



DISCUSSION MATERIAL

Citizenship, flexibility and diversity in work-care relations

The Project

WORKCARE SYNERGIES is a support action with the aim of disseminating research findings of previous EU Framework Programme projects in the field of work-care in the following EU countries: Austria, UK, Denmark, Hungary, Poland, Italy and Portugal.

For details about events and contents visit our project homepage:

Project-Homepage: www.workcaresynergies.eu as well as our

RUC-DK country page: <http://workcaresynergies.eu/flexibility-in-work-and-care/>

Project Objective

WORKCARE SYNERIGES deals with “translating” (i.e. collect, summarize, make understandable and accessible) existing research findings for interested actors at local level.

It addresses local NGOs, policy makers, trade unions, labor representatives, regional organizations and services, companies as well as other local actors and interested parties.

Local dissemination events will present selected findings and initiate their discussion in a local context.

Local Objective

What? The Danish team will “translate” (i.e. collect, summarize, make understandable and accessible) findings from existing research projects within the EU Framework Programmes and initiate a discussion in the Danish context.

Why? To support the Danish policy debate on

- Gendered Citizenship and Work-Care relations
- Diversity and flexibility in family policy

Purpose of Events

To inform about and discuss findings with local community, with the aim to feed back policy recommendations to the EC.

Project

- (1) WORKCARE (2006-2009), a project on the social quality and changing relationships between work, care and welfare in Europe.
- (2) HWF (2000-2003), a project on households, work and flexibility.
- (3) CINEFOGO (2005-2009), a project on civil society and new forms of Governance in Europe.
- (4) RECOWWE (2006-2011), a project on reconciling work and welfare in Europe.

Selected Findings:

This discussion paper is based on results from comparative studies analysing the effects of family and social policy in Europe. The results described more in detail in the paper derive primarily from the *HWF project* funded by EU Commission in 2000 - 2003 with a focus on flexibility in relationship between household and work organizations and the *Work-Care project* which was a comparative European study funded by the EU Commission in 2006 – 2009. Both these projects had the aim of developing new policies in the EU. The recommendations are prepared by an expert team to create a platform for policy development in the area of family and work relations. The project tries to build bridges between micro-analysis of individual household decisions and macro analysis of institutional factors. In the Work-Care project we investigate the effect of policies at European level concerning family and work in order to explain the relationship between work and care in a comparative perspective. A key objective of the analysis has been to illustrate how families make decisions regarding work and care in different European countries.

Social - and employment policies in the EU focus primarily on encouraging both men and women to be active in the workforce. Furthermore the EU has also expressed a commitment to ensure equal opportunities for men and women and therefore creating a better quality of life for the entire population. The central question to be answered by this discussion paper concerns how do we enable families with young children to combine work and care, to promote equality of opportunity for mothers and fathers and create such social and economic conditions that all members of the family to enjoy a high quality of life? This implies that fathers as well as mothers have the same opportunities taking part both in paid work and in caring for their children. The project is drafted by a team of experts from 7 different European countries. In the Danish team, we have primarily focused on flexibility in work and family life.

European countries are facing a number of challenges including demographic

changes due to an aging population and low birth rate. This has created a growing interest in developing policies to ensure both high employment rates for men and women and encouraging family formation. The results from our research might offers an answer to a number of important questions on work-care relations, gender equality in the family, and the type of family policies to pursue in this respect – such as:

1. What does family policy in the EU look like?
2. What strategies are families using to meet their needs for care to the children when both parents are working?
3. What is the relationship between women's gender norms, working time preferences, and actual working time?
4. What opportunities are there for taking up paternity leave?

The research carried out in the Work-Care project was concentrated on following aspects:

- Analysis of cross-European data sets to provide the “big picture” of European patterns of work and care
- Analysis of childcare, flexibility and workplace policies at both national and European level
- In-depth interviews in European countries having contrasting traditions of work and care: Denmark, the UK, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Portugal and Italy

Classification of the EU Member States – Family Policy Regimes

In this section we want to analysis how the EU Member States are positioned in relation to a combination of family-friendly measures. This is done by a cluster analysis including four different variables

- Childcare take up among children aged 0-3 in percentage of the total number of children in this age-group,
- Effective parental leave in week,
- Female part-time employment rate according to the EUROSTAT definition – self-declared part-time, and
- Total spending on family policy in percentage of GDP

The cluster analysis includes 21 EU Member States – excluded are Cyprus, Malta, Bulgaria, Rumania, Slovak Republic, and Ireland due to insufficient data sources.

Clustering of the countries helps us in focusing on specific similarities and differences between the included countries but it does not give us any definite

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picture of the relationship between the countries and their family policy measures. It is possible to identify a number of welfare regimes in terms of the ways they support (or not) parents combining paid employment with their caring responsibilities. These different regimes have very different consequences for how parents organise work and care.

Figure 1

| Work-care Regime | Spending on Family Policy | Key Features² |
|--|--|--|
| Extensive Family Policy | Sweden (2.9%) ³ , Denmark 3.7%), Belgium (2%), France (2.5%) | High level childcare 0 -3 years, with generous payment of parental leave. High proportion women working part-time |
| Short leave, Part –time | UK (1.6%), Netherlands (1.6%) | Short period of poorly paid parental leave, Medium provision of public childcare for 0 – 3 year olds and high proportion of mothers working part-time. |
| Long Leave, Part-time | Germany (3.1%), Austria (2.9%), Luxembourg (3.4%) | Long period of relatively well –paid parental leave followed by mothers who do return to the labour market working part-time. |
| Family Care | Estonia (1.2), Slovenia (1.9), Spain (1.2%), Latvia 1.2%), Greece 1.5%), Italy (1.2%), Portugal (1.2%) | Period parental leave varies but badly paid. Mothers generally withdraw from the labour market and do not return when their children are older. |
| Extended Parental Leave¹ | Hungary (2.8%), Poland (0.8%), Czech Republic (1.4%), Lithuania (1.1%), Finland (2.9%) | Very long period of parental leave with women returning to full-time employment when they have exhausted their entitlement to leave. Finland deviates someone as there is a greater provision of public care for 0-3 year olds and more women working part-time. |

1. Bulgaria also has this regime but was not included in the Workcare analysis.
2. Part-time work is working less than 30 hours a week. In the Scandinavian countries, including Finland, part-time is generally relatively secure long-part-time whereas in the UK, Netherlands, Germany and Austria many women work in short-part-time jobs which with the exception of those in the Netherlands are often marginal and insecure.
3. Figure in brackets % GDP spent on Family Policy in 2006

The characteristics of the main policy instruments – childcare, parental leave, part-time employment – and the strategies used by especially the mothers in

reconciling work, care and households obligation in the five different family policy models are described in the following.

Cluster 1: Extensive Family Policy Model

Four countries are included in this cluster – the two Scandinavian countries – Denmark and Sweden – and the two countries normally characterized by a pro-natalistic family policy – France and Belgium.

The cluster is characterised by a high level of childcare take up among children aged 0-3 years combined with comprehensive rights to parental leave which is generously paid during most of the parental leave period. The level of spending on family policy is high. These countries are in the breadwinner-typology classified as modified or weak breadwinner countries. There is in all four countries a strong drive on women's integration into the labour force and towards women's social and economical independency. In Sweden children have nearly no impact on women's rate of employment while employment rates for Danish mothers with one child are even higher than for non-mothers. Mothers with children aged 0 to 5 in France and Belgium have employment rates lower than in Scandinavia. For French women it is especially the case among mothers with two or more children. A relatively high proportion of women in the four countries are in part-time employment. About one-third of the female employees have part-time jobs, when "part-time employment" is defined as self-declared part-time. The majority of women in part-time jobs are working long part-time - more than 25 hours a week.

Cluster 2: Short leave, Part-time Model

The Netherlands and the United Kingdom are both characterised as a short-leave, part-time regime. In both countries the period of parental leave is short and badly paid. There is a modest level of public childcare for children aged 0 – 3. The childcare take up normally on part-time is usually combined with women working part-time. When it comes to the labour market system the two countries differ both in relation to social protection and regulation of flexibility.

The UK is characterised by a market-driven labour market with low social protection. We find very few restrictions for employers employing workers on low wage and variable working hours. If employees are low paid or in part-time jobs they are not eligible for social security and the employers are not entitled to pay social contribution. Furthermore, British women are often forced to take up low paid part-time jobs after a relatively short period of paid maternity / parental leave. The coverage of childcare facilities has been rapidly growing in the UK during the last decade, but still most of them are part-time and/or relatively expensive.

The Netherlands is characterised by a working-time regime, which is more regulated than the British labour market concerning employment contract and

social protection. The social partners are highly involved in regulating the working condition as in the Scandinavian countries. In the recent years the Dutch labour market system has become more deregulated in an attempt to balance flexibility and security in employment relations. This has led to individualised arrangements but without a comprehensive family policy on parental leave and lack of childcare facilities it has been impossible to achieve even a modest level of gender equity in terms of work and care. Consequently the Netherlands holds a position in the bottom among the European countries on equal opportunities.

Cluster 3: The Long-leave, Part-time Model

This cluster includes Germany, Austria and Luxembourg, which in other typologies are characterised with a strong breadwinner model. These countries have long parental leave, which is relatively well paid. Therefore, the level of spending on family policy is high due to generous paid parental leave.

For most mothers the parental leave has traditionally been followed by a longer period outside the labour market caring for the children. During the recent years a growing number of women in both Germany and Austria have taking up part-time, but their part-time jobs are typically short-hours in order to reconcile with the caring obligations. It is, however, part-time employment in unstable jobs with few weekly working hours. Typically mothers have been forced to leave the market to take care of the children because the provision of childcare facilities is very restricted and those who are available are primarily based on part-time caring.

Problems getting back into regular employment having been out of work for a long period because of care obligations seem to be more serious among mothers within this model than elsewhere. This is primarily because the extended period most mothers stay on parental leave. Another serious problem for mothers who want to return to work after parental leave is the lack of part-time jobs fitting into the operating hours of the childcare institutions, which typically are half-day. Furthermore the number of childcare places is restricted and child caring has to rely on grandparents in large scale.

Cluster 4: Family Care Model

Included in this cluster is all the Southern European countries and two Baltic countries. It is countries characterized by a low proportion of women in gainful employment and consequently few women in part-time jobs. The period of parental leave varies among these countries but the parental leave is badly paid forcing most mothers to rely on a male breadwinner. In the Southern European countries the provision of childcare facilities is low and when they are available it is normally on short opening hours and often they are expensive. As a consequence of low payment of parental leave and restricted provision of public childcare facilities the spending on family policy is low in the countries covered by this cluster

Few women are on part-time in the family care model. It is not because they are full-time employed but because the overall female employment is low – in some countries – Italy and Greece – below 50 per cent and even lower for women in the age-group 25 – 45. In these countries the difficulties rearing children have had as consequence a low rate of fertility. Portugal is an outlier in several respects. First of all more Portuguese mothers are in gainful employment than in the other Southern countries, secondly, they are overwhelming working full-time, and finally the period of parental leave is for most mothers short and the care for small children relies on intergenerational support. Among these countries we find a negative correlation between fertility and employment while it is the opposite among countries included in the extensive family policy model.

Cluster 5: Extended Parental Leave Model

This cluster is characterised by very long periods of effective parental leave. Included in the cluster are the three Central European countries Hungary, Poland and Czech Republic plus Lithuania and Finland. All countries have low level of take up of childcare and relatively few women on part-time. Finland deviates to some extent having a higher childcare coverage and more women in part-time jobs than the other countries but still the possibility of extended parental leave. In countries classified under the extended parental leave model women typically stay at home three years or more caring for their children.

The economic situation in Central and Eastern Europe has made it necessary for both man and woman in the household to contribute to the survival of the family economy. Due to low level of wages it has been a condition for a descent standard of living that both adult household members were full-time earners and for many low wages have forced them to take up an extra job in the ‘second economy’. The high level of employment for both men and women in Central and Eastern Europe has, however, not been transferred into a more equal division of labour within the family. Consequently, women remain the principal responsible for care and domestic life both when they are on parental leave and during periods when they are on full-time employment.

In Finland the social and economic conditions are different and the possibilities for choosing between paid work and care others than in Central and East Europe. Here we find a real choice between paid family care where one of the parents are paid for caring the child at home or formalised childcare in public institutions. These arrangements – both family care and public childcare - are relatively generously paid, which also explains the high level of spending on family policy in Finland. Parent’s choice in Finland between family care and public childcare is also the main reason for the relatively high level of part-time employment among mothers with small children compared to the other countries in this cluster.

What strategies using families where both parents are working to meet their care needs?

When women are entering the labour market in increasing number, there is in all European countries a growing pressure to provide basic care for the children during the working time. Based on interview with families in the 7 European countries and quantitative analysis, we found that families are using a wide range of different strategies when care needs are to be covered. These strategies for childcare depend basically on the institutional development of the national family policies. There can be identified 5 overall strategies.

Public childcare: Parents get their children cared for through public facilities. This strategy is mainly used in Scandinavian countries where there are public childcare facilities, the care services are of relatively high quality and the opening hours may be consistent with a fulltime job. Public or publicly funded childcare, however, have in most European countries been growing but there are three essential conditions for meeting the needs of families:

- The child caring must be of relatively high quality – sufficient educated staff members
- The childcare institutions must be relatively cheap and available when the need is there
- The opening hours must fit the conditions for two full time jobs.

To ensure that those needs are met, it requires that the state invest heavily in childcare which is not the case in countries e. g. The UK, Italy, Portugal. Furthermore in many Continental and Southern European countries the daycare institutions have part-time opening hours which prevent both parents from taking up full-time jobs.

Home care through flexible working: Through a high degree of flexibility in working hours parents might be able to organise their working time schedule so they can switch between caring for their children and work obligations. This implies that parents are working at different times of day i.e. nights, evenings, weekend and homework. Another strategy might be that one parent - often women - reduces the working time. The strategy of balancing work and family life through flexible working is seen primarily in short-leave part-time and long-leave part-time models represented in the Work-Care project by Great Britain and Austria. This strategy has major negative consequences for women's career opportunities forcing them to leave the labour market for a longer period or to take up short part-time jobs.

Childcare through family networks: Parents get help from family members and relatives - primarily grandparents known as intergenerational care. This type of childcare strategy is common in Southern European and in Eastern Europe. It is a caring approach, which requires that the grandparents be not in employment. This strategy, however, is in contrast to the aim of rising the retirement age and retaining older workers active in the labour market, which is part of the aging policies in most European countries.

Private childcare. Due to lack of public childcare parents go for private solutions. Often it is migrants who are responsible for the private childcare. This strategy is being increasingly used in all European countries - but most prevalent in southern European countries. One speaks in this context of global care chains. The global care chains means that women in Europe are active in the labour market and want to have careers and therefore others have to be paid to take up the traditional care and household tasks if no institutional care is available which is typical the situation in South Europe. The private solutions are highly class-differentiated. It is primarily well-off families in the middle class who are able to pay for a private arrangement and consequently make it possible for both parents to pursue a labour market career.

The children care for themselves: This strategy is used when the kids are old enough, to care for themselves. Often the older siblings are caring their small sisters and brothers. We find this care model among low-income families in Southern Europe, where both women and men are forced to work and often are working long hours and no childcare facilities are available. It is a strategy which typically is used in rural areas but has severe negative consequences for social development of the child and for its well being.

New social risks and family policy?

Families in which both husband and wife working, increasingly have become the norm in European families, and are often a prerequisite for the families having a reasonable income. Women's increasing labour force participation is caused by several factors. First, among the women the rapidly rising educational level has only relevance if the education is being actively used through paid work. Second, the growing instability of family relationships due to an increased number of family split up and a growing number of single parent families make it necessary for women to have their own income. Thirdly the reality is that for the majority of families in all European countries it is necessary with two incomes for a family with 1-2 children to maintain a satisfactory standard of living. The last factor can be illustrated by an analysis of income. According to EU-figures the proportion of families living in poverty in the EU is 3 to 6 times as high if only one of the partners are in work compared to families where both are working. In the Scandinavian countries with universal family policy schemes women can use their human capital and be in full-time work, which is only the case for a minor group of women in most other European countries.

Lack of public childcare is thus a risk factor that forces parents to withdraw from the labour market. This can have severe consequences for the total household income and thereby increase the risk that the family will live in poverty. It may thus contribute to an increased social insecurity.

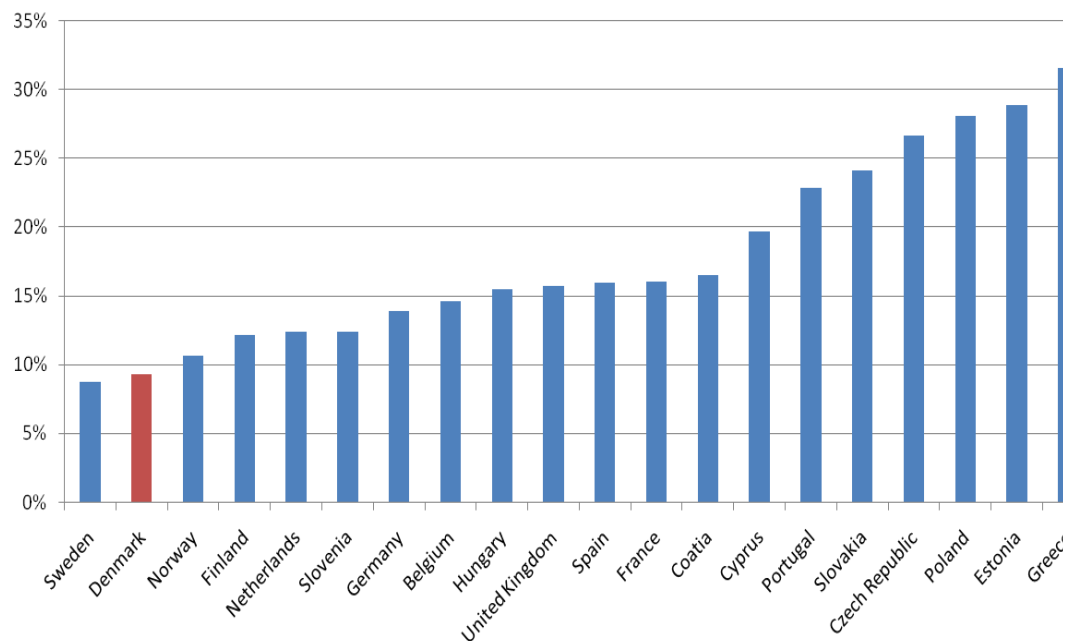
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Several studies show that a trend towards a polarization between, on the one hand, families that are rich in working time - but poor in time with the family and, on the other hand, families who are rich in time with the family - but poor at working hours. The lack of affordable public childcare can increase this polarization between families with two incomes who can afford private childcare, and families who cannot afford childcare, and where women therefore often must withdraw from the labour market. The results show that the combination of parental leave where women have the right to return to work and adequate childcare for children less than 3 years reduces the perceived risk of being forced to spend less time on paid work due to caring commitments. Investments in different family policy regimes are thus a prerequisite for the family experiences social security and for accomplishing an acceptable level of gender equality. The experience of social security is central to family life and in relation to have children. Generally, women in Europe want to be at the job market and have an active working life. Caring tasks can therefore be seen as an obstacle or a barrier for being a good family.

A study of women's perceived social risks shows large differences depending on the type of family policy. The figure below shows the proportion of women who believe it is likely *that during the next 12 months they will have to spend less time on paid work than they would wish because of care obligations to family members or relatives*

How likely is it that during the next 12 months you will have to spend less time in paid work than you would like, because you have to take care of family members or relatives.

ANSWER Likely



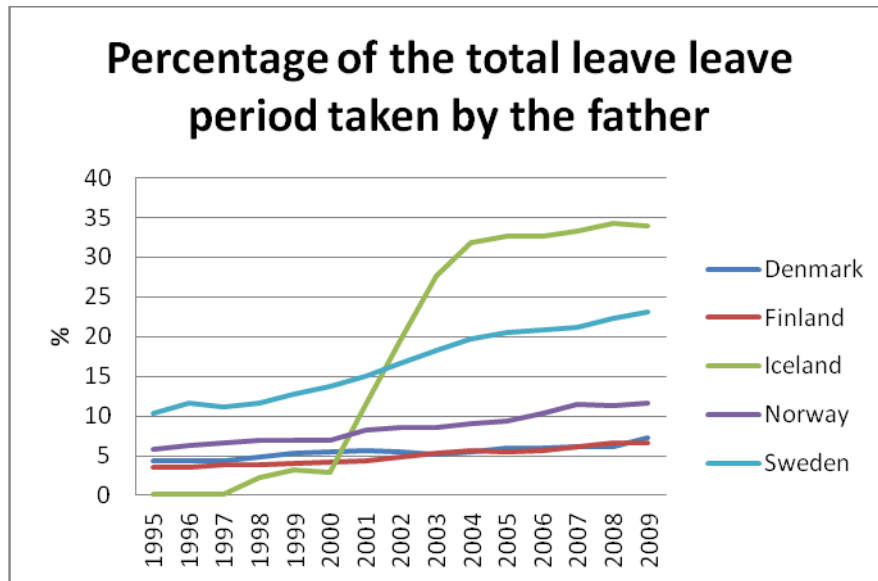
Source: ESS 2008

The figure shows that women in the Scandinavian countries are experiencing a smaller risk of spending less time on paid work due to care obligation than in the other European countries. Women in the south and east European countries are clearly experiencing a higher level of employment insecurity due care obligations than we find in Northern Europe.

What opportunities are there to take paternity leave?

Unlike women, men in all countries have a continuous employment pattern over their life course. The tendency that women's employment record over a lifetime becomes more like men does not contribute to a feminisation of men's careers. The presence of dependent children has virtually no influence on men's employment. Women in most EU countries dominate in take up of parental leave systems. Furthermore, very few EU countries have earmarked a portion of parental leave for men. The Nordic countries are an exception.

Sweden was the first country to introduce a parental leave with a period reserved specific for the fathers. In the Swedish leave model 2 months of the total leave of 16 months are reserved for the mother and father, respectively, while the remaining 12 months of the parental leave is for sharing. In Norway, four weeks out of the 52 weeks of leave is reserved for the father, while the last 2 weeks of the Finnish leave scheme is reserved to the father. The Icelandic model of parental leave is the most gender equal system in the world, with three months are reserved for fathers, three months to mothers and three months in common. Denmark is the only Nordic country that has not reserved a period of parental leave to the father. A key question is whether the introduction of paternity leave might change the practices of fathers taking leave and thereby being more involved in care work and other family obligations. According to the figure below the share of total parental leave that men take out have increased in all countries. Developments in Iceland are significant.



After the earmarked paternity leave was introduced in Iceland in 2000 fathers' share of total leave increased from less than 5% to over 30%. This means that Icelandic men on average takes 3 months of total leave of 9 months. The proportion of leave taken by Swedish men is also significantly higher than in the other Nordic countries. Unlike Iceland, you do not see any sharp rise in Sweden after the introduction of paternity leave in 1995 and 2002, respectively. However, the trend in Sweden is an increase in men's share of the leave over a longer period.

A possible explanation of the dramatic increase in Iceland after change of the leave scheme compared with Sweden is that the total leave is much shorter in Iceland. The consequence for families where the father does not use paternity quota is that the family only have 6 months' leave. This can create problems in relation to providing care for children as well as problems in relation to children's well-being. Denmark and Finland, the Nordic countries, where men take the lowest share of total parental leave they take on average 6-7% of the total leave period available. The figure illustrates very clearly that men's behaviour in relation to taking leave is strongly influenced by the policies being pursued in the countries. A key question in this respect is whether gender norms or policy instruments have the strongest effect on the degree in which men take part in care work and the family obligations. Iceland is the Nordic country that has the most traditional gender roles according to the European value studies – EWS or ESS. There is thus nothing to suggest that gender norms in the society are more important for men's behaviour than the family policies.

Consequently, we can assume that the Icelandic family policy model characterised by a relative long period of paternity leave compared to the total period of leave might have three positive effects on gender equality in employment. Firstly, the combination of a relatively short period of leave and 3

months are reserved for the man means that woman at a maximum interrupt their careers for about half a year. Secondly, the loss of human capital due to career breaks is more evenly divided between men and women, when men take up a third part of the leave. Thirdly, the statistical discrimination decreases, since the employer might now also expect that the fathers take a portion of the leave. So far there have not been done any systematic studies of the gender implications of the introduction of paternity leave in Iceland.

Conclusive remarks

Our analysis showed that the different family policy regimes to a large extent affect mothers – and fathers - care praxis and the strategies pursued by the households in reconciling paid work, unpaid work and caring obligation in the families. We found that in the *Extensive Family Policy Model* mothers returned in gainful employment after six months to one year of leave and rely on public child care. In the *Short-leave, Part-time Model* the periods of leave are restricted to few months and the lack of affordable child care facilities often forces mothers to take up part time jobs on short hours or leaving the labour market completely for a longer period of time when becoming mothers. The period out of gainful employment depends on the number of children. With two or more children a significant number of mothers never come back in regular work. In the *Long-leave, Part-time Model* mothers stay at home on long parental leave - up to three years per child - and if they return into gainful employment it is typically in contingent part-time jobs on short hours and to extremely low wages. In the *family care model* we find a widespread polarisation between mothers who return to the labour market after a short leave relying on help from grandparents and mothers who are not participating in the labour market. In contrast to the family care model in countries represented by the *extended leave model* mothers stay at home on long parental leave when the children are young, but the majority take up full-time employment when the children get older (3 years old) and also here the children are cared for by grandparents in large number due to the reduced availability of institutional childcare facilities in the Central and Eastern European countries.

In order to develop a more gender balanced citizenship in the European Union developing typologies of care models can spread light on mothers' constraint and opportunities in combining work and care. Policies at the EU level have to take into consideration how the interplay between different kinds of family policies and gender norms shape the relationship between paid work, unpaid work and care in different national contexts. Our research shows that reconciliation policies can take many forms and there is huge difference among the EU member states.

The central question is what implications our findings will have on the challenges of combining work and care at the EU level. The findings show that different caring regimes constraining mothers' choice in different way. In all care models except for *extensive family policy model* we find a shortage of childcare provision for children below three years. In order to increase women's engagement in paid

work and give women more choices in combining work and care all EU Member States have to invest in more public and affordable childcare facilities. In the *extended leave model* an increased possibility for taking part-time leave could give woman more option in combining work and caring responsibilities and help mothers to an earlier return into the labour market. Furthermore it is in several of the family policy models important to ensure that women – and men – who take parental leave have a protected right to return to their previous job after the leave period.

Besides the need of more public and cheap childcare facilities the *family care model* also need better opportunities for paid parental leave and part-time job in order to help mothers combining work and the care obligations. These measures might prevent the tendency to polarisation between women who are in continuous employment and women who are not participating in the labour market at all. In both part-time models – *short-leave, part-time* and *long-leave, part-time* - the restricted provision of childcare on full-time for small children forces mothers who want to be employed into a mummy track characterised by part-time jobs on a short hour basis and often with a low salary and unstable employment conditions.

Starting Points for Discussion

How do we increased the labour supply when the large majority of people with children prefer shorter working hours and increased working time creates conflicts between work and family responsibilities?

How to involve fathers more in the care obligations of the families and simultaneously respect the right of parents to decide the division of labour within the families themselves?

How to create the best conditions for raising the children and giving them the optimal life opportunities?

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OECD Family database

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Project

WORKCARE SYNERGIES – Dissemination of Synthesized Framework Programme Research Findings

Coordinator

Institute for Advanced Studies (IHS), Austria

WORKCARE SYNERGIES PROJECT IDENTITY

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| Consortium | University of Aberdeen (UNIABDN), Scotland, UK Roskilde University (UNIRUC), Denmark Vienna University of Economics and Business (WU-Wien), Austria TARKI Social Research Institute (TARKI), Hungary University of Warsaw (UWAR), Poland University of Florence (UNIFI), Italy CIES-ISCTE (CIES-ISCTE), Portugal University of Brighton (UoB), UK |
| European Commission | Marc Goffart, DG Research |
| Duration | January 2010 – December 2011 |
| Budget | 600 000 € |
| Funding scheme | Seventh Framework Programme Theme 8, Socio-economic sciences and humanities (SSH), 8.1 Measures to support dissemination of research results |
| Website | www.workcaresynergies.eu |
| Further information | Further information about local dissemination events and materials, the underlying FP research projects, newsletters, short films, policy briefs, etc. can be accessed through our project website. |
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