is clear that this division is arbitrary. Some characteristics, such as managerial responsibilities, can be either a time related work demand or resource. On the one hand managerial work includes responsibilities and practices, such as the fragmentation of working days, which are time-based demands. On the other hand, managerial work is often related with autonomy at work, which in turn is a time-based resource. (Tétard 2000; Nätti et al. 2006b)

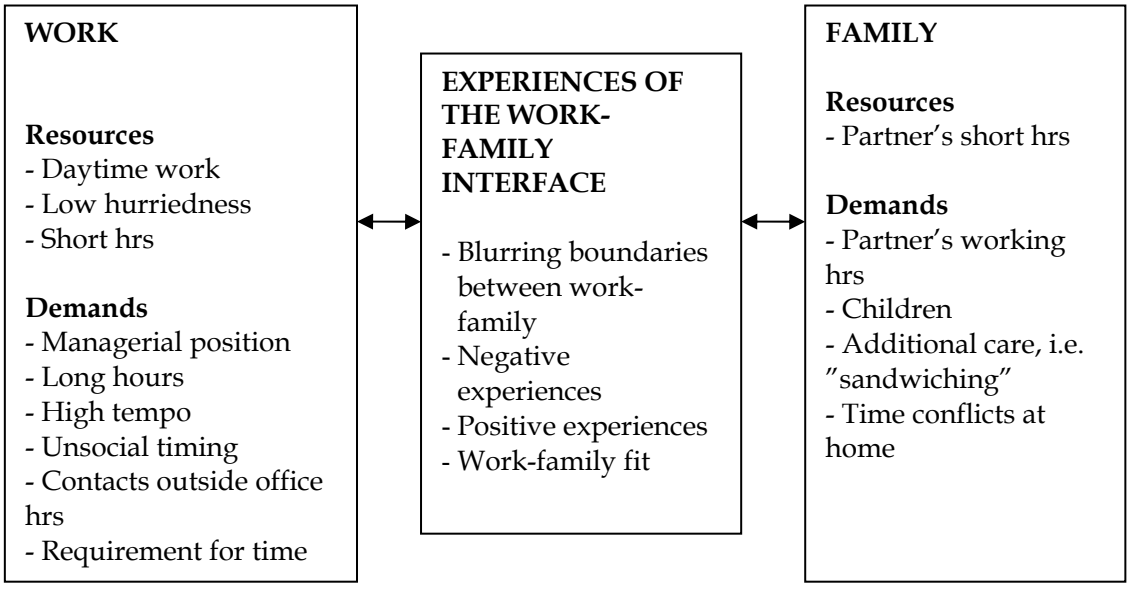


FIGURE 7 Framework of the empirical analysis

6.1 Blurring boundaries between work and family

With the increase of educational levels and knowledge intensive work there is an assumption that the temporal and spatial boundaries between work and family have blurred; knowledge work is detachable from the workplace and it

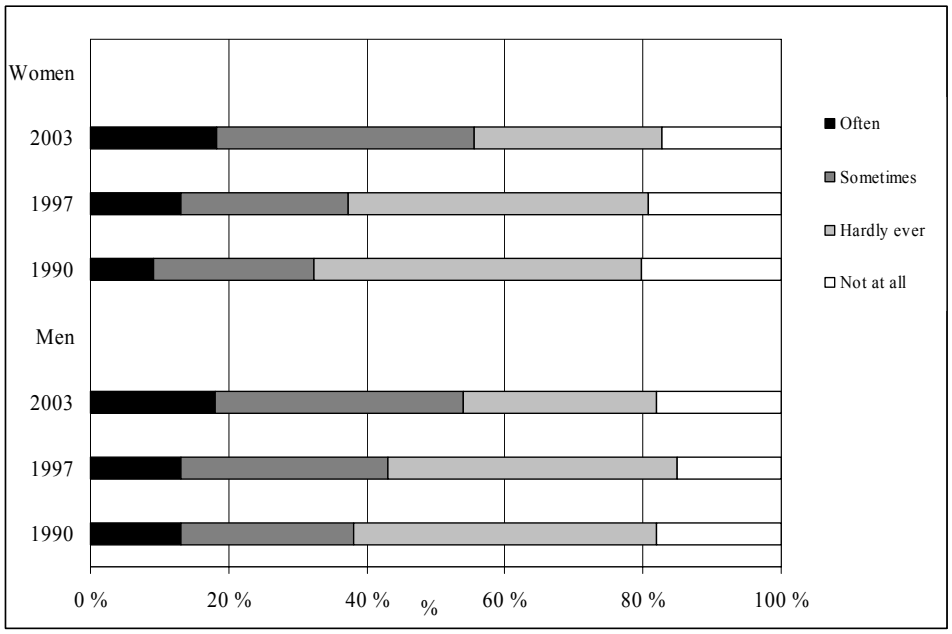
is always possible to do it better (Julkunen et al. 2004). In this chapter, I investigate the extent of blurring the boundaries between work and family using two measures; first, asking the extent that work issues stretch over to family life and, secondly, the extent that family issues are present at work.

Work stretches to family time

In the first analysis I investigate the question, if work stretches to family time and if this is more common in 2003 than earlier years. The measure has been included in the Finnish Working Conditions Surveys in waves 1990, 1997 and 2003. The descriptive statistics give information on the extent of the experience and the multivariate analysis aims at finding associations to various work characteristics, especially related to time. This analysis is only carried out with the 2003 survey. In different waves the wording of the question has changed. The wording of the question was the same in 1990 and 1997, but different in 2003. Comparing results over the thirteen-year period needs to be done cautiously (figure 8). Although the questions are different and cannot be compared fully, they seem to measure a similar issue: the extent to which work stretches to family or free time. The study period from 1990 to 2003 covers the economic turbulence of the 1990s, and it is interesting to see if this had an effect. It was found earlier that dual-earning respondents reported a slight increase of working tempo during the 1990s, which could be associated with difficulties to detach from work and could consequently result in thinking about work issues at home.

As expected, work issues are thought of more at home in 2003 compared to 1990, and specifically there is an increase of those employees who, at least sometimes, think about work issues at home. However, due to the different wording of the questions this needs to be considered carefully. The similar wording of the question in 1990 and 1997 shows, nonetheless, that work issues were also increasingly more thought of at home in 1997 compared to 1990, among both dual-earning women and men. There are possible explanations for this; first that it is more difficult to detach from work, because of the increase of knowledge intensive work where work captures the mind or secondly because of the increased hurriedness at work. The cross-sectional data does not allow studying these alternative explanations.

In 2003, women and men equally reported that they think about work things at home, although women report this slightly more, at least sometimes. It is interesting that men reported thinking about work at home more often than compared to women in 1990 and 1997, but the difference has diminished by 2003.



Source: the Finnish Working Conditions Surveys 1990, 1997, 2003

FIGURE 8 Thinking about work at home by gender, 1990, 1997 and 2003 (%)[23]

The crossectional statistics show that increasingly more dual-earner respondents experience blurring of boundaries between work and family, even when only concentrating on the years 1990 and 1997. What the measure does not explain is if the experience is positive or negative. On the one hand, it can be argued that thinking about work related issues often at home is a negative experience, as it potentially distracts time and attention from the family and free time activities, and may potentially be a source or indicator of stress. On the other hand, thinking about work at home may be a positive experience. If paid work is a source of self-fulfilment and characterised with high work engagement (Hakanen 2004), thinking about work issues at home may be linked with positive experiences. I assume that the blurring of boundaries between work and family can be both positive and negative, even among the same people, depending on the situation.

[23] The wording of the questions is similar in 1990 and 1997 (*"When I come home, I stop entirely thinking of work"*), but different in 2003 (*"I often think of work at home or during free time"*). For the figure 8 the scale was interpreted in the following way: those agreeing totally with thinking about work often at home (2003), or disagreeing with the statement that they stop entirely thinking about work when returning home (1990 and 1997) were grouped as experiencing blurring boundaries. The other groups were formed subsequently.

Are working time characteristics associated with work blurring boundaries?

In the next analysis I investigate the work and family characteristics that are associated with thinking about work at home or during free time. The analysis is carried out with logistic regression, which is used to identify the odds (ExpB) of the event to occur. Thus, the analysis identifies the likelihood of the event (thinking work at home) to occur, compared to reference groups (see table 7). The analysis concentrates on the year 2003 and is done separately for men and women to identify possible differences in the odds and the significance of the variables.

In the logistic analysis the dependent variable (thinking about work at home or during free time) is dichotomised (1= work is thought at home, 0= work is not at all or only sometimes thought at home). The respondents who experience a great blurring of work to family boundaries were categorised as the first group of respondents. These respondents, who agreed totally or somewhat with the statement that they often think of work related issues at home, represented 55 percent of the respondents in 2003. The other group of respondents represents those with a modest blurring of work to family boundaries, in other words, who only rarely or very rarely think about work at home. The frequencies previously showed that men and women do not show differences. However, the analysis was carried out separately for men and women to find out possible gender differences in the associated factors.

I conducted the analysis with the 2003 survey and grouped the independent variables into demographic information, and work and family demands and resources, as presented in figure 7. Although each variable here is categorised as either a demand or a resource, many of them, such as having children could be categorised as either being a resource or demand. Overall, the analysis concentrates on the time-related factors, still acknowledging the quantitative and qualitative aspects of time. With the analysis, I am particularly interested to explore the extent to which central aspects of working time characteristics are associated with blurring the boundaries between work and family.

Background information includes socioeconomic status (blue collar, higher white collar, lower white collar). *Work demands* based on time are measured with the length of working time at work, working time pattern, work tempo, and the requirement for time flexibility. The length of working time is the usual weekly working time, which is categorised into three (1-34 short; 35-40 normal; 41+ long). Working time pattern is categorised as day, shift or other working time pattern.

Working time tempo and time pressure can increase the employees' difficulties to detach from work. Previous studies have showed a positive association between time pressure and work-family conflict (e.g. Jacobs & Gerson 2004; Voydanoff 2004a). I study the association of work tempo to blurring the boundaries between work and home. Work tempo includes three groups about feelings of hurriedness (insignificant; moderate; great). Although

studies show that the predictability of working time is an important aspect as regards to the work-family interface, there are only some studies which have investigated this. Voydanoff's (2004a) study showed a positive relationship between working extra hours without notice and work-family conflict. The measure of the predictability of hours is investigated through demand for time flexibility, which is the frequency which an employee must meet employers unexpected time needs. The responses were categorised into three; daily or weekly (31%), monthly or less frequently (56%), and never (13%).

In addition, I look at the associations of supervisory responsibilities and the availability of an employee to the workplace outside office hours to work stretching over to the family's time. A supervisory position is a measure questioning if the employee has managerial responsibilities. The extent to which an employee has been contacted outside the office hours during the past two months, serves as a measure of the availability. The measure includes three available answers; no contacts (38%), once or couple of times (28%), and more frequently (35%). There are no known studies, which would include contacts outside the office hours in the analysis of the work-family interface.

Family demands include children, "sandwiching" and care of grandchildren, partner's working time, time conflicts and the proportion of household work done by the respondent. Having children is a dichotomous variable (no children, has children). Recent studies (e.g. Hamill & Goldberg 1997; Spillman & Pezzin 2000; Zechner 2005) have found that increasingly more employees belong to the so-called sandwich generation; in addition to taking care of their own children there are care tasks related with aging parents or other relatives. The connection of additional care tasks has remained unstudied in the work-family literature. The respondents were asked if they take care of their own or their partner's parents or if they take care of their grandchildren. The mean hours for elderly care is 21 hours (21hrs men; 21 hrs women) and for grandchild care 19 hours (19hrs men and 18hrs women) a month. These were combined as a dichotomous variable (yes (40%), no (60%)). There is no difference between men and women; 39 percent of men and 41 percent of women have care tasks outside the family. It would be interesting to know if there is a difference in what kinds of care tasks men and women do; are women's additional care tasks more time bound compared to men's'? This is not asked in the survey, thus we are unable to evaluate this.

Partner's working time is based on the response of the respondent, either full- or part-time (93% full-time; 7% part-time work). The extent of time conflicts is measured in three groups (no time conflicts (50%), sometimes or moderately time conflicts (46%), frequent time conflicts (4%)). Finally the amount of household work is a self-evaluation by the respondent on the proportion of the total household workload (respondent does significantly or somewhat more (40%), equal shares (32%), partner does somewhat or significantly more (28%)). Time-use studies show (e.g. Niemi & Pääkkönen 2001) that women regularly use more time for household work. As expected,

women compared to men, report more often that they do more household work compared to their partner (women 65%; men 8%).

The analysis showed that specially *work demands* (socioeconomic status, length of working time, work tempo, supervisory position, requirement for time flexibility and availability to the workplace) were *associated with work stretching over to family time*, but also *family demands* (time conflicts at home) were associated with thinking about work issues at home (table 7).

Among men, compared to blue-collar workers, lower white-collar workers are 1.57 times more likely and higher white-collar workers 2.77 times more likely to experience the work to home interference. Among women, there is a similar association, lower white-collar workers, compared to blue-collar workers, are 1.44 times more likely and higher white-collar workers 2.50 times more likely to state that work follows them home in their mind.

The length of working time associated with work penetrating the home in thoughts among men's long working time increases the odds by 2.43 times. Among women there is a similar pattern; especially long working time, compared to those working up to 34 hours or less, increases the likelihood (by 3.15 times) of work following them home in their mind. Previous studies have reported similar results (e.g. Grywacz & Marks 2000; Kinnunen et al. 2006); long working time is linked with a negative work-family experience. Working time pattern is also a significant factor, but only among men and decreasing the likelihood. Shift workers are less likely to think about work at home (odds 0.46), compared to daytime workers.

Another working time aspect, namely working time tempo (feeling of hurriedness at work), is also strongly associated with thinking about work at home, both among women and men. Compared to those who very rarely experience hurriedness at work, those feeling hurriedness sometimes (men 2.00 times; women 1.97 times) or often (men 2.79 times; women 2.11 times) are more likely to experience work stretching over to family. It is clear that a high work tempo increases the difficulties to detach from work.

Having supervisory responsibilities increased the likelihood by 1.52 times among men and 1.54 times among women of thinking about work at home compared to those with no supervisory responsibilities. The analysis included two additional work demands, namely demand for time flexibility (employer demand) and availability of the employee (contacts from work during the past month). Among men the demand for time flexibility is not associated with blurring boundaries between work and family, therefore those required to work overtime on a weekly basis on short notice and those who are never asked to work overtime equally report thinking about work at home. Those who are required by the employer to be flexible daily or weekly are more likely to experience blurring boundaries between work and home (men 1.71; women 1.95). It is not surprising that those who are frequently contacted outside the working time are more likely to think about work issues at home, compared to those with no or only some contacts. Frequent contacts increase the likelihood

for blurring boundaries by 3.08 times among men and 2.61 times among women.

Having additional care responsibilities increased the likelihood for work-family interference (men 1.37 and women 1.30). Other family demands were not associated with thinking about work at home; therefore, family does not protect from work stretching to home, neither does it increase the odds for work stretching over to home. Having time conflicts had a weak association with thinking about work at home, but only among women (sig. 0.039). This would suggest that among those women who have time conflicts at home, compared to those with no conflicts, are more likely to experience that work stretches over to home. The direction of the association remains out of the scope of this study; whether thinking about work issues is the cause of the time conflicts or if time conflicts result in thinking about work issues at home.

Overall, thinking about work at home is associated with work demands and moderately to family demands. A higher white-collar position, long working time, high working tempo, being a manager and frequent contacts from the office outside the working time increased the likelihood of work stretching over to family time. The analysis found differences between men and women, which shows that there is a need to conduct a separate analysis for men and women.

TABLE 7 Work to home interference. Logistic regression analysis by gender, 2003.

	Men	**Women**
	ExpB (sig)	**ExpB** (sig)
Socioeconomic status (ref: blue collar worker)		
Lower white collar	1,57*	1,44*
Higher white collar	2,77***	2,50***
Working time: length (ref: short, up to 34)		
Normal (35-40)	1,29	,99
Long (41+)	2,43*	3,15**
Working time: pattern (ref: day)		
Shift	,46**	1,06
Other	,68	1,46
Working time: autonomy (ref: no)		
Yes	.95	1.04
Working time: tempo (ref: insignificant)		
Moderate	2,00***	1,97***
Great	2,79***	2,11***
Supervisory position (ref: no)		
Yes	1,52*	1,54**
Requirement for time flexibility (ref: never)		
Monthly or less freq.	1,16	1,24
Daily or weekly	1,71*	1,95**

continues

TABLE 7 continues

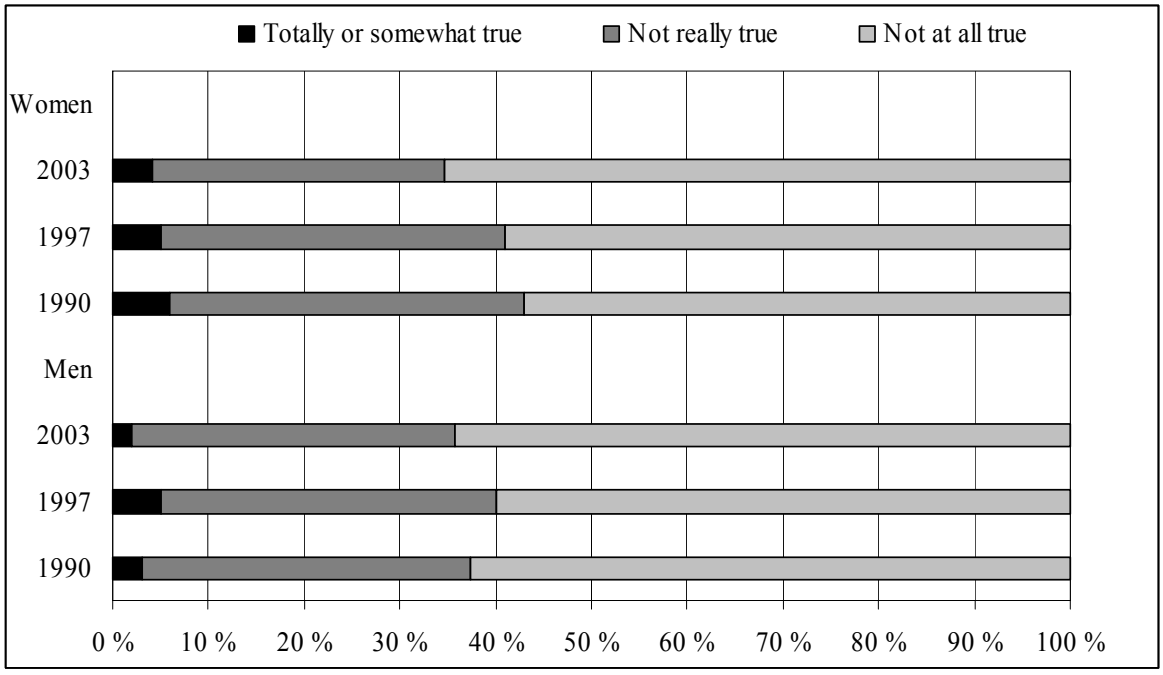
Contacted from work (during the past month) (ref: no)		
Once or twice	1,24	1,39*
More frequently	3,08***	2,61***
Children (ref: no)		
Yes	,76	,90
Additional care (ref: no)		
Yes	1,37*	1,30*
Partner's working time (ref. part-time work)		
Full-time work	1,02	,72
Time conflicts (ref: no)		
Moderately	1,28	1,32*
Frequently	1,45	1,54
Share of household work (ref: partner more)		
Equally	,85	,69
Respondent more	1,47	,72
Chi-Square	330,368***	254,710***
-2LL	1063,20	1510,43
N	1008	1284

Dependent variable: Thinking work at home (1= yes, 0=no)
p= * <.05, **<. 01, ***<.001
Source: the Finnish Working Conditions Surveys 2003

Family things stretch over to work

The Working Conditions Surveys from 1990, 1997 and 2003 have also included the question "I have difficulties concentrating on work because of home issues", which is a measure of the extent of blurring boundaries between homes to work. Unlike the previous measure, which did not clarify if the experience is positive or negative, this measure refers to experiencing the blurring of boundaries as negative. The response alternatives were: 'totally true', 'true to some extent', 'not really true' and 'not at all true'.

Firstly, the analysis looks at the experiences where family things disturb work over time. The thirteen-year period shows a relative stability (figure 9). The wording of the question has remained the same. The descriptive statistics show that only a few percentages of the men and women of dual-earner families experience family issues disturbing work. For the majority of the dual-earning men and women the disturbing effect from family to work is not true at all, or at least is not expressed to be true; only around five percent of all dual-earner respondents agree with the statement totally or somewhat. Women report slightly more often that family issues disturb work, but the difference is only marginal (a few percentages) and altogether low.



Source: the Finnish Working Conditions Surveys 1990, 1997, 2003

FIGURE 9 Home to work interference work by gender, 1990-2003 (%)

The next analysis investigated if there was an association with the work and family demands and resources with family-work interference. The aim is to see the likelihood of an increase or decrease of the study variables concentrating on working time characteristics. A logistics regression analysis (analysis not shown) was conducted where the family-work interference measure (home things disturb work) was dichotomised. Only 3 percent of men and 5 percent of women belonged to the group of dual-earner employees who agreed with the statement that home disturbs work, at least to some extent. The independent variables were the same as used in the previous analysis (see table 7).

Family-work interference is not explained with the model. It seems that there is not sufficient information on family life, and another explanation can be the small number of respondents who informed that home things disturb concentration at work. All in all, none of the work or family characteristics was significant in explaining the family to work interference. There is a need to get more precise information about the family characteristics and daily life, as well as replicate the analysis with a more careful measure of the family to work interference.

6.2 Negative experiences of the work- family interface

Work-family time conflict[24]

Next, I analyse the time conflict between work and family. The analysis looks at the extent of the work-family conflict, and especially the effect of the family working week. The analysis is based on the "Household, Work and Well-being" survey, which allows for combining partners' individual answers to each other. This data is especially suitable for this analysis as it allows investigating more carefully the characteristics of both spouses and identifies the cross-over effects between partners. The data also includes a one-year follow up period that is used to analyse the nature of the time conflict.

In research the specific measures of the conflict between work and family are often separated into three different types, namely time, strain and behaviour-based conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell 1985), and it has been suggested that the work-family conflict should be measured accordingly (Stephens & Sommer 1996). The time-based conflict originates from the idea that time spent on one domain prevents time spent on the other. The strain-based conflict occurs when a strain on one role affects performance in the other role. The behaviour-based conflict assumes a behaviour-based incompatibility between the desirable behaviour patterns in the two spheres. This study concentrates on the time-based conflict.

Previous research has found mixed evidence on the gender specific analysis; either found differences (e.g. Duxbury & Higgins 1991; Hill 2005) or no differences (Kinnunen & Mauno 1998). In her study on the US, Patricia Voydanoff (2005) shows that work-family conflict is associated with individual characteristics; work-family conflict is higher among women, younger respondents and non-Hispanic Whites, but these characteristics explain only one percent of the variation. While previous international studies have found differences between men and women, a previous Finnish study (Kinnunen & Mauno 1998), using the same data, found no gender differences between men and women. The finding that women and men do not have any differences on the extent of work-family time conflict is surprising. Research suggests that women are more responsible for family responsibilities, both in terms of carrying out household work and coordinating activities. (Niemi & Pääkkönen 2001; Daly 2002)

Jeffrey Hill (2005) has argued that the lack of analysis broken down by gender is a critical gap in work-family research. All the analysis will be broken down by gender to investigate the differences of men and women. The study is not only interested in the differences between men and women in the extent of work to family conflict, but also in investigating to which extent different

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[24] A previous version of this part was written jointly with Jouko Nätti, and has been presented in the "International Symposium on Working Time", 14-16 March, 2001 (Amsterdam, the Netherlands).

factors are associated with the work to family conflict and interference. Another interesting issue is looking at the gender differences over time.

Being a parent increases demands and responsibilities at the home sphere, and previous studies have showed that being a parent increases the likelihood of experiencing work-family conflict (e.g. Kinnunen & Mauno 1998; Hill et al. 2004a). The central focus of the study is time and different aspects of working time, thus this study understands that the work-family interface includes more than just an analysis of the hours spent on work or with family (see also Wharton & Blair-Loy 2006). Time also has different qualities that affect the experiences of work and family. However working time is also recognised as a fixed resource, and consequently time spent in one activity can not be spent elsewhere (also Voydanoff 2005, 709). Studies have shown a positive relationship between paid working hours and work-family conflict (Frone et al. 1997; Grywacz & Marks 2000; Voydanoff 2004a). Joseph Grzywacz and Nadine Marks (2000) specifically find that working less than 20 hours a week was associated with less negative spillover from work to home among women, but working 45 or more hours a week was associated with more negative spillover from work to family both among women and men.

Other characteristics of working time can be equally considered as work demands, and assume that a non-day pattern is a time demand, which increases stress and negative spillover between work and family spheres. (Voydanoff 2005, 710) In their research Ulla Kinnunen and Saija Mauno (1998) show a positive relationship between non-day shift work and work-family conflict. In my study I expand the investigation on the work pattern or the partner as well as the respondent.

Time-based conflict is investigated through a specific measure, which consisted of three statements. These assessed the degree to which the respondent's work conflicts family ("Work prevents me from taking care of family responsibilities", "Because of work I have to be away from the family more than I would like to", "Work takes time that I would like to spend with my family"). The items were rated on a five point Likert-type scale (5=fully agree, 1=fully disagree). The Cronbach's alpha for the work-family time conflict scale was .67 both for men and women in the 1999 survey. According to the results, 60 percent of the respondents fully or quite fully agreed that work prevents them from taking care of family responsibilities; 26 percent agreed that due to the work (s)he has to be away too much from the family. Furthermore, 29 percent agreed that work takes time that they would like to spend with family.

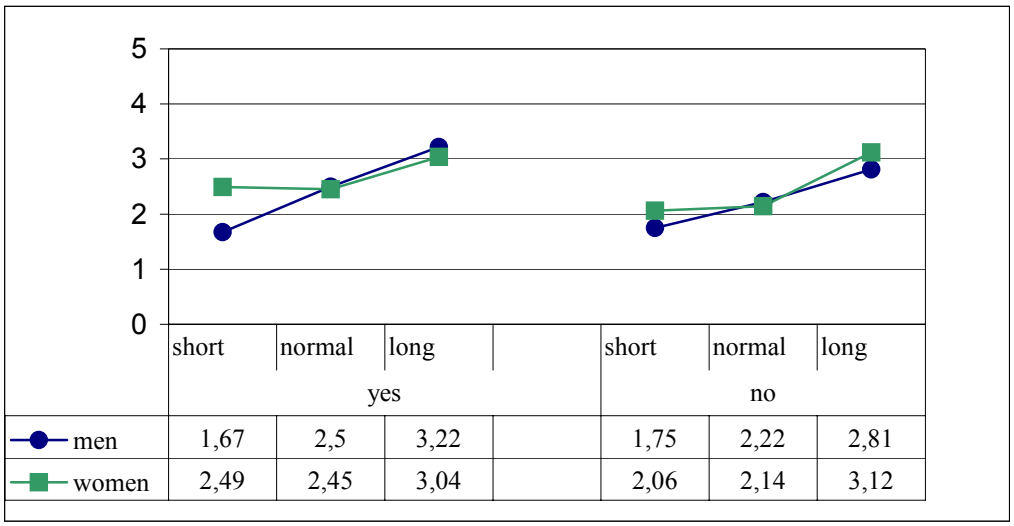
Men in the dual-earning couples perceived slightly more time-related conflict than women. The mean value in Time 1 was 2.63 (SD=.99) for men and 2.44 (SD= 1.00) for women. This is in contrast to many international studies that report that women experience more conflict than men (e.g. Hill et al. 2004; Hill 2005) or that there are no differences between men and women (Frone et al. 1992; Kinnunen & Mauno 1998). Men who had children living at home had a mean value of 2.85 (SD=.94), while the corresponding figure for women was

2.60 (SD= 1.04). The men and women who did not have children living at home were more equal in this respect; however, men still had a slightly stronger perceived conflict (2.40, SD=1.00) than women (2.27, SD= .94).

The respondents were asked, "how many hours do you usually work in your main job (including work at home and overtime, which are connected to the main job)". This way of forming the question produces longer working hours compared to the questioning in the labour force survey, for example, where respondents are asked, "how many hours is your regular or normal weekly working time (including regular unpaid and paid overtime)". Taking into consideration the length of working time in Finland the respondents' working time were categorised into three groups: short working hours (1-34 hours/week), normal working hours (35-40 hours/week), and long working hours (over 40 hours/week). In the data used in this study, men worked an average of 44 hours per week (SD=11 hours), and women for 39 hours per week (SD=8.5 hours).

The next investigation controlled the effect of children and investigated the effect of the length of working hours. Men report more conflict compared to women (figure 10). Men who have children and work normal hours on average reported conflict 2.50 and those men working long hours reported the most conflict, 3.22 respectively. Among women who have children the differences between working time categories are less clear, although longer working time results in more conflict as expected. Against expectations those women working long hours who do not have children (living at home) report the most conflict (3.12). This gives support to the suggestions that the interplay of work and private life does not only concern the parents of children who are small or teenagers, but that the scope of the studies should be extended further to include single people and childless couples, as well as those with adult children or with elderly parents.

All in all, it is interesting to note that among those men with children the length of working time has a greater effect on the experienced work-family conflict, compared to women, and that among those men working a long working time the reported conflict is even higher compared to women working long hours. Among women with children, the length of working time as such does not have such a great effect, but groups report conflict that is more equal. Among those dual-earning women and men who do not have children, women also report greater differences between groups according to the length of working time.



Source: Household, work and well-being

FIGURE 10 The extent of work-family conflict by gender, 1999 (mean)

A one-year follow-up was used to analyse the nature of the conflict, i.e. whether it was acute or chronic, and the effect of the other variables after the level of the perceived conflict was controlled in Time 1 (regression analysis not shown). No considerable changes occurred in the perceived conflict; most of the conflict is chronic and lasted for more than a year. The small number of cases did not allow analysing in detail the reasons for these movements.

The effect of the family working week on work-family conflict

In the next analysis, I explored the impact of the household working week on work-family conflict. This sheds light on the question, if the working time of the woman or the man affects the time conflict experienced by the other spouse, in other words the cross-over effects between the spouses. The working hours in the dual-earning households were homogeneous (r= .162, sig. = .009). The most common (39%) household working time pattern was where both partners work between 35-40 hours a week. In a third of the households the male partner worked long hours and the female between 35-40 hours a week, and in a tenth of the households both partners worked long hours. The analysis concentrated on investigating the effect of the working time of partners to the perceived time based conflict.

In family level studies, the spouse's employment has usually been looked at as a dichotomy (spouse is employed/is not employed), and sometimes the partner's working hours (full- or part-time) have also been included in the analysis of the work-family conflict. In the further analysis different combinations of working hours in the households was studied and identified differences between men and women in this respect (table 8). The analysis was carried out by using logistic regression, which illustrates the odds for a greater

or smaller conflict experience when compared to a specified reference group. The work-family conflict variable (at Time 1) was dichotomised into two (equally large) groups, separately for men and women, to those who had a great conflict and those who had a modest conflict.

The effect of the number (not shown) and age of children was also studied. The age of the children, which partially includes the number of children as well, was found to be more significant, and therefore, it was included in the final analysis. For men, having children under school-age (under 7) almost quadrupled the odds of perceiving a greater conflict (3.86), whereas for women having children both under and of school-age increased the odds three times when compared to those who did not have children.

A specific family working week variable was formed to identify the differences between the length of working time of both spouses and the time conflict. Table 8 shows the differences and similarities between men and women regarding the household working week. Men perceived the greatest conflict when both partners worked over 41 hours a week (odds ratio 4.65), when compared to the situation when both or one partner worked a short week. The odds were not significantly greater than when the man worked a long week and the woman worked normal hours. The situation was similar for women, however, when the woman worked a long week and the man worked a normal week the effect was slightly greater (odds ratio 6.17) than when both worked long hours (odds ratio 6.01). For women the risk of experiencing a significant conflict was over six times greater when compared to the reference group, when the corresponding figure for men was approximately four and a half. This indicates, as expected, that in comparable situations women report more conflicts than men. Also, that for women the spouse's long working hours triplicates the risk of a greater conflict, which is not the case for men.

Among men, the un-social working time increased the odds of a greater work-family conflict by two and half times, compared to those performing day work. Shift work did not have a similar effect. Among women the working time pattern did not have a statistically significant effect. There was no cross-over effect between partners in this respect.

TABLE 8 Work-family conflict and the family working week. Logistic regression analysis by gender, 2003

	Men	**Women**
	ExpB (sig**)**	**ExpB** (sig)
Children (age) (ref. no children)		
Only children under school-age	3.86**	2.37
Only children of school-age	1.87	1.15
Both under and of school-age	2.54*	2.83*
Family working week (hrs): length (ref. both short; or One spouse short and the other 35-40)		
Both 35-40 hrs	1.21	2.15
Man 35-40 hrs, woman 40+ hrs	1.50	6.17**
Man 40+ hrs, woman 35-40 hrs	4.31**	3.06*
Both 40+ hrs	4.65*	6.01**
Household working day: pattern Woman: **(**ref. day)		
Shift	.73	1.17
Other unsocial	1.10	1.97
Household working day: pattern Man**:** ref. day		
Shift	1.13	.83
Other unsocial	2.53**	1.62
Chi Square	49.01***	30.04**
-2LL	305.82	322.21
N	256	256

Dependent variable: Work-family time conflict (1= yes, 0=no)
p= * <.05, **<. 01, ***<.001
Source: Household, work and well-being

6.3 Positive experiences between work and family

In the third part of the statistical analysis of work-family experiences, I investigate the positive experiences of the work and family interface. Although it has been recognised that the interface between work and family is double layered, in other words, both negative and positive, it is often implicitly and in research assumed only to be negative. Equally, studies on the work-family interface have traditionally concentrated on the conflict or interference aspect. These studies are based on the assumption that people have limited resources, which places restrictions on them; resources used in one life sphere are away from the other. Recent research, however, seems to have amplified the interest towards the opposite, namely on the positive experiences of work and family

(work-family facilitation; see e.g. Voydanoff 2002; Kinnunen et al. 2006). Previous research has suggested that experiencing positive work-family relations is not the absence of the negative experiences between work and family. Therefore Voydanoff (2002, 148) suggests that both the negative and positive experiences between work and family (work-family conflict and work-family facilitation) range from none or low to high.

Work assists coping with children

The Finnish Working Conditions surveys has included a statement which investigates the positive influence work has to the employee and family life on wave 2003. The statement is "I deal better with my children when I also go to work" The answer possibilities are 'totally untrue', 'true to some extent', 'untrue to some extent', 'totally untrue' and 'not able to answer'. The question is only targeted at those respondents with children.

The experience of work assisting with dealing with children is broad, in total a fifth of men and a third of women agree with the statement totally (table 9). Overall, a great majority of the employees with children agree, at least to some extent, that work assists in coping with children, namely altogether 63 percent of men and 69 percent of women agree totally or at least to some extent with the statement. It is noteworthy that relatively many say that they are not able to answer if work assists with dealing better with children.

TABLE 9 Positive experience of the work-family interface by gender, 2003 (%)

	All	**Men**	**Women**
Totally true	*25*	*21*	*29*
True to some extent	41	42	40
Untrue to some extent	15	17	13
Totally untrue	12	13	10
Cannot tell	7	7	8
Total	100	100	100
N	1179	649	530

Source: Finnish Working Conditions Surveys 2003

In the next analysis I investigate who specifically agrees with the statement that work assists in coping with children. In their study Ulla Kinnunen, Taru Feldt, Sabine Geurts and Lea Pulkkinen (2006, 156) found a relationship between the number of children and a positive work-family spillover; the higher the number of children, the higher the positive work-family spillover. Evangelia Demerouti, Sabine Geurts and Michiel Kompier (2004) find that the positive work-home spillover was positively related to work characteristics; job support, job demands and job control. However, the finding of the positive association between job demands and the positive work-home spillover needs to be considered cautiously, the researcher point out, as the correlation is weak.

Jeffrey Hill (2005) finds that work-family facilitation was associated with workplace support (both supervisors and co-workers) and flexible work arrangements (such as work at home and flexible work policies).

I question if those who have many or young children are more likely to agree with the statement that work assists in coping with children. The suggestion is based on the assumption that more than one children and the young age of children increase the amount of time of dependent care and the number of responsibilities children place on the adult, hence work might allow parent's their 'own time' (i.e. time away from direct care responsibilities) and be perceived as positive. Model 1 includes the number of children, and model 2 includes the age of the children (table 10). The analysis was carried out using logistic regression and separately for men and women.

The analysis showed that among men socio-economic status was associated with the perception that work assists with coping with children. Higher white-collar men workers were more likely to state that work assists in coping with children, increasing the odds by around two. Perhaps work provides an opportunity for self-development, rewards and skills that assist in coping with requirements of the children. In addition, among men experiencing time conflicts at home was an association with the experience of work assisting in coping better with children; moderate time conflicts increase the odds of positive work to home spillover, by 2.18 and 2.17 times compared to those with no time conflicts (model 1 and 2).

Similarly with the previous Finnish study (Kinnunen et al. 2006) among men the number of children was associated with the experience that work assists in coping better with children; having three or more children increase the odds by 2.34 of experiencing that work assists in coping with children compared to those with 1 to 2 children. All in all, the findings suggests that higher white collar dual-earner men with children and those experiencing time conflicts at home are more likely to perceive working time as their own time which assists in meeting childcare demands. The direction of the association remains unidentified with the cross-sectional data; equally the association might be due that working time is prioritised which increases time conflicts at home. Work might offer a hideaway, or becomes 'a home' as discussed by Arlie Hochshild (1997) in her study.

Among women, having supervisory responsibilities increases the odds (app. 1.60 times) of feeling that work assists in coping with children. Equally with a high white collar position this suggests that work offers such rewards and skills that assist in meeting the demands of the children. Among women the number of children was not significant, but the age of children was. Among women with no children under the age of 8 (school starts usually when child is 7 years old) experience reduced the likelihood (.67) that work assists in coping with children. Therefore mothers of young children in particular experience a positive interface from work to home.

It is interesting, although not surprising, that among men and women different issues are related with a positive work to home interface. Among men

it seems that it is more related with home related demands; having many children and having frequent conflicts with the partner about household work. A white collar position also influences evaluating the work benefits of coping with children. This can reflect that work fulfils the individual needs. Among women it seems that a positive work to home interference is particularly related with the position at work, and a supervisory position increases the odds for a positive work to home interference. Nonetheless, those women who do not have any children under 8 are less likely to experience a positive interference. This might reflect the time demands that small children particularly place on women. As suggested this might be a result that work provides both "own time" and rewards for mothers. An additional explanation is that mothers of young children feel the need to constantly legitimise their right to do paid work, as will be discussed in chapter 7.2 (see also Julkunen 1995). This in turn can enforce the evaluations that work assists in coping with children.

TABLE 10 Positive work-family interface. Logistic regression analysis by gender, 2003.

	Model 1: Number of children		**Model 2:** Age of children	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Exp B (sig)	Exp B (sig)	Exp B (sig)	Exp B (sig)
Socioeconomic status (ref: blue collar worker)				
Lower white collar	1,75	,92	2,00*	,87
Higher white collar	2,16**	1,14	1,61	1,12
Working time: length (ref: short, up to 34)				
Normal (35-40)	1,39	1,29	1,44	1,33
Long (41+)	1,02	1,65	1,07	1,87
Working time: pattern (ref: day)				
Shift	,80	,85	,83	,81
Other	1,25	1,22	1,38	1,16
Working time: tempo (ref: insignificant)				
Moderate	,64	1,17	,65	1,13
Great	,73	1,12	,720	1,14
Working time: autonomy (ref: no)				
Yes	,94	1,12		1,107
Supervisory position (ref: no)				
Yes	1,04	1,63*	1,09	1,66*

continues

TABLE 10 continues

Requirement for time flexibility (ref: never)				
Monthly or less freq.	,65	1,48	,61	1,099
Daily or weekly	,56	1,07	,50	,693
Contacted from work (during the past month) (ref: no)				
Once or twice	,99	1,06	1,12	1,06
More frequently	,98	1,07	1,06	1,48
Children: number (ref: 1-2)			--	--
3+	2,34**	1,08		
Children: age (ref: also under 8yrs)	--	--		
No under 8yrs children			,91	,67*
Additional care and "sandwiching" (ref: no)				
Yes	1,25	,88	1,18	,95
Partner's working time (ref: part-time work)				
Full-time work	1,15	1.72	1,05	1,68
Time conflicts (ref: no)				
Moderately	2,18***	1,06	2,17***	,99
Frequently	,90	1,07	,95	1,01
Share of household work (ref: partner more)				
Equally	,63	1,15	,62	1,18
Respondent more	1,56	1,05	1,45	1,05
Chi-Square	43,773**	13,861	33,981*	17,609
-2LL	575,93	647,51	585,72	643,77
N	489	592	489	592

Dependent variable: Work assists in coping better with children (1= yes, 0=no).
p= * <.05, **<. 01, ***<.001
Source: Finnish Working Conditions Survey, 2003

6.4 Work-family fit: working time preferences[25]

The final part of the statistical analysis looks at the actual working time and working time preferences in the European Union (of 1998) and Norway. I investigate the disparity of the actual and preferred working time as an

25 The analysis is previously published in Väisänen, Mia & Nätti, Jouko. 2002. Actual and Preferred Working Time of Dual-Earning couples in European Union and Norway. European Societies 4(2), 307-329.

indicator of the work-family fit; the suitability of working hours to meet the demands and responsibilities of other life spheres. In this chapter Finland is located within the EU, using the Employment Options of the Future data (1998), including the 15 EU countries (1998) and Norway.

Amongst the relatively few studies on the work-family fit, Maribeth Clarke, Laura Koch and Jeffrey Hill (2004) review work conditions, which are associated with an increased work-family fit. They find that an increase in weekly hours spent in paid employment is associated with a decrease in the work-family fit. The study also shows that the older the respondent, the better the work-family fit was reported.

Working time preferences have not been investigated widely in research and have mostly been derived from actual behaviour (Clarkberg & Moen 2001). However, I suggest here that the work hour preferences cannot be directly drawn from actual working hours, nor can they be treated in isolation from the societal factors, such as working time culture and gender arrangement (Pfau-Effinger 1999). Work hour preferences have to be considered in parallel to the economic gains or losses they entail. An earlier study on work hour preferences in the European Community (in 1994) showed that 38% of all employees would prefer a reduction in working hours to an increase in pay. Compared to a similar survey in 1985, there was a slight movement towards favouring a reduction in working hours over an increase in pay. Overall, it would seem that Western Europeans are in a marked contrast to the United States and Canada, where employees are much more likely to prefer pay to a reduction in working hours (Drolet & Morissette 1997; Evans et al. 2000). In general, workers in countries where the overall individual working time is low display a preference for reductions in hours rather than increases in pay (OECD 1999, 166). This clearly indicates that work hour preferences are dependent on the cultural context, with similar economic and employment circumstances.

The previous studies on work hour preferences have concentrated on the individual level (see e.g. Euwals et al. 1997; Steward & Swaffied 1997; Lee & McCann 2006), while there are very few studies at the family level. A previous study (Bielinski et al. 2001) drawing on the Employment Options of the Future , the data concentrated on families with at least one of the partners in paid employment. On average, respondents preferred to reduce their total family working time by one hour per week, but there were significant regional differences. As a result of the preference to integrate the non-participants (women) to the labour market in the Southern European countries, the respondents preferred to increase the total family working time.

In an interesting study, Marin Clarkberg and Phyllis Moen (2001) have analysed the realisation of the working time preferences at the family level, drawing from U.S. panel data. Over a third of all families, including the non-employed, were dual-earning couples. In this U.S. study approximately 40 per cent of the respondents were working the hours they preferred, but above all the professional couples were overworked, in other words they experienced a poor work-family fit. The panel setting allowed the researchers to investigate

possible adaptations in work hour schedules. They found that while roughly half of the observed transitions during the five-year follow-up were preceded by an expression of interest to change the hours, this was not usually the case if the couples expressed a willingness to reduce the working hours. (Clarkberg & Moen 2001)

Harald Bielinski, Gerhard Bosch and Alexandra Wagner (2001) have hypothesised about the factors that influence working time preferences across countries. According to their theorem, there are six main components: employment situation, regulation of labour markets, work organisation, individual characteristics, family and its economic situation. In addition, it is important to include a further factor, namely the effect of the societal 'gender arrangement' (Pfau-Effinger 1999). It can pinpoint the gendered value and attitude systems that operate in the formation of accepted work hour preferences. (For discussion, see Väisänen & Nätti 2002.) Gendered value and attitude systems relate to the existing family models, which in the EU have changed, as was discussed previously; there has been a shift from the male-breadwinner to the dual-earner model, but with a varying pace (Drobnič & Blossfeld 2001).

I explore the work-family fit through disparities in the actual and preferred working time. The analysis not only concentrates on Finland, but also studies the national context looking at working time preferences across the EU countries. It is assumed that there are differences between working time preferences of employees across countries, which is an indicator of a national culture and illustrate to an extent the way the societal institutions support the worker and carer role of the employees. Contrary to studies that suggest that a macro-environment and culture plays a role in evaluations of the work-family interface (e.g. Joplin et al. 2003), Jefferey Hill, Chongming Yang, Alan Hawkins and Maria Ferris's (2004) study finds that the same model of the work-family interface adequately fitted the data of 48 countries. In the study the 48 countries were grouped into four culturally related groups (East, West-developing, West-affluent, West-US), although there were some differences between the strength of the magnitude of the models. The lack of difference might be explained with the fact that the data is collected within IBM; therefore all employees are part of the same, strong corporate culture. "The organisational culture experienced by multinational company employees may supersede the diversities of national cultures", as recognised by the researchers (ibid. 1310). Another explanation which is not identified by researchers might be that there is a great differentiation in the institutional setting, for example, among the countries, which are grouped together. This might prevent identifying differences. For example, Finland is grouped together with France, Ireland, Germany, and Italy, which have some profound differences in the organisation of social policy and institutions. More attention needs to be paid to the institutional and cultural setting of the country. For example, it needs to be recognised to what extent worker and carer roles are supported.

Work-family fit

This study uses the Employment Options Data (1998) by the European Foundation of Improving Living and Working Conditions (see e.g. Atkinson 2000). The survey includes a representative sample of over 30 000 people in the European Union Member States and Norway. They were asked about working now and in the future. The analysis focused on those respondents aged 16-64 who were in a partnership where both partners were employed, either as salary earners or self-employed. (See appendix 2 for sample size by country.)

The descriptive figures rely on the weighting procedures carried out by the European Foundation (see e.g. Atkinson 2000). The data was weighted in several steps so that the national samples would be representative, at the national level on the one hand, and at the European level on the other hand. Statistical analyses have been carried out without weighting.

I investigate four questions; firstly, the conformity or disparity between the actual and preferred total family working time in paid employment at the country level, and secondly, factors which contribute to the length of the family working time. Thirdly, the analysis concentrates separately on those families that would like to significantly reduce their total family working time in paid employment, i.e. concentrating on families with a particularly poor work-family fit in this regard. The analysis gives information on what is the perceived work-family fit in the EU countries, and which factors contribute to the preferred working time. Finally, I explore the factors that account for a significant decrease of working time.

In order to capture the variation of the family working time patterns, the countries have been classified into four working time regimes in the analysis (see Fagan et al. 2001). These regimes identify working time practices and the extent to which state policies encourage or inhibit women to take employment (see also Lewis 1992; Anttonen & Sipilä 1996; Ellingsæter 1998). The regimes are: (i) *universal breadwinner* (Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Norway); (ii) *modified breadwinner* (France, Belgium); (iii) *male breadwinner with limited part-time work* (Portugal, Greece, Italy and Spain); and (iv) *male breadwinner with part-time work* (Austria, Germany, Ireland, United Kingdom and Netherlands).

Disparity of actual and preferred working time

The first analysis looks at the preferred length of paid working time in the dual-earning families around Europe. The total family working time has been calculated based on the respondents' report on the length of actual and preferred weekly working time in paid employment of themselves and of their partner. Regarding the partner's working hours there is only the report from the respondent. A word of caution should be made regarding the partnership: there is only information on the respondent's but not on the partner's sex. The same applies for the information on the partner's working time, which is information given by the respondent, not the partner oneself.

The question on the preferred working time referred to the economic gains and losses it might entail; it requested that the respondents take into account "the need to earn a living". At the time of the survey all the respondents and their partners were in paid employment, whereas the preference included the option not to be in paid employment, which was coded as zero hours in the preferred family working time.

Overall, at the country level, there was a 15-hour difference between the actual total family work hours in paid employment across countries, and the average European family working week was 77 hours per week (table 11). The longest working hours in paid employment of dual-earning couples were in Greek and Portuguese families, while the shortest were in the Netherlands. Compared to the United States, the dual-earner families in the European Union and Norway worked slightly fewer hours; the total family working time in the United States (year 1997) was 81 hours per week (Jacobs & Gerson 2001, 50).

At the European level the length of the preferred family working time in the dual-earning couples is 65 hours per week; 12 hours less than the actual situation. When compared to the findings of the earlier study that concentrated on families with at least one employed partner, this suggests a much greater preference to reduce the work hours. Dual-earner families therefore experience a poorer work-family fit. Among the dual-earning couples none of the countries indicated an overall preference to increase the paid working time.

Looking at the countries separately, the shortest preference and also the shortest actual work hours were in the Netherlands, where the respondents would prefer 59 hours per week on average. The longest preferred working time at the family level was in Portugal, where the respondents would prefer the family to work a total of 73 hours per week. The greatest difference between the actual and preferred working hours at the family level was in the United Kingdom and Ireland, where the families wanted to reduce their working time by over 15 hours per week. Thus, if working time preferences is accepted as an indicator of the work-family fit, dual-earner couples in the UK and Ireland suffered from the poorest fit among these countries. Austria and Greece ranked next, with a preference for at least a 14-hour decrease. On average, the most satisfied dual-earning families were in Luxembourg, Spain, the Netherlands and Norway.

TABLE 11 Actual and preferred family working week, hours worked per week in households, 1998.

COUNTRY	Actual hours	Preferred hours	Difference
Austria	83.0	68.6	- 14.4
Belgium	75.4	64.9	- 10.5
Denmark	76.5	64.3	- 12.2
Finland	80.9	68.9	- 12.0
France	76.2	65.3	- 10.9
Germany	77.7	66.4	- 11.3
Greece	83.9	69.4	- 14.5
Ireland	78.6	63.2	- 15.4
Italy	75.5	65.5	- 10.0
Luxembourg	74.1	66.2	- 7.9
Netherlands	68.8	59.4	- 9.4
Portugal	83.9	72.7	- 11.2
Spain	79.4	71.2	- 8.2
Sweden	79.4	67.1	- 12.3
United Kingdom	77.5	62.0	- 15.5
Norway	74.8	65.0	- 9.8
EU + Nor total	*77.2*	*65.4*	*- 11.8*

Source: Employment options of the future 1998

Factors affecting family working time preferences

The second aim of the empirical analysis was to investigate factors affecting the family working time preferences and possible interface effects by using an analysis of covariance (table 12). The independent variable was the preferred total family working time in paid employment. Based on earlier research on working time in European households, the analysis concentrated on the effects of the country regime, young children and education. The dependent variables were the country regime, grouped into four categories explained earlier, young children (under 10), and educational attainment, which was classified into primary education and no educational qualifications as one category, and secondary and tertiary qualifications as two separate categories.

To control their effect, five background variables were entered into the analyses as controls. The five background variables were their own and their partner's working hours, respondent's age in years, information on the sector of employment (public or private services, manufacturing and agriculture), and the respondent's evaluation on the household's financial situation (well- off, just manage or difficulties).

After controlling the background variables, the analysis showed a significant main effect for having caring responsibilities among women (F=19.61, sig.=.000), and to a less substantial degree among men (F=6.78, sig=.009). Women express the time demands that children under 10-year-old require to a greater extent than men.

Education was also a significant factor both among men (F=4.85, sig.=.008) and women (F=6.34, sig.=.002). The lower the education of the respondent, the longer the preferred family working time was among both men and women. The country regime had a slightly more significant effect among men (F=8.89, sig.=.000) than among women (F=5.97, sig.=.000). Among men the respondents from the male breadwinner with a limited part-time work regime wished for the longest working time, while those from the male breadwinner with a part-time regime wished for the shortest working time. Altogether, the preference varied by approximately 4.5 hours between regimes among men. Among women the respondents from the universal breadwinner regime preferred the shortest working time, while similar to men, those from the male breadwinner with a limited part-time regime preferred the longest total working time. Among women the variation between country regimes was approximately 3 hours.

In addition to the main effects, the analysis also explored the interaction effect. No statistically significant interaction effects were found among women, but there was a statistically significant interaction effect between the education and country regime among men (F=2.71, sig=.013). In the universal breadwinner countries the family working time preference did not vary significantly between educational levels, while the most significant differences between educational levels were in the male breadwinner and limited part-time regimes, i.e. the Southern European countries. The differences were striking between the primary educated and the secondary and tertiary educated. The primary educated preferred a longer total family working time by 6 hours. It can be assumed that this results from the connection between pay and working time. A direct connection, such as an hourly wage system instead of monthly or annual pay, signifies that the more hours one works, the more one is paid. This is more usual at the lower educational levels. However, this could not be investigated due to a lack of information in the data.

The actual working time of their own and of their partner's, had covariate effects. Among men the working time of the partner was even more significant (F=327.17, sig.=.000) than the respondent's own working time (F=152.20, sig.=.000). Among women their own working time had the strongest effect (F=549.52, sig.=000). Altogether, the model accounted for 26 percent among men and 22 percent among women of the variance in the preferred family working time.

TABLE 12 Factors affecting the preferred family working time, 1998. Analysis of covariance by gender.

Variable	**Men**		**Women**	
	F	Sig	F	Sig
Respondent's working time	152.20	.000	549.52	.000
Partner's working time	327.17	.000	53.34	.000
Sector	2.20	.138	6.36	.012
Family financial situation	.47	.493	10.01	.002
Age	22.63	.000	14.14	.000
Education	4.85	.008	6.34	.002
Children (under 10)	3.77	.009	19.61	.001
Country regime	8.89	.000	5.97	.000
Country regime* Children (under 10)	1.23	.297	.97	.406
Education *Children (under 10)	.75	.474	.351	.704
Country regime * Education	2.71	.013	1.02	.411
Country regime* Children (under 10)* Education	1.97	.067	.98	.439
Adjusted R square		.263		.221
N		2125		3098

Dependent variable: preferred family working week (both spouses)
Source: Employment options of the future 1998

Significant decrease of total family working time

The third aim of this section was to investigate the desired extent of change in the paid working hours at the family level. The analysis concentrated on factors affecting the families to want to significantly reduce the working time, i.e. a reduction of over 20 work hours per week. The independent variable (a reduction by 20 or more hours) was formed based on the difference between the actual and preferred total paid working time, and they were dichotomous (1=yes, 0=no).

A logistic regression analysis was used to find out the factors affecting the preference to reduce the working time. The analysis included four sets (country regime, demographics, family and work characteristics) of explanatory variables (table 13). A positive value (ExpB) indicates an increase in the likelihood of the phenomenon to occur.

The analysis concentrated on the desire to decrease the working time by 20 hours or more. Overall, approximately a fifth of the respondents fell into this category. In the final model the most important factor was the partner's working time. Among women, those whose partner worked long hours (45 or more per week) were 143 times as likely to prefer the family working time to

decrease by 20 hours or more when compared to those whose partner worked part-time hours. The corresponding figure among men is 14, respectively. This indicates that a partner's long hours signify a poor work-family fit. As such, it highlights the importance of the family level investigation.

Among women, children under 10-years-old accounted for the willingness to reduce the family working time, increasing the odds 1.3 times when compared to respondents with no children under the age of ten. An interesting factor was that among women the possibility to work at home increased the willingness for the family to work fewer hours. It can be assumed that this is an effect of work organisation and work characteristics, such as the content of work responsibilities and the degree of working time autonomy. Education and correspondingly the socio-economic status were linked to the possibility to work at home. For example, by educational level, a fifth of the women with a primary education or no education at all had the possibility to work at home, while the corresponding figure among those with a tertiary education was over half (55%).

TABLE 13 Factors affecting the decrease of the family working time. Logistic regression by gender, 1998.

	Man	**Woman**
	ExpB (sig)	ExpB (sig)
Country regime (ref. Universal)		
Modified	1.01	.80
Male, limited part-time	1.10	.83
Male with part-time	1.21	1.00
Age (ref. 16-34)		
35-44	1.31	.94
45-64	1.68**	1.18
Education (ref. primary)		
Secondary	1.35*	1.17
Tertiary	1.17	1.22
Working time (ref. 1-29)		
30-40	1.38	2.74***
40-44	2.48	6.09***
45 +	9.60***	12.02***
Partner working time (ref. 1-29)		
30-40	2.78***	16.05*
40-45	4.48***	24.80**
45+	14.42***	142.49***
Children under 10 (ref. no)		
Yes	1.00	1.31*
Family financial situation (ref. well off)		
Just manage	.74*	.98
Difficulties	.59	1.00

continues

TABLE 13 continues

Country financial situation (ref. good)		
Bad	.92	.89
Possibility of home work (ref. no)		
Yes	1.07	1.31*
Sector (ref. agriculture)		
Manufacturing	.68	.937
Private services	.82	.986
Public services	.71	1.04
Chi Square	478.71***	751,49***
-2LL	1934.31	2519.77
N	2353	3135

Sig.: <.05*, <.01**, <.000***

Dependent variable: Decrease: The actual family working week is longer than the preferred family working week.
Source: Employment options of the future 1998

6.5 Summary: working time characteristics and the work-family interface

Dual-earning couple families are most likely to experience trouble in combining work and family, in addition to single-parent families, due to various schedules being tied together (e.g. Jacobs & Gerson 2001). In this empirical chapter I explored how dual-earning couples experience the work-family interface. The measures investigated the blurring boundaries between work and family, the negative and positive experiences and the perceived work-family fit. I was particularly interested to see how the characteristics of the post-industrial working time are associated with the experiences on work and family; do the characteristics associate with experiencing more blurring boundaries between home and work? What is their association with negative and positive work-family experiences?

In the first part I investigated the extent to which the boundaries have blurred between work and family over time. The measures included two indicators; first the extent that work stretches to home and secondly the opposite, the extent that home things stretch to work. The Working Conditions Survey has questioned if employees think about work at home. The question varies slightly at different waves (1990, 1997 and 2003), but the measure still identifies the permeability of the boundaries between work and family. The findings suggest an increase of the permeability of the boundary between work and family. Those dual-earners who experience blurring boundaries between work and home are white-collar workers and those in a managerial position, work long working hours, experience hurriedness, requirement for time flexibility and frequent contacts outside the office hours. Blurring boundaries are also experienced by those dual-earners who report frequent time conflicts at

home, but the analysis is not able to identify the causal linkages: time conflicts can be the cause or the result for thinking about work at home.

In the second part that investigated the blurring boundaries between home and work, I looked at the extent that home things stretch to work. The question of the Working Conditions Survey asks to which extent home things disturb concentration at work. The measure has been similar over time (1990, 1997 and 2003). The cross-sectional descriptive statistics show that only a minority of dual-earners feel that they have difficulties concentrating on work because of family. Although the proportion is similar across the study period, there is a slight trend that home things disturb work increasingly less. This may be a result of growing demands at work, such as increased tempo of work, or poorer cultural acceptance at the workplace to think about family related issues at work, or simply the lack of willingness to admit that family matters are thought about at work. The trend that boundaries are blurring, that work stretches over from the place and time reserved for it is clear, but what it means for the dual-earners is not clear; is it disturbing or rewarding. I suspect that it can be both, and even among the same people.

The boundaries between work and home have blurred, but only from the direction of work entering family's time and space (also Frone et al. 1992; Kinnunen et al. 2006). Dual-earners infrequently say that family matters disturb work. Workplace culture is discussed increasingly more in this context. For example, Ulla Kinnunen and colleagues (2006) suggest that the question is essentially about the type of work-family culture of the work organisations, and the extent of the male model of work is still prevalent and serves as the criterion of the ideal worker (Lewis & Smithson 2001). The male model of work (full-time work, overtime work) places work in the central position of life, where, potentially, family life adapts to the needs of work. This seems to be the reality of dual-earner families, and the long term perspective suggests increasingly so.

In the second part of this empirical chapter, I investigated the negative work-family experiences of dual-earners, concentrating on the time conflicts between work and family. The analysis particularly looked at the effect of the length of the working week, and as expected, time conflict is associated with the length of time at work; those working the longest hours experience the most conflict between work and family. It is often assumed that the work-family interface only concerns parents, but when controlling for having children living at home the findings also suggest that those dual-earners who do not have children experience conflict almost equally. One possible explanation is that the respondents have such hobbies or other free time activities in which the respondents would like to invest more time. Another explanation is that a negative work-family interface is associated with feelings of stress, for example.

At the household level, I found that in comparable situations women are more likely to report conflict between work and family. The analysis looked at the family working week, and found that among women a family working week of 70 to 80 hours a week increases the time conflict that women experienced, but not men. This clearly suggests that women are the main

caretakers around the home. A family working week exceeding these hours increases the conflict experiences both of men and women.

I used the work-family conflict as an outcome, and concentrated only on the extent and associated factors. The work-family conflict can also be related with outcomes. In their longitudinal study, Frone and colleagues (1997) found that conflict experiences had severe negative effects, such as increased depression, life dissatisfaction, poor physical health and heavy alcohol use. Furthermore, Finnish studies have also found increased parental (Kinnunen & Mauno 1998) and marital dissatisfaction (Mauno & Kinnunen 1999). Some studies have identified that work-family conflict is mostly correlated to outcomes that relate to work, for example, job burnout (Allen et al. 2000) and job exhaustion (Kinnunen et al. 2006). Some studies suggest that the consequences of the conflict depend on coping skills and the practical or emotional help provided by others (family, work community, friends) (Gottlieb et al. 1998, 46). The Finnish surveys did not ask about the social support of the spouse or the perceptions of female employment, which is the case in some international studies (e.g. Laurie & Gershuny 2000), and therefore, the amount of social support (or a lack of it) from the spouse could not be analysed.

The work-family interface often translates to conflict or interference, but recently there have been significant efforts to move beyond this and to look at the positive effects between the life spheres. The Working Conditions Survey also questions if work assists in coping with children. Overall, a great number of dual-earners with children agree with the statement that work assists in coping better with children. The measure of a positive work-family spillover remains an interesting field of future studies. Here the measure is weak, and future studies should address in more detail what are the specific factors which cause a positive work-family or family-work spillover.

The fourth part looked at the perceived work-family fit by analysing the actual and preferred working time in EU (15) countries. Overall, there was a mismatch between the actual and preferred family working time among the dual-earning couples, which varied across countries. Dual-earner families were on average overworked rather than under-worked, suggesting that there is a rather poor work-family fit than a good work-family fit. After controlling for some background variables, the work hour preferences were explained by caring responsibilities, the country regime and the level of the respondent's education.

Working hours are not a straightforward reflection of work hour preferences, but rather of employer demand and the institutionalised nature of work and employment dictating work hour behaviour. Finding viable part-time or reduced hour options seems especially difficult. Marin Clarkberg and Phyllis Moen (2001) suggest that the disparity between preferred and actual working hours indicates the institutionalised nature of work and career paths, which require long hours as a signal of commitment, productivity and motivation for advancement (also Casey 1995; Hochschild 1997).

Jeffrey Hill (2005) concludes that gender should be included as a variable in this type of research. I conducted the analysis separately for men and women, and the analysis showed that men and women have difference in the associated factors. Often studies are only interested in the association of the gender to the positive or negative experiences of the work-family interface, but I suggest that it is important to conduct a separate analysis for men and women.

7 WORK-FAMILY TIME STRATEGIES

In the previous sections, I examined working time practices and the work-family interface using questionnaire data. I was particularly interested in exploring the changes of working time characteristics, the experiences among dual-earners on work and family, and how the characteristics of working time associate with the work-family interface. While the analysis identified changes in the working time characteristics and showed how dual-earners experience the work and family interface, it inevitably leaves other questions unanswered. How do families orchestrate everyday life? What kinds of work-family strategies related to time exist? In this part of the study, I turn the focus towards investigating practices of integrating work and family among dual-earner couples, and aim at identifying work-family strategies related to time. This part of the study uses the interview data of 10 dual-earner couples and consequently qualitative methods. The interviews focused on the highly educated.

Adaptive theory approach

The methodological orientation and data analysis of the qualitative part of the study is best described with the adaptive theory (Layder 1998) or abduction (vs. deductive or inductive process). Derek Layder's (1998) adaptive theory suggests that theory building is a continuous abductive process, which involves continuous dialogue between the theoretical framework and the empirical data (also Ruuskanen 2003; Kiili 2006). In practice, the analysis of the empirical data relied on the theory, but core themes were also included from the empirical data, therefore the dialogue between the theoretical framework and empirical data was continued throughout the analysis and reporting.

In the analysis, the text was organised thematically. Themes were based on both preliminary theoretical orientation (such as negotiation), but also from the basis of the empirical data (such as routine). Each main theme includes sub-themes, which are equally derived from theory and empirical data. The main themes are presented in table 14. These thematic categories served as background or orienting concepts.

TABLE 14 Orienting themes and examples of sub-themes of the analysis

Time	**Work**	**Negotiation of time**	**Strategy**
- family time - own time - free time - day-care time -collective time - associated feelings - preference for - synchronising – off-scheduling	- time - restricting /limiting - nature of work and characteristics - borders - workplace culture	- participants - time bargaining - role of children - as gendered practice - significance of work - frequency - implicit agreements/ explicit negotiation	- conscious / unplanned - explicit - not explicit, still acted out
Routine	**Care**	**Household work**	**Identity**
- importance - times of day and activities (i.e. mornings, meals) - day-care routine - perceived value	- organisation of childcare - institutions' role - care of elderly or other - difficulties	- division of tasks (quantity / quality) - male / female specific tasks	- worker - family (motherhood, fatherhood) - hobbies

To answer the research questions, for example "how is everyday organised and what practices exist?" the analysis relied on the illustrated orienting themes. Because the orienting themes are interconnected, each identified strategy (see chapter 7.2) was a compilation where at least two orienting themes were looked at. For example, to understand time negotiation another important theme was routines.

The interviews of partners were also analysed simultaneously. Using the interviews of both partners assisted in constructing a comprehensive image of the family's situation. The units of analysis were therefore, first the individual interview, and secondly the interviews of the spouses. In practise, each interview was first analysed thematically, followed by a simultaneous reading of interviews of both spouses. Information that is combined from the couples is treated as family level information, although it excludes information from the family's children and therefore does not reflect all the voices of a family. The simultaneous reading of the spouses allowed for comparing narratives of the spouses and to draw a more comprehensive image of the overall family life.

The chapter starts with discussing the temporal order of families, which includes both daily time and time over the life course. Secondly, I describe the strategies of dual-earner families in a particular context of a middle-sized city and who share, to some extent, similar circumstances. The scope of the findings is limited, and the aim is not to find strategies to be generalised to various families, but rather to discuss the strategies of this focus group. Later I analyse further the identified strategies, and question to which temporal aspect, which

are discussed next, each strategy focuses on. This gives more information on what are the essential temporal aspects of the strategies.

7.1 Temporal order of families

In order to discuss work-family time strategies it is necessary to take a closer look at the temporal order of families and the essential temporal aspects of family time. These assist in understanding the focus of time strategies of families. Kerry Daly suggests that "time serves as one of the central dimensions along which families organise their lives" (1996, 120-121). Belonging to a family means that one is part of a particular family history, and (often) the daily routines and schedules of the family. This study specifically concentrates on the daily routines and schedules of the family.

The temporal order of a family is located at the intersection of public and private spheres, (Daly 1996, 122). Families operate based on their habits and routines, but a family's time structure is also shaped by external structures. The time structure of a family is affected essentially by working time (starting and finishing times, length of working day, commuting time), market time (shopping and service times), institutional time (childcare, hobbies, schools, etc.), household time (household work) and the time of the individual members of the family (sleep, meals etc.). (Salmi 2004b; also Anttila 2005) Using the terminology of the ecological systems theory, the temporal order of a family is a mesosystem of various microsystems. Accordingly, the more often that people have timetables in their everyday-life, the more difficult it is for them to balance various life-spheres.

Although families act within certain structures, families also have an agency for time. However, not all share similar rights and power to time in families, but significant differences occur between age and gender, for example. Time management is often performed by adults; parents control children's time scheduling and use of time. Paradoxically parents' control children's time to control their own time schedules (Daly 1996, 198). Yet, children also have agency and place demands. Even small children explicitly show their dislike, as explained in the interviews by a mother of a 2 year old. The mother explains how sometimes when she is going to an exercise class in the evening that the child "clings onto my leg or, if I go, I hear that he starts crying".

Another important difference is linked to gender. Because of the division of work and gender roles women's time is more bound to the time of the family. (Julkunen 1985) Therefore "women and men live with different sociotemporal expectancies that result in women continuing to give priority to their families while men continue to give precedence to their work", as Daly (2002, 327) puts it. Looking at time use women still carry the main responsibility of the care tasks and household work in families (Niemi & Pääkkönen 2001), also in Finland. When men did approximately 2.30 hours of household work (daily),

women did almost 4 hours. There is another difference, namely the kind of work men and women do. The proportion of time dependent household work is higher among women compared to men. Women's typical household and care tasks are time dependent, and tasks which cannot be done later. While women take care of daily tasks, men are in charge of household repairs, for example, which are not time-bound to the same extent as women's work.

Another qualitative difference is that time coordination is often performed by women (also see strategy 4). This shows, once more, the importance of not only looking at the number of hours, but also the qualities of time. Furthermore, Karen Davies (1989) points out that time bound process time, which describes care work performed by women, typically includes emotional work and responsibility. Davies argues that time use studies are inefficient in capturing the complicated and multifaceted lives of women. A practical example of this is Timo Anttila's (2005, 123) study on reduced working hours. The study noted that women and men had different expectations on the time off from work; men were involved with large scale projects and with having meaningful content for their life, while women dreamed of changing 'their daily paths in time and space' with looser time schedules. Furthermore, women emphasised the distinction between my time and other's time which can reflect that women's time is more time bound to the family time.

Two layers of family time

The temporal order of family time is structured at two levels (Daly 1996). On the one hand it is organising everyday life with a specific family-history and historical time, with specific routines and time schedules that structure time. On the other hand – and at a different level – family time and the structure of family time comprises of shared 'benchmarks', namely of birthdays and anniversaries which structure the family calendar at a wider level; annually, biannually or even less frequently. Time strategies relate to comparable levels. The analysis on time strategies showed that strategies have to be considered both at the everyday level, but also over the life course. Family's time is by nature dual-layered, which inevitably affects one another. Consequently, the dual-layered structure of the family time schedule suggests that strategic actions related to time are also manifested at two levels. Each identified strategy takes place at a particular moment of the family history. The next part briefly discusses the layers of family time with practical examples.

The first layer of time is everyday time, which is structured by various time structures of work, day-care, schools, and shops. Everyday time is part of a specific socio-cultural time and structures of time. Socio-cultural time includes both practices, such as working time regulation and agreements, as well as the cultural understanding of what is appropriate and normative. Often everyday time is related to time-dependent activities, which cannot be postponed to another time, such as eating or sleep.

An essential part of everyday time is routines, actions which are repeated and which are self-evident. Often routines are linked with – what is often seen -

boring everyday life, and seen as being opposed to celebrations and festivities (Salmi 2004a). Eeva Jokinen (2004) has suggested that routines protect an individual from the never-ending requirement of reflexivity. Routines construct a known structure and allow greater predictability of time. The loss of the predictability of working hour's disrupts routines and expected life schedules. In this light it is evident that the predictability of working hours is an important factor for work-family matters. Routines also assist in time-tagging activities, and place similar rhythm for days. Everyday time is deeply embedded in the daily routines and activities (Daly 2001), and it is not questioned. However, the essence of routines is the possibility to change. Each action allows for choosing differently. If repeated, an alternative response to an everyday situation becomes routine. (Salmi 2004a, 24)

The second layer of family time is the family's life course. It includes the shared life-events that require significant decisions and/or change in the adopted structure of everyday life, such as the birth of a child, buying a home, changing or starting work or school, or in the event of sickness or chronic impairment. The start of a marriage or cohabiting is the starting point of the shared life, in physical terms (i.e. sharing a home), and in the early years of the shared life a couple actively constructs their shared reality (Berger & Kellner 1964; cited in Pittman & Otto 2001, 311). Yet new arrangements and negotiations take place over the life course (see also Zechner 2005, 83).

Life course events define the context within which everyday life is lived. Each change possibly calls for adapting everyday practices, which demonstrates the interdependency of the layers of family time. Even when this analysis did not adopt a life-course perspective to work-family strategies, it became clear that there is a significant variation over the life course in the everyday practices. I want to illustrate the family's time structure with an example of the family named Virtanen (see also figure 11):

> Maija Virtanen is a teacher and mother to three children who are all teens. Maija first graduated as a nurse, which is work that includes working in the evenings. When their first child was small Maija's husband, Matti (working as a manager) also worked evenings often. Matti's evening work was a reason for Maija to consider continuing studies to work which would allow day-time work, because the parents evening work caused difficulties in organising care of the child. Maija was successful in her aspiration for a new career and was accepted for further education. The career change meant studying for another three years, and changing the course of action for the family (**change 1**).
> Some ten years later Maija was faced with another change and explains "Then later I also worked in the evening, and then the reason for working evenings, well firstly was to have a job, but also that our second child then started school. It was easier in the mornings, when I went to work to 12 am, because then I was there in the mornings to see everyone off" (**change 2**).
> Again, some five years later Maija decided to change to government subsidised part-time work, which allowed her to spend more time with the family (**change 3**). She also started studying for another degree, which required using evenings for studying. She explains "evenings, what I do then, well during the last few years I have studied, the evenings are concentrated around the studies"(**change 4**). Also husband Matti was offered to take a position as a manager, which would mean a substantial amount of evening work and travelling (**change 5**). Matti tells "then the situation was different, some two-three years ago when I first started here [current

> job], then my thoughts were somewhere else [than at home], then we had more profound discussions, about what will I do".

This story illustrates the various life events which structure and change everyday life. The story is not a full description of all significant changes, such as births of children, maternity or parental leaves and changes of work positions, neither of which is specifically told in the interview to illustrate the changes. It is a compilation of occurred events in the life-course of this family described particularly from Maija's perspective. The concentration on Maija's perspective is because there are more changes in her situation, compared to her husband Matti. Overall, significant changes which have altered everyday life have been births of children, starting studies, changes of workplace, position or working time, and changes in the children's situation, such as starting school. Partners described in their individual interviews how the situations called for adapting the existing strategies. The Virtanen family exhibit rather gendered and traditional gender roles; when faced with a challenging and changing situation it has typically been Maija who has changed her individual life course and practices, compared to Matti. This illustrates explicitly the existing gender order; women adjust their labour market position to meet the demands of the family.

Below is an illustration of the Virtanen family's life course in figure 11. This figure highlights the changes in Maija's life, but the changes equally affect the practices of the entire family. The example points out some key events, which have changed the everyday life and needed adaptations in the work-family time strategies, yet the illustration does not identify the change of the family's overall situation over the life course. For example, it does not identify the changing living conditions of the family, such as children getting older and needing less time dependent care. Similar images could be drawn for each family. Furthermore, the image suggests that family time is only linear time and that there would only be one family time. However, embedded in the lifecycle time of the family, there are cyclical processes embedded in the linear family time. Such cyclical times are, for example, fertility cycles, changing seasons, and school years. Additionally, as discussed before, there is a multitude of conceptions of time within a family; each members of the family may experience time differently, although sharing the same family time.

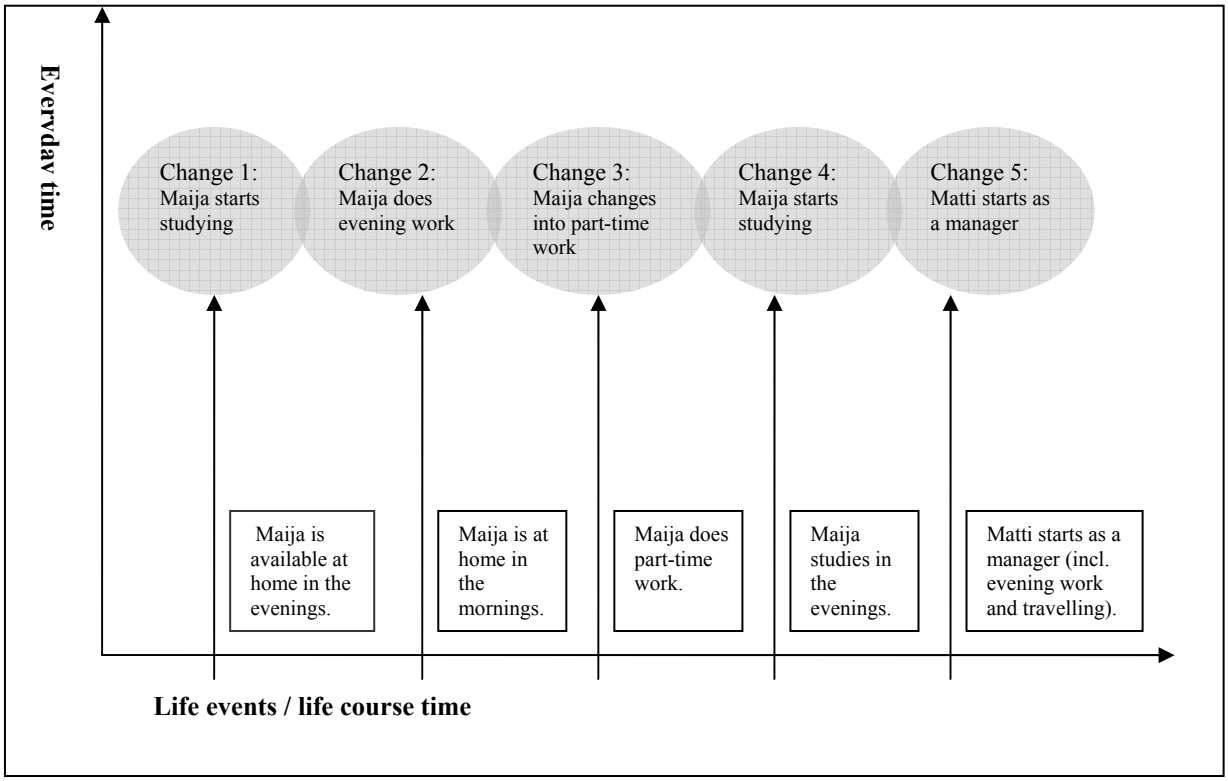


FIGURE 11 Illustration of dual-layered family time: Example of Maija and Matti Virtanen

7.2 Dual-earner families' strategies on time

In this section, I aim at identifying what are the strategies that families use. Here I only focus on the practices of everyday life, which occurs in a particular moment of the family history. Therefore, the analysis is a crossectional investigation on strategies of the families. The specific research questions I discuss are: do couples adopt time strategies and what strategies do I identify among these families? How a strategy is manifested, and the differences families manifest? In addition, do strategies associate with gendered practices?

Strategies refer to a coordinated set of behaviour patterns and practices, as Helen Jarvis (1999, 228) has put it "to convey the combined operation of both purposeful and unconscious actions". The approach emphasises that families are not 'helpless victims' nor 'systematic masters of a bounded domestic universe' (ibid. 228). Michael Anderson, Frank Bechhofer and Jonathan Gershuny (1994) point out that a family actively creates shared belief systems through an ongoing interface and that these modify and constrain the options that are available to individual family members. It is also clear that many aspects of family behaviour are subject to frequent discussion and comparison with peers (see also Jarvis 1999), which was also described by a woman who was interviewed. She explicitly mentioned comparisons with peers, when the family has consciously decided to do less in order to avoid a busy lifestyle:

> And when I talk to my friends, it seems like everyone is so busy, busy, busy. But on the other hand when I think, that I compare us to others, it seems that we have decided to do less, we have decided not to be busy in the evenings and weekends. We have decided that we can leave things undone.

The work- life strategies in this study stand for strategies of action that families use to manage the interplay between work and life (Becker & Moen 1999) and refer to the relationship between work and life outside of work (Larsen 2005, 98). Trine Larsen (2005) identifies factors which affect work-family strategies and explains that it is widely agreed that these are a provision of welfare services, the norms and traditions of the society regarding gender roles, individual perceptions and attitudes towards work and care, the age of the children, parents' educational background, earnings and working schedules. Although Larsen identified separately the norms and traditions of the society on gender roles, it needs to be understood as a crosscutting factor, which affects all the other factors, it is not a separate construction. For example, the way care is organised in the society is related to the perceptions on motherhood and fatherhood, and work schedules are also gendered.

In the analysis, I looked at the ways families orchestrate the work and family responsibilities of everyday life using the adaptive theory approach and content analysis. I identified four strategies (table 15): extent of negotiation; arrangement of working time; scaling back on work; and gender role division. I discuss each of the strategies in more detail in this chapter. The analysis showed that couples adopt a range of strategies, and that each strategy tackles an aspect of time, which is discussed later. The finding that couples adopt a range of strategies is in contrast to some previous research (e.g. Becker & Moen 1999; Larsen 2005) that has suggested that couples adopt a strategy. These strategies were not identified as 'a strategy' by the informants, but rather described as a way to cope and orchestrate everyday life and life over the life course.

As families experience change over the life course they are faced with new situations and need new arrangements and re-negotiation on the practices of everyday life. Practices of everyday life are then adapted through negotiation and rebuilding practices. The analysis here only captures a specific moment in the family history; therefore it does not identify how the strategies were produced and how they change over time. The strategies only describe the current situation.

TABLE 15 Work – life time strategies among dual-earner families.

Work-life strategy	**Forms of the strategy**
1. Extent of negotiation	Fixed schedules
	Negotiated schedules
2. Arrangement of working time	Synchronising parental time
	Off-scheduling parental time
3. Scaling back on work	Maintaining borders between home and work
	Limiting and reducing working time
4. Gender role division	Traditional gender roles
	Modified traditional gender roles
	Egalitarian gender roles

Extent of negotiation: Fixed and negotiated schedules

One work-family time strategy is related with the extent that negotiation is used as a means to organise everyday life. Accordingly, I placed the families to an axis where the other end includes fixed and the other end negotiated schedules (see figure 12). The division does not signify that there are no fixed schedules or routines in some families, or that there is no negotiation in the other families. Routines as well as negotiation are part of the everyday life in all families. However, there is a difference between how routines are maintained, controlled and (re)produced. On the one end of the continuum are families where the temporal order of the family is maintained by continuous negotiating, whereas on the other end, everyday life relies on and routines are maintained by following fixed schedules and practices. The finding is similar to a U.S. study (Daly 2002) which found that dual-earner couples differ in the way couples carry out the negotiations: some being very reactive in meeting the demands as they come, others being structured and trying to anticipate and control the future.

It is possible to identify some characteristics that affect to which end of the continuum the family's practices are situated. At the one end, *family's time structure follows a stringent time schedule.* This allows only moderate, if no, variation on the daily structures or time negotiation. It is characteristic that parents' have a fixed and regular working time and that there are small children in the family. At the broader level, the essential factor is the amount of time dependent activities in the daily life, i.e. activities that cannot be postponed until later. For example, small children require time dependent care. In addition, the time structure of day-care facilities causes a specific time structure to follow. There are specific time schedules for meals, play and sleep that parents' should follow. When the care and schedules of small children are combined with a fixed and regular working time, the family's time strategy must be based on fixed schedules. Hobbies can have a similar effect on the family's time schedule. Among this end of the continuum, time agreements and the negotiation on time within a family is moderate because fixed schedules assist in performing everyday life. However, creating this strategy could have

required intense negotiation. In the event of an unexpected situation there is also a need to re-organise routines.

On the other end of the continuum are families, which *organise, control and manage schedules through negotiation*. This is described by a mother of a toddler:

> […]And then in the morning we take the child to the crèche, and usually we then go to work together, and in the car we usually discuss and agree about the patterns for the day. Like for example today when you came, who does the shopping and who does what. That is our moment of negotiation.

An important factor that defines if a family uses this strategy is working time; working time autonomy and autonomous working conditions allows for negotiating about the everyday schedules. Then it is possible to negotiate daily who takes or picks up the child from the day care centre, or what time work starts each morning, for example.

Negotiated schedules are a work-family strategy, which refers to the practice the family manages and orchestrates everyday life. Similarly to Janet Finch and Jennifer Mason (1993; cited in Allan & Crow 2001) I understand "that the concept of 'negotiation' has the potential to provide insights into how individuals' actions involve more than simply acting out roles according to general rules and obligations […].The concept of negotiation emphasises that individuals do have some room for manoeuvre, though it is never entirely open-ended and sometimes it can be quite tightly constrained". The manoeuvre and agency that individuals have at their disposal is performed in the context of family, and therefore is negotiated in that context. Negotiation here refers to the narratives of the informants, when it was explicitly described as a situation where negotiation and agreements occurred on time.

In the analysis it is possible to identify three practices of time negotiation that differ depending on the time span and the cause of negotiating. First, there is negotiation each morning (or evening), which concerns the planning for the next day and agreeing on the timetables and activities. Secondly, there is a Sunday evening calendar negotiation, which focuses on the following week (or for a longer time period, e.g. next six weeks). A similar finding was reported by another Finnish study which found that calendar negotiations are a way to build schedules, which occur at regular intervals, and which assist in managing family's everyday life. (Suhonen & Salmi 2004, 84) Another, third, important source of negotiation is in the occurrence of unexpected events which require changing the family's schedules, both daily and over the life course (also Zechner 2005).

Although the division into fixed and negotiated schedules implicitly suggests that most routinised days would be among families with fixed work schedules, it is not the case. A highly autonomous working time can increase the individuals' and family's desire to construct and maintain routines. Eeva Jokinen (2005) argues that the routines of everyday life protect individuals from the continuing reflexivity. A woman describes how routines assist everyday life:

> But really stable, everyday life is awfully stable. We have solid routines and earlier I didn't respect routines, I despised them, I thought that it is awful if one would have a routinised life. But now I think that routines support and assist, routines are not a burden, rather they help. Routines help.

The practice of negotiation varied depending if the family relies more on explicit negotiation or implicit agreements on time, and families showed differences regarding the pattern of negotiation. However, discussing this issue further here and with this data is not possible. It is likely that individuals and families have different preferences on time, for example, to which extent schedules should be predictable and planned in detail or left open. Family's time culture is an interesting topic for future studies.

Another type of negotiation relies on *despatialised* time (Gillis 2001, 32). For example, email messages and telephone conversations are a common means through which despatialised negotiation is organised. A previous Finnish study reported the importance of phones in keeping touch with school-aged children at home while parents are at work (Lammi-Taskula 2004). Based on the interviews it is not possible to identify despatialised and face-to-face negotiation, as it was not specifically questioned in the study and did not come up in the interviews. I assume that the importance of, for example, mobile phones was not described in the interviews because it is part of the self-evident activities (routine) of everyday life.

Working time was an important factor affecting the extent of negotiation, as already briefly noted. Figure 12 illustrates the degree of working time autonomy of the dual-earner women and men. The figure shows the relative distance of a person's working time autonomy from either end of the continuum. The analysis is based on a rough estimation of the distances; the attempt is not to show exact measures of the distances.

High working time autonomy means that the worker can control his or her working time and is often associated with expert or knowledge based work. However in practice, the work process often depends on others and the structure of the working day also includes meetings, for example. Yet, among experts or other knowledge workers (Julkunen et al. 2004) it is often possible to reserve an empty space in the calendar.

Moderate working time autonomy means that the employee is not able to influence their starting and finishing working time, but rather has to follow a fixed schedule. Working time autonomy is tightest if the workplace follows particular customer times, or opening and closing times, or if the work process is linked to particular time schedules. Day and health care services or education are examples of workplaces where working time follows set hours. The interviews focused on the highly educated, therefore their relative working time autonomy was high. Thus low working time autonomy here does not refer to not having any working time autonomy, but rather that they have some autonomy, at least occasionally.

Figure 12 shows how families can be positioned in the continuum and that both fixed scheduling and negotiated life is found among the couples. As

families cannot be perceived as a black box, the degree of working time autonomy is illustrated separately for men (square-shaped) and women (triangle-shaped). The illustration shows two findings. First, that the degree of working time autonomy is a precondition for families relying on the negotiated everyday life, or that it influences that days become under constant negotiation (see also Korvela 2003). The extreme situations, either negotiated or fixed days, are identified if partners' share a similar working time autonomy (low or high). If both have high working time autonomy, the family's schedules are negotiable. Low working time autonomy, the need to work a similar, fixed, working time schedule requires the family's schedules to meet the fixed rhythm. In cases where partner's have different levels of working time autonomy, the location of the family on the axis depends on other factors, such as the division of unpaid work (see strategy 4).

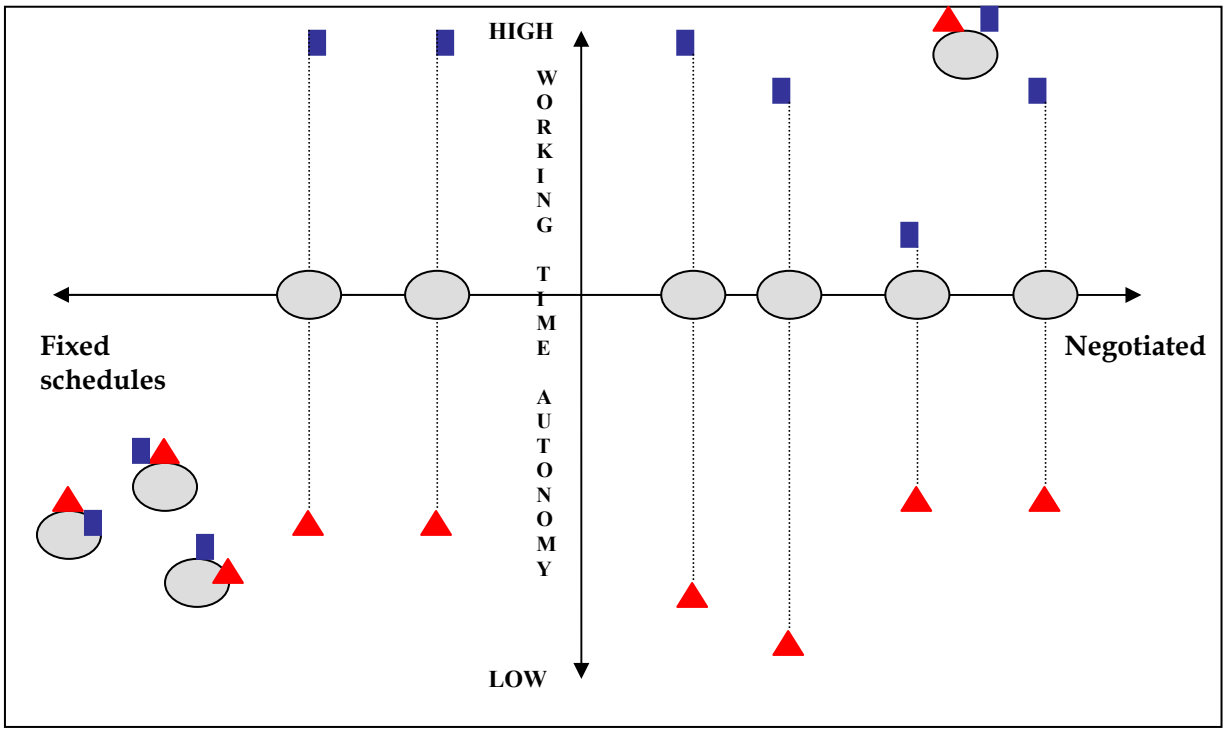


FIGURE 12 Fixed and negotiated schedules and working time autonomy

Synchronisation and off- scheduling of parental working time

The second strategy that families used was synchronisation and off-scheduling. Synchronising the time schedules of family members is an essential element of the temporal order of family time (Daly 1996). It concerns the extent that family members share the temporal rhythm of life. Kerry Daly (ibid. 124-125) suggests

that a high level of synchronisation allows family members to effortlessly organise their everyday life, whereas a low level of synchronisation of the various schedules of family members might cause disagreements. What I found is that both synchronisation and off-scheduling can be used as work-family time strategies. The discrepancy compared with Daly's suggestion is because the analysis concentrates on working time here, whereas Daly refers to family time broadly.

As a strategy off-scheduling or synchronisation refers to time scheduling where parents' schedules are different to allow better integration of everyday life. Off-scheduling concerns working time, but also hobbies. Work during the evenings was a typical situation where parent's organised their schedules differently; parents took turns in working in the evenings or taking care of children and household tasks. The separate time schedules of parents allow the flexible organisation of everyday life, especially related to tasks, which require time dependent attention and care. Off-scheduling allows for one parent's presence at all times. Off-scheduling occurs daily and weekly, but also on a yearly basis. Certain professions, such as teachers, have relatively long holiday breaks (2.5 months) during summer, and this was used as a way to organise the interface of work and family in these families that have long breaks off work.

In Finland Johanna Lammi-Taskula (2004, 65) reported that the off-scheduling of parental working time, which is done with shift work, is a way to organise the work-family interface. Shift work allows for off-scheduling parents' working time. Whilst the previous Finnish study identified that shift work is a way to off-schedule parents working time, day-time work can also allow moderate off-scheduling. For example, taking turns in picking up and taking children to the day care centre, to do shopping, or working late are ways to off-schedule parent's timetables daily or weekly. Off-scheduling was equally used to organise those activities which occur daily or to find time for hobbies on a weekly basis. The families explained that off-scheduling was used to create individual time for the parents or to reduce children's time at day-care. Next is an example of moderate daily off-scheduling.

> Pekka Suomalainen is a teacher and father to 2 and 3 year old children. He wakes up at around 6am and goes to work each day at around 6.30am. He finishes work between 2.30-3 pm and collects the children from day-care. His wife, Paula Suomalainen, works in social and health care. She gets up at around 6.30am and wakes up the children at around 7am.She gets to the work place at around 8am, and has taken the children to the day care centre before that. Her working day lasts until around 4 pm, when she returns home to meet the other family members, who have been at home for around an hour, to an hour and a half. The late afternoon and evening is potential family time. The children go to sleep around 7 pm, leaving the parents some possible synchronised couple's time.

While off-scheduling was used as a strategy, synchronised schedules were also used as a strategy. Synchronisation was related with commuting or organising shared time for the family (to do cleaning, for example). Shared commuting time also allowed time for the couple to carry out time negotiations, agreeing on who does shopping or who picks up the child from the day-care centre.

Furthermore, at the weekly level synchronised time schedules were important to carry out family related responsibilities or household work, such as weekly cleaning. It was perceived as fair and just to organise one's own schedules while taking into account the family's shared schedules.

Scaling back and maintaining borders between home and work

Penny Becker and Phyllis Moen (1999) studied middle-class dual-earner couples' work-family strategies in New York (U.S.). The focus group of the study is similar to this, although the setting, physical and institutional surroundings, were quite different. The U.S. study showed that in managing the jigsaw puzzle of everyday life couples adopted a scaling back strategy; somehow restricting their participation and commitment to paid work. U.S. couples adopted three different scaling back strategies; placing limits, having one job – one career family, and trading off. Placing limits was manifested in limiting work commitment for family reasons. The one job – one career family means that one spouse (female) changes into a job, which is typically a part-time job with lower qualification requirements, while the other (male) pursues with the work career. Typically women who had changed from a career to a job anticipated changing back to a career once the children are older. The one job – one career model can be taken as a modification of Talcott Parson's functional family model. The trading off strategy means that couple's trade time and commitment for the family with each other, acting like trading partners. Therefore, family time, care and commitments are commodities, similar to other resources, like money. All strategies were also related to gender, women are more likely to commit to the family while men commit to work, which reflects the societal gender arrangement (Pfau-Effinger 2004). Becker and Moen's (1999) study shows that a gender specific response was especially visible in the one job – one career family, but other scaling back strategies also demonstrated this.

I expected to identify a similar scale-back strategy among Finnish dual-earning couples and identified two scale-back strategies, scaling back on working time, and keeping up temporal and spatial boundaries between home and work. Scale back strategies are both couple strategies, negotiated and agreed within the couple, but also an individual strategy to limit one's own work commitment.

The reduction and scaling back of paid working time, which I take as a scale back strategy, takes two forms; either limiting working time to "normal", i.e. approximately 40 hours a week, or the reduction of working time, i.e. working shorter than "normal" hours, working part-time. However, part-time work was only a temporary withdrawal from full-time work. Resisting the culture of long working hours and limiting the working time to normal was a consciously used strategy. A man who enjoys a good position in the work organisation explains that he has made a conscious decision to restrict his working time.

> Up until now the usual 8-hour day and very occasional overtime work has been enough, but I have made the decision that when the children were born I will not work both days and nights, I have to look after the family as well. And I have also said this to my supervisor.

One reason for full-time work is the lack of an economic possibility to work shorter hours; reduced hours means reduced pay. When I asked about the possibility to reduce working hours, the discussion showed it to be culturally legitimate on two grounds, for childcare or other family related caring responsibilities and for health reasons. Although financial reasons affect the length of working time, the right to work part-time is also related to perceived entitlement (Lewis 1999) and to culture. In addition, the resistance of long working hours was legitimised for family or health reasons, for example as described by a man:

> The way that one has learned to listen to oneself, that you notice when you are working too much and get tired, and then I reduce work hours and go home earlier, and don't bring work home, then I do something else.

Suzan Lewis (1999) has argued that the changing nature of work, especially the increase of temporary employment and work insecurity, can potentially have opposing effect on the perception of the sense of entitlement. The sense of entitlement is about the beliefs and feelings of rights and entitlements, based on what is perceived to be fair and equitable (Lewis & Smithson 2001; Lewis 1999). It is affected by legal rights and entitlements, although is not based on legal and official rights, but rather it is a cultural understanding of fairness. It defines what is accepted, normal and in accordance with the rules and behaviour. According to Lewis (1999), family friendly politics, or other ways of enhancing the work-family balance, needs workers belief to change the common practice, which might be, for example, the long hour's culture.

It is interesting that temporary employment and work insecurity might have a twofold influence on the sense of entitlement. On the one hand it might decrease the perception of the sense of entitlement to working conditions, while on the other hand it might, paradoxically, increase the perception of one's own entitlement to have an influence on working conditions. The former is connected to the fact that an employee in a non-permanent position does not feel the same entitlement to working conditions and rights, for example restricting working time to "normal". The latter that the employee in a non-permanent position can only rely on oneself and therefore perceives a strong sense of entitlement to persist in certain rights and entitlements, one has "nothing to loose". A temporary employed woman, who had a relatively short work history, explained that she could not ask for a shorter working time, and that there is a lack of entitlement to ask for a shorter working time:

> Q: Have you ever thought that you would ask if it is possible to do part-time work?
> A: Well, not in this situation, I don't… I think that I am in such an early stage of my work career that I can't afford to say what I want. But of course I think that at some point it is probably something that I could try.

On the other hand, a temporary position can increase the entitlement for avoiding long hours. A man spoke about the reasons why he restricts getting involved in extra work in order to restrict working hours:

> There are so many collaboration projects, and training on many things in which you could participate, but I prioritise. Particularly now when I am a temp, I concentrate on my main tasks. That is most important for me.

It is paradoxical, especially in comparison to the standard employment contract, that a temporary employment contract, which is often taken as an indicator of a weak labour market position (compared to permanent work), translates into a feeling of a strong entitlement to restrict work hours. However the entitlement here concerns the legitimation to restrict hours to 'normal' rather than shorter hours.

Another scale-back strategy is to maintain temporal and spatial boundaries between private life and work. Maintaining the boundaries between home and work is related both to time and space. Family time is protected from the never ending work demands and resisted actively. Home space is another relevant factor prohibiting home-based work. Work at home requires sufficient and suitable space, which is not necessary the case. In the interviews it was described how the borders between paid work and family are maintained; but the strategy allows that sometimes it is necessary to take work home. This is typical among knowledge workers, who occasionally take work home (e.g. Julkunen et al. 2004). Maintaining borders and home working were linked with agreements between partners. Agreements between partners', which constitute a strategic action, occurred for instance: "When I was on maternity leave, we had an agreement that although he is there, behind the door, I can go and interrupt if I needed him."

Scale back strategies were explicit and clear. The strategies were used to allocate more time for the family, for hobbies, and to protect the home from the demands of work. A woman explained how she had started to restrict her work during the evenings after she had a child:

> Now that I have a child I have started to restrict [work commitment and evening work], before Christmas I promised [to pupils' parents] that I am here at the school one night, which I can be here until nine and after Christmas one night. But I said that otherwise only during office hours, from 8am to 4pm. Before, when I didn't have a child, like in the first year at work I said that I don't mind whenever. And what was stupid that almost every night I had to return to school, for example six to seven just for one hour. And now I try working time and then free time and I try to separate the roles, where I am here as a teacher but at four I am a mother. And I don't take any work home; at least I try not to.

An alternative scale back strategy could have been to spend less time at home and allocate more time for work. Unlike the well-known Arlie Hochschild's (1997) study, which found that work had become home and home had become work, where employees escaped home to paid work, this study did not identify such a strategy in the interviews. I suspect that participation in the interviews

was related with couples who do not escape home to work, and the lack of that strategy is linked to who accepted in participating as interviewees.

Gender role division

Although Finland is characterised by equal labour force participation and also the similar working time of men and women, significant gender role differences occur between men and women as discussed earlier. Among others women are still the main carers in the family. I identified the division of paid and unpaid work between partners as a specific work-family strategy; families adopted either equal sharing or a specialised task division. Equally with all the strategies discussed here, the strategy is linked with the use of time and responsibilities related to time. With this strategy, I describe the practices linked to time, but these are also drawn based on the expressed attitudes towards maternal and paternal employment and care roles[26]. Although it would be possible that the couple would have contrasting practices than the attitudes of the individual, it was not the case among these families. Furthermore, there was no family where there would have been a significant discrepancy between partner's attitudes.

To demonstrate this strategy in more detail, I place the families in a scale where one end represents the traditional division of work between spouses, and the other end the egalitarian division of work. Additionally there is an in-between-category, which I conceptualise as a modified traditional family (see table 16). *Traditional gender role division* means that the male spouse is the main provider in the family and the female is the main carer of the children and household tasks. Among these families the woman is "the boss" around the house and the man "the assistant". Women's role is to secure the functioning of the family, while men assist in these domestic responsibilities. In practice, this is demonstrated in the families at the event of an unexpected situation, for example. Then it is the mother who secures the functioning of the family and organising caring responsibilities; the mother is the main time-coordinator of the family.

> It is, I am the boss at home, I think and feel, that although Jussi takes a lot of responsibility and does the shopping. But then if he can't, then I am the one who thinks of what to do. In the end of the day it is me who organizes everything.

U.S. study (Daly 2002) on dual-earner couples reports equally that women usually bore responsibility for scheduling in the home. This is true among dual-earners in Finland, but I find that there is variation between families; men can equally be time-coordinators, depending on the gender role division of tasks.

The modified traditional gender role family means that there is a separation of tasks, but both undertake household work equally. Therefore, in quantitative terms the division of work is equal, although there are differences in qualitative

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26 The interviews questioned attitudes against maternal and paternal employment or non-employment through stimulated questions, such as "Can a good mother work?" "Does a good father need to work?"

terms. The typically modified traditional family form means that the male is the main provider of the family, while a fulltime housewife would not be an option for the woman and women emphasise their strong work ethos. Care work is not divided equally, but the male still has a significant role in carrying out care as well.

Among the egalitarian families partners have hardly any division of tasks, both do similar tasks and equally in quantitative and qualitative terms. Both parents are equally economic providers. Among the egalitarian family child care is divided equally. There are no implications of either partner carrying the main responsibility, either in practice or at an attitudinal level.

It was interesting how women described that they are "one foot in paid employment and the other at home" (Julkunen 1995) and that this applied for all women, also among those in an egalitarian family. Women extensively explained how they must continuously balance between paid work and staying at home as fulltime housewives. There was a disparity between different family types in this regard. Among the traditional families, it was characteristic that women described in detail about their feelings of guilt for working. These women held traditional attitudes on family life. Additionally, women in a modified traditional and egalitarian family explained feelings of guilt, but they more strongly explained that work is a significant part of their identity and that they could not be fulltime housewives, regardless of their feelings of guilt. On the contrary to women, men show an opposite pattern; men who have a significant caring role also describe feelings of guilt for working long hours and for long days away from home and without the children. However, among men a fulltime carer role is not an option, except for a short period of time.

TABLE 16 Division of unpaid and paid work in the family

	Traditional family	Modified traditional	Egalitarian family
Division of tasks	separated	separated	equal
Main economic provider	male, although female employment accepted	male, but strong work ethos among female	equal
Main carer	female, male assists	female, but male has significant caring role	both equally

7.3 Work-family strategies and core temporal properties

In the previous section, I described strategies that dual-earning couples used in orchestrating the interface of work-family. To find out the core temporal properties the strategies tackle, I conduct a further analysis. This analysis relies on the suggestion of Dale Southerton, Elizabeth Shove and Alan Warde (2001), which developed the framework for the analysis of hurriedness and individual time management strategies.

Following Fine (1996) Southerton and colleagues (2001, 13) I use a four dimensional scheme, which identifies the periodicity, duration, sequence and timing. When the researchers used the four dimensional scheme to study hurriedness it reduced into two and included the allocation of time and co-ordination. On the one hand, allocation concerns the periodicity and duration, and it includes the number of activities and the amount of time devoted to each. Co-ordination, on the other hand, concerns the synchronisation and sequencing, i.e. timing of activities. I use the same framework to test if these capture the essential dimensions of the work-family strategies used by the dual-earning families.

The re-categorising of work-family strategies efficiently encapsulate the essence of the strategies (see figure 13). The essential aspects are co-ordination and allocation. Strategies on the extent of the negotiation and arrangement of the parental working time both tackle the problem of time co-ordination. These concern the sequencing and timing of activities and are used in the time coordination of everyday life. The extent of the negotiation means the way that time-coordination is maintained in the everyday life; some families maintain time-coordination with a continuous negotiation whereas others rely on fixed routines. Organising parental time refers to the timing of the activities, and this particular strategy refers to either synchronising or off-scheduling parent's schedules. The other two work-family strategies, scaling back on work and gender role division clearly tackle the aspect of the allocation of time; how much and whose time and commitment is devoted to paid work, household work, informal care and the number of these activities.

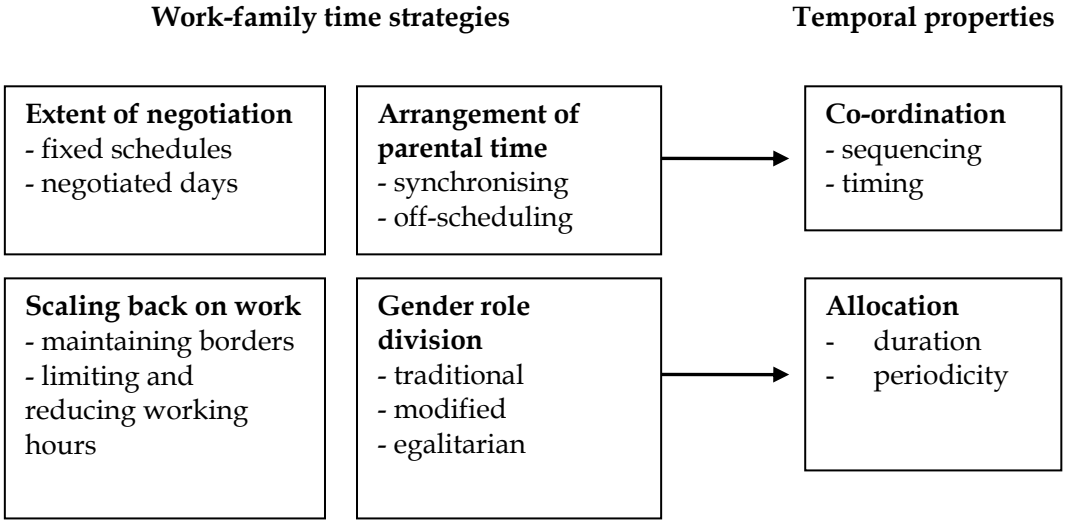

FIGURE 13 Work-family time strategies and temporal properties

7.4 Summary: families adopt various time strategies

Families adopt time related work-family strategies in orchestrating everyday life. I identified four work-family strategies related to time; fixed and negotiated schedules; synchronising and off-scheduling; scaling back; and gender role division. Important features defining whether a family adopts either fixed scheduling or negotiation to manage everyday life is the level of working time autonomy and the number of time dependent activities. Routines are an important factor of everyday life among families that follow fixed schedules, but can also constitute a cornerstone among families where schedules vary, even from one day to another. Their routines are maintained through constant negotiation.

Another work-family time strategy is the synchronising and off-scheduling of parental working time. Although synchronising schedules is an important work-family strategy, which allows for shared time among family members, the opposite is also true. Off-scheduling allows parents' to organise the commitments and time needs. A previous Finnish study found (Lammi-Taskula 2004) that shift work is a particular strategy used to organizes the work-family interface, but moderate off-scheduling is also used among day-time workers. Additionally off-scheduling can occur weekly, periodically or following seasonal intervals.

A third work-family strategy is scaling back, which includes both restricting working hours and maintaining borders between home and work. Higher educated work is typically characterised as knowledge intensive work, which by nature is endless and personal and captures the mind (Julkunen et al. 2004). Restricting working hours and work commitment and maintaining borders between home and work were scaling back strategies that the couples used. Men and women equally implement these. The scaling back strategy explicitly showed that work-family strategies are both an internalised, individual decision as well as a family level agreement.

Finally, the analysis identified the division of work between partners as a fourth work-family strategy. Attitudes and perceptions of gender roles affect behaviour patterns and practices within a family, which constitute a strategy to organise everyday life. I identified ways of dividing work, which were based on either traditional or egalitarian family models. Additionally I identified an interim category, the modified traditional gender roles, which shared some characteristics of both traditional and egalitarian family models. The essential difference of the three categories is on whether the male is the main provider and the female is the main carer, or whether there are equally shared responsibilities. In an international comparison, Finnish couples share tasks more equally overall, however, differences in attitudes and practice can still be identified among Finnish couples as well (Larsen 2005).

The analysis showed that families use several strategies, which are used in everyday life in parallel. While differences exist between families, there was no

one defining factor which would make a distinction between which strategy is used. Larsen's (2005, 115) study, which concentrated on care arrangement strategies, concludes that families adopt a strategy to organise a care arrangement, either equal sharing, mother dominant and mother solo. The focus of that study is on the care arrangements whereas here the focus is on time related work-family strategies.

Although I separated the strategies from each other, they are also closely connected with each other. For example, gender role division influences the kind and extent of scale back strategies that men and women do. Simply put, if required because of the needs of the family, the mother will scale back on working time among the traditional families. In other words, the gender role attitudes and practices affect the use of other strategies.

The time strategies show how the families orchestrate everyday life in practice. I used the core temporal properties to assist in considering the specific focus of the strategies, and suggested that in orchestrating everyday life, time coordination and the allocation of time capture essential aspects. Firstly, the strategy on the extent of negotiation and the arrangement of parents working time tackles the aspect of time coordination, which concerns the sequencing and timing of activities. In practical terms, time coordination assists in organising the time schedule of the family in a functional way. Although negotiation is always required, to some extent, in forming work-family strategies, here it specifically refers to the extent time coordination is managed with fixed schedules or with constant negotiation. Secondly, scaling back on work and gender role division strategies tackles the aspect of time allocation; the extent of time is used to carry out an activity. Time allocation is also important because, in addition to defining the hours used to carry out an activity, it defines whose time is used and on which activities.

8 SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In the study, I captured an image of the interplay of two constantly reshaping spheres of life; work and family. Although the life spheres are constantly reshaping, rather than radical changes they are described with significant continuities. I particularly looked at the working time practices of dual-earner families in Finland and the work-family interface. Dual-earning couples are typical in Finland, yet there are hardly any studies that would concentrate on them. That is why I decided to focus on them in my research.

The work-family interface research includes a great number of alternatives, which include how to study it, from which orientation and what is the focus. In the study, besides individuals, I used families as a unit of analysis. Implementing a family level analysis is not without problems. Often there is not sufficient information on the family, and only very rarely, there is information given by family members themselves. In addition, my analysis concentrated on the couple; therefore, I did not include the possible children or other family members in the analysis. In this regard, the family level investigation is not complete. However, I find that even with this restricted family approach it provides more insight to the overall life of the dual-earner men and women than concentrating only on the individuals. Although family is an important level of analysis, family cannot be treated as a black box; family members do not necessarily share the same resources, power and interests.

I approached the topic from various research orientations and using different research methods. I aimed at drawing an image on the topic that is not one-sided, but rather one that would allow for investigating various aspects of the phenomena. With different methods, I tackled different dimensions of working time and different questions of the work-family interface. The multi-method approach aimed to look at various research tasks rather than tackling the exact same research task (see e.g. Bryman 1992). Although this approach gives information that is different in its nature, I am convinced that the information adds to one another.

Rather than concentrating on one research stream or orientation, I attached to various research orientations that serve different purposes. I

particularly linked with four research orientations: the ecological systems theory, social policy research, individual experiences and cultural frameworks. The first two approaches assisted me in mapping down the research focus and in understanding the social setting of the work-family interface. The third and fourth orientations particularly assisted in the empirical analysis.

The ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner 1979) allowed to context the work-family question at the wider setting. It was also useful because the study looked at couples. Another contextual approach used in the study is social policy oriented research (e.g. Kröger & Sipilä 2005; Leira 2006). While this study did not empirically examine how social policy influences the working time practices and the work-family interface, it is important to look at the practices of social policy to be able to understand how paid work is (or is not) made possible. This is especially so among families with children or other care responsibilities, who are in direct contact with the social services and their schedules, for example.

In the empirical analysis, I looked at the experiences of the individuals. There seems to be a consensus that the work-family interface is bi-directional and double-layered (Greenhaus & Beutell 1985; Kinnunen & Mauno 1998). In other words, both work affects home and home affects work, and the relationship can be facilitating or conflicting. In the empirical analysis, I relied on the specific measure of the conflict theory, while the spillover theory reflects the broader understanding of this study. The spillover theory offers a holistic approach and assumes that work and family spheres interact. The various roles of the individual coexist at the same time (see Mauno 1999). The specific measure based on the conflict theory offers a way to measure the time conflict dual-earners experienced.

I used frameworks, which emphasise the importance of culture (Pfau-Effinger 1999; Lewis 1999) as analytical tools and served as a means to understand and interpret the findings. The emphasis on culture also assists in understanding national differences. Finnish working life has its' roots in a different kind of social and economic history than many other European countries, therefore some characteristics – most importantly the normalisation of maternal labour – are deeply rooted in our culture. Culture assists in understanding the practices of social life, which have a particular history, although they are also constantly reforming. Research on the work-family interface needs to consider the overall societal setting; otherwise, the question about work and care reduces as a matter of individual choice.

In the study, I chose to concentrate on time, which is an essential part of everyday life. Everyday life is a careful orchestration of various time structures (see e.g. Daly 2001; Moen 2003; Salmi 1996). Moreover, different dimensions of time affect our lives. Paid work typically means time away from the family, therefore working time profoundly affects family life. Time is by nature quantifiable but also has qualitative properties (see Zerubavel 1981; Adam 1995; Pohjanen 2002). Even a short time at work can be exhausting and the individual carries that experience within oneself outside the office hours. Families

experience their particular temporal order, located within the collective rhythm of the society. They have specific time schedules and ways of organising everyday life. We are also part of a time culture with the understanding on how time should be used, for example.

The empirical analysis specifically concentrated on looking at trends in working time practices and experiences of the work-family interface, and their associations. I studied the extent that boundaries between work and family are blurring, the negative and positive effects between work and family, the work-family fit and the time related strategies that couples use to orchestrate everyday life. In this chapter, I summarise the findings, discuss the practical implications and address the challenges of future studies.

8.1 Working time practices among dual-earner couples

The central aspects of working time are time, timing, tempo (Adam 1990), autonomy (Fagan 2001) and the predictability (Garhammer 1995) of working hours. I looked at these aspects of working hours and particularly looked at the descriptive statistics, asking if the working time characteristics have changed among dual-earners over the study period, 1977 to 2003.

The analysis showed that the working time practices of dual-earning couples have changed over the study period. The change has not been radical, but rather characterised with continuities (see also Julkunen & Nätti 1999). However, dual-earners work 'normal' working hours less often (between 35-40 hours a week), work is more often carried out outside a regular dayshift, with an increased tempo of work and with more influence on working times. There is no information on the development of the predictability of hours, but a third of dual-earners need to respond each week to the time demands of the employer. In addition, contacts outside the office hours are also relatively common. The division between subordination time and free time (Supiot 2001) has blurred and become more unpredictable.

Although women and men work similar hours in Finland, there are other gender differences in employment and the hours of work. An important difference is that women's work careers are characterised with temporally stepping out from the labour markets when they have children. The analysis of the working time characteristics of dual-earner men and women also revealed differences. Dual-earner men are more affected by the lengthening of working time compared to women: the proportion of dual-earning men working long hours has steadily increased since the mid 1980s. At the same time the length of women's working time has remained relatively stable over the study period, but dual-earning women are involved in shift work increasingly more often. They are more affected compared to dual-earner men with the slow change towards a 24/7 society. Dual-earner women in particular have been affected with the increased work tempo.

Although men have increased their share of household work, women are typically responsible for informal care and household tasks, and carry the main responsibility of time coordination of the family. Theoretically dual-earner women would benefit more, compared to men, from working time autonomy and from predictable hours. In practice, however, dual-earner men enjoy working time autonomy slightly more often than compared to women. Nonetheless, dual-earner women have more predictable working hours, which theoretically assists in the work-family interface.

There are both risks and possibilities associated with the new working time regime. Risks are associated with the lengthening of working time, and the loss of predictability and possibilities with the increasing individual time-sovereignty, control over working time. Manfred Garhammer (1995) argues that the value of time-sovereignty is becoming more significant. It includes the self-determination of working time, which allows for adjusting working time to individual and collective rhythms. Time-sovereignty has to include both the possibility to follow a collective rhythm or to deviate from it. The study found that while at the same time dual-earners have more time autonomy, they are also affected with the loss of the predictability of time. There is a need to study this further, how do these simultaneous processes influence work-family relations and to which extent is the loss of the predictability of hours disturbing? In this study, I was not able to address these questions adequately.

Overall, employees of dual-earner couples are witnessing the evolving post-industrial working time regime. The standard employment contract with a standard working time practice is transforming and giving room to greater variability of working time practices. Raija Julkunen and Jouko Nätti (1999, 203) expect the organisation of work to become more self-regulatory, along with becoming more informationised and intellectual, knowledge work. The researchers continue, "…in a way, we have to rely on individuals, the self-protection and self-restriction of working and the resistance of the colonialisation of lives by companies and organisations". Contrary to the Finnish researchers, British researchers Jill Rubery and colleagues (2005) suggest that organisations will have to start re-evaluating their working time arrangements, to secure the sustainability of the workforce, and the researchers already see signs of change since the 1990s. They suggest that the changed labour market conditions and the public policy debate call for re-establishing a better work-family balance, and state that blurring the non-work – work boundaries has 'fallen out of favour'. The British researchers suggest that at the company level organisations need to reassess the viability and sustainability of their working time systems to secure a motivated and committed workforce.

In practice, labour market demand and supply influence the perceptions of the employees and employers. Whether employees use their possibilities for self-protection or not, is among others, connected with the perceived sense of entitlement (Lewis 1999). I assume that this will start to differentiate the workforce increasingly more. For example, scaling back on work is an important strategy that employees use to restrict the colonialisation of work

organisations, but divisions exist in the take up of that: some feel strong entitlements to scale back, others are hit with insecurity and a weak labour market position. However, it is interesting that those who are not in a permanent position, which has traditionally been an indicator of a secure position, might also feel entitled to resist the long hour's culture. Furthermore, the opposite is also certainly true, an insecure position in the organisation enforces the willingness to work and meet the demands of the work organisations, for example, to work exceedingly long hours.

Now, on the one hand, there is the threat of a labour shortage with the aging workforce, and on the other hand, there is an economic downturn and structural change. In light of the current situation, I suspect that both scenarios are correct: individuals restricting work commitment, while elsewhere organisations are actively resisting exceedingly long hours. With the current economic downturn, at this very moment I suspect that employees are most concerned with being able to secure their position and to have a job and employers are concerned with securing profitable functioning. This increases the acceptance of the long hour's culture and work stretching over to family time.

8.2 Experiences of the work-family interface

Research on the work-family interface has a long history, but the area has received increased attention during the 1990s (see e.g. Mauno 1999). Although it has been agreed that there are also positive outcomes, most of the research relies on the conflict approach. In this study, I particularly looked at the permeability of the borders between work and home, experienced time conflict, work-family fit and positive experiences.

The research area, the work-family interface, is characterised with conceptual diversity. This is further strengthened with the public, media and policy discussions that do not explicitly explain what the focus of research is. There is a clear need for more clarity on the used concepts in the future studies. In the study, I use the term work-family, as opposed to work-life, because the focus of the study was particularly the experiences of work and family. I use the term interface, as opposed to reconciliation, balance or integration, when describing the relationship between work and family.

The recent interest on work-family question suggests that employees experience more difficulties than previously. Nonetheless, it seems that there has not been any radical worsening over time, between the 1980s and 1990s to 2000. However, it also seems legitimate to conclude that new issues emerge.

One of the new issues is the increasingly blurring borders between home and work, which concerns an increasing number of the dual-earners. Actually, this is not a new issue, but rather a newly emerged issue. In the agrarian society, there were no clear temporal or spatial divisions between home and the

workplace or working time and free time. This was the creation of the industrial society. The spatial and temporal division seems to be loosening now. The proportion of employees working at least occasionally at home has increased (see e.g. Nätti et al. 2006a). The boundary between home and work is increasingly permeable, but only from the direction of work to home. Therefore the comparison to the agrarian society is only weakly correct. Although work stretches over to home, home matters do not stretch to work.

Overall, the findings suggest that among dual-earner couples the experience of work interfering with family time have increased over time, while at the same time workplaces are protected from the disturbance from home and private matters. It is not always certain if work stretching to home is disturbing or not. So far other research has shown that it can be both (Antila 2005), and I proposed that this even applies among the same people varying on the time. This opens a new research topic, under what conditions are blurring boundaries disturbing or not.

Work stretches over to home especially among those dual-earners in higher white-collar positions, in managerial work, those working long hours and experiencing hurriedness at work. In addition, as expected, frequent contacts from the office increase the odds of thinking about work at home. It seems that knowledge workers in particular (managers and higher white-collar position) are affected with the blurring boundaries.

Among dual-earners men report experiencing higher work-family time conflict compared to dual-earner women. This is in contrast to some international studies (e.g. Hill et al. 2005; Voydanoff 2005). There is another interesting finding, as it is often implicitly assumed that the interface of work and family concerns only those with children. Work-family time conflict was equally reported by those dual-earners with no children, at least no children under 18 years old. What the analysis showed clearly was that a longer working time increases the experiences of time conflicts, and that most of the conflict is chronic, the one-year follow-up period did not reveal significant changes.

In this study, I tried to look at the entity of the family, as much as possible. I looked at the effect of the household working week to the experiences of the work-family time conflict, which identifies spill-over effects between partners. The analysis showed that a long working time increases the feelings of time conflict. Interestingly if the woman does long hours and her partner normal hours (35-40 hrs/week), women report a stronger conflict compared to a situation where both partners would work over 40 hours a week. The study was not able to identify if this is because of a lack of support for long hours from the partner, for example.

Research has recognised that the work-family interface is dual-layered; the relationship can be a source of conflict but there are also facilitating experiences. The positive experience, which relied on the measure that work assists in coping with children, showed that among dual-earning men a positive experience is more associated with home related demands: having many children and time conflicts at home. Therefore, work might offer a hideaway

from the demands at home. In addition, a white-collar position was related with work assisting with coping with children. Among women, the experience of a positive work-family interface was related with the position at work and having small children. I assumed that this might reflect the time demands that small children place on mothers, who often carry the main care responsibility. The measure here only included those with children and was one sided. In further studies, I would like to see the measure on the positive effects developed further.

Often studies concentrate on the length of hours worked, which leaves other aspects of working time unrecognised. While the analysis showed that the length of working time is an essential factor affecting the experience of work and family, it also showed that the work-family interface is not only about the length of working time. When I looked at the extent that borders are blurring between home and work, another important factor for experiences of the work-family interface is the tempo of work. The causes and outcomes of a high work tempo not only concern the individual, but importantly the work organisation and work performance (see Järnefelt 2002; Lehto 2002). As the individual is within the mesosystem of the work-family interface, the individual experiences are integral parts of both spheres of life; experiences spill-over from one sphere to the other. Therefore, families are also affected by the intensified work tempo. However, there is still a need to learn more of the processes about how work tempo affects the work-family interface. I suspect that hurriedness affects family life through individual stress and somatic symptoms. Other affects could potentially be related with an escalation of the rhythm of the time in the family.

The concurrent increase of more dual-earning men working long hours and dual-earning women experiencing an increased tempo of work is a matter of concern for the work-family interface. These parallel processes call for future studies at the family level. We need to know more about how changes in the working life affect division of work at home: is there a turn towards a more traditional division of work at home, or – what I suspect to be the case – are we heading towards more differentiation among families. Some families choose or are being forced to choose the traditional and others the egalitarian division of work. At the couple level, this would mean that some couples start sharing domestic and salaried work more traditionally (female carer/male earner), others continuing to equalise the roles (towards dual-carer/dual-earner). There might also be a new way ahead, that of the male carer/female earner, because parental policies aim at increasing men's role at home. Now it is only used by a marginal proportion of couples (Lammi-Taskula 2006) and as a temporary practice.

In an attempt to contextualise Finnish families within the EU, I studied the work-family fit while looking at the actual and preferred working time of dual-earning couples. Using this measure, couples experienced a poor rather than a good work-family fit, in other words they preferred shorter hours in all EU countries. I was particularly interested in looking at the effect of the country regime, and found that after controlling the actual working time and financial

situation of the family the preferred working time varied between countries. This suggests the importance of national culture.

Cross-national research faces a complex task when studying various countries, with different institutional settings and gender arrangements being grouped together. A good example of this is that in some countries (such as the U.S. and UK) the family friendly policies of the work organisations include child-care provided by the work organisations. These practices do not exist in Finland, because there is a publicly organised day-care system. A challenge is how to efficiently capture these institutional differences? It is clear that comparative research needs to be particularly careful in conducting analysis, and it needs to include careful consideration of the institutional setting.

8.3 Time related work-family strategies

Families might have trouble in the work-family interface, but somehow they organise the interplay between these, which is why I also questioned how do families organise everyday life. The specific question I asked was if couples adopt strategies related to time in the coordination of daily activities. The analysis identified four time related strategies, which I named the extent of negotiation, synchronisation and off-scheduling of time, scaling back on work, and gender role division. Couples used various strategies.

The extent of negotiation and reliance on fixed schedules was one strategy the couples use. An important feature for the strategy is the level of working time autonomy and the number of other time dependent activities. Synchronising and off-scheduling of parental working time was also used to orchestrate daily activities. Although synchronising schedules is an important work-family strategy, off-scheduling also allows parents' to organise the commitments and time needs. I anticipated to identify a strategy which includes scaling back on working time (see Becker & Moen 1999), and this was the case. It included both restricting working hours and maintaining borders between home and work. The scaling back strategy explicitly showed that work-family strategies are both an internalised, individual decision as well as a family level agreement. Finally, I identified a fourth work-family strategy that concerns the way paid and unpaid work is divided. The families had adopted both traditional and egalitarian ways of dividing work, and furthermore there was an interim category, which I called the modified traditional family. The essential difference in the three categories is on whether the male is the main provider and female the main carer or whether these are equally shared responsibilities.

The strategies are descriptive as such, but to find out the wider implications of the strategies, I organised them by asking what is the central temporal aspect following Dale Southerton's and colleagues (2001) suggestion. I found that time coordination and the allocation of time efficiently summarise

the focus of the strategies. Where the extent of negotiation and the arrangement of parental time are used as strategies for time co-ordination, scaling back on work and gender role division specifically tackles the allocation of time.

An interesting topic for future studies is to explore the kind of time cultures or orientation towards time that families have and how these affect the strategies families use. It was clear that some families have a preference for explicit agreements about time, while others relied on implicit agreements. The preference can be a result of, for example, individual orientations towards time, family phase or past disagreements on time.

8.4 Practical implications of the study

In the introduction, I pointed out that the work-family question is overshadowed by the myth of free choice of individuals and families to make their decisions. This is seen for example in the Finnish family politics (Kivimäki 2003), that places the responsibility on parents, who are free to make their decisions. A similar point has been made by Anne Lise Ellingsæter and Arnlaug Leira (2006, 271), who state that much more attention has to be directed at people's real choices, and that such an analysis needs to evaluate what are the real opportunities for choosing. Practises of work and care are not a mere reflection of the preferences of men and women or families, but rather reflect the overall labour market situation, the financial situation of the family and adopted cultural practices, for example. Therefore, only the realisation of the interaction of various policies and characteristics of the micro- and macroenviroments reveal what are the available real options and consequences of 'choosing' one alternative over the other.

The knowledge on the positive and negative experiences of the work-family interface has practical implications. The essential question is how to reduce the negative experiences, and to recognise and strengthen the positive aspects. In practice it is important to realise that the policies and practices which aim at addressing the work-family interface, have to be different depending if they aim at reducing conflict between work and family, or if the aim is to enhance the work-family interface (see also Grzywacz & Marks 2000). This is important for practical oriented programmes in particular, as well as for research on work and family.

Often the policies aiming to enhance the interplay of work and family are phrased as family friendly policies. The concept of family friendly policies is used as an umbrella concept, as it is used to describe various different types of policies and practices. As a concept, it is therefore problematic, because it hides the real target of intervention. Family friendly policies can target equally reducing working hours or meeting the unexpected situations at home (e.g. providing care for sick children), for example. Family friendly policies face another conceptual, as well as practical, challenge. They need to address the

question of what constitutes a family. The policies and practices cannot only be targeted to those with under aged children at home. For example, this study also showed that dual-earners other than those with children, experience conflict between work and family. A challenge is to build up practices, which support varying needs.

Furthermore, the policies need to recognise what are the 'friendly' practices. In the study, I argue that such policies must acknowledge various aspects of working time, concentrating on the hours worked is not sufficient, while it is important. Equally, other working time characteristics are important, such as the tempo of work, scheduling, autonomy and predictability of hours.

Avoiding the negative outcomes related to long hours includes restricting work hours and strengthening the resistance for the long hour's culture. It has been said that the lack of time is a new social problem (Garhammer 2002). A lack of time creates hurriedness at work. Because the reasons for an increased work tempo are many, such as the lack of human resources at the workplace, changes in work content and technology, tackling the problem requires various responses. Such responses include adequate resources and ways to manage the continuous changes at work, such as avoiding constant technological changes.

Possible family friendly policies are also increasing autonomy and maintaining or recreating the predictability of hours. Families have various schedules to be tied together, therefore theoretically the time-screw of the family is looser if there is working autonomy on the one hand, and predictability of hours on the other hand. Working time autonomy allows for integrating work to other spheres of life. It is obvious that it is not always possible to secure working time autonomy; the work process includes fixed times for operating (such as health care for example). There is a need to explore practices that would allow at least occasional autonomy, but balancing at the same time with the predictability. I suspect that the issue of the predictability of hours will receive more attention in the future. For the work-family interface, in particular, the loss of the predictability of working time is problematic. Family responsibilities often require time dependent care and tasks, which need predictable working time.

The post-industrial working time regime means less predictability of working time and collectively lost shared time structures, which challenge individuals' and families' time coordination increasingly more. I assume that strategies for time coordination will become even more important for the individuals and families. It is an interesting focus of future studies, and it needs an evaluation from a gender perspective. In the prevailing gender arrangement, it might be easier for men to respond to the sudden time requirements of the work organisations. The question for the future is if this continues to be a way to re-create and strengthen existing gender differences; men having better access to higher positions (with better pay) which strengthens the differences between men and women both at home and work.

International research often looks at the organisational measures and family friendly programmes that target to enhance the work-family interface.

As noted, in Finland many of the similar services or programmes, such as the right for part-time work for parents who have under school-aged children, are based on a statutory right. The problem that arises in Finland is that the implementation of such statutory rights is based on employees' position (e.g. temporary vs. permanent employee, tenure of the contract). Even if the practices are secured by law, there might be problems associated with the perceived entitlement to use those (see e.g. Lewis 1999; Anttila, Nätti & Väisänen 2005). Particularly in Finland, it seems that the work-family interface question is a matter concerning the public policies and the individual, rather than a matter also concerning the work organisation. There is a need to develop further the recognition that this is a concern of the work organisations as well.

In many respects, it is right to conclude, as Anne Lise Ellingsæter and Arnlaug Leira (2006, 267) do, that "in several respects, the policies of parenthood in Scandinavia are a success story, even if the important criticisms are taken into account […]. Scandinavian policies facilitating work-family balance and gender equality in parents' practices are still ahead of other advanced industrial democracies." It is equally right to continue, as researchers do (ibid.), that the gender equality project is still in progress and new challenges are ahead. New challenges include the increasing diversity and multiethnicity of the societies. Because of the homogeneous population in Finland, ethnicity has not yet played a role in the question of the work-family interface. It is certain that the increasing diversity should receive more attention in the future.

An interesting question for the future is if the work-family question will stay at the political agenda, and how the foreseen labour force shortage will affect this. One possible way forward is – yet again – the differentiation of the workforce. Those in a good labour market position become more entitled for taking up organisational practices, which assist the work-family interface, while those in low-paid, low-status positions can only use the practices secured by law. It is certain that gender continues to be an important factor for future studies.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tutkimuksessa tarkastelen työn ja perheen yhteensovittamista, joka on yksi arkielämän keskeisistä kysymyksistä. Lähestyn aihetta ajan näkökulmasta. Keskityn kahden ansaitsijan perheisiin, jotka ovat yleisiä Suomessa, mutta joista on vain vähän tutkimustietoa. Kahden ansaitsijan heteroseksuaaliset ”ydinperheet” tulee kuitenkin nähdä yhtenä perhemuotona moninaistuvien perhemuotojen joukossa.

Ajalla on kvantitatiivisen, mitattavan, ominaisuuden ohella myös laadullisia ulottuvuuksia. Työajan keskeiset ulottuvuudet ovat työajan pituuden ohella, ajoitus, tempo, autonomia ja ennakoitavuus. Asetin neljä keskeistä tutkimuskysymystä. Tarkastelen (i) kahden ansaitsijan työaikakäytäntöjä ja niissä tapahtuneita muutoksia; (ii) kuvailen työn ja perheen yhteensovittamisen kokemuksia; (iii) tutkin työaikakäytäntöjen ja työn ja perheen yhteensovittamisen kokemusten välisiä yhteyksiä; sekä (iv) kysyn, millaisia aikastrategioita perheet käyttävät arjen organisoimiseksi.

Tutkimuksissa työn ja perheen yhteensovittaminen kiteytyy usein elämänalueiden väliseksi ongelmaksi. Silti jo pitkään on tunnistettu, että elämänalueilla on toisiaan tukeva rooli. Työn ja perheen suhde on kaksisuuntainen ja –tasoinen. Työ vaikuttaa perheeseen ja perhe työhön, ja kokemukset voivat olla joko positiivisia tai negatiivisia.

Kiinnityn erityisesti ekologiseen sosiaalisaatioteoriaan, sosiaalipoliittiseen tutkimukseen, yksilöiden kokemuksiin sekä kulttuurin merkitystä tarkastelevaan tutkimukseen. Tutkimus on luonteeltaan monimetodinen, sillä asettamani tutkimuskysymykset ovat luonteeltaan erilaisia. Yhtäältä olen kiinnostunut ilmiön yleisyydestä ja eri tekijöiden välisistä yhteyksistä, ja toisaalta arkielämän käytännöistä.

Tutkimuskysymyksiä lähestyn haastatteluaineiston ja kolmen tilastoaineiston avulla. Tilastoaineistona käytän Tilastokeskuksen työoloaineistoja (vuodet 1977, 1984, 1997 ja 2003), Jyväskylän Yliopiston Yhteiskuntatieteiden ja filosofian sekä Psykologian laitoksen ”Kotitalous, työ ja hyvinvointi” aineistoja (vuosilta 1999 ja 2000) sekä Eurooppalaista ”Employment options of the future” aineistoa (vuodelta 1998). Lisäksi käytän kymmenen pariskunnan haastatteluaineistoa (vuosilta 2001 ja 2002).

Ensimmäisenä tutkimuskohteena ovat kahden ansaitsijan perheiden työaikakäytännöt, sekä niissä tapahtuneet muutokset vuosien 1977 ja 2003 välisenä aikana. Ajanjakso pitää sisällään niin taloudellisen kasvun, kuin syvän laman 1990 – luvun aikana. Työajat ovat polarisoituneet työajan pituuden suhteen, joskaan ei voida puhua radikaalista muutoksesta tai murroksesta. Erityisesti kahden ansaitsijan perheissä miesten työajat ovat pidentyneet. Vaikka työn ja perheen yhteensovittamista ei voida redusoida kysymykseksi ajankäytöstä, on työajan pituus olennainen tekijä.

Työajat ovat eriytyneet myös ajoituksen suhteen; yhä useampi tekee normaalityöajan päivätyökäytännöstä poikkeavaa vuorotyötä. Erityisesti kahden

ansaitsijan perheissä naiset tekevät yhä useammin vuorotyötä, siten hidas siirtymä kohti 24/7 yhteiskuntaa koskettaa erityisesti heitä. Vuorotyön yleistyminen murtaa kollektiivista aikajärjestystä ja teoreettisesti sen voi ajatella olevan erityisesti yhteydessä työtä ja perhettä koskeviin ongelmiin, mutta se voi yhtälailla parantaa arjen aikataulujen yhteensovittamisen.

Aikapulan ja kiireen on sanottu olevan uusi sosiaalinen ongelma (Garhammer 2002). Tarkastelin kiirekokemuksia työssä ja havaitsin, että työtä tehdään yhä kiihtyvällä tahdilla. Erityisesti naiset ovat kokeneet työkiireen lisääntyneen. Työkiire ei vaikuta ainoastaan yksilön kokemukseen työssä, vaan ulottaa vaikutuksensa myös työ-perhe kokemuksiin. Tämä osoittaa selkeästi, että työn ja perheen yhteensovittamisen kysymykset eivät voi keskittyä vain työajan pituuteen, vaan on tarkasteltava myös muita työajan ulottuvuuksia.

Perheiden aikasuunnittelun kannalta tärkeitä työajan ulottuvuuksia ovat työaika-autonomia ja työajan ennakoitavuus. Työaika-autonomia mahdollistaa työajan joustavamman sovittamisen perheen tarpeisiin, ennakoitavuus puolestaan mahdollistaa ajan suunnittelun ja helpottaa ajan koordinointia. Kahden ansaitsijan perheissä palkansaajien työaika-autonomia on lisääntynyt. Ennakoimattomuuden vaikeudesta kertoo se, että jopa kolmannesta palkansaajista on tavoiteltu työasioissa työajan ulkopuolella päivittäin tai viikoittain. Siten, kontaktit työajan ulkopuolella ovat suhteellisen yleisiä tutkittavien keskuudessa. Teoreettisesti työajan ennakoimattomuus aiheuttaa ongelmia työn ja perheen yhteensovittamisessa, sillä monet kodin piiriin liittyvät tehtävät ja tapahtumat ovat aikasidonnaisia; tehtäviä, joita ei voi siirtää myöhempään.

Tarkastelin työn ja perheen yhteensovittamisen kokemuksia viiden yksityiskohtaisemman tutkimuskysymyksen kautta. Ensiksi kysyin missä määrin työn ja perheen välinen raja on hämärtymässä, ja mitkä työajan ulottuvuuksista ovat siihen yhteydessä. Kaikkiaan raja työn ja ei-työn välillä on yhä useammin hämärtymässä, josta osoituksena pidin työasioiden ajattelemista kotona. Odotetusti työhön liittyvät vaatimukset, joita olivat pitkä työaika, koettu työkiire ja esimiestehtävät, olivat yhteydessä työn ja ei-työn välisen rajan hämärtymiseen. Työn ja perheen välisen rajan hämärtyminen voi olla sekä negatiivinen että positiivinen kokemus.

Toiseksi tarkastelin työn ja perheen välistä aikaristiriitaa. Odotetusti työajan pituus on selkeästi yhteydessä koettuun aikaristiriitaan. Pitkää työaikaa (40+h/vko) tekevät raportoivat suurempaa koettua ristiriitaa. Molempien puolisojen tehdessä pitkää työaikaa on todennäköisyys kokea aikaristiriitaa moninkertainen verrattuna niihin perheisiin, joissa toinen puoliso tai molemmat tekevät lyhyttä (alle 30h/vko) tai normaalia (35-40h/vko) työaikaa.

Usein työn ja perheen välisten ongelmien ajatellaan koskevan vain niitä, joilla on lapsia, mutta havaitsin, että aikaristiriitakokemukset eivät koske vain heitä, yhtälailla lapsettomat tai ne, joilla on aikuisia lapsia raportoivat kokevansa aikaristiriitaa.

Tarkastelin myös sitä, missä määrin työ auttaa jaksamaan lasten kanssa. Kaikkiaan neljännes sanoin näin. Erityisesti ne miehet, joilla oli useampi lapsi,

ja ne äidit, joilla oli alle kouluikäisiä lapsia, sanoivat että työ auttaa jaksamaan lasten kanssa.

Tutkin perheiden työaikatoiveita eurooppalaisella aineistolla. Suomalaiset kahden ansaitsijan perheet työskentelivät vuonna 1998 palkkatyössä 81 tuntia viikossa, eurooppalaisen keskiarvon ollessa 77 tuntia. Suomalaiset perheet haluaisivat työskennellä 69 tuntia viikossa, mikä vastaa hyvin eurooppalaista keskiarvoa (65/h). Siten todellisen ja toivotun työajan välinen ero on noin 12 tuntia. Perheet toivoivat yli yhden työpäivän verran lyhyempää työviikkoa, siten tasapainon todellisen ja toivotun työajan välillä voi sanoa olevan pikemminkin huono.

Lopuksi tarkastelin haastatteluaineiston avulla perheiden aikastrategioita. Havaitsin perheiden käyttävän neljää eri aikastrategiaa. Ensiksi perheet käyttivät aikaneuvottelua strategiana. Yhtäällä perheiden arkipäivät järjestetään jatkuvan aikaneuvottelun avulla, toisaalla perheet järjestävän arkipäivät tiukkojen aikataulujen mukaisesti. Toiseksi havaitsin, että perheet eriävät aikataulujen ajoituksen suhteen; aikataulujen samanaikaisuutta tai eriaikaisuutta käytettiin strategiana. Aikataulujen samanaikaisuus mahdollistaa mm. yhteiset työmatkat, eriaikaisuus puolestaan mahdollistaa esimerkiksi työpäivän venyttämisen tai harrastukset kodin velvoitteista huolimatta. Kolmas strategia liittyi työajan rajoittamiseen. Työaikaa rajoitettiin tietoisesti perheen ja työn yhteensovittamiseksi. Neljäs strategia liittyi kotitöiden jakamiseen sukupuoliroolien mukaisesti. Joissakin perheissä naiset ja miehet tekivät yhtä paljon ja samanlaisia kotitöitä, toisissa perheissä tukeuduttiin perinteiseen työnjakoon. Tosin kuten aiemmassa tutkimuksessa (Larsen 2005) on havaittu, perheet käyttivät useita eri strategioita samanaikaisesti.

Tutkimus avaa monia jatkotutkimushaasteita. Ensinnäkin perheiden työaikakäytännöt pysyvät kiinnostavana tutkimuskohteena. Jatkossa on mielenkiintoista nähdä tasoittuvatko vai syvenevätkö naisten ja miesten työaikakäytäntöjen erot ja mitä se merkitsee perheen sisäiselle työnjaolle. Toiseksi perheiden aikakoordinaatio on kiehtova tutkimuskohde. Tutkimus viittaa siihen, että ajan koordinointi vaikeutuu perheiden arjessa, kun työajan ennakoimattomuus yleistyy ja työaika eriytyy yhä enemmän teollisen yhteiskunnan normaalityöajasta. Perheen aikakoordinaation on usein naisten tehtävä. Jatkossa on kiinnostavaa tietää pysyykö tämä rooli naisilla ja jos pysyy niin, mitä tämä merkitsee työelämässä naisten ja miesten välisen tasa-arvon kannalta. Uhkana on, että naisten ja miesten välinen epätasa-arvo kasvaa.

Työn ja perheen yhteensovittamisen kokemuksilla on merkitystä myös käytännön kehittämistyön kannalta. Olennaista on tunnistaa pyritäänkö kehittämistyöllä vähentämään ristiriitaa aiheuttavia tekijöitä vai korostetaanko työn ja perheen toisiaan tukevia rooleja. Jos kehittämistyö kohdistuu työaikakäytäntöihin, on tärkeä määritellä mihin työajan ulottuvuuteen ongelmat liittyvät. Aika säilynee työn ja perheen yhteensovittamisen kannalta kriittisenä tekijänä.

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APPENDIX 1

Finnish family types 1950-2004 (% of family population). Proportion of family population of the total population, %. Average family size.

Year	Married couple[1		Cohabiting couple		Single parent		Proportion of family population	Average family size
	no children	with children	no children	with children	woman	man		
1950	19	64	..	..	15	2	86	4
1960	20	66	..	..	13	2	87	4
1970	23	63	1	2	11	2	87	3
1980	24	56	3	5	11	2	84	3
1985	24	53	4	7	11	2	84	3
1990	27	47	5	9	11	2	82	3
1995	29	42	6	10	12	2	80	3
2000	31	37	7	11	11	2	78	3
2004	33	34	8	13	11	2	77	3

1) Proportion of registered same-sex couples registered since 2002, but proportion remains low, under 0.0 percent of the family population and is not included in the table.

Source: www.stat.fi/til/perh/taul.html 28.11.2006

APPENDIX 2

Research tasks, data and chapter

SPECIFIC RESEARCH TASKS	DATA	CHAPTER
(1) Explore working time practices of dual-earner couples -characteristics of post-industrial working time (1977-2003 when applicaple)	Working Conditions Surveys 1977 – 2003	5
(2) Describe experiences of work and family over time	Working Conditions Surveys 1984, 1990, 1990 and 2003	6
(3) Analyse the associations of working time characteristics to: (a) blurring boundaries between work and family (b) negative experiences of work-family (c) positive experiences of work-family (d) work-family fit	(a) Working Conditions Surveys 1990 – 2003 (b) Household, work and well-being 1999-2000 (c) Working Conditions Surveys 1990 – 2003 (d) Employment Options of the Future 1998	6
(4) Question if couples adopt specific strategies related to time in the organization of everyday life, and to discuss the identified strategies	Interviews of dual-earner families (2001-02)	7

APPENDIX 3

Employment Options of the Future: Sample sizes in 15 member states and Norway

Country	Basic Sample	Boost Sample	Total Sample	*Among them: Employed Persons*
Austria	1 000	501	1 501	*707*
Belgium	1 000	510	1 510	*625*
Denmark	1 001	484	1 485	*825*
Finland	1 000	504	1 504	*673*
France	2 000	1 026	3 026	*1 259*
Germany	2 000	998	2 998	*1 394*
Greece	1 042	464	1 506	*517*
Ireland	900	500	1 400	*651*
Italy	1 978	1 014	2 992	*979*
Luxembourg	520	302	822	*290*
Netherlands	1 001	499	1 500	*734*
Portugal	1 000	501	1 501	*564*
Spain	2 000	1 000	3 000	*663*
Sweden	900	412	1 312	*731*
UK	2 000	1 000	3 000	*1 308*
EUR 15	**19 342**	**9 715**	**29 057**	***11 920***
Norway	800	700	1 500	*729*
Total	**20 142**	**10 415**	**30 557**	***12 649***

Unweighted Numbers of Cases
Source: Bielenski, Boch & Wagner 2002, 5

Sample
Data are representative of the residential population aged 16 to 64 years in all 15 Member States of the EU and in Norway. Data collection was made on the basis of two separate samples in each of the 16 countries involved in the survey. A basic sample comprised the residential population aged 16 to 64. From this sample a sufficiently high number of interviews was available for only one of the core target groups: employed persons. For the other three core target groups of persons presently not employed (young entrants, women returners, unemployed persons) the basic sample did not provide enough cases for analysis. In order to get a sufficiently high number of cases for the target groups of young entrants, women returners and unemployed persons a special boost sample was designed. It concentrated on persons between 16 and 64 presently not employed (Bielenski, Boch & Wagner 2002, 5)