UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE

HOW GENERATIONS AND GENDER SHAPE DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

Towards Policies Based on Better Knowledge

Conference Proceedings

UNITED NATIONS
New York and Geneva 2009

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This publication includes the documents, keynote papers and summaries of panel discussions at the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) Conference "How Generations and Gender Shape Demographic Change", which was held from 14 to 16 May 2008 at the Palais des Nations in Geneva.

The Conference was carried out and this publication prepared with support of a grant from the Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities of the European Commission. Additional financial support was provided by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA).

The organizers of the Conference would like to thank the authors of keynote papers, panellists and participants for their contributions and engagement in the discussion, which led to the material contained herein.

At the UNECE secretariat, Andres Vikat, Andrej Kveder, Kristin Hausotter and Laura Rienecker prepared the summaries of panel sessions and edited the material. Christopher Edgar performed the linguistic editing, France Font-Vérot prepared the layout and Yves Clopt designed the cover.

NOTE

The designations employed and the presentation of the material in this publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Secretariat of the United Nations concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area, or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

This publication has been produced with the financial assistance of the European Union.

The views expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe or the European Union.

UNECE Information Unit Palais des Nations CH-1211 Geneva 10 Switzerland	Phone: +41 (0)22 917 44 44 Fax: +41 (0)22 917 05 05 E-mail: info.ece@unece.org Website: http://www.unece.org

UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATION
Sales No
ISBN:

Copyright © United Nations, 2009
All rights reserved

Printed at United Nations, Geneva (Switzerland)

PREFACE

In the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) region, population ageing is the dominant demographic trend of this century. However, other pertinent demographic developments – such as decline of fertility to low or very low levels, increasing age at family formation, and changes in family patterns – also challenge many areas of public policy. The policy challenges include the reconciliation of work and family life, the promotion of intergenerational solidarity and collaboration, gender equality and flexibility in life-course transitions between education, work and retirement. In the Regional Implementation Strategy for the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing (2002) and in the León Ministerial Declaration "A Society for All Ages: Challenges and Opportunities" (2007), UNECE member States committed to responding to these challenges.

Sustainable policy responses can be achieved if the causes and consequences of the demographic developments are understood and explained. In recognition of this fact, at the 2000 International Meeting on Generations and Gender, UNECE member States invited the UNECE secretariat to organize another round of region-wide data collection and research on population issues that would build on the successful experience with the Family and Fertility Surveys in the 1980s and 1990s. The meeting launched the Generations and Gender Programme, which comprises: (a) a survey covering a broad range of influences on demographic behaviour; (b) a related contextual database of national and regional trends and policies on these issues; and (c) analyses of these data.

After the several years required for conceptual and methodological work and data collection, the Programme has now started to deliver results for policymakers. To discuss how these results of innovative research can be used in developing policy responses to demographic change, UNECE organized the Conference on How Generations and Gender Shape Demographic Change. This forum involved both policymakers and researchers and covered the key policy areas where analyses of the Generations and Gender Programme can make a significant contribution, including intergenerational relations, gender equality, living conditions of older persons, low fertility, reconciliation of work and family life, and integration of young people in society.

This volume contains the keynote papers and a summary of contributions to the Conference as well as the background note by the secretariat and the conference report. It aims at disseminating the conference proceedings to a wider audience and thereby inspiring broader debate.

UNECE is grateful to the authors of the keynote papers, to the panellists and the participants for their engagement in discussion and contributions that led to the material contained herein. UNECE also wishes to acknowledge the support from the Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities of the European Commission, which was crucial in terms of organizing the Conference and preparing this publication.

It is expected that this volume will be of interest to a broad audience interested in population matters and will increase awareness about the need for policy responses to demographic change.

Ján KUBIŠ
Executive Secretary
United Nations Economic Commission for Europe

AUTHORS OF KEYNOTE PAPERS

Francesco C. Billari	Director, "Carlo F. Dondena" Centre for Research on Social Dynamics, and Professor, Department of Decision Sciences, Bocconi University
Svein Olav Daatland	Research Professor NOVA – Norwegian Social Research
Jenny de Jong Gierveld	Professor Emeritus Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute
John Hobcraft	Professor of Demography and Social Policy Department of Social Policy and Social Work University of York
Anne Hornung	Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research and Rostock University
Dirk Konietzka	Senior Lecturer Faculty of Sociology, Bielefeld University
Michaela Kreyenfeld	Junior Professor Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research and Rostock University
Ivar A. Lima	NOVA – Norwegian Social Research
Gerda Neyer	Head of the Laboratory of Population and Policy Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research
Ariane Pailhé	Head of the Unit of Economic Demography Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques
Dorothea Rieck	Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research
Britt Slagsvold	Research Director NOVA – Norwegian Social Research

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

POLICY DISCUSSION AND RESEARCH ON GENERATIONS AND GENDER[1]

Michael Pettigrew@Fotolia

[1] ECE/AC.31/2008/3 – the background note prepared by the UNECE secretariat for the Conference on How Generations and Gender Shape Demographic Change.

POLICY CHALLENGES

Recent and current demographic developments in the UNECE region have important and far-reaching repercussions for all spheres of society and pose numerous challenges to public policy. Notably, most countries of the region have seen the growth in the working-age population, the time of the so-called demographic bonus, gradually come to an end. The need for adaptation concerns a wide range of policy areas, and was summarized in the UNECE Regional Implementation Strategy of the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing[2] and in the León Ministerial Declaration "A Society for All Ages: Challenges and Opportunities"[3] .

In the interplay of changes in intergenerational and gender relationships, several demographic trends of recent decades have implications on public policy. These include: (a) the decline of fertility to below-replacement levels in most of the region and to very low levels in large parts of it; (b) significant levels of childlessness; (c) increasing age at family formation; (d) increasing prevalence of non-marital partnerships and non-marital childbearing; (e) decreasing stability of co-residential partnerships; and (f) the emergence of non-residential partnerships.

The decline of fertility to very low levels in countries of Southern Europe in the 1980s and in Central and Eastern Europe in the 1990s has raised concerns, as the continuation of such patterns could lead to marked population decline and could greatly magnify the challenges posed by population ageing in the future. In population policy reviews, most Governments from these countries regard their fertility levels as too low and are thus expected to find use for measures that could counteract this trend.

It is recognized that at the household or individual level, finding a desired balance between work and family life entails difficult choices, which frequently require making certain sacrifices such as having fewer children than intended or giving up a career. Public policy can reduce barriers to parenting and employment, and many countries have embarked on such measures with the general objective of enhancing their citizens' well-being. As UNECE member States recently recognized in the León Declaration, family-friendly policies aiming at the reconciliation of work with family life can both counteract a decrease of the birth rate to very low levels and augment the employment rate.

The structure of opportunities and constraints for individuals and households is shaped by public policies pertaining to different areas and the responsibilities of different agencies. The need for coordination between different policy areas is imminent. For example, if reconciliation of work and family life is a policy goal, benefits that allow parents to take time off from employment to care for small children need to be accompanied with actual possibilities for re-entry into the labour market. On another note, measures such as developing an affordable childcare system can serve multiple policy goals: removing barriers from employment and from childbearing, supporting gender equality and responding to child development concerns.

There is consensus that participation and partnership of both women and men are required for a productive and reproductive life, including shared responsibilities with respect to childcare and the maintenance of the household. At the same time, the majority of those with caring responsibilities are women. It is also acknowledged that the increase in women's labour market participation has not prompted an increase in men's domestic duties – what is frequently referred to as women's dual burden. From the point of view of achieving gender equality, public policy needs to include measures counteracting women's marginalization in professional activities and in social protection systems. While gender equality in itself is an important policy goal, analyses have also revealed that in the context of low fertility, fertility levels remain relatively high when there are high levels of gender equality in the economy, family and society.

Intergenerational solidarity and collaboration are coming under strain due to changes in family patterns and the adjustments in social protection systems triggered by population ageing. At the same time, intergenerational collaboration is vital to supporting adjustments in social protection systems: it fosters social cohesion and helps make the best use of the potentials of persons of all ages. There is evidence of much interaction between generations both in countries with cultural traditions of strong family ties as well as in others. Measures that

[2] ECE/AC.23/2002/2/Rev.6
[3] ECE/AC.30/2007/L.1

support childcare and dependency care, as well as measures that afford a better balance in distributing family and domestic responsibilities, can strengthen intergenerational solidarity.

The UNECE member States have acknowledged the need for more flexible life-course transitions among education, work and retirement. This would release the potential of men and women of all ages for the benefit of society and would recognize their self-fulfilment as individuals, creating a macro-economic effect towards sustainable social protection systems and improving quality of life for citizens. One such significant life-course transition is retirement, which entails an important economic and social change for an individual. While the relatively low employment rates of older workers reflect the early retirement policies promoted in the recent past as a strategy for coping with unemployment, the prevailing challenge now is keeping older workers longer in employment, which has implications on intergenerational relationships.

The trend towards postponing life-events leading to the formation of new families and households has been universal throughout the UNECE region, notwithstanding the differences in its onset and pace between as well as within countries. Prolonged education has been seen as a major factor behind this postponement, but it is also shaped by the labour market and housing policies. This postponement is known to have had a significant role in the fertility decline. It also has implications on population ageing, leading to an additional decline in the support ratio. At the individual level, the implications of postponement include challenges related to the ability to become pregnant, to carry a pregnancy to term and to the adverse health outcomes for the children of pregnancies late in life. The issue of assisted reproductive technologies and the role of public policy in supporting them come up in this context.

While opportunity structures set by the labour market and social protection systems undoubtedly play an important role for life-course events, changing attitudes, norms and values can explain much of the change in behaviours as well. Subjective dimensions are important in intergenerational and gender relationships. They also operate through norms or preferences for sequencing life-course events such as completing education, starting a partnership or having children, as well as for the appropriate ages of those events. The link between values and demographic behaviour has been one of the central explanatory threads in explaining demographic trends of the recent half-century in Western Europe, and there is evidence of their important role in other parts of the UNECE region as well. Public policy thus needs to be informed about and to consider these aspects.

THE NEED FOR DATA COLLECTION AND RESEARCH

Sustainable responses to policy challenges require that the causes and consequences of the demographic developments be understood and explained. This can be achieved by analyses of the interplay of demographic behaviours and of the broader issues of intergenerational and family relationships, caring and support; gender relations; and the work-life balance. Such analyses should rely on up-to-date data that correspond to the analytic needs.

In parallel with the common features in the demographic development of countries in the UNECE region, there are also pertinent differences in long-term demographic development, in the ways these societies are organized, in their cultural characteristics and in the various policies relevant to family relationships and demographic choices. Disentangling the causes of the differences in demographic reactions requires comparable data from many countries, representing a considerable variety of demographic, social, welfare and cultural regimes. Such data could only be collected in consolidated international efforts with a high degree of standardization.

Official statistics are an important data source for monitoring demographic developments all over Europe, and regular overviews of basic indicators on demographic processes have proven to be very useful for understanding the trends' of the main features. However, statistics can only provide aggregated information about those aspects of the trends that lend themselves to measurement through administrative records. In most cases, this restricts the analysis to societal-level (macro-level) processes and does not allow for analysis of behavioural mechanisms at the micro-level of individuals and households, which is crucial for understanding the developments.

THE UNECE GENERATIONS AND GENDER PROGRAMME

At the International Meeting on Generations and Gender (Geneva, 2000), UNECE member States invited the UNECE secretariat to organize another round of region-wide data collection and research on population issues, building on the successful experience with the Family and Fertility Surveys in the 1980s and 1990s. The meeting launched the Generations and Gender Programme (GGP), which comprises: (a) a survey covering a broad range of influences on demographic behaviour; (b) a related contextual database of national and regional trends and policies on these issues; and (c) analyses of these data.

The main substantive goal of GGP is to improve understanding of demographic and social developments and of the factors that influence these developments. It covers most of the factors social science has found to play a role in shaping demographic choices in contemporary developed societies. It explicitly takes into account the different societal levels on which the determinants of demographic behaviour operate, and provides comparability between countries as well as with data collected in earlier programmes.

The Programme has been developed by a consortium of institutions, currently consisting of three statistical offices and five research institutions. The work is carried out in consultation with the GGP International Working Group, which includes population experts from the member States. At its fifth meeting (Ljubljana, January 2007), the International Working Group decided to organize a conference to discuss the related policy issues in the light of the research produced in the Programme.

To date, 12 UNECE countries – Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Romania and the Russian Federation – together with Australia and Japan, have completed data collection in the first panel wave of the Generations and Gender Survey; Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy and the Russian Federation have also completed the second wave. Data collection is under way in Belgium and Norway, and several other countries are taking concrete steps in this direction. The corresponding contextual (macro-level) data has been collected and made available for nine countries: Bulgaria, Canada, Georgia, Hungary, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Romania and the Russian Federation. In the two months since the harmonized data of Generations and Gender Surveys was first made available internationally, 30 research projects have been initiated to analyse them. In addition, numerous national and international studies were produced prior to the launch of the data archive.

OUTLINE FOR THE FUTURE

Along with the research cooperation developing in the GGP framework, UNECE is seeking to promote awareness of the emerging results among policymakers and to provide a platform in which the research findings can be discussed from the point of view of their use in policymaking. The "How Generations and Gender Shape Demographic Change" Conference aimed to cover the policy areas where analyses of the GGP can make a significant contribution. The Conference outcome, in the form of the present publication of proceedings, will contribute to the regional component for the review of implementation of the Programme of Action of International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo, 1994), the fifteenth anniversary of which will be next year. This publication also presents research findings and highlight issues that are relevant for the implementation of the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing and the Beijing Platform for Action.

For any country, analyses based on data from other countries can provide useful policy-relevant knowledge. However, the specific features of a country can only be addressed using the empirical data collected there. The availability of centrally developed survey instruments and the possibility to compare data with the already participating countries can provide a promising opportunity for those countries considering accession to the GGP. While this would primarily provide added value to the acceding countries themselves, it would also add another reference point for those already in the Programme and enrich the understanding of the processes in the UNECE region as a whole. In particular, many countries of Eastern Europe, Caucasus and Central Asia would gain initial benchmarking information on some processes, since they have not participated in previous data collection endeavours of this kind.

It could be envisaged that another general discussion on related policy issues could take place after a significant number of countries have results from at least two panel waves of the survey. This would allow for sharing findings that are broader in scope (e.g. analysis of several issues requires observations from more than one time) and stronger in providing explanatory evidence. According to the schedule of programme implementation (with a three-year interval between the panel waves), this would be the situation three years from now.

CHAPTER 1

THE HAPPINESS COMMONALITY: FERTILITY DECISIONS IN LOW-FERTILITY SETTINGS

Francesco C. Billari

Lev Dolgatshjov@Fotolia

1 - INTRODUCTION

Europe has low fertility. Some parts of Europe have "very low" fertility, and others have "lowest low" fertility. This development towards unprecedented low fertility rates, which have emerged especially during the last two decades of the twentieth century, has been documented and discussed over the recent years in several studies (e.g., Kohler, Billari and Ortega 2002, Frejka et al. 2008, Sobotka 2004b, Billari and Kohler 2004, Macura, MacDonald and Haug 2005). At the turn of the new millennium, the general public and policymakers have been more than aware of the trends. As an official example, in March 2005, the European Commission devoted an official document—a Green Paper—to the issue of "Confronting demographic change: a new solidarity between the generations". The document started as follows:

"Europe is facing today unprecedented demographic change. In 2003, the natural population increase in Europe was just 0.04 per cent per annum; the new Member States, with the exception of Cyprus and Malta, all saw falling populations. In many countries, immigration has become vital to ensure population growth. The fertility rate everywhere is below the threshold needed to renew the population (around 2.1 children per woman), and has even fallen below 1.5 children per woman in many Member States". (European Commission 2005)

But what do we really know about low, lowest low, very low fertility? Even if a thorough review is beyond the scope of this paper, an introductory discussion is fundamental to paving the way for what follows. To simplify the following text, we will adopt the convention in the literature and define "lowest low" fertility as a (period) total fertility rate (TFR, number of children per woman) below 1.3, "very low" fertility as a TFR below 1.5, "low" fertility as a TFR below 2.1, i.e. the threshold of replacement between subsequent generations. A summary using seven "low fertility axioms" has been outlined in a review by Morgan and Taylor (2006). We will now provide a brief interpretation and discussion of Morgan and Taylor's "axioms" as we find it useful to start from this systematic perspective.

First, the postponement of childbearing (i.e. the tempo or timing of fertility) is an inherent component of contemporary low fertility, including a depressive effect on currently used measures such as the (period) TFR. Whether this postponement is a short-term phenomenon only, or if it can continue over a longer span of time, is not a matter of agreement in the scientific literature. Some researchers argue that lowest low fertility is only a temporary phenomenon due to the fact that soon or later postponement will stop, while others underline that the postponement of childbearing might continue for a considerable time, especially in presence of technological innovations (Goldstein 2006, Sobotka 2004a).

Second, fertility postponement implies lower overall fertility. While Morgan and Taylor (2006) argue that this is valid at the aggregate level, i.e. that a higher mean age at first birth is associated with lower fertility, such a claim on the macro-level association is challenged by some studies (Sobotka and Toulemon 2008). For instance, in many Eastern European countries total fertility has recently been low despite relatively early ages at first birth (Billari and Kohler 2004). On the other hand, there is consistent evidence at the individual level that having a first child later decreases total fertility, i.e. that there is a causal effect of postponing the transition to parenthood on the total number of children (Billari and Borgoni 2005, Kohler, Skytthe and Christensen 2001).

Third, fertility decisions are embedded in the life course of women and men. This includes interdependencies with education, work, physical and mental health. We do not deal in detail with this point, as it is connected to this study's main theme of, which we will discuss more thoroughly.

Fourth, in contemporary societies parents bear high direct and indirect costs in having and rearing children. Indirect costs include primarily mother's foregone earnings during pregnancy, childbirth and childrearing (Becker 1981). However, direct costs are also substantial and their presence is well-known to the general public. For instance, ABC news maintains a webpage with a "Cost of raising children calculator", which "helps you estimate the cost of raising your children from their current age to age 18" (see http://abcnews.go.com/Business/page?id=4019746, accessed 13 December 2008). Despite the general evidence that wealth flows mostly from parents to children in contemporary societies, recent results from a study on the effect

of Italian pension reforms are consistent with the persistence of an old-age security motive for childbearing in a low fertility setting (Billari and Galasso 2008).

Fifth, legal and social norms in contemporary societies legitimate birth control. Even if the type of contraceptive method still varies widely event within a European context (Frejka 2008), including a substantial presence of traditional methods with lower efficacy such as coitus interruptus and calendar or other "natural methods" promoted for instance by the Catholic church, the idea that birth control is legitimate is not challenged at all.

Sixth, the spread of low fertility is not primarily associated with a clear increase of childlessness. Even in the early lowest low fertility countries such as Italy and Spain, as well as in many Central and Eastern European countries, the share of childless individuals might be lower than it is in countries with higher fertility (Billari and Kohler 2004).

Seventh, it is higher parity births (third and subsequent births) that are becoming increasingly rare in low fertility societies, and especially in lowest low and very low fertility societies (Kohler et al. 2002).

These seven axioms are useful to summarize the discussion about low fertility, but they only concern the empirical facts associated with low fertility. Indeed, while convincing explanations have been provided for specific cases, the question of what is the key "commonality" across all low fertility societies has been answered (Caldwell and Schindlmayr 2003). A related question about long-term relationships was raised by Hirschman (1994) who observed that no really satisfactory general explanation for fertility declines has been given in the literature.

The main idea of this article is that the quest for happiness, and the compatibility between happiness and childbearing, is the "commonality" (Caldwell and Schindlmayr 2003) that may bring an understanding of fertility differences in contemporary advanced societies in Europe and North America. This commonality is double-sided, in a causal sense. On the one hand, happiness is a crucial determinant of childbearing. On the other, having children is one of the ways to reach happiness. As far as country differences are concerned, societies with lowest low and very low fertility are characterized by a low compatibility between happiness and childbearing.

Why would happiness be the commonality we are looking for? The pursuit of (or the improvement in) individual well-being, in the form of utility, is the tenet of the economic theory of the family (Becker 1981). In this framework, the decision to marry, to divorce or to have a(nother) child is taken when we expect to be in a better position (in other words, happier) when comparing the status after this decision has been taken with the current status. If children are considered as "consumption goods", we have children because we derive utility from having them (Becker and Barro 1988). But can we measure this (expected) utility? The development of a true "economics of happiness" approach has been aiming, broadly speaking, at the measurement of "utility" through subjective well-being or happiness (see, for example, Frey and Stutzer 2002). This idea might indeed be linked to the literature on the "value of children" (Hoffman and Hoffman 1973, Friedman, Hechter and Kanazawa 1994). Recent developments in this literature, mostly by Bernhard Nauck and collaborators (Nauck 2007, Nauck and Klaus 2007) link the value of children to a general approach. The idea is that children provide value through a "social production function" that has as its general aims physical well-being and social esteem. Moreover, social structure is assumed to interact with the individual value of children in fertility decisions.

The importance of happiness has been underlined by some population scholars, too. John Hobcraft, for instance, noticed that research on the links between subjective well-being and demographic choices (and especially childbearing) has been much more scarce than it could have been given its potential importance (Hobcraft 2006).

2 - THE HAPPINESS COMMONALITY: FOUR HYPOTHESES

In this section, we outline four research hypotheses on the "happiness commonality". The general idea is a positive link between subjective well-being and fertility. This general idea is sketched with four macro- and micro-level hypotheses. We first introduce these hypotheses and then try to discuss their specific background. Some hypotheses are of a theoretical, and others of empirical, nature. We will not distinguish these plans of reasoning here.

H1 (macro): In rich contemporary societies, fertility is positively related with happiness at the cross-country level.

H2 (micro): A basic level of happiness is a requirement for having a child in contemporary low-fertility societies

In a rightly acknowledged paper, Hobcraft and Kiernan mention five "basic requirements" for the decision to "have a child now" (although they focus on becoming a parent, i.e. having a first child). These are "being in a partnership; having completed full-time education and training; having a home of one's own; being in employment with an adequate income, and less concretely a sense of security" (Hobcraft and Kiernan 1995). The "sense of security" they refer to seems to refer mostly to prospects on material conditions. However, the notion of a basic requirement here is retained and the idea of the "sense of security" is extended to subjective well-being. Can happiness cause the decision to have children? The answer has not really been attacked yet in the literature. In a 1999 review of three decades of research on subjective well-being, Diener and colleagues (Diener et al. 1999) noted that the traditional causality of the link from "demographic factors" (as they state, including as diverse factors as marriage and income) to happiness, although "intuitively appealing, is by no means certain". Therefore, they conclude, one of the emerging areas of research is on the consequences of happiness.

This second hypothesis is then formulated on the need for a basic level of happiness as a requirement for having a child now in contemporary low-fertility societies. This hypothesis concerns individual decision-making (or by a couple, although in this article the focus will be more on individual vis-à-vis society). Is there already some supporting evidence of H2? The already cited study by Bjørnskov and colleagues reports an analysis on the micro-level association between happiness and the number of children, in which a non-linear pattern can be observed: in a regression with a long list of other factors as covariates, happiness is significantly higher for individuals having had one child compared to childless individuals. It is also lower for those having had two children (but the difference is not statistically significant). There is practically no difference in happiness between individuals having three or more children and childless individuals (Bjørnskov et al. 2008). However, the broad geographical variation of the study limits the relevance of its findings for our purposes. Another related finding is the one by Headey (2008) on longitudinal data from the German Socio-Economic Panel. Headey provides evidence that individuals who have non-zero sum life goals, such as commitment to family (children and marriage), have higher levels of subjective well-being.

One could contrast this with an opposite hypothesis, according to which children might be a choice in periods of low subjective well-being. This would be consistent with an uncertainty-reduction hypothesis, i.e. the idea that individuals and couples might have children in order to respond to current problems and to increase certainty in their lives (Friedman et al. 1994). Although this effect might be important to explain particular phenomena, such as teenage births, we speculate that the general direction is the opposite: the higher subjective well-being in a given moment, the higher the subsequent fertility. Our idea is also consistent with general findings on marital happiness (a particular dimension of happiness that has been more extensively studied in the literature). As generally children are assumed to decrease marital happiness (but not necessarily overall happiness) (McLanahan and Adams 1987, Pudrovska 2008), it might be that in some cases having a child might be seen as an answer to a problematic marriage or cohabitation. However, H2 considers that the opposite is more often the case (Waite and Lillard 1991).

H3 (micro): The perception of an increase (or a decrease) in one's own happiness from having a child is a key factor that influences the decision to have (or not to have) a child

Through the analysis of a unique dataset of monozygotic twins, Kohler, Behrman and Skytthe (2005) showed that in Denmark becoming a parent (especially, of a boy for fathers) has a positive impact on happiness. However, the authors do not find significant effects on happiness of higher-order births. This finding is in contrast with the "set-point" theory postulating that key life events such as births do not significantly influence happiness. In line with this, we hypothesize that the perception of an increase (or a decrease) in one's own happiness from having a child is a key factor that influences the decision to have (or not to have) a child. For this reason, the perception of a potential increase (or decrease) in happiness around the time of decision-making is more important than the actual increase (or decrease) in happiness experienced

when bearing a child. Although we can assume that individuals gather information, directly or indirectly, from other individuals on the potential effect of a child on their happiness, what is relevant is the definition of the situation. According to the "Thomas theorem", "if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (Merton 1995, Thomas and Thomas 1928)—therefore we expect that the perception that happiness will increase (or decrease) because a child is born will have consequences on fertility decision-making.

While for individuals who are already parents the expected increase (or decrease) in happiness might be linked to their own previous experience, the mechanism through which these perceptions are formed might be through "vicarious" parenthood. As Morgan and King (2001) argue, "since some of the feelings/experiences of parenthood can be experienced vicariously – albeit in diluted form, via observation and through interaction with others' children – such experiences/observations could provide motivation for persons to have their own children". In a test conducted across three African countries (Burkina Faso, Ghana, Kenya), Speizer (2006) analysed answers to a question posed to women of reproductive ages ("How happy would you be if you found out you were pregnant in the next few weeks?", with answer categories happy, doesn't matter, unhappy). The author found that feeling unhappy about becoming pregnant was indeed associated with contraceptive use, so that this measure could be considered as reflecting the extent to which women actually want to have children.

This idea is also consistent with a social production function theory of fertility (Nauck 2007, Nauck and Klaus 2007), as long as one is willing to assume, consistently with the happiness literature, that happiness is indeed the ultimate general objective of such function, as "utility" for economists. According to H3, decisions are assumed to be consistent with the maximization of expected overall happiness.

H4 (macro): the perception of an increase (or a decrease) in one's own happiness from having a child is context-specific and can be altered by the policy environment

The relationship between happiness and childbearing, documented as mentioned above in studies such as the one by Kohler and colleagues, might be context-specific. That is, institutional settings and culture might influence this relationship. Family policies, for instance, affect individuals' and couples' fertility decisions in different ways in different times and places (Neyer and Andersson 2008). We can therefore expect that they also affect subjective expected increases in happiness in different ways.

A key example of a related finding is provided in a cross-sectional study of a large number of European countries using data from the European Social Survey. Aassve et al. (2008) found that parents are happier in Nordic, "Social Democratic" higher fertility countries than they are in lower fertility countries such as those of Southern and Central or Eastern Europe.

3 - DATA AND METHODS

Our analyses are based on a series of different, complementary, datasets, both at the macro- and micro-levels, which are consistent with the four hypotheses laid out in the last section. Macrodata on happiness and fertility are used for H1. The European Social Survey (Round 2) is used for H2. New data from the Generations and Gender Programme allow a consistent exploration of H3 and H4, based on subjective expected happiness from having children.

Regarding H1, macrodata on happiness come from the "World Database of Happiness", a repository of survey data on the happiness of nations (Veenhoven 2008). They refer to the year 2004. Fertility data on the same year are gathered from the European Demographic Data Sheet collected by the Vienna Institute of Demography, the International Institute for Applied System Analysis and the Population Reference Bureau (VID, IIASA and PRB 2006). These fertility data include the TFR and Bongaarts-Feeney tempo-adjusted TFR (Bongaarts and Feeney 1998), a measure that corrects (under specific hypotheses that we shall not discuss here) period TFR for the technical effect of the postponement of first births mentioned in the introduction. Simple graphical methods and the calculation of correlation

coefficients are used to assess the presence of a positive association between happiness and fertility in European countries.

H2 requires data on happiness and subsequent fertility. Consistent with what is being done with H3 and H4 (i.e. a prospective approach to fertility decisions), we will look at the relationship between happiness and fertility intentions. The European Social Survey (ESS) is a biennial multi-country survey. Each biannual round contains a core module (which remains relatively constant from round to round) and two or more rotating modules. Particular efforts are posed by the research team on the international comparability of questionnaires. The ESS-2 (2004–2005) contained a specific module on "Family, work and well-being" in which questions about fertility intentions were asked. More specifically, respondents were asked "Do you plan to have a child within the next three years?" (possible answers were definitely not, probably not, probably yes, definitely yes). Moreover, questions on life satisfaction on a 0–10 score ("All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays? Please answer using this card, where 0 means extremely dissatisfied and 10 means extremely satisfied", question B24) and happiness also on a 0–10 score ("Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are?" question C1) are part of the core questionnaire. Extensive sampling documentation is available with the survey report (Jowell and Central Coordinating Team 2005). To investigate H2, a series of logit models on fertility intentions (in a dichotomous yes/no coding) is developed, including a number of control variables. Country-specific factors are controlled for using a series of country fixed effects. Separate analyses by gender (and subsequently by parity) are conducted. Men are studied when their age is between 18 and 50 and they are living with a partner at the time of the interview. For women, the age range is 18–45 and again they are restricted to those living with a partner.

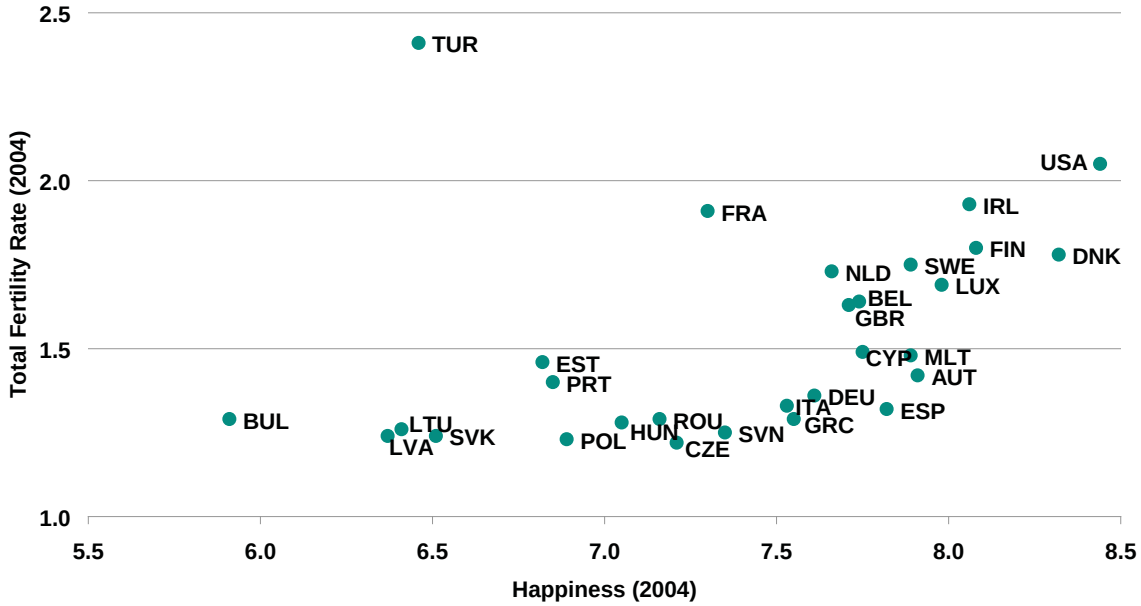
The approach is similar to the one followed other studies that has used ESS-2 to focus on fertility decisions (Vitali et al. 2009, Mills et al. 2008), although the aim is not explicitly comparative as in the existing study. As one item measures life satisfaction and another item measures happiness, we analyse as explanatory factors the effect of each of them separately, and combine the two measures in a subjective well-being score as a factor extracted using principal components analysis from the two measures.

Direct measures of expected increases in happiness in the case of having a child within the next three years have been gathered in Generations and Gender Survey (Vikat et al. 2007). Appendix 1 contains the key questions from the standard questionnaire (United Nations 2005). For H3, the dependent variable will be the intention to have a(nother) child, while subjective expected happiness (as from the answer to the question Q632 item (f)) will be an explanatory variable in a series of regression models, which includes a number of control variables. Analyses were run separately for each of the countries for which the data were available at the time of this study: Bulgaria, France, Georgia, Germany, Hungary and the Russian Federation. The selection of age ranges is similar to the one outlined before for the ESS-2 (men aged 18–50, women aged 18-45). However, data from both individuals with and without partners are analysed. In order to test H4, simple descriptive statistics across the six countries will be computed and compared to fertility level.

4 - RESULTS

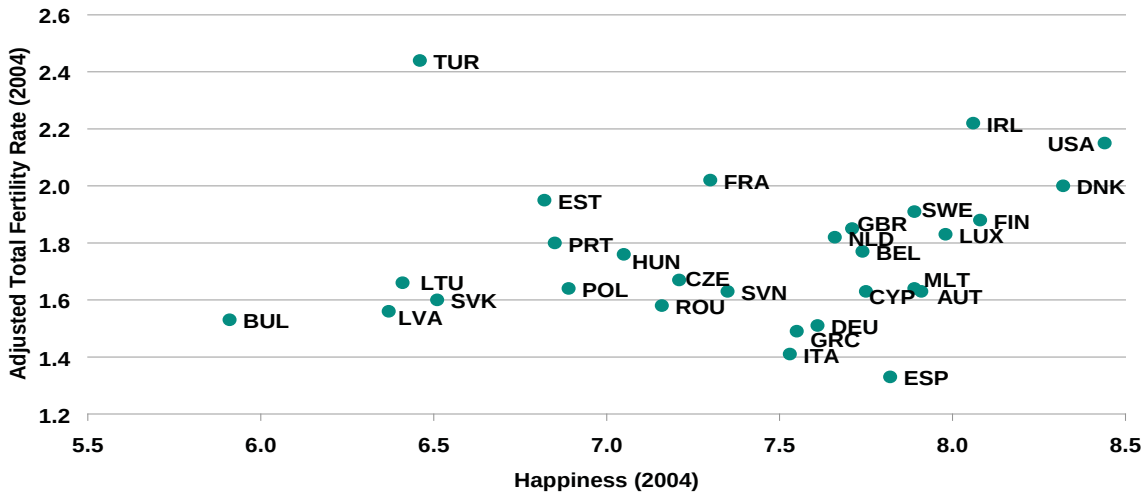
First, let us describe the results on the macrorelationship between happiness and fertility (H1). Figures I and II respectively display this relationship for the European countries for which data are available. The cross-country correlation between happiness and TFR in 2004 is .3805 (.6814 if Turkey is left out of the analysis). The cross-country correlation between happiness and the adjusted TFR in 2004 is .1787 (.3987 if Turkey is left out of the analysis), showing that part of the relationship between happiness and fertility might be connected to tempo effects. The results are generally consistent with H1. While the lower correlation with tempo-adjusted fertility rates might prompt us to speculate that fluctuations in happiness levels may have only short-term effects on fertility, the data do not allow us to pursue this pure speculation.

Figure I
Cross-country relationship between total fertility rate and happiness (2004).



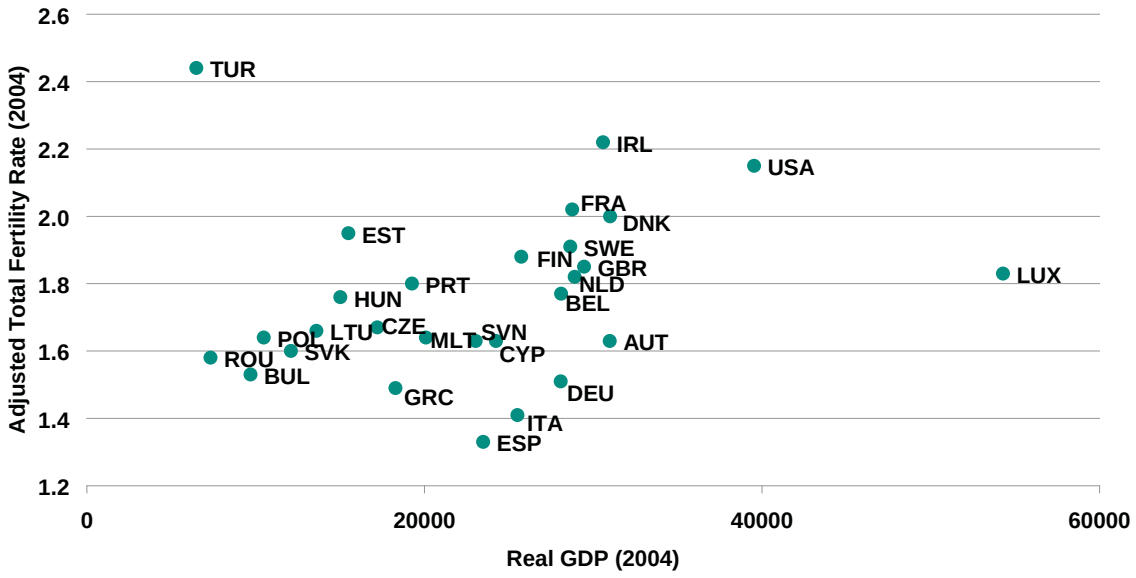
Source: European Demographic Data Sheet (VID-PRB) and Veenhoven, R., World Database of Happiness, Erasmus University Rotterdam.

Figure II
Cross-country relationship between tempo-adjusted total fertility rate and happiness (2004).



Source: European Demographic Data Sheet (VID-PRB) and Veenhoven, R., World Database of Happiness, Erasmus University Rotterdam.

Figure III
Cross-country relationship between adjusted total fertility rate and real GDP per capita (2004).



Source: European Demographic Data Sheet (VID-PRB) and Penn World Table 6.2.

To clarify the order of magnitude of this relationship, we can compare this correlation with the one between fertility and income (figure III) using data from the Penn World Table (Heston, Summers and Aten 2006). This correlation is .1932 (.4460 without Turkey) between the adjusted total fertility rate and real gross domestic product (GDP) per capita. Indeed, the correlation between real GDP per capita and happiness is high (.7756).

While the results concerning H1 are not robust on tempo effects and should not be interpreted in a causal sense, they point out to a positive relationship between fertility and well-being (both objective and subjective) at the cross-country level. These results, for instance, are consistent with the finding of a positive association between fertility and development among highly developed countries (Myrskylä et al. 2008).

The exploration of H2 on data of the ESS-2 is reported in a series of regression analyses where the dependent variable is the intention to have a child within the next three years. Table 1 shows an analysis of the effect of happiness (column 1), life satisfaction (column 2) and a combined measure of the two (column 3) on fertility intentions. Generally, results are consistent with H2: happier people are more likely to intend to have children. Controls include the effects of country, parity, age (in a quadratic specification) of the individual and of the partner, education (in completed years), and number of rooms in the dwelling.

The effects are generally stronger for women (table 2), but they are consistently pointing towards the same direction. Analyses (not shown here) controlling for partnership duration do not show significant differences.

In table 3, only the coefficient of happiness is shown in three models specified for respondents with no children, with one child and with two children, respectively (full results are available upon request from the author). This helps in clarifying the mechanisms that may lie under H2. The effect is larger, consistently for men and women, for childless people. It remains high and statistically significant, especially for women, for individuals with one child. The effect is no longer statistically significant, and even switches sign for men. Therefore, the "precondition" to parenthood idea of Hobcraft and Kiernan (1995) seems to hold here, but is extended to second births as well. Given what happens in a low fertility context, with a high relevance of first and second births, the happiness commonality seems to become a plausible idea. Of course, there might be issues related to potential endogeneity and the lack of longitudinal data, to which we shall return in the final discussion.

Table 1

Logit models on fertility intentions (within-country model controlling for country fixed effects). Males. ESS 2004/05 aged 18-50 living with a partner. Column (1) includes happiness measure, column (2) includes life satisfaction and column (3) includes a subjective well-being factor extracted using principal components analysis from happiness and life satisfaction.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Happiness	0.0653***		
	(0.0238)		
Life satisfaction		0.0104	
		(0.0201)	
Subjective well-being			0.0868*
			(0.0488)
Has one child	-0.475***	-0.479***	-0.477***
	(0.102)	(0.102)	(0.102)
Has two children	-2.304***	-2.299***	-2.301***
	(0.118)	(0.117)	(0.118)
Has three or more children	-2.227***	-2.234***	-2.231***
	(0.151)	(0.151)	(0.151)
Age	0.593***	0.591***	0.591***
	(0.0780)	(0.0778)	(0.0779)
Age squared	-0.00928***	-0.00927***	-0.00926***
	(0.00116)	(0.00116)	(0.00116)
Age of the partner	0.231***	0.238***	0.236***
	(0.0585)	(0.0583)	(0.0583)
Age of the partner squared	-0.00524***	-0.00536***	-0.00532***
	(0.000928)	(0.000926)	(0.000926)
Education (completed years)	0.0431***	0.0446***	0.0436***
	(0.0118)	(0.0118)	(0.0118)
Number of rooms in the dwelling	0.0409	0.0483*	0.0444
	(0.0281)	(0.0281)	(0.0282)
Observations	5162	5167	5155
Number of countries	25	25	25

Source: own analyses on European Social Survey wave 2.
Standard errors in parentheses.

**** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*

Table 2

Logit models on fertility intentions (within-country model controlling for country fixed effects). Females. ESS 2004/05 aged 18-45 living with a partner. Column (1) includes happiness measure, column (2) includes life satisfaction and column (3) includes a subjective well-being factor extracted using principal components analysis from happiness and life satisfaction.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Happiness	0.0995***		
	(0.0217)		
Life satisfaction		0.0672***	
		(0.0188)	
Subjective well-being			0.211***
			(0.0455)
Has one child	-0.432***	-0.417***	-0.424***
	(0.0961)	(0.0959)	(0.0962)
Has two children	-2.204***	-2.173***	-2.188***
	(0.109)	(0.109)	(0.109)
Has three or more children	-2.482***	-2.463***	-2.474***
	(0.153)	(0.153)	(0.153)
Age	0.978***	0.969***	0.970***
	(0.0679)	(0.0678)	(0.0680)
Age squared	-0.0172***	-0.0170***	-0.0171***
	(0.00108)	(0.00108)	(0.00108)
Age of the partner	-0.0264***	-0.0268***	-0.0259***
	(0.00827)	(0.00826)	(0.00828)
Age of the partner squared	0.0000335**	0.0000340**	0.0000330*
	(0.0000169)	(0.0000169)	(0.0000169)
Education (completed years)	0.0793***	0.0804***	0.0797***
	(0.0118)	(0.0118)	(0.0118)
Number of rooms in the dwelling	0.0114	0.00968	0.00860
	(0.0272)	(0.0272)	(0.0273)
Observations	6278	6280	6261
Number of countries	25	25	25

Source: own analyses on European Social Survey wave 2.
Standard errors in parentheses.

**** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*

Table 3

Logit models on fertility intentions (within-country model controlling for country fixed effects)
Males aged 18-50 living with a partner and females aged 18-45 living with a partner
Effect of happiness by current parity

	Childless	One child	Two children
Males	0.1477***	0.0782*	-0.0125
	(0.0491)	(0.0413)	(0.0490)
Females	0.1245***	0.1439***	0.0682
	(0.0445)	(0.0363)	(0.0448)

Source: own analyses on European Social Survey wave 2.
Standard errors in parentheses.

**** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*

Table 4 contains the basic results of a model in which fertility intentions are seen as a function of expected increased "joy and satisfaction in life" in Bulgaria, France, Georgia, Germany, Hungary and the Russian Federation. A large series of other explanatory variables are included in the model, and the full model results are displayed in appendix 2. In almost all cases, results are consistent with H3: individuals who perceive a greater increase in their happiness in the case that they would have a child indeed are more likely to intend to have a child. What is interesting here is the power of this variable as compared to a large number of "competing" variables, and the pervasiveness of its effect over countries, genders, and partnership conditions. One might even suspect that the effect is so strong that this variable represents another way to measure intentions to have a child (with the exception of age, this is the only factor consistently showing up). In other words, subjective expected happiness in case of a(nother) child would be almost the same as the intention to have a(nother) child. This speaks in favour of the general relevance of the "happiness commonality", more than in favour of H3, which seems to come empirically close to a tautology.

Table 4

Coefficients of a series of logit models for fertility intentions on the negative consequences of having a(nother) child on "the joy and satisfaction you get from your life" (1=much better, … 5= much worse, see Appendix 2 question 627 item f). Column (1): all individuals; column (2): individuals with partners

	Bulgaria		France		Georgia		Germany		Hungary		Russian Federation	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Men 18-50: coefficient	-.796	-.807	-.717	-.284	-.458	-.478	-1.120	-1.558	-1.451	-1.561	-.450	-.521
s.d.	.136	.236	.284	.372	.128	.183	.193	.268	.127	.142	.143	.206
p-value	.000	.001	.012	.445	.000	.009	.000	.000	.000	.000	.002	.011
Women 18-45: coefficient	-.714	-.760	-.939	-.901	-.660	-.864	-.709	-.813	-1.070	-1.501	-.497	-.666
s.d.	.135	.185	.207	.245	.131	.194	.141	.213	.101	.142	.128	.169
p-value	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000

Other coefficients included in the regression: other attitude variables and subjective norms (see appendix), age and age squared, age of the partner and age of the partner squared (for individuals with partners), parity (dummy variable for zero, one, two or more children).
Source: own elaborations on GGS harmonized data.

Table 5

Mean score on the negative consequences of having a(nother) child on "the joy and satisfaction you get from your life" (1=much better, … 5= much worse, see Appendix 2 question 627 item f).
Column (1): all individuals; column (2): individuals with partners

	Bulgaria		France		Georgia		Germany		Hungary		Russian Federation	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Men 18-50: mean	2.55	2.76	2.27	2.35	2.25	2.42	2.81	2.83	2.70	2.60	2.54	2.64
s.d.	.90	.90	1.00	1.01	.81	.82	.68	.69	.64	.73	.81	.79
Women 18-45: mean	2.71	2.85	2.32	2.38	2.43	2.60	2.85	2.87	2.53	2.63	2.68	2.77
s.d.	.94	.91	1.07	1.07	.93	.91	.76	.68	.82	.75	.90	.88
TFR (2000)	1.27		1.89		1.46		1.38		1.33		1.19	
CCFR (1960 cohort)	1.95		2.11		n.a.		1.65		2.02		1.84	

Source: for attitude, own analyses of GGS harmonized datasets; for TFR (2000): GGP Contextual Database, Sobotka (2006).

If subjective expected increase in happiness is the key, then H4 on the cross-country differences in these variables becomes more relevant. Results are expressed in relation to the mean score of the answers coded so that a lower score means that individuals expect a higher increase in happiness. A value of 3 represents the midpoint. Indeed, the highest expected happiness increase is for France, which is the country with the highest fertility among those studied. This is true both for women and for men, and independently on the partnership status. The lowest expected increase in happiness is found for Germany, the country with the lowest fertility if we look at cohort fertility. Bulgaria and the Russian Federation follow closely. H4 is therefore confirmed, and the differences in subjective expected happiness follow actual differences in fertility.

5 - DISCUSSION

In this article, we have argued that the quest for "happiness" is the commonality that guides fertility in contemporary societies. On the one hand, happier people have more kids if we limit our study to rich contemporary societies. On the other hand, fertility is one of the ways through which individuals achieve, or expect to achieve, a happier life. This idea has important implications for researchers and policymakers. Much of the policy discourse, for instance, is directly related to the idea that fertility is (or is not) an ultimate goal for individuals and couples. If we accept the "happiness commonality", policies that contribute to higher level of fertility will have to make people happier and to allow happiness to increase when people have children.

The future course of happiness is then relevant also for the future course of fertility. In the literature on happiness, there are competing ideas. Some researchers argue that, although not exactly mimicking economic change, happiness has risen over the last decades and might be assumed to continue rising (Veenhoven and Hagerty 2006, Hagerty and Veenhoven 2003). Others argue that happiness is not going to increase substantially in the future (Easterlin 1974, Easterlin 2003).

Far from closing the discussion on these ideas, this article has explored a set of hypotheses under a common idea. Much further research is required to gain more understanding on the relevance of

these hypotheses, and of the general commonality, for fertility decisions. For what concerns H1, i.e. the macro-level relationship between happiness and fertility, future research possibly using cross-country panel data (or "lucky" natural experiments) should be directed towards a discussion of causal links and/or potential institutional and cultural mediating factors. On H2, although we could show that subjective well-being is positively related to fertility intentions, longitudinal data are necessary to show that there is a link also with actual fertility. The relationship between general happiness and other dimensions (in particular, marital happiness) deserves also a specific investigation. The part concerning subjective expected increases in happiness has taken advantage from the new data of the Generations and Gender Surveys. As these surveys are planned as panels, links with effective behaviours will be a key topic of investigation. Moreover, the macro-micro connection behind H4 deserves to be investigated for a clarification of institution-related (or policy-related) mechanisms.

The direction is however clear: in the coming years, subjective well-being should play a more central role in research (and policy) concerning family and fertility behaviours.

REFERENCES

Aassve, A., A. Goisis, C. Ruggeri & M. Sironi. (2008). Childbearing and Happiness across Europe. Dondena Working Paper. Milan: Carlo F. Dondena Centre for Research on Social Dynamics, Bocconi University.

Aassve, A., S. Mazzuco & L. Mencarini (2005). Childbearing and Well-Being: A Comparative Analysis of European Welfare Regimes. Journal of European Social Policy, 15, 283-299.

Ariès, P. (1980). Two Successive Motivations for the Declining Birth Rate in the West. Population and Development Review, 6, 645-650.

Becker, G. S. (1981). A Treatise on the Family. Cambridge, MS: Harvard University Press.

Becker, G. S. & R. J. Barro (1988). A Reformulation of the Economic Theory of Fertility. Quarterly Journal of Economics, 103, 1-25.

Billari, F. C. & R. Borgoni (2005). Assessing the Use of Sample Selection Models in the Estimation of Fertility Postponement Effects. Statistical Methods and Applications, 14, 389-402.

Billari, F. C. & V. Galasso. (2008). What explains Fertility? Evidence from Italian Pension Reforms. In CEPR Discussion Papers. London: Centre for Economic Policy Research.

Billari, F. C. & H. P. Kohler (2004). Patterns of Low and Lowest-Low Fertility in Europe. Population Studies, 58, 161-176.

Bjørnskov, C., A. Dreher & J. A. V. Fischer (2008). Cross-Country Determinants of Life Satisfaction: Exploring Different Determinants across Groups in Society. Social Choice and Welfare, 30, 119-173.

Bongaarts, J. & G. Feeney (1998). On the Quantum and Tempo of Fertility. Population and Development Review, 24, 271-291.

Caldwell, J. C. & T. Schindlmayr (2003). Explanations of the Fertility Crisis in Modern Societies: A Search for Commonalities. Population Studies, 57, 241-263.

Dalla Zuanna, G. (2001). The Banquet of Aeolus: A Familistic Interpretation of Italy's Lowest Low Fertility. Demographic Research, 4, 133-162.

Del Boca, D. & D. Vuri (2007). The Mismatch between Employment and Child Care in Italy: The Impact of Rationing. Journal of Population Economics, 20, 805-832.

Diener, E., E. M. Suh, R. E. Lucas & H. L. Smith (1999). Subjective Well-Being: Three Decades of Progress. Psychological Bulletin, 125, 276-302.

Easterlin, R. A. (1974). Does Economic Growth improve the Human Lot? Some Empirical Evidence. In Nations and Households in Economic Growth: Essays in Honor of Moses Abramovitz, P. A. David & M. W. Reder (Eds.), 89-125. New York: Academic Press.

Easterlin, R. A. (1980). Birth and Fortune. The Impact of Numbers on Personal Welfare. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Easterlin, R. A. (2003). Explaining happiness. Proceeding of the National Academy of Sciences, 100, 11176-11183.

Easterlin, R. A. (2006a). Building a Better Theory of Well-being. In Economics & Happiness: Framing the Analysis, L. Bruni & P. L. Porta (Eds.), 29-64. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Easterlin, R. A. (2006b). Life Cycle Happiness and its Sources Intersections of Psychology, Economics, and Demography. Journal of Economic Psychology, 27, 463-482.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism. Oxford: Polity Press.

Esping-Andersen, G. (2007). Family Formation and Family Dilemmas in Contemporary Europe. Bilbao: Fundación BBVA.

European Commission. (2005). Green Paper "Confronting demographic change: A new Solidarity between the Generations". Brussels: Commission of the European Communities.

Frejka, T. (2008). Birth Regulation in Europe. Completing the Contraceptive Revolution. Demographic Research, 19, 73-84.

Frejka, T., T. Sobotka, J. M. Hoem & L. Toulemon. (2008). Childbearing Trends and Policies in Europe. In Demographic Research, 19, 5-14.

Frey, B. S. & A. Stutzer (2002). What can Economists learn from Happiness Research? Journal of Economic Literature, 40, 402-434.

Friedman, D., M. Hechter & S. Kanazawa (1994). A Theory of the Value of Children. Demography, 31, 375-401.

Goldstein, J. R. (2006). How Late can First Births be Postponed? Some Illustrative Population-level Calculations. Vienna Yearbook of Population Research, 153-165.

Hagerty, M. & R. Veenhoven (2003). Wealth and Happiness Revisited: Growing National Income Does Go with Greater Happiness. Social Indicators Research, 64, 1-27.

Headey, B. (2008). Life Goals Matter to Happiness: A Revision of Set-Point Theory. Social Indicators Research, 86, 213-231.

Heston, A., R. Summers & B. Aten. (2006). Penn World Table Version 6.2. Philadelphia: Center for International Comparisons of Production, Income and Prices at the University of Pennsylvania.

Hirschman, C. (1994). Why Fertility Changes. Annual Review of Sociology, 20, 203-233.

Hobcraft, J. (2006). The ABC of Demographic Behaviour: How the Interplays of Alleles, Brains, and Contexts over the Life Course Should Shape Research Aimed at Understanding Population Processes. Population Studies, 60, 153-187.

Hobcraft, J. & K. Kiernan. (1995). Becoming a Parent in Europe. In Evolution or Revolution in European Population. European Population Conference, 27-65. Milano: Franco Angeli.

Hoffman, L. W. & M. L. Hoffman. (1973). The Value of Children to Parents. In Psychological perspectives on population, J. T. Fawcett (Eds.), 19-76. New York: Basic Books.

Jowell, R. & Central Coordinating Team. (2005). European Social Survey 2004/2005: Technical Report. London: Centre for Comparative Social Surveys: City University.

Kohler, H.-P., J. R. Behrman & A. Skytthe (2005). Partner + Children = Happiness? The Effects of Partnerships and Fertility on Well-Being. Population and Development Review, 31, 407-445.

Kohler, H.-P., F. C. Billari & J. A. Ortega (2002). The Emergence of Lowest-Low Fertility in Europe During the 1990s. Population and Development Review, 28, 641-680.

Kohler, H.-P. & I. Kohler (2002). Fertility Decline in Russia in the Early and Mid-1990s: The Role of Economic Uncertainty and Labour Market Crises. European Journal of Population, 18, 233-262.

Kohler, H.-P., A. Skytthe & K. Christensen. (2001). The Age at First Birth and Completed Fertility reconsidered: Findings from a Sample of Identical Twins. In MPIDR Working Paper. Rostock: Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research.

Lesthaeghe, R. (1995). The Second Demographic Transition in Western Countries: An Interpretation. In Gender and Family Change in Industrialized Countries, K. Oppenheim Mason & A.-M. Jensen (Eds.), 17-62. Oxford: Clarendon.

Lesthaeghe, R. & D. van de Kaa. (1986). Twee demografische transities? In Bevolking: Groei en Krimp, R. Lesthaeghe & D. van de Kaa (Eds.), 9-24. Deventer: Van Loghum Slaterus.

Lutz, W., V. Skirbekk & M. R. Testa (2006). The Low Fertility Trap Hypothesis. Forces that May Lead to Further Postponement and Fewer Births in Europe. Vienna Yearbook of Population Research, 2006, 115-151.

Lykken, D. & A. Tellegen (1996). Happiness is a Stochastic Phenomenon. Psychological Science, 7, 186-189.

Macura, M., A. L. MacDonald & W. Haug. (2005). The New Demographic Regime. Population Challenges and Policy Responses. UNECE & UNFPA (Eds.). New York and Geneva: United Nations.

McDonald, P. (2000). Gender Equity in Theories of Fertility Transition. Population and Development Review, 26, 427-439.

McLanahan, S. & J. Adams (1987). Parenthood and Psychological Well-Being. Annual Review of Sociology, 13, 237-257.

Merton, R. K. (1995). The Thomas Theorem and The Matthew Effect. Social Forces, 74, 379-424.

Mills, M., L. Mencarini, M. L. Tanturri & K. Begall (2008). Gender Equity and Fertility Intentions in Italy and the Netherlands. Demographic Research, 18, 1-26.

Morgan, S. P. & R. B. King (2001). Why Have Children in the 21st Century? Biological Predisposition, Social Coercion, Rational Choice. European Journal of Population, 17, 3-20.

Morgan, S. P. & M. G. Taylor (2006). Low Fertility at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century. Annual Review of Sociology, 32, 375-399.

Myrskylä, M., H.-P. Kohler & F. C. Billari. (2008). Human Development and Low Fertility. In Population Association of America Annual Meeting. New Orleans.

Nauck, B. (2007). Value of Children and the Framing of Fertility: Results from a Cross-cultural Comparative Survey in 10 Societies. European Sociological Review, 23, 615-629.

Nauck, B. & D. Klaus (2007). The Varying Value of Children. Empirical Results from Eleven Societies in Asia, Africa and Europe. Current Sociology, 55, 487-503.

Neyer, G. R. & G. Andersson (2008). Consequences of family policies on childbearing behavior: effects or artifacts? Population and Development Review, 34, 699-724.

Philipov, D., Z. Spéder & F. C. Billari (2006). Soon, Later, or Ever? The Impact of Anomie and Social Capital on Fertility Intentions in Bulgaria (2002) and Hungary (2001). Population Studies, 60, 289-308.

Pudrovska, T. (2008). Psychological Implications of Motherhood and Fatherhood in Midlife: Evidence From Sibling Models. Journal of Marriage and Family, 70, 168-181.

Sobotka, T. (2004a). Is Lowest-Low Fertility Explained by the Postponement of Childbearing? Population and Development Review, 30, 195-220.

Sobotka, T (2004b). Postponement of Childbearing and Low Fertility in Europe. Amsterdam: Dutch University Press.

Sobotka, T (2008). The Diverse Faces of the Second Demographic Transition in Europe. Demographic Research, 19, 171-224.

Sobotka, T. & L. Toulemon (2008). Changing Family and Partnership Behaviour. Common Trends and Persistent Diversity

across Europe. Demographic Research, 19, 85-138.

Speizer, I. S. (2006). Using Strength of Fertility Motivations to Identify Family Planning Program Strategies. International Family Planning Perspectives, 32, 185-191.

Thomas, W. I. & D. S. Thomas. (1928). The Child in America: Behavior Problems and Programs. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

United Nations (2005). Generations and Gender Programme: Survey Instruments. New York and Geneva: United Nations.

van de Kaa, D. J. (1987). Europe's Second Demographic Transition. Population Bulletin, 42, 1-59.

van de Kaa, D. J. (2004). The True Commonality: In Reflexive Modern Societies Fertility is a Derivative. Population Studies, 58, 77-81.

Veenhoven, R. (2008). World Database of Happiness. Rotterdam: Erasmus University Rotterdam.

Veenhoven, R. & M. Hagerty (2006). Rising Happiness in Nations 1946-2004. A Reply to Easterlin. Social Indicators Research, 79, 421-436.

VID, IIASA & PRB. (2006). European Demographic Data Sheet. Vienna: Vienna Institute of Demography, Austrian Academy of Sciences.

Vikat, A., Z. Speder, G. Beets, F. C. Billari, C. Buhler, A. Desesquelles et. al. (2007). Generations and Gender Survey (GGS): Towards a Better Understanding of Relationships and Processes in the Life Course. Demographic Research, 17, 389-439.

Vitali, A., F. C. Billari, A. Prskawetz & M. R. Testa (2009). Preference theory and low fertiliy: A comparative perspective. European Journal of Population, Forthcoming.

Waite, L. J. & L. A. Lillard (1991). Children and Marital Disruption. American Journal of Sociology, 96, 930-953.

APPENDIX 1

Key questions from the Generations and Gender Survey

Question 622
Do you intend to have a/another child during the next three years?
Possible valid answers (code): definitely not (1), probably not (2), probably yes (3), definitely yes (4)

Question 627
Now, suppose that during the next 3 years you were to have a/another child. I would like you to tell me what effect you think this would have on various aspects of your life. Please choose your answers from the card.
Possible valid answers (code): much better (1), better (2), neither better nor worse (3), worse (4), much worse (5).

(a) The possibility to do what you want
(b) Your employment opportunities
(c) Your financial situation
(d) Your sexual life
(e) What people around you think of you
(f) The joy and satisfaction you get from life
(g) The closeness between you and your partner/ spouse
(h) Your partner's/spouse's employment opportunities
(i) The care and security you may get in old age
(j) Certainty in your life
(k) The closeness between you and your parents

Question 629
Although you may feel that the decision to have a/another child is yours (and your partner's/ spouse's) alone, it is likely that others have opinions about what you should do. I'm going to read out some statements about what other people might think about you having a/another child during the next three years. Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with these statements, choosing your answer from the card.
Possible valid answers (code): strongly agree (1), agree (2), neither agree nor disagree (3), disagree (4), strongly disagree (5).

(a) Most of your friends think that you should have a/another child
(b) Your parents think that you should have a/ another child
(c) Most of your relatives think that you should have a/another child

APPENDIX 2

Full results of logit regression models on GGS fertility intentions (see Appendix 2 for the meaning of Q. 627 and Q. 629)

Table 6
Bulgaria

	Males (all)	Males (with co-resident partner)	Females (all)	Females (with co-resident partner)
Q. 627 a	-0.493***	-0.363*	-0.338***	-0.301**
	(0.109)	(0.197)	(0.110)	(0.152)
Q. 627 b	-0.108	-0.346	-0.210*	-0.134
	(0.139)	(0.253)	(0.116)	(0.154)
Q. 627 c	-0.182	-0.586***	-0.319**	-0.411**
	(0.112)	(0.190)	(0.124)	(0.163)
Q. 627 d	0.122	0.277	0.243*	0.0428
	(0.109)	(0.230)	(0.125)	(0.203)
Q. 627 e	0.0135	0.259	-0.175	-0.195
	(0.135)	(0.232)	(0.133)	(0.211)
Q. 627 f	-0.796***	-0.807***	-0.714***	-0.760***
	(0.136)	(0.237)	(0.135)	(0.185)
Q. 627 g	-0.00251	-0.433*	-0.384***	-0.575***
	(0.133)	(0.233)	(0.141)	(0.212)
Q. 627 h	-0.0480	-0.151	0.177	-0.0636
	(0.0899)	(0.158)	(0.155)	(0.203)
Q. 627 i	-0.0858	-0.227	0.0933	0.255
	(0.135)	(0.254)	(0.128)	(0.197)
Q. 627 j	-0.427***	-0.482*	-0.421***	-0.444**
	(0.141)	(0.256)	(0.133)	(0.186)
Q. 627 k	0.0599	-0.0000920	0.352***	0.445**
	(0.118)	(0.216)	(0.133)	(0.205)
Q. 629 a	-0.448***	-0.640***	-0.247**	-0.105
	(0.111)	(0.191)	(0.107)	(0.147)
Q. 629 b	-0.302**	-0.369*	-0.423***	-0.395**
	(0.134)	(0.206)	(0.117)	(0.164)
Q. 629 c	-0.00723	0.207	-0.129	-0.261
	(0.151)	(0.238)	(0.143)	(0.196)
Has one child	-0.333**	-1.581***	-0.719***	-1.933***
	(0.166)	(0.421)	(0.172)	(0.434)
Has two children	-1.652***	-2.807***	-2.485***	-3.825***
	(0.265)	(0.474)	(0.268)	(0.494)
Has three or more children	-1.854***	-2.830***	-2.359***	-3.900***
	(0.397)	(0.619)	(0.579)	(0.782)

Table 6
Bulgaria (continued)

	Males (all)	Males (with co-resident partner)	Females (all)	Females (with co-resident partner)
Age	0.672***	0.259	0.805***	0.488***
	(0.0800)	(0.211)	(0.106)	(0.188)
Age squared	-0.0107***	-0.00448	-0.0143***	-0.0104***
	(0.00127)	(0.00310)	(0.00182)	(0.00304)
Age of the partner		0.170		-0.0849
		(0.208)		(0.133)
Age of the partner squared		-0.00405		0.00127
		(0.00341)		(0.00179)
Constant	-2.503*	6.944***	-3.330**	6.342**
	(1.301)	(2.567)	(1.613)	(2.773)
Observations	2268	1369	2784	2063

Table 7
France

	Males (all)	Males (with co-resident partner)	Females (all)	Females (with co-resident partner)
Q. 627 a	-0.853***	-1.107***	-0.557***	-0.465*
	(0.255)	(0.352)	(0.208)	(0.268)
Q. 627 b	-0.583*	-0.165	-0.522**	-0.827***
	(0.310)	(0.409)	(0.225)	(0.297)
Q. 627 c	-0.407	0.207	-0.00727	0.116
	(0.375)	(0.452)	(0.243)	(0.310)
Q. 627 d	-0.0317	0.313	0.279	0.544
	(0.515)	(0.757)	(0.260)	(0.346)
Q. 627 e	0.159	0.259	-0.239	-0.0846
	(0.342)	(0.379)	(0.227)	(0.277)
Q. 627 f	-0.717**	-0.284	-0.939***	-0.901***
	(0.284)	(0.372)	(0.207)	(0.245)
Q. 627 g	0.106	-0.192	-0.175	-0.460
	(0.312)	(0.458)	(0.244)	(0.309)
Q. 627 h	-0.198	-0.588*	-0.750***	-0.468
	(0.360)	(0.345)	(0.243)	(0.365)
Q. 627 i	0.177	0.571	0.889***	1.045***
	(0.241)	(0.383)	(0.231)	(0.319)
Q. 627 j	-0.642**	-1.373***	-0.738***	-0.615**
	(0.292)	(0.409)	(0.233)	(0.293)
Q. 627 k	0.0882	-0.0522	0.214	-0.0769
	(0.344)	(0.463)	(0.294)	(0.370)

Table 7
France (continued)

	Males (all)	Males (with co-resident partner)	Females (all)	Females (with co-resident partner)
Q. 629 a	-0.443**	-0.412*	-0.618***	-0.605***
	(0.181)	(0.232)	(0.162)	(0.185)
Q. 629 b	-0.0119	0.0972	-0.275**	-0.0523
	(0.172)	(0.226)	(0.137)	(0.165)
Q. 629 c	0.0470	0.248	0.375**	0.221
	(0.186)	(0.252)	(0.189)	(0.223)
Has one child	0.177	-0.117	0.433	0.153
	(0.572)	(0.590)	(0.413)	(0.460)
Has two children	0.00225	-1.083	-0.258	-0.510
	(0.567)	(0.732)	(0.527)	(0.611)
Has three or more children	1.069	0.686	-1.745**	-2.068**
	(0.960)	(1.296)	(0.833)	(0.957)
Age	0.722***	0.725*	0.951***	0.634
	(0.192)	(0.377)	(0.232)	(0.451)
Age squared	-0.0107***	-0.0105**	-0.0152***	-0.00954
	(0.00277)	(0.00515)	(0.00397)	(0.00779)
Age of the partner		1.618***		-0.00321
		(0.564)		(0.241)
Age of the partner squared		-0.0269***		-0.000449
		(0.00919)		(0.00352)
Constant	-1.034	-27.12***	-4.757	-0.855
	(4.888)	(9.244)	(3.545)	(5.782)
Observations	354	211	525	314

Table 8
Georgia

	Males (all)	Males (with co-resident partner)	Females (all)	Females (with co-resident partner)
Q. 627 a	-0.181	-0.240	-0.339***	-0.421**
	(0.133)	(0.202)	(0.117)	(0.189)
Q. 627 b	-0.362**	-0.191	-0.180	-0.0394
	(0.141)	(0.220)	(0.132)	(0.210)
Q. 627 c	-0.467***	-0.632***	-0.0863	-0.309
	(0.109)	(0.181)	(0.125)	(0.195)
Q. 627 d	-0.251*	-0.920**	0.201	0.230
	(0.150)	(0.387)	(0.150)	(0.295)
Q. 627 e	-0.117	-0.0614	-0.259**	-0.299
	(0.133)	(0.218)	(0.131)	(0.205)

Table 8
Georgia (continued)

	Males (all)	Males (with co-resident partner)	Females (all)	Females (with co-resident partner)
Q. 627 f	-0.458***	-0.478***	-0.660***	-0.864***
	(0.128)	(0.183)	(0.131)	(0.194)
Q. 627 g	-0.118	-0.0762	-0.0758	0.0168
	(0.130)	(0.206)	(0.128)	(0.186)
Q. 627 h	0.104	0.135	-0.250*	-0.272
	(0.0923)	(0.146)	(0.130)	(0.185)
Q. 627 i	0.0239	-0.300	0.137	0.327
	(0.173)	(0.256)	(0.181)	(0.248)
Q. 627 j	0.0909	0.384	-0.0210	-0.264
	(0.182)	(0.245)	(0.178)	(0.252)
Q. 627 k	0.0274	0.104	0.289**	0.0852
	(0.131)	(0.230)	(0.128)	(0.219)
Q. 629 a	-0.647***	-0.506**	-0.434***	-0.278
	(0.136)	(0.229)	(0.127)	(0.183)
Q. 629 b	-0.473***	-0.512**	-0.495***	-0.597***
	(0.140)	(0.228)	(0.151)	(0.221)
Q. 629 c	-0.108	-0.402	-0.308*	-0.412*
	(0.173)	(0.264)	(0.169)	(0.250)
Has one child	0.357*	-18.93***	0.192	-2.589**
	(0.211)	(2.539)	(0.193)	(1.120)
Has two children	-1.049***	-20.30***	-1.057***	-3.914***
	(0.201)	(2.576)	(0.195)	(1.119)
Has three or more children	-1.582***	-20.79***	-1.807***	-4.572***
	(0.312)	(2.581)	(0.386)	(1.177)
Age	0.518***	-0.00850	0.442***	0.0841
	(0.0677)	(0.168)	(0.0913)	(0.191)
Age squared	-0.00792***	-0.000230	-0.00807***	-0.00211
	(0.00102)	(0.00228)	(0.00149)	(0.00301)
Age of the partner		0.176		0.0822
		(0.161)		(0.179)
Age of the partner squared		-0.00393		-0.00190
		(0.00248)		(0.00247)
Constant	0.547	29.35	1.346	10.62***
	(1.167)	(0)	(1.441)	(3.088)
Observations	2091	1247	2038	1321

Table 9
Germany

	Males (all)	Males (with co-resident partner)	Females (all)	Females (with co-resident partner)
Q. 627 a	-0.448***	-0.486**	-0.391***	-0.248
	(0.145)	(0.198)	(0.130)	(0.174)
Q. 627 b	-0.529***	-0.551**	-0.132	-0.122
	(0.157)	(0.277)	(0.123)	(0.154)
Q. 627 c	-0.511***	-0.586***	-0.414***	-0.466**
	(0.149)	(0.204)	(0.131)	(0.182)
Q. 627 d	0.145	-0.185	-0.292	-0.512
	(0.192)	(0.295)	(0.249)	(0.386)
Q. 627 e	0.00121	-0.541	0.261	0.470
	(0.200)	(0.340)	(0.231)	(0.299)
Q. 627 f	-1.200***	-1.558***	-0.709***	-0.813***
	(0.193)	(0.268)	(0.141)	(0.212)
Q. 627 g	-0.312*	-0.0760	-0.439**	-0.0997
	(0.181)	(0.277)	(0.173)	(0.229)
Q. 627 h	0.329**	0.0717	-0.0102	-0.00685
	(0.137)	(0.186)	(0.287)	(0.343)
Q. 627 i	0.0245	-0.244	-0.0103	-0.315
	(0.172)	(0.241)	(0.156)	(0.232)
Q. 627 j	-0.0319	0.0574	-0.238	-0.445
	(0.174)	(0.264)	(0.194)	(0.276)
Q. 627 k	0.0518	0.246	0.0342	0.197
	(0.195)	(0.317)	(0.189)	(0.295)
Q. 629 a	-0.150**	-0.0755	-0.0970	-0.0828
	(0.0745)	(0.101)	(0.0596)	(0.0693)
Q. 629 b	-0.176**	-0.195**	-0.0764	-0.165*
	(0.0729)	(0.0851)	(0.0661)	(0.0854)
Q. 629 c	-0.0171	0.00805	-0.180**	-0.0586
	(0.0769)	(0.0981)	(0.0725)	(0.0987)
Has one child	0.119	-0.609*	-0.00681	-0.473*
	(0.244)	(0.329)	(0.199)	(0.268)
Has two children	-1.229***	-2.014***	-1.139***	-1.593***
	(0.341)	(0.438)	(0.250)	(0.312)
Has three or more children	-2.113***	-2.888***	-2.136***	-2.732***
	(0.760)	(0.905)	(0.540)	(0.665)
Age	0.951***	0.566**	1.014***	0.676***
	(0.138)	(0.284)	(0.138)	(0.228)
Age squared	-0.0153***	-0.00858**	-0.0179***	-0.0128***
	(0.00214)	(0.00404)	(0.00229)	(0.00365)

Table 9
Germany (continued)

	Males (all)	Males (with co-resident partner)	Females (all)	Females (with co-resident partner)
Age of the partner		0.416		0.456***
		(0.294)		(0.168)
Age of the partner squared		-0.00829*		-0.00707***
		(0.00456)		(0.00244)
Constant	-6.464***	-1.279	-5.726**	-7.044*
	(2.358)	(5.257)	(2.441)	(3.783)
Observations	1574	993	2096	1321

Table 10
Hungary

	Males (all)	Males (with co-resident partner)	Females (all)	Females (with co-resident partner)
Q. 627 a	-0.0223	0.118	-0.137	-0.0784
	(0.118)	(0.133)	(0.0878)	(0.124)
Q. 627 b	-0.230	-0.146	-0.140*	-0.172
	(0.165)	(0.191)	(0.0833)	(0.120)
Q. 627 c	-0.809***	-0.895***	-0.394***	-0.312**
	(0.114)	(0.127)	(0.0952)	(0.136)
Q. 627 d	-0.150	-0.124	-0.220	-0.121
	(0.186)	(0.206)	(0.149)	(0.268)
Q. 627 e	0.436***	0.201	-0.109	-0.243
	(0.161)	(0.193)	(0.137)	(0.227)
Q. 627 f	-1.451***	-1.561***	-1.070***	-1.501***
	(0.127)	(0.142)	(0.101)	(0.142)
Q. 627 g	-0.279**	-0.406***	-0.198**	-0.208
	(0.134)	(0.154)	(0.0996)	(0.148)
Q. 627 h	0.210**	0.228**	-0.0626	0.185
	(0.100)	(0.110)	(0.193)	(0.279)
Q. 627 i	-0.159	-0.0825	-0.101	-0.171
	(0.112)	(0.127)	(0.0890)	(0.132)
Q. 627 k	0.323**	0.297	0.0274	0.0153
	(0.150)	(0.185)	(0.106)	(0.186)
Q. 629 a	-0.123**	-0.0787	-0.0515	-0.0475
	(0.0509)	(0.0551)	(0.0359)	(0.0515)
Q. 629 b	-0.0506	-0.0646	-0.0514	-0.0792
	(0.0474)	(0.0496)	(0.0349)	(0.0525)
Q. 629 c	-0.0197	-0.0285	-0.0544	-0.0429
	(0.0588)	(0.0643)	(0.0434)	(0.0627)

Table 10
Hungary (continued)

	Males (all)	Males (with co-resident partner)	Females (all)	Females (with co-resident partner)
Has one child	-0.400**	-0.416*	-0.463***	-0.723***
	(0.189)	(0.220)	(0.147)	(0.226)
Has two children	-1.757***	-1.686***	-1.762***	-2.077***
	(0.209)	(0.235)	(0.179)	(0.257)
Has three or more children	-1.681***	-1.644***	-1.922***	-2.254***
	(0.235)	(0.255)	(0.245)	(0.311)
Age	0.838***	0.609***	1.083***	0.814***
	(0.0955)	(0.131)	(0.107)	(0.175)
Age squared	-0.0120***	-0.00803***	-0.0173***	-0.0130***
	(0.00134)	(0.00180)	(0.00170)	(0.00266)
Age of the partner		-0.0417		0.121
		(0.114)		(0.102)
Age of the partner squared		-0.000765		-0.00200
		(0.00167)		(0.00133)
Constant	-6.967***	-1.328	-8.772***	-5.672*
	(1.833)	(2.208)	(1.836)	(2.932)
Observations	2189	1951	3077	2058

Table 11
Russian Federation

	Males (all)	Males (with co-resident partner)	Females (all)	Females (with co-resident partner)
Q. 627 a	-0.102	-0.160	-0.120	-0.144
	(0.126)	(0.182)	(0.122)	(0.163)
Q. 627 b	-0.119	-0.563**	0.163	0.209
	(0.167)	(0.223)	(0.134)	(0.177)
Q. 627 c	-0.180	-0.00415	-0.570***	-0.551***
	(0.141)	(0.195)	(0.134)	(0.169)
Q. 627 d	0.237*	0.431*	-0.107	-0.294
	(0.143)	(0.223)	(0.164)	(0.248)
Q. 627 e	0.132	-0.0245	0.416**	0.750***
	(0.162)	(0.231)	(0.163)	(0.214)
Q. 627 f	-0.450***	-0.521**	-0.497***	-0.666***
	(0.143)	(0.206)	(0.128)	(0.169)
Q. 627 g	-0.356**	-0.524***	-0.205	-0.295*
	(0.140)	(0.202)	(0.125)	(0.174)
Q. 627 h	0.0306	-0.0709	-0.410***	-0.350**
	(0.113)	(0.154)	(0.143)	(0.175)

Table 11
Russian Federation (continued)

	Males (all)	Males (with co-resident partner)	Females (all)	Females (with co-resident partner)
Q. 627 i	-0.0851	0.0239	-0.0491	-0.145
	(0.170)	(0.205)	(0.145)	(0.193)
Q. 627 j	-0.582***	-0.383*	-0.202	-0.132
	(0.169)	(0.219)	(0.161)	(0.212)
Q. 627 k	0.162	0.155	0.249*	0.0530
	(0.144)	(0.203)	(0.138)	(0.187)
Q. 629 a	-0.195*	-0.222*	-0.348***	-0.409***
	(0.101)	(0.125)	(0.110)	(0.157)
Q. 629 b	-0.250*	-0.411**	-0.0757	-0.118
	(0.143)	(0.189)	(0.116)	(0.139)
Q. 629 c	-0.492***	-0.306	-0.408***	-0.318*
	(0.153)	(0.208)	(0.139)	(0.188)
Has one child	-0.247	-1.387***	-0.789***	-1.180***
	(0.227)	(0.394)	(0.211)	(0.317)
Has two children	-1.153***	-2.300***	-2.300***	-2.808***
	(0.297)	(0.461)	(0.310)	(0.429)
Has three or more children	-0.588	-1.662***	-1.621***	-1.923***
	(0.369)	(0.546)	(0.461)	(0.547)
Age	0.669***	0.412*	0.542***	0.233
	(0.110)	(0.231)	(0.120)	(0.191)
Age squared	-0.0110***	-0.00607*	-0.00988***	-0.00456
	(0.00173)	(0.00344)	(0.00201)	(0.00310)
Age of the partner		0.409*		0.276
		(0.224)		(0.204)
Age of the partner squared		-0.00842**		-0.00472
		(0.00369)		(0.00310)
Constant	-3.732**	-3.008	-0.258	1.275
	(1.828)	(3.608)	(1.786)	(3.032)
Observations	1606	1024	1877	1245

CHAPTER 2

FAMILY DIVERSITY IN FRANCE, RUSSIAN FEDERATION, EAST AND WEST GERMANY: OVERVIEW ON LIVING ARRANGEMENTS AND LIVING CONDITIONS

Michaela Kreyenfeld, Dirk Konietzka and Anne Hornung

Monkey Business@Fotolia

1 - INTRODUCTION

Since the 1960s, Europe has undergone major changes in its demographic behaviour. Marriage and fertility rates have declined, divorce rates have increased and first births and marriages have been postponed. Furthermore, there has been an upsurge in lifelong childlessness, a spread of non-marital unions and a rise in non-marital fertility. These processes have been described and discussed thoroughly in the literature (Van de Kaa 1987, Lesthaeghe 1995, Coleman 1996, Kučera et al. 2000, Council of Europe 2005, Frejka et al. 2008). Even though previous research has provided an extensive account of demographic change in Europe, the consequences of these changes for the socio-economic situation of families in different countries are much less well studied. Empirical studies have pointed out the adverse effects that divorce has on income, poverty risks and life satisfaction (Amato 2000, Furstenberg and Kiernan 2001). Another strand of literature discusses what consequences the increase in maternal employment has for the economic performance of families (Maxwell 1990, Lichter and Eggebeen 1994, Esping-Andersen 2006). Furthermore, how non-marital childbearing is related to welfare dependency and poverty risks of the household has been investigated (Garfinkel et al. 2003, Lichter et al. 2003). Despite these attempts to understand the social and economic consequences of changing family structures, we do not have a conclusive answer to the question how "families fare under the second demographic transition" (McLanahan 2004: 607).

This paper contributes to the existing literature by analysing family diversity and living conditions in a cross-national perspective. We raise the question of how living arrangements and mothers' employment behaviour influence families' economic conditions in selected European countries. We compare families' well-being in France, Germany and the Russian Federation. The rationale for choosing these countries is not only that they are the largest countries in Europe in terms of population size. They also differ widely with respect to living standards, family structures, maternal employment patterns and the social policy contexts. France supports the dual-earner model and is, at the same time, rather liberal towards non-standard living arrangements and family forms. Germany's family policies have, until very recently, favoured the traditional "married single-earner male-breadwinner family". The Russian Federation and also East Germany represent countries (in the case of East Germany, regions) where demographic behaviour and living conditions have been deeply influenced by the economic and social crisis that followed the collapse of communist systems[2].

The paper is structured as follows: In the following part 2, we elaborate our theoretical arguments and provide basic information on the institutional contexts of France, the Russian Federation and East and West Germany. Part 3 displays family formation patterns and Part 4 gives a descriptive overview on the economic situation of families in the four regions. Part 5 focuses on the question of how family structure and maternal employment are related to a family's economic well-being.

2 - THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2.1 Demographic change in France, the Russian Federation and East and West Germany

All European countries have experienced a decline in fertility rates around or below replacement level since the 1960s. Despite this commonality, there are remarkable differences in fertility and nuptiality patterns. France, Germany and the Russian Federation represent certain ideal types of welfare regimes as well as certain types of "family regimes". France displays high fertility rates, high maternal employment rates and a large share of women who remain unmarried when they have children (see table 12). West Germany has record low levels of fertility, a low percentage of full-time employed mothers and a moderate level of non-marital fertility. The Russian Federation was subject to profound societal and economic changes after the breakdown of communism. Like the Russian Federation, East Germany went through a period of major societal

[2] In this essay, West Germany refers to the territories of what used to be the Federal Republic of Germany (including West Berlin, if not stated otherwise). East Germany refers to the territories of what used to be the German Democratic Republic. Even though it might be more appropriate to refer to "East Germany" and "West Germany" for the time before unification and "Eastern States of Germany" and "Western States of Germany" for the period after unification, we decided to simply use the terms "East Germany" and "West Germany" for both periods.

and economic upheaval that manifested itself in high unemployment rates and growing labour market uncertainties. However, economic hardship was buffered in the East German case through German unification. Furthermore, living standards increased considerably after unification. Despite substantial labour market upheavals throughout the 1990s, maternal employment rates remained fairly high in East Germany. At the same time, non-marital fertility skyrocketed. Today 59 per cent of births are out-of-wedlock in East Germany, while this applies to only 22 per cent in West Germany. In the Russian Federation, non-marital fertility increased only modestly after the demise of the communist system. But although the prevalence of non-marital fertility has remained comparatively low, the Russian Federation nevertheless displays "diverse" family structures due to its high divorce rates. Unfortunately, official statistics for the Russian Federation no longer provide total divorce rates. However, the development in the crude divorce rate and micro-level studies on divorce behaviour suggest further increases in divorce intensities after the year 2000 (Jasilioniene 2007, Muszynska 2007: 192).

Table 12
Demographic indicators by calendar year for France, the Russian Federation, and East and West Germany

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2004
Total fertility rate						
France	2.73	2.47	1.95	1.78	1.88	1.91
West Germany	2.37	2.02	1.44	1.45[a)]	1.41[a)]	1.37[a)]
East Germany	2.33	2.19	1.94	1.52[a)]	1.21[a)]	1.31[a)]
Russian Federation	2.56	2.00	1.86	1.90	1.21	1.33
Proportion non-marital births						
France	6.10	6.80	11.40	30.10	42.60	46.40
West Germany	6.30	5.50	7.60	10.50	18.60	22.00
East Germany	11.60	13.30	22.80	35.00	51.50	57.80
Russian Federation	13.10	10.60	10.80	14.60	28.00	29.80
Total divorce rate						
France	0.10	0.12	0.22	0.32	0.38	0.42[b)]
West Germany	--	0.15	0.23	0.31	0.42[c)]	0.48[c)]
East Germany	0.16	0.19	0.32	0.24	0.34[d)]	0.40[d)]
Russian Federation	0.17	0.34	0.42	0.40	--	--

Notes: a) Without Berlin; b) value for 2003; c) East Berlin included; d) East Berlin not included.
Source: Council of Europe (2004, 2005). Divorce rates for West and East Germany 2000 and 2004: Dorbritz (2007); total fertility rate for West and East Germany: Statistisches Bundesamt (2001) and data delivered by the German Statistical Office in personal correspondence.

2.2 Family diversity and social policies

The decline in marriage intensities, the increase in divorce rates and the rise in non-marital fertility have contributed to vastly changing family structures all over Europe. Despite the fact that family change is often seen as an essential and inevitable process of societal modernization (Lesthaeghe 1995, Van de Kaa 1987), the change in family structures also brings up the issue of rising social inequality among families. Empirical research has provided augmenting evidence that unmarried mothers fare worse than married mothers (Seccombe 2000, OECD 2008). However, it has also been pointed out that the economic situation of non-standard families differs between countries. Obviously, the welfare state context plays an important role in alleviating the economic constraints that are involved with unmarried parenthood. Social policies that enable mothers to work have been regarded as a key instrument in this context (Lewis 1992, Christopher 2002: 61, Skevik 2006). In countries that do little to support maternal employment and where marital unions receive prior treatment, non-standard families are at greater economic risk. The three

countries which we consider in our investigation differ widely in the ways they enable mothers to work and in the ways they favour the traditional married single-earner couple.

Social policies in France

The French welfare regime is often characterized as one facilitating the compatibility of family and working lives (Becker 2000, Fagnani 2001, Fagnani and Letablier 2005, Reuter 2002: 6, Thévenon 2007: 15). A variety of policy measures supports maternal employment (Becker 2000: 198, Fagnani and Letablier 2003, Micheaux and Monso 2007). However, concerning the period since the early 1990s, studies are more critical as to the effects of social policy reforms. While the public provision of day care supports maternal employment, transfers such as the allocation parentale d'éducation (APE) also support the "homemaker model"[3]. APE, which was initially only granted to parents with three or more children, was extended to two-child parents in 1994. The change of regulation contributed to a decrease in the employment rates of two-child mothers whose youngest child is under three years of age (Reuter 2002: 18). Particularly poorly educated women use the APE in order to withdraw from the labour market, which contributes to a bifurcation of maternal employment patterns (Bonnet and Labbé 1999: 6, Reuter 2002: 18f., Toulemon et al. 2008: 532). Despite this development, France still displays one of the highest maternal full-time employment rates in Europe (Reuter 2003: 39f., Thévenon 2008: 4.).

Another concept that lies at the heart of French social policies is that any living arrangement with children is considered as a family (Lessenich and Ostner 1995: 796). For example, this notion is realized in the fiscal system insofar as the income tax is set not only according to the marital status but to the number of children as well. Thus, unmarried parents also benefit from this so-called "family splitting" (Fagnani 2006). Also in other respects, France is very supportive of new living arrangements. In 1999, the pacte civil de solidarité (PACS) was introduced that allows unmarried couples to register their partnerships. PACS gives couples social rights similar to those of a married couple, e.g. the same taxation (Martin and Théry 2001: 150f., Bradley 2001). France had already introduced equal treatment of unmarried and married children in the 1970s. Since 1987, unmarried parents have the option to apply for joint custody. However, the French social policy system also contains incentives to get married, particularly for people with a higher income (Amar and Guérin 2007: 34).

Social policies in Germany

In the past, Germany has often been characterized as the ideal type of a conservative welfare regime that supports the male-breadwinner family (Gornick et al. 1998, Esping-Andersen 1999: 65, Treas and Widmer 2000: 1431). A major reason is the fact that Germany's tax system provides greater benefits to the "housewife model" than other countries do. Public day care for children below age three and full-time care for older children has been scarce for decades. Since 2005, however, the German Government has launched new family policies, among them an initiative to expand day care for children below age 3 and a parental leave scheme that is designed in style of the Swedish model (Leitner et al. 2008).

These new family policies are shifting Germany gradually towards a different kind of "social policy regime" that actively enhances maternal employment options. However, married and unmarried couples are still treated very differently. One of the differences is the possibility of joint taxation which only married couples can take advantage of[4]. Single mothers, however, have a somewhat advantaged position with respect to collecting certain types of transfers. Since they do not have a partner whose income is assessed when claiming benefits, single mothers have better access to means-tested benefits. Finally, non-marital couples are disadvantaged all along the way. The partner's income is accounted for when claiming social benefits, but they do not have the right to file their taxes jointly (Ostner 2001: 89).

---

[3] APE is a flat rate given to parents of children under three years of age and is linked to a previous employment of 2 years during the 10 and since the reform during the 5 years preceding birth. The level of benefit depends on the extent to which working hours are reduced (Becker 2000: 213). Complete withdrawal from the labour market allows for a grant of about €500, part-time work up to 50 per cent of legal regular working hours allows for a benefit of about €330 and parents working part-time up to 80 per cent of legal regular working hours receive about €250 (Becker 2000: 213, Périvier 2004: 336). According to the Caisse nationale des allocations familiales (CNAF), 80 per cent of all APE are granted at the full flat rate (Périvier 2004: 265). From 2004 onwards, APE is also granted to mothers of a first child for a period of six months after the birth (Toulemon et al. 2008: 532).

[4] Due to the progressive tax schedule, joint taxation provides tax exemptions, in particular, if the incomes of the partners are very unequal.

Differences between West and East Germany

After unification, the legal and political system of the formerly two parts of Germany was merged into one. The Unification Treaty, ratified in August 1990, laid down that the East German legal and political systems were to be replaced by the West German ones. However, some East German peculiarities remained in place. This particularly pertains to the public childcare system. In Germany, childcare policies are largely under the auspices of the federal states and local communities. After unification, many public day-care centres closed and there was concern that unification would be accompanied by a "sharp decline in the availability of childcare" (Rindfuss and Brewster 1996: 273).

Contrary to this expectation, public day care remained an item high on the agenda of East German communities. In 2006, there are 37 public day-care places for 100 children below age three in East Germany, while there are only eight places per 100 children of this age in West Germany (see table 13). For children aged 3 to 6, German parents enjoy a right to a part-time space in public day care. However, there are striking differences in the availability of full-time care. This also pertains to the availability of after-school care, which is very important in Germany, where schools are only part-time. In West Germany, there are four places for 100 children in after-school care (Hort), while there are 33 of such places in East Germany per 100 children. Regarding differences in the availability of public day care, there are also marked differences in maternal employment patterns. Only about 20 per cent of West German women with children below age 16 are working full-time, while this applies to more than 50 per cent in East Germany (Kreyenfeld and Geisler 2006). Against this background, East and West Germany still partially display features of two distinctive welfare regimes.

Table 13
Public day care in Germany, 2006

	Places	Children	Availability Ratio
West Germany			
Ages 0–2 (Krippe)	137,660	1,690,227	8%
Ages 3–6 (Kindergarten)	1,901,072	2,446,400	78%
Ages 7–13 (Hort)	186,140	4,801,867	4%
East Germany			
Ages 0–2 (Krippe)	109,619	292,977	37%
Ages 3–6 (Kindergarten)	332,194	393,429	84%
Ages 7–13 (Hort)	197,274	596,324	33%

Note: Berlin has been excluded.
Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (2008)

The Russian Federation

The overarching scheme of social change in the Russian Federation has been the economic crisis and the growing inequality in the society after the collapse of the Soviet system. Social grants offered by enterprises, such as special housing or health care programmes, have become important to complement the state's welfare provision. These services vary markedly depending on the type of firm (Manning 1995: 204f.). The emergence of employment-related social benefits can be interpreted as a factor strengthening the divide between disadvantaged social groups with loose ties to the labour market and an economically better-off, well-integrated population.

With respect to family policy, several changes in measures were introduced after the demise of the Soviet system. The most important change concerns public day-care provision. Similar to East Germany, public childcare was an important means to realize the societal norm of the full-time employed mother during communism. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the availability of public day care has declined drastically and the costs of care have increased (Lokshin 2004: 1095)[5]. With the rising costs of care, low-income women can no

[5] *Goskomstat, the national statistical office, reports a decline in the proportion of children attending a nursery or a kindergarten of more than half in the period between 1989 and 1997 (Goskomstat 1998, quoted in Lokshin 2004: 1095).*

longer afford to pay for care, which is why informal care by non-working family members has become more widespread. Furthermore, policymakers have increasingly supported the model of the male breadwinner. Keeping women out of the labour market was regarded as an appropriate measure to overcome demographic problems and as a means to take away pressures from the labour market (Teplova 2007: 291). Against this background, it has been argued that women more often have to face the conflict of choosing between family and career roles than it was the case in the past (Zdravomyslova 1995: 198).

Policy context and living situation of families

Against the background of the different social policies, one would assume that living conditions of families differ widely between France, Germany and the Russian Federation – but also between East and West Germany. Given that France is rather liberal towards non-standard families and that maternal employment rates are comparatively high, one would assume that "non-standard families" do not perform much worse than other types of families. East Germany is similar to France in the sense that public day care is widely available, encouraging women to stay gainfully employed after childbirth. Since the provision of day care supports women's economic independence, we expect unmarried mothers in East Germany to perform similarly to married women. West German women have much more restricted access to public day care. Given that the tax and transfer system additionally prioritizes traditional families, non-standard families in West Germany should find themselves in a more disadvantaged economic situation than married couples and their families. In the Russian Federation, an unfavourable economic situation as well as an underdeveloped welfare state is expected to overshadow family dynamics. This leads us to assume that all types of families are confronted more often with adverse living conditions than is the case in the other countries under consideration here.

3 - FERTILITY PATTERNS IN FRANCE, THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND EAST AND WEST GERMANY

For our empirical investigations, we have used data from the Generations and Gender Survey (United Nations 2005, 2007). We have limited our sample to women aged 18 to 55 with at least one biological, step-, adopted or foster child who is age 16 or younger and lives in the same household as the respondent. By means of cross-tabulation as well as of logistic regression, we have compared the living conditions of these respondents in France, the Russian Federation and East and West Germany. Before presenting the empirical results, we provide an overview on differences in family formation patterns in all three countries (and four regions) (part 3.1). Our motivation for this initial investigation was that we wanted to limit our main analysis to women who have children. By comparing the family formation among the countries, we have tried to account for the peculiarities of the sample we selected in each country. Since we limit the analysis to women with children who still live in the household, it is also worthwhile to give an account of the number of children who do not live in the household any longer (part 3.2).

3.1 Family formation patterns

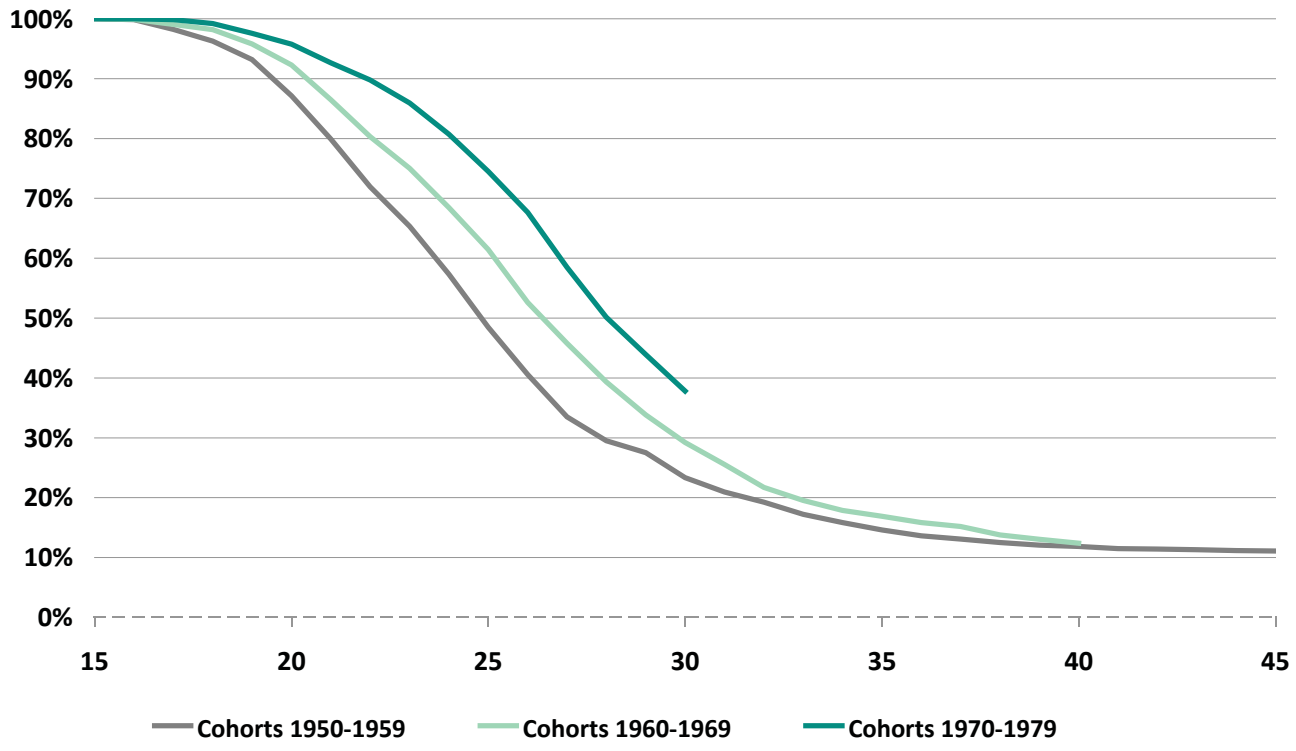
Figure IV illustrates the family formation patterns in France. The figure provides estimates from Kaplan-Meier survival curves which give the percentage of childless women by age of the woman. Similar to other Northern and Western European countries, age at first birth has increased with the cohorts born around 1950. While the median age at first birth was roughly age 25 for the 1950s cohorts, it has increased to 28 for the cohorts born in the 1970s. The final level of childlessness settles at 10 per cent and is rather low as compared to other Western European countries (Konietzka and Kreyenfeld 2007). West Germany has also experienced an increase in the age at childbirth since the 1950s cohort (figure V). Even though the median age at first birth and the ultimate level of childlessness are higher, the pattern looks similar to the French one[6].

[6] *Comparisons with vital statistics suggest that the German GGS understates fertility in older cohorts and overstates it in younger ones. This may explain why most other studies of West German fertility show a gradual increase in the ultimate level of childlessness and a drastic increase in the age at first birth in the post-1950s cohorts that is not reflected in the same way in the GGS data.*

East Germany shows the most dramatic changes in family formation patterns over the cohorts (figure VI). While the median age at first birth of cohorts who were born in the 1960s was only 22, it increased to more than 26 for cohorts born in the 1970s. Contrary to developments in East Germany, the age at first birth has remained remarkably stable over cohorts in the Russian Federation (figure VII). There has been a modest increase in the age at first birth, if one compares the cohorts born in the 1960s and 1970s. Nevertheless, one must conclude that, with only 22 years of age, by comparison Russian women are still very young at first birth.

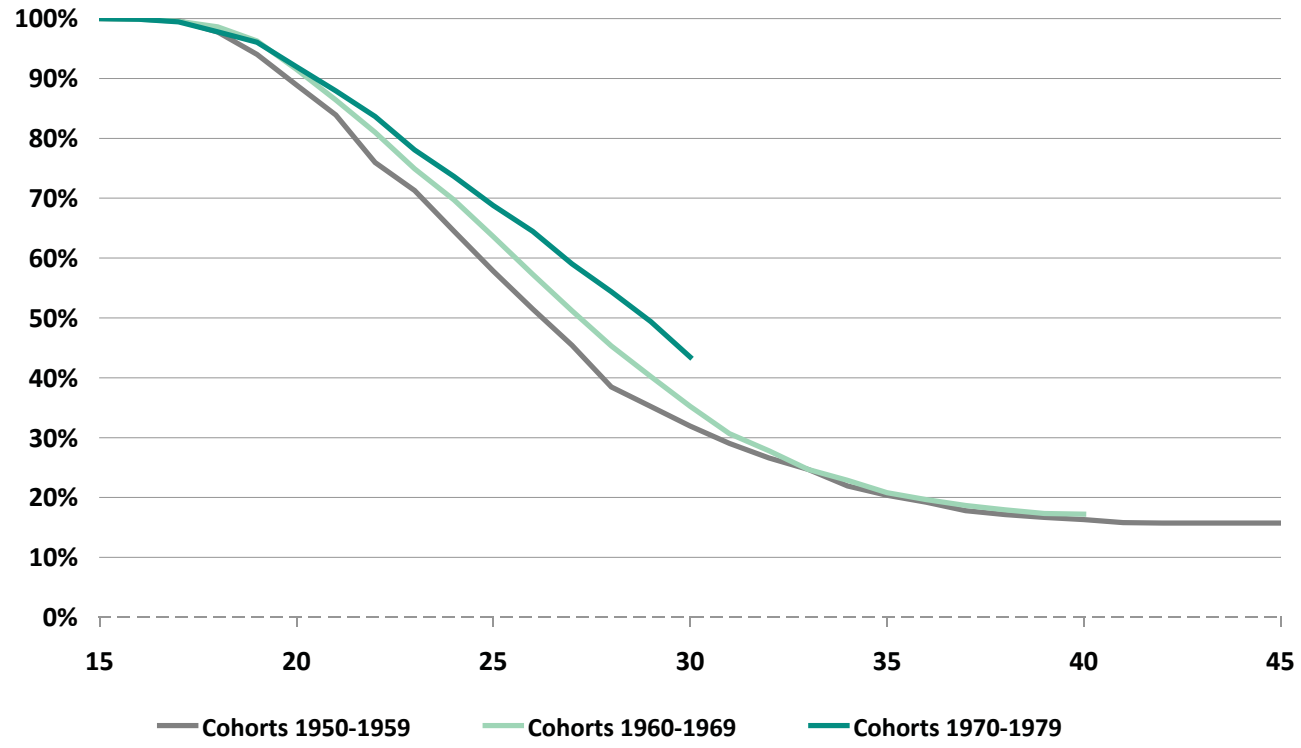
Taken together, family formation patterns in France and West Germany can be characterized as a process of steady postponement since the cohorts born in the 1950s. In East Germany, we observe a radical postponement from cohorts born around 1970. In the Russian Federation, there is an amazing continuity of early age at motherhood. For our investigation, which focuses on women with children age 16 or younger, this means that the sample in the four cases under consideration will be rather different in terms of respondents' ages – with French and West German mothers being relatively old on average, Russian mothers being rather young and East German mothers being in between (see table 26).

Figure IV
Percentage of childless respondents, estimates from Kaplan-Meier survival curves, France



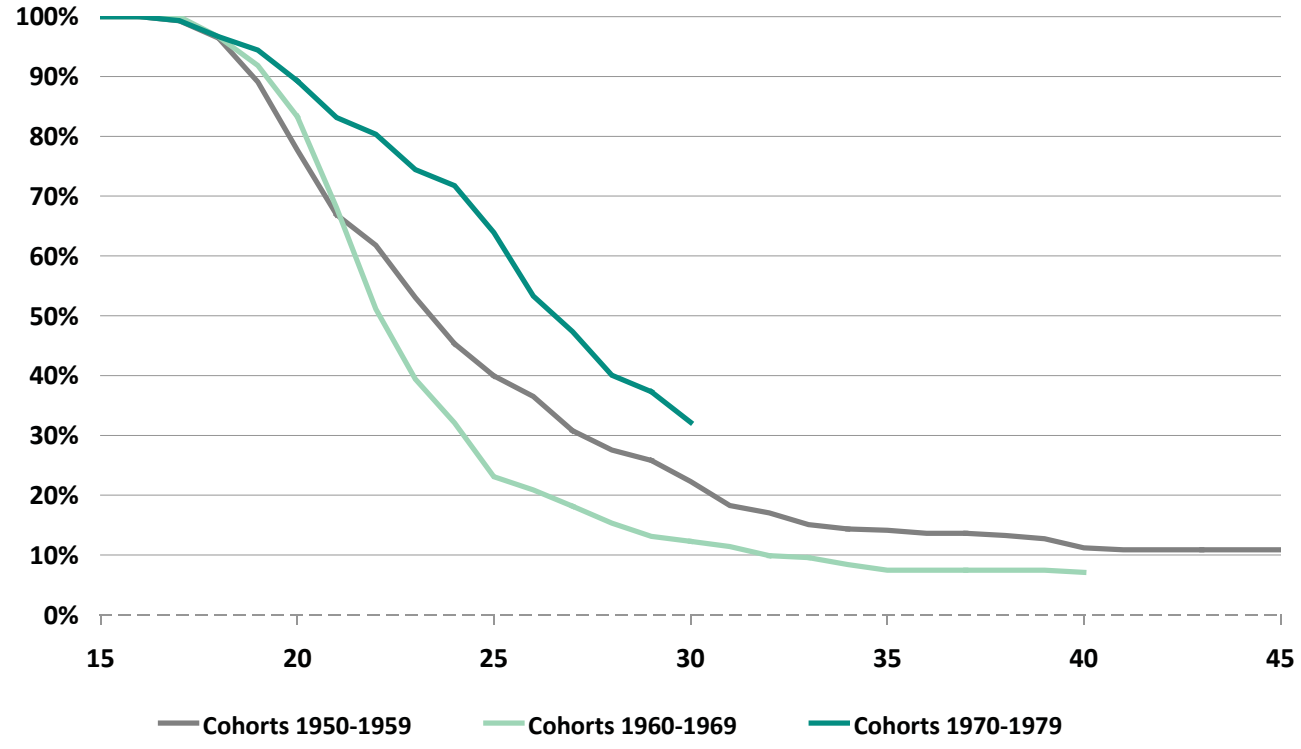
Note: Respondents who gave birth before age 15 were excluded from the sample.
Source: GGS wave 1, weighted estimates

Figure V
Percentage of childless respondents, estimates from Kaplan-Meier survival curves, West Germany



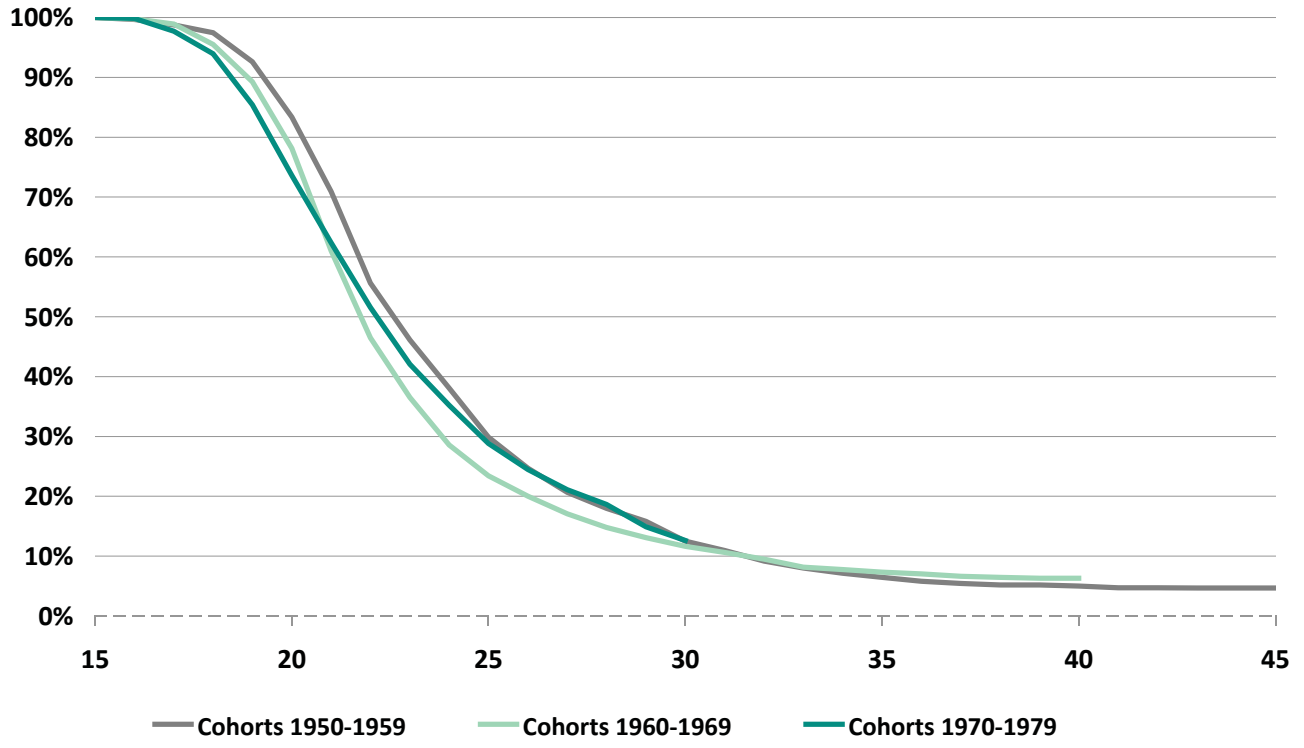
Note: Respondents who gave birth before age 15 were excluded from the sample.
Source: GGS wave 1, weighted estimates

Figure VI
Percentage of childless respondents, estimates from Kaplan-Meier survival curves, East Germany



Note: Respondents who gave birth before age 15 were excluded from the sample.
Source: GGS wave 1, weighted estimates

Figure VII
Percentage of childless respondents, estimates from Kaplan-Meier survival curves, the Russian Federation



Note: Respondents who gave birth before age 15 were excluded from the sample.
Source: GGS wave 1, weighted estimates

3.2 Number of biological, step-, foster and adopted children

Table 14 gives an account of the average number of children of women aged 18 to 55. In this table, our main interest is not average family size, but the prevalence of step-, foster and adopted children. According to this table, only a negligible fraction of couples have adopted or foster children. Stepchildren, defined as prior children of the current partner, play a quite important role in France and the Russian Federation, however. They are less common in both parts of Germany. A French woman aged 18–55 has on average 0.15 step children, a Russian woman 0.14, an East German woman 0.07 and a West German woman 0.06. The vast majority of these children do not live in the respondent's household. This can be explained by the fact that after separation, most children stay with their mothers. Hence from the perspective of women, most stepchildren do not live in the same household.

The subsequent analysis is limited to women aged 18 to 55 who have children aged 16 or younger living in the same household. We thus disregard childless women and women with older children. Due to the differences in fertility dynamics in the countries, limiting the sample to women with children in the household implies cutting out different segments of the population. In the case of West Germany, mostly those women are excluded who have not had any children yet; in the Russian Federation, one more often disregards respondents whose children have already left the parental home.

Table 14
Average number of biological, step-, foster and adopted children, women aged 18-55

	France	West Germany	East Germany	Russian Federation
Biological children				
In household	1.06	1.03	0.95	1.09
Not in household	0.37	0.23	0.39	0.34
Adopted/ foster children	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01
Total	1.45	1.28	1.34	1.44
Children of partner				
In household	0.01	0.01	--	0.01
Not in household	0.13	0.05	0.07	0.13
Total	0.15	0.06	0.07	0.14
Sample size	3,877	3,078	650	4,732

Source: GGS wave 1, weighted estimates

4 - LIVING CONDITIONS OF WOMEN WITH CHILDREN

4.1 Living arrangements

Table 15 provides the marital status of women with children by country. As vital statistics on non-marital childbearing (see table 12) have already suggested, married mothers are less common in France and in East Germany than in West Germany and the Russian Federation. Even though there are substantial differences in the prevalence of married motherhood between West Germany and both East Germany and France, what clearly stands out is the Russian pattern. It is not only that Russian women with children are more often divorced, what is striking is the high proportion of widowed mothers. While the share of widowed mothers is negligible in the other three regimes, 6 per cent of Russian women with children aged 16 or younger are widowed. High mortality rates among Russian men are obviously a relevant factor for growing family diversity in the Russian case.

Table 15
Family status of women aged 18-55 with children (percentage)

	France	West Germany	East Germany	Russian Federation
Married	66.0	79.9	69.0	66.8
Divorced	9.5	7.5	7.6	17.0
Widowed	1.9	0.6	1.2	6.3
Never married	22.7	12.0	22.3	10.0
Total	100	100	100	100
Sample size	1,940	1,757	358	3,169

Note: The sample only comprises women who live with their (biological, step-, foster or adopted) children aged 16 or younger in the same household.
Source: GGS wave 1, weighted estimates

Research on the changing meaning of marriage and single parenthood has underlined the importance of distinguishing unmarried mothers by the type of union they are living in. Table 16 distinguishes between women who are married and who are not married (never married, widowed or divorced). The group of unmarried women is further distinguished by (a) whether the woman lives with a partner (non-marital union); (b) lives alone but has a partner who lives in another household (single, living-

apart-together); or (c) lives alone and does not have a partner (single, no partner). The investigation supports the notion that "unmarried childbearing is no longer synonymous with single parenthood" (Cherlin 2000: 399). However, there is substantial country variation. In France and East Germany, only a minority of unmarried mothers are single mothers without a partner. In France, half the total unmarried women with children live with a partner. In East Germany, this applies to 43 per cent. In the Russian Federation and West Germany, only one third of unmarried women live with a partner.

Table 16
Living arrangements of women aged 18-55 with children (percentage)

	France	West Germany	East Germany	Russian Federation
Marital union	66.3	80.1	69.6	66.9
Non-marital union	17.0	6.0	13.2	9.9
Single, living-apart-together	3.7	3.2	6.4	5.8
Single, no partner	13.1	10.7	10.9	17.5
Total	100	100	100	100
Sample size	1,930	1,752	356	3,158

Note: The sample only comprises women who live with their (biological, step-, foster or adopted) children aged 16 or younger in the same household.
Source: GGS wave 1, weighted estimates

Table 17 provides information on the household composition. Women have been classified according to whether they only cohabit with close family members or also with other relatives. "Nuclear family" encompasses women who only live together with their partners and children in the same household. "Multi-generation household" refers to women who live together with their partners and children as well as the couple's parents or grand-parents in the same household. The category "single mother" refers to women who live by themselves with their children. "Other" encompasses any other type of living arrangement (such as single mothers who live with other persons than a spouse in the same household or couples who share the household with other relatives such as brothers and sisters).

Research has shown that, from a historical perspective, co-residential patterns have strongly differed between Eastern and Western Europe (Plakans 1987, Reher 1998). The table supports the view of a continuation of an East-West divide in co-residential patterns. The nuclear family is the dominant arrangement in France, West Germany and East Germany. Multi-generation households play an inferior role in these regions. The situation in the Russian Federation is very different: only a little more than half of unmarried women with children live in nuclear families. Eleven per cent live with their partner and child(ren) in a multi-generation household, and 22 per cent live in other, particularly poly-nuclear or extended family, household arrangements.

Table 17
Household composition of women aged 18-55 with children (percentage)

	France	West Germany	East Germany	Russian Federation
Nuclear family	81.8	83.0	77.2	55.0
More generation household	0.5	0.9	3.6	10.7
Single mother	15.7	13.7	17.1	12.0
Other	2.1	2.4	2.1	22.3
Total	100	100	100	100
Sample size	1,940	1,762	359	3,169

Note: The sample only comprises women who live with their (biological, step-, foster or adopted) children aged 16 or younger in the same household.
Source: GGS wave 1, weighted estimates

4.2 Employment and earner models

Table 18 provides an account of the employment situation of women with children in the countries under study. The differences in labour force participation by country are striking. More than 40 per cent of women with children in East Germany and France are working full-time, while in West Germany this only applies to 22 per cent of women. Instead, part-time work is the most common type of employment for mothers in West Germany. The Russian Federation again stands out. Despite the system transformation in the Russian Federation, mothers' labour force participation rates remain on an exceptionally high level, with 64 per cent of mothers working full-time. This suggests that there is much more continuity in the Russian Federation with respect to female employment than is suspected in the literature (cf. Ashwin and Yakubovich 2005). These high percentages cannot be explained simply by differences in the age structure of our sample, i.e. the fact that the children of the Russian mothers were on average older than the children of the mothers in the other countries. After breaking down the sample by age of the youngest child, Russian mothers still display the highest full-time employment rates.

Table 18
Employment status of women aged 18-55 with children by age of youngest child (percentage)

	France	West Germany	East Germany	Russian Federation
All women with children				
Employed full-time	45.9	22.1	43.0	64.3
Employed part-time	23.1	35.2	22.7	3.3
Unemployed	9.4	5.4	22.8	6.6
Other	21.7	37.3	11.5	25.9
Total	100	100	100	100
Sample size	1,940	1,762	359	3,169
Women with children aged 0–2				
Employed full-time	39.1	12.5	25.8	49.4
Employed part-time	24.5	27.2	24.8	3.3
Unemployed	11.9	5.1	25.5	8.4
Other	24.5	55.1	23.9	39.0
Total	100	100	100	100
Sample size	807	672	102	778
Women with children aged 3–5				
Employed full-time	50.3	27.5	49.3	68.7
Employed part-time	22.1	39.7	21.9	3.3
Unemployed	7.7	5.6	21.9	6.0
Other	19.9	27.2	6.9	22.0
Total	100	100	100	100
Sample size	1,133	1,090	257	2,391

Note: The sample only comprises women who live with their (biological, step-, foster or adopted) children aged 16 or younger in the same household.
Source: GGS wave 1, weighted estimates

Table 19 additionally gives an account of the prevalence of different earner models. In line with previous research, we find that the male breadwinner model (where only the man is full-time employed) and the "modernized" male-breadwinner model (where the man works full-time and the woman part-time) is the most common in West Germany, while the dual breadwinner model has greater prevalence in France and East Germany. The Russian Federation displays the highest proportions of dual breadwinner families.

Table 19
Earner model, women aged 18-55 with children (percentage)

	France	West Germany	East Germany	Russian Federation
Both full-time	34.6	15.7	31.9	40.4
Man full-time, woman part-time	18.9	30.7	19.1	2.1
Man full-time, woman homemaker	16.4	29.6	6.5	17.0
Other	13.4	10.1	25.3	17.3
No partner	16.7	13.9	17.1	23.1
Total	100	100	100	100
N	1,940	1,762	359	3,169

Note: The sample only comprises women who live with their (biological, step-, foster or adopted) children aged 16 or younger in the same household.
Source: GGS wave 1, weighted estimates

4.3 Economic conditions and housing situations

Economic development, societal living standards, and therefore the average economic conditions of families still differ widely between Eastern and Western Europe. If respondents are asked about whether they can make ends meet, 90 per cent of Russian women with children report that they encounter difficulties (table 20). West German mothers are, by comparison, the least concerned about their economic situation. This might be well explicable in the light of the more advantaged situation of the German economy. But this result is nevertheless astonishing if one considers that relatively few mothers work full-time in West Germany and therefore do not fully contribute to the household income. France and East Germany lie somewhat in the middle, between the Russian Federation and West Germany.

Table 20
Economic situation of household, women aged 18-55 with children (percentage)[7]

	France	West Germany	East Germany	Russian Federation
Economic difficulties	27.4	15.0	19.7	53.3
Some economic difficulties	27.9	22.9	31.0	37.3
No economic difficulties	44.7	62.1	49.3	9.4
Total	100	100	100	100
N	1,935	1,753	358	3,169

Note: The sample only comprises women who live with their (biological, step-, foster or adopted) children aged 16 or younger in the same household.
Source: GGS wave 1, weighted estimates

[7] *Respondents were asked whether their household could make ends meet with great difficulty, with difficulty, with some difficulty, fairly easily, easily and very easily. We grouped "with great difficulty" and "with difficulty" into the category "economic difficulties". "Fairly easily", "easily" and "very easily" was grouped into "some economic difficulties".*

Table 21 presents the findings on the level of satisfaction with the housing situation. The table supports research which has shown that the housing situation is of great concern in many Eastern European countries, while this is not the case in Western Europe. In the Russian Federation, the provision of sufficient housing has not been achieved and it remains "a continuing source of dissatisfaction" (Manning 1995: 217), especially among young couples. The table also points to minor differences that still exist between East and West Germany with respect to housing conditions (Groh-Samberg and Goebel 2007).

Table 21
Satisfaction with housing situation, women aged 18-55 with children (percentage)[8]

	France	West Germany	East Germany	Russian Federation
Satisfied (0–2)	66.3	70.0	64.6	26.1
Somewhat satisfied (3–7)	31.2	27.1	32.1	57.5
Not satisfied (8-10)	2.6	3.0	3.3	16.3
Total	100	100	100	100
N	1,940	1,762	359	3,162

Note: The sample only comprises women who live with their (biological, step-, foster or adopted) children aged 16 or younger in the same household.
Source: GGS wave 1, weighted estimates

[8] *Respondents were asked to evaluate how satisfied they were with their housing situation on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents "not at all satisfied" and 10 "completely satisfied". We regrouped this variable into "satisfied" (0–2), "somewhat satisfied" (3–7) and "not satisfied" (8–10).*

5 - MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS

5.1 Description of variables

The previous investigation has shown significant differences in terms of living arrangements and living conditions in France, the Russian Federation and East and West Germany. We now turn to the question of how family forms and living conditions relate to each other. As an indicator of a family's economic situation, we use the variable that indicates whether the respondent feels that the household is able to make ends meet. On the one hand, one could argue that this question could be understood differently, depending on country and language, making it difficult to use it for a cross-national study. On the other, objective indicators such as income also entail difficulties. There is not only the problem of comparing the household income in countries with different living standards; household income must be standardized by size of the household, which makes the investigation quite dependent on the equivalent measure chosen. This is particularly important if one is interested in the relationship between family structure and living conditions, given that non-standard families differ from standard families in terms of household size. One could therefore argue that a subjective measure, accounting for whether a household is able to make ends meets or not, is as useful for cross-national comparisons as objective economic indicators such as household income.

The major independent variable in our investigation is the woman's current living arrangement. We distinguished between married couples, cohabiting couples, single mothers who do not live together with their partners (the living-apart-together arrangement) and single mothers who do not have a partner. Control variables are the migration status (i.e. whether the person was born in the country of interview or not), the number of children who live in the household, the age of the youngest child in the household and the age of the respondent. Education is classified according to the ISCED -code, distinguishing respondents who are still in education from respondents with a low level of education (ISCED 1 and 2), a medium level (ISCED 3 and 4) and a high level (ISCED 5 and 6). Employment status is also taken into account. We distinguish between women who are employed full-time, employed part-time, unemployed and others. (Table 25 gives the distribution of the sample).

5.2 Determinants of the economic situation of the family

Table 22 provides results from a logistic regression model in which the dependent variable indicates if the respondent is concerned about whether her household is able to make ends meet. We estimated a stepwise model, inserting the woman's educational level and her employment status successively. The rationale behind this procedure is that compositional effects may play an important role in understanding the relationship between family structure and social disadvantages. Prior research has shown that unmarried mothers are more often

less educated (McLanahan 2004), and also that the employment patterns of unmarried and married mothers differ. Therefore, the association between living arrangement and economic situation may be explained by compositional differences with respect to married and unmarried women.

Model 1 confirms our previous finding that strong country differences exist with respect to concerns about the economic situation of the household. The least difficulties were reported by West German mothers, most difficulties by Russian mothers. As expected, economic well-being also strongly varies with the woman's family status. We find a clear hierarchical order: married unions perform best, followed by non-marital unions and then living-apart-together arrangements. Worst off are single mothers. Apart from this, the control variables give the expected pattern: migrants face more difficulties than non-migrants. The higher the number of children, the more likely it is that the household finds it difficult to make ends meet. Overall, age of the child and age of the woman do not affect the household's economic well-being.

In model 2, we have entered the woman's level of education. Higher education strongly reduces a household's economic difficulties. Model 3, finally, includes the woman's employment status. Women who are not working are much less well-off in economic terms. Even after inclusion of these variables, the impact of the living arrangement remains very much the same. This suggests that the relationship between family form and economic well-being is a robust one and not distorted by compositional effects. Nevertheless, there might be interaction effects that are concealed in a simple model, e.g. single motherhood may have a very different meaning or very different economic implications for women with higher education and those with little education.

Table 22
Logistic regression model on economic difficulties (odds ratio)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Country			
France	1	1	1
West Germany	0.47***	0.39***	0.39***
East Germany	0.71***	0.63***	0.51***
Russian Federation	3.21***	2.64***	2.75***
Living arrangement			
Marital union	1	1	1
Non-marital union	1.43***	1.37***	1.35***
Living-apart-together	2.43***	2.50***	2.43***
Single	3.26***	3.15***	3.05***
Migration status			
Born in country of interview	1	1	1
Born in another country	1.40***	1.32***	1.28***
Number of children in the household			
One child	1	1	1
Two children	1.26***	1.21***	1.20***
Three and more	2.00***	1.71***	1.63***
Age of youngest child			
Age 0–3	1	1	1
Age 4–6	0.90	0.84	0.88
Age 7–10	0.91	0.85	0.90
Age 11–16	1.17	0.98	1.06

Table 22
Logistic regression model on economic difficulties (odds ratio) (continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Age of woman			
Age 18–24	1	1	1
Age 25–29	0.80	0.91	0.96
Age 30–34	0.74**	0.93	1.03
Age 35–40	0.81	1.07	1.19
Level of education			
In education		0.92	0.91
Low		1	1
Medium		0.65***	0.68***
High		0.34***	0.38***
Missing		1.02	1.01
Employment status			
Employed full-time			1
Employed part-time			0.97
Unemployed			2.89***
Other			1.33***
Goodness of fit			
Log-likelihood in starting model	-4,706	-4,706	-4,706
Log-likelihood in final model	-4,060	-3,959	-3,900

Notes: The sample only comprises women aged 18–55 who live with their (biological, step-, foster or adopted) children aged 16 or younger in the same household. The dependent variable equals one for respondents who report that it is difficult to make end meets. It equals zero for all other respondents.
Source: GGS wave 1

5.3 Interrelation of living arrangement, education and economic situation

Table 23 (see also figure VIII) provides results from an interaction of level of education and family form. The table shows that, independent of educational level, single women face more difficulties than married women. Worst off are clearly single mothers with little education. But also among the highly educated, single motherhood is accompanied by economic difficulties. This result goes against the idea that highly educated mothers are by and large protected against the negative economic consequences of unmarried motherhood. Another way to read the table is that there are hardly any differences in terms of economic difficulties between less educated married mothers and highly educated single mothers. From this point of view, marriage and investment in marketable human capital appear as two alternative strategies for women to cope with economic difficulties.

Interrelation of living arrangement, employment and economic situation

Table 24 provides results from an interaction model of employment status and family form. To guarantee sufficient sample size in each category, we grouped part-time and full-time employed women in one category, and unemployed and others into the category "not employed". The investigation strengthens the finding that unmarried mothers fare worse than married mothers. However, it also shows that employment status is an important intervening factor. The odds of finding the economic situation difficult increase by 185 per cent if one compares single and employed women with married and employed women. In the group of unemployed women, the odds increase by 300 per cent if one compares married and single women[9]. Nevertheless, it is striking that the unemployed married mothers face less difficulties than the employed single mothers.

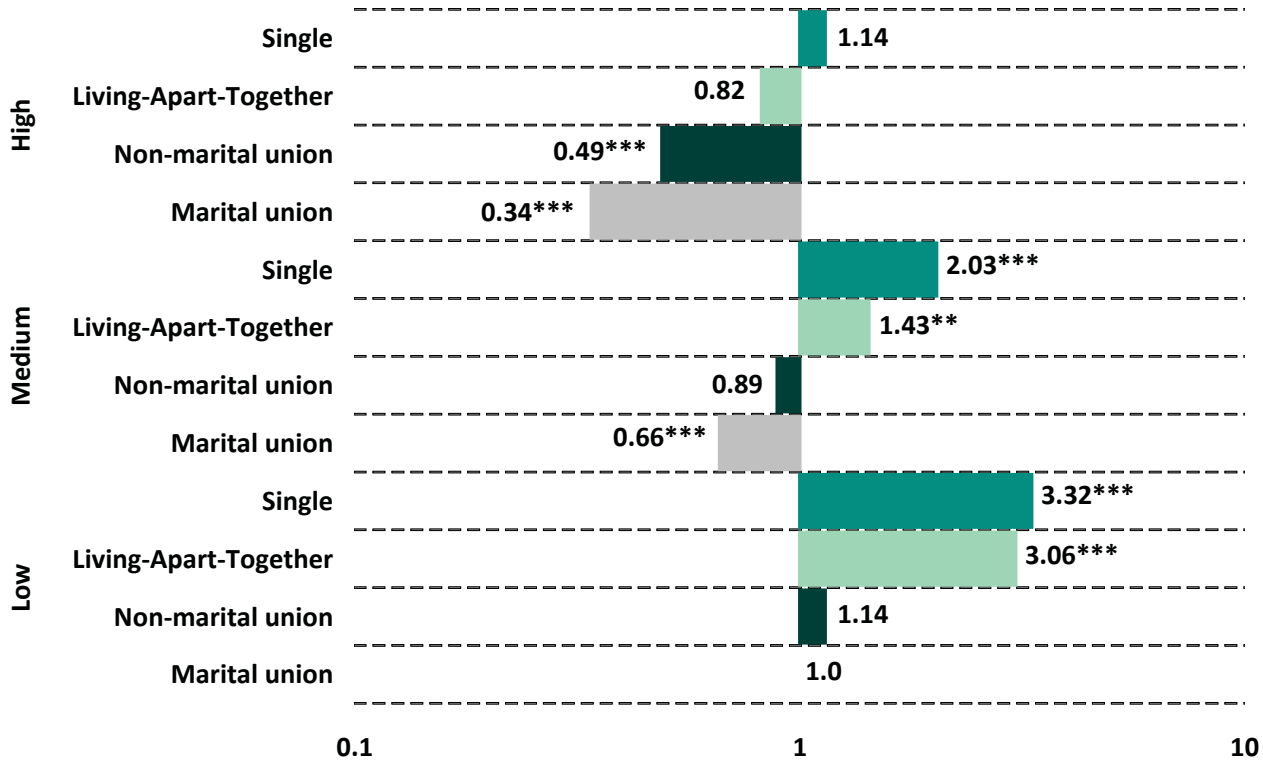
[9] *We arrived at this number by dividing 6.20 by 1.53, subtracting 1 from it and multiplying it by 100.*

Table 23
Logistic regression model on economic difficulties, results from interaction of living arrangement and level of education (odds ratio)

	Level of education		
	Low	Medium	High
Living arrangement			
Marital union	1	0.66***	0.34***
Non-marital union	1.14	0.89	0.49***
Living-apart-together	3.06***	1.43**	0.82
Single	3.32***	2.03***	1.14

Notes: The sample only comprises women aged 18-55 who live with their (biological, step-, foster or adopted) children aged 16 or younger in the same household. The dependent variable equals one for respondents who report that it is difficult to make end meets. It equals zero for all other respondents. Control variables in model are: country, nationality, number of children in household, age of woman, educational participation, employment status.
Source: GGS wave 1

Figure VIII
Logistic regression model on economic difficulties, results from interaction of living arrangement and level of education (odds ratio)



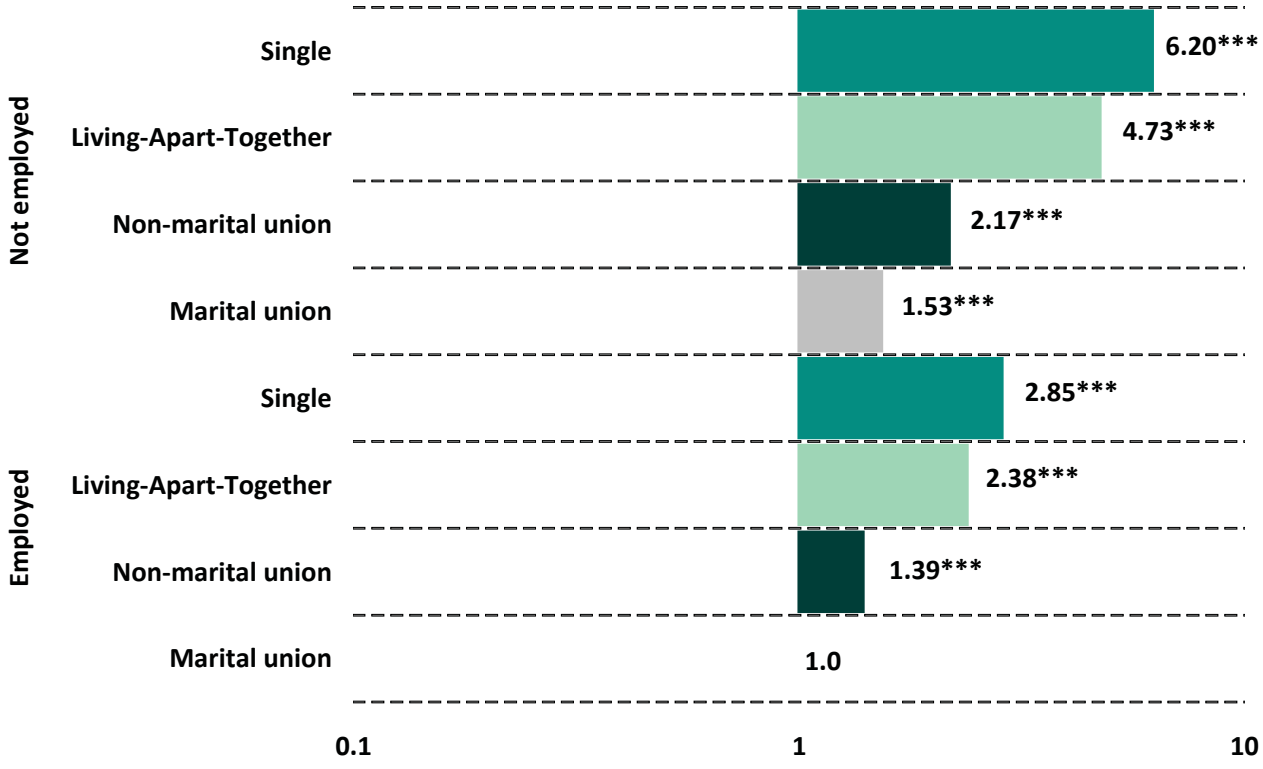
Note: See table 23

Table 24
Logistic regression model on economic difficulties, results from interaction of living arrangement and employment status (odds ratio)

	Employment status	
Living arrangement	**Employed**	**Not employed**
Marital union	1	1.53 ***
Non-marital union	1.39 ***	2.17 ***
Living-apart-together	2.38 ***	4.73 ***
Single	2.85 ***	6.20 ***

Note: The sample only comprises women aged 18-55 who live with their (biological, step-, foster or adopted) children aged 16 or younger in the same household. The dependent variable equals one for respondents who report that it is difficult to make end meets. It equals zero for all other respondents. Control variables in model are: Country, nationality, number of children in household, age of woman, level of education.
Source: GGS wave 1

Figure IX
Logistic regression model on economic difficulties, results from interaction of living arrangement and employment status (odds ratio)



Note: See table 24

Separate investigation by country

Finally, table 25 provides results from separate models for France, the Russian Federation and East and West Germany. Some more striking differences between the four cases become visible. What all the countries have in common is that single women who do not have a partner fare substantially worse than married women. We also find that there exist only small differences in the economic performance between non-marital and marital couples in France, East Germany and the Russian Federation. Only for West Germany, where non-marital family forms are still comparatively uncommon, we do find marked and highly significant differences in terms of economic well-being between marital and non-marital couples.

Having more children is associated with greater economic hardship in France and West Germany. Especially in the Russian Federation, women with three or more children report more often than one- or two-child mothers that they find it difficult to make ends meet. In East Germany, we do not find much of an association between the number of children and economic well-being. This might relate to the fact that the East German sample is small and the share of women with three children is rather small (see table 26). In West Germany, the younger the child, the greater the concern is about the economic situation of the household. This is a plausible finding given that maternal employment is lowest when the child is very young and that forgone earnings of the mothers are only partially compensated by public subsidies. In France and the Russian Federation, we find surprisingly little impact of the age of the child on economic well-being. In all countries, less education is associated with greater concerns about the economic situation of the household. The same is true of unemployment, which substantially increases the odds of finding it difficult to make ends meet.

Table 25
Logistic regression model on economic difficulties (odds ratio)

	France	West Germany	East Germany	Russian Federation
Living arrangement				
Marital union	1	1	1	1
Non-marital union	1.35*	2.34***	0.71	1.22
Living-apart-together	3.54***	3.02***	4.27***	1.88***
Single	3.66***	5.19***	1.69	2.36***
Nationality				
Native	1	1	1	1
Other nationality	1.14	2.11***	0.93	1.10
Number of children in the household				
One child	1	1	1	1
Two children	1.05	1.25	0.71	1.24***
Three and more	1.46***	1.41*	0.81	2.09***
Age of youngest child				
Age 0–3	1	1	1	1
Age 4–6	0.94	0.68	6.11***	0.89
Age 7–10	0.87	0.63*	7.10***	1.14
Age 11–16	0.97*	0.71*	4.98***	1.22
Age of woman				
Age 20–24	1	1	1	1
Age 25–29	1.50	0.80	0.44	0.82
Age 30–34	0.87	1.18	0.12**	0.99
Age 35–40	0.83	0.90	0.20	1.41*

Table 25
Logistic regression model on economic difficulties, odds ratio (continued)

	France	West Germany	East Germany	Russian Federation
Level of education				
In education	1.10	1.51	3.29	0.60*
Low	1	1	1	1
Medium	0.54***	0.57***	1.11	0.73**
High	0.46***	0.39***	0.21*	0.34***
Missing	---	0.60	1.42	1.03
Employment status				
Employed full-time	1	1	1	1
Employed part-time	1.24	1.36	0.76	0.91
Unemployed	2.82***	4.47***	3.90***	2.48***
Other	1.78***	1.77***	2.08	1.18
Goodness of fit				
Log-likelihood in starting model	-1,155	-754	-183	-2,178
Log-likelihood in final model	-1,028	-646	-144	-2,003

Notes: The sample only comprises women aged 18–55 who live with their (biological, step-, foster or adopted) children aged 16 or younger in the same household. The dependent variable equals one for respondents who report that it is difficult to make end meets. It equals zero for all other respondents.
Source: GGS wave 1

Table 26
Composition of the sample for multivariate analysis (percentage)

	France	West Germany	East Germany	Russian Federation
Household can make ends meet				
With difficulty	0.29	0.16	0.21	0.54
With some or no difficulties	0.71	0.84	0.79	0.46
Living arrangement				
Marital union	0.60	0.75	0.63	0.61
Non-marital union	0.16	0.06	0.14	0.09
Living apart together	0.24	0.19	0.23	0.30
Single	0.18	0.15	0.16	0.22
Nationality				
Native	0.89	0.82	0.94	0.90
Other nationality	0.11	0.18	0.06	0.10
Number of children in the household				
One child	0.37	0.39	0.54	0.61
Two children	0.42	0.43	0.35	0.32
Three and more	0.21	0.19	0.11	0.06
Age of youngest child				
Age 0–3	0.23	0.21	0.15	0.14
Age 4–6	0.19	0.18	0.14	0.11
Age 7–10	0.20	0.19	0.12	0.14
Age 11–16	0.39	0.42	0.59	0.62

Table 26
Composition of the sample for multivariate analysis (percentage) (continued)

	France	West Germany	East Germany	Russian Federation
Age of woman				
Age 20–24	0.03	0.04	0.05	0.07
Age 25–29	0.07	0.09	0.06	0.13
Age 30–34	0.19	0.17	0.17	0.16
Age 35–40	0.70	0.71	0.72	0.64
Level of education				
In education	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02
Low	0.23	0.13	0.06	0.12
Medium	0.14	0.60	0.65	0.50
High	0.62	0.23	0.27	0.22
Missing	--	0.01	0.01	0.14
Employment status				
Employed full-time	0.47	0.22	0.42	0.65
Employed part-time	0.24	0.36	0.21	0.04
Unemployed	0.10	0.06	0.25	0.07
Other	0.15	0.32	0.10	0.15
Missing	0.04	0.05	0.02	0.09
N	1,925	1,743	355	3,158

Source: GGS wave 1

6 - CONCLUSIONS

This paper has provided an overview on the living conditions of families in France, the Russian Federation, East and West Germany. We have shown that mothers' employment patterns and family structures differ vastly between the three countries (and four regions). Unmarried parenthood as well as maternal full-time employment was found to be the least common in West Germany. This fits well the idea of Germany being a country that gives priority to the traditional family. However, East Germany, which is subject to basically the same set of social policies, displays widely different family structures. The greater variety of family forms in East Germany is supported by the greater availability of public day care – although it also reflects a tradition of stronger female labour force attachment inherited from the socialist past. Non-marital motherhood and maternal full-time employment is as common in East Germany as in France. In both France and East Germany, unmarried women mostly live with a partner. In West Germany, the proportions of unmarried mothers are lower. However, those who are unmarried more often do not have a partner which they cohabit with. The Russian Federation shows an exceptional pattern in that unmarried mothers are more often divorced and widowed than in the other countries. The Russian Federation also has the highest share of full-time employed mothers, despite the fact that public day care has been drastically reduced since the dissolution of communism.

Investigations of the economic conditions of families reveal a huge gap between Germany and France on the one hand and the Russian Federation on the other. Apart from the general situation being much more adverse in the Russian Federation than in the other countries, we find that in all countries unmarried mothers are economically more vulnerable than married mothers. At the same time, it is important to distinguish cohabiting women from women who do not live with their partner. Apart from West Germany, we do not find major differences in economic well-being between cohabiting and married mothers. Unmarried women who do not live with a partner are at a disadvantage all along the way. Being gainfully employed, however, is an important factor enhancing the economic situation of unmarried single mothers.

REFERENCES

Amar, É. & Guérin, S. (2007). Se marier ou non: le droit fiscal peut-il aider à choisir? Économie et Statistique, 401, 23-37.

Amato, P. R. (2000). The Consequences of Divorce for Adults and Children. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 62, 1269-1287.

Ashwin, S. & Yakubovich., V. (2005). Cherchez la femme: Women as Supporting Actors in the Russian Labor Market. European Sociological Review, 21, 149-164.

Becker, A. (2000). Mutterschaft im Wohlfahrtsstaat. Familienbezogene Sozialpolitik und die Erwerbsintegration von Frauen in Deutschland und Frankreich. Berlin: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Berlin.

Bonnet, C. & Labbé, M. (1999). L'activité professionnelle des femmes après la naissance des deux premiers enfants. L'impact de l'allocation parentale d'éducation. DRESS Études et Résultats, 37, 1-8.

Cherlin, A. (2000). New Developments in the Study of Nonmarital Childbearing. In L. Wu & B. Wolfe (Eds.), Out of Wedlock: Causes and Consequences of Nonmarital Fertility (pp.390-402). New York: Russell Sage.

Christopher, K. (2002). Welfare State Regimes and Mothers' Poverty. Social Politics 9, 60-86.

Coleman, D. (1996). Europe's Population in the 1990s. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Council of Europe (2005). Recent Demographic Developments in Europe. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Dorbritz, J. (2007). Rückgang der Scheidungsintensität in den Jahren 2005 und 2006. BiB-Mitteilungen 2007/4, 13-16.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1999). Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Esping-Andersen, G. (2006). Families. Government and the Distribution of Skills. Paper presented at the EPUNet Conference. Universitat Pompeu Fabra. Barcelona.

Fagnani, J. (2001). Les Françaises font toujours plus d'enfants que les Allemandes de l'Ouest. Une esquisse d'interprétation. Recherches et Prévisions, 64, 49-63.

Fagnani, J. (2006). Family Policy in France. In T. Fitzpatrick et al. (Eds.), International Encyclopedia of Social Policy, Vol. 3 (pp.501-506). London: Routledge.

Fagnani, J. & Letablier, M. T. (2003). Qui s'occupe des enfants pendant que les parents travaillent? Les enseignements d'une recherche auprès de parents de jeunes enfants. Recherches et Prévisions, 72, 21-35.

Fagnani, J. & Letablier, M. T. (2005). La politique familiale française. In M. Maruani (Eds.), Femmes, Genre et Société (pp.167-175). Paris: La Découverte.

Frejka, T., Sobotka, T., Hoem, J.M. & Toulemon, L. (Eds.) (2008). Childbearing Trends in Europe. Demographic Research (Special Collection), 19.

Furstenberg, F.F.& Kiernan, K.E. (2001). Delayed Parental Divorce: How Much Do Children Benefit? Journal of Marriage and the Family, 63, 446-457.

Garfinkel, I., Huang, C.-C., McLanahan, S.S. & Gaylin, D.S. (2003). The Roles of Child Support Enforcement and Welfare in Non-marital Childbearing. Journal of Population Economics, 16, 55-70.

Gornick, J.C., Meyers, M.K. & Ross, K.E. (1998). Public Policies and the Employment of Mothers: A Cross-National Study. Social Science Quarterly, 79, 35-54.

Groh-Samberg, O. & Goebel, J. (2007). Armutsmessungen im Zeitverlauf. Wirtschaftsdienst, 87, 397-403.

Jasilioniene, A. (2007). Premarital Conception and Divorce Risk in Russia in Light of the GGS Data. MPIDR-Working Paper Series, 2007-025.

Kreyenfeld, M.& Geisler, E. (2006). Müttererwerbstätigkeit in Ost- und Westdeutschland. Eine Analyse mit den Mikrozensen 1991-2002. Zeitschrift für Familienforschung, 18, 333-357.

Kučera. T., Kučerová, O., Opara, O. & Schaich, E. (Eds.) (2000). New Demographic Faces of Europe: The Changing Population Dynamics in Countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Berlin: Springer.

Leitner, S., Ostner, I. & Schmitt, C. (2008). Family Policies in Germany. In I. Ostner & C. Schmitt (Eds.), Family Policies in the Context of Family Change. The Nordic Countries in Comparative Perspective. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Lessenich, S.& Ostner, I. (1995). Die institutionelle Dynamik ‚dritter Wege' – Zur Entwicklung der Familienpolitik in ‚katholischen' Wohlfahrtsstaaten am Beispiel Deutschlands und Frankreichs. Zeitschrift für Sozialreform, 47, 780-803.

Lesthaeghe, R. (1995). The Second Demographic Transition in Western Countries: An Interpretation. In K.M. Oppenheim & A.M. Jensen (Eds.), Gender and Family Change in Industrialized Countries. 17-62. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lewis, J. (1992). Gender and the Development of Welfare Regimes. Journal of European Social Policy, 2, 159-173.

Lichter, D.T., Roempke G., D. & Brown, J.B. (2003). Union Formation Among Economically Disadvantaged Unwed Mothers. Is Marriage a Panacea? Social Problems, 50, 60-86.

Lichter, D.T., Eggebeen, D.J. (1994). The Effect of Parental Employment on Child Poverty. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 56, 633-645.

Lokshin, M. (2004). Household Childcare Choices and Women's Work Behavior in Russia. Journal of Human Resources, 39, 1094-1115.

Martin, C. & Théry, I. (2001). The Pacs and Marriage and Cohabitation in France. International Journal of Law, History and the Family, 15, 135-158.

Maxwell, N.L. (1990). Changing Female Labor Force Participation: Influences on Income Inequality and Distribution. Social Forces, 68, 1251-1266.

McLanahan, S. (2004). Diverging Destinies: How Children Fare under the Second Demographic Transition. Demography, 41, 607-627.

Micheaux, S.& Monso, O. (2007). Faire garder ses enfants pendant son temps de travail. Insee première, 1132, 1-4.

Muszynska, M. (2007). Women's Employment and Union Dissolution in a Changing Socio-economic Context in Russia. Demographic Research, 18, 181-204.

OECD (2008). Growing Unequal? Income Distribution and Poverty in OECD Countries. Paris: OECD.

Ostner, I. (2001). Cohabitation in Germany – Rules, Reality and Public Discourse. International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family, 15, 88-101

Pascall, G. & Manning, N. (2000). Gender and Social Policy: Comparing Welfare States in Central and Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. Journal of European Social Policy, 10, 240-266.

Périvier, H. (2004). Emploi des femmes et charges familiales. Repenser le congé parental en France à la lumière des expériences étrangères. Synthèse du débat du 3 décembre 2003. Revue de l'OFCE, 90, 262-341.

Reher, D.S. (1998). Family Ties in Western Europe: Persistent Contrasts. Population and Development Review, 24, 203-234.

Plakans, A. (1987). Interaction between the Household and the Kin Group in the Eastern European Past. Posing the Problem. Journal of Family History, 12, 163-175.

Reuter, S. (2002). Frankreichs Wohlfahrtsstaatsregime im Wandel? Erwerbsintegration von Französinnen und familienpolitische Reformen der 90er Jahre. ZeS-Arbeitspapier, 13, 1-29.

Reuter, S. (2003). Frankreich: Die vollzeitberufstätige Mutter als Auslaufmodell. Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, B 44, 39-46.

Rindfuss, R.R. & Brewster, K.L. (1996). Childrearing and Fertility. Population and Development Review, 22(Supplement), 258-289.

Seccombe, K. (2000). Families in Poverty in the 1990s: Trends, Causes, Consequences, and Lessons Learned. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 62, 1094-1113.

Skevik, A. (2006). Working Their Way Out of Poverty? Lone Mothers in Policies and Labor Larkets. In J. Bradshaw & A. Hatland (Eds.), Social Policy, Employment and Family Change in Comparative Perspective (pp. 221-236). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Statistisches Bundesamt (2008). Statistiken der Kinder- und Jugendhilfe. Kinder und tätige Personen in Tageseinrichtungen am 15.03.2007. Revidierte Ergebnisse, Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt.

Statistisches Bundesamt (2001). Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit: Gebiet und Bevölkerung 1999. Stuttgart: Statistisches Bundesamt.

Thévenon, O. (2007). Labor Force Participation of Women with Children: Disparities and Developments in Europe since the 1990s. Paper presented at the IZA/ Bertelsmann Foundation Workshop 'Balancing Work and Family Life – Comparative Assessment and Institutional Reform', Bonn, 23-24 November 2007.

Thévenon, O. (2008). Les politiques familiales des pays développés: des modèles contrastés. In: Population & Sociétés, 448, 1-4.

Toulemon, L., Pailhé, A. & Rossier, C. (2008). France: High and Stable Fertility. Demographic Research, 19, 503-556.

Treas, J. & Widmer, E.D. (2000). Married Women's Employment over the Life Course: Attitudes in Cross-National Perspective. Social Forces, 78, 1409-1436.

United Nations (2005). Generations and Gender Programme: Survey Instruments. New York and Geneva: United Nations.

United Nations (2007). Generations and Gender Programme: Concepts and Guidelines. New York and Geneva: United Nations.

Van de Kaa, D.J. (1987). Europe's Second Demographic Transition. Population Bulletin, 42, 3-57.

Zdravomyslova, O. (1995). The Position of Women. In D. Lane (Eds.), Russia in Transition: Politics, Privatisation and Inequality (pp. 190-198). London - New York: Longman.

CHAPTER 3

WORK-FAMILY BALANCE AND CHILDBEARING INTENTIONS IN FRANCE, GERMANY AND THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Ariane Pailhé

Yuri Arcurs@Fotolia

1 - INTRODUCTION

In the 1970s and 1980s, one of the main explanations for the fall in fertility was the rise in women's paid employment (Rindfuss et al., 1996). Among OECD[10] member countries, those with the highest fertility were those where the rate of female employment was lowest. Difficulties in balancing work and family responsibilities and the cultural reluctance of mothers to be active in the labour market often led women to opt between working and having children (or a large number of children). Even so, in the mid-1980s the correlation between fertility and women's economic activity, which had been negative, became positive at the macro-economic level (Ahn and Mira 2002, Engelhardt and Prskawetz 2002)[11]. It is now rather those countries where women's presence in the labour market is high that display the highest fertility rates (and vice versa). High female employment can be combined with relatively high fertility when policies facilitate the combination of paid work and parenthood (Bernhard 1993, Brewster and Rindfuss 2000).

This has led to a new way of addressing the relationship between fertility and economic activity, in both academic and political circles. In a context of fertility decline and the delay of parenthood nearly everywhere in Europe (Koehler et al. 2002, Sobotka 2004), academic and policy debate has focused on the definition of policy measures to stop the decrease in fertility. The dominant idea now is that policies that reduce the incompatibility of work and family life can affect fertility (Esping-Andersen et al., 2002). According to the OECD Employment Outlook 2001, "(The) work-family balance is also important for longer trends in population… It is plausible that improvement in the work-family balance could help to increase both the current employment rates and fertility rates" (OECD 2001). Policies to reconcile work and family life are also a major theme on the European agenda.

This shift in the relationship between paid work and fertility has come about against a background of major changes in the labour market. Since the mid-1980s, increasing economic instability and exposure to international competition have caused a rise in labour productivity and flexibility (Ashkenazy et al. 2002). Many of these organizational changes make work more attractive, but at the cost of greater work intensity, diversified working hours and the development of professional versatility and atypical types of employment (Bué et al. 1999). At the same time, uncertainty in the labour market has grown and unemployment has persisted. We know that the timing of births can be influenced by employment stability (Meron and Widmer 2002). This development of more flexibility in employment status (including fewer long-term full-time jobs) and working hours (e.g. non-standard hours, more intense work) particularly affects women, who are mainly employed in the service sector.

This article looks at the relationship between fertility and, first, actions to reconcile work and family life and, secondly, the individual's status in the labour market. More specifically, it examines fertility intentions. On the hypothesis that fertility is planned and effectively controlled, these intentions may be seen as an indicator or predictor of behaviour, and therefore future fertility (Schoen et al. 1999). Factors influencing intentions may in turn influence fertility behaviour. We assess how occupational status and work-family policy may affect fertility intentions. It is assumed that fertility decisions are made with the consideration of people's current employment status and expected change after a birth, including work-family policy. Where these policies are advanced, women more often anticipate returning to work after a birth. The purpose of the research is to reveal whether the reproductive intentions and employment decisions are correlated, and to identify determinants of fertility decisions.

We examine fertility intentions for a specific period, namely the next three years. The aim is to study the desire for children vis-à-vis individuals' current constraints and opportunities. The choice of a fairly short period makes it more likely that responses will be realistic and can be used to measure probable behaviour. In addition, fertility intentions for a specific period are relatively good predictors of fertility (Williams et al. 1999).

We present a comparative analysis of three countries with quite different economic and institutional features: France, Germany and the Russian

---

[10] *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development*

[11] *In the EU-15, this positive correlation between fertility and female employment is significant (0.53); it is rather lower in the EU-25 (0.43). The reason is that the correlation is slight but negative in the 10 countries that joined in 2004 (–.0027), which all have low fertility rates*

Federation. The analysis uses data from the first panel wave of the Generation and Gender Survey, which are particularly useful for examining the effect of work-life reconciliation policy and employment insecurity connected with fertility intentions.

First, we briefly recapitulate the theories that connect fertility with employment. Second, we present the economic and institutional context of the three countries. Finally, we give the method and the results.

2 - THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Dominant theoretical framework

The dominant economic theory for fertility decisions belongs to neo-classical economics, or "new home economics" (Becker 1981). Each individual or household is assumed to possess the resources of time and money and to exchange them for goods and services (which they may enjoy now or later) in order to maximize their own well-being. Within this framework, the decision to have a child is a rational one, and parents balance the costs and benefits of children. The benefits include the child him- or herself and the guarantee he or she may represent for the parents' old age. There are two types of cost: the direct costs of having children (caring for them, education costs, etc.) and the opportunity cost or income lost by withdrawing from the labour market to care for the child. This opportunity cost may be short-term, i.e. the income lost when leaving a job, and/or long-term, i.e. the missed career opportunities due to these interruptions (Bielby 1992). According to this theory, any reduction in the cost of children or any increase in income is expected to increase the demand for children (Becker 1981, Cigno 1991).

2.2. Company work-life policies

Family policy may affect the cost of children or the household's income, and in this way influence the "demand" for children. For example, family allowances, tax reductions for children and payments for maternity or paternity leave compensate for the drop in income due to education expenses or mothers' absence from the workplace. By reducing the cost of the child, these policies may have a positive effect on fertility.

Work-family life reconciliation policies may also affect costs. By reducing the "structural incompatibility" between work and family life (Liefbroer and Corijn 1999), they may cut the duration of absences from work and therefore the losses of income due to these absences. The availability of subsidized childcare arrangements, for example, enables mothers to go on working. To be attractive, childcare services must be affordable, high quality and flexible in terms of opening hours.

Two players may operate such work-life policies: the State is one, naturally, but the other, increasingly involved, player is employers (OECD 2002–2005; EGGSIE 2005; den Dulk 2001). In recent years, employers have been encouraged to implement their own family-friendly policies in various countries. In France, for example, a "family tax credit" was introduced in 2004 with the aim of encouraging companies to provide childcare. Companies can act in two main areas: (a) the provision of childcare facilities and (b) the guarantee of flexible working time arrangements. However, childcare is hard to set up. For the employer, this is a complex matter, motivated by strong demand from employees and utility for the company (Daune-Richard et al. 2007). As we shall see, provision of childcare by employers remains rare.

Another lever for employers is working hours and holidays. By ensuring shorter hours for their employees, variable workweek arrangements, days off for unexpected events such as a child's illness, etc., employers create a working environment that makes it possible to combine employment and family responsibilities. Note that this flexibility of working hours to help the work-family balance is a separate issue from the flexibility of employment status, labour costs or total working time, which employers often seek. It is by adapting working hours to employees' constraints that a family-friendly environment is created.

2.3. Stability of employment

Another major explanation for the decline of fertility related to employment is the development of economic insecurity (Blossfeld et al. 2005; Mills and Blossfeld 2005). High economic uncertainty occurs in early adulthood, with high rates of youth unemployment and job instability. This economic insecurity is particularly noticeable in transition economies.

Employment instability is an important determinant of fertility choices. However, economic insecurity may have two opposite effects on fertility. Having a stable job may be a prerequisite for family formation. The development of short-term employment and unemployment may provide an incentive to delay decisions that involve long-term commitments such as childbearing. High unemployment among the young also reduces the opportunity cost of staying in education. When individuals arrive on the labour market with higher qualifications, the opportunity cost of having a child is also higher, which reduces fertility (Kohler et al., 2006). Economic conditions are thought to influence the opportunities for and constraints on having children that individuals and couples perceive, and also the expected costs and benefits of having children. In particular, the more uncertain one's socio-economic conditions, the higher one may perceive the cost of having children.

On the other hand, unemployment lowers the opportunity cost of children, and individuals facing difficulties on the labour market may decide to centre their lives on the private sphere (especially women) and to invest in children. Parenthood may provide certainty in life (Friedman et al., 1994) and may be desired, particularly if fertility is valued in society and by peers and relatives. In this case, unemployment would increase fertility, or at least accelerate it.

2.4. Previous empirical studies

The literature assessing the effects of reconciliation policies on fertility presents highly variable findings according to the institutional arrangements (see Gauthier 2007, for a survey of the literature). So the provision of childcare does have a positive effect on fertility, but only a slight one (Pasqua et al. 2005, Del Boca 2002, Kravdal 1996). It is not significant in Finland, Germany and Sweden (Hank and Kreyenfeld 2003, Rønsen 2004, Anderson et al. 2004). Similarly, findings differ as to the effect of parental leave on fertility. Some studies report a slight positive impact of parental leave, mainly because of a tempo effect (Rønsen 1999, 2004; Hoem 1993; Lalive and Zweimüller 2005; Büttner and Lutz 1990). Others report that completed family size is not affected (Hoem et al. 2001). Similarly, the availability of part-time work operates positively in Belgian Flanders, Italy and the Netherlands, (Liefbroer et al. 1999, Del Boca 2002) whereas the effect is negative in the United States (Budig 2003). On the other hand, existing research is in agreement on the fact that flexible working hours encourage fertility, whatever the institutional arrangements (Del Boca 2002, Bettio and Villa 1998, Castles 2003, Bernardi et al. 2007). In all, family-friendly policies have something of a positive effect on fertility. Castles (2003), for example, reveals a positive relationship between a composite indicator of family-friendly policies and the fertility rate in 21 OECD countries.

Here too, the institutional arrangements are a determining factor in the effect of unemployment or female non-employment on fertility. Unemployment delays the formation of a family in France (Meron and Widmer 2002), in Belgian Flanders (Impens 1989) and in Germany among the most highly qualified (Kreyenfeld, 2005). It has had a positive effect in Norway (Kravdal 1994). Studies of the effect on fertility of occupational instability and atypical employment mainly cover Southern European countries, where these types of employment are particularly developed. They confirm the hypothesis that fertility is postponed where employment is unstable (Ahn and Mira 2001, De la Rica and Iza 2005).

We will now examine how employment status and reconciliation policies may affect fertility intentions in three countries with differing welfare states.

3 - A COMPARATIVE STUDY

The Russian Federation, Germany and France were the largest countries by population in Europe in 2007[12] , with 141.7, 82.3 and 61.7 million, respectively (Population Reference Bureau 2007). The three countries differ in their demographic and economic situations, the extent of female participation in the labour market, their gender values and their policies for family support and help in reconciling work and family life.

Germany and the Russian Federation share very low fertility rates: their total fertility rates in 2005 were, respectively, 1.39 and 1.34 children per woman. This has been a long-term trend in Germany, where the fertility rate had already fallen below 1.5 in 1975

[12] *The population of France is slightly higher than that of the United Kingdom and Italy*

(Dorbritz 2008). The phenomenon is more recent in the Russian Federation, where the rapid fall in fertility began in the late 1980s[13], a consequence of the deterioration in economic conditions and a more radical shift in attitudes to the family. Another difference is that Germany is one of the countries where the rate of childless women is one of the highest in the world, whereas this figure is low in France and the Russian Federation. The fertility rate in France is relatively high when compared with other European countries (1.94 in 2005). France and Germany share a relatively late and increasing age at first birth (Table 27). This age is lower in the Russian Federation, but the formation of the family, whether a couple or the first child, has been increasingly postponed since the late 1980s.

[13] *The fertility rate was 2.23 children per woman in 1987*

Table 27
Key figures for France, Germany and the Russian Federation

	France	Germany	Russian Federation
Total fertility rate	1.94	1.39	1.35
Mean age at first birth	27.7	28.2	24.0
GDP per capita	30,386	29,461	10,845
Unemployment rate (1996–2005)	9.8	11.1	7.8
Female participation rate (25–54) in 2003	79.3	77.8	74.6
Gender-related development index (rank)	7	22	58
Gender empowerment measure (rank)	18	28	71

Note: 2005 data, except when specified.
Source: GGP contextual database; Rosstat, EUROSTAT; INSEE; United Nations Human development report, 2006/2007

The three countries also have quite different living standards. France and Germany are among the countries with the highest per capita GDP (ranking 18 and 20 in the world in 2005), while the Russian Federation ranks lower (52). However, the unemployment rate is lower in the Russian Federation (an average of 7.8 per cent in the period 1996–2005, as compared with 9.8 per cent for France and 11.1 per cent for Germany).

The Russian Federation has a long tradition of female employment, which was ideologically supported in the Soviet Union: from the 1940s the overwhelming majority of women worked for pay at State enterprises or collective farms. In spite of a decline in female employment the transition to the post-Soviet era, the level of female participation is still high today. During the economic transformations, the rates of female economic activity and employment remained at quite high levels. In the Russian Federation in 2005, the labour force participation rate of the 15–72 population was 61.5 per cent, including 66.1 per cent of the male population and 57.5 per cent of the female. Of the population 16–54/59 years old, the percentage was 71.3, including 73.3 per cent of males aged 16-59 and 69.3 per cent of females aged 16–54. As male employment rates are lower in the Russian Federation than in many European countries, the difference between the employment rates of men and women is less than in many other countries (Katz 2008). The two-earner household is still the predominant norm, even if men are considered to be the primary breadwinners and women as second earners (Katz 2008). Furthermore, women's participation rate fell particularly rapidly for the mothers of preschool children during the transition period.

The activity rate of French adult women started to rise for cohorts born after the mid-1950s, and today most French women work. The level of female paid employment is high: in 2005, the activity rate of women aged 15–59 was 76.5 per cent[14]. This increase in women's labour force participation occurred irrespective of the number of children: from 1985 to 2002, it rose from 72 per cent to 84 per cent for women with one child, from 66 per cent to 80 per cent for women with two children

[14] *The female employment rate is lower than the activity rate, as the latter includes unemployed women (see below).*

and from 45 per cent to 63 per cent for those with three children. Most women continue to work while having children; their employment is less often disrupted by childbearing than in other continental European countries. Nevertheless, motherhood is still associated with withdrawal from the labour market for some groups of women (Anxo et al. 2006, Pailhé and Solaz 2006). Working mothers of young children are socially well accepted, both by individuals and by firms, whereas the "housewife" model has become socially discredited. Attitudes towards female work have changed dramatically: according to CREDOC[15] opinion surveys, in 1978, 41 per cent of French people thought that women should not work while their children were young. This figure fell to 17 per cent in 2004. More than 60 per cent think that women should have the free choice of working or not. So the dominant model is the two-career one: among couples aged 20–49 where at least one partner has a job, both partners have jobs in 70 per cent of cases; the man is the sole earner in 25 per cent of couples; and the woman is the sole earner in 5 per cent of couples (Eurostat, Labour Force Survey).

In Germany, women's participation in the labour market is slightly lower than in France. Having a child affects the difference in participation between the two countries. The participation rate is higher for childless German women (figure X). On the other hand, women with children are more often economically inactive in Germany and many have part-time jobs (particularly in the old West Germany). The model of the wife as homemaker is still very popular, particularly in the West.

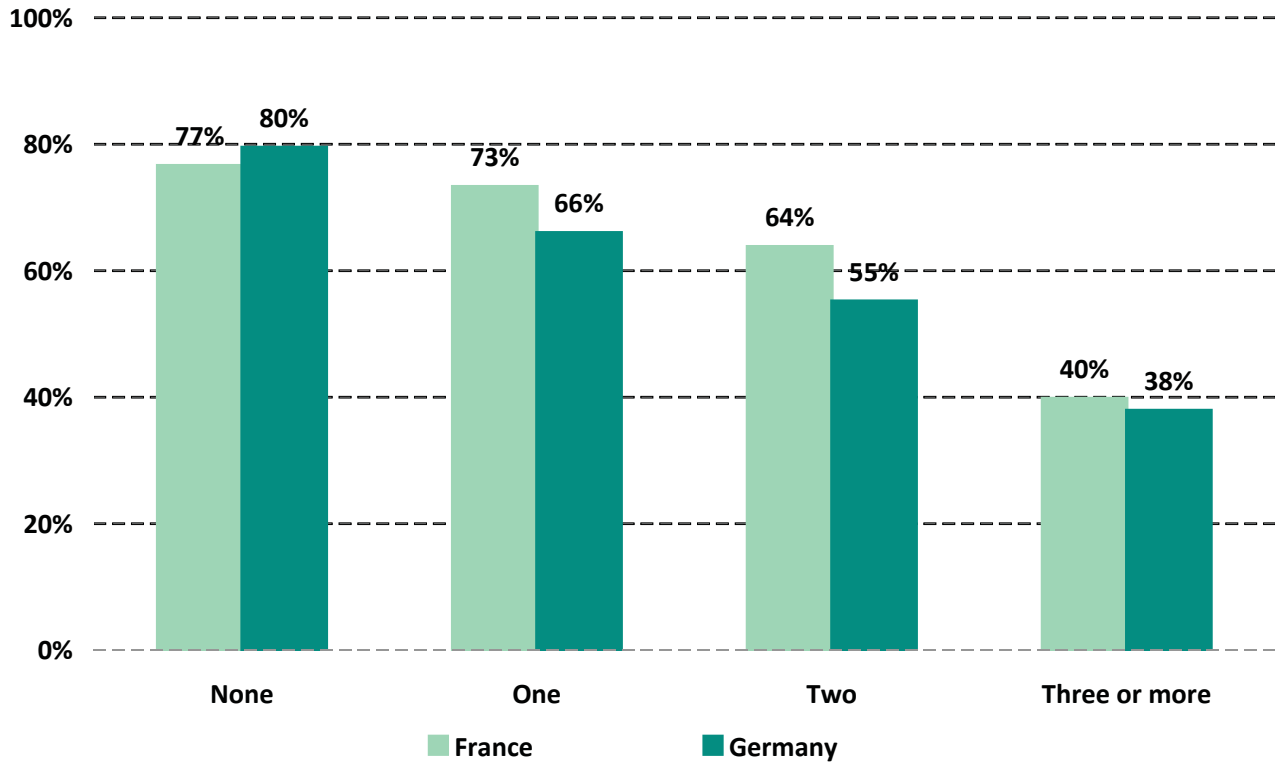
Women's participation rate responds to economic imperatives, and also differing forms of family policy. German family policy is based on the traditional male breadwinner model. Women are largely forced to choose between family and work, and to leave the labour market when a child is born (Dorbritz 2008). Until 2006[16], parental leave was strongly encouraged. It was granted irrespective of occupation before the birth, which makes it a sort of "maternal wage" for mothers' domestic work and parenting. Some 75 per cent of German women take this leave and 50 per cent stay at home until the child is three years old. There are very few facilities for the care of younger children. In the former West Germany, only 4 per cent of under-threes attend a public or private crèche, and 64 per cent of three-to-six-year-olds attend kindergartens. Although local authorities have been obliged since 1996 to provide every child with a place in a kindergarten, this objective has not been achieved, for both financial and ideological reasons. Furthermore, the opening hours of crèches, kindergartens and schools reduce mothers' availability for full-time paid work. But family policy does include generous allowances.

Whereas German society has some misgivings about the early collective socialization of children, France has a long tradition of State action in this area. The State tends to stand in for families, with the aim of social equity as well as encouraging fertility (Rosental 2003). French family policy is a compromise between promoting families and promoting the work-family balance and women's employment. For example, the whole policy used to be based on the male breadwinner and female caregiver pattern, but the development of kindergartens, introduced at the same time, was meant to promote equal opportunities among French children. Since the 1980s, this policy has accommodated the massive arrival of women on the labour market. Collective and private care arrangements were developed for children under three, helping women to reconcile family and work (Toulemon et al., 2008). Unlike in Northern European countries, this type of care is available immediately after the end of maternity leave, i.e. from the age of two or three months, and the hours are extensive: on weekdays from 7 or 8 a.m. to 6 or 7 p.m. In 1994, family policy came to a turning point. The family policy reform, adopted against a background of high unemployment, adopted the opposite philosophy, by creating incentives to leave the labour force. The allocation parentale d'éducation (APE) was designed to allow one of the parents (in practice, the mother) to devote themselves entirely to bringing up the newborn child until his or her third birthday. It is estimated that this leave has been an incentive to labour force withdrawal for a significant number of mothers, especially the less educated. Finally, according to a recent survey on childcare, on weekdays, 61 per cent of children under three are cared for mainly by their parents, 21 per cent by subsidized child-minders, 10 per cent in a crèche, 7 per cent by their

[15] *Centre de Recherche pour l'Etude et l'Observation des Conditions de Vie*

[16] *Since 2006, a number of steps have been taken to develop childcare rather than parental leave, e.g. the possibility of deducting childcare expenses from taxable income*

Figure X
Female labour force participation rate by number of children



Source: EUROSTAT, data 2005.

grand-parents or family and 1 per cent by nannies at home (Blanpain 2006, Ruault and Daniel 2003). Thirty-seven per cent of children aged 2, 97 per cent of children at age 3 were enrolled in écoles maternelles (kindergartens), and although this is not compulsory (Blanpain 2006). In summary, France has created a favourable context for reconciling work and family by relatively comprehensive and continuous support through a combination of subsidized private and public providers, parental leave and allowances.

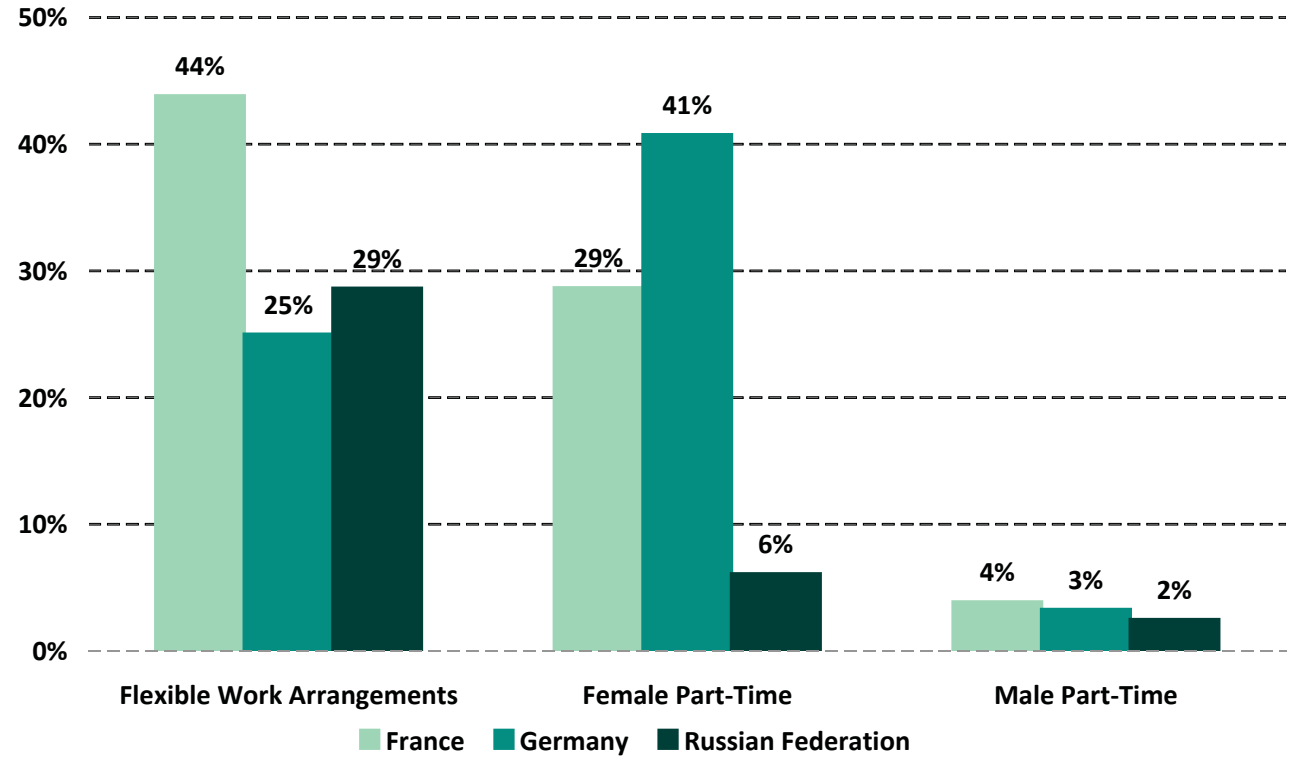
In the Russian Federation, public expenditure on the family was severely cut back during the transition period (Ovcharova and Popova 2005)[17]. The level of allowances is very low, has not been indexed on inflation and has not taken account of the increasing cost of childbearing. Parental leave is paid for children under 18 months, but at a fairly low rate (40 per cent of average mother's salary, up to 6,000 roubles a month (€160–180)). Additional parental leave is available until the child is 3, but it is not paid. The provision of childcare facilities also deteriorated during the transition period. The proportion of children aged 1–6 in crèches or kindergartens fell from 66 per cent in 1990 to 58 per cent in 1998 and 54 per cent in 2003. The number of children on waiting lists for preschool institutions was four times higher in 2004 than in 1999 (Goskomstat 1999, 2004).

The three countries also differ markedly in company practices for reconciling work and family life. The provision of childcare by companies is relatively sparse in all three (figure XI). It is slightly higher in the Russian Federation, a relic of the communist period (11 per cent of employees work in companies that provide childcare). More employees in France enjoy flexible working hours (44 per cent) than in the Russian Federation and Germany (29 per cent and 25 per cent, respectively; see figure 2). However, part-time work for women is fairly developed in Germany and very rare in the Russian Federation.

As seen above, the formal provision of childcare is more highly developed in France than in the other two countries. Among parents of young children, 38 per cent receive formal childcare support in France as compared with 31 per cent in Germany and 28 per cent in the Russian Federation. Informal provision is also more developed in France

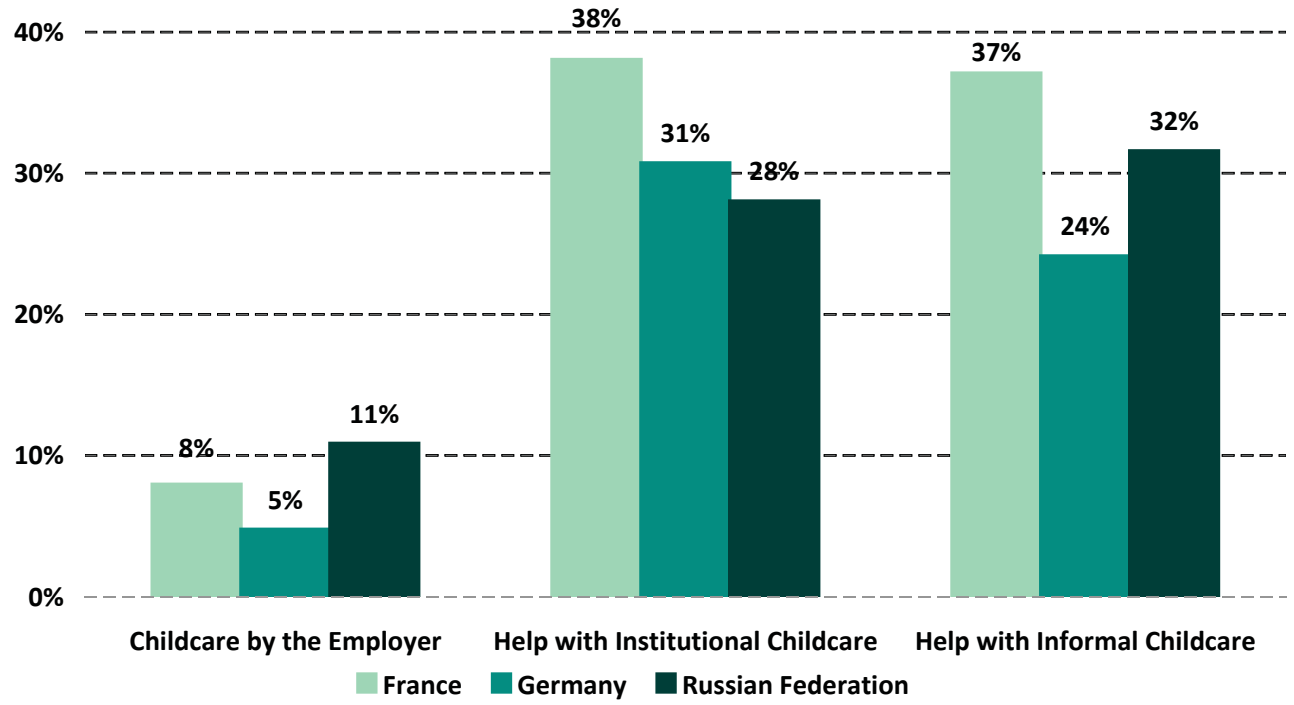
[17] *According to the estimates of Ovcharova and Popova (2005), the share of family and maternity benefits in all State funds directed to payment of social benefits decreased from 77.3 per cent in 1991 to 32.4 per cent in 2003e*

Figure XI A
Provision of childcare and time arrangements by companies



Source: GGS, wave 1.
Sample: Wage earners

Figure XI B
Provision of childcare and time arrangements by companies



Source: GGS, wave 1.

4 - METHOD

4.1. Data and sample

The data used come from wave 1 of the Gender and Generation Survey, carried out in the Russian Federation in 2004 and France and Germany in 2005, with people aged 18–79. The survey, coordinated by the Population Unit of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, examines determining factors for individual demographic behaviour, with a focus on intergenerational and gender relations. It is a multidisciplinary survey, covering economic, sociological and psychological factors (Vikat et al. 2007). In addition to its retrospective view of behaviour, the survey includes a prospective approach, and for this reason it will comprise three waves. Not only is a wide spectrum of dimensions studied, but the survey presents the advantage of enabling comparison between countries. The questionnaire was designed by an international group of researchers, and each country was supposed to use the standard questionnaire.

Much of the questionnaire concerns fertility, seen both retrospectively and prospectively. The precise timing of births is recorded and a number of questions address fertility intentions. The survey question we have used is the following: "Do you intend to have a/another child during the next three years?" Four responses were possible: definitely yes, probably yes, probably not and definitely not.

The question was asked of men and women under 50, regardless of whether they were living as a couple. It was filtered for people certain of being infertile (or whose spouse was). The French questionnaire was slightly different in structure. To avoid redundancy, this question was filtered for those who had earlier stated that they did not want any children at all ; we assumed the response "definitely not" for the respondents thus filtered. We compared these intentions with occupational status. Sections 8 and 9 of the questionnaire address the detailed occupational situation of the respondent and their spouse. The population of reference used was men and women aged 18–45. The upper age limit was lowered to 45 because the likelihood that older women would have fertility intentions is very slight in these three countries. The research covers people living as a couple (whether married or not, cohabiting or not). This selection was made in order to have the most realistic intentions possible and to prevent the statement being affected by prospects of forming a couple in the next three years.

The literature has for a long time mainly addressed women's fertility intentions, on the underlying assumption that women are the main drivers of fertility. However, it is not only women's characteristics but also men's that may influence fertility intentions (Mills et al., 2008). It is instructive to examine men's fertility intentions and to see whether occupational status operates in the same way for men and women. Furthermore, we analysed how a spouse's occupational status affects a person's intentions. Qualitative research into intentions has shown that individuals integrate their spouse's position in the formulation of their intentions (Bernardi et al. 2007). We examined whether the inclusion of the spouse's characteristics modifies the effect of an individual's characteristics. The sample sizes are given in table 28.

Table 28
Sample size

	France	Germany	Russian Federation
Women	1 896	1 242	1 904
Men	1 307	845	1 415

4.2. Dependent variables and statistical method

The dependent variable is constructed from the response to the question about intentions of having a child in the next three years. "Definitely not" and "probably not" were taken together as negative responses, and "definitely yes" and "probably yes" as positive.

We analysed the intentions of having a/another child in the next three years using a series of logistic regressions. As considerations that affect the decision to have the first child differ from those that affect the following births, we estimated a first model for childless men and childless women respectively, and then a second model for mothers and fathers. Men and women are analysed separately, since the determinants of intentions for men and women differ because the job characteristic effect on intentions is likely to differ by gender (we also tested that it is significantly different).

4.3. Explanatory variables and specific sample

The variables of interest here are of two sorts: (a) stability of employment, and consequently of occupational status, and (b) work-family policies in a particular job.

The various types of occupational status used in model 1 are as follows: student, not working or inactive, permanently employed, temporarily employed or on parental leave (for intentions of having a further child). Model 2 adds a variable indicating whether the spouse is unemployed. The sample used for the estimates is the full sample of people between 18 and 45 living as couples in each country.

The indicators of work-family policies used in model 3 are as follows: (a) the possibility of having flexible work arrangements; (b) having a part-time contract; and (c) availability of childcare provided by the workplace (own or partner's workplace). In the model relating to those who already have children, two variables are added for the use of formal or informal childcare arrangements. The regressions apply to the population of those in paid work.

4.4 Control variables

In addition to the variables of interest described above, we control for a set of socio-demographic variables that have been shown to correlate to fertility intentions: these relate to the respondent's age and the age difference between spouses. Marital status is included, since in some countries marriage is related to parenthood. For parents, the number of children and the age of the youngest are added.

Certain economic variables are included, namely educational qualifications (below secondary, secondary completed and higher than secondary) and housing conditions. Satisfaction with current accommodation is measured on a scale of 1 to 10. Variables relating to type of employment are included in the specification of work-family policies: public or private sector, and occupation. Public employees have more secure and protected jobs than private employees and jobs in the public sector more often have the opportunity of flexible work arrangements.

An indicator of more traditional values is included, namely religious attendance. The more religious are more likely to want children. A person is considered to be religious if they attend a religious service at least 12 times a year. Lastly, the number of the respondent's own siblings is a good indicator of a desire for children (Axinn et al. 1994).

5 - RESULTS

5.1. Descriptive statistics

Responses regarding fertility intentions vary according to whether or not respondents already have children (table 29), which confirms the need to examine separately the issues of first parenthood and extending the family. Childless women express fairly high fertility intentions. However, the distribution of those who intend to have children in the next three years varies considerably between countries. More than half of childless women in France and the Russian Federation wish to have a child, but only 38 per cent in Germany. This desire is particularly strong in the Russian Federation, where more than 6 out of 10 childless women express it. Differences between countries are less marked for women who already have children. Those in France are the most numerous in expressing a fertility intention. Differences between countries can also be found among men, who in each country are less numerous than women in wanting a child when they do not already have one, and slightly more numerous than women when they do.

One survey question concerns the relationship between fertility intentions and the availability of childcare. It emerges that the possibility of having childcare is a key factor in fertility intentions among men and women (figure XII), particularly in the Russian Federation and Germany (46 per cent and 34 per cent of childless women, respectively, consider that this is a major factor in their intentions of having a child). This concern about childcare persists among women with children in the Russian Federation. It is of slightly less importance for men than for women. There is also a negative correlation between the concern for the availability of childcare and stated intentions: those most concerned about childcare express the lowest fertility intentions.

Table 29
Fertility intentions among men and women

Men	Childless			With children		
	France	Germany	Russian Federation	France	Germany	Russian Federation
Definitely yes	26.5	14.1	22.9	12.1	6.0	6.8
Probably yes	21.2	20.7	31.5	11.7	9.5	17.9
Probably not	17.5	20.5	22.0	3.9	10.0	21.8
Definitely not	34.8	44.8	23.6	72.3	74.5	53.5
Women	**Childless**			**With children**		
	France	**Germany**	**Russian Federation**	**France**	**Germany**	**Russian Federation**
Definitely yes	28.9	20.1	28.5	12.2	7.6	5.2
Probably yes	22.9	18.3	33.9	10.1	6.8	13.6
Probably not	17.0	19.8	19.2	3.7	11.3	20.8
Definitely not	31.2	41.8	18.5	74.0	74.3	60.4

Source: GGS, Wave 1

5.2. Work stability

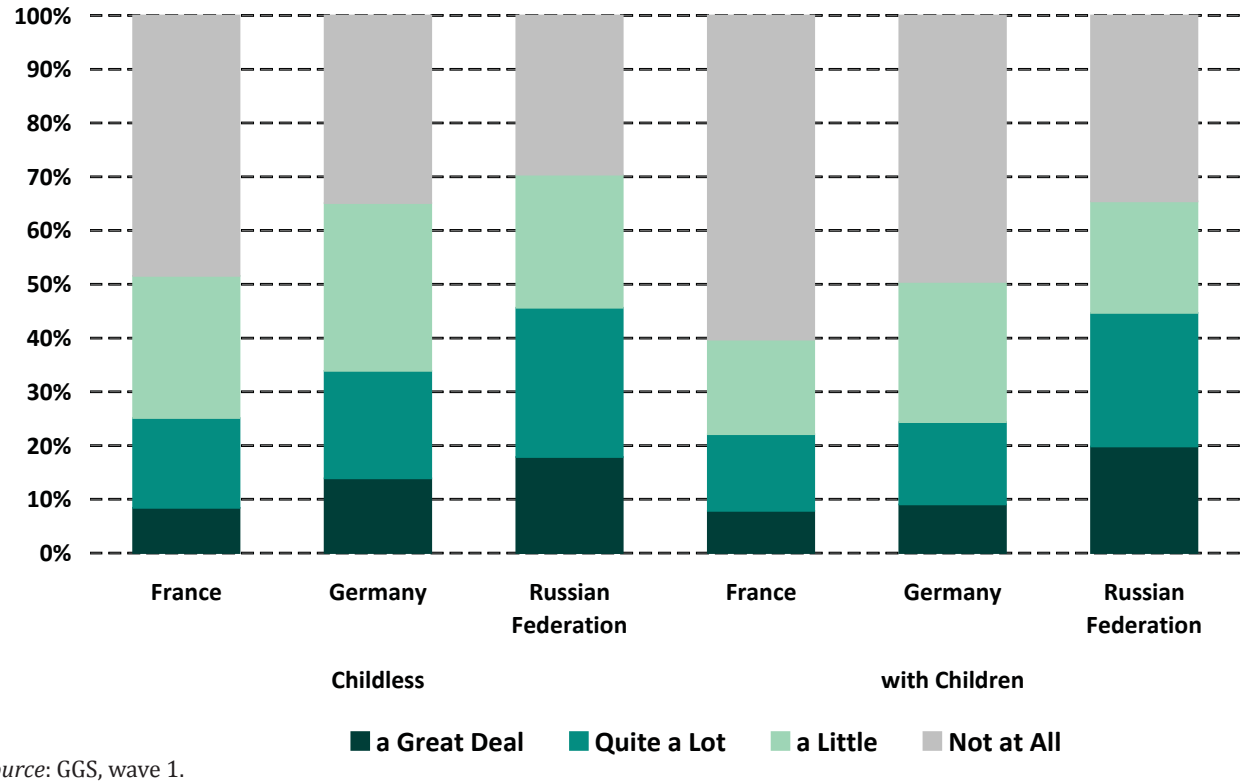
Table 30 presents the results of the regressions for childless men and women. Model 1 only includes variables relating to the respondent, and model 2 includes a variable relating to the spouse's occupational status. The full results are given in tables 33–35.

The effect of occupational status varies among the three countries. Women with less stable jobs have lower fertility intentions in France and Germany. In these countries, the hypothesis that people postpone fertility because of the instability of their employment appears to be confirmed: women wait to have a permanent job before thinking of having children. Similarly, in France, being unemployed has a negative effect on the fertility intentions of childless women.

In the Russian Federation, however, having a temporary job or being unemployed increases fertility intentions. This result may confirm the hypothesis of a withdrawal into the world of the family due to economic difficulties in that country. Another interpretation would be the particular nature of temporary jobs in the Russian Federation. These jobs are mainly found in new private-sector companies. They may be much better paying than permanent jobs in the public sector. The income effect may be positive for fertility intentions, and young women more often have these types of jobs. These jobs are also more frequent in small companies, which offer little guarantee of continued employment in the case of pregnancy or after a birth. The higher fertility intentions may in practice reflect past intentions that were unfulfilled because of employment constraints. Women with permanent jobs in major State enterprises or the public sector which do guarantee continued employment in the case of pregnancy, can fulfil their intentions when they wish. This is similar to the interpretation given by Sinyavskaya et al. (2007) concerning women with university degrees, who have fewer children than others; they delay childbearing decisions more than less qualified women, but they express higher fertility intentions than other groups.

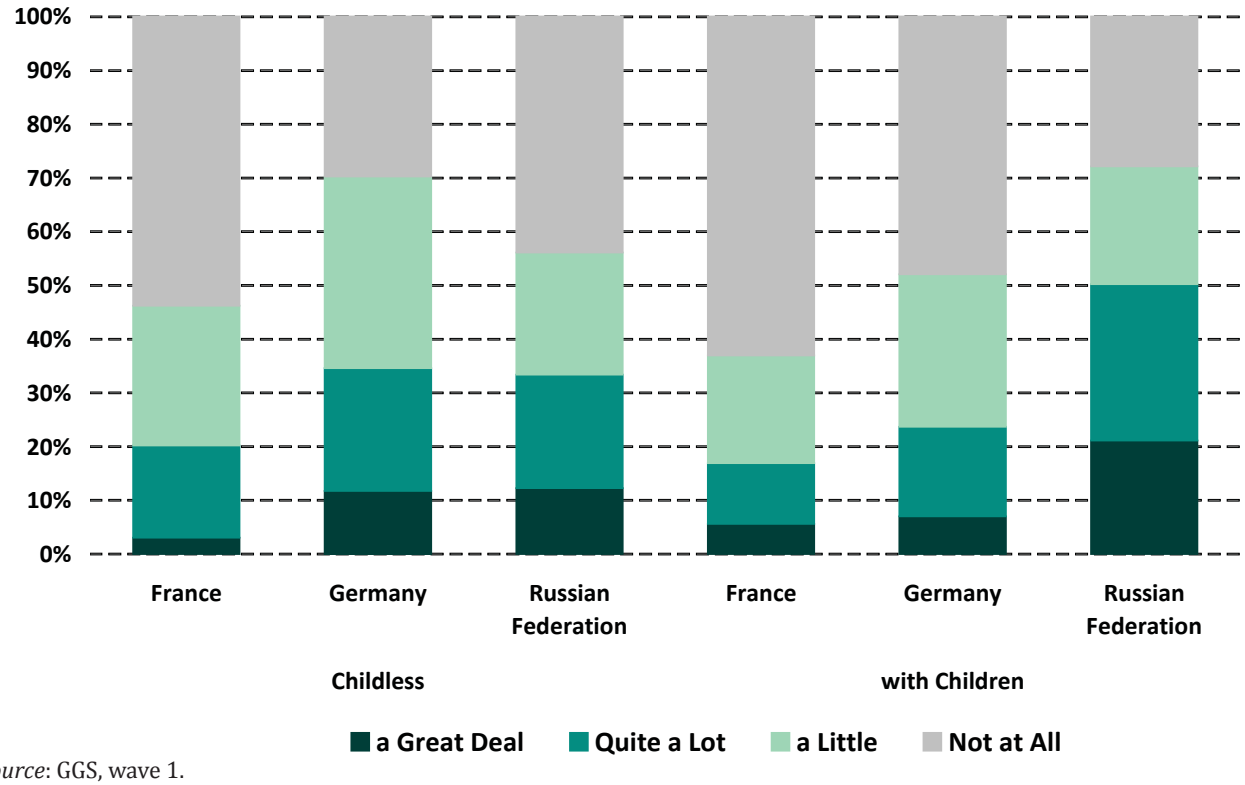
The spouse's occupational status affects childless women's fertility intentions in France and the Russian Federation. In these countries, if the spouse is not working, this reduces women's fertility intentions. In Germany, however, the spouse's occupational status does not have an effect and only the woman's status appears to be a factor. The addition of the spouse's occupational status variable makes the parameter of the woman's occupational status non-

Figure XII A
Relationship between availability of childcare and fertility decisions. Women



Source: GGS, wave 1.

Figure XII B
Relationship between availability of childcare and fertility decisions. Men



Source: GGS, wave 1.

Table 30
Regression results for intention for a first child by work stability

	Women			Men		
	France	Germany	Russian Federation	France	Germany	Russian Federation
Non permanent job	–	–	(+)	ns	ns	ns
Permanent job	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Unemployed or out of the labour force (OLF)	(–)	ns	(+)	(–)	ns	–
Student	–	–	ns	–	–	–
Non-working partner	–	ns	–	–	ns	ns
N	619	301	323	411	348	358

Source: GGS, wave 1.
Legend:
+: Positive statistically significant influence
–: Negative statistically significant influence
( ): The level of significance varies depending on the introduction of partner's employment status
ns: not significant at the 10% level
ref: reference group

significant in France, showing that it is more the man's unemployment that affects intentions than the woman's.

Among men, being unemployed has a negative effect on intentions for first parenthood in France and the Russian Federation. However, having a temporary job has none. Their partner's occupational status has no effect, except in France, where men reduce their fertility intentions if their spouse is not working. Frenchmen appear to have realized that their spouses want to have a stable job before having a child.

Although occupational status affects intentions for a first child, it does not affect intentions of having children after the first one. All the coefficients are non-significant. Employment status affects entry into parenthood, but has no effect on the intention to have another child. It may also be explained by the fewer unstable jobs and lower unemployment status of people having children. For women in the Russian Federation, having an unemployed partner continues to negatively impact intentions to have a further child, which shows that the man's economic situation is a determining factor in that country.

5.3. Family-friendly policies

Table 31 presents the effects of family-friendly policies on fertility intentions. The regressions cover employed persons and are calculated from a pooled sample, with the addition of country indicators. This provides a sufficient number for assessing the effect of those family-friendly policies that concern only a small number of employees (e.g. childcare by employer).

The effect of family-friendly policies on fertility intentions is less clear than that of employment status. Flexibility in working hours does have some positive effect on the intention to have a first child, but significance levels are low. A separate analysis by country shows that flexibility in working hours is only significant in Germany. The limited opening hours of crèches and schools in that country may explain this positive effect of informal agreements on time schedule on fertility intentions. On the other hand, having a part-time job reduces fertility plans of childless women and men. This may be explained by the wide diversity of part-time jobs. As proposed by an employer, these jobs are often non-permanent with irregular, split-shift hours.

Table 31
Regression results for intention for a further child by work stability

	Women			Men		
	France	Germany	Russian Federation	France	Germany	Russian Federation
Non permanent job	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	+
Permanent job	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Unemployed	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Out of the labour force or student	ns	ns	ns			
Parental leave	ns	ns	ns			
Non-working partner	ns	ns	–	ns	ns	ns
N	1277	941	1581	896	497	1057

Source: GGS, wave 1.
Legend:
+: Positive statistically significant influence
–: Negative statistically significant influence
ns: not significant at the 10% level
ref: reference group

Table 32
Regression results for intention for a child by family-friendly policy

	Childless		With children	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Flexible work schedule	(+)	ns	ns	ns
Part-time	–	–	ns	ns
Childcare by employer	+	+	ns	+
Institutional childcare			ns	ns
Informal childcare			–	ns
N	1190	1241	4332	3529

Source: GGS, wave 1.
Legend:
+: Positive statistically significant influence
–: Negative statistically significant influence
( ): The level of significance varies depending on the introduction of partner's employment status
ns: not significant at the 10% level

When it is the employee who seeks such a job, it is more transitional and the employee has a greater choice of hours. In the case of the childless, these jobs are more likely a way of increasing flexibility for employers than a way to achieve a better work-family balance. Childcare by the employer has a positive effect on intentions to have a first child, among both men and women. This relatively rare facility does therefore encourage fertility. It thus seems perceived as a good way to balance family and work. In the case of women, it does not affect their intentions to have a further child, however. It may be that it is not so much the possibility of a place in a crèche that is important as actually gaining a place. Moreover, access to formal childcare does not significantly affect the intention to have another child.

Intentions to have a first child depend on the status in the labour market and, to a lesser extent, on actions of firms to reconcile family and work. Intentions to have another child depend to a larger extent on demographic and cultural factors. They depend strongly on the number of children: having two children is still positive in terms of fertility intentions in France and to a lesser extent in Germany, while one child seems the optimal size in the Russian Federation. Other demographic factors, such as age and the age gap between spouses, have also a strong effect on fertility plans. Norms and familial heritage also have a significant effect on intentions to have additional children. Thus, religiosity and the number of siblings act positively on fertility plans. Having a larger family depend also on the type of job hold, which may be a proxy of income.

6 - CONCLUSIONS

The results show that insecure employment has a negative effect on the desire among women for a first child in France and Germany, but a positive one in the Russian Federation. The effect is negative for men. However, the effect of employment instability disappears with respect to the intention to have a further child. This may be an age effect: unstable jobs and unemployment mainly affect the young when they enter the labour market.

Family-friendly policies have a less clear effect on fertility intentions, and here too it is mainly on the intention to have a first child. The weak effects observed with regards to the intention to have a further child may be due to (a) the limitation of the sample to women with a job or (b) the fact that they have achieved the desired family size. However, the results show that childcare provided by the employer does have a positive effect on intentions. Flexible hours have little effect, except in Germany, where they are sought because school and kindergarten hours are highly inflexible. The weak effects may also be due to the diversity of policies practised.

Intentions may change over time and may also not be achieved (Monnier 1989, Morgan 2003). It is consequently useful to examine the factors that mean that the intentions are not achieved or change. The data from GGS wave 2 will enable us to study various behaviours, in particular in the transition between first and subsequent children. We shall then see whether fertility intentions are achieved, whether there is a gap between intentions and reality, and whether employment status and family-friendly policies affect the achievement of these intentions.

REFERENCES

Ahn, N. & Mira, P. (2002). A Note on the Changing Relationship between Fertility and Female Employment Rates in Developed Countries. Journal of Population Economics, 15, 667-682.

Aliaga, C. (2005). Gender Gaps in the Reconciliation between Work and Family Life. Statistics in Focus, Population and Social conditions, Eurostat, 4/2005.

Andersson, G., Duvander, A.-Z. & Hank, K. (2004). Do Child Care Characteristics Influence Continued Childbearing in Sweden? An Investigation of the Quantity, Quality and Price Dimension. Journal of European Social Policy, 14, 407–418.

Anxo, D., Flood, L., Mencarini, L., Pailhé, A., Solaz, A. & Tanturri, M.L. (2007). Time Allocation between Work and Family over the Life-Cycle: A Comparative Gender Analysis of Italy, France, Sweden and the United States. IZA DP No. 3193, Discussion Paper Series, http://ftp.iza.org/dp3193.pdf.

Askenazy P., Caroli, E. & Marcus, V. (2002). New Organizational Practices and Working Conditions: Evidence from France in the 1990s. Couverture orange CEPREMAP, 1-6.

Axinn, W.G., Clarkberg, M.E. & Thornton, A. (1994). Family Influences on Family Size Preferences. Demography, 31 (1), 65-79.

Becker, G. S. (1981). A Treatise on the Family. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bernardi, L., Deriu, F., Di Giulio, P., Mamolo, M. & Vatterrott, A. (2007). Reproductive Behaviour and Fertility Intentions in Four European Urban Contexts. In Fondazione Giacomo Brodolini (Eds.) Job Instability and Family Trends (pp. 243-268). Rome: Fondazione Giacomo Brodolini.

Bernhardt, E.M. (1993). Fertility and Employment. European Sociological Review, 9(1), 25-42.

Bettio, F. & Villa, P. (1998). A Mediterranean Perspective on the Break-Down of the Relationship between Participation and Fertility. Cambridge Journal of Economics, 22 (2), 137-171.

Bielby, M.M. (1992). Commitment to Work and Family. Annual Review of Sociology, 18, 281-302.

Blanpain, N. (2006). Scolarisation et modes de garde des enfants âgés de 2 à 6 ans. Etudes et résultats, DREES, No 497, http://www.sante.gouv.fr/drees/etude-resultat/er497/er497.pdf.

Blossfeld, H.P, Klijzing, E., Mills M. & Kurz, K. (2005). Globalization, Uncertainty and Youth in Society. London: Routledge.

Blossfeld, H.-P. & Mills, M. (2003). Globalization, Uncertainty and Changes in Early Life Courses. Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft, 2, 188-218.

Brewster, K. L. & Rindfuss, R. R. (2000). Fertility and Women's Employment in Industrialized Nations. Annual Review of Sociology, 26, 271–296.

Budig, J.M. (2003). Are Women's Employment and Fertility Histories Interdependent? An Examination of Causal Order Using Event History Analysis. Social Science Research, 32, 376-401.

Bue, J. & Rougerie, C. (1999). L'organisation du travail : entre contrainte et initiative, Premières synthèses, DARES, 32.1, August.

Buttner, T. & Lutz, W. (1990). Estimating Fertility Responses to Policy Measures on the German Democratic Republic. Population and Development Review, 16(3), 539–555.

Castles, F. G. (2003). The World Turned Upside Down: Below Replacement Fertility, Changing Preferences and Family-Friendly Public Policy in 21 OECD Countries. Journal of European Social Policy, 13(3), 209–227.

Cigno, A. (1991). Economics of the Family. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Daune-Richard, A.-M., Odena, S., & Petrella, F. (2007). L'engagement des entreprises dans l'accueil des jeunes enfants. Recherches et Prévisions, 92, 61-72.

De la Rica, S. & Iza, A. (2005). Career Planning in Spain: Do Fixed-Term Contracts Delay Marriage and Parenthood? Review of Economics of the Household, 3, 49-73.

Del Boca, D. (2002). The Effect of Child Care and Part Time Opportunities on Participation and Fertility Decisions in Italy. Journal of Population Economics, 15(3), 549–573.

Dulk, L. den (2001). Work-Family Arrangements in Organisations: A Cross-National Study in the Netherlands, Italy, the United Kingdom and Sweden. Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers.

Dorbritz, J. (2008). Germany: Family Diversity with Low Actual and Desired Fertility. Demographic Research, 19(17), 557-598.

Engelhardt, H. & Prskawetz, A. (2002). On the Changing Correlation between Fertility and Female Employment over Space and Time. IDR Working Paper 2002-052.

Esping-Andersen, G., Gallie, D., Hemerijck, A. & Myles, J. (2002). Why Do We Need a New Welfare State? Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Friedman, D., Hechter, M. & Kanazawa, S. (1994). A Theory of the Value of Children. Demography, 31(3), 375-401.

Gauthier, A. H. (2007). The Impact of Family Policies on Fertility in Industrialised Countries: A Review of the Literature. Population Research and Policy Review, 26, 323–346.

Hank, K. & Kreyenfeld, M. (2003). A Multilevel Analysis of Childcare and Women's Fertility Decisions in Western Germany. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 65(3), 584–596.

Haub, C. (2007). 2007 World Population Data Sheet. Washington, DC: Population Reference Bureau. Available at www.prb.org.

Hoem, J. M. (1993). Public Policy as the Fuel of Fertility: Effects of a Policy Reform on the Pace of Childbearing in Sweden in the 1980s. Acta Sociologica, 36(1), 19–31.

Hoem, J. M., Prskawetz, A. & Neyer, G. (2001). Autonomy or Conservative Adjustment? The Effect of Public Policies and Educational Attainment on Third Births in Austria,1975–96. Population Studies, 55(3), 249–261.

Impens, K.K. (1989). The Impact of Female Unemployment on Fertility in Flanders. In R.L. Cliquet, G. Dooghe, J. De Jong-Gierveld & F. Van Poppel (Eds.), Population and Family in Low Countries VI, NIDI/CBGS Pubications nr. 18, 119-140

Kohler, H.-P., Billari, F. C. & Ortega, H.-A. (2002). The Emergence of Lowest-Low Fertility in Europe During the 1990s, Population and Development Review, 28(4), 641-680.

Kohler, H.P., Billari, F. & Ortega, J. (2006). Low Fertility in Europe: Causes, Implications and Policy Options. In F. R. Harris (Eds.), The Baby Bust: Who Will Do the Work? Who Will Pay the Taxes? (pp. 48-109). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Kravdal, O. (1994). The Importance of Economic Activity, Economic Potential and Economic Resources for the Timing of First Birth in Norway. Population Studies, 48, 249-267.

Kravdal, O. (1996). How the Local Supply of Day-Care Centers Influences Fertility in Norway: A Parityspecific Approach. Population Research and Policy Review, 15(3), 201–218.

Kreyenfeld, M. (2005). Economic Uncertainty and Fertility Evidence from German Panel Data. MPIDR Working Paper WP 2005-034, November.

Lalive, R. & Zweimuller, J. (2005). Does Parental Leave Affect Fertility and Return-to-Work? Evidence from a ''True Natural Experiment''. IZA (Institute for the Study of Labor) Discussion Paper, No.1613, http://www.iza.org/publications/dps/.

Liefbroer, A.C. & Corijn, M. (1999). Who, What, Where and When? Specifying the Impact of Educational Attainment and Labour Force Participation on Family Formation. European Journal of Population, 15, 45-75.

Meron, M. & Widmer, I. (2002).Unemployment Leads Women to Postpone the Birth of Their First Child. Population – English Version , 57(2), March-April 2002, 301-330.

Mills, M. & Blossfeld, H.-P. (2005). Globalization, Uncertainty and the Early Life Course: A Theoretical Framework. In H.-P. Blossfeld, E. Klijzing, M. Mills & K. Kurz (Eds.), Globalization, Uncertainty and Youth in Society (pp. 1-24). London - New York: Routledge.

Mills, M., Mencarini, L., Tanturri, M. L. & Begall, K. (2008). Gender Equity and Fertility Intentions in Italy and the Netherlands. Demographic Research, 18,1-26.

Monnier, A. (1989). Fertility Intentions and Actual Behavior. A Longitudinal Study: 1974, 1976, 1979. Population, an English Selection, 44(1), 237-259.

Morgan, S. P. (2003). Missing the Target? Correspondance of Fertility Intentions and Behavior in the U.S.. Population Research and Policy Review, 22, 497-525.

OECD (2001). Balancing Work and Family Life: Helping Parents into Paid Employment. OECD Employment Outlook.

OECD (2002-2005) Babies and Bosses: Reconciling Work and Family Life, Volume 4: Canada, Finland, Sweden and the United Kingdom, 2005 (Volume 1: Australia, Denmark and the Netherlands [2002], Volume 2: Austria, Ireland and Japan [2003], Volume 3: New Zealand, Portugal and Switzerland [2004]).

Ovcharova, L. & Popova, D. (2005). Child Poverty in Russia. Alarming Trends and Policy Options. Moscow: UNICEF, Independent Institute of Social Policy, 14-15.

Pailhé, A. & Solaz, A. (2006). Employment and Childbearing: Women Bear the Burden of the Work-Family Balance. Population and Societies, 426.

Pasqua, S., Pronzato, C. & del Boca, D. (2005). Fertility and Employment in Italy, France and the UK, Labour, 19, 51-77.

Rindfuss, R. R. & Brewster, K. L. (1996). Childbearing and Fertility. Population and Development Review, 22 (Suppl), 258–289.

Schoen, R. N., Astone, N.M., Kim, Y.J., Nathanson, C.A. & Fields, J.M. (1999). Do Fertility Intentions Affect Fertility Behavior? Journal of Marriage and the Family, 61(3), 790-799.

Schoen, R., Kim, Y.J., Nathanson, C.A., Fields, J. & Astone, N.M.. (1997). Why Do Americans Want Children? Population and Development Review, 23(2), 333-358.

Rønsen, M. (1999). Impacts on Fertility and Female Employment of Parental Leave Programs: Evidence from Three Nordic Countries. Paper presented at the European Population Conference, The Hague, Netherlands, August/September 1999.

Rønsen, M. (2004). Fertility and Public Policies—Evidence from Norway and Finland. Demographic Research, 10, 143–170.

Rosental, P.-A. (2003). L'Intelligence démographique. Sciences et politiques des populations en France (1930-1960). Paris: Odile Jacob.

Ruault, M. & Audrey, D. (2003). Les modes d'accueil des enfants de moins de 6 ans: premiers résultats de l'enquête réalisée en 2002 , Etudes et résultats, 235, http://www.sante.gouv.fr/drees/etude-resultat/er235/er235.pdf.

Sinyavskaya, O., Ibragimova, D., Kartseva, M. & Zakharov, S. (2007). Female Labour Market and Reproductive Behaviour in Modern Russia, Final Report.

Sobotka, T. (2004). Postponment of Childbearing and Low Fertility in Europe. Amsterdam: Dutch University Press.

Toulemon, L., Pailhé, A. & Rossier, C. (2008). France: High and Stable Fertility. Demographic Research, 19(16), 503-556. Special Collection 7: Childbearing Trends and Policies in Europe.

Vikat, A., Spéder, Z., Beets, G., Billari, F., Bühler, C. & Désesquelles et. al. (2007). Generations and Gender Survey: Towards a Better Understanding of Relationships and Processes in the Life Course. Demographic Research, 17(14), 389-440.

Williams, L., Abma, J. & Piccinino, L.J. (1999). The Correspondence between Intention to Avoid Childbearing and Subsequent Fertility: A Prospective Analysis. Family Planning Perspectives, 31(5), 220-227.

APPENDIX

Tables 33
Regression results for intention for a child by by work stability

Table 33-A
France, childless people

	Childless women				Childless men			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat
Religious	-0.403	-0.91	-0.380	-0.85	0.607	1.12	0.889	1.61
French nationality	-0.061	-0.12	-0.081	-0.16	-0.225	-0.42	-0.163	-0.30
Number of siblings	0.175 ***	2.91	0.175 ***	2.89	0.045	0.69	0.056	0.84
Age								
< 25	-1.074 ***	-2.93	-1.001 ***	-2.72	-1.981 ***	-4.83	-1.791 ***	-4.28
25–29	-0.031	-0.08	-0.017	-0.04	-0.832 **	-2.28	-0.815**	-2.19
30–34 (ref)								
35–39	-1.119 *	-2.43	-1.067 **	-2.31	-1.997 ***	-4.11	-2.125***	-4.30
40 +	-3.037 ***	-6.00	-2.962 ***	-5.83	-2.135 ***	-4.19	-2.257***	-4.37
Married	0.959 ***	3.09	0.922 ***	2.97	0.588 *	1.73	0.557*	1.64
Education								
Primary education	-0.789 ***	-2.22	-0.751 ***	-2.09	0.174	0.41	0.241	0.55
Secondary education	-0.230	-1.12	-0.212	-1.02	0.623 **	2.39	0.655***	2.47
Tertiary education (ref)								
Job								
Temporary job	-0.480 *	-1.80	-0.450 *	-1.68	-0.131	-0.38	0.040	0.11
Stable job (ref)								
Unemployed	-0.570 *	-1.74	-0.484	-1.46	-0.805 **	-2.18	-0.597	-1.57
Student	-1.591 ***	-5.82	-1.413 ***	-5.01	-1.625 ***	-3.75	-1.158***	-2.53
Non-working partner			-0.620 ***	-2.54			-0.971***	-3.57
Quality of housing	-0.038	-0.68	-0.051	-0.88	-0.026	-0.42	-0.028	-0.46
Age difference								
Men 2 years + younger	1.107 *	1.92	1.079 *	1.89	-0.152	-0.39	-0.182	-0.47
Same age (ref)								
Women 2 years + younger	0.017	0.09	-0.065	-0.33	-0.080	-0.31	0.091	0.34
Intercept	1.516 **	2.02	1.691 **	2.22	1.433 *	1.86	1.510*	1.92
N	619		619		411		411	
Pseudo R^2	21.3		22.0		17.9		20.2	

Table 33-B
France, people with children

	Women with children				Men with children			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat
Religious	0.395	1.30	0.386	1.27	0.890**	2.40	0.901**	2.43
French nationality	-0.002	-0.01	-0.015	-0.05	-0.484	-1.41	-0.486	-1.41
Number of siblings	0.109***	2.90	0.109***	2.90	0.015	0.30	0.015	0.32
Age								
<25	0.032	0.08	0.042	0.11	-2.023**	-2.28	-1.988**	-2.23
25–29	0.676***	2.55	0.675***	2.55	0.348	1.00	0.373	1.07
30–34 (ref)								
35–39	-0.801***	-3.64	-0.805***	-3.66	-0.723***	-2.88	-0.727***	-2.89
40+	-2.053***	-6.12	-2.053***	-6.11	-0.998***	-2.94	-1.014***	-2.99
Number of children								
1 child	2.808***	9.44	2.804***	9.42	2.546***	7.88	2.515***	7.74
2 children	1.065***	3.89	1.062***	3.88	0.576*	1.91	0.545*	1.80
3 children + (ref)								
Age of youngest child	-0.090***	-3.50	-0.089***	-3.47	-0.221***	-6.31	-0.223***	-6.34
Married	0.069	0.37	0.069	0.37	0.071	0.32	0.060	0.26
Education								
Primary education	-0.276	-0.94	-0.268	-0.91	-0.445	-1.38	-0.413	-1.27
Secondary education	-0.300	-1.52	-0.299	-1.52	-0.677***	-2.90	-0.667***	-2.84
Tertiary education (ref)								
Job								
Temporary job	0.474	1.57	0.483	1.60	0.421	1.16	0.417	1.15
Stable job (ref)								
Unemployed	0.388	1.30	0.418	1.37	0.353	0.95	0.363	0.98
OLF/student	0.283	1.03	0.285	1.04				
Parental leave	-0.046	-0.14	-0.048	-0.15				
Non-working partner			-0.159	-0.46			-0.193	-0.85
Quality of housing	-0.036	-0.80	-0.040	-0.87	-0.004	-0.07	-0.009	-0.16
Age difference								
Men 2 years + younger	0.716**	2.07	0.721**	2.09	0.016	0.05	0.030	0.09
Same age (ref)								
Women 2 years +younger	-0.289	-1.62	-0.283	-1.59	0.346	1.50	0.366	1.58
Intercept	-1.651***	-2.79	-1.607***	-2.68	-0.408	-0.60	-0.289	-0.41
N	1277		1277		896		896	
Pseudo R^2	31.9		32.0		34.4		34.5	

Table 33-C
Russian Federation, childless people

	Childless women				Childless Men			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat
Religious	0.335	0.90	0.313	0.83	0.102	0.23	0.083	0.18
Number of siblings	0.046	0.36	0.048	0.38	-0.012	-0.12	-0.007	-0.08
Age								
< 25	-1.125*	-1.70	-1.073	-1.61	0.622	1.52	0.715*	1.69
25–29	-0.806	-1.19	-0.834	-1.22	1.464***	3.37	1.493***	3.41
30–34 (ref)								
35–39	-1.621**	-1.97	-1.534*	-1.84	0.501	0.90	0.514	0.92
40 +	-3.821***	-3.72	-3.886***	-3.75	-1.246**	-2.10	-1.255**	-2.10
Married	0.881**	2.39	0.842***	2.27	0.726**	2.28	0.721**	2.26
Education								
Primary education	-0.799*	-1.72	-0.836*	-1.78	-0.407	-1.02	-0.431	-1.08
Secondary education	-0.010	-0.03	-0.012	-0.04	-0.107	-0.39	-0.102	-0.37
Tertiary education (ref)								
Job								
Temporary job	0.611	1.60	0.704*	1.81	-0.064	-0.21	-0.036	-0.12
Stable job (ref)								
Unemployed	0.663	1.60	0.707*	1.70	-0.553	-1.43	-0.518	-1.33
Student	-0.567	-1.62	-0.368	-1.00	-1.096***	-2.89	-1.005***	-2.58
Non-working partner			-0.681**	-1.99			-0.277	-1.03
Quality of housing	-0.074	-1.61	-0.068	-1.47	-0.097**	-2.14	-0.099**	-2.19
Age difference								
Men 2 years + younger	0.508	0.69	0.479	0.64	-0.332	-0.86	-0.356	-0.92
Same age (ref)								
Women 2 years + younger	0.280	1.03	0.144	0.51	0.869***	2.95	0.919***	3.07
Intercept	1.724**	2.41	1.827***	2.53	0.197	0.36	0.235	0.43
N	321		321		357		357	
Pseudo R^2	11.2		12.1		15.4		15.6	

Table 33-D
Russian Federation, people with children

	Women with children				Men with children			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat
Religious	0.464**	2.00	0.450*	1.93	0.789***	2.71	0.774***	2.65
Number of siblings	-0.048	-0.74	-0.044	-0.68	0.224***	4.12	0.218***	3.99
Age								
<25	0.356	1.24	0.346	1.20	-0.676*	-1.77	-0.738*	-1.92
25–29	0.581***	2.79	0.558***	2.67	-0.269	-1.11	-0.296	-1.21
30–34 (ref)								
35–39	-1.277***	-4.67	-1.298***	-4.73	-0.926***	-3.90	-0.925***	-3.89
40+	-1.884***	-5.49	-1.896***	-5.50	-2.051***	-6.74	-2.058***	-6.76
Married	-0.186	-1.06	-0.197	-1.13	-0.366*	-1.77	-0.356*	-1.72
Number of children								
1 child	2.037***	3.32	2.002***	3.26	1.455***	4.00	1.480***	4.06
2 children	0.102	0.16	0.054	0.09	-0.298	-0.79	-0.278	-0.73
3 children + (ref)								
Age of youngest child	0.009	0.40	0.009	0.39	-0.003	-0.12	-0.001	-0.04
Education								
Primary education	-0.379	-1.39	-0.373	-1.36	-0.574**	-2.36	-0.579**	-2.37
Secondary education	-0.195	-1.16	-0.176	-1.04	-0.547***	-2.87	-0.552***	-2.88
Tertiary education (ref)								
Job								
Temporary job	0.219	1.00	0.215	0.98	0.501***	2.74	0.504***	2.75
Stable job (ref)								
Unemployed	-0.314	-0.87	-0.295	-0.81	0.220	0.75	0.186	0.63
OLF/student	-0.014	-0.06	-0.017	-0.08				
Parental leave	-0.303	-1.19	-0.320	-1.25				
Non-working partner			-0.495*	-1.87			0.298	1.48
Quality of housing	0.055**	2.09	0.055**	2.06	0.002	0.08	0.004	0.14
Age difference								
Men 2 years + younger	0.279	0.98	0.273	0.95	-0.595*	-1.86	-0.590*	-1.85
Same age (ref)								
Women 2 years + younger	-0.336**	-2.12	-0.329**	-2.07	0.522***	2.93	0.506***	2.83
Intercept	-2.492***	-3.65	-2.398***	-3.50	-1.208***	-2.45	-1.289***	-2.59
N	1577		1577		1055		1055	
Pseudo R^2	24.8		25.0		20.9		21.1	

Table 33-E
Germany, childless people

	Childless women				Childless men			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat
Religious	0.241	0.57	0.208	0.49	0.647	1.56	0.657	1.59
German nationality	-0.381	-1.00	-0.370	-0.97	0.074	0.18	0.046	0.11
Number of siblings	0.095	0.89	0.104	0.96	0.215**	1.99	0.218**	2.01
Age								
< 25	-0.534	-1.21	-0.485	-1.09	-0.640	-1.58	-0.490	-1.15
25–29	0.312	0.71	0.332	0.75	0.035	0.09	0.102	0.26
30–34 (ref)								
35–39	-1.832***	-3.23	-1.829***	-3.21	-0.891*	-1.91	-0.918**	-1.96
40+	-4.529***	-4.11	-4.530***	-4.10	-2.088***	-4.16	-2.097***	-4.17
Married	1.160***	3.02	1.135***	2.95	0.695*	1.93	0.680*	1.90
Education								
Primary education	0.068	0.13	0.063	0.12	-1.492***	-2.47	-1.427***	-2.36
Secondary education	-0.395	-1.12	-0.391	-1.11	-0.628**	-2.02	-0.592**	-1.89
Tertiary education (ref)								
Job								
Temporary job	-0.913**	-2.16	-0.896**	-2.11	-0.211	-0.66	-0.177	-0.54
Stable job (ref)								
Unemployed	-0.338	-0.77	-0.328	-0.74	-0.329	-0.83	-0.285	-0.71
Student	-1.353***	-3.03	-1.259***	-2.76	-1.901***	-4.28	-1.794***	-3.96
Non-working partner			-0.328	-0.97			-0.353	-1.16
Quality of housing	-0.095	-1.57	-0.093	-1.54	-0.037	-0.64	-0.035	-0.61
Age difference								
Men 2 years + younger	-0.977	-1.36	-0.946	-1.32	0.266	0.60	0.244	0.55
Same age (ref)								
Women 2 years + younger	-0.414	-1.45	-0.467	-1.60	0.768***	2.76	0.806***	2.86
Intercept	1.584**	2.02	1.616**	2.06	0.137	0.18	0.158	0.21
N	301		301		348		348	
Pseudo R^2	20.3		20.5		17.0		17.3	

Table 33-F
Germany, people with children

	Women with Children				Men with Children			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat
Religious	0.991***	3.30	0.960***	3.19	-0.043	-0.09	-0.038	-0.08
German nationality	-0.192	-0.67	-0.218	-0.76	-1.024***	-2.53	-1.031**	-2.54
Number of siblings	0.059	0.80	0.069	0.92	0.048	0.51	0.051	0.53
Age								
<25	-1.019**	-2.19	-0.929**	-1.97	0.575	0.72	0.596	0.74
25–29	-0.137	-0.44	-0.118	-0.38	1.064**	2.07	1.071**	2.08
30–34 (ref)								
35–39	-1.159***	-3.55	-1.180***	-3.61	-0.810*	-1.86	-0.808*	-1.85
40+	-2.549***	-4.51	-2.591***	-4.56	-1.334***	-2.57	-1.343***	-2.58
Number of children								
1 child	2.834***	5.75	2.839***	5.78	3.488***	3.99	3.481***	3.98
2 children	0.898*	1.87	0.890*	1.86	1.409*	1.64	1.406	1.63
3 children + (ref)								
Age of youngest child	-0.158***	-3.92	-0.156***	-3.87	-0.213***	-3.87	-0.215***	-3.84
Married	-0.124	-0.39	-0.184	-0.57	0.952*	1.73	0.966*	1.74
Education								
Primary education	-0.584	-1.45	-0.570	-1.41	-0.244	-0.40	-0.240	-0.40
Secondary education	-0.773**	-2.77	-0.801***	-2.85	-0.817**	-2.15	-0.822**	-2.16
Tertiary education (ref)								
Job								
Temporary job	0.270	0.73	0.280	0.75	0.154	0.34	0.157	0.35
Stable job (ref)								
Unemployed	0.379	0.72	0.466	0.88	0.081	0.16	0.079	0.15
OLF/student	0.212	0.67	0.247	0.77				
Parental leave	0.326	0.92	0.328	0.93				
Non-working partner			-0.477	-1.25			-0.069	-0.19
Quality of housing	-0.028	-0.55	-0.029	-0.56	0.080	1.12	0.079	1.12
Age difference								
Men 2 years + younger	0.688	1.34	0.747	1.45	-0.232	-0.34	-0.235	-0.35
Same age (ref)								
Women 2 years + younger	-0.057	-0.24	-0.061	-0.25	0.081	0.23	0.086	0.24
Intercept	-1.446*	-1.84	-1.346*	-1.71	-3.071**	-2.41	-3.034**	-2.35
N	941		941		497		497	
Pseudo R^2	34.0		34.2		40.5		40.5	

Table 34
Regression results for intention for a first child by family-friendly policy (logit)

	Working men without children		Working women without children	
	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat
Country				
France (ref)				
Russia	0.465***	2.63	0.087	0.49
Germany	-0.507***	-2.70	-0.920***	-4.96
Religious	0.394	1.62	0.224	1.02
Number of siblings	0.186***	3.88	0.100**	1.99
Age				
<25	-0.666***	-3.43	-0.898***	-4.12
25–29	0.171	0.89	-0.165	-0.74
30–34 (ref)				
35–39	-0.900***	-3.71	-1.533***	-5.60
40+	-1.855***	-7.55	-3.394***	-9.26
Married	0.588***	3.69	0.721***	4.04
Education				
Primary education	-0.724***	-2.91	-0.282	-1.06
Secondary education	-0.156	-1.05	-0.291*	-1.83
Tertiary education (ref)				
Part-time	-0.776***	-2.67	-0.466***	-2.43
Working schedule flexibility	-0.008	-0.06	0.211	1.50
Workplace crèche	0.617***	2.41	0.417*	1.65
Public	0.127	0.82	0.034	0.22
Profession				
Highly skilled (ref)				
Clerk	0.342*	1.73	0.182	0.91
Worker	-0.403**	-1.87	0.281	1.29
Farmer and other status	0.067	0.33	0.161	0.57
Intercept	0.259	1.01	1.022***	3.72
N	1241		1190	
Pseudo R^2	12.7		16.2	

Table 35
Regression results for intention for a another child by family-friendly policy (logit)

	Working men with children		Working women with children	
	Coef.	T stat	Coef.	T stat
Country				
France (ref)				
Russian Federation	-0.030	-0.21	-0.770***	-5.10
Germany	-0.619***	-3.65	-0.843***	-5.32
Religious	0.651***	4.19	0.502***	3.37
Number of siblings	0.139***	5.10	0.053	1.60
Age				
<25	-1.496***	-6.05	-0.247	-1.15
25–29	-0.315**	-2.18	0.307**	2.34
30–34 (ref)				
35–39	-0.813***	-6.37	-1.022***	-7.42
40+	-1.591***	-9.84	-1.873***	-9.84
Married	-0.308***	-2.56	-0.138	-1.26
Number of children				
1 child	2.105***	10.62	-1.951***	-15.63
2 children	0.204	1.03	-2.307***	-9.67
3 children + (ref)				
Age of youngest child	-0.086***	-6.50	-0.078***	-5.44
Education				
Primary education	-0.183	-1.11	-0.311	-1.57
Secondary education	-0.507***	-4.01	-0.155	-1.31
Tertiary education (ref)				
Part-time	-0.214	-0.63	0.055	0.43
Working schedule flexibility	0.127	1.21	0.086	0.82
Workplace crèche	0.452***	2.86	0.133	0.81
Public	-0.191*	-1.70	-0.110	-0.92
Profession				
Highly skilled profession (ref)				
Clerk	-0.138	-0.86	-0.332***	-2.55
Worker	-0.049	-0.28	-0.202	-1.46
Farmer and other status	-0.248*	-1.64	-0.355**	-2.04
Regular help with childcare	0.054	0.50	0.079	0.72
Informal help	0.078	0.75	-0.319***	-3.05
Intercept	-0.816***	-2.97	1.414***	6.10
N	3529		4332	
Pseudo R^2	24.7		28.9	

CHAPTER 4

CIRCUMSTANCES OF YOUNG ADULTS : RESULTS FROM THE GENERATIONS AND GENDER PROGRAMME

John Hobcraft

Valua Vitaly@Fotolia

1 - INTRODUCTION

Early adulthood is a critical period in the life course. It is the time when many key transitions are made: employment, sexual partnerships, childbearing, and independent living. These transitions are linked backwards to earlier experiences and forward to consequences later in the life course. The challenges – for the individuals concerned, for their families and for the State, are to ensure successful transitions and increasingly to make it possible to combine multiple roles. Economic performance and population reproduction are two of the key concerns of the modern European State that depend critically upon young people successfully negotiating these transitions through early adulthood.

A wide range of policy issues are critical for young adults: education and training, employment, housing and family policies are all central to their circumstances. More broadly, they are also affected by policies on social integration, social inclusion, poverty reduction, health and well-being, parenting, schooling and gender equity.

The Generations and Gender Programme (GGP) aims to provide information to enable policymakers to monitor the status of their adult populations on most of these policy dimensions and, especially with subsequent waves of the Generations and Gender Surveys (GGS), to add considerably to understanding the dynamics of and reasons for change. This paper provides a preliminary comparative exploration of the results of the first wave of the Generations and Gender Surveys for six countries: Bulgaria, France, Germany, Georgia, Hungary and the Russian Federation. Young adults are taken to comprise those under age 35, since many of the key transitions, especially to marriage and to parenthood, are now being delayed by many into the early thirties, as will be subsequently shown.

The first section of the paper considers the well-being of these young adults in several domains, covering poverty, economic activity status, and health and life satisfaction. This is followed by some results concerning the family, including the timing of several key demographic events, the extent of childbearing and the living arrangements of parents and non-parents among the respondents. To illustrate the potential for exploring the Generations element of the GGP, a series of analyses showing how those respondents who had experienced family disruption during childhood differ from those who did not, in terms of their poverty, mental and physical health, and partnership circumstances as young adults. Finally, to emphasize the potential in the Gender domain of the GGP, we present some direct results on the gender division of child-rearing and of household tasks.

Because the results are provided for six countries, much of the emphasis here will be comparative. In-depth analysis is more appropriately done within a country, but comparisons help to draw out the diversity across a varied selection of UNECE countries. As will be shown, there are often very large differences in the circumstances of young adults in the differing societies. An awareness of these international comparisons provides an important context for policymakers.

Table 36
Sample sizes for young adults aged less than 35 years, GGP Surveys

Age groups	France	Germany	Bulgaria	Georgia	Russian Federation	Hungary
Under 20	275	289	512	360	347	---
20–24	753	704	1,310	920	927	1,125
25–29	743	708	1,405	900	977	1,555
30–34	914	765	1,602	907	967	1,289
Total	2,685	2,466	4,829	3,087	3,218	3,969

Source: GGP Survey

Table 36 shows basic information on the samples that are used for the analyses presented in this paper. The numbers of young adults included (aged 18–34) range from about 2,500 in France and Germany to nearly 5,000 in Bulgaria. There were roughly equal numbers of respondents in each of the main five-year age groups (20–24, 25–29 and 30–34) within each country. We note that the Hungarian sample does not include any teenage respondents. We refer to two key publications for details of the standard survey instruments (UNECE 2005) and for a detailed discussion of the concepts and guidelines underpinning the GGP (UNECE 2007). Despite the best efforts to maintain comparability across the surveys, there are some occasions where results are not available (or not comparable) for all six countries included here, as will be indicated in the text or by omission from the relevant tables.

Since the current harmonized data files do not routinely include information on the sample design and probabilities of selection, all tabulations are presented as unweighted analyses. Moreover, most of the results presented will cover the entire age range up to age 35, since disaggregation by age-group would make the tables unwieldy; as proportions in each age-group do not differ widely across countries, we have not attempted to age-standardize within tables. However, most of the analyses are fairly robust to age variations and have been checked to ensure that results are neither distorted or misleading: for example, the analyses of living arrangements differentiate by whether or not the respondent has parental responsibilities, and results do not then differ much by age-group.

2 - STATE OF THE ART

The results presented here cover a very broad range of domains, including: a variety of indicators of poverty, economic activity and health and well-being; the timing of demographic events and living arrangements; the consequences of childhood family disruption for early adulthood; and gender equity in childcare and household tasks. A full literature review on all of these topics would go beyond the depth of analysis possible in a descriptive analysis and would require far more space than is available here. Instead, this section will briefly indicate some of the key recent research that is comparative across countries and draws on consistent comparative data sources. The nature of such data sources for different topics will also be indicated. The depth of information in the GGS and the prospective nature of the study means that it will provide very rich opportunities to explore many of the issues considered here in much more depth (see UNECE 2007).

Many comparative data sources are developed by the European Union through Eurostat; these cover the 25 EU Member States and are clearly invaluable resources. However, the GGP includes countries beyond the EU, with the current analyses covering Georgia and the Russian Federation among the six countries examined and surveys also being carried out in Japan and Australia, thus enabling different ranges of comparison. The EU data collection procedures are often mandatory and focus particularly on the domains of poverty and well-being. For eight years (1994–2001), this included the now defunct European Community Household Panel (ECHP) Study, covering the then 12 expanding to 15 countries of the EU, which was a prospective study following up all members of a sample of households annually and proved a rich source for informative comparative analysis (see Wirtz and Mejer 2002 and http://circa.europa.eu/irc/dsis/echpanel/info/data/information.html). From this study, there have been a large number of publications on a variety of key topics (see http://epunet.essex.ac.uk/bibliographic_references.php). Perhaps the best summary publication specifically on young people aged 17–25 is Iacovou and Berthoud (2001), which provides comparable information on education, early experience in the labour market, leaving home and family formation and living standards (see also Berthoud and Iacovou 2005).

The ECHP Study has now been replaced by a narrower and largely cross-sectional study that is mandatory in all 25 EU countries, the Survey of Income and Living Conditions (SILC; see Atkinson et al 2002, Eurostat 2005 and Guio 2005). Another key source of comparable information on poverty, economic activity and living standards is the Luxembourg Income Study (LIS), which includes 30 countries and provides detailed information on income from repeated cross-sectional surveys

(http://www.lisproject.org/introduction/history.htm). This study has produced over 500 working papers. OECD also provides summary studies of comparative information on income and poverty (e.g. Förster and d'Ercole 2005).

Turning to demographic behaviours, timing of events in the life course and family living arrangements, there are again a range of important comparative data sources. One of the most prominent has been the exploration of the UNECE Family Formation Surveys (the precursor of the GGP Surveys). These surveys contained a wealth of retrospective and current information on demographic behaviours, but were much weaker than GGP on poverty and well-being indicators. Important comparative analyses cover cohabitation and child bearing outside marriage (Kiernan 1999, 1999a and 2004a), partnership formation and dissolution (Kiernan 2002 and 2004) and the timing of leaving home (Billari et al 2001; see also Iacovou 2001, using the ECHP), and more broadly transitions to adulthood (Corijn and Klijzing 2001; and Iacovou 2002 using the ECHP). Fahey and Spéder (2004) and Billari (2005) provide useful overall summaries, and Spéder (2007) draws on a wide range of comparative data sources including national censuses, the Eurobarometer Surveys, the Population Policy Acceptance Survey 2 and the European Quality of Life Survey in a recent and valuable overview of partnership, parenting and childbearing in Europe.

Comparative analysis of the consequences of parental divorce has relied very heavily on the Family Formation Studies as well (Kiernan 2002, 2004; Andersson 2002). The ability to extend such findings beyond the earliest associations found for the United States of America and the United Kingdom was important here. The GGP enables such work to continue and to be linked to a much wider range of socio-economic, mental, and physical well-being outcomes, in addition to demographic behaviour.

The final topic covered in the analyses here covers perceptions of gender equity in the division of childcare and household tasks as well as reported satisfaction with these and other life domains. Other comparative cross-sectional studies include valuable information on attitudes, including the European Social Survey, the Eurobarometer Surveys and the European and World Values Surveys. Kiernan (1992) reviewed some of the key evidence on gender differences. More recently there have been several comparative studies, which draw for example on the LIS or the newly established Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE) and are thus not always compatible with the emphasis on young adults here (Baxter 1997, Gauthier and Smeeding 2003, Davis and Greenstein 2004, and Hank and Jürgens 2007).

This brief review has placed the data from the GGP in a wider context and pointed to some of the key relevant publications on the topics covered. However, the focus is not always on young adults, as here. Many of the data sources considered are immensely valuable in their own domains, whether focusing on poverty and well-being, on the elderly, or on attitudes for example. One of the real strengths of the GGP is that it is unique in bringing together this variety of domains and thus providing the opportunity to explore the interplays (and with many features included in the surveys but not covered here (see UNECE 2005 and 2007)). Thus, for example, Hobcraft and Kiernan (1995) elaborated a wide range of domains that required consideration in examining the issue of becoming a parent. The implications of this for possible survey designs were drawn out further by Hobcraft (2002) and the content of the GGP was influenced by these concerns, though emerging better from the elaborate process of development (UNECE 2007). In another vein, there is a real need to explore the interplays of demography and disadvantage (Kiernan 2002a) and the interplays of demography and social exclusion cross-nationally (e.g. Hobcraft 2002a and 2004; Hobcraft and Kiernan 2001).

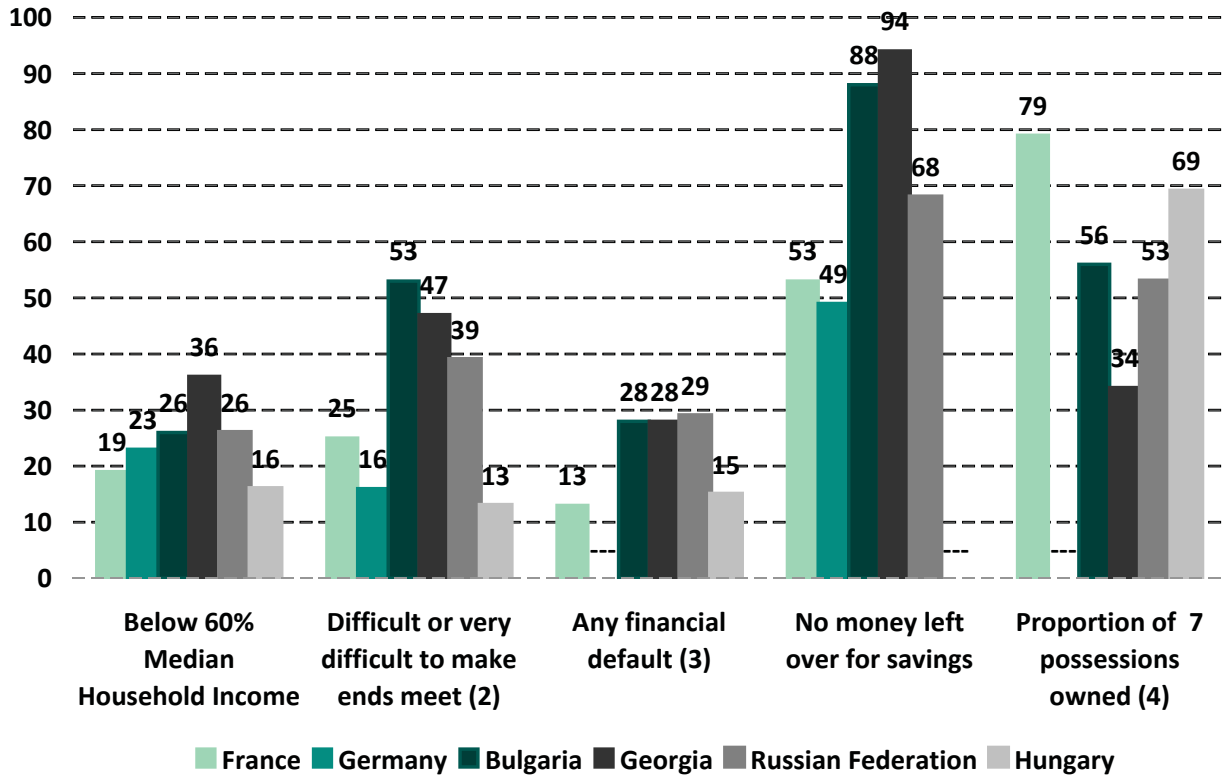
3 - POVERTY AND WELL-BEING

3.1 Poverty

Measurement of poverty is a difficult topic, with key issues being whether more objective income measures should indicate relative or absolute poverty and the value of more subjective measures. Results, and especially comparisons between countries, can vary considerably with different indicators. A widely used measure (of relative poverty) in Europe is an indicator of whether the household income is below 60 per cent of the median household income. (A number of other issues are not addressed here,

e.g. whether income should be gross or net, allow for housing costs and equivalize for household size and structure). The first set of columns in figure XIII shows the proportions of young adult respondents who live in relatively poor households, according to this indicator. Such relative poverty is most prevalent in Georgia (over one third of respondents) and has a slightly higher incidence in Bulgaria and the Russian Federation. Perhaps surprisingly, this indicator is lowest for Hungary, although we note that the banding of income measures for France and Germany make the results non-comparable. Of course, such relative poverty measures within each country are unlikely to be good indicators of between-country variation, since the underlying distributions generate quite different median household income levels.

Figure XIII:
Poverty indicators for young adults (percentage)



Notes:

1. *The household incomes for France and Germany are banded, making it impossible to define this group properly; the figures presented here are those falling into the lowest two-income bands.*
2. *Household ability to make ends meet on monthly income on six-point scale: 1) with great difficulty, 2) with difficulty, 3) with some difficulty, 4) fairly easily, 5) easily and 6) very easily.*
3. *Any arrears in the last year on: rent for accommodation, mortgage payments, utility bills or loan repayments.*
4. *The possessions include seven items: colour TV, video or DVD, washing machine, computer, dishwasher, telephone and a car or van.*

The second set of columns in figure XIII provides the proportions of respondents who replied that their household had great difficulty or difficulty in making ends meet with their monthly income. This subjective measure suggests that the French perceive themselves as poorer than do Germans and again suggests the least hardship in Hungary. But most striking is the very high proportions who have difficulty in making ends meet in the Russian Federation (nearly 40 per cent) and even more so in Bulgaria and Georgia (about half of all young adult respondents). Similarly, about one third of respondents in Bulgaria, Georgia and the Russian Federation had experienced arrears on financial payments in the previous year, as compared with less than one sixth in France and

Hungary. In Bulgaria and Georgia, about 90 per cent of respondents replied that they had no money left over for savings, whereas this proportion was two thirds for the Russian Federation and about one half for France and Germany. The final poverty indicator shows the average proportion of seven possessions (colour TV, video or DVD, washing machine, computer, dishwasher, telephone and a car or van) owned by households. By this measure, the French are the least deprived, with about four fifths of the maximum being the average. The Georgians are the most deprived, with an average of only one third of the possessions per household, with just over half of these goods being the average for Bulgarians and Russians. Regarding these non-income based measures of poverty, we see that young adults in Georgia are poorest, with those in Bulgaria and the Russian Federation also having fairly high deprivation levels. As might be expected, French and German young adults are relatively less deprived by these measures.

Although we will rarely examine within-country differentials in this paper, it is interesting to look at the various poverty indicators for the former East and Western Germany. In terms of relative income poverty, i.e. below 60 per cent of the national median household income, poverty is still considerably worse in Eastern Germany (37 per cent) than Western Germany (20 per cent). However, this difference becomes quite small when we consider the proportions which have difficulty or great difficulty in making ends meet: 16 per cent for Western Germany and 19 per cent for Eastern Germany (both lower than for France, at 25 per cent). The difference is slightly larger if we look at an indicator of affluence, the proportion who report making ends meet easily or very easily, this being 27 per cent in Western Germany and 20 per cent in Eastern Germany (again this contrasts with France, where only 15 per cent report such affluence). Thus we see that objective relative poverty differences in Germany are greater than those for the perceived subjective measures.

3.2 Economic activity

The main patterns of economic activity status for young adult males are shown in table 37A. Unemployment rates are very high for young men in Georgia (31 per cent) and Bulgaria (25 per cent) and about 10 per cent for the other four countries considered here, with Hungary being slightly lower. In addition, some 1 to 3 per cent of young men report being on leave or are not in education, training or employment (NEET). Well over a quarter (28 per cent) of young men in Germany are still in education or training, a figure that is much higher than elsewhere, probably as a result of extensive apprenticeship systems. The lowest proportion remaining in education or training is for Hungary, which can be largely accounted for by there being no one under age 20 in the sample, unlike the remaining countries (see table 36). In the remaining four countries, which differ quite dramatically in many respects, about 15 per cent are in education and training. The remainder of young men are in employment and there is considerable variation in these proportions, ranging from just over 50 per cent in Georgia to nearly 80 per cent for Hungary. Employment rates are below 60 per cent for Bulgaria and Georgia, particularly as a result of unduly high unemployment rates, and for Germany, especially because of high proportions still in education or training.

Table 37A
Economic activity of men (percentage)

	France	Germany	Bulgaria	Georgia	Russian Federation	Hungary
Employed	68.8	58.6	59.1	51.6	73.4	78.7
Unemployed	11.9	11.8	25.4	30.7	10.3	8.0
Education/training	16.4	28.2	13.6	16.2	14.5	10.2
NEET	3.0	1.4	1.9	1.5	1.8	3.1

Note: NEET is not in employment, education or training.

Table 37B
Economic activity of women (percentage)

	France	Germany	Bulgaria	Georgia	Russian Federation	Hungary
Employed	56.2	45.6	48.1	23.6	54.2	55.2
Unemployed	10.3	9.0	23.5	24.4	8.1	6.4
Education/training	21.3	19.6	14.7	15.6	12.9	10.4
NEET	6.8	14.0	3.8	35.6	12.7	5.8
Maternity Leave	5.4	11.8	9.9	0.8	12.1	22.1

Note: NEET is not in employment, education or training.

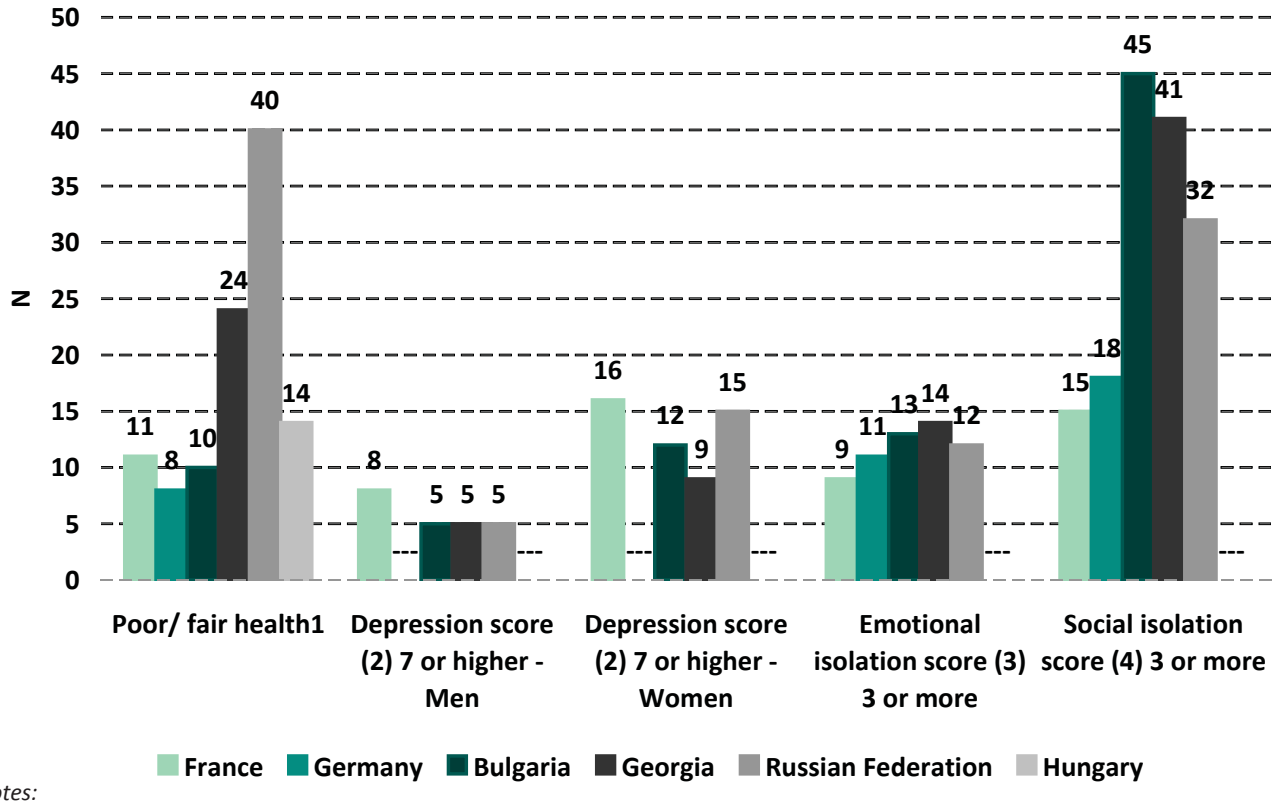
The economic activity status of young women shows very different patterns, especially reflecting societal responses to marriage and child-rearing. This is illustrated by the much higher proportions reporting either as being on maternity leave or classified as NEET: over one third of young women in Georgia fall into these groups, about one quarter in Germany, Hungary and the Russian Federation, and about one sixth in Bulgaria and France. Once again, the groupings do not correspond to East/West distinctions. The division between being on maternity leave or not varies radically: in Hungary roughly four times as many report being on maternity leave as are classified as NEET (or homemakers), and about three times as many in Bulgaria. At the other extreme, hardly any women in Georgia report being on maternity leave, and the proportions are roughly equal for France, Germany and the Russian Federation. The proportions of young women in education or training are generally fairly similar to those of young men in the same country, with two exceptions: in France the proportion of women in education or training is five percentage points higher than for men, while in Germany the proportion for young women is nine percentage points lower than for men, although still higher than in the four countries other than France.

Particularly as a result of the significant levels of leave and NEET for women, much lower proportions are in the labour force (combining the employed and unemployed). For men, over 80 per cent are in the labour force everywhere except Germany (70 per cent), whereas for women these proportions are much lower: highest in Bulgaria (71 per cent), then France (66 per cent), the Russian Federation and Hungary (62 per cent), Germany (55 per cent), and Georgia being the lowest (48 per cent). Unemployment rates among those in the labour force (with many self-selection opportunities for education, training or NEET) are generally quite similar for men and women, with the sole exception of Georgia, where the rate for men is 37 per cent and the rate for women is 51 per cent.

3.3 Health and well-being

Respondents were asked a series of questions concerning their health and well-being. We begin with self-reports on general health, which we would expect to be good for young adults. Indeed, very low proportions reported their general health as being bad or very bad (fewer than 4 per cent); however, once we also include those who report their general health as being fair in addition to the bad categories, we obtain the results shown in figure XIV. About 10 per cent of young adults report bad or fair health in Bulgaria, France and Germany, with 14 per cent doing so in Hungary; however, nearly one quarter of young adults in Georgia and a full 40 per cent in the Russian Federation report having bad or fair general health. Moreover, these reports were substantially more prevalent among women than among men in Georgia (29 per cent vs. 19 per cent) and in the Russian Federation (45 per cent vs. 32 per cent), but hardly differed by gender elsewhere.

Figure XIV:
Health indicators for young adults (percentage)



Notes:

1. *Based on question on 'how is your health in general' with categories: 1=very good, 2=good, 3=fair, 4=bad, 5=very bad. Proportions in groups 3, 4 and 5 shown.*
2. *Each of seven items concerning frequency of experience during the previous week scored as seldom=0, sometimes=1, often=2 and most or all of the time=3 and summed; the items are: could not shake off the blues, depressed, life failure, fearful, lonely, crying spells, sad.*
3. *Each of three items (general sense of emptiness, miss having people around, and often feel rejected) scored as 0= no, more or less =1, and yes=2 and summed.*
4. *4. Each of three3 items (plenty of people to lean on in case of trouble, many people to count on completely, and enough people feel close to) scored as 0=yes, more or less=1, and no=2 and summed.*

Turning to mental health, respondents were asked a battery of seven questions concerning their intensity of experience during the past week of several conditions indicative of depression: could not shake off the blues, depressed, regarding life as a failure, being fearful, being lonely, having crying spells, and feeling sad. Four categories were identified: seldom, sometimes, often and most or all of the time. These were scored as 0, 1, 2, and 3, respectively. The scores were summed across all seven items to calculate a depression score. Figure XIV shows the proportions having a score of seven or more (corresponding to an average score of one or more) for the four countries where this measure is available. Since the prevalence of depression is higher for women than for men, these results are disaggregated by gender. By this measure, about 5 per cent of young men in Bulgaria, Georgia, and the Russian Federation are depressed, as compared with 8 per cent for young Frenchmen. For young women, the lowest proportion was in Georgia (9 per cent), followed by Bulgaria (12 per cent) and the Russian Federation (15 per cent) and France (16 per cent). In France and Georgia, young women are about twice as likely to be depressed as young men; this contrasts with a threefold difference in prevalence by gender for the Russian Federation.

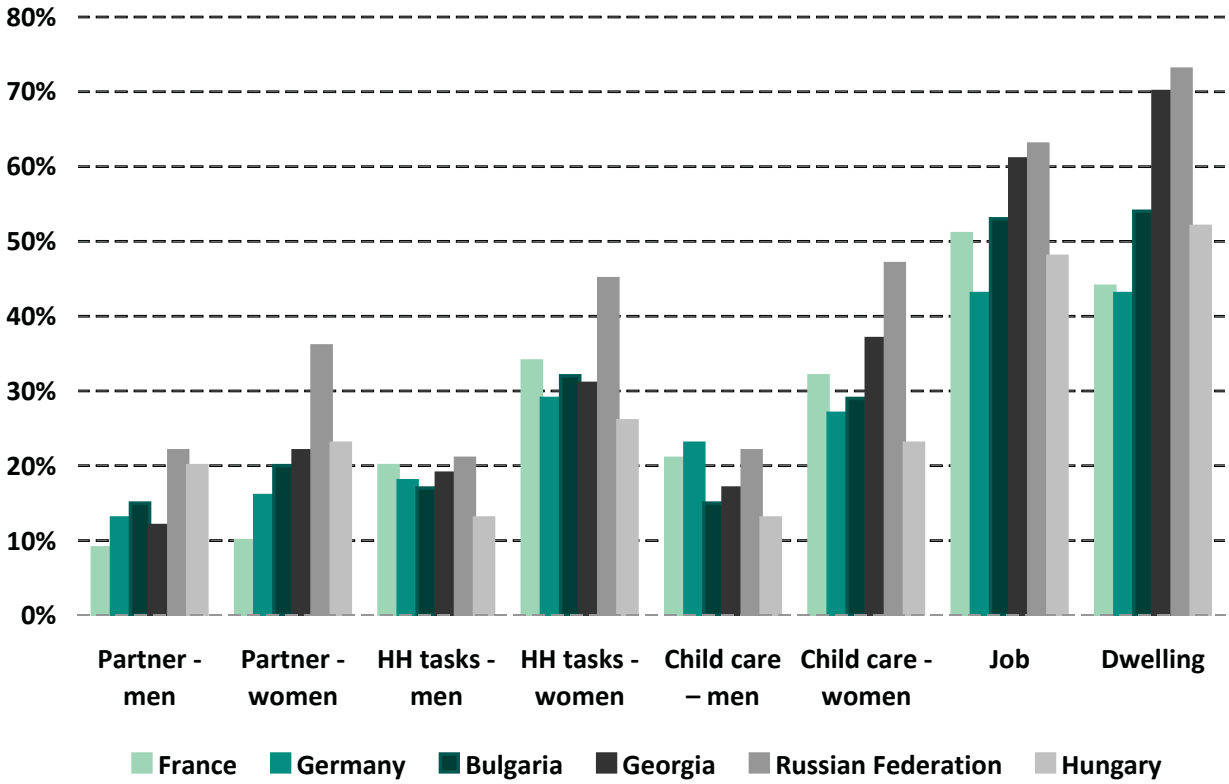
Two further indicators of well-being are presented in Figure XIV: emotional isolation and social isolation. These indicators derive from six-item scale "loneliness" scale developed by De Jong Gierveld (2006) for the study of loneliness among the elderly, which can be divided into two measures of emotional and social loneliness. Since the two measures differ significantly in their variation across the countries examined here, we treat them separately. The indicator of emotional loneliness derives from summing responses about feelings of a general sense of emptiness, of missing having people

around, and of frequent rejection, with the response categories of no, more or less, and yes scored as 0, 1, and 2, respectively. A score of 3 or more is taken as an indicator of emotional loneliness or isolation. The differences across the five countries for which this measure is available are not that large, ranging from 9 per cent in France to 14 per cent in Georgia; moreover, only Bulgaria (10 per cent for men and 15 per cent for women) and the Russian Federation (9 per cent for men and 14 per cent for women) show significant gender differences.

When we turn to the indicator of social isolation, we see much greater differentiation across countries. The three items used for this indicator cover social support, including having plenty of people to lean on in case of trouble, many people to count on completely, and feeling close to enough people, with the response categories of yes, more or less and no scored as 0, 1, and 2, respectively. Again, a score of 3 or more is used as the indicator of social loneliness or isolation, or perhaps of having low support networks. In France and Germany, fewer than 20 per cent of young adults are socially isolated by this indicator; but one third of young adults are socially isolated in the Russian Federation and over 40 per cent in Bulgaria and Georgia. As we shall see in a subsequent section, Bulgaria and especially Georgia have very high proportions of young adults living with either their own or their partner's parents, but this extended family living arrangement seems to be associated with high social isolation.

Respondents in the GGS were asked about their levels of satisfaction with several elements of their lives, with reports being on a scale from 0 to10 where zero corresponds to complete dissatisfaction and 10 to complete satisfaction. These measures are often referred to as being indicative of subjective well-being or, more loosely, of happiness. Reports were restricted to those having a partner for dissatisfaction with the partner and with the household division of tasks, those who had a child in the household for dissatisfaction with childcare arrangements, and those who were employed for job dissatisfaction. Figure XV presents the results and shows some striking differentials in levels of happiness between countries, between different aspects of life satisfaction and by gender.

Figure XV:
Proportions dissatisfied with circumstances (percentage)



Note: Low satisfaction as indicated by percentage reporting 0–7 on a 0–10 scale, with 0 corresponding to complete dissatisfaction and 10 to complete satisfaction.

Respondents were least dissatisfied with their partners who they had chosen, compared with all other circumstances in every country. Women were generally less satisfied with their partners than were men, with the difference by gender being quite small in France but a full 10 percentage points in Georgia and 14 percentage points in the Russian Federation, such that over one third of partnered Russian women under age 35 were dissatisfied with their partners.

These gender differences become even more apparent once we examine levels of dissatisfaction with the division of household tasks and of childcare. In broad terms, about a fifth of men are dissatisfied with the household division of domestic tasks (the proportion is lower for Hungary), whereas about one third of women are dissatisfied in this regard (the proportion is much higher in the Russian Federation, at 45per cent). The minimum gender gap is 11 percentage points (for Germany), and women are twice as dissatisfied as men in both Hungary (with the lowest levels of dissatisfaction) and in the Russian Federation (with the highest levels of dissatisfaction). Levels of dissatisfaction with childcare arrangements show very similar patterns, although the gender gap for Germany is only four percentage points. Women were over twice as likely to be dissatisfied with childcare arrangements as men in Georgia and the Russian Federation. We shall subsequently show that there is significant inequality in the division of both household tasks and childcare by gender; the results shown here indicate that women not only do more of these tasks and of the childcare, but also feel unhappy about the situation.

Levels of dissatisfaction with current job and with current dwelling are extremely high in all six countries: with the exceptions of Germany for job satisfaction and France and Germany for dwelling satisfaction, over half of respondents express fairly high levels of dissatisfaction with their jobs and their housing. Nearly two-thirds are dissatisfied with their jobs in Georgia and the Russian Federation, and nearly three quarters are dissatisfied with their dwellings in these same two countries. Dwelling dissatisfaction levels are fairly similar for each of four subgroups formed by distinguishing combinations of whether or not a child is present and whether or not the respondents are living with either their or their partners' parent(s). The only clear differential within countries on this classification is for France and for Germany, where those who are living independently from their parents but are childless are generally less dissatisfied with their dwellings than others.

4 - DEMOGRAPHY AND FAMILY

4.1 Demographic events

Figures XVI A and XVI B show the proportions of young adults who have become parents for each five-year age group. Parenthood among teenage members of the samples is rare, with fewer than 4 per cent being fathers everywhere and from 4 to 11 per cent having become mothers. Entry to fatherhood is fairly delayed in France, Germany and Hungary with about one quarter being fathers when aged 25–29. In contrast, one third of men are fathers at ages 25–29 in Bulgaria, 40 per cent in Georgia and already half of men are fathers by this age in the Russian Federation. By ages 30–34, we see that fatherhood is quite delayed in Germany, with less than half having become fathers. About 60 per cent are fathers when aged 30–34 in Bulgaria, France, Georgia and Hungary, showing some convergence; but nearly 80 per cent are fathers by this age in the Russian Federation.

Entry into motherhood typically occurs earlier than into fatherhood. Motherhood is most delayed in France: by ages 25–29 just under 40 per cent are mothers, whereas 40 per cent are already mothers by ages 20-24 in the Russian Federation, compared with only 14 per cent in France. Differences between countries in the proportions who are mothers vary most for the age groups 20–24 and 25–29, e.g. at ages 25–29 the proportions who have become mothers are about 40 per cent for France, about 50 per cent for Germany and Hungary, about two thirds for Bulgaria and Georgia, and three quarters for the Russian Federation. By age 30–34 about one quarter of women in France, Germany and Hungary have not had a first birth. In Georgia, a fifth of women had not become mothers by ages 30–34, in Bulgaria this proportion was about one sixth, and in the Russian Federation less than one tenth had not become mothers.

Figure XVI A
Proportions who are parents (percentage) - Men

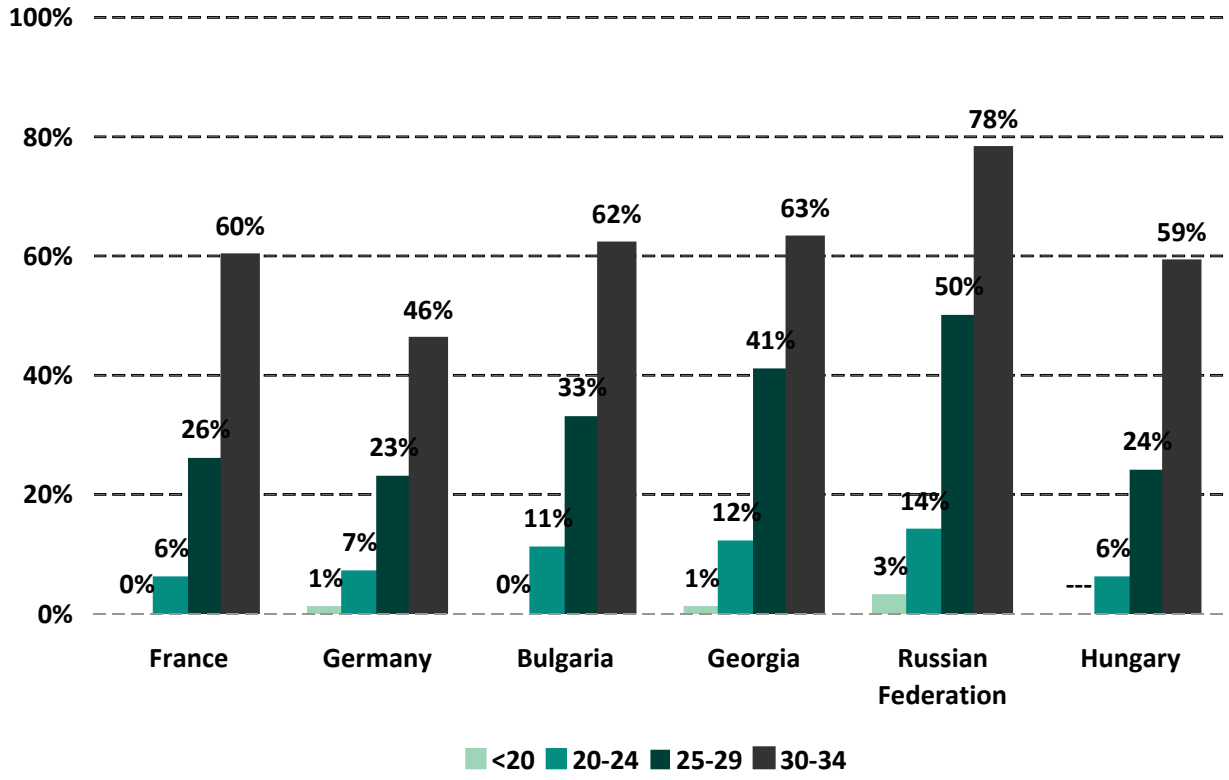
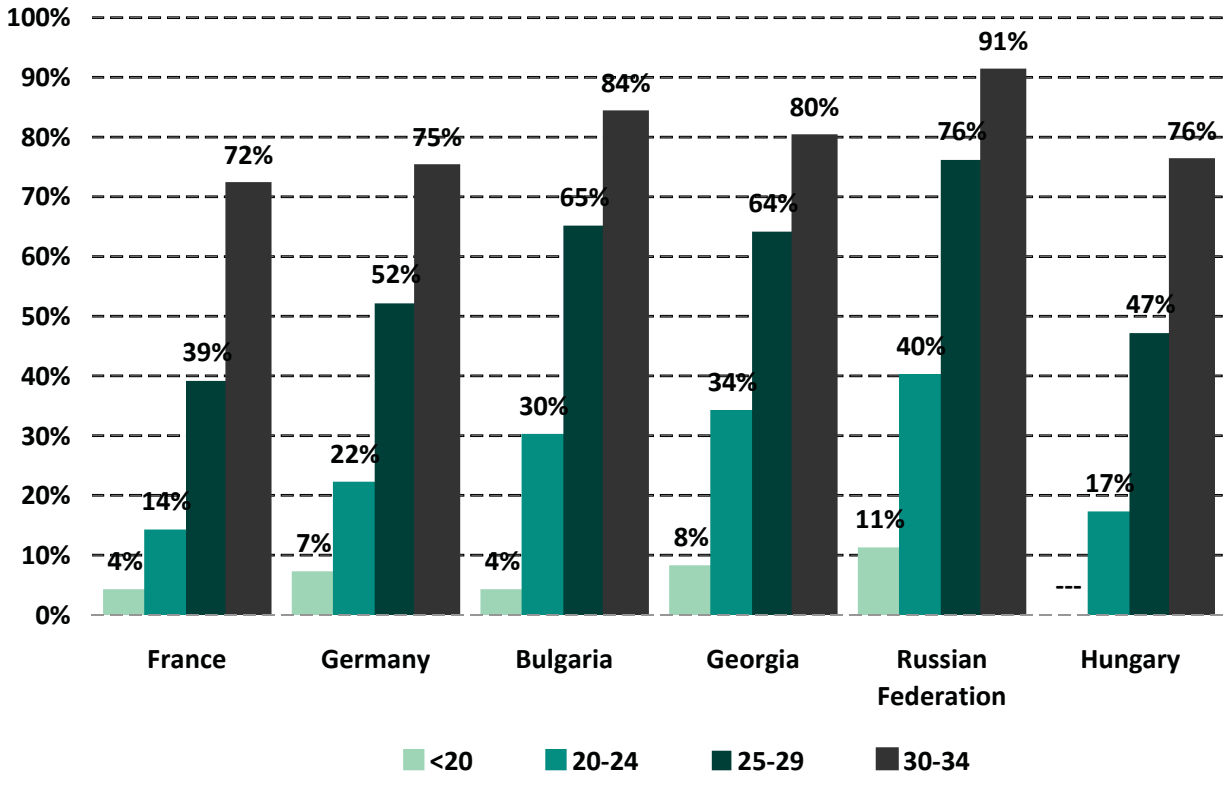


Figure XVI B
Proportions who are parents (percentage) - Women



Tables 38A and 38B show the estimated median ages (i.e. ages at which half of the sample had experienced the event) at several demographic events, derived from life-table calculations. The earliest event in the life course considered here is the timing of first leaving the parental home. The median age at leaving home for women ranges from just under age 20 for the Russian Federation to just over age 21 for France. This for men is typically somewhat higher (typically ages 21–23) and strikingly so for Georgia (26 years), where subsequent analysis will show that men often remain living with their parents after marriage and entry into fatherhood.

Table 38A
Median ages at demographic events - men

	France	Germany	Bulgaria	Georgia	Russian Federation	Hungary
First left home	22.8	21.4	23.2	26.2	21.0	---
First partnership	27.0	27.6	27.6	27.8	23.2	27.6
First marriage	>35	>35	>35	34.2	25.5	33.2
First birth	30.8	>35	30.1	29.5	26.5	31.5

Table 38B
Median ages at demographic events - women

	France	Germany	Bulgaria	Georgia	Russian Federation	Hungary
First left home	21.2	20.3	20.3	20.9	19.6	----
First partnership	24.2	23.8	22.2	22.3	20.6	23.5
First marriage	32.1	28.6	25.2	28.2	22.6	27.3
First birth	28.1	27.8	23.8	23.7	22.6	27.2

With the exception of the Russian Federation, men in the other countries enter their first partnership at very similar median ages, around age 27–28. Half of men in The Russian Federation have partnered by age 23, a full four years earlier. Women enter their first partnership at younger ages, the median age being around age 20–21 in the Russian Federation, 22 in Bulgaria and Georgia, and 23–24 in France, Germany and Hungary. Entry into first marriage is delayed further, with the earliest instance being the Russian Federation, with half of all women first married before age 23 and half of all men around age 25. Women also marry fairly early in Bulgaria, with a median age of 25 years. In France, Georgia and Hungary, it is not until their late twenties that half of all women have married, and this is delayed until the early thirties in France. For men, except in the Russian Federation, marriage is delayed until the mid- to late thirties. Thus we see clear evidence of entry into first partnership increasingly being separated from entry into first marriage, often by several years.

The final event covered by tables 38A and 38B concerns becoming a parent: perhaps the most noteworthy fact is that half of all women become mothers before half enter marriage in all six countries. Half of women have entered motherhood by about age 23 or 24 in Bulgaria, Georgia and the Russian Federation, whereas this milestone is delayed until around age 27–28 for France, Germany and Hungary. Once again, the Russian Federation stands out as having early entry into fatherhood, with half of men achieving this before age 23. In Bulgaria, France, Georgia and Hungary about half of men have become fathers by around age 30 or 31; fewer than half of German men have become fathers by age 35 (the maximum age considered in this analysis).

Thus we see that both men and women in the Russian Federation make major demographic transitions earlier than in the other countries considered here. Leaving home occurs fairly early for both men and women, although it is delayed for men in Bulgaria

and especially in Georgia. Entry into first partnership occurs at fairly similar ages both for men and for women, as does entry into first marriage for men in all but the Russian Federation. The timing of first birth for men is fairly similar in all but the Russian Federation (earlier) and Germany (later). There is greater variation across countries in the timing of entry into first marriage and into motherhood for women.

4.2 Living arrangements

Early adulthood typically sees the transition from living with one or both parents to more independent living. We have already looked at the evidence regarding the timing of first leaving home, but we will now examine what arrangements are in place for the young adult respondents. We know that living arrangements typically change with age, but for the analyses presented in this section we shall simply divide respondents by gender into those who are parents and those who are not by the time of the survey. This reflects an underlying proposition that becoming a parent is one of the most key transitions that young adults make, and permits exploration of the extent to which the nuclear family is a strong normative concern in the societies considered.

Table 39
Proportions living in a complex household (percentage)

	No child		With child(ren)		All	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
France	1.8	0.9	0.6	1.0	1.5	0.9
Germany	4.1	3.5	1.9	1.7	3.7	2.7
Bulgaria	5.6	6.4	31.5	30.8	13.8	20.3
Georgia	7.6	9.4	65.8	64.4	26.4	39.2
Russian Federation	4.6	6.7	17.6	24.6	9.8	18.0
Hungary	6.1	9.1	11.5	13.6	7.7	11.3

Note: Complex households are either three generations or comprise respondent and partner living with parent(s).

Table 39 shows the prevalence of living in complex households, here defined as those containing three generations (the respondent, one or more children and a parent of the respondent or possibly of their partner, if they have one) or comprising the respondent and a partner living with one or more of their parents. Fewer than 10 per cent of men or women without children live in such complex households (which are by definition not three-generation households) in any of the six countries. However, among young adult respondents who are parents, there is enormous variation in the propensity to live in complex, three-generation households: almost none do in France or Germany, whereas two thirds do in Georgia. In between these extremes, just under one third of young parents live in three generation households in Bulgaria, and just over 10 per cent in Hungary. There are noticeable differences by gender for the Russian Federation, with one quarter of mothers and only 18 per cent of fathers living in complex households. These striking differences for parents among countries undoubtedly reflect a combination of substantial constraints in housing markets and possibly a less entrenched nuclear family norm, other than in France and Germany.

Tables 40A for men and 40B for women provide some more detail concerning living and partnership circumstances among the young adults who are not parents. Low proportions (about 20 to 30 per cent) of young men and young women who are childless still live with their parents in France and in Germany, yet we have seen that childbearing is quite delayed in both countries, indicating a prolonged period of independent living before becoming a parent. During this period, a variety of living arrangements and sexual partnership circumstances occur: about half of men and 60 per cent of women are in a sexual partnership, although only about 20 per cent of men and 30 per cent of women are in co-residential partnerships; almost one third of both men and women are in a non-cohabiting but long-term sexual partnership (i.e. living apart together). In the Russian Federation, where both men and women spend less time living independently without children because of earlier entry into parenthood, the proportions of young adults still living with their parents are higher

than for France or Germany, but the partnership patterns are quite similar. At the other extreme, the great majority (over three quarters) of childless young men and women in Bulgaria and Georgia live with their own parents. In both countries, very few are married or cohabiting, reflecting a rapid transition to parenthood once such partnerships are established; in Georgia sexual partnerships that are not co-residential are very rare, but Bulgarian men and women have a moderately high prevalence of living apart together relationships. Young adult childless Hungarian men (69 per cent) and women (59 per cent) are quite likely to be living with their own parents, but are as likely to be cohabiting or married as their French or German counterparts, with intermediate levels of living apart together akin to those in Bulgaria.

Table 40A
Living arrangements among childless young men (percentage)

	N	Live with own parents	Partnership status				
			Never	Out	LAT	Cohabiting	Married
France	**779**	27.9	38.4	12.6	26.7	15.1	7.2
Germany	**906**	22.7	44.9	6.0	29.7	13.8	5.6
Bulgaria	**1,429**	81.6	69.7	2.4	16.4	7.1	4.4
Georgia	**1,000**	91.3	86.4	0.9	3.6	5.3	3.8
Russian Federation	**843**	42.6	38.4	7.0	33.3	11.4	9.9
Hungary	**1,362**	69.2	55.8	6.8	15.9	13.4	8.1

Table 40B
Living arrangements among childless young women (percentage)

	N	Live with own parents	Partnership status				
			Never	Out	LAT	Cohabiting	Married
France	**974**	26.8	30.2	9.1	29.6	21.0	10.1
Germany	**719**	18.8	38.1	4.3	24.4	21.9	11.4
Bulgaria	**1,177**	75.9	60.2	1.3	22.6	8.2	7.8
Georgia	**735**	84.9	86.1	1.5	0.4	6.5	5.4
Russian Federation	**670**	51.0	33.5	4.7	33.8	16.0	12.1
Hungary	**1,041**	59.1	41.0	6.0	17.4	22.7	13.0

Notes: Out is not currently in a partnership, but previously in a cohabitation or marriage. LAT is"living apart together" which is an ongoing sexual partnership that is not coresidential.

We now turn to an examination of two key aspects of living arrangements for those young adults who were parents at the time of the survey (tables 41A and 41B): lone parenthood and living in complex households. Lone fatherhood is rare (and higher than expected for Germany), but there are many more lone mothers. Fewer than 10 per cent of mothers are lone mothers in Georgia and Bulgaria and about 12 per cent in Hungary; however, over 20 per cent of mothers are not co-resident with a partner in France, Germany and the Russian Federation.

Extremely low proportions of young adult fathers and mothers live with their own or their partners' parent(s) in France and Germany. For the remaining countries, there are significant proportions of young adult fathers and mothers who live with their own or their partners' parents. There are consistent apparent anomalies in these reports by gender. Both men and women are more likely to report living with their own parents, compared with the proportions of women and men who report living with their partner's parents. In Bulgaria, for example, 28.0 per cent of young fathers report living with their own

Table 41A
Living arrangements for male respondents with children (percentage)

	N	Lone Parents	Live with parents		
			Own	Partner's	Either
France	**313**	2.2	0.3	0.3	0.6
Germany	**211**	6.6	1.9	0.0	1.9
Bulgaria	**664**	3.6	28.0	3.5	31.5
Georgia	**479**	1.9	61.8	4.2	66.0
Russian Federation	**557**	1.4	11.5	6.1	17.6
Hungary	**565**	1.8	5.8	5.7	11.5

Table 41B
Living arrangements for female respondents with children (percentage)

	N	Lone Parents	Live with parents		
			Own	Partner's	Either
France	**619**	20.8	0.8	0.2	1.0
Germany	**630**	21.3	1.6	0.2	1.8
Bulgaria	**1,559**	9.9	14.2	16.7	30.9
Georgia	**873**	7.4	15.5	49.1	64.6
Russian Federation	**1,148**	22.4	17.7	6.9	24.6
Hungary	**1,001**	12.4	10.3	3.3	13.6

Notes: Lone parents include those without a partner who are living with parents.

parents, while only 16.7 per cent of women report living with their partner's parents – a difference of 11.3 percentage points. It is also the case that 14.2 per cent of young Bulgarian mothers report living with their own parents, but only 3.5 per cent of young fathers report living with their partner's parents – a difference of 10.7 percentage points. A similar pattern of fairly symmetric differences of this kind is found for all the other countries with the exception of the Russian Federation, where the excess of women living with their own parents compared with men living with their partner's parents (11.6 percentage points) is much higher than the converse difference (4.6 percentage points). This may reflect a combination of fairly high rates of lone motherhood combined with a moderately high propensity to live with parents in the Russian Federation (a similar but weaker pattern can be seen for Hungary, where both levels of lone motherhood and living with parents are lower). The consistent biases towards reporting living with own parents for both mothers and fathers may simply be a reporting error arising from complexities of the household grid.

We can see that Georgia is a strongly patrilocal society, with half or more of all young mothers and young fathers living with the father's parents. Almost one third of Bulgarian young fathers and mothers live with either their own or their partners' parents and there is some evidence of a preference for co-residence with the father's parents, although this conclusion would be stronger without the complications arising from the reporting biases discussed above.

5 - FAMILY DISRUPTION ACROSS THE GENERATIONS

To illustrate the importance of cross-generational ties for the young adults considered here, we shall examine differences between those who experienced some family disruption before age 16 and those who did not – the distinction is made according to whether the respondent lived with both biological parents

throughout childhood (up to age 15), although the measure available for Hungary concerns whether there was ever family disruption (not just up to age 16). Table 42 shows the proportions of young adults who experienced family disruption: fewer than 10 per cent in Bulgaria and Georgia, about 15 per cent in France, Germany and Hungary, and 22 per cent in the Russian Federation.

In this section, we shall examine differences between those who experienced family disruption and those who did not for a range of outcomes: self-reported general health, depression indicators, incidence of poverty and partnership behaviours.

Respondents who experienced family disruption report higher levels of poor or fair general health, as shown in Figure XVII, although only marginally so in Georgia and Hungary. The differences exceed five percentage points for France, Germany and the Russian Federation; put another way, the incidence of poor or fair health among those who experienced family disruption during childhood is about 50 per cent higher than for those who did not in Bulgaria and France, and it is doubled in Germany.

Turning to mental health, figure XVIII shows the average scores on the depression inventory, described in section 3.3 above. These measures are not available for Germany or Hungary, but each of the four remaining countries shows a higher average score for those who experienced family disruption than those who did not: the average depression score is more than 30 per cent higher for the disrupted than the intact in Bulgaria, France and Georgia.

Table 42
Experience of family disruption by age 16 (percentage)

	France	Germany	Bulgaria	Georgia	Russian Federation	Hungary
Disrupted	14.9	16.9	9.9	9.0	22.4	15.1*

*Note: * - (ever)*

Figure XVII
Reports of general health as poor or fair by experience of family disruption (percentage)

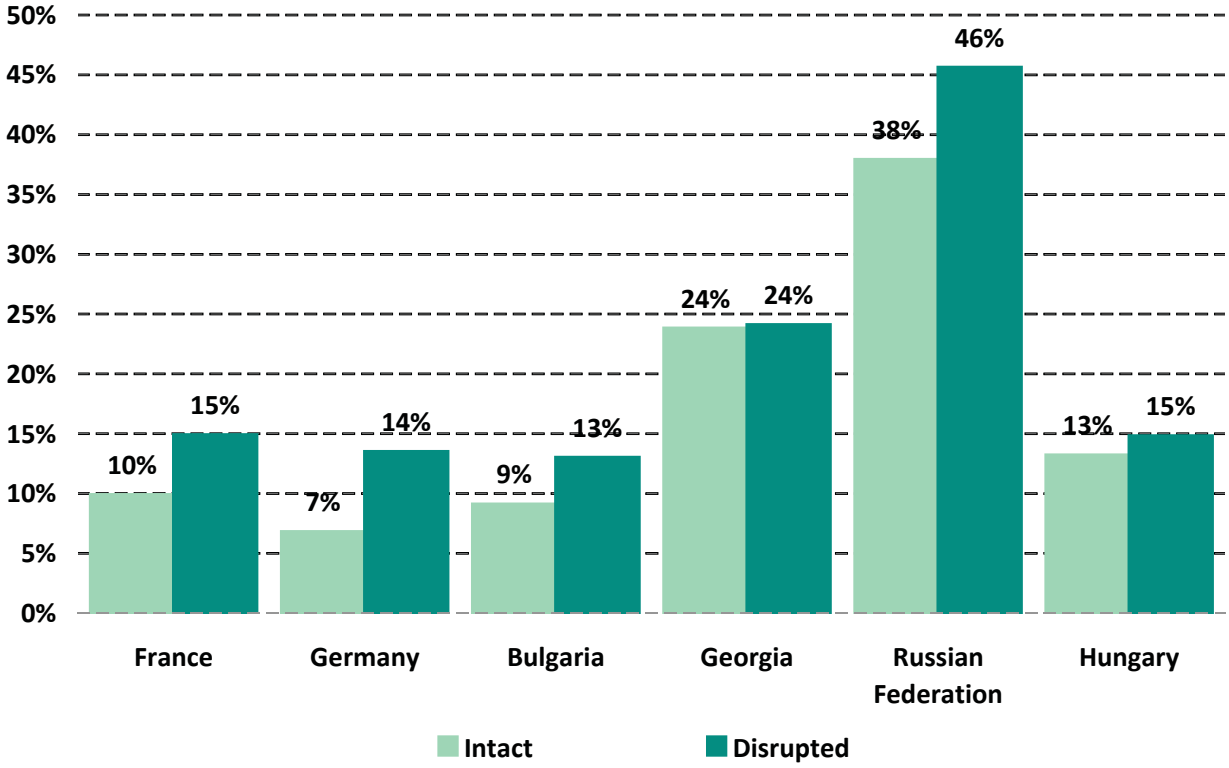


Figure XVIII
Average depression scores by experience of family disruption during childhood

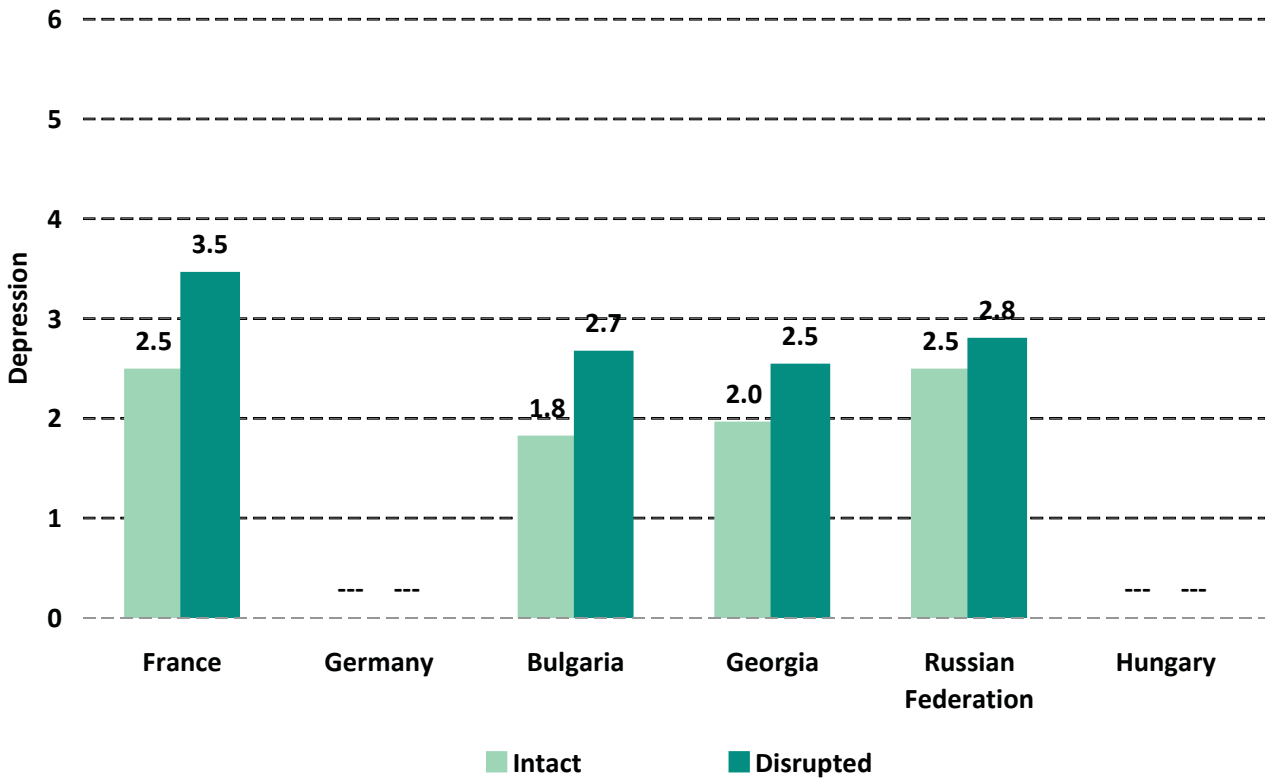
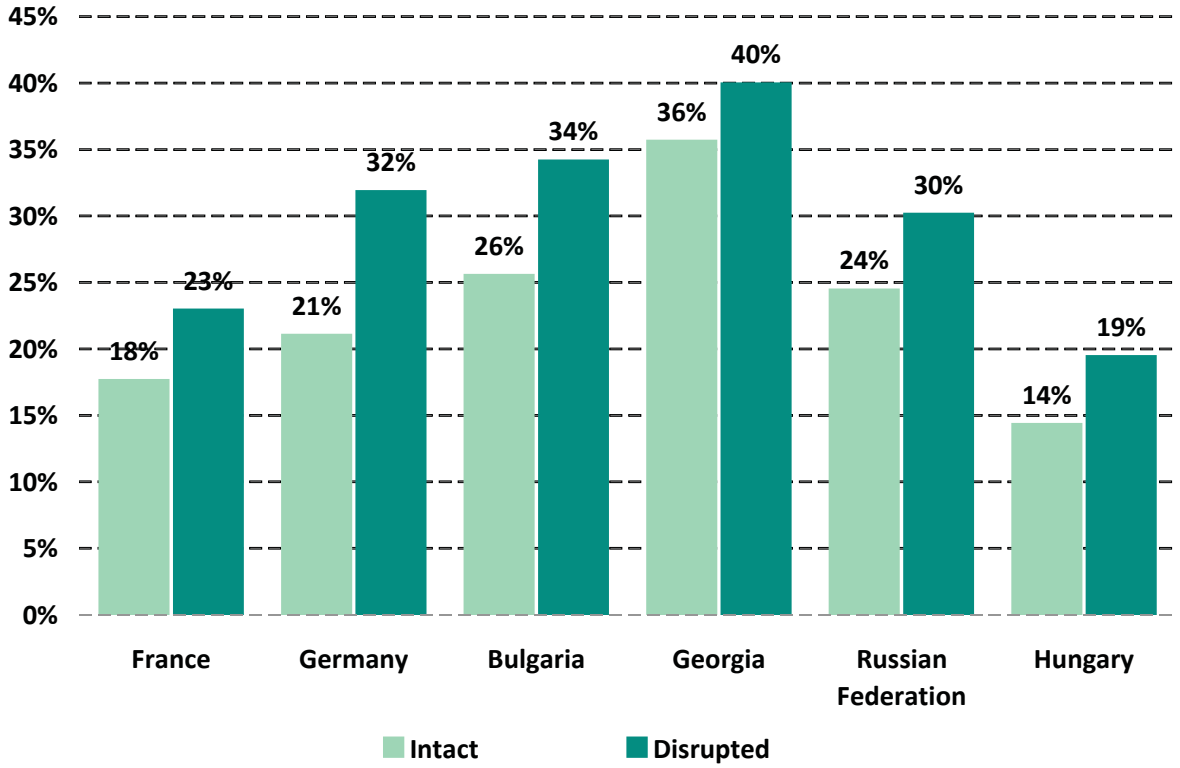


Figure XIX
Household income below 60% of median by experience of family disruption as child (percentage)

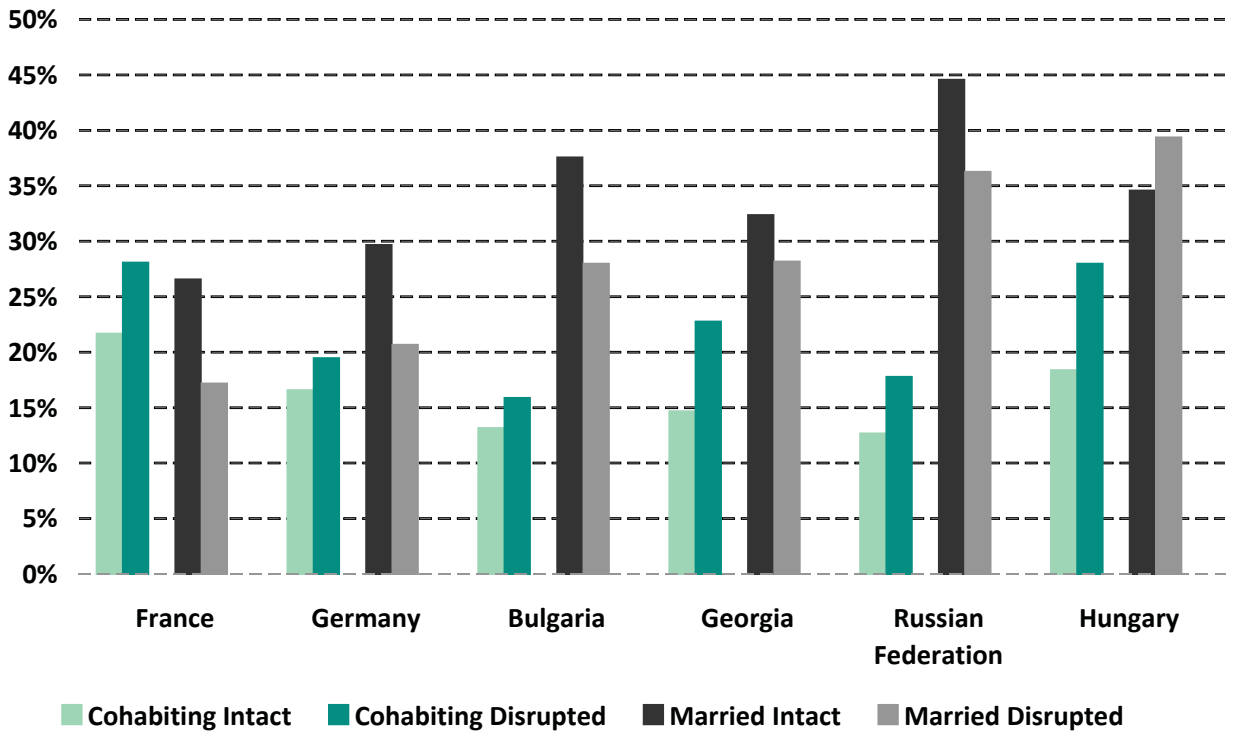


The incidence of poverty, shown in figure XIX, is also higher for young adults who experienced family disruption than for those in intact families throughout childhood: the difference is about five percentage points for France Georgia, Hungary and the Russian Federation. This poverty gap is greater in Bulgaria (nine per cent) and Germany (eleven per cent).

Our final illustration of the differences between the intact and disrupted groups relates to partnership experiences. Figure XX shows the proportions who were cohabiting and who were married. For each country a higher proportion of young adults who experienced family disruption than did not are cohabiting, with the differentials being smallest for Germany and Bulgaria and largest for Georgia and Hungary. In contrast, the proportions that are married are generally lower for the disrupted than the intact group, with the exception of Hungary. The difference is eight to 10 percentage points for Bulgaria, France, Germany and the Russian Federation, but only half that for Georgia. Hungarian young adults who ever experienced family disruption are also more likely to be married that those who did not. However, there is an unusually large difference in the propensity of the two groups to have never partnered, with 31 per cent of the intact group and only 16 per cent of the disrupted group being in this category. (This difference of 15 percentage points compares with a range of plus to minus five percentage points for the same difference in never partnered status for the remaining countries). Although there is not space to show the results and the overall prevalence is small, each country shows an excess proportion of those from disrupted families currently being out of a partnership (having previously been partnered), compared with those from intact families.

Thus, we see that experience of family disruption during childhood is generally associated with a range of less desirable outcomes in adulthood: poorer general and mental health, greater incidence of poverty and less stable partnerships.

Figure XX
Partnership status by experience of family disruption during childhood (percentage)



6 - GENDER EQUITY IN CHILDCARE AND HOUSEHOLD TASKS

In section 2.3 we discussed results from figure XV, which showed that women were much more dissatisfied than men with the division of labour for household tasks and for childcare within the household. In very broad terms, about 20 per cent of men were dissatisfied with the division of household tasks and of childcare, while about 30 per cent of women were.

In this section, we turn to reports by men and women concerning the actual division of labour for childcare and for household tasks. The analyses presented here are restricted to those respondents who had a co-resident partner and further to those with children for the childcare items. For each of six childcare tasks (dressing, putting to bed, staying home when child ill, play or leisure, help with homework, and transport) and six household tasks (preparing daily meals, doing the dishes, food shopping, vacuum-cleaning, paying bills/financial records, and organizing joint social activities) respondents reported that the task was 1) always self; 2) usually self; 3) equally with partner; 4) usually partner; and 5) always partner. For Germany, only three categories (usually respondent [=2], about equally [=3] and usually partner [=4]) were available regarding the childcare tasks and household tasks. The average score for each of the six tasks was then averaged across the six tasks for each of the broad domains. This approach of averaging averages was used because different numbers of respondents were available for different tasks. For example, help with homework does not apply to very young children, whereas help with dressing or seeing the child is properly dressed is less relevant for older children, who do many of the tasks for themselves. A value for this overall average of below 3.0 means the household tasks are done more by the respondent and a value above 3.0 more by the partner. The results are shown in the first panel of table 43.

Table 43
Gender equity in childcare and division of household tasks

	Childcare		Household tasks	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
France	3.49	2.26	3.36	2.42
Germany*	***3.41***	***2.31***	***3.19***	***2.60***
Bulgaria	3.76	2.04	3.52	2.24
Georgia	4.09	1.70	3.52	2.31
Russian Federation	3.61	2.05	3.43	2.24
Hungary	3.57	2.12	3.54	2.18

Notes: For each of six childcare tasks (dressing, putting child to bed, staying home when childis ill, play or leisure, help with homewor, and transport) and six household tasks (preparing daily meals, doing the dishes, food shopping, vacuuming, paying bills/financial records and organizing joint social activities), respondents reported that the task was 1=always self, 2=usually self, 3=equally with partner, 4= usually the partner or 5=always the partner. Those who did not have a co-resident partner or who reported the task was done by others were omitted from the analysis. The average score for each task was then averaged across the six tasks for each of the broad domains. Thus, a value below 3.0 means the household tasks are done more by the respondent and one above 3.0 more by the partner.
* For Germany only three categories (usually respondent [=1], about equally [=2] and usually partner [=4]) were available regarding the childcare tasks and the household tasks.

In order to make simpler comparisons by gender, these results were further manipulated to provide a measure of gender inequity. For men, the index is derived as the score in the previous panel minus 3.0; for women, as 3.0 minus the score. Thus an equitable division of childcare or household tasks would correspond to a gender inequity index of 0.0. For example, for childcare tasks in France, the overall average score for men is 3.49, resulting in a gender equity index of 0.49 (=3.49–3.0), and for women is 2.26, resulting in a gender equity index of 0.75 (=3.0–2.26).

Positive values for the gender equity index show that women do more of the tasks; a negative value would suggest that men do more of the tasks. With

respect to childcare in France, we see that both men and women report more being done by women, but there is some bias in reports by gender, since women report doing more childcare than men report their partners doing – the average gender index ("gender gap") for childcare tasks in France is 0.62 points (=(0.49 + 0.75)/2), while the difference in reports between men and women ("gender discrepancy") is 0.26 (=0.75–0.49) (see table 44).

Both men and women in all six countries report that women undertake more of the childcare tasks on average. The average gender gap is greatest for Georgia, where the gap is 1.19 points (more than one point on the five-point scale) and over three quarters of a point for Bulgaria and the Russian Federation. The lowest gender gap in childcare tasks is for Germany, but this may well result from the limitation to a three-point scale. When we look at the gender discrepancy in reports, these range from 0.21 to 0.35 points, with women consistently reporting greater female responsibility for childcare tasks than men do. A tendency on the part of respondents to exaggerate their own contributions is probably the case for both men and women.

Women also undertake more of the six household tasks included here than men, although the gender gap is lower for every country than was the case for childcare tasks – although only just so for Hungary. The gender gaps on household tasks are typically from half to two thirds of a point (lower in Germany with the truncated scale). Gender discrepancies in reports are very similar for both childcare and household tasks. The largest gender discrepancies being for the Russian Federation, where women were most dissatisfied with the division of childcare and household tasks, is intriguing. However, women in Georgia were next most dissatisfied with the division of these tasks, but Georgia shows the lowest gender discrepancies in reports of who did the tasks.

Table 44
Indexes of gender inequity

	Childcare		Gender gap	Gender discrepancy
	Men	Women	Average	Difference
France	0.49	0.75	0.62	0.26
Germany*	***0.41***	***0.69***	***0.55***	***0.28***
Bulgaria	0.76	0.96	0.86	0.21
Georgia	1.09	1.30	1.19	0.21
Russian Federation	0.61	0.95	0.78	0.35
Hungary	0.57	0.88	0.72	0.31

	Household tasks		Gender gap	Gender discrepancy
	Men	Women	Average	Difference
France	0.36	0.58	0.47	0.23
Germany*	***0.19***	***0.41***	***0.30***	***0.22***
Bulgaria	0.52	0.76	0.64	0.24
Georgia	0.52	0.69	0.61	0.18
Russian Federation	0.43	0.76	0.59	0.33
Hungary	0.54	0.82	0.68	0.28

Notes: For men, the index is derived as the score in the previous panel minus 3.0; for women, as 3.0 minus the score. Thus, an equitable division of childcare or household tasks would correspond to a gender inequity index of 0.0. Any positive value shows that women do more of the tasks – clearly the case for all female self-reports and most reports by men; a negative value (only occurring for male self-reports) suggests that men do more of the tasks. The average gender inequity index across both sexes always shows women doing more of the household tasks. The difference in gender inequity indexes between the reports of women and those of men shows the often very different perceptions by gender.
* For Germany only three categories (usually respondent [=1], about equally [=2] and usually partner [=4]) were available regarding the childcare tasks and the household tasks.

More detail concerning specific tasks is provided in table 45. The overall average gender gap is greatest for staying at home when the child is ill and also greater than one point for dressing or supervising dressing of the child. The average gender gap is lowest for play or leisure activities with the child. As for the combined measures of table 43, we see that the gender gap is highest in Georgia for every one of the six childcare tasks, with the gender gap being about 1.5 points (three quarters of the distance between gender equity and all always done by the woman) for dressing, putting to the child bed and staying at home because of illness. Georgian women carry much higher gender gaps than those in the other countries examined for dressing the child, putting the child to bed, play and leisure activity, homework and transport. We note that the average gender discrepancies across all six countries are of the same order of magnitude (0.25–0.32 points) with the exception of play or leisure activity, the most gender-equitable childcare task, where the average gender discrepancy is 0.18.

Table 45
Gender gaps in division of specific childcare and household tasks

A. Childcare tasks

	Dressing	Bed	Illness	Leisure	Homework	Transport
France	0.91	0.43	1.00	0.12	0.63	0.61
*Germany**	*0.69*	*0.41*	*0.72*	*0.33*	*0.56*	*0.59*
Bulgaria	1.11	1.06	1.27	0.44	0.73	0.58
Georgia	1.54	1.58	1.49	0.63	1.01	0.91
Russian Federation	1.03	0.82	1.25	0.36	0.65	0.56
Hungary	0.86	0.72	1.36	0.15	0.69	0.57
Average gender gap	1.02	0.84	1.18	0.34	0.71	0.64
Average gender discrepancy	0.32	0.27	0.32	0.18	0.28	0.25

B. Household tasks

	Meals	Dishes	Food shop	Clean	Bills	Social	Small repairs
France	0.82	0.46	0.48	0.56	0.32	0.19	-1.18
*Germany**	*0.56*	*0.47*	*0.31*	*0.40*	*-0.02*	*0.08*	*-0.66*
Bulgaria	1.23	1.18	0.47	0.94	-0.11	0.14	-1.20
Georgia	1.64	1.62	-0.16	1.60	-0.88	-0.19	-1.39
Russian Federation	1.08	0.87	0.44	0.54	0.59	0.04	-1.08
Hungary	1.25	1.11	0.41	0.94	0.28	0.11	-1.31
Average gender gap	1.10	0.95	0.32	0.83	0.03	0.06	-1.14
Average gender discrepancy	0.23	0.22	0.30	0.23	0.30	0.20	0.23

*Note:** For Germany only three categories (usually respondent [=1], about equally [=2] and usually partner [=4]) were available regarding the childcare tasks and the household tasks.

Turning to the household tasks, shown in panel B of table 45, we include one further task area not included in the overall results presented in table 43, namely who usually does small repairs in and around the house. Both men and women consistently report that men do more small repairs, with the gender gap being consistently negative and large for this domain. Moreover, we see that the average gender discrepancy for this domain of small repairs is of very similar magnitude to those observed for all other domains among household tasks, indicating a similar bias in reports for both men and women regardless of the gendered pattern of the task, making the average measure of the gender gap that we have used a plausible, good estimate of the true behaviour in the population.

The most consistently and strongly gendered domains include the male-dominated small repairs and the female-dominated preparing meals and doing the dishes among household tasks, and dressing and staying at home because of illness among the childcare tasks. Women are also disproportionately responsible for vacuuming the house and most other childcare tasks. The most gender-equitable sharing of household tasks is that of organizing joint social activities, with the gender gap never exceeding 0.2 in either direction but nevertheless showing a small tendency towards greater female roles, except for Georgia where men are slightly more responsible. There is much greater variability in gender roles regarding who pays the bills and keeps financial records. In Georgia, this is done substantially by men, with a gender gap of -0.88. There is approximate gender equity in this task for Germany and Bulgaria although a slight male gender gap. In France, Hungary and especially the Russian Federation the gender gap indicates that women take a greater role in paying bills. The male dominance in financial matters for Georgia also shows up, with a slight male gender gap for food shopping activities, which contrasts with a moderately large female gender gap for food shopping in the remaining countries.

7 - CONCLUSIONS

This paper has illustrated some of the key issues regarding the lives of young adults that can be highlighted from the first wave of the Generation and Gender Surveys. Many of these findings could be contrasted with similar ones for older age groups (possibly 35–54 and 55 and over) to show changing patterns across generations or cohorts or the life course (interpretation as to which being challenging). Such contrasts would help document changing ages at events or shifting patterns of gender equity, for example.

As we have shown, the GGS are rich in information on a wide range of issues; moreover, the value of contrasting comparable results across differing societies has been shown. Partly because of the explicit focus of the GGS on generations and gender we have deliberately explored some of these aspects here. We have illustrated some of the potential for studying links across the generations with our analysis of the legacies of family disruption during childhood for the respondents; there is a further potential to link across educational achievements of parents. As indicated above, there is also much potential for exploring how experiences and circumstances differ across the life course by examining other broad age groups of respondents, although this was beyond the scope of this paper.

Many of our analyses have distinguished results by gender and several have quite explicitly focused on gender differences. Bringing together the men's and women's reports regarding their perceived division of childcare and household tasks and their levels of dissatisfaction about these shows some of the richness to be further explored.

Beyond the enormous potential to broaden and deepen the preliminary comparative analyses presented here, the future holds out the enticing prospect of being able to examine results from the second and third waves of the GGS and to link results to the contextual databases. Through such analyses we shall be able to explore what changes occur for individuals over their life course and make some real progress in understanding how and in what circumstances such changes take place.

REFERENCES

Andersson, G. (2002). Children's Experience of Family Disruption and Family Formation: Evidence from 16 FFS countries. Demographic Research 7 (7), 343-364.

Atkinson, A., Cantillon, B., Marlier, E. and Nolan, B. (2002). Social Indicators: The EU and Social Inclusion, Oxford University Press.

Baxter, J. (1997). Gender Equality and Participation in Housework: A Cross-national Perspective. Comparative Family Studies, 28, 220-248.

Berthoud, R.& Iacovou, M. (2005). Diverse Europe: Mapping Patterns of Social Change across the EU. Swindon, ESRC.

Billari, F.C. (2005). Partnership, Childbearing and Parenting: Trends of the 1990s. In M. Macura, A.L. MacDonald & W. Haug (Eds.) The New Demographic Regime: Population Challenges and Policy Responses. Geneva, United Nations.

Billari, F.C., Philipov, D. & Baizán, P. (2001). Leaving Home in Europe: The Experience of Cohorts born around 1960. International Journal of Population Geography 7(5), 339-356.

Corijn, M. & Klijzing, E. (Eds.) (2001). Transitions to Adulthood in Europe. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Davis, S. N., & Greenstein, T. N. (2004). Cross-national Variations in the Division of Household Labor. Journal of Marriage and Family, 66, 1260-1271.

De Jong Gierveld, J. (2006). A 6-item scale for Overall, Emotional and Social Loneliness: Confirmatory Tests on Survey Data. Research on Aging 28(5), 582-598.

Eurostat (2005). The Continuity of Indicators during the Transition between ECHP and EU-SILC. Luxemburg: European Communities (KS-CC-05-006-EN-N).

Fahey, T. & Spéder, Z. (2004). Fertility and Family Issues in an Enlarged Europe. Report to the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Condition. European Communities.

Förster, M. & d´Ercole, M.M. (2005). Income Distribution and Poverty in OECD Countries in the Second Half of the 1990s. OECD Social, Employment and Migration WP22. Paris, OECD.

Gauthier, A., & Smeeding, T. (2003). Time Use at Older Ages: Cross-national Differences. Research on Aging, 25, 247-274.

Guio, A.-C. (2005). Income Poverty and Social Exclusion in the EU25. Statistics in Focus: Population and Social Conditions 13, Luxemburg: European Communities (KS-NK-05-013-EN-N).

Hank, K. and Jürges, H. (2007). Gender and the Division of Labour in Older Couples: a European Perspective. Journal of Family Issues 28, 399-421.

Hobcraft, J.N. (2002). Moving Beyond Elaborate Description: Towards Understanding Choices about Parenthood. In M. Macura & G. Beets (Eds.) The Dynamics of Fertility and Partnership in Europe: Insights and Lessons from Comparative Research Vol. I, New York and Geneva, United Nations.

Hobcraft, J.N. (2002a). Social Exclusion and the Generations. In J. Hills, J. LeGrand & D. Piachaud (Eds.) Understanding Social Exclusion, Oxford UP, 62-83.

Hobcraft, J.N. (2004). Parental, Childhood and Early Adult Legacies in the Emergence of Adult Social Exclusion: Evidence on what Matters from a British Cohort. In Chase-Lansdale, P.L, Kiernan, K.E. & Friedman, R.J. (Eds.) Human Development Across Lives and Generations: The Potential for Change, Cambridge U.P., 63-92.

Hobcraft, J.N. & Kiernan, K.E. (1995). Becoming a Parent in Europe. In EAPS/ IUSSP, European Population Conference Proceedings, Milan. FrancoAngeli. Milan.

Hobcraft, J.N. & Kiernan, K.E. (2001). Childhood Poverty, Early Motherhood and Adult Social Exclusion. British Journal of Sociology 52, 495-517.

Iacovou, M. (2001). Leaving Home in the European Union. ISER working paper 2001-18, University of Essex.

Iacovou, M. (2002). Regional Differences in the Transition to Adulthood. Annals of the American Association of Political and Social Science, 580, 40-69.

Iacovou, M. and Berthoud, R. (2001). Young People's Lives: A Map of Europe. Colchester, University of Essex, Institute for Social and Economic Research.

Kiernan, K. (1992). The Respective Roles of Men and Women in Tomorrow's Europe. Human Resources at the Dawn of the 21st Century, Eurostat, Luxembourg.

Kiernan, K. (1999). Cohabitation in Western Europe, Population Trends, 96, 25-32.

Kiernan, K. (1999a). Childbearing Outside Marriage in Western Europe. Population Trends 98,11-20.

Kiernan, K. (2002). The State of European Unions: An Analysis of FFS Data on Partnership Formation and Dissolution. In M. Macura & G. Beets (Eds.) The Dynamics of Fertility and Partnership in Europe: Insights and Lessons from Comparative Research Vol. I, New York and Geneva, United Nations.

Kiernan, K. (2002a). Demography and Disadvantage: Chicken and Egg? Hills, J., LeGrand, J. & Piachaud, D. (Eds.), Understanding Social Exclusion, Oxford UP, 84-96.

Kiernan, K. (2004). Cohabitation and Divorce Across Nations and Generations. In Chase-Lansdale, P.L., Kiernan, K. & Friedman, R. (Eds.) Human Development Across Lives and Generations: The Potential for Change, New York, Cambridge University Press,139-170.

Kiernan, K. (2004a). Unmarried Cohabitation and Parenthood in Britain and Europe, Journal of Law and Policy 26(1), 33-55.

Spéder, Z. (2007). The Diversity of Family Structure in Europe: A Survey on Partnership, Parenting and Childhood Across Europe Around the Millennium. Demográfia (English edition) 50 (5),105-134.

United Nations (2005). Generations and Gender Programme: Survey Instruments. New York and Geneva: United Nations.

United Nations (2007). Generations and Gender Programme: Concepts and Guidelines. New York and Geneva: United Nations.

Wirtz, C. & Mejer, L. (2002). The European Community Household Panel (ECHP), Journal of Applied Social Science Studies (Schmollers Jahrbuch), vol. 122, 1, 143-54.

CHAPTER 5

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS, FAMILY BONDS AND THE REGIONAL CONTEXT AFFECTING SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF OLDER ADULTS IN EUROPE

Jenny de Jong Gierveld

deanm1974@Fotolia

1 - INTRODUCTION - RELEVANCE OF SOCIAL BONDS

Through the ages, some people grew very old. Nowadays we are confronted with a new phenomenon: not just one or two people of a generation, but unprecedented numbers of people are reaching advanced ages. It is the increase in absolute numbers of people aged 60 and over and the increase in the proportion of older people that is known as "population ageing". Rapid population ageing is a result of (a) lower fertility levels, (b) increasing life expectancy due to a decline in infant, child and late-life mortality, and (c) the baby-boom cohorts entering old age.

In principle, each woman would need to have 2.1 children to replace the older generation by a younger generation of the same size. However, there are many countries with fertility below the replacement level of 2.1. Examples are Greece, Italy and Spain, with an enduring low fertility rate (a TFR of around 1.3). The Eastern European countries are now champions of low fertility, with a TFR of 1.2 in countries such as Poland, Slovenia and Ukraine. Decreasing mortality rates at younger and older ages is the second determinant of population ageing. Improvements in medical knowledge and the availability of medical care for larger segments of the population, together with economic growth and the related improvements in hygiene, have mitigated the effects of infectious diseases and decreased infant, child and maternal mortality. As such, population ageing must be considered as a positive achievement and has to be welcomed.

It is generally believed that population ageing affects many spheres of life, such as intergenerational exchange of emotional and instrumental support, labour supply, the pension system, the health care system, and other types of collective facilities. Policy attention is predominantly focused on the financial-economic consequences of ageing. The financing of State pensions is being debated in many countries, as is the organization and financing of health care and other public services to be provided for the elderly. Owing to this preoccupation with the financial-economic consequences of ageing, the effects of population ageing on the broader family life, the social network of interpersonal relationships, and the (potential for) informal support for the older adults have been receiving relatively little attention. However, given the changing characteristics of older adults and their preference for continuing life as they used to do, one of the main challenges of the future will be to guarantee the social integration and social well-being of older adults, in addition to financial security and an income above poverty level.

A starting point for addressing social integration can be taken from the classic volume on old age by Rosow (1967) and his statement that "The most significant problems of older adults are intrinsically social. The basic issue is that of their social integration". A special volume of the journal Research on Ageing addressed the question: "To what degree are older adults integrated in society, and what are the extent and the quality of older adults' integration and embeddedness, or are they segregated, isolated and lonely?" (De Jong Gierveld and Hagestad 2006). Social integration is considered to be an outcome of the extent to which individual lives are tied to the lives of others and is to a large extent related to their roles in marriage, parenthood and employment. In employment, people meet colleagues, clients and others; over the years, the small talk and discussions within this circle of relevant others may affect the sense of belongingness in the work setting as well as the social positioning and social integration of older adults in general (Hagestad and Uhlenberg 2006). Marriage may provide people with feelings of intimacy and emotional connectedness. Married people have additional possibilities, through the spouse's and children's activities, to maintain a larger and varied network of social and emotional bonds with kin and non-kin network members as compared to those who live alone (Pinquart and Sörensen 2001). The impact of marriage on social integration is different for men and women. Men tend to rely on their spouses for social and emotional support. Women are socialized to have more complex affective needs, in which an exclusive relationship with a spouse is not enough; involvement in a broader social network is prioritized (Chodorow 1978).

People's roles evolve with increasing age. After retirement, most contacts with former colleagues fade away, and contacts with members of the community might lessen when children leave the parental home. Moreover, it is known that widows report a decline in relationships with acquaintances and friends. Several authors address the process that with increasing age, bonds with non-kin will decrease in importance, while the bonds with

children and close family members might increase in importance (Carstensen 1995). Many of the older adults are then involved in the new role of grandparenting and eventually in support-giving and caring of the spouse, siblings and other family members who are confronted with deteriorating health and the onset of long-term handicaps. Others become involved in civic duties through all kinds of volunteer work and organizations to support the community in its broad functioning. It has been shown that involvement in organizations and volunteer work is helpful in increasing and maintaining social integration (Van Tilburg et al. 1998) and well-being (Brown, Consedine and Magai 2005, Väänänen et al. 2005). However, Scharf and Bartlam (2008) present compelling data on how communities can be the antithesis of places for social integration, with some residents unable to benefit from, or participate in, the resources in their communities because of social exclusion originating from old age, low income, lower levels of education, health problems and long-term disabilities.

This chapter investigates the extent to which older adults in Western and Eastern European countries are socially integrated, or lonely, and the factors that enable or place barriers to social integration of older adults. In doing so, the data of the Generations and Gender Surveys (wave 1) are analysed for some Western, Central and Eastern European countries: Bulgaria, France, Germany, Georgia and the Russian Federation. Two avenues towards social integration of older adults will be central: the integrating features of the broader family, i.e. the composition and functioning of family bonds and the living arrangements, which concern the size and composition of the household in which older women and men are involved.

2 - BACKGROUND

2.1 Familial bonds and social integration

Contacts and exchange of support within the family at large – that is, the family living together in a household, in combination with the family living elsewhere (including non co-resident children) – lies in the heart of social embeddedness and attachment theoretical thinking (Attias-Donfut, Ogg and Wolff 2005). The bonds with spouse and children seem to be based on the continued recognition of family obligations as guidelines for action and part of the glue that keeps families together (Daatland and Herlofson 2003). Family norms are clearly strong all over Europe, albeit that normative familism co-exists with a rising preference for welfare state provisions (Daatland & Herlofson 2003). Family support is broadly regarded as the basic source of care available for people of all age groups, be it via instrumental, emotional or financial support. Older adults with small familial networks are consequently confronted with the risks of insufficient support, especially during periods of long-term illness and handicap.

Additionally, significant variations in family norms between countries can be seen. In some countries, family norms are more traditional, prioritizing daily instrumental supportive relationships between older parents and adult children. The main responsibility rests with the oldest son (and his family) in Japan and with the youngest son in Georgia. In other, especially in Western-oriented, countries, older adults normatively and de facto favour intimate relationships with adult children, but "at a distance"; older family members tend to live independently for as long as possible, and to prioritize non-instrumental, emotional contacts with their children. In the 2000–2003 wave of the Population Policy Acceptance Surveys investigating pension reform schemes, the mean percentage of respondents in favour of the option "require that children support their parents" was only 5 per cent; but support for this option was stronger in Eastern than in Western Europe (11 per cent in Romania, 9 per cent in Estonia, 8 per cent in Poland and only 1 per cent in the Netherlands) (Velladics, Henkens and Van Dalen 2006).

However, in most countries of the world, only a minority of older adults rely on their children and grandchildren for their daily survival. The net flow of intergenerational support is mostly downwards – from old to young – or balanced (Albertini, Kohli and Vogel 2007, Kohli et al. 2000, Künemund and Rein 1999; for Indonesia, see Schröder-Butterfill 2004; for Sub-Saharan Africa, see Oppong 2006). Moreover, adults in need of help are not only at the receiving side: "A person who is physically dependent may still be a great correspondent, a raconteur or great listener. Thus, the care-giving relationship need not always be as one-sided as it

might appear on the surface" (Kahana and Young 1990: 79). In this context, Nolan, Grant and Keady (1996) and Finch (1995) pointed out that carers and care-recipients often negotiate a finely tuned set of reciprocities in the relationship. Research has shown that providing support to siblings and to older parents in combination with support to children who are not co-resident is consistent with the altruism perspective, namely that giving brings rewards, rather than the exchange perspective, which emphasizes the costs involved in giving support. Those who have provided support up, across and down the family lineage tended to be least lonely (De Jong Gierveld and Dykstra 2008). In comparing family relationships in several countries in Europe and Asia, Nauck and Suckow (2006) showed that it is especially the emotional support given and received that explains the perceived quality of relationships and embeddedness; this is shown to be true for countries with strongly varying socio-cultural contexts.

The integrative functioning of the family seems to be at risk as a consequence of the trends towards increasing rates of divorce and remarriage after marital break-up, in combination with the forming of complex new forms of stepfamilies, the increase in one-person households and more marked differences between the lifestyles of subsequent generations within the family. Concomitantly, it is not unlikely that older adults are involved in giving support to multiple generations of family members. As Coontz (2004: 974) has pointed out: "The coexistence in one society of so many alternative ways of doing all of these different things – and – the comparative legitimacy accorded to many of them – has never been seen before". All these changes affect the diversity regarding quantity, type and frequency of interactions as well as support exchanges within the family as well as the satisfaction, social integration and well-being that result from these interactions. Hank (2007) and Lyon and Glucksmann (2008) provide evidence that notwithstanding these developments and connected negative stereotypes regarding the evolution of familial support and care tasks, the quantity of support and care giving via the family by far exceeds the quantity of formal support provided to persons in need of support and care.

However, familial relationships are not only sources of support, but can serve as sources of stress, thus negatively contributing to older adults' well-being, for example for those confronted with a spouse with dementia and the related long-term intense personal care needed on a 24-hour scheme and couples confronted with conflicts and not realized expectations. Feelings of stress, conflict, disappointment, exclusion, isolation and loneliness are among the frequently mentioned outcomes. The impact of these trends varies by country and region, as does the impact on social integration.

2.2 Living arrangements and social integration

Nowadays, a significant proportion of adults aged 50 and over lives in one person households. Women are more frequently living alone than men. There are marked differences in living alone: in Southern Europe the mean proportions of women and men living alone is 26 versus 9, in Eastern Europe it is 31 versus 11, and in Western Europe the figures are 43 versus 15. The Northern European countries are characterized by the highest proportions of 44 versus 21. For the countries, under investigation the data are provided in table 46.

Table 46
The population aged 60 and over living independently in a one-person household with percentages by sex, from selected countries

	Men	Women
Eastern Europe	**11**	**31**
Bulgaria	12	25
Georgia[a]	---	---
Russian Federation	10	31
Western Europe	**15**	**43**
France	15	38
Germany	15	46

Source: United Nations, 2006.
[a]) data not available

When we summarize living alone and living as a couple, the data indicate that more than 50 per cent of adults aged 50 and over in many European countries live in these small residential living arrangements. Again, there are marked geographical differences: Southern and Eastern European countries have lower levels of one and two-person households as compared to countries in Western Europe. However, the trend towards smaller residential units among older adults is clear as is illustrated by Grundy (2000). Counter-tendencies are found for some countries of the former Soviet Union e.g. the Ukraine, where the socio-economic crisis resulted in decreasing income levels for older adults and increasing levels of co-residence of the elderly and their adult children (Bezrukov and Foigt 2002).

What are the main driving forces behind the increase in small residential units? Around age 50–60, many people face the home-leaving of their children. The following empty-nest phase of young old couples is certainly a promising household situation for enjoying freedom and independence, a phase of "chosen" biography (De Jong Gierveld, De Valk and Blommesteijn 2001). The death of the spouse terminates life in couple relationships and requires economic, social and psychological adaptation. In widowhood, a new situation arises with respect to living arrangements (Vikat et al. 2007). Related to this life event, the older person is in principle free to choose either to live alone, move in with one of the children or (in some European countries) to move into an institution, but country and regional variations in attitudes towards family support are important determinants for the de facto outcome of this decision process (Palomba and Moors 1998). More and more widows and widowers decide to continue living independently for as long as possible in a one-person household. This decision-making process is directly related to changes in demographic attitudes, as summarized in the ideas of the second demographic transition (Lesthaeghe 1995, Liefbroer 1999, Van de Kaa 2004). This coincides with Verdon's central axioms that any older adult will want to run his or her everyday life and desires for everyday economic and domestic autonomy (Verdon 1998). This is why today's older adults, while wanting to have a good relationship with their children and grandchildren, also have a strong desire to live independently for as long as they can, also after widowhood or divorce. Frequent visits of children are prioritized above sharing the same household: "Intimacy but at a distance" (Rosenmayr and Köckeis 1963). Research by Hank (2007) has shown that intimate but distant intergenerational relationships still allow for high levels of affinity.

With the support of children and neighbours – on an ad hoc basis or even according to a modest weekly scheme – most of the oldest olds living alone or as a couple-only succeed in continuing to live independently. The risks of loss of independence are higher for childless than for older adults who can rely on children geographically nearby (Koropeckyi-Cox and Call 2007). As Grundy convincingly described it, "The most vulnerable groups include the very old, those with low incomes, those with poor social ties and a history of poor social ties, and those with limited opportunities or capacities to exercise autonomy. All of these sources of vulnerability intersect. Policy initiatives to reduce vulnerability can focus on each part of the dynamic process that creates vulnerability (Grundy 2006: 128)." Those with higher educational levels and in the higher income brackets tend to benefit and are more successful in continuing independence as compared to those who live near or under the poverty line. The latter confronts people more intensely with all the hardships of making ends meet. It has been proven that older women living alone are more frequently at risk of financial hardship (Avramov 2002, Ginn, Street and Arber 2001) and are more at risk regarding the transition to dependent living than men in the same age groups.

Living independently in a small residential unit is positive in terms of guaranteeing autonomy and independence in decision-making and creating one's own lifestyle, but negative in terms of the risks of disintegration and loneliness. Co-residence, on the other hand, can work out positively in intergenerational in-house exchanges of support and care. It might provide more optimal conditions for social integration (Glaser, Tomassini and Grundy 2004), although many researchers report an imbalance in the giving and receiving of support, with the older generation taking the larger part of the burden of housekeeping, care for the grandchildren and sharing the old-age pension income (Kohli et al. 2000, Kohli 2004).

Co-residence is not only the outcome of decision processes of adult children taking older frail parents into their homes to provide care and support. Co-

residence is frequently the outcome of decision processes strongly affected by contextual factors, e.g. increasing prices of apartments and decreasing income levels that do not allow adult children to start independent living. As formulated by Robila (2004: 3) for the Eastern European countries: "The shortage of housing and high prices force young families to live, at least for several years, with their parents. This creates difficulties for young people wishing to own or rent an apartment independently, and places families under intolerable pressure and intergenerational tensions".

2.3 Social integration and loneliness

Social integration is described in this chapter as an outcome of the extent to which individual lives are tied to the lives of relevant others; it is the subjective evaluation of being "well-embedded" in the lives and intimate thinking of people who are important in one's life. The opposite of feeling social integrated is loneliness. Loneliness is a universal phenomenon, but the antecedents vary to a large extent based on personal and contextual determinants (De Jong Gierveld, Van Tilburg and Dykstra 2006). Perlman and Peplau (1981: 38) define loneliness as "the unpleasant experience that occurs when a person's network of social relations is deficient in some important way, either quantitatively or qualitatively". Loneliness is a subjective and negative experience, the outcome of the cognitive evaluation of the match between the quantity and quality of existing relationships and relationship standards. Loneliness has to be markedly differentiated from social isolation, which concerns the objective characteristics of a situation and refers to the absence of relationships with other people. Loneliness is but one of the possible outcomes of the evaluation of a situation characterized by a small number of relationships. Where a person ends up vis-à-vis the subjective loneliness continuum depends on his or her relationship standards. Some people with a small number of social contacts might feel lonely, while others might feel sufficiently embedded. Several components of loneliness can be distinguished. Weiss (1973) differentiates emotional loneliness related to the absence of an intimate figure (e.g. spouse, best friend), and social loneliness related to the absence of a broader, engaging social network (e.g. friends, colleagues, neighbours).

Loneliness has been linked to many aspects of life that combine to explain why some older people consider themselves lonely. Loneliness can be associated with socio-demographic characteristics such as gender, income level, educational level, health status and the related care needs of older people and their spouses (De Jong Gierveld, Van Tilburg and Dykstra 2006). Most research into loneliness in Western European countries tries to explain the marked differentiation in the intensity of loneliness between older adults who are married and live as a couple-only and those who live alone. Research into loneliness that takes into account intergenerational co-residence is very scarce; we intend to close this gap and address different familial and household types in both Western and Eastern European countries.

This brings us to a refinement of the research questions: To what extent are older adults in European countries from West and East socially integrated or lonely? Are social integration and loneliness of older adults related to the types of living arrangements they are involved in? And how do living arrangements and the characteristics of family relationships intervene in affecting social integration and loneliness of older adults?

3 - AGEING POPULATIONS IN DIFFERENT REGIONS OF EUROPE

All regions of the world are confronted with an increase in the absolute numbers of people aged 60 and over, and all regions face increases in the proportion of older people. However, there are significant differences between regions as far as the indicators of ageing populations are concerned. For the countries under investigation, a selection of demographic and financial indicators is presented in table 47. Table 47 shows that the level of ageing is high in Western European countries, with 28.3 per cent of the female and 22.2 per cent of the male German population aged 60 and over. In contrast, the ageing process is lagging behind in many Eastern European countries, e.g. the Russian Federation, with 21.1 per cent of the female and 12.5 per cent of the male population aged 60 and over. With respect to the percentages of the population aged 80 and over, table 47 shows that both Germany and France are the top scorers. Life expectancy at birth is highest for French and German women (83.5 and 82.1, respectively), and more than 10 years shorter for women in the Russian Federation.

Life expectancy among Russian men is 58.7 years, about 17–18 years shorter than for their male peers in France and Germany. The main reason for the relatively low male life expectancy in Eastern Europe is the high mortality among males under the age of 60 years. Average remaining life expectancy at age 60 is more moderately lower for both sexes (European Population Committee of the Council of Europe 2005: 104–107).

As an indicator of the financial situation of the countries, table 47 shows the GDP per capita (in United States dollars). The data for 2007 indicate marked differences between the regions and countries. Starting in the beginning of the 1990s the Eastern European region has gone through a significant geopolitical reorganization, accompanied by a general state of socio-political changes. The connected economic transformations had the most profound impact, both at the country and the family levels. Major problems encompass a high level of unemployment and poverty in the region, going together with high inflation and decreasing wages. One has to take these developments into consideration in discussing intergenerational relationships, integration and loneliness.

Table 47
Selected countries: demographic and financial indicators

	France	Germany	Hungary	Russian Federation	Bulgaria	Georgia
Population size*	60,940,400	82,728,600	10,044,600	141,900,400	7,615,700	4,395,800
Percentage population aged 60 + *						
Women	24.3	28.3	25.1	21.1	25.6	20.5
Men	19.3	22.2	17.1	12.5	20.1	15.3
Percentage population aged 80 + *						
Women	6.5	6.8	4.7	3.7	4.0	3.3
Men	3.4	2.6	2.1	1.2	2.3	1.5
Life expectancy at birth*						
Women	83.5	82.1	77.7	71.8	76.3	74.8
Men	76.5	76.3	69.8	58.7	69.8	67.1
Life expectancy at 60*						
Women	26.0	24.5	21.4	19.2	20.1	20.4
Men	20.9	19.9	16.3	13.9	16.3	16.7
GDP per capita, PPP USD **	26,820	26,428	12,728	8,490	6,366	3,553
Purchasing power parities (PPP)**	0.92	0.96	114.4	7.35	0.59	0.42

*) *Source: World Population Ageing 2007. New York, United Nations, Population Division.*
**) *Source: Development in an Ageing World. World Economic and Social Survey 2007. New York, United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs.*

Gross domestic product (GDP, value added): *The principal measure of total economic activity occurring within a country's geographical boundary. As an aggregate measure of production, the GDP of a country is equal to the sum of the gross value added of all resident institutional units engaged in production of goods and services (plus taxes and minus subsidies). Gross value added is the value of output minus intermediate inputs (that is, the value of goods and services consumed as inputs by process of production, excluding fixed assets which contribute to gross value added).*

4 - DATA AND METHODS

4.1 Data

Data for this study come from the Generations and Gender Surveys (GGS), initiated by the Population Unit of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe in Geneva. From the database consisting of cross-nationally comparable survey data based on the first round of interviews, I selected the following countries for in-depth investigations: Bulgaria, France, Germany, Georgia and the Russian Federation. In each of the countries, the same sampling procedures were used, guaranteeing a representative sample of the male and female

population aged between ages 18 and 79. In most of the countries under investigation, the sample size was 10,000 or above. Out of the country samples, I selected the older adults: women and men aged 60 years and over, with sample sizes for this age group being 2,266 or above. Table 48 provides the main characteristics of the samples for each of the countries.

Table 48
Some characteristics of the GGS data sets for France, Germany, Bulgaria, the Russian Federation and Georgia

	Population size[a]	Sample size[b]	Sample size Adults 60+ [b]
France	60,940,400	10,069	2,541
Germany	82,728,600	9,604	2,630
Russian Federation	141,900,400	11,261	2,823
Bulgaria	7,615,700	12,828	2,496
Georgia	4,395,800	10,000	2,266

[a]) Source: World Population Ageing, 2007. New York, United Nations, Population Division
[b]) Unweighted data

4.2 Measuring instruments

Loneliness, the dependent variable, is measured using the six-item version of the De Jong Gierveld scale (De Jong Gierveld and Kamphuis 1985, De Jong Gierveld and Van Tilburg 1999, 2006); for the items of the scale and the scoring procedures see table 50. The scale has proven to be reliable and valid (Dykstra and Fokkema 2007; Pinquart and Sörensen 2001). In this study, the reliability coefficients for the six-item scale vary between .71 and .74. Homogeneity tests vary between .41 and .50, indicating a strong scale for each of the countries under investigation. Mean scores on the scale are skewed, with large proportions of respondents reporting no loneliness. It is possible to dichotomize the scale scores around the scale value of two, as recommended by the authors of the scale, and to differentiate between the lonely respondents with loneliness scores of two and higher on the scale versus the not lonely with scores of zero or one on the scale.

Living arrangements. For each of the respondents, information is available about all the persons living in the same household, e.g. age, relationship to the respondent (spouse, parent, child, etc.), sex and date of arrival in the household. On the basis of this information, it was possible to construct a typology of living arrangements. Given our research questions, it is important to differentiate between older adults in small households and older adults in co-residence with adult children. Following the United Nations recommendations, the operationalization of intergenerational co-residence is dependent on the presence in the household of a child aged 25 or over (United Nations 2005). In doing so, the following categories are constructed: (1) no partner, living alone; (2) no partner, with one or more children aged 25 or over (and others); (3) no partner, living with others but not with a child aged 25 or over; (4) with partner, couple-only; (5) couple with one or more children aged 25 and over (and others); and (6) with partner, with others but not with a child aged 25 or over.

Familial relationships are investigated by taking into account the presence of and contacts with children. We know the number of children born, dead or still alive. We know the number of children living in the same household as well as the number of children that have left the parental home, the not co-resident children. For children living outside the parental home, we are especially interested in knowing the frequency of contact between parents and children. On this basis, we constructed a variable indicating the "intensity" of contact: (1) co-residence with children aged 25 or over; (2) no co-residence, seeing at least one of the children outside the household on a weekly basis; (3) no co-residence, seeing none of the children on a weekly basis; and (4) childless older adults.

4.3 Procedures

Descriptive univariate and bivariate data are presented in graphs and tables. Additionally, a

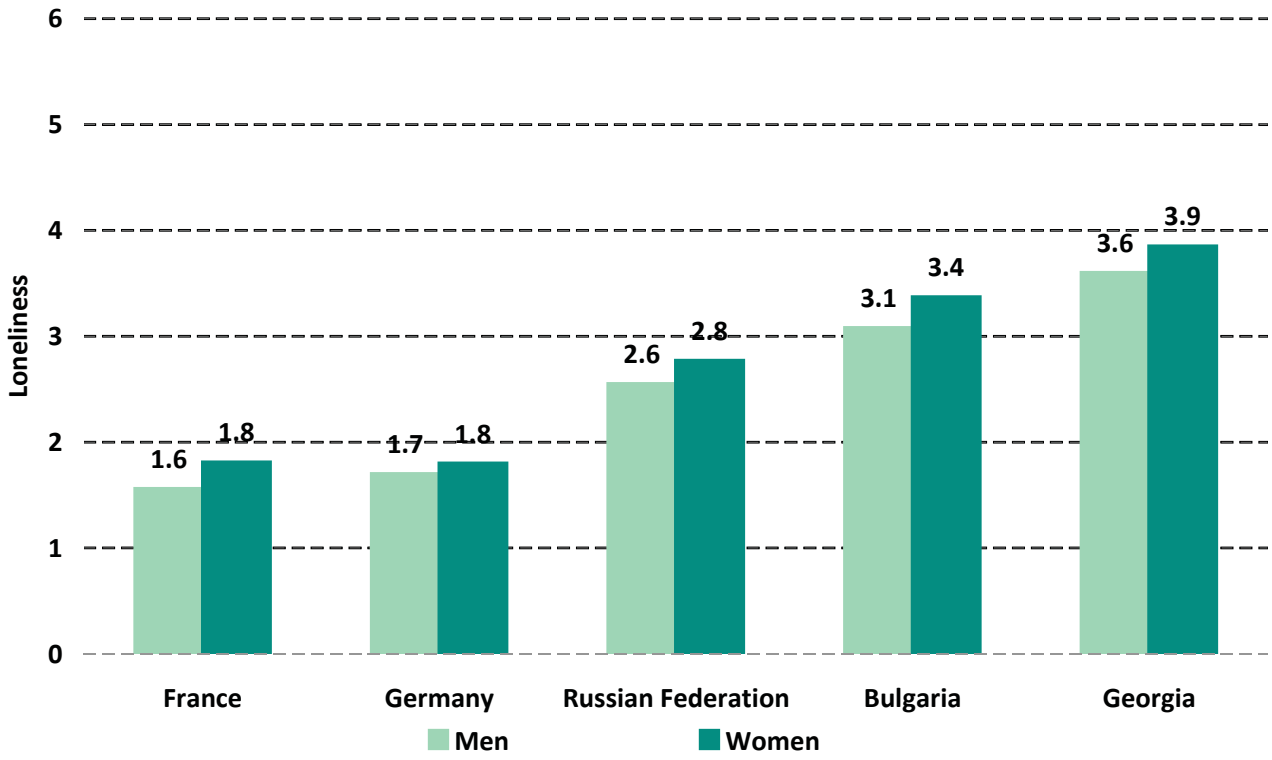
multivariate regression analysis of loneliness is used to investigate the interplay between living arrangements, family bonds and several socio-demographic variables; these regression analyses are presented separately for each of the countries under investigation.

5 - RESULTS

5.1 Loneliness

As shown in figure XXI, the mean loneliness scores vary significantly between countries. France and Germany score relatively low in terms of loneliness, with mean scores below the 2 level, the threshold-line differentiating between the not lonely people (scores 0–1) and the moderate or intensely lonely people (2–5). For the Eastern European countries, mean loneliness is above 2, with the Russian Federation and Bulgaria in the middle and Georgia with the highest mean levels of loneliness. In each of the countries under investigation, mean loneliness scores are higher for females aged 60 and over than for men in the same age categories, but the rank ordering of the countries does not change according to sex.

Figure XXI
Mean loneliness men and women aged 60-79, in selected countries



Source: GGS, wave1

Is loneliness less intense in countries with frequent co-residence as compared to countries with high percentages of people living in small residential units? To answer this question, first the attitudes towards living arrangement types and the realization of living arrangement types per country will be investigated, and second the association between living arrangement types and loneliness.

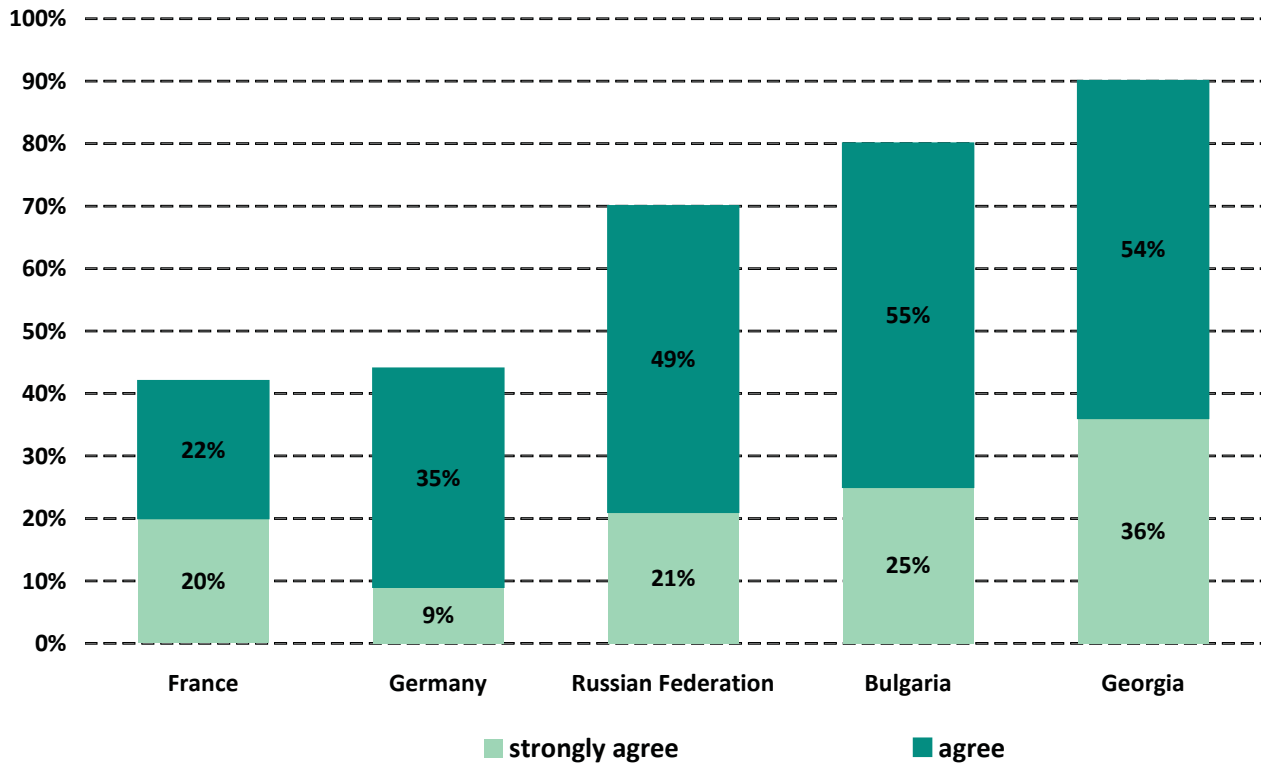
5.2 Living arrangements of adults aged 60 and over

Living arrangements are considered to be of crucial importance as determinants of the social support arrangements available to older adults as well as the realized level of well-being. As shown in figure XXII the vast majority of respondents in Bulgaria, Georgia and the Russian Federation agreed with

the statement about intergenerational co-residence as the optimal living arrangement for older adults. In contrast, the percentage agreeing with this statement was considerably lower in the other countries under investigation.

There might be coherence between attitudes and behaviour, but there might also be divergence; the realization of a certain type of living arrangement is the result of many life events and transitions that have taken place in the long lives of older adults and their family members. (Is the older adult childless? Did the children of this older person migrate to other countries? Is the older person confronted with divorce or mental health problems?) Due to these and other differences in the life course, heterogeneity and growing complexities are being introduced into the living arrangements of older adults. In figure XXIII, the differentiations in living arrangements of older men and women are presented for five countries.

Figure XXII
Opinion about the statement: "Children should have their parents to live with them when parents can no longer look after themselves"; respondents aged 18–79.



Source: GGS, wave1

Figure XXIII provides information about the living arrangements by sex and country. First, the marked and significant differences according to gender should be mentioned. Men are more frequently living with their spouses, and especially as a couple-only. Differences in mortality and in remarriage patterns between men and women are reflected in the high percentage of men with partners in the households (varying between 75 and 88 per cent of older men interviewed in the five countries), as compared to significant lower percentages among older women. Living alone in a one-person household is more frequently seen among older women than among older men. It is especially prevalent in France, Germany and the Russian Federation. In these three countries, more than one third of all women in the age group 60–79 live alone; albeit that living alone is also recognizable among men in the these countries.

Figure XXIII A
Living arrangements of respondents aged 60-79, in France, Germany, the Russian Federation, Bulgaria and Georgia - Women

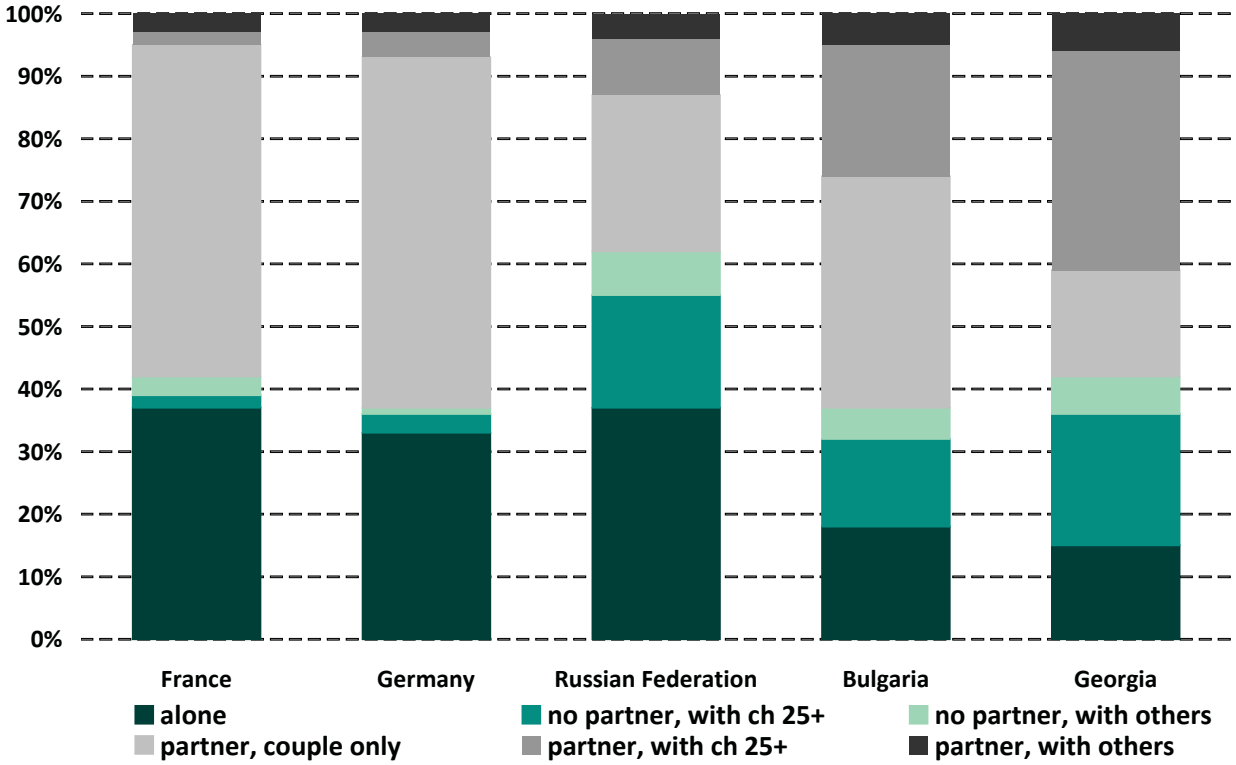
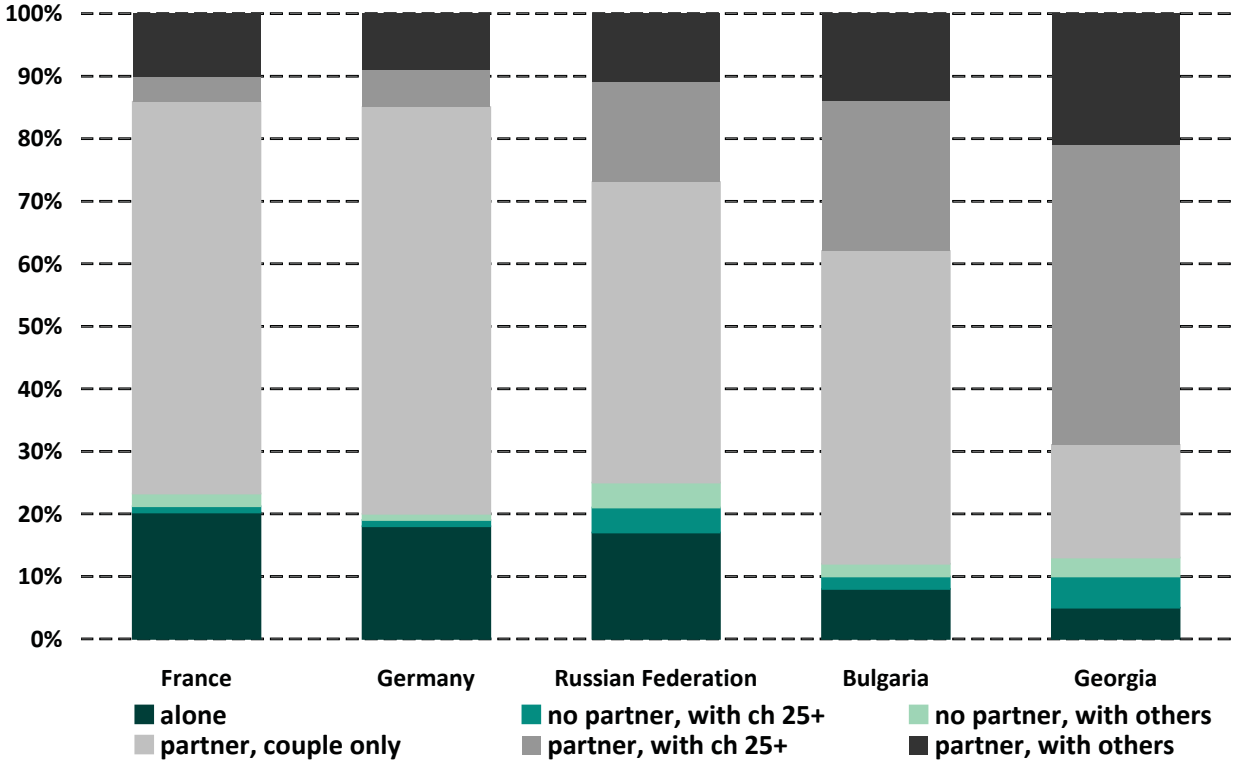


Figure XXIII B
Living arrangements of respondents aged 60-79, in France, Germany, the Russian Federation, Bulgaria and Georgia - Men



Source: GGS, wave1

Figure XXIII also shows significant differences between the countries. Among older adults with spouses, the percentage living as a couple-only is highest in France and Germany, and much lower in Bulgaria, Georgia and the Russian Federation. This should be considered an outcome of the varying overall cultural ideas in these countries: after adult children have left the parental home, the couple continues to live independently for as long as possible. The same values and norms affect the living arrangements of older adults without partners (after widowhood or divorce) in France and Germany; they continue to live independently. The marked contrast between Western and Eastern Europe is also apparent when investigating co-residence of older adults and one or more of their children aged 25 and over. Co-residence is high among older women without spouses in Bulgaria, Georgia and the Russian Federation. Additionally, co-residence is high for both men and women still living with their spouses in Bulgaria, Georgia and the Russian Federation. As for Georgia, the percentage of men and women living in small residential units is very low compared to other countries in and outside the region.

5.3 The association between living arrangements and loneliness in five European countries

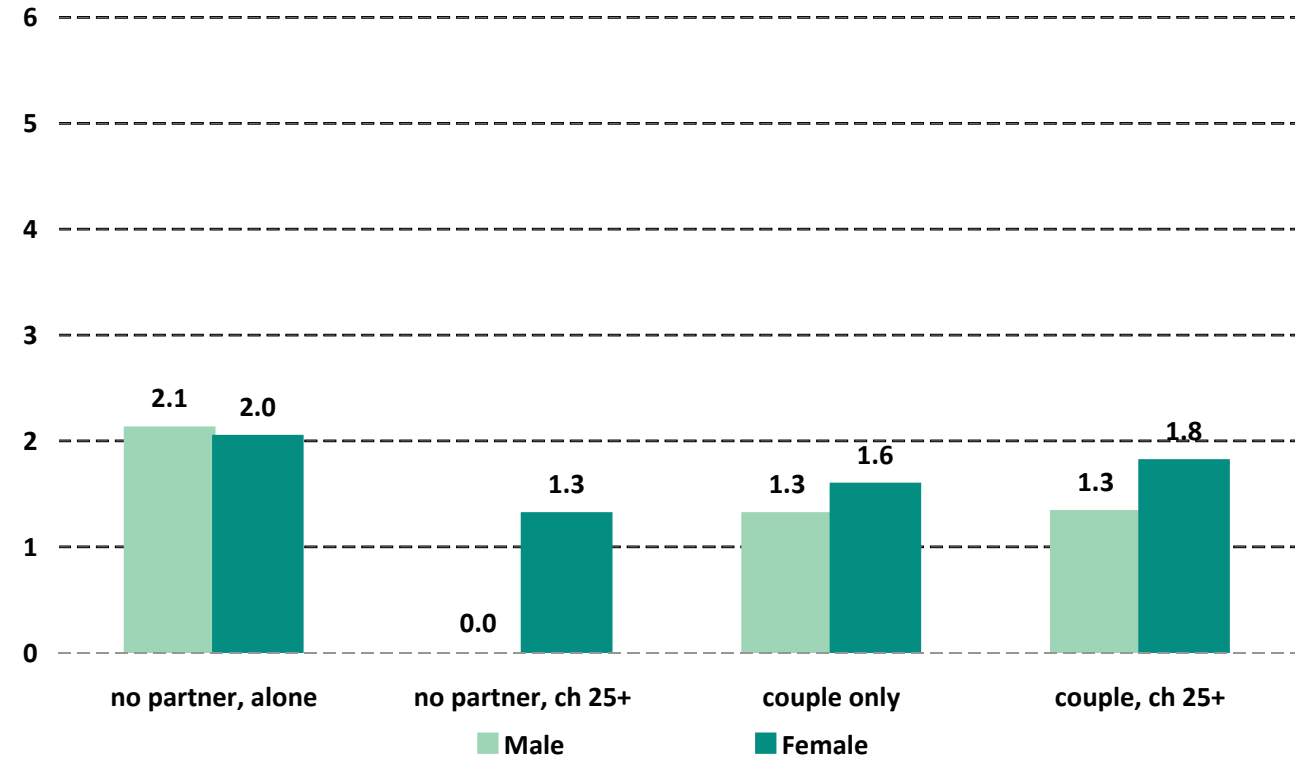
Figure XXIV shows that living arrangement types are related to intensity of loneliness: those living alone are characterized by the highest mean levels of loneliness in each of the countries. In the Western European countries, mean loneliness for those living alone is above 2; in the Russian Federation, mean loneliness is above 3, and for Bulgaria and Georgia it is above 4. For those without spouses living in co-residence with adult children, mean loneliness is lower than reported by those without spouses living in one-person households. This indicates that co-residence is a more optimal condition for social integration and alleviating loneliness. Older people living as a couple-only are shown to be less lonely than those living alone. In the Western countries, men and women living in couple-only living arrangements have the lowest mean scores on the loneliness scale of all respondents aged 60 and over. Apparently, the marriage bond with opportunities for emotional and instrumental support exchange and connectedness can provide a guarantee against loneliness for many married older respondents. In the Eastern European countries, mean level of loneliness of married older adults is significantly lower than mean loneliness of older respondents without spouses; however, the marriage bond and living in a couple-only arrangement is not sufficient to decrease mean loneliness to a level beyond the threshold of 2. Georgia is the only one of the five countries under investigation where the availability of a spouse and co-residence with children aged 25 or over works together in decreasing mean loneliness. In other words, the living arrangement "with spouse and with adult children" is associated with relatively low levels of loneliness, and especially so in Georgia.

In all five countries, men without spouses and living alone are characterized by higher mean levels of loneliness than their female peers. This phenomenon might be related to men's explicit reliance on an intimate bond with a spouse; the absence of such a bond is associated with a high risk of loneliness for older men. Apparently, older women without a spouse are somewhat better in coping with this situation.

In France and Germany, the data show that men and women differ significantly in intensity of loneliness for those with spouse and with children aged 25 and over. Given this situation, women are lonelier than men. An explanation for this situation might be that the co-residence with children is associated with handicaps and other problems of the children, with the effects of stress and more negative life experiences especially for older women, who are the first ones to be responsible for the well-being of those in co-residence. Other differences in loneliness between men and women are less systematic and will not be covered here.

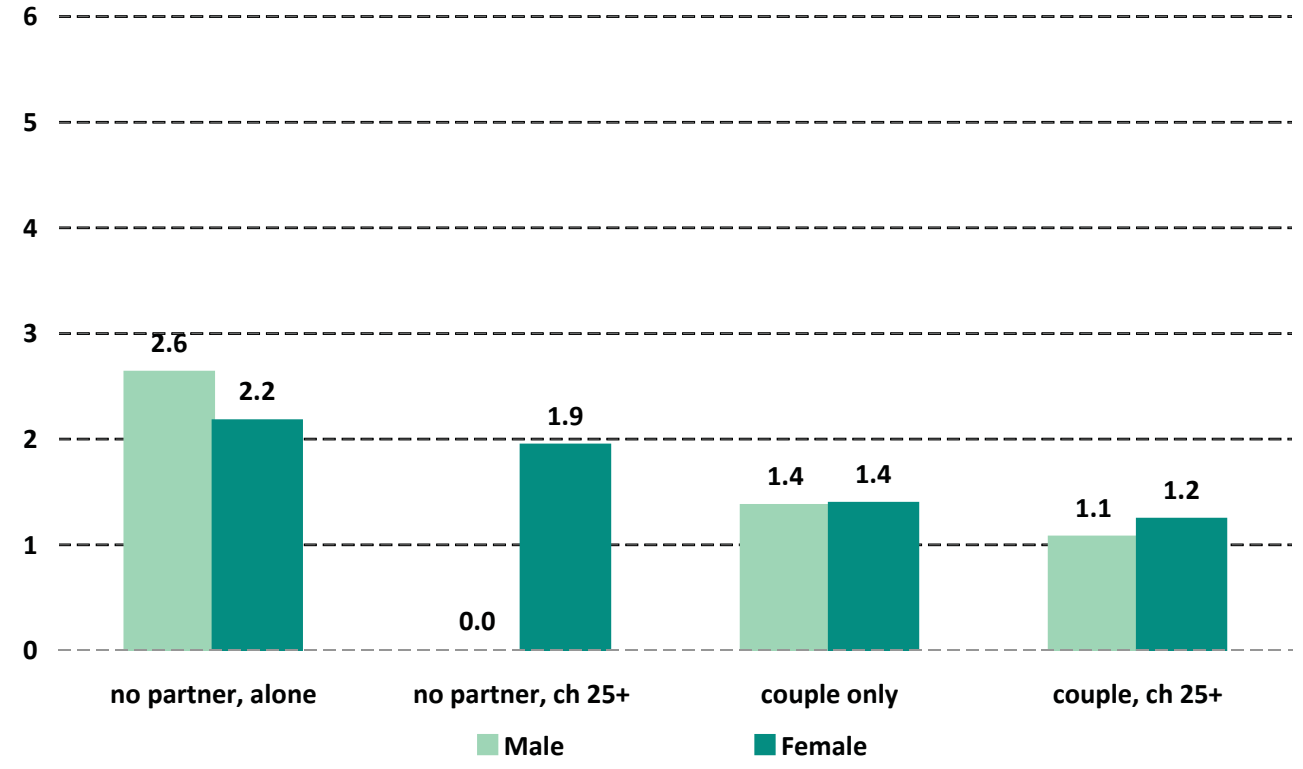
Starting from the differences in loneliness associated with living arrangement types as discussed here, the supplementary effects of the presence of and contact with adult children living outside the parental household will be investigated in the next section. Can adult children outside the parental home provide a level of social integration that helps to decrease intense feelings of loneliness?

Figure XXIV A
Mean loneliness by sex and living arrangement; France



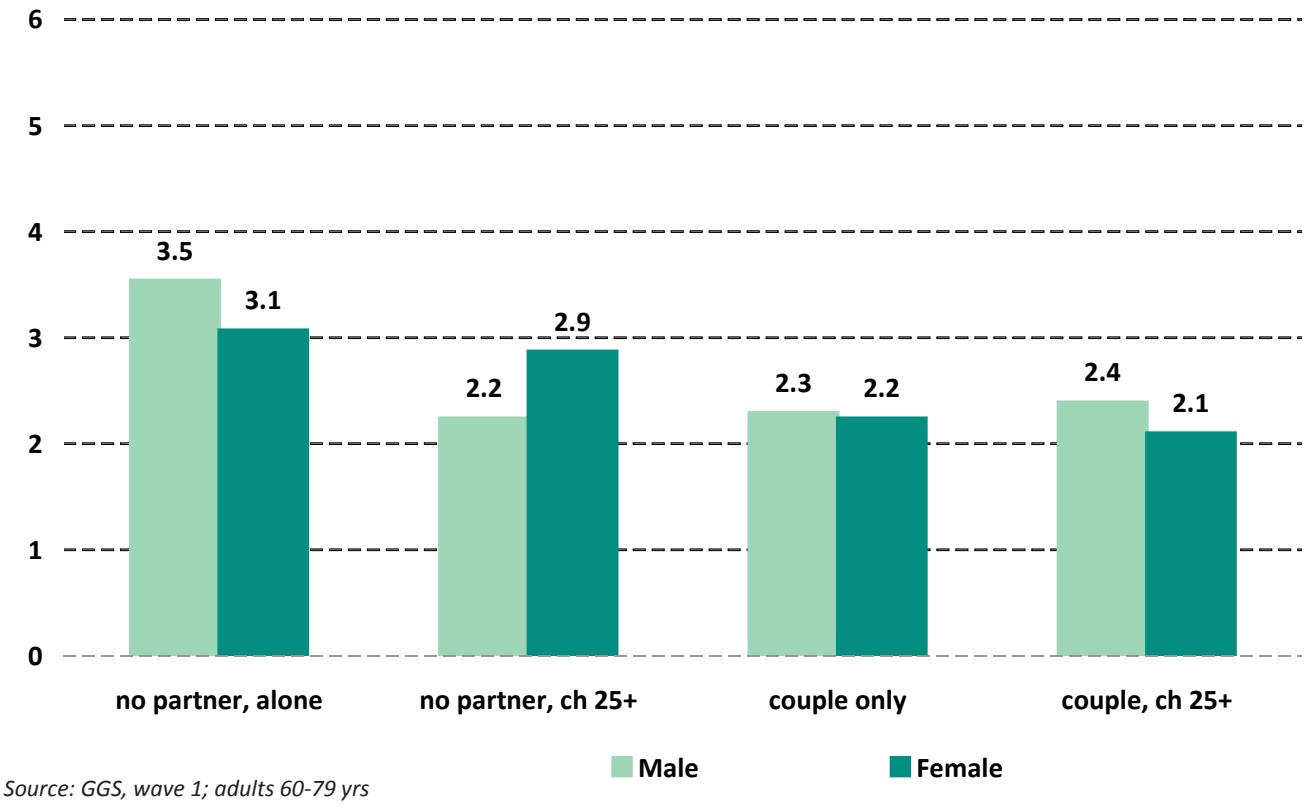
Source: GGS, wave 1; adults 60-79 yrs

Figure XXIV B
Mean loneliness by sex and living arrangement; Germany



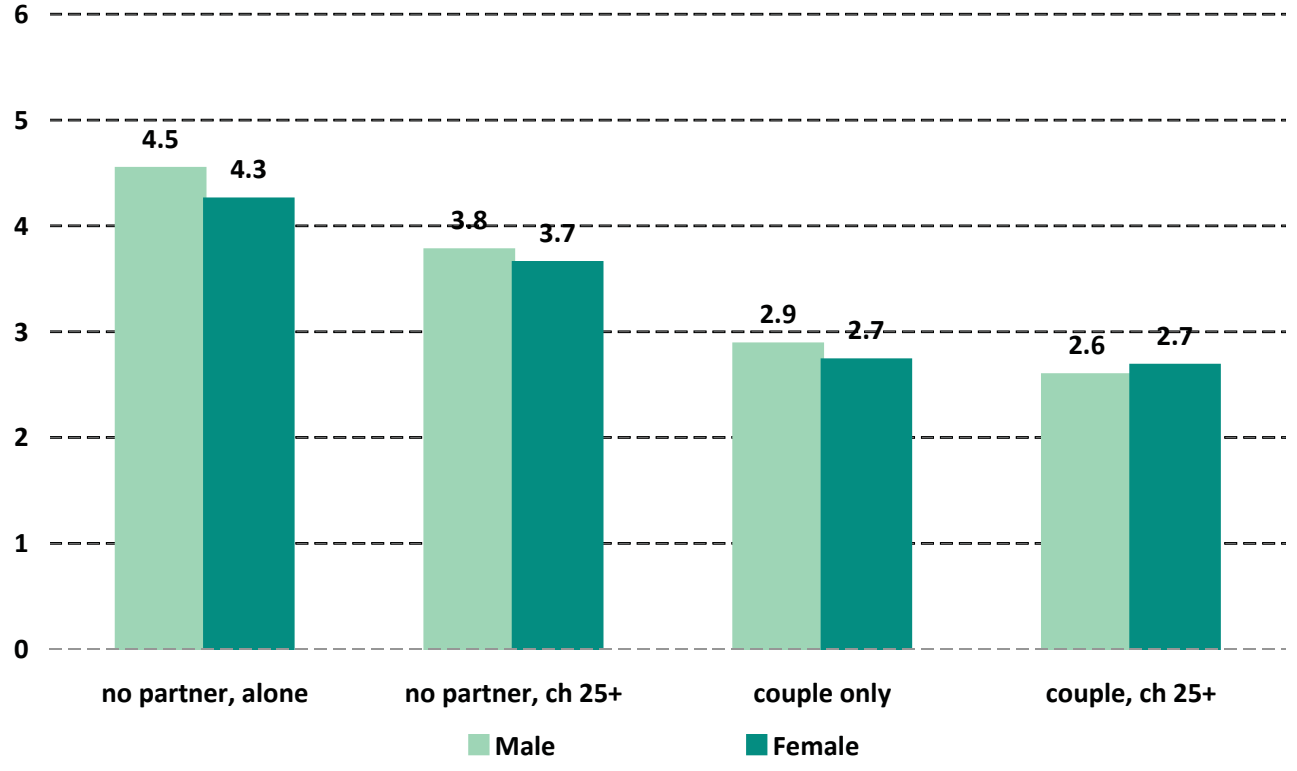
Source: GGS, wave 1; adults 60-79 yrs

Figure XXIV C
Mean loneliness by sex and living arrangement; Russian Federation



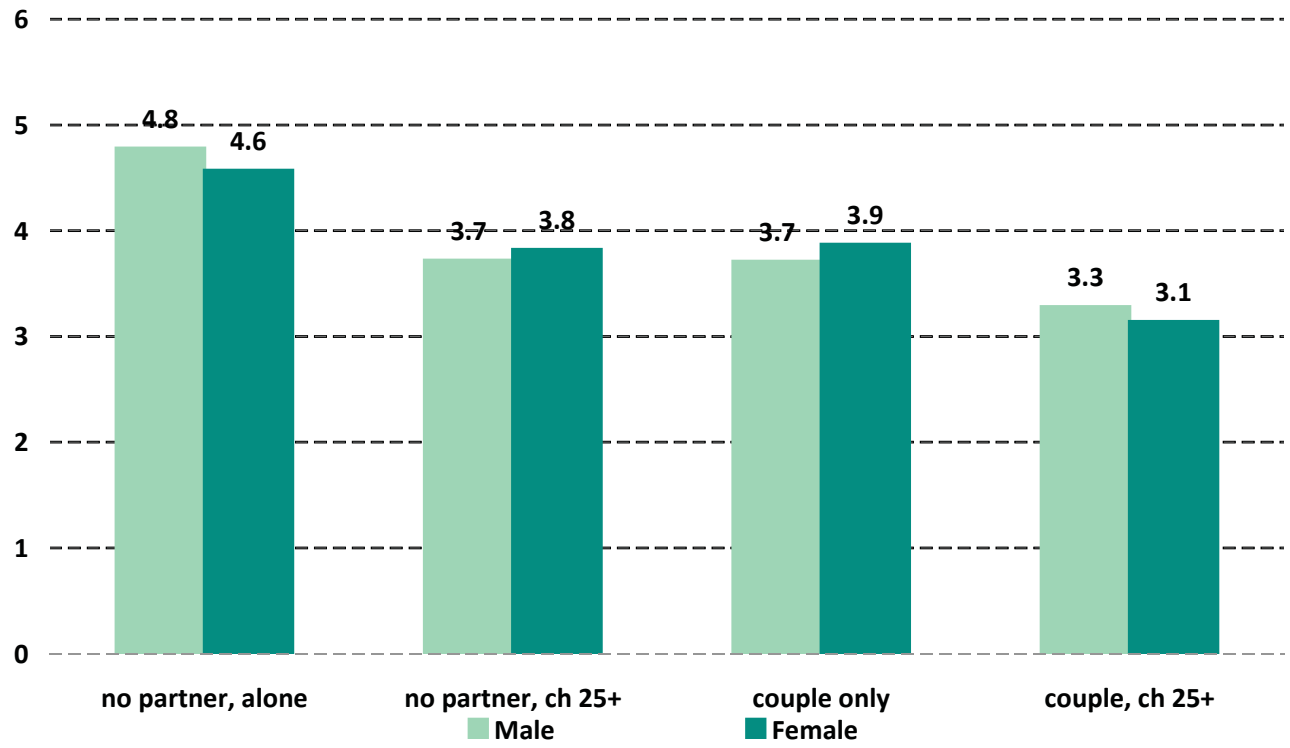
Source: GGS, wave 1; adults 60-79 yrs

Figure XXIV D
Mean loneliness by sex and living arrangement; Bulgaria



Source: GGS, wave 1; adults 60-79 yrs

Figure XXIV E
Mean loneliness by sex and living arrangement; Georgia



Source: GGS, wave 1; adults 60-79 yrs

5.4 The association between living arrangements, contacts with children outside the household, social integration and loneliness in five European countries

The effects of living arrangement types in combination with information about the contacts between older adults and their not co-resident children on loneliness are investigated using multivariate regression analysis. The outcomes of this analysis are presented in table 49.

Table 49 shows that, in four countries, after taking into account other factors and the covariates, living without a partner in a one-person household is significantly associated with more intense feelings of loneliness when compared with those older adults living without a partner but with adult children. In contrast, living with a partner in a couple-only household is negatively associated with loneliness in four of the five countries. Living with partner and with adult children diminishes loneliness (significantly) in all countries under investigation, but especially so in Bulgaria and Georgia.

Additionally, the presence of children and the frequency of contact with adult children living outside the household are significantly associated with loneliness in each of the five countries. More children outside the household who are contacted weekly or more frequently is associated with less loneliness when compared to those without not co-resident children. The meaning of contact with not co-resident children is especially important for older adults in France and Germany.

The data of table 49 show also that, after taking into account differences in living arrangement types and in family bonds, women tend to be less lonely than men. In Bulgaria and the Russian Federation within the age group of respondents aged 60–79, the oldest respondents are lonelier than the younger old respondents. In all countries, subjective health was significantly associated with loneliness: those who reported their health to be fair or poor are characterized by higher levels of loneliness. Socio-economic conditions of the household are significantly related to loneliness as well in each of the countries under investigation. Those in the household who are confronted with difficulties in making ends meet are significantly more at risk of experiencing higher levels of loneliness.

Table 49
Coefficients beta based on regression analyses of factors related to loneliness, adults aged 60–79 in selected countries.

	France	Germany	Russian Federation	Bulgaria	Georgia
Household composition (dummies)					
No partner, alone	0.04	0.15***	0.14***	0.17***	0.13***
No partner, with children aged 25+	- 0.04	0.00	0.03	0.02	0.00
With partner, no others	- 0.09	- 0.05	- 0.06*	- 0.16***	0.00
With partner with children aged 25+	- 0.04	- 0.05*	- 0.05*	- 0.14***	- 0.12***
Number of non-resident children seen weekly	- 0.19***	- 0.16***	- 0.13***	- 0.08***	- 0.10***
Sex (M,F)	0.04*	- 0.03	- 0.07***	- 0.05*	- 0.02
Age	- 0.01	0.02	0.06**	0.04*	0.02
Subjective health	0.20***	0.17***	0.16***	0.20***	0.15***
Household makes ends meet	0.13***	0.18***	0.18***	0.15***	0.19***
Sample size	2,540	2,630	2,823	2,496	2,266
Adjusted R^2	0.12	0.16	0.13	0.20	0.14

Source: GGS, wave 1
*$p< 0.05$, **$p <0.01$, ***$p <0.001$.

6 - CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Promoting older adults' social integration has benefits for the individuals themselves in terms of increasing the possibilities for more optimal well-being, including the alleviation of loneliness. A higher level of social integration of individuals is also associated with positive outcomes at the community level. When more individuals are integrated – that is, better connected to others in and outside the community – this situation may result in better overall communal interconnectedness and well-being. Moreover, it will postpone communal care and support and decrease the costs related to care. This is in line with the pronouncement by the World Health Organization that policies and programmes that promote social connectedness are as important as those that improve physical health (WHO 2002).

Support and care work undertaken in the family – either by the spouse, co-resident adult children, not co-resident children or other family members – is an important aspect of the overall package of elder care. Lyon and Glucksmann (2008) have shown that in different countries the provision of care to older adults is quite differentiated, and is characterized by complex linkages between the public sector, the market, the family/household and the voluntary sector. The various modes of providing are "joined" in different ways in different countries. Our data, based on large-scale international comparative survey research in Bulgaria, France, Germany, Georgia and the Russian Federation, support this statement by showing significant differences between countries in the preferred type of support for older adults. Countries that more intensely prefer the co-residence of older parents and adult children are de facto more frequently characterized by co-residence; in this respect the Eastern European countries should be mentioned. In other countries such as France and Germany, respondents do favour "intimacy, but at a distance" and are characterized by large percentages of the older population living in small residential units, that is living alone in a one-person household or in a couple-only living arrangement.

For older adults living in co-residence with adult children, a complex interplay of dividing the household and care tasks between household members is possible. Older adults are known to invest a lot of their time in care for grandchildren, in preparing the meals and taking responsibility for other household tasks, and in sharing their old-age

pensions with younger family members. It is evident that most of these exchanges of support go from the older to the younger generation (Kohli 2004). Central in this chapter is the investigation of the extent to which older adults living in co-residence with adult children (and others) feel socially integrated as compared to older adults who live in small residential units, and which factors enable – or place barriers – to the social integration of older adults.

First, the data show marked differences in the levels of loneliness of older adults between countries, with low or moderate levels in France and Germany, moderate and higher levels in Bulgaria and the Russian Federation and high to very high levels of loneliness in Georgia. Given that the re liability, validity and structural characteristics of the loneliness measuring instrument used in the surveys is of high quality and allows intercultural comparison, further research is needed to investigate the mechanisms that affect these country differences.

Secondly, the data show that within countries living arrangements are significantly associated with loneliness. Older adults living alone in a one-person household are characterized by higher mean levels of loneliness than older men and women who share the household with others. In most of the countries under investigation, older men and women without spouses (widowed, divorced or never married) who share the household with adult children are in the second position in terms of loneliness, indicating that co-residence with children to a certain extent does decrease the mean levels of loneliness of older adults. In most of the countries we studied, older adults living with a spouse or living with a spouse and adult children are characterized by the lowest mean loneliness. The social integrative functioning of the presence of a spouse – and of children in the household – is a key element in the social embeddedness of older adults.

The loneliness situation of older adults living alone, however, is mitigated by support and care exchanged with adult children living outside the household. Those in at least weekly contact with one or more of the children outside the parental home are characterized by lower mean levels of loneliness than their peers who are childless or do not see their children on a weekly basis. This trend is generally recognizable; only a small percentage of older male respondents in Georgia living alone do not seem to profit from contact with non co-resident children.

This brings us to the conclusion that the composition and functioning of the network of close family members – that is, the presence of a spouse, co-residence with adult children and/or frequent contact with not co-resident children – is a prerequisite for social integration and alleviation of loneliness of older adults. As Buber and Engelhardt (2008) have stated, a high frequency of contact with children is a sign of integration, whereas less contact with children is interpreted as a sign of disinterest and lack of concern for one's older parents. After controlling for differences in the composition of the older population per country, by taking into account the gender and age composition as well as the health and socio-economic position of older adults, the composition and functioning of the network of close family members in both the Western and the Eastern European countries continues to be an important factor in guaranteeing that older men and women are embedded and socially integrated. Differences between countries do exist: social integration in Eastern European countries (especially in Bulgaria and Georgia) is strongly associated with the presence of spouse and co-resident children, in contrast, in France and Germany, social integration is strongly associated with the presence of the spouse, and frequent contacts with non-resident children. A further conclusion is that preferences for support exchanges as well as the optimal functioning of the network of close family members differs between countries. However, irrespective of these differences in the form and constitution of the familial support network, the spouse and adult children should be considered as very important vehicles to social integration and embeddedness, and this type of familial support exchanges is the first one to help promote an age-integrated community.

Policymakers in Eastern and Western Europe need to continue to work towards the realization of the goal of ensuring "a society for all ages" with social integration and embeddedness for all groups: younger and older, men and women. In this context, a variety of family forms and changing functions of the family needs to be considered. Moreover, policymaking needs to emphasize the importance of guaranteeing the social participation of older adults in the family and in other sectors of society.

REFERENCES

Albertini, M., Kohli, M. & Vogel, C. (2007). Intergenerational Transfers of Time and Money in European Families: Common Patterns - Different Regimes? Journal of European Social Policy, 17, 319-334.

Attias-Donfut, D., Ogg, J. & Wolff, F. (2005). European Patterns of Intergenerational Financial and Time Transfers. European Journal of Ageing, 2, 161-173.

Avramov, D. (2002). People, Demography and Social Exclusion. Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe Publishing, No. 37.

Bezrukov, V. & Foigt, N. (2002). Political, Social and Economic Crises and Living Arrangements of Older Persons: The Case of Ukraine. New York: UN Population Division.

Brown, W. M., Consedine, N. S. & Magai, C. (2005). Altruism Relates to Health in an Ethnically Diverse Sample of Older Adults. Journal of Gerontology: Psychological Sciences, 60B, 143-152.

Buber, I. & Engelhardt, H. (2008). Children's Impact on the Mental Health of Their Older Mothers and Fathers: Findings from the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe. European Journal of Ageing, 5, 31-45.

Carstensen, L. L. (1995). Evidence for a Life-Span Theory of Socioemotional Selectivity. Current Directions in Psychological Science, 4, 151-156.

Chodorow, N. (1978). The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Coontz, S. (2004). The World Historical Transformation of Marriage. Journal of Marriage and Family, 66, 974-979.

Daatland, S. O. & Herlofson, K. (2003). 'Lost Solidarity' or 'Changed Solidarity': A Comparative European View of Normative Family Solidarity. Ageing & Society, 23, 537-560.

De Jong Gierveld, J., De Valk, H. A. G. & Blommesteijn, M. (2001). Living Arrangements of Older Persons and Family Support in More Developed Countries. Population Bulletin of the United Nations. Special Issue: Living Arrangements of Older Person: Critical Issues and Policy Responses., 42/43, 193-217.

De Jong Gierveld, J. & Dykstra, P. A. (2008). Virtue Is Its Own Reward? Support Giving in the Family and Loneliness in Middle and Old Age. Ageing & Society, 28, 271-287.

De Jong Gierveld, J. & Hagestad, G. N., guest editors (2006). Social Integration in Later Life; Special Issue. Research on Aging, 28(6), 627-778.

De Jong Gierveld, J. & Kamphuis, F. (1985). The Development of a Rasch-Type Loneliness Scale. Applied Psychological Measurement, 9, 289-299.

De Jong Gierveld, J. & Van Tilburg, T. G. (1999). Manual of the Loneliness Scale. Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit.

De Jong Gierveld, J. & Van Tilburg, T. (2006). A Six-Item Scale for Overall, Emotional and Social Loneliness: Confirmative Tests on New Survey Data. Research on Aging, 28, 582-598.

De Jong Gierveld, J. Van Tilburg, T., & Dykstra, P. A. (2006). Loneliness and Social Isolation. In A. Vangelisti & D. Perlman (Eds.), Cambridge Handbook of Personal Relationships (pp. 485-500). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dykstra, P. A. & Fokkema, T. (2007). Social and Emotional Loneliness Among Divorced and Married Men and Women: Comparing the Deficit and Cognitive Perspectives. Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 29(1), 1-12.

European Population Committee of the Council of Europe (2005). Recent Demographic Developments in Europe, 2004. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.

Finch, J. (1995). Responsibilities, Obligations and Commitments. In I. Allen & E. Perkins (Eds.), The Future of Family Care for Older People (pp. 51-64). London: HMSO.

Ginn, J., Street, D. & Arber, S. (2001). Women, Work and Pensions; International Issues and Prospects. Buckingham/ Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Glaser, K., Tomassini, C. & Grundy, E. (2004). Revisiting Convergence and Divergence: Support for Older People in Europe. European Journal of Ageing, 1, 64-72.

Grundy, E. (2000). Co-Residence of Mid-Life Children with Their Elderly Parents in England and Wales: Changes between 1981 and 1991. Population Studies, 54, 193-206.

Grundy, E. (2006). Ageing and Vulnerable Elderly People: European Perspectives. Ageing & Society, 26, 105-134.

Hagestad, G. O. & Uhlenberg, P. (2006). Should We Be Concerned About Age Segregation? Some Theoretical and Empirical Explorations. Research on Aging, 28(6), 638-653.

Hank, K. (2007). Proximity and Contact between Older Parents and Their Children. A European Comparison. Journal of Marriage and Family, 69, 159-173.

Kahana, E. & Young, R. (1990). Clarifying the Caregiving Paradigm; Challenges for the Future. In D. E. Biegel & A. Blum (Eds.), Aging and Caregiving; Theory, Research and Policy (pp. 76-97). London: Sage.

Kohli, M. (2004). Intergenerational Transfers and Inheritance: A Comparative View. Annual Review of Gerontology and Geriatrics, 24, 266-289.

Kohli, M., Künemund, H., Motel, A. & Szydlik, M. (2000). Generationenbeziehungen. In M. Kohli & H. Künemund (Eds.), Die zweite Lebenshälfte; Gesellschaftliche Lage und Partizipation im Spiegel des Alters-Survey. Band I. (pp. 176-211). Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Koropeckyi-Cox, T. & Call, V. R. A. (2007). Characteristics of Older Childless Persons and Parents: Cross-National Comparisons. Journal of Family Issues, 28, 1362-1414.

Künemund, H. & Rein, M. (1999). There is More to Receiving Than Needing: Theoretical Arguments and Empirical Explorations of Crowding In and Crowding Out. Ageing and Society, 19(1), 93-121.

Lesthaeghe, R. (1995). The Second Demographic Transition in Western Countries: An Interpretation. In A. Mason & A.-M. Jensen (Eds.), Gender and Family Change in Industrialized Countries (pp. 17-62). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Liefbroer, A. C. (1999). From Youth to Adulthood: Understanding Changing Patterns of Family Formation from a Life Course Perspective. In L. J. G. van Wissen & P. A. Dykstra (Eds.), Population Issues, an Interdisciplinary Focus (pp. 53-85). New York/ Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

Lyon, D., & Glucksmann, M. (2008). Comparative Configurations of Care Work across Europe. Sociology, 42, 101-118.

Nauck, B. & Suckow, J. (2006). Intergenerational Relationships in Cross-Cultural Comparison; How Social Networks Frame Intergenerational Relations between Mothers and Grandmothers in Japan, China, Indonesia, Israel, Germany and Turkey. Journal of Family Issues, 27(8), 1159-1185.

Nolan, M., Grant, G. & Keady, J. (1996). Understanding Family Care: A Multidimensional Model of Caring and Coping. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Oppong, C. (2006). Familial Roles and Social Transformations: Older Men and Women in Sub-Saharan Africa. Research on Aging, 28(6), 654-668.

Palomba, R. & Moors, H. (1998). Population, Family, and Welfare: A Comparative Survey of European Attitudes (Vol. II). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Perlman, D. & Peplau, L. A. (1981). Toward a Social Psychology of Loneliness. In R. Gilmour & S. Duck (Eds.), Personal Relationships 3: Personal Relationships in Disorder. (pp. 31-43). London: Academic Press.

Pinquart, M. & Sörensen, S. (2001). Influences on Loneliness in Older Adults: A Meta-Analysis. Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 23(4), 245-266.

Robila, M. (2004). Families in Eastern Europe: Context, Trends and Variations. In M. Robila (Eds.), Families in Eastern Europe (pp. 1-14). Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Rosenmayr, L. & Köckeis, E. (1963). Propositions for a Sociological Theory of Ageing and the Family. International Social Science Journal, XV, 410-426.

Rosow, I. (1967). Social Integration of the Aged. New York: The Free Press.

Scharf, T. & Bartlam, B. (2008). Ageing and Social Exclusion in Rural Communities. In N. Keating (Eds.), Rural Ageing: A Good Place to Grow Old? (pp. 97-108). Bristol: Policy Press.

Schröder-Butterfill, E. (2004). Inter-Generational Family Support Provided by Older People in Indonesia. Ageing & Society, 24, 497-530.

United Nations (2005). Living Arrangements of Older Persons around the World. New York: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

Väänänen, A., Buunk, B. P., Kivimäki, M., Pentti, J. & Vahtera, J. (2005). When It Is Better to Give Than to Receive: Long-Term Health Effects of Perceived Reciprocity in Support Exchange. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 89(2), 176-193.

Van de Kaa, D. J. (2004). Is the Second Demographic Transition a Useful Research Concept? Questions and Answers. In Vienna Yearbook of Population Research 2004 (pp. 4-10). Vienna, Austria: Vienna Institute of Demography, Austrian Academy of Sciences.

Van Tilburg, T., De Jong Gierveld, J., Lecchini, L., & Marsiglia, D. (1998). Social Integration and Loneliness: A Comparative Study Among Older Adults in the Netherlands and Tuscany, Italy. Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 15, 740-754.

Velladics, K., Henkens, K. & Van Dalen, H. P. (2006). Do Different Welfare States Engender Different Policy Preferences? Opinions on Pension Reforms in Eastern and Western Europe. Ageing & Society, 26, 475-495.

Verdon, M. (1998). Rethinking Households; An Atomistic Perpective on European Living Arrangements. London: Routledge.

Vikat, A., Spéder, Z., Beets, G., Billari, F. C., Bühler, C. & Désesquelles, A., et al. (2007). Generations and Gender Survey (GGS): Towards a Better Understanding of Relationship and Processes in the Life Course. Demographic Research 17 (14), 389-440.

Weiss, R. S. (1973). Loneliness: The Experience of Emotional and Social Isolation. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

APPENDIX

Table 50
Items of the six-item De Jong Gierveld loneliness scale

Instruction: I am going to read out six statements about your current experiences. Please indicate for each of them to what extent they have applied to you recently:
1=yes, 2=more or less, 3=no

	Yes	More or less	No
a. There are plenty of people that I can lean on in case of trouble	1	2	3
b. I experience a general sense of emptiness	1	2	3
c. I miss having people around	1	2	3
d. There are many people that I can count on completely	1	2	3
e. Often, I feel rejected	1	2	3
f. There are enough people that I feel close to	1	2	3

In developing the scale, item response models Rasch and Mokken (MSP) were applied to evaluate the homogeneity of the scale. Scale scores are based on dichotomous item scores; the answer "more or less" always indicates loneliness. Processing the scale data entails counting the neutral and positive answers ("more or less", "yes") on items b, c, e. This is the emotional loneliness score, ranging from 0 (not emotionally lonely) to 3 (intensely emotionally lonely) . The emotional loneliness score is valid only if the missing emotional loneliness score (i.e., no answer) equals 0. Count the neutral and negative ("no" and "more or less") answers on items a, d, f. This is the social loneliness score, ranging from 0 to 3 (intensely socially lonely). The social loneliness score is valid only if the missing social loneliness score equals 0. Compute the total loneliness score by taking the sum of the emotional loneliness score and the social loneliness score. The score 0 refers to complete social embeddedness and the absence of loneliness. The score 6 refers to ultimate loneliness. The total loneliness score is valid only if the sum of the missing emotional loneliness score and the missing social loneliness score equals 0 or 1.
Further details, the manual and updates are available under "loneliness scale" at: http://home.fsw.vu.nl/tg.van.tilburg/

CHAPTER 6

POPULATION AGEING, INTERGENERATIONAL SOLIDARITY AND THE FAMILY-WELFARE STATE BALANCE : A COMPARATIVE EXPLORATION

Svein Olav Daatland, Britt Slagsvold and Ivar A. Lima

1 - INTRODUCTION - CONCERN FOR INTERGENERATIONAL SOLIDARITY

The ageing of populations is a challenge to intergenerational solidarity both privately in the family and publicly in society. Warnings have been raised about family as well as societal solidarity: Will families be able to balance between the needs of older and younger generations? Will societies be able to maintain the generational contract on which the welfare state is based? The concern for intergenerational solidarity is usually located in the younger generation, looking up generations: Will the younger continue to support the older? In the larger societal context, this is a question of the willingness to contribute to the common good via taxes, and to support a redistribution of resources to benefit those in need. Within the microcosmos of the family, the question is whether adult children will be willing and able to support their older parents.

Intergenerational solidarity may also be seen from the other side, that of the older generation(s) looking down. We need both perspectives, including that the older generation is not necessarily, and certainly not always, a burden on the younger. Older people contribute to families and societies, and they care for themselves as long as they possibly can, and they do so longer now than before. We therefore need to add a supplementary perspective to that of the younger generation. Intergenerational relationships are constructed from both sides, and we should be equally interested in how the ageing of populations may impact on the older generation as well as on the younger. The assumed impact of the demographic trends need then not be so obvious. Parents are net providers vis-à-vis their children most of their lives, and they tend to protect their children also when they themselves are in need. And clearly, parental expectations and preferences are likely to impact on how their adult children will behave.

Concern about family solidarity is an old story, and possibly an inherent feature of the parent-child relationship, but intergenerational tension plays out with a great variation in form and intensity over time. Family concerns are often expressed as some form of nostalgia for a noble past when families were strong and really cared. According to a Eurobarometer survey, substantial majorities of most European populations (within the EU area) are of the opinion that people and families "were more caring in the past" (Walker 1993, Daatland 1997). Today's problems are often blamed on modernity and increased individualism: Things were better before, and modern man has grown narcissistic and self-centred. Some see the welfare state as part of the problem, because the (generous) welfare state may have reduced the necessity, and therefore the motivation, for solidarity. This is what Wolfe (1989) characterizes as the "moral risk" of the modern welfare state.

Concern about societal solidarity, i.e. between younger and older age groups in the population, is also an old issue, but may have become more fraught in recent years in response to the ageing of populations. The change in the balance between older and younger age groups represents an increased responsibility for the younger generations, and the recent welfare state containment policy of many countries has added to these burdens by pushing more responsibilities onto the family. When resources become more scarce, conflicts tend to increase. People may respond by giving priority to their closest others, e.g. the family, while solidarity with "the universal other", a key prerequisite for an inclusive welfare state, may come under pressure.

Thus intergenerational solidarity may be threatened under population ageing both within the microcosmos of the family and the macrocosmos of the society. There is, however, no consensus about trends and implications, or about what kinds of factors are the most influential and how they function. Is, for example, increased individualism a risk or a resource for solidarity, and is family solidarity a risk or a resource for societal solidarity? The importance of intergenerational solidarity for both families and societies, the impact of demography on solidarity and vice versa, and the knowledge gaps in these areas were among the motivations behind the Generations and Gender Programme (United Nations 2005, 2007).

This paper addresses these issues in three sections. The first section reviews earlier findings and theorizing in the area. The second section presents empirical findings and preliminary analyses of data from the first wave of the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS), and the third and final section discusses some future perspectives.

2 - REVIEW OF EARLIER STUDIES

2.1 Family solidarity

Amato (2005) identifies two positions as far as research on intergenerational family solidarity is concerned, the family decline perspective and the family resilience perspective. Both have long traditions, but they have differently roots.

The historically long lines of the family decline perspective may be illustrated with a quote from Ethel Shanas from nearly 50 years ago, which sounds fresh even now and could have been stated today in more or less the same words: "There is a widely-held popular belief that affectional and other ties between older people and their families are weaker now than they were at the turn of the century or at other times in the past" (Shanas 1960).

These beliefs have substantial support in public opinion also today, and have received renewed support in recent years from the critics of late modernity. The family decline perspective is indebted to Talcott Parson's ideas about family functions being taken over by other societal institutions in modern society, and thus reducing the importance of the extended family (Parsons 1955). Among the implicit assumptions are possibly also that self-interest has a tendency to expand when given the opportunity to do so. Solidarity and other collective ties are seen as rooted in external pressures, such as material necessity or strict social norms (duty), and are so to speak burdens that people want to escape if they can. The benefits and attractions of the extended family and other social constellations, such as the neighbourhood or the society at large for that matter, are thereby not recognized, or at least under-communicated, but clearly there is more to the (extended) family than duty, and there is more to society than tax bills.

The contrasting family resilience perspective recognizes this, and finds the modern family still attractive and vital, and to include even the older generation beyond the nuclear unit. While the family decline paradigm is rooted in Parsons and family sociology, the family resilience position is rooted in gerontology and the many ageing studies that found resilient and close relationships even in modern societies (cf. Shanas 1960, Connidis 2001, Bengtson et al. 2002). Within this tradition, probably the majority would still concur with Shanas's statement of 50 years ago, "Empirical evidence ... indicates that family ties between older people and their children are still strong and still functioning".

2.2 Societal solidarity

There is controversy also as far as intergenerational societal solidarity is concerned, in this case between solidarity optimists and solidarity pessimists. Solidarity pessimists tend to blame what they see as a decline in societal solidarity on the increasing individualism of modern society. People become more self-centred, or they may seek refuge among close others such as the family. Thus the collective "we" may have narrowed to an inner circle of one's own kind, while solidarity and integration to the larger population and the general other may be lost.

Optimists claim to have considerable research evidence for a still high level of societal solidarity, as indicated by strong and stable popular support for the welfare state and the taxes to sustain it in most European countries (e.g. Taylor-Goobie 2004). This support is, however, not unconditional, and is particularly strong for welfare benefits to elders. Older people are scoring high on "the deservingness scale"; they embody, so to speak, "the honourable client". Older people's needs are therefore – more than most others' – recognized as deserving public support, because they are not blamed for their misfortune, which is often the case for the unemployed and immigrants (van Oorshot 2002). People also find it easier to identify with elders than with other groups in need, as they will often have older relatives, and know that they themselves will become old in the near or distant future. Thus older people may be better protected than many other needy groups, but the future strength and resilience of these ties are still uncertain.

2.3 The family-society interaction

There is a considerable body of empirical research on intergenerational solidarity in the family and in the society at large, but far less research about the relationships between them, for example the extent to which family solidarity also encourages solidarity at the societal level – or on the contrary, whether the two represent competing loyalties. In support of the first argument are ideas about solidarity being learned and internalized within the intimacy

of the family and thereafter generalized to larger and more distant social circles. An alternative – and negative – connection between family and societal solidarity may also be assumed, for example, when a lack of trust and solidarity in the public sphere may motivate people to protect themselves within smaller and more intimate social groups, e.g. the family. If so, societies characterized by low social capital, a lack of mutual trust, and thus low solidarity on the societal level, may then be characterized by a tight and protective family culture. Influences may also work in the other direction, for example that societies characterized by tight and protective families (or clans), may find it harder to attract support for solidarity beyond the family (or clan).

GGS allows us to explore issues like these, as it includes measurements on both types of solidarity and thus the interrelationship between them. The survey includes countries with different welfare state regimes and family cultures, and is based within a longitudinal design that helps us disentangle causes and consequences. The next section presents preliminary findings from GGS about the character and strength of normative intergenerational solidarity, i.e. about the norms and ideals people in different GGS countries hold concerning the distribution of responsibilities between the family and the welfare state, in this case the responsibility for elders on one hand, and responsibility for children on the other.

3 - PUBLIC OPINION ABOUT THE FAMILY-WELFARE STATE BALANCE

3.1 Introduction

Knowledge about norms and ideals is important for several reasons. For one thing, ideals tend to guide behaviour and may therefore help us understand why people behave the way they do. Secondly, public opinion may serve as a source of information about the responsiveness of policy and therefore of democracy: Is policy in conflict, or congruence, with public opinion?

The theoretical reasons for focusing on these issues are to be found in both welfare state studies and in family research. Welfare states vary in levels and therefore in the balancing of responsibilities between the public and private sectors. Welfare states also differ in profiles – in how the resources are distributed. This diversity cannot be attributed simply to differences in needs and resources; it is also produced by differences in traditions and politics (Anttonen and Sipilä 1996, Daatland 2001). For example, Scandinavian welfare states tend to give high priority to services (care), while countries like France and Germany give more priority to transfers (cash). Welfare states also differ in the balancing between elders and non-elders. Countries like Italy and Austria tend to give priority to elders to the extent that they may better be called "pensioner states" than "welfare states" according to Esping-Andersen (1997).

Diversity may also be the case as far as public opinion is concerned. Therefore, this section examines within and between country variation in public opinion about family and welfare state responsibilities. The respondents were asked to state their opinion about how responsibility for care and financial security for elders and children should be divided between the family and society: e.g. whether the society (here taken to represent the welfare state) should give priority to transfers or to services, to elders or to children. Finally, and within the family context, public opinion about priorities up and down generations is examined. The findings presented thus refer to ideals more than realities (actual behaviour); they illustrate what people see as the right thing to do, not if they actually do it. The GGS data set also enables us to study how attitudes and behaviours are related, which will be among the themes for future analyses.

The family-welfare state balance in public opinion is expected to reflect differences in actual policies, and therefore to differ between the more publicly oriented Scandinavian welfare state and the more familistic regimes of countries like France and Germany. Georgia is expected to be even more family-oriented in values and policies. The countries differ both in culture and in policy, which makes it difficult to assess the extent to which the observed differences reflect structural differences of opportunity or motivational differences rooted in culture. As welfare state responsibility tends to be more general for financial security and transfers, while care – in particular care for children – is more likely a family matter, we also expect these positions to be reflected in public opinion. Thus welfare state responsibility is in general assumed to be higher for cash (transfers) than for care (services), and higher for elders than for children.

3.2 Theoretical perspectives

As for the priorities within families, the presentation is informed by four theoretical positions which suggest different priorities up and down generations: the intergenerational family solidarity paradigm, the developmental stake hypothesis, social exchange theory and the intergenerational ambivalence model.

The **intergenerational family solidarity paradigm** sees solidarity as multi-dimensional and expressed as interaction, affection, mutual help and obligations (normative solidarity). Family solidarity is seen as still strong and to include also the older generation (Bengtson and Roberts 1991). Thus filial norms oblige the younger vis-à-vis the older, and therefore priorities up generations are expected to be comparatively strong.

The **developmental stake hypothesis** (Giarusso et al. 1995, Shapiro 2004) assumes that parents have invested more in the relationship than children, and are therefore more committed to it. Children have then higher priority to parents than the other way around. Parents are therefore more strongly motivated to protect the relationship, and may do so by de-obligating children and supporting filial independence rather than obliging them and being a burden on them, as the saying goes. This attitude may also be rooted in parental and protective norms vis-à-vis children, or more generally may be anchored within a generative attitude, which according to Erik H. Erikson develops in the mature and later phases of life (Coleman and O'Hanlon 2004). Thus the developmental stake perspective assumes a comparatively strong priority down generations.

According to **social exchange theory**, people try to maximize benefits and minimize costs. The modal strategy for both parties in a relationship would then be to repay benefits received and to negotiate a balanced relationship between giving and receiving. The best strategy would therefore be to develop a balanced relationship, or even be a net provider if possible, as it usually feels better to give than to receive. The reciprocity norm, on the other hand, demands a return of benefits received, either in the here-and-now or in the longer run, for example, when older parents expect adult children to pay back the help they received earlier in life (delayed reciprocity). This is expressed in the idea of a support bank, where earlier investments may be drawn upon later in life and outbalance the feeling of inadequacy that the receipt of help would otherwise incur (Antonucci 1990). Thus social exchange theory points in different directions, towards either a balance between generations, or a priority up generations, as the older may expect a return from the younger.

Finally, the **intergenerational ambivalence model** has criticized the family solidarity perspective for being biased towards a family harmony image. According to the ambivalence model, intergenerational relationships are best described as ambivalent, characterized by mixed feelings and conflicting commitments (Lüscher and Pillemer 1998, Connidis and McMullin 2002). Parents, for example, try to raise children as both independent and obligated, and children tend to respond in kind, by trying to balance autonomy and commitment. Thus solidarity is not universally expressed, but is conditional on the context, depending on negotiation between the parties, and increasingly so in modern society (Finch and Mason 1993). In modern times, family relationships have changed from being governed by strict, external prescriptions for behaviour to being guided by more general guidelines, open to negotiation between the parties when circumstances change, e.g. when women increasingly join the paid labour market. The ambivalence model too may point in different directions as far as priorities up and down generations are concerned, but suggests a special priority for the nuclear family, and then to priorities down generations.

These four theoretical perspectives are to some extent alternative positions and to some extent supplementary ones, and may have different relevance under different family traditions. Family cultures vary geographically in Europe according to Reher (1998), with stronger and tighter family ties in Southern and Eastern Europe than in the more individualist North and West, where a norm of generational independence is comparatively stronger. Thus Southern families may give more priority up generations than Northern families, and the two may respond differently to population ageing. The analyses presented here simply illustrate the between-country variation in norms and ideals in this area. The findings need to be supplemented with data from other countries and contexts, and to be explored in more depth in future analyses.

3.3 Measurements

Opinion about the proper division of responsibility between the family and the welfare state can be measured by the following question: "There are widely varying views on how we should care for people in our society. Please indicate for each of the topics mentioned whether you think (your own opinion) it is mainly the task for society, the family or for both:

- Care for older people in their home
- Care for pre-school children
- Financial support for older people who live below subsistence level
- Financial support for younger people with children who live below subsistence level

Response categories vary from (1) "totally family" to (5) "totally society". Two items are about care and two about cash transfers, and each of the two are directed towards older people and children respectively, leaving us the opportunity to evaluate priorities between the family and the society (taken here to mean the welfare state), between cash and care, and between children and older people.

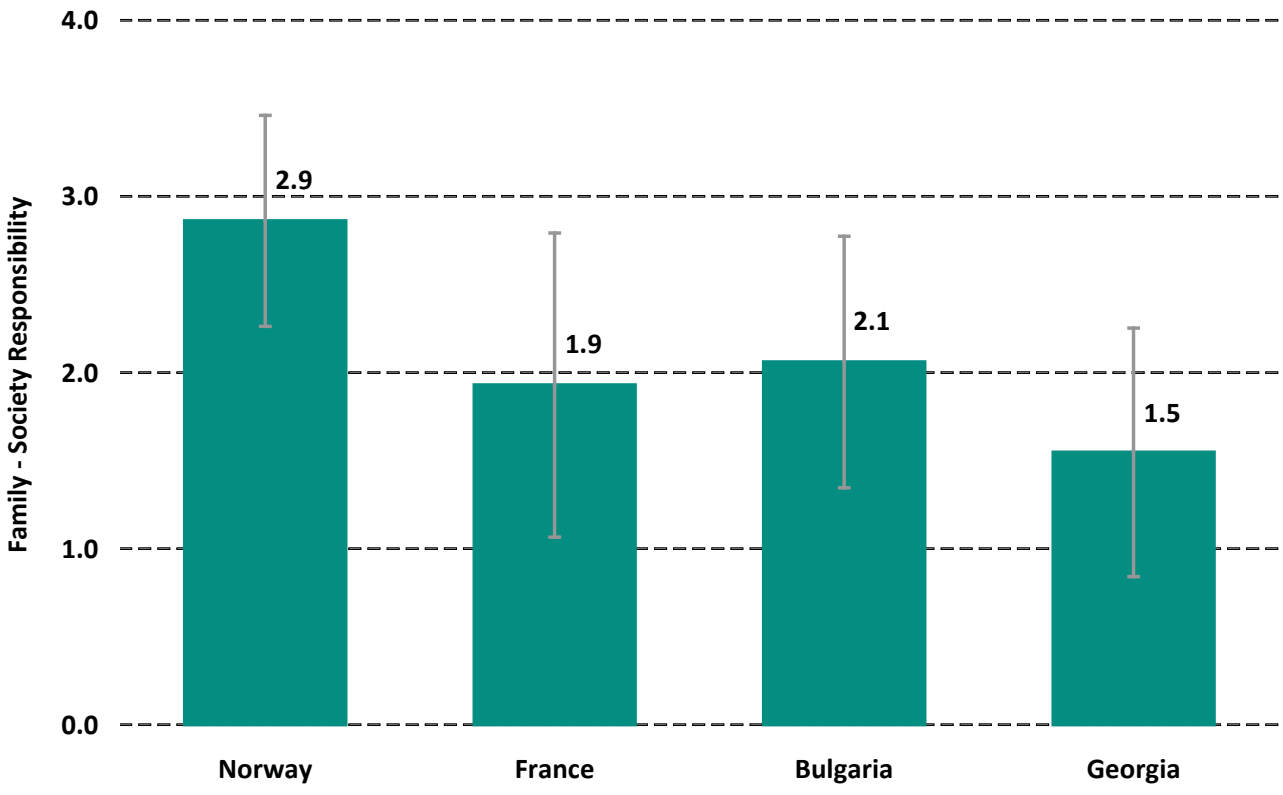
Opinions about priorities up and down generations within the family are indicated by two parallel items as indicators of filial and parental obligations respectively: Parental obligations are being indicated by (dis-)agreement on a five-point scale:

- Parents ought to provide financial help for adult children in financial difficulties.
- Parents should adjust their own lives in order to help adult children in need.

Filial obligations are indicated by quite similar, if not identical, items in the other direction:

- Children ought to provide financial help for parents with financial difficulties.
- Children should adjust their working lives to the needs of their parents.

Figure XXV
Scores on the family–societal responsibility index by country. Means (standard deviation)



Source: Notes: 0=total family responsibility, 4= total society responsibility.

3.4 Findings

Data from six countries were available for analysis: Bulgaria, France, Georgia, Germany, Norway and the Russian Federation. Figure XXV shows, as expected, that Norwegian respondents leave more of the responsibility to society than do the Bulgarians and the French, with Georgia representing the other extreme with more or less total family responsibility for care. Data were in this case only available for four countries, and are presented in Figure XXV as scores in an additive index for family-welfare state responsibility on the four items about care and transfers to elders and children, respectively.

Table 51 illustrates that cash support to meet subsistence needs, which indicates a high level of needs, is seen mainly as a societal responsibility in all four countries: nearly totally so in Norway, but in combination with family support in the other three countries. Financial support for subsistence is more of a societal responsibility than care in all four countries.

Figure XXVI A illustrates that societal responsibility is higher for elder care than for childcare, which is mainly a family responsibility in all countries. The responsibility for elder care is mainly societal in Norway, supplemented by the family. It is mainly a family matter in Bulgaria and France, supplemented by society. Georgia stands out with care being almost totally a family responsibility. Differences within and between countries are less for financial support (Figure XXVI B).

Table 51
Percentages reporting mainly or totally societal responsibility by domain and country

	Norway	France	Bulgaria	Georgia
Care for older persons in need of care at their home	71	13	17	5
Care for pre-school children	27	11	6	1
Financial support older people below subsistence level	90	51	59	46
Financial support younger people with children below subsistence level	82	47	65	50

Differences in priorities up and down generations within the family are illustrated in figure XXVII A and B. Both filial and parental responsibilities are lowest in Norway and highest in Georgia. Parental obligations tend to be higher than filial obligations, except in the Russian Federation.

Finally, among older respondents (aged 67+), obligations up and down generations are balanced in Bulgaria, Georgia and the Russian Federation, while the tendency is down generations (i.e. higher parental than filial obligations) in France, Germany and Norway (figure XXVIII).

3.5 Conclusion

Responsibilities for care and financial support to the elderly and children are perceived as mainly societal, supplemented by the family in Norway. They are rather equally distributed between the family and the society in Bulgaria and France, while they are mainly to totally a family responsibility in Georgia. The observed differences are considerable, and more or less in the expected direction. Whether they simply are responding to different opportunity structures or to differences in family cultures remains an issue to be explored in future analyses.

As for priorities, financial support is more of a societal responsibility than care in all four countries, possibly because the criteria for financial support is strict and refer to a below-subsistence level. Societal responsibility is higher for elders than for children as far as care is concerned, while societal support for subsistence gives equal priority to elders and children.

Family obligations – both filial (up generations) and parental (down generations) – are lowest in Norway and highest in Georgia, indicating a norm of autonomy between family generations in Norway, and a norm of interdependency in Georgia. Obligations between generations are balanced in Bulgaria, Georgia and the Russian Federation, while there is a priority down generations in France, Germany and Norway, supporting the developmental stake hypothesis. These are all tentative conclusions, and will be pursued in more depth in future publications.

Figure XXVI A
Per cent reporting mainly or total societal responsibility for care for older persons and pre-school children

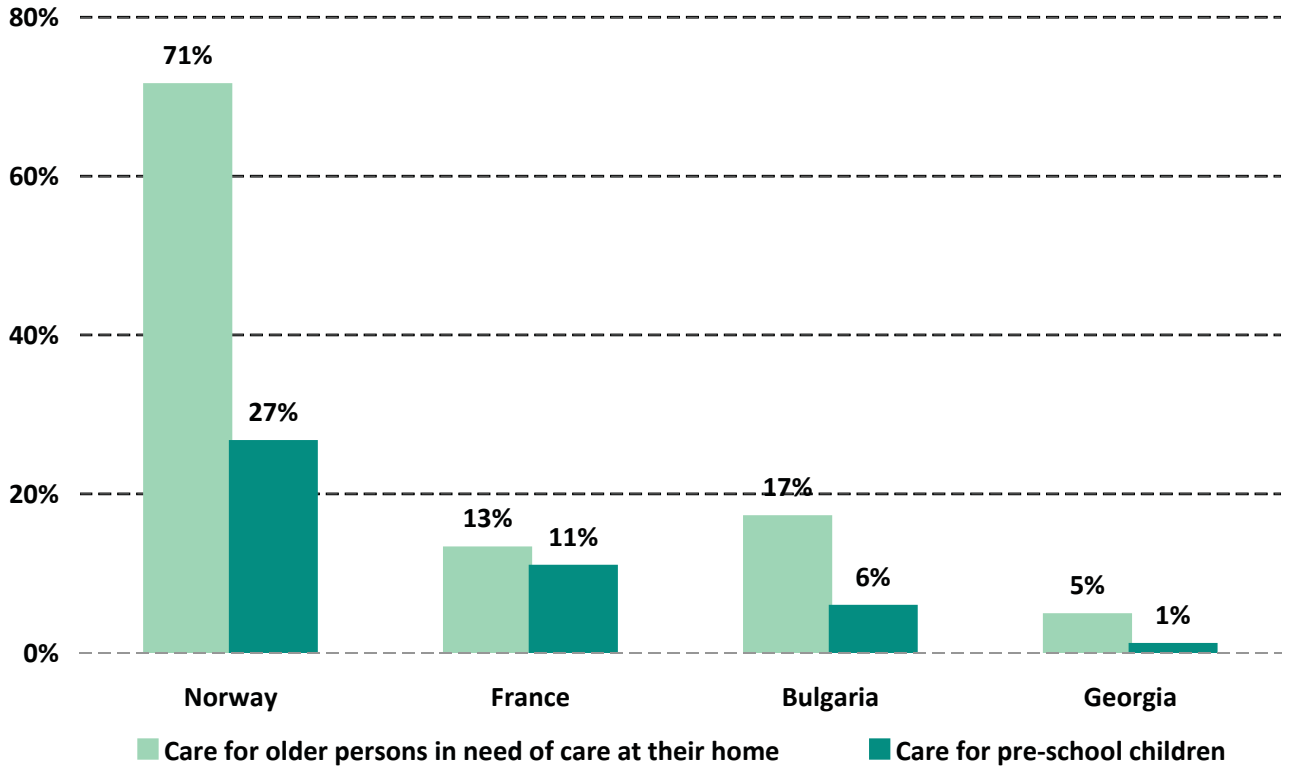


Figure XXVI B
Per cent reporting mainly or total societal responsibility for financial support to older people and younger people with children

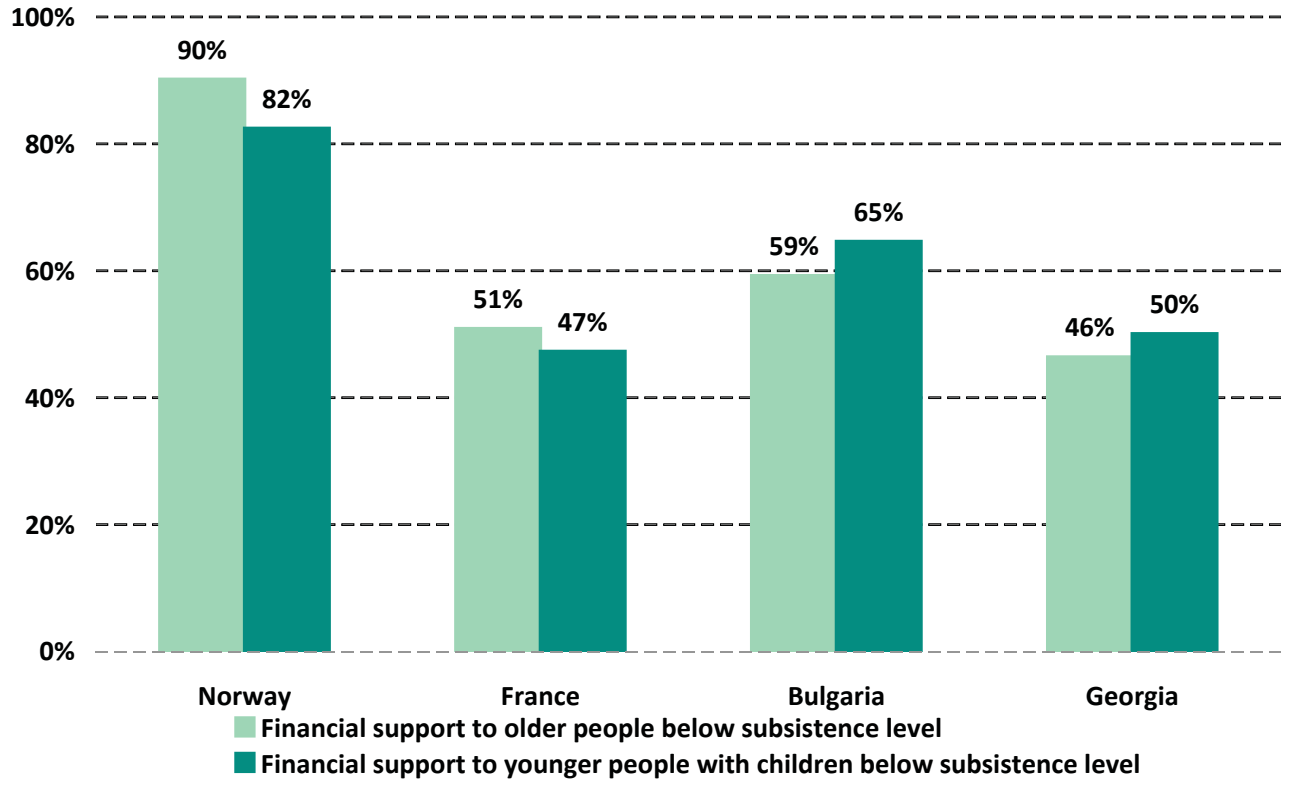


Figure XXVII A
Per cent in agreement with parental and filial obligations by country for financial support

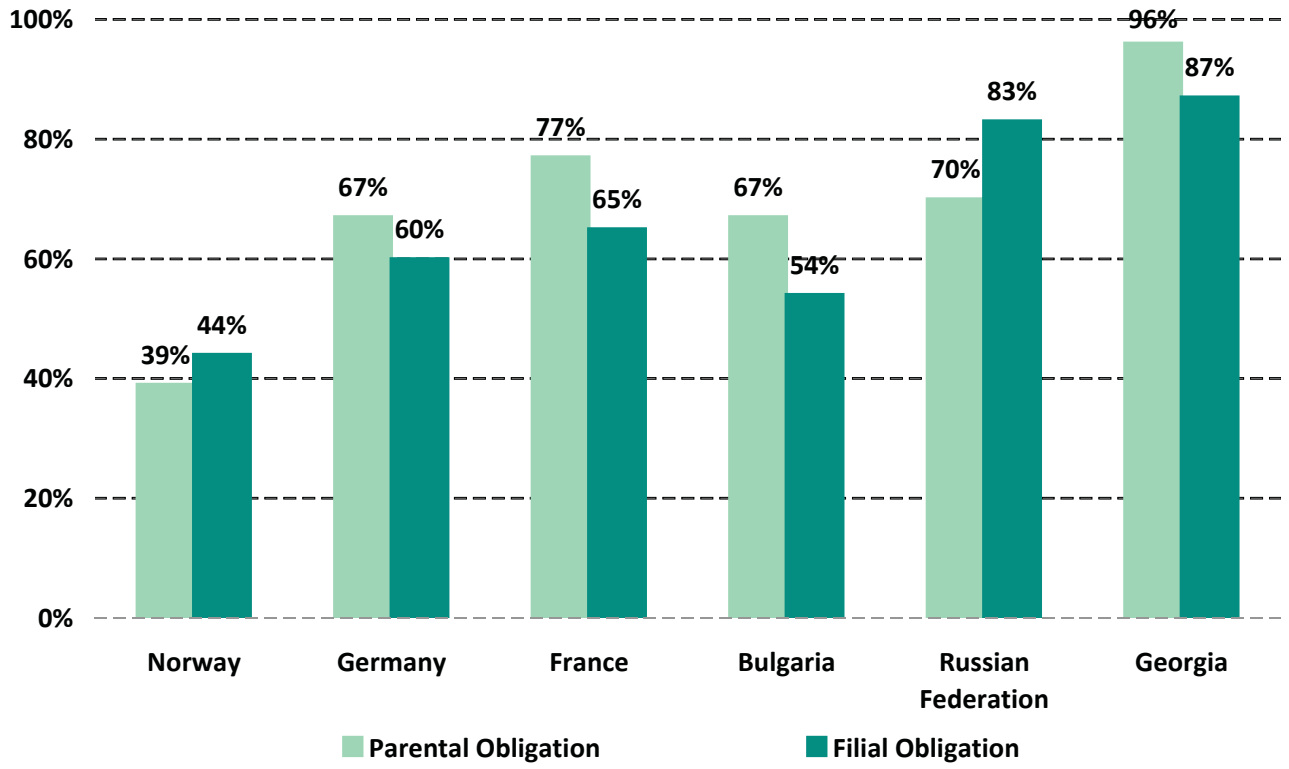


Figure XXVII B
Per cent in agreement with parental and filial obligations by country for adjustment to needs of the other.

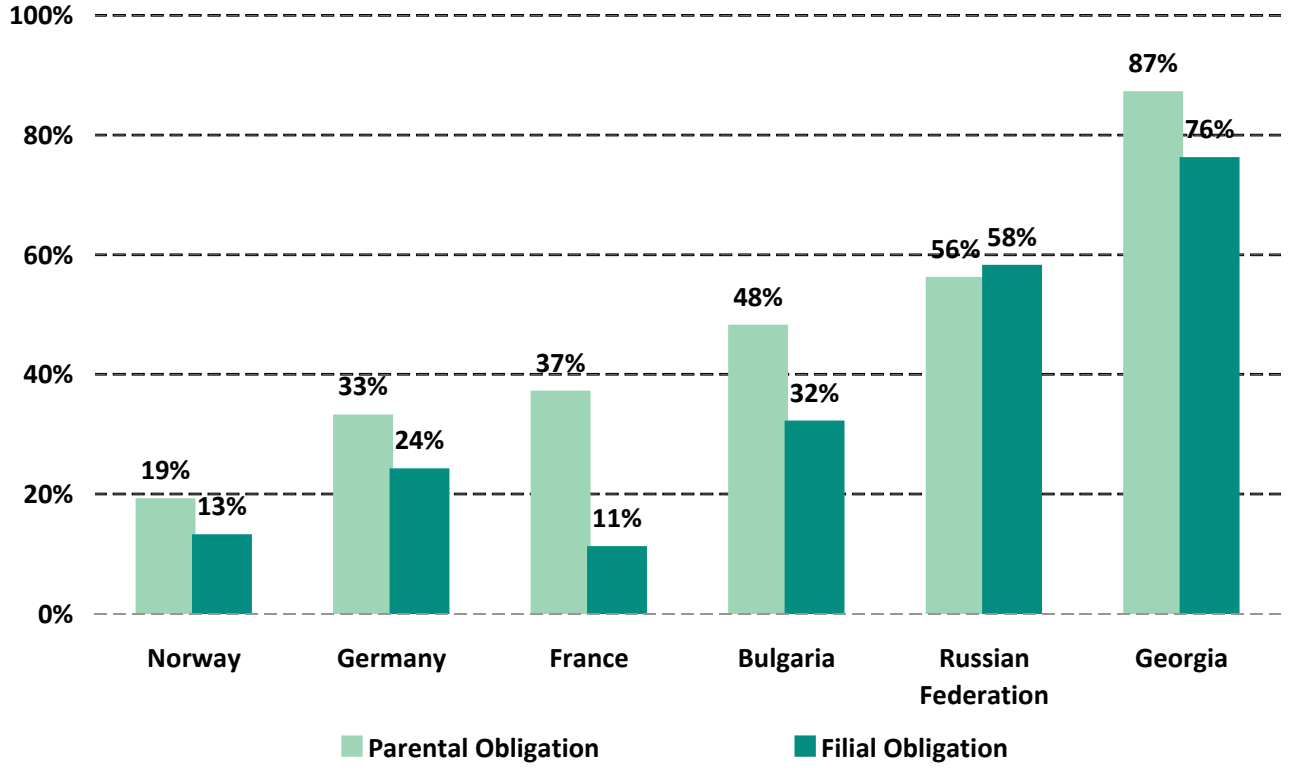
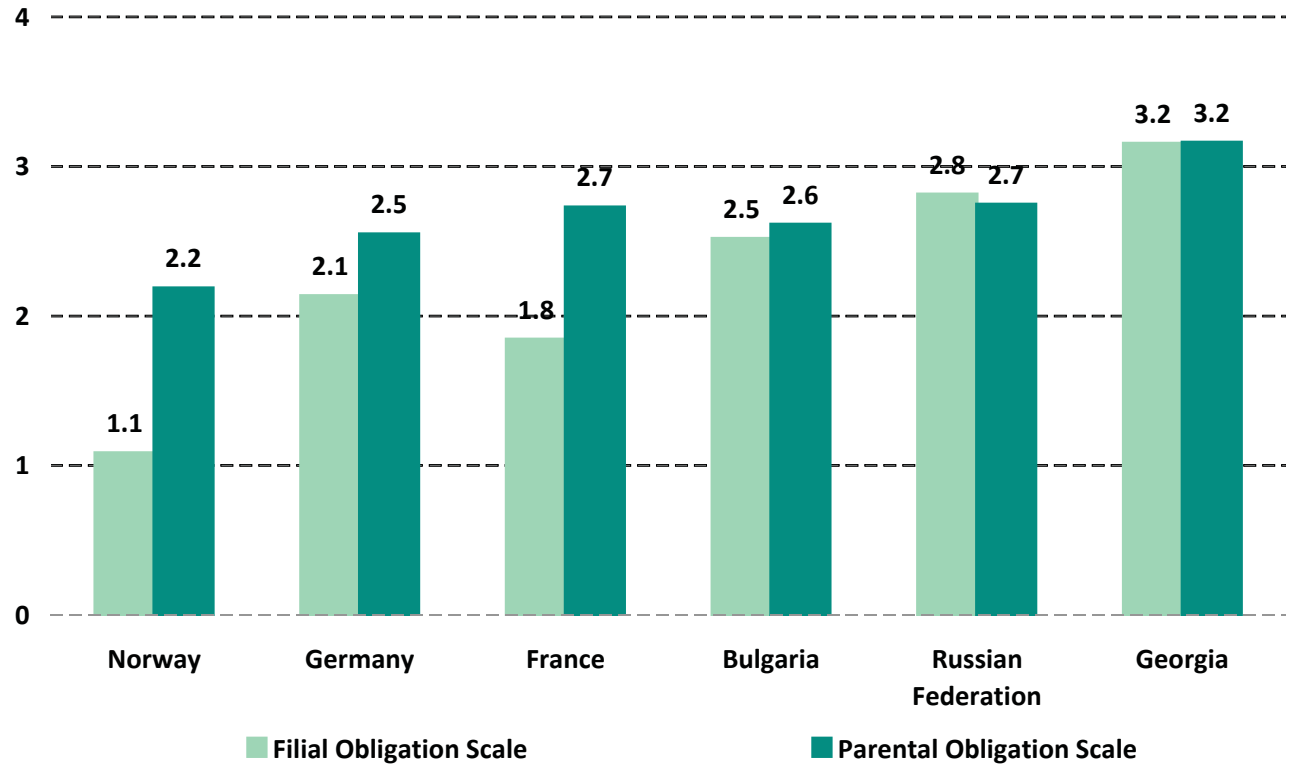


Figure XXVIII
Scores on filial and parental responsibility scales for older respondents (age 67+) by country.



Source: Scores 0 (minimum) to 4 (maximum).

4 - FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

There is still considerable controversy about the potential threat to intergenerational solidarity posed by population ageing. Some assume that the younger will become less inclined to identify with the older and will feel less obligated towards them. Others find both family and societal solidarity to be considerable and fairly resilient to change, albeit with variation in forms of expression. The preliminary analyses presented here point in this direction. Even the rather obvious assumption that the change in the population balance between older and younger age groups will drain resources among the younger need not be so obvious. Other concerns over solidarity refer to competing obligations: that it may have become more difficult to combine work and family commitments, first of all because women (daughters) have increasingly joined the (paid) labour market. Although we would acknowledge this as a potential problem, even a growing one, we would not exaggerate it. In fact, although these and other "sandwich positions" between obligations towards elders and others are rather frequent in midlife, they are usually of a short duration and are in most cases not very intense (Künemund 2006). Besides, formal services have developed during the last 50 years in most countries, and offer in some countries alternatives to family care, and in others at least some respite and support to family carers.

Part of the picture is that the older generation should be recognized not only as a burden and a drain on resources, but as a contributor and a resource. Most research to date has focused on the younger generation – on the provision of support to older parents, and what the motives for supporting or not are. Older parents – and older generations more generally – are then explicitly or implicitly considered as passive recipients, with needs that may or may not attract support from younger generations. We know less about the parental position, including parental values, norms and preferences. Older parents are often afraid to burden their children, and may be reluctant to ask them for help, as is indeed documented also in the GGS data presented here.

Most studies, in particular in residual welfare states where the family is seen as the primary responsible for elder care, have tended to assume that older parents prefer care from their children. However, a protective attitude towards children, expressed in the form of parental reluctance to oblige them to care, was already being reported in the 1950s and 1960s, when alternatives to family care were few and of a low standard. Ethel Shanas, for example, in her previously quoted article from 1960, found that older parents were less likely than their adult children to expect that an adult daughter should take a widowed mother into her household. These findings support the intimacy-at-a-distance ideal suggested by Rosenmayr and Köckeis (1963) in the early 1960s. So also do findings by McAuley and colleagues (1985) from the United States in the 1980s: They found that older people preferred ageing in place, but they would rather have formal care than family care in order to achieve this, although some mix of formal and informal care were their favourite choice. They also found that older parents would rather move to a nursing home than move in with a child if they could no longer live independently. Women were found to be more inclined towards formal care than men, and the older to be more receptive to formal care than the younger. Parallel findings are reported by Brody et al. (1983, 1984) from the United States, and by Daatland (1990) and others (e.g. Wielink et al. 1997) from Europe.

Generally speaking, adult children tend to express a greater degree of filial obligations than what is expected from the parental side. There may, however, be a cultural contrast here, where the more tight-knitted family cultures will attract more family-oriented solutions, including shared households between the generations. Shared households are today very uncommon in Western and Northern Europe, and far more common in the Southern and Eastern Europe. Shared households are, however, on the return globally (Sundström 1994), probably in response to opportunity more than to lack of solidarity. Generations have simply been made able to live independently, and they choose to do so when they can. Thus a shared household between generations, which used to be a characteristic of family solidarity, is no longer a general norm and no longer a general indicator of solidarity.

The main story emerging from recent studies is that older people want to remain independent as long as they possibly can. They are often reluctant to depend upon others – including their own children – not only for financial assistance, but also in daily life. What modern older parents want from children may then be contact and emotional attachment more than practical help. More traditional cultures may exhibit tighter family forms and prefer more collective solutions (cf. Reher 1998).

Solidarity stands on several legs, and is not a child of bare necessity only. Norms play a role, but so also do affection, attachment, mutual identification, and a common history – including social debt and reciprocal obligations over the life course. Some of these ties may be threatened by the demographic transition; others may possibly be strengthened by it. Thus we need to know more about the character of intergenerational solidarity and how it may be played out differently in different contexts. The Generations and Gender Study will help us in this exploration.

REFERENCES

Amato, P.R. (2005). Family Change: Decline or Resilience? In V. Bengtson, et al. (Eds.), Sourcebook of Family Theory and Research (pp. 112-114). Thousand Oakes: Sage.

Antonucci, T.C. (1990). Social Supports and Social Relationships. In R.H. Binstock & L.K. George (Eds.), Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences (3rd Edition) (pp. 205-226). New York: Academic Press.

Anttonen, A. & Sipilä, J. (1996). European Social Care Services: Is It Possible to Identify Models? Journal of European Social Policy, 6(2), 87-100.

Bengtson, V.L. & Roberts, R.E.L. (1991). Intergenerational Solidarity in Aging Families: An Example of Formal Theory Construction. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 53, 856–870.

Bengtson, V.L., Biblarz, T.J. & Roberts, R.E.L. (2002). How Families Still Matter. A Longitudinal Study of Youth in Two Generations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brody, E.M., Johnson, P.T., Fulcomer, M.C. & Lang, A.M. (1983). Women's Changing Roles and Help to Elderly Parents: Attitudes of Three Generations of Women. Journal of Gerontology, 38(5), 597-607.

Brody, E.M., Johnson, P.T. & Fulcomer, M.C. (1984). What Should Adult Children Do for Elderly Parents? Opinions and Preferences of Three Generations of Women. Journal of Gerontology, 39(6), 736-746.

Coleman, P. & O'Hanlon, A. (2004). Ageing and Development. New York: Oxford University Press.

Connidis, I. (2001). Family Ties and Aging. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Connidis, I. & McMullin, J.A. (2002). Sociological Ambivalence and Family Ties: A Critical Perspective. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 64, 558-567.

Daatland, S.O. (1990). What Are Families For? On Family Solidarity and Preferences for Help. Ageing and Society, 10, 1–15.

Daatland, S.O. (1997). Family Solidarity, Popular Opinion, and the Elderly: Perspectives from Norway. Ageing International, 1, 51–62.

Daatland, S.O. (2001). Ageing, Families, and Welfare Systems. Zeitschrift für Gerontologie und Geriatrie, 34, 16-20.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1999). Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Finch, J. & Mason, J. (1993). Negotiating Family Responsibilities. London: Tavistock/Routledge.

Giarusso, R., Stallings, M. & Bengtson, V.L. (1995). The Intergenerational Stake Hypothesis Revisited: Parent-Child Differences in Perceptions of Relationships 20 Years Later. In V.L. Bengtson, K.W. Schaie & L.M. Burton (Eds.), Adult Intergenerational Relations: Effects of Social Change (pp. 227-263). New York: Springer.

Künemund, H. (2006). Changing Welfare States and the 'Sandwhich Generation': Increasing Burden for the Next Generation? International Journal of Ageing and Later Life, 1(2), 11-30.

Lüscher, K. & Pillemer, K. (1998). Intergenerational Ambivalence: A New Approach to the Study of Parent–Child Relations in Later Life. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 60, 413–425.

McAuley, W.J. & Blieszner, R. (1985). Selection of Long-Term Care Arrangements by Older Community Residents. The Gerontologist, 25(2), 188-193.

Parsons, T. (1955). The American Family: It's Relations to Personality and the Social Structure. In T. Parsons & R.F. Bales (Eds.), Family, Socialization and Interaction Process (pp. 3-33). Glencoe: The Free Press.

Reher, D.S. (1998). Family Ties in Western Europe: Persistent Contrasts. Population and Development Review, 24 (2), 203–234.

Rosenmayr, L. & Köckeis, E. (1963). Propositions for a Sociological Theory of Ageing and the Family. UNESCO International Social Science Journal, XV, 3, 410-426.

Shanas, E. (1960). Family Responsibility and the Heatlh of Older People. Journal of Gerontology, 15, 408-411.

Shapiro, A. (2004). Revisiting the Generation Gap: Exploring the Relationships of Parent–Adult Child Dyads. International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 58 (2), 127-146.

Sundström, G. (1994). Care by Families: An Overview of Trends. In P. Hennesy (Eds.), Caring for Frail Elderly People in Europe. New Directions in Care (pp. 15–55). Paris: OECD, Social Policy Studies No. 14.

Taylor-Gooby, P. (2004). Open Markets and Welfare Values. Welfare Values, Inequality and Social Change in the Silver Age of the Welfare State. European Societies, 6(1), 29-48.

United Nations (2005). Generations and Gender Programme: Survey Instruments. New York and Geneva: United Nations.

United Nations (2007). Generations and Gender Programme: Concepts and Guidelines. New York and Geneva: United Nations.

van Oorshot, W. (2002). Individual Motives for Contributing to Welfare Benefits in the Netherlands. Policy and Politics, 30(1), 31-46.

Walker, A. (1993). Age and Attitudes. Bruxelles: European Commission.

Wielink, G., Huijsman, R. & McDonnell, J. (1997). Preferences for Care. A Study of the Elders Living Independently in the Netherlands. Research on Ageing, 19(2), 174-198 .

Wolfe, A. (1989). Whose Keeper? Social Science and Moral Obligations. Berkely: University of California Press.

CHAPTER 7

MOVING TOWARDS GENDER EQUALITY

*Gerda Neyer and Dorothea Rieck**

Rui Vale de Sousa @Fotolia

* Acknowledgement: We thank Jan M. Hoem for his support in writing this article.

1 - THE POLITICAL INTEREST IN DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

The fundamental demographic change in Europe has begun to attract considerable public attention in recent years. There has been a particular focus on the drop in fertility, as total fertility rates (TFR) in most of Europe have declined to levels that demographers call low (a TFR below 1.5) and lowest-low (a TFR below 1.3). As a consequence, permanent childlessness has risen and the childfree segments in women's and men's lives have expanded. At the same time, births to single mothers and to cohabiting and re-partnered couples have increased in many countries. Artificial reproductive technology is becoming a viable means of conception for many couples, which gives them an option to extend childbearing to ever higher ages and to determine the timing of childbearing more effectively at one's own choice. Childbearing patterns are thus becoming more diverse and family forms more dynamic in all European countries. International migration has increased and with it cross-border family formation and living arrangements. Same-sex partnerships and parenthood by same-sex couples have acquired legal and public recognition in many countries, which again has added to the diversity of present-day families. Together with low fertility and with smaller and more heterogeneous families, these changes are altering generational and kin relationships throughout Europe.

The persistently low period fertility has induced increasing political concern about its consequences and prompted a revival of interest in population policies at the national level. In 1986, only 10 of the now almost 50 countries in the Council of Europe[18] regarded their fertility levels as too low. Six countries then stated that they had implemented measures to raise fertility and another six countries pursued policies to maintain fertility levels. By 2007, 30 countries considered their fertility levels too low, 27 Member States admitted that they had policy measures in place to increase fertility and an additional 10 had taken steps to maintain fertility at current levels (United Nations 2008). Nearly two thirds of the Member States of the Council of Europe are thus concerned about their low levels of fertility and three quarters of the countries use population policies in an attempt to increase or stabilize their fertility levels.

Since the end of the twentieth century, demographic issues have come to the fore at the level of the European Union as well. Documents issued by the European Commission address the issue of low and declining birth rates in Member States[19] and view it as a major challenge to Europe's future development. In line with most EU Member States, the Commission stresses the need for policies to raise fertility and regards policy interventions to increase birth rates as realistic (European Commission 2007). It proposes a wide range of policies to improve the possibilities for women and men to found a family, including financial support, improved access to housing and services, and more flexible working hours and work organization (ibid.). Since the authority to pass policies that affect childbearing behaviour directly lies mainly with the Member States, the EU links its suggestions to its employment and its gender mainstreaming agendas as specified in the Lisbon strategy, the Barcelona targets and the gender equality roadmap (European Commission 2007). EU strategies focus on the reconciliation of work and family life, primarily in order to increase female labour-force participation rates in the EU to at least 60 per cent by 2010 (European Council 2002, 12). To reach this goal they suggest an expansion of childcare provisions to offer childcare to at least 33 per cent of children under age 3 and to 90 per cent of children between age 3 and the mandatory school age by 2010 (European Council 2002: 12), an expansion of flexible working arrangements and an increase in incentives to encourage men to take parental leave (Commission of the European Communities 2006b).

Placing fertility issues within the gender and employment objectives of the EU has major implications for fertility-related policy approaches and for fertility research. It calls for a broadening of the perspectives of the policy/fertility nexus to encompass gender equality and to examine the links between gender equality, employment, care and fertility.

[18] Currently, the Council of Europe has 47 members and 1 candidate for membership (Belarus).

[19] For cases in point, see the Green Paper on demographic change and the new solidarity between the generations (Commission of the European Communities 2005), the Commission's communication on the demographic future of Europe (Commission of the European Communities 2006a) and the Commission's first report on Europe's demographic future (European Commission 2007).

We take this as a starting point to explore whether gender equality in employment, care and financial resources plays a role in childbearing intentions in selected Western and Eastern European countries. We make use of the first wave of the national Generations and Gender Survey in Bulgaria, France, Germany and the Russian Federation carried out in 2004-2005. Among many other features, these data permit us to study women's and men's intentions to have a first child in the near future. Previous studies have mostly focused on Western Europe, but we have the opportunity to also include some countries in Eastern Europe. This greatly expands our possibilities to assess the general impact of gender equality on fertility. While in a Western context, one can usually assume that societies progress from less to more gender equality, women in Eastern Europe experienced considerable setbacks in gender equality after the collapse of the State Socialist regimes (Gal and Kligman 2000a and 2000b, Funk and Mueller 1993, Moghadam 1994). In our study, we can thus attempt to elicit gender-equality impacts when we take into account different systemic developments during recent decades.

Our paper proceeds as follows. We first give a brief overview over recent studies of the relationship between gender equality, employment, financial resources, care, and fertility. This is followed by an outline of the meaning of these features in a gender context and their representation in the fertility-relevant policy orientation of Bulgaria, France, Germany and the Russian Federation. We then present the results of our analysis of the relevant relationships with a focus on childbearing intentions, and we conclude with some reflections on the policy implications of our findings.

2 - GENDER EQUALITY AND FERTILITY: SOME RESEARCH RESULTS

A number of studies related to Western European countries point to the importance of gender equality for fertility development. Policies that promote women's labour-force participation, that alleviate women's care obligations, that further fathers' uptake of parental leave and that reduce the motherhood penalty in employment are regarded as conducive to increased childbearing and improved fertility development. McDonald (2000a and 2000b) argues that cleavages in gender equity between individual-oriented social institutions (such as education or employment) and family-oriented social institutions (such as family childcare) lead to lower fertility. If women's educational attainment and labour-force participation increase to levels higher than or close to those of men, while family care primarily remains a woman's tasks, he predicts that fertility will drop to very low levels (ibid.). These theoretical assumptions are partly confirmed by empirical macro-level studies that show that the negative association between female labour-force participation and fertility has weakened over time or even changed to a positive one (Brewster and Rindfuss 2000, Ahn and Mira 2002, Engelhardt, Kögel and Prskawetz 2004, Castles 2003). These changes can be largely attributed to institutional changes, in particular to the increase in institutional childcare facilities for children under the age of three (Castles 2003) and to a concurrent de-familialization (Esping-Andersen 1999) – that is, to a shift from the family to the State as the main provider of care and private welfare. However, there are great differences in institutional care services for children across Europe (Neyer 2003 and 2005). As a consequence, the observed change in the macro-level relationship between employment and fertility is mainly driven by change in the Nordic countries and in France. These countries have geared their social policies towards extending childcare, promoting women's employment and – particularly in the Nordic countries – towards furthering gender equality (ibid.). Studies of the relationship between employment and childbearing in these countries regularly find a positive impact of women's employment on childbearing (in that employed women have higher fertility), while the effects of employment on childbearing are mostly negative in countries that adhere to motherism, that is, whose policies endorse women as sole carers (Hoem 1993, Bernhardt 1993, Andersson 2000, Kravdal 1994, González, Jurado and Naldini 2000, Vikat 2004).

On the level of the family, greater equality in the gender division of care seems to be conducive to childbearing as well. Several studies of the Nordic countries show that fathers' engagement in childrearing increases further childbearing; couples in which the father takes some parental leave are more inclined to have another child than couples in which the father has not taken out any parental leave (Oláh 2003, Duvander and Andersson 2006, Duvander, Lappegård and Andersson 2008, Esping-

Andersen, Güell and Brodmann 2007, Brodmann, Esping-Andersen and Güell 2007). However, as Lappegård (2008) points out, the share of father's uptake of parental leave depends on the "gender balance in breadwinning". The more equal the mother's and father's incomes are and the larger the mother's contribution to the household income, the more parental leave the father takes (Lappegård 2008: 155). Just as with the changing relationship between employment and fertility, the positive impact of a father's parental leave and of his engagement in childcare on fertility is found mostly in the Nordic countries, which have actively promoted a gender-equal distribution of work and care between the partners and which have encouraged men's contribution to (unpaid) family work since the 1970s and 1980s. In countries that do not challenge the prevalence of the male-breadwinner/female-carer family organization, the findings are more ambivalent, ranging from no effects or even negative effects of gender equality to some positive effect among specific socio-economic groups (Esping-Andersen, Güell and Brodmann 2007; Mills et al 2008). In the latter countries, having a child increases the gender inequality in the distribution of time and of financial resources. After the birth of a child, fathers tend to work more than before, while mothers tend to work less or to withdraw from the labour market (Misra, Budig, and Moller 2007).

In countries that in effect support a gendered division of care and employment, women also face a greater motherhood penalty, which means that there is a greater decrease in income or in personal financial resources due to motherhood than in countries that put more store on gender equality. In fact, mothers incur the largest wage penalties in the conservative welfare states of Europe, which put the emphasis on women as primary caregivers (e.g. Austria, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands). In the Nordic countries, France and the Eastern European countries, the motherhood penalty is considerably lower. In these countries, mothers actually do not earn much less than women without children do (Misra, Budig and Moller 2007; Misra, Budig, and Böckmann 2008) .

Single-country studies indicate that policies that help women sustain their income level during employment interruption after childbirth may facilitate the decision for motherhood, while (severe) reductions of their financial resources due to childbirth may constrain childbearing. An analysis of developments in Hungary (Aassve, Billari and Spéder 2006) showed that there was a considerable decline in first-birth intensities among highly educated women when an income-related childcare benefit of 75 per cent of a mother's previous income during her care leave[20] was changed to a means-tested flat rate allowance amounting to only about half of the previous childcare benefit. Similarly, Vikat, in his study of women's labour-force attachment and childbearing in Finland (2004), demonstrated that despite a severe economic crisis and high unemployment in Finland during the 1990s fertility levels did not drop. He attributed this to a home-care benefit[21] that allowed mothers to maintain their income levels during the first years after childbirth.

Such studies allow us to draw a fairly consistent picture of the relationship between gender equality and fertility. On the macro-level, a de-gendering of labour-force participation and a de-familialization of childcare work seem to be necessary to create conditions supportive of childbearing and highest-low fertility. On the micro-level, the link between employment and childbearing appears to be largely intermediated by the institutional support offered to women. De-feminization of private care, which means a more equal distribution of care between mothers and fathers, has proven to be conducive to childbearing in countries that strive towards a gender-equal society. The fertility impacts of a more equal division of care between parents are more ambiguous in countries that support female-carer/male-breadwinner family forms or in countries that regard the distribution of care as a matter of parental choice. Finally, a lower birth penalty and the prospect of maintaining one's own financial resources after childbirth seem to further childbearing, while severe income cutbacks tend to reduce it.

---

[20] The care leave could be taken after parental leave, that is, it could start six months after the child's birth and last until its second birthday (Aassve, Billari and Spéder 2006, 135). Care leave (and also parental leave) was mostly taken by mothers (ibid.).

[21] The Finnish home-care allowance is a benefit granted to parents who do not make use of public childcare. In the 1990s, the home-care allowance was paid on top of other benefits, such as possible unemployment benefits (Vikat 2004). While it sustained fertility levels during the crisis, it led to a considerable decline in female labor-force participation (Rønsen and Sundström 2002).

3 - EMPLOYMENT, CARE, AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES FROM A GENDER AND WELFARE-STATE PERSPECTIVE

As our review of previous research indicates, fertility development in Europe seems to be increasingly tied to the gender development in employment, care support and financial resources in society and/or within the family. Employment, financial resources and care also represent different dimensions of gender equality and of welfare-state policies that regulate gender relationships in society and in the family. In all European societies, employment provides the main source of economic independence: it ensures one's own and one's family's living and grants comprehensive welfare protection over the life course. In most countries, this can only be achieved through full-time employment or through employment which secures an income on the level of full-time employment. Having a full-time employment may thus be regarded as a proxy for a person's capacity to "form and maintain an autonomous household" (Orloff 1993: 319), to assure her independent social protection and to maintain her bargaining power in a partnership. By contrast, working part-time usually implies less income, lower social-security benefits, a reduced capacity to sustain a household, and in couples with an unequal amount of paid work, a reduced bargaining power. For childless women and for men in general, working part-time may also be a sign of tenuous labour-market integration and may be accompanied by greater risks of unemployment.

The financial resources available to a person are usually seen as an indicator of her/his material standard of living. From a gender perspective, however, we can also consider them as an indicator of a person's agency – that is, of the scope of alternatives available to her, of her capabilities to choose, and of her potential to achieve well-being (Korpi 2000; 132; Sen 1992, Lister 1997). Financial resources are thus not simply a sign of possessions or of wealth, but are also an indicator of the power to act, of the capacity to participate in the active life of society, and of the potential to decide one's own life course.

Since in most countries it is women who attend to small children, care offers (e.g. institutional childcare provisions and parental leave) can be viewed as a public recognition of women's work and as the State's efforts to alleviate women's care burden. However, while institutional childcare provisions promote gender equality by enabling mothers' employment, parental leave options may undermine gender equality if the regulations allow long leaves, grant only low (or no) benefits and are not also specifically designed to induce men/fathers to take parental leave. One can therefore regard a country's care options as a sign of the extent to which it attempts to further gender equality or to reinforce gender inequality.

European welfare states have pursued different gender strategies regarding the support that they grant women or men to maintain their own employment, sustain their independent financial resources and alleviate their care obligations or enable their care giving during parenthood (Meyers, Gornick and Ross 1999, Leitner 2003). The four countries under study (Bulgaria, France, Germany, and the Russian Federation) represent different approaches in this respect.

France has followed a strategy of choice (Misra, Budig and Böckmann 2008). It focuses on women as workers and offers comprehensive childcare to support women's full-time employment. However, it also has policies in place that allow mothers (of several children) to retreat from the labour market for a longer period of time (see Toulemon, Pailhé, and Rossier 2008: 531f). German policies, by contrast, have targeted women as carers and men as earners[22]. Childcare facilities for children below age 3 are rare (except in East Germany), and the German tax and parental leave policies pose(d) an incentive for married women to withdraw from the labour market or reduce their employment substantially. Prior to 1989, Bulgaria and the Russian Federation emphasized women's participation in the workforce and at the same time furthered childbearing through comprehensive population policies that included childcare services, long leave options and various in-kind and cash benefits (Koytcheva and Philipov 2008, Zakharov 2008, Rieck 2006; 2008). Since the fall of State socialism, unemployment has risen markedly,

[22] As of 2007, Germany has changed its parental leave policies towards promoting women's labour force participation and father's care. Since 2005 Germany has also taken steps to improve childcare options. Since our study is based on data collected in 2005, we outline the policies relevant then.

and the financial situation of women and men has tightened. The gender and social inequality in labour force participation and in wages has increased. In the Russian Federation, childcare services were reduced considerably, and cash benefits and private care have been prioritized. In both countries, there has been a tendency to extend care leave options and emphasize maternalism (ibid.; Rostgaard 2004, Pascall and Manning 2000). Despite differences in employment, care and financial support policies, up to 2005 in all the countries under study, there had been no concerted efforts made to change gender relationships towards gender equality in employment, care and financial resources. Given the changes in women's social and economic situation (e.g. through changes in women's and men's labour force participation), we expect that this may have a bearing on the fertility intentions voiced by women and men in these countries.

4 - GENDER EQUALITY AND FERTILITY INTENTIONS: FINDINGS FROM THE GENERATIONS AND GENDER SURVEY

For our analysis of the impact of employment, care and financial resources on women's and men's intentions to have a first child in the near future, we make use of the harmonized data sets of wave 1 of the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS1) in Bulgaria, France, Germany and the Russian Federation. The data sets were provided by Population Unit of UNECE for its conference on "How Generations and Gender Shape Demographic Change" (Geneva, 14–16 May 2008). The fieldwork of GGS1 was carried out in 2004 (Bulgaria and the Russian Federation) and 2005 (France and Germany). All Generations and Gender Surveys are expected to use a standardized questionnaire that guarantees comparability across countries (Vikat et al. 2007, United Nations 2005, 2007)[23].

GGS1 was specifically designed to capture the social, economic, and institutional aspects of gender and generational relationships on the individual and kinship levels. It contains detailed information on individual fertility and family histories and on intentions regarding demographic events for women and men alike. It is therefore particularly well suited for the study of the impact of gender equality on fertility.

We make use of a series of survey questions on the respondents' intentions to have a child within the next three years (as of the interview date). GGS1 also asks what effect childbearing would have on various aspects of the respondent's (and her or his partner's) personal life and whether the decision to have a child would depend on any of these aspects.

By limiting the questions on the respondent's fertility intentions to a foreseeable time period and by embedding it in questions about what would influence her/his fertility decision, GGS1 overcomes some of the problems associated with the surveying of intentions. Answers to questions about an individual's fertility intentions in general (e.g. "How many children do you intend to have (i.e., ever)?") are likely to capture a social norm as well, i.e. the number of children the individual thinks she/he should have rather than will have. Such general questions therefore render findings that confound intentions and social norms, and this may be (partially) avoided by the more concrete question used in the GGS. Moreover, questions about intentions that are not contextualized tend to relate to a rather abstract ideal universe and do not elicit the conditions that either constrain or support the realization of the reported intention. Questions about intentions that cover an overseeable time period and that therefore are "in close temporal proximity to the prospective behaviour" (Ajzen and Fishbein 1973: 49) are generally considered to be the better predictors of actual behaviour. The same applies if determinants and perceived consequences of the intended behaviour are taken into consideration (Ajzen 1991). They offer the possibility of assessing which personal or contextual circumstances are crucial in the decision to carry out the intended action.

As mentioned, we concentrate on women's and men's intentions to have a first child within the next three years (i.e., three years following the GGS1). We focus on the influence that employment, care options and financial resources have in shaping this intention. We have chosen to study the impact of employment, care options and financial resources

[23] A detailed documentation of the Generations and Gender Programme, including guidelines, concepts, survey instruments and of GGP-related conferences, can be found at: http://www.unece.org/pau/ggp

because, as outlined, they are indicators of one's capacity to maintain one's own household and family, to acquire independent social protection and to retain one's bargaining power and one's agency. As regards care, they are an indicator of one's reliance on the State or on one's partner. We have furthermore chosen to look at the intention to have a first child because the birth of the first child is one of the most crucial events relevant to gender equality. Women's childbearing (and women's reproductive potential) has always been an anchor point for engendering and maintaining gender inequality (Pateman 1989, Wikander et al. 1995). Often the birth of the first child, more so than the birth of subsequent children, constitutes a turning point in the gender division and gender distribution of employment, care and financial resources. We may therefore expect that women and men assess such features differently when they consider having a child. We have therefore carried out our analyses separately for women and men. For each gender, we have employed logistic regressions with the intention to have a first child within the next three years as the dependent outcome. As explanatory variables, we have included the respondent's age and her/his family status and living arrangement. We have restricted a woman's age to being under 40 and a man's to under 45, as there are very few women and men who intend to have a first child beyond these ages. To get a picture of the main gender-equality factors related to fertility intentions and to avoid very small data sets, we pooled the data for the four countries in most of our analysis, but to be on the safe side we have also carried out separate analyses for each country to account for country specificities. The pooled data sets for women and for men contain 2.447 and 3.001 cases, respectively.

4.1 Country differences, age and family status

As expected, women and men in France and Germany have much lower intentions to have a first child within the next three years than women in Bulgaria and The Russian Federation, ceteris paribus (table 52). The higher intention rates in Bulgaria and the Russian Federation correspond to the universal childbearing in these two countries; almost all Bulgarian and Russian women and men become parents and they still do so at a comparatively young age (Kesseli 2007, Rieck 2008, Frejka et al. 2008). When the four countries are taken together, women are most likely to consider motherhood between ages 25 and 35, while younger and older women tend much less to want to become mothers. Men have a somewhat greater span in which they plan first fatherhood, namely between ages 25 and 40. We find remarkable gender differentials in parenthood intentions by family status. Among women who live in a union, marital status does not seem to matter much for their childbearing intentions; cohabiting women do not have significantly lower intentions of becoming mothers than married women do. By contrast, men in consensual unions are noticeably less inclined to become fathers in the near future than married men are. Not surprisingly, childbearing intentions were lowest for women and men who did not have a partner at the time of the interview.

4.2 Employment

As has been pointed out, in order to use employment as an indicator of whether a person can afford to form and maintain a household independently of the support of a partner, we differentiate between full-time, part-time and no employment when we look at the relationship between employment and the intention to have a first child within the next three years. Following Ajzen and Fishbein's (1980)suggestions, we furthermore consider the importance that the respondent attributes to her/his own work in the decision to have a child by including the response to two additional questions, namely: "How much would having a child within the next three years affect your employment opportunities?" and "How much would the decision to have a child within the next three years depend on your work?"

Our analysis shows that women who are in full-time employment are much more likely to intend to have a child than women who are in part-time work, who are not employed, or who are in education. For men, the activity status is much less important for their childbearing intentions: men in full-time work are somewhat more inclined to become fathers than those who work part-time or are not employed, but the results are less pronounced and not significant (table 53). What is furthermore surprising is the fact that women who work part-time show the same reservations about becoming mothers as women without employment do. (The same may be said for men; however, the results for men are not significant.) Full-time employment seems to be a precondition for women (and men) to intend to have a child. Part-time work or non-employment appears to entail a greater risk for women than it does for men as far as the intention to have a first child is concerned. If, as suggested, full-time employment

Table 52
Intention to have a first child within the next three years among childless women and men (odds ratio)

	Women		Men	
Country				
Bulgaria	1.20		2.09	***
Russian Federation	1		1	
Germany	0.40	***	0.61	***
France	0.37	***	0.71	***
Marital status and living arrangement				
Living apart together	0.40	***	0.35	***
Cohabiting (not married)	0.80		0.67	**
Married	1		1	
No partner	0.23	***	0.27	***
Respondent's age				
< 20	0.22	***	0.24	***
20 < 25	0.45	***	0.48	***
25 < 30	1		1	
30 < 35	1.40	*	1.10	
35 < 40	0.43	***	0.86	
40 < 45			0.44	***
N=	2,447		3,001	

*Notes: (1) *** p≤0.01; ** p≤0.05; * p≤0.1*
(2) Missing values are not shown but were controlled for
Source: authors' estimation based on the Generation and Gender Surveys

can be regarded as an indicator of the possibility to maintain one's own household and to retain one's bargaining power vis-à-vis a partner, then the results show clearly that for women being able to support themselves (and their child) and to retain their independence has become a prerequisite for motherhood in the four countries in our analysis.

This interpretation is further confirmed by the results regarding the effects a child would have on the respondent's employment situation. Women and men who expect negative consequences from childbearing on their work are much less likely to intend to have a child in the near future than those who think that parenthood would have no effect, or even a positive effect, on their employment situation (table 53). These results should be seen in the light of the gender distribution of the expected consequences of parenthood: The vast majority of women, namely two thirds, fear that having a child would impair their employment opportunities, while only a quarter of the sampled men have reported this concern. Only about 30 per cent of the women expect that motherhood would have no effect on their employment situation as compared to 66 per cent of the men. Men who believe that becoming a father would improve their work situation (about 9 per cent of all interviewed men) are about twice as inclined to intend to have a child within the upcoming years as those who do not expect any impact of fatherhood on their work. The 4 per cent of the female respondents who think that a child would improve their employment opportunities do not differ much in their childbearing intentions from those women who do not expect any consequences of motherhood on their work. From a gender perspective, these results show that considerable differences still exist between women and men in the (perceived) implications of motherhood and fatherhood vis-à-vis their employment situation. However, there are essentially no differences as to the consequences of these implications for their fertility intentions. For both men and women, the possibility of maintaining or even improving their employment opportunities after becoming a parent is essential in order to intend having a

Table 53
Intention to have a first child within the next three years among childless women and men (odds ratio)

	Women		Men	
Activity status of respondent				
Employed (full-time)	1		1	
Employed (part-time)	0.61	**	0.80	
Not employed/in education	0.62	***	0.88	
Effect of having a child on employment				
Better	1.09		2.05	***
Neither/nor	1		1	
Worse	0.51	***	0.58	***
Dependence of decision to have a child on work				
Not at all	0.85		1.12	
A little	1		1	
A lot	0.62	***	0.80	***
Activity status of partner				
Employed	1		1	
Not employed/in education	1.07		0.95	
Effect of having a child on partner's employment				
Better	1.40		3.36	***
Neither/nor	1		1	
Worse	0.43	***	0.83	
Dependence of decision to have a child on partner's work				
Not at all	1.10		1.15	
A little	1		1	
A lot	0.81		0.80	
N=	2,447		3,001	

*Notes: (1) *** p≤0.01; ** p≤0.05; * p≤0.1*
(2) Controlled for marital status, age of respondent, and country
(3) Missing values are not shown but were controlled for
Source: authors' estimation based on the Generation and Gender Surveys

child, while negative labour market prospects due to childbearing decrease intentions to have a first child in the near future considerably.

The importance that women and men attribute to their employment with respect to their fertility intentions is further underlined by their answers to the question of whether their intention to have or not have a child would depend on their work. There is not really much difference between those who reported that their intention to have a child within the next three years is not influenced at all by their work situation and those who believe that their decision depends on their situation only to a small extent, although women and men tend to lean in different directions on this issue. Women who say that their work has no importance for their childbearing intentions (about one quarter of all women) tend to show a somewhat reduced intention to have a child (as compared to women who report that employment issues play a slight role in their decision-making processes). Conversely, men who claim that their employment situation is irrelevant to their fertility intentions (about one third of all men) are somewhat more inclined to intend to have a child (than men who say that their intentions for fatherhood depend only a little on employment aspects). By contrast, both women and men who say that their intentions whether to become a parent strongly depend on their employment situation (nearly half of all women and about 45 per

cent of all men) are much the less likely to intend to have a child. The effect is in fact stronger among women than among men (table 53, panel 3). As with the results on the impact of employment and the expected effects of childbearing on employment, this confirms that employment has become an essential factor in women's considerations about whether to become a mother. The findings also indicate that women realize that their employment situation may become (and most often does become) more volatile with childbearing. To a greater extent than men, women consider their work when they weigh whether to have a child and, viewing parenthood from the employment perspective, this reduces their childbearing intentions to a greater extent than it does for men.

For respondents who have a partner, we also examined whether the partner's employment plays a role in the respondent's own childbearing intentions. As table 53 shows (panel 4), the partner's activity status has no visible impact on the intention to have a child within the next three years. (The intention of respondents whose partner currently is not employed does not differ markedly from those whose partner currently is employed.[24]) The same can be said of the importance that the partner's work is reported to have on the respondent's own fertility intentions. Respondents (both women and men) who state that their childbearing intentions depend a lot on the partner's employment show somewhat lower intentions to have a first child than those for whom the partner's employment is said to be of minor influence. Those for whom the partner's employment is irrelevant for the decision to have a child are somewhat more inclined to have a child in the near future. In neither case is the finding significant, however. By contrast, the effect that parenthood could have on the partner's employment seems to have a significant influence on childbearing intentions – and with partly deviating effects for women and men (table 53, panel 5): Women who state that having a child would worsen their partner's employment opportunities, are much less inclined to intend to have a child than those who do not expect any consequences of family formation on their partner's employment. Women who think that their partner's employment situation will improve by becoming a father tend to be somewhat more inclined to become mothers, although the result is not significant. Among men, negative consequences for their partner's employment seem to impact on their intention to have a child in the next three years only marginally (and non-significantly). Yet if they expect an improvement for their partner's employment, the odds of their intending to have a child more than triple. There are, however, only a small number of men (7 per cent) who think that their partner's work opportunities will improve with childbearing; the majority of men (54 per cent) expect that their partner's employment situation will worsen. By contrast, among women, the vast majority (77 per cent) sees their partner's work situation as untouched by childbearing and 12 per cent expect that their partner's employment will improve with fatherhood.

Similar to the assessment that women and men have of the relationship between their own employment situation and childbearing, they also seem to have a rather realistic picture of the effect of childbearing on their partner's employment (given the gender differences in impact of childbearing on women's and men's employment reported by other studies). But women and men draw different consequences from their assessment. Women seem rather to abstain from intending to have their first child in the next three years if they expect negative impacts of childbearing on their own and their partner's employment. Men's childbearing intentions seem to be less affected by potentially negative outcomes of motherhood for their partner's employment. The fact that a man's intention to have a child in the near future decreases markedly if he expects negative consequences for his own work, but that his intention does neither decline much nor significantly if he expects negative impacts of childbearing on his partner's employment, may reflect a gendered attitude to work: men may perhaps regard negative consequences of childbearing on women's work as the "normal" costs of childbearing for women.

4.3 Financial situation

We consider the financial situation as a proxy for women's and men's agency, that is, for their capability to pursue goals which they value (Sen 1992). For both women and men, the financial situation plays a considerable role in their intentions to have a

[24] In our regressions we have included (a) the respondent's and the partner's employment, (b) the respondent's views on the effect of childbearing on her/his own and (c) on the partner's employment and (d) her/his views on the dependence of her/his and the partner's childbearing decision on employment, all in a single model in order to control for these factors mutually.

first child within the next three years (table 54). If childbearing is expected to worsen their financial situation, women and men are much less inclined to intend to become parents than if they expect no impact on their financial situation. A foreseen aggravation of their financial situation reduces women's childbearing intentions even somewhat more than men's. It should be noted that about two thirds of women and men alike expect that childbearing will depress their financial situation. Men who think that their financial situation will improve with fatherhood are much more inclined to have a child in the next three years than those who do not expect any consequences. Women seem to be much more reserved; there is only a slight tendency toward increased childbearing intentions if they expect the financial situation to improve, and the result is not significant.

Women and men who state that their decision to have a child within the next three years would depend a lot on their financial situation (about half of all women and men, separately) are less inclined to have a child than those who feel that their childbearing decisions depend on their financial situation only to some extent (table 54, panel 2). Although the results are not significant, men for whom their financial situation has no influence on their childbearing decisions tend slightly more towards fatherhood than those for whom the financial situation does not play a great role in their deliberation about having or not having a child. Women who say that their financial situation is irrelevant for their childbearing show slightly lowered intentions compared to those who make their childbearing decisions somewhat dependent on their financial situation. For women and men alike, the prospect of impairing their financial situation through parenthood severely lowers their intentions to have a first child in the next three years. This implies that, both for women and for men, maintaining their living standard and their agency (measured in terms of maintaining their financial standard) seems to be crucial for their childbearing intentions.

Table 54
Financial situation and childbearing intentions:
intention to have a first child within the next three years among childless women and men (odds ratio)

	Women		Men	
Effect of having a child on financial situation				
Better	1.28		1.81	***
Neither/nor	1		1	
Worse	0.45	***	0.52	***
Dependence of the decision to have a child on financial situation				
Not at all	0.78		1.10	
A little	1		1	
A lot	0.75	**	0.79	***
N =	2,447		3,001	

*Notes: (1) *** p≤0.01; ** p≤0.05; * p≤0.1*
(2) Controlled for marital status, age of respondent, and country
(3) Missing values are not shown but were controlled for
Source: authors' estimation based on the Generation and Gender Surveys

4.4 Care options and fertility intentions

As regards care options, we have examined two possibilities. First, GGS1 allows us to assess whether the opportunity to go on parental or care leave has an impact on the intention to have a first child (again, within three years after the interview). We must take into account, however, that the question may have different connotations for women and men. Since parental leave regulations for women have been in place in all four countries for several decades, the question posed to women may pick up aspects of an entitlement to parental leave, such as the fulfilment of employment or of income requirements. This may be different for men. Due

to the EU Directive on parental leave[25], fathers in the EU are also entitled to parental leave (of at least three months). Parental leave options for fathers are also part of national family policies in the Russian Federation. Nevertheless, only a minority of fathers have made use of the opportunity to go on parental leave (for more than very short periods of time) in any of the four countries that we have examined[26]. For men, the question concerning the impact of parental leave opportunities on their intentions to have a child may thus indicate their willingness to devote some time to childcare and may signal a step towards a changing perception of fatherhood and greater gender equality in family issues.

Second, while we are able to investigate whether the availability of childcare affects childbearing intentions, we cannot distinguish between different types of childcare, e.g. institutional care or private care. Nevertheless, the question offers the possibility of assessing the significance that women and men attribute to having some assistance in and relief from childcare obligations.

As table 55 reveals, the opportunity to go on parental leave has no visible effect on women's and men's intentions to become a parent within the next three years. The intentions of women and men who state that their decision to have a child in the near future depends a lot on the possibility of taking parental leave do deviate much from those who say they pay only little attention to parental leave options in their fertility considerations. The same applies to those who do not pay any attention to parental leave options when considering having a child (table 55, panel 1).

The results are quite different as regards the availability of childcare. Women and men who declare that their childbearing decisions depends a lot on the availability of childcare are much less inclined to plan a first child within the next three years than those for whom childcare availability is of less or no importance. Women who attribute great significance to the availability of childcare are even somewhat more hesitant to have a first child than the respective men are. These results suggest that those women and men who may depend on the availability of childcare (i.e. those who say childcare is of great significance for their decision to have a child) may have some doubts about whether the childcare that they need or seek is actually available.

5 - CONCLUSIONS: MOVING TOWARDS GENDER EQUALITY

This study has taken the recent suggestions by the EU that Governments should implement policies to increase fertility as a starting point to explore the relationship between fertility intentions and gender equality. We have concentrated on aspects of gender equality that correspond to the EU goals of the Lisbon agenda and to the EU roadmap to gender equality, namely gender equality in employment, care and financial resources. For our explorations, we have chosen a life-course event that often marks a turning point from more to less gender equality – the birth of the first child – and looked at the impact of employment, care and financial resources on women's and men's intentions to have a first child in the near future. The results of our study underline the importance of employment, care and financial security for fertility decisions of women and men as well as the greater weight that women put to most of these issues in their fertility intentions.

Women who have only a part-time job or no employment at all are much less inclined to have a child in the near future than women who have a full-time job. A precarious employment situation (part-time work or no employment) seems to have a less strong effect on men's intentions to become a father. Negative employment prospects associated with childbearing reduce fertility intentions significantly, for women and men alike. However, men hardly lower their fertility intentions if they expect that a child would impair their partner's employment situation, while women seem to abstain from childbearing intentions if they expect negative consequences for their partner's work. In general, women who have a potentially risky employment situation (part-time work or no employment), pay a lot of attention to their work in their fertility decisions and expect

[25] Council Directive 96/34/EC of 3 June 1996 on the framework agreement on parental leave, concluded by UNICE, CEEP and ETUC (OJL 145, June 19, 1996, 4-9).

[26] Since 2002, France has a statutory paternal leave which grants father the possibility to take an 11-day leave. About 60 per cent of fathers have made use of it (Toulemon, Pailhé and Rossier 2007: 541). In Germany, fathers' use of parental leave has increased substantially after the recent amendment of the parental leave regulations, which reserve two non-transferable months of the parental leave to the either the father or the mother.

Table 55
Care options and childbearing:
intention to have a first child within the next three years among childless women and men (odds ratio)

	Women		Men	
Dependence of childbearing on opportunity to go on parental/childcare leave				
Not at all	1.07		0.92	
A little	1		1	
A lot	1.04		0.87	
Dependence of childbearing on availability of childcare				
Not at all	1.07		1.12	
A little	1		1	
A lot	0.64	***	0.74	***
N=	2,447		3,001	

*Notes: (1) *** p≤0.01; ** p≤0.05; * p≤0.1*
(2) Controlled for marital status, age of respondent, and country
(3) Missing values are not shown but were controlled for
Source: author's estimation based on the Generation and Gender Surveys

negative impacts of motherhood on their own or their partner's work are much less likely to consider a first child in the near future than those with a full-time job. The same applies to those women who do not expect negative consequences of childbearing for their work and do not make their fertility decisions dependent on their work situation. However, positive prospects of employment do not raise women's fertility intentions. Men, by contrast, tend to be encouraged to consider a child if they expect a positive impact of parenthood on their or their partner's work situation.

Retaining their financial situation after the birth of a child seems to be a crucial element in women's and men's consideration to have a child. Both react with strongly reduced fertility intentions if they expect their financial situation to worsen or if their financial situation plays a great role in their fertility decisions. As with the employment situation, women hardly increase their fertility intentions if they expect a positive effect of childbearing on their financial situation. Men, however, react with highly elevated fertility intentions if they expect that having a child will improve their financial situation.

The opportunity to go on parental leave or care leave does not affect women's childbearing intentions of the near future, nor do we find any discernable effect on men, which would signal that the possibility of active fatherhood (and greater gender equality in care) affects their childbearing intentions. The availability of childcare, however, seems to influence childbearing plans: Both women and men who state that their intentions to have a child in the next three years depend heavily on the availability of childcare are much less likely to plan a child than those for whom childcare availability is of no or little importance.

Although our study is only a first attempt to explore the relationship between gender and fertility and more in-depth research is needed to back policy conclusions, there are some indications as to which directions fertility-related policies should take. Having a job that allows one to maintain a household and retain one's agency and also sustains one's financial resources seems to be essential for women and men to consider having a child in the near future. So does the availability of childcare. Given that these aspects seem to be even more essential for women than for men, this does not only call for policies that strengthen women's and men's employment and financial situations, but for policies that strengthen women's employment and financial resources vis-à-vis men. This clearly calls into question policy strategies that aim at easing part-time options for women as a route to increase fertility, at least as far as the transition to parenthood is concerned. It rather calls for a shift in employment policies with a focus on gender equality from the perspective of childcare.

REFERENCES

Aassve, A., Billari, F.C. & Spéder, Z. (2006). Societal Transition, Policy Changes and Family Formation: Evidence from Hungary. European Journal of Population 22, 127-152.

Ahn, N. & Mira, P. (2002). A Note on the Changing Relationship between Fertility and Female Employment Rates in Developed Countries. Journal of Population Economics 15(4), 667-682.

Ajzen, I. & Fishbein, M. (1973). Attitudinal and Normative Variables as Predictors of Specific Behaviors. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 27(1), 41-57.

Ajzen, I. & Fishbein, M. (1980). Understanding Attitudes and Predicting Behaviour. Englewood-Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall.

Ajzen, I. (1991). The Theory of Planned Behavior. Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes 50(2), 179-211.

Andersson, G. (2000). The Impact of Labour-Force Participation on Childbearing Behaviour: Pro-Cyclical Fertility in Sweden during the 1980s and 1990s. European Journal of Population 16(4), 293-333.

Bernhardt, E. (1993). Fertility and Employment. European Sociological Review 9, 25-42.

Brewster, K. L.& Rindfuss, R. R. (2000). Fertility and Women's Employment in Industrialized Nations." Annual Review of Sociology 26, 271-96.

Brodmann, S., Esping-Andersen & G. & Güell, M. (2007). When Fertility Is Bargained: Second Births in Denmark and Spain. American Sociological Review 23(5), 599-613.

Castles, F.G. (2003). The World Turned Upside Down: Below Replacement Fertility, Changing Preferences and Family-Friendly Public Policies in 21 OECD-Countries. Journal of European Social Policy 13(3), 209-27.

Commission of the European Communities (2005). Green Paper "Confronting Demographic Change: a New Solidarity Between the Generations", COM(2005) 94 Final, 16.3.2005. Brussels.

Commission of the European Communities (2006a). The Demographic Future of Europe - From Challenge to Opportunity. Commission Communication. COM(2006) 571 Final, 12.10.2006, Brussels.

Commission of the European Communities (2006b). A Roadmap for Equality Between Women and Men 2006-2010. Communication From the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions.{SEC(2006) 275} COM/2006/0092 Final, Brussels.

Council Directive 96/34/EC of 3 June 1996 on the framework agreement on parental leave concluded by UNICE, CEEP and ETUC (OJL 145, June 19, 1996, 4-9).

Duvander, A. & Andersson, G. (2006). Gender Equality and Fertility in Sweden: a Study on the Impact of the Father's Uptake of Parental Leave on Continued Childbearing. Marriage and Family Review 39 (1/2), 121-142.

Duvander, A., Lappegård, T. & Andersson, G. (2008). Family Policy and Fertility: Fathers' and Mothers' Use of Parental leave and Continued Childbearing in Norway and Sweden. Stockholm Research Report in Demography 2008/6: http://www.suda.su.se/SRRD/SRRD_2008_6.pdf

Engelhardt, H., Kögel, T. & Prskawetz, A. (2004). Fertility and Women's Employment Reconsidered: A Macro-Level Time-Series Analysis for Developed Countries, 1960-2000. Population Studies 58(1), 109-120.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1999). Social Foundation of Postindustrial Economies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Esping-Andersen, G., Güell, M. & Brodmann, S. (2007). When Mothers Work and Fathers Care. Household Fertility Decisions in Denmark and Spain. In: Esping-Andersen, Gøsta (Eds.): Famile Formation and Family Dilemmas in Contemporary Europe. Bilbao: Fundación BBVA, 129-154.

European Commission (2007). Europe's Demographic Future: Facts and Figures on Challenges and Opportunities. Luxembourg: Office of Official Publications of the European Communties.

European Council (2002): Presidency Conclusions. Barcelona European Council 15 and 16 March 2002. SN 100/1/02 REV 1.

Frejka, T., Sobotka, T., Hoem, J. M. & Toulemon, L. (Eds.) (2008). Childbearing Trends and Policies in Europe. Demographic Research: Special Collection 7, http://www.demographic-research.org/special/7/default.htm.

Funk, N. & Müller, M. (Eds.). (1993). Gender Politics and Post-Communism. Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. London: Routledge

Gal, S. & Kligman, G. (2000a). Reproduction As Politics. In: Gal, S. & Kligman, G.: The Politics of Gender after Socialism Princeton, Princeton University Press, 15-36.

Gal, S. & Kligman, G. (Eds.). (2000b). Reproducing Gender. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

González, M. J., Jurado, T. & Naldini, M. (2000). Gender Inequalities in Southern Europe. Women, Work and Welfare in the 1990s. London, Frank Cass.

Hoem, B. (1993). The compatibility of employment and childbearing in contemporary Sweden. Acta Sociologica 36, 101–120.

Hoem, J. M. (2007). The Impact of Public Policies on European Fertility. Demographic Research 19(10), 249-260: http://www.demographic-research.org/Volumes/Vol19/10/19-10.pdf. Also in: Frejka, T., Sobotka, T., Hoem, J. M. & Toulemon, L. (Eds). 2008. Demographic Research, Special Collection 7: Childbearing Trends and Policies in Europe. http://www.demographic-research.org/special/7/default.htm

Kesseli, K. (2007). Frist Birth in Russia: Everyone Does It - Young. Finnish Yearbook of Population Research 2007-200, 41-62.

Korpi, W. (2000). Faces of Inequality: Gender, Class, and Patterns of Inequalities in Different Types of Welfare States. Social Politics 7(2), 127-191.

Koytcheva, E. & Philipov, D. (2008). Bulgaria: Ethnic Differentials in Rapidly Declining Fertility. Demographic Research 19(13), 361-402, http://www.demographic-research.org/Volumes/Vol19/13/19-13.pdf.

Kravdal, Ø. (1994). The importance of economic activity, economic potential and economic resources for the timing of first births in Norway. Population Studies 48, 249–267.

Lappegård, T. (2008). Changing the Gender Balance in Caring: Fatherhood and the Division of Parental Leave in Norway. Population Research and Policy Review 27(2), 139-159.

Leitner, S. (2003). Varieties of Familialism. The Caring Function of the Family in Comparative Perspective. European Societies 5(4), 353-375.

Lister, R. (1997). Citizenship. Towards a Feminist Synthesis. Feminist Review 57, 28-48.

McDonald, P. (2000a). Gender Equity, Social Institutions and the Future of Fertility. Journal of Population Research 17(1), 1-16.

McDonald, P. (2000b). Gender Equity in Theories of Fertility Transition. Population and Development Review 26(3), 427-39.

Meyers, M. K., Gornick, J. C. & Ross, K. C. (1999). Public Childcare, Parental Leave, and Employment. In: Sainsbury, Diana (Eds.). Gender and Welfare State Regimes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 117-146.

Mills, M., Menacarini, L., Tanturri, M. L. & Begall, K. (2008). Gender Equality and Fertility Intentions in Italy and the Netherlands, Demographic Research 18(1), 1-26.

Misra, J., Budig, M. J. & Moller, S. (2007). Reconciliation Policies and the Effects of Motherhood on Employment, Earnings and Poverty. Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice 9(2), 135-155.

Misra, J., Budig, M. J. & Böckmann, I. (2008). Work-Family Policies and the Wage Penalty to Mothers. Working Paper Prepared for the RC19 Network meeting, Stockholm, Sweden, September 2008.

Moghadam, V. M. (Eds.) (1994). Democtratic Reform and the Position of Women in Transitional Economies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Neyer, G. (2003). Family Policies and Low Fertility in Western Europe. Journal of Population and Social Security (Population): Supplement to Volume 1, 46-93. An extended is available as MPIDR Working Paper 2003-021, http://www.demogr.mpg.de/papers/working/wp-2003-021.pdf).

Neyer, G. (2005). Family Policies in Western Europe. Fertility Policies at the Intersection of Gender, Employment and Care Policies. Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft 34(1), 91-102.

Oláh, L. S. (2003). Gendering Fertility: Second Births in Sweden and Hungary. Population Research and Policy Review 22(2), 171-200.

Orloff, A. S. (1993). Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States. American Sociological Review 58(3): 303-328.

Pascall, G. & Manning, N. (2000). Gender and Social Policy: Comparing Welfare States in Central and Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. Journal of European Social Policy 10(3), 240-266.

Rieck, D. (2006). Transition to Second Birth. The Case of Russia. MPIDR-Working Paper WP 2006-036. Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research:http://www.demogr.mpg.de/papers/working/wp-2006-036.pdf

Rieck, D. (2008). Fertilität in Russland: Der Einfluss gesellschaftlicher und ökonomischer Rahmenbedingungen auf den Kinderwunsch russischer Männer. Saarbrücken.

Rostgaard, T. (2004). Family Support Policy in Central and Eastern Europe – A Decade and a Half of Transition. Early Childhood and Family Policy Series 8. UNESCO.

Rønsen, M. & Sundström, M. (2002). Family Policy and After-Birth Employment Among New Mothers – A Comparison of Finland, Norway and Sweden. European Journal of Population 18, 121-152.

Sen, A. (1992). Inequality Reexamined. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Sen, A. (1997). Inequality, Unemployment and Contemporary Europe. International Labour Review 136(2), 155-172.

Toulemon, L., Pailhé A. & Rossier, C. (2008). France: High and Stable. Demographic Research 19(16), 503-556, http://www.demographic-research.org/Volumes/Vol19/16/19-16.pdf.

United Nations (2005). Generations and Gender Programme: Survey Instruments. New York and Geneva: United Nations.

United Nations (2007). Generations and Gender Programme: Concepts and Guidelines. New York and Geneva: United Nations.

Vikat, A. (2004). Women's Labor Force Attachment and Childbearing in Finland. Demographic Research: Special Collection 3(8), 178-212.

Vikat, A., Speder, Z., Beets, G., Billari, F. C., Bühler, C. & Desesquelles, A. et. al. (2007). Generations and Gender Survey (GGS): Towards a better understanding of relationships and processes in the life course. Demographic Reseach 17(14), 389-439.

Wikander, U., Kessler-Harris, A. & Lewis, J. (Eds.) (1995). Protecting Women: Labor Legislation in Europe, the United States, and Australia, 1880-1920. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Zakharov, S. (2008). Russian Federation: From the First to the Second Transition. Demographic Research 19(24), 907-972, http://www.demographic-research.org/Volumes/Vol19/24/19-24.pdf.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS

Sustainable responses to policy challenges require that the causes and consequences of demographic developments are understood and explained. The Conference on "How Generations and Gender Shape Demographic Change" served as a forum for discussions of both policy issues and research contributions. Panel discussions took place in seven sessions, which are summarized below.

In the opening session, Estonia informed the audience about its family policy framework established in 2000. Its key features include equal opportunities for families with and without children; equal distribution of financial, psychological and time burden between partners; and equal rights to participate in work and family. The objectives of this Estonian policy include raising the level of knowledge and awareness of society in the area of children- and family-related problems, supporting research (including the GGP) and analysis of the most recent developments. In the other intervention, Ukraine reflected on recent challenges such as rapid population ageing, a decreasing life expectancy and migration. A recent initiative, "Rebirth for Ukraine", aims to improve conditions for families who decide to have children, and especially those with several children who are more likely to live in poverty.

PANEL DISCUSSION A: VERY LOW BIRTH RATES

In the interplay of changes in intergenerational and gender relationships, several demographic trends of recent decades have implications on public policy. These include the concern about very low birth rates that many countries in the UNECE region are witnessing. The decline of fertility to very low levels in countries of Southern Europe in the 1980s and in Central and Eastern Europe in the 1990s has raised concerns, as the continuation of such patterns could lead to marked population decline and could greatly magnify the challenges posed by population ageing in the future.

The policy statements and case studies from Estonia and Slovenia illustrated the pivotal question of low birth rates, highlighting the challenges that low birth rates are posing in many areas. In both countries, the reproduction of the national population became one of the most important topics in public debates in the early 1990s. Slovenia brought up the issue of how birth rates could be increased and which alternative structural reforms could support this aim. It became apparent that a single type of population policy cannot fit all countries. The differences between the member States would rather require policies that take into account the individual regions' characteristics. Therefore, Estonia argued for more research on the topic of low fertility rates despite positive developments following its recent family-friendly measures.

The research results presented in this session cast light on several questions posed by policymakers, such as the reasons why healthy couples cannot realize their fertility intentions. What is preventing healthy couples who want to have children from having the number of children they wish? The expressed intentions to have children can help researchers identify the reasons. The answers to these questions can help us identify the relevant groups of people who are unable to realize their wishes and enable us to address and support them by policy measures strengthening their reproductive potential. Given their combination of prospective and retrospective approaches, the GGS data can lead to important insights on these issues.

Results from two consecutive panel waves allow analysing the relationship between expressed intentions to have children (wave 1) and their subsequent realization (wave 2). Different socio-economic factors were identified that distinguish individuals who are successful in their realization of childbirth and those that are not. On the one hand, women above 30 years of age, cohabiting couples as compared to married ones, and women with less education are less likely to fulfil their child wish (BUL). On the other hand, men with lower education and both women and men enrolled in studies are more likely to fulfil them. Thus, fertility intentions can be informative for the construction of policies related to the needs of children and families. To promote the realization of childbearing intentions in Bulgaria, policymakers may consider supporting an earlier completion of desired education level and provisions that enable becoming a parent during studies.

Presented research also showed the usefulness of cross-national comparison in addressing access to contraception and infertility treatments and their variation across countries with different health

policies. When couples have good access to and are well informed about contraceptive methods, they can more efficiently plan the number of children and the timing of their birth they wish to have. Difficulties in conceiving children due to medical problems can disturb these intentions. Sometimes people fail to realize their intentions without medical assistance and the time to pregnancy increases. Infertility treatments are more frequently used by women who are close to the end of the reproductive age-span (BUL, DEU) and have higher incomes (DEU). Furthermore, women are more likely to obtain fertility treatments than men (GEO, RUS). The use of contraceptive methods and infertility treatments varies across countries. However, all the countries included in this analysis (BUL, DEU, GEO, RUS) show relatively high risk for unexpected pregnancies and mistimed pregnancies.

PANEL DISCUSSION B: REALITIES OF PARENTHOOD AND CHILDBEARING

With regard to the issues of parenthood and childbearing, Slovenia highlighted the need to exchange good practices to improve support to family and parenthood. The Slovenian representative focused on the family as the primary unit of society and as the most essential context for intergenerational relations, not replaceable by any other institution. Several countries presented a wide range of recently adopted social measures which aim to better support families with children (CZE, DEU, FRA, ROU). Germany introduced a parental allowance in order to reduce family poverty. Recently, it introduced the deduction of expenses for household-related services from taxable income. The Czech Republic introduced a new system of parental allowance that enables parents to choose from three options according to their needs. Furthermore, flexible employment arrangements were implemented, e.g. the creation of part-time jobs and tax relief for employers who provide early childcare for their employees. In Romania, families with many children, families with disabled children as well as single-parent families benefit from additional allowances complementing the basic children's allowance. In addition, Romania offers a wide range of other social services for families and children, including different types of financial aid for education and care services for children.

The policy statements suggested that the decrease in birth rate has similar causes in Central and Eastern European countries: women's emancipation and their participation in the labour market, modern contraception methods, long stays in education, an increase in social mobility and the new socio-economic realities in countries in transition.

Research has identified a trend towards individualization and pluralization of living arrangements in Europe. Although the family remains the central institution for realizing solidarity between generations, this change of family patterns challenges recent family policies. The presented analyses of GGS data focused on the transition to the second child in partnerships of different types in the Russian Federation, and second-nest parents in a cross-national comparison. Both contributions reaffirmed the above-mentioned trends.

The analysis of data from the Russian Federation deduced two crucial tendencies. It revealed attitudes that did not support traditional social institutions, which was reflected, among others, in the decline in marriage rates. Furthermore, it showed that fertility intentions of married couples have long been higher and more stable than those of unmarried couples. However, evidence for the most recent cohorts puts the latter under question. Hence, family policy in the Russian Federation is facing the dilemma of whether to enhance the advantage of marriage and promote traditional social norms or to grant unmarried couples the same legal basis as married ones. Support to unmarried couples should improve opportunities to raising children in such unions and should support the individual freedom of lifestyle choice.

A cross-national comparison of family-related norms, values and behaviours focused on second-nest parents. To elicit the specific characteristics of these second-nest fathers or mothers and their partners, the relationship with their first-nest children and the probability and frequency of this family constellation, GGS data from Bulgaria, France, Georgia, Germany and the Russian Federation were analysed. The phenomenon of second-nest fathers is still relatively rare but most likely on the increase. Second-nest fathers tend to have a young, childless female partner with a migration background. Second-nest mothers are more often less educated. Second-nest parents show the characteristic of a less traditional view on union behaviour.

Second-nest parenthood is considered to be mainly a problem of men. Data revealed that second-nest fathers have lower contacts with first-nest children than one nest parents. Furthermore, the respective satisfaction of second-nest fathers and children is below average. Therefore, children of divorced parents tend to have difficulties in union formation and family-building as they are confronted with disturbed parental role models and may suffer from conflicts with half-brothers and half-sisters. Maintaining and promoting solidarity between generations in the context of recent developments was seen as a crucial policy challenge for the future.

PANEL DISCUSSION C: WALKING THE TIGHTROPE OF CAREER AND FAMILY

Finding a desired balance between work and family life entails difficult choices, which frequently require making sacrifices such as having fewer children than intended or giving up a career. Public policy can reduce barriers to parenting and employment, and many countries have embarked on such measures with the general objective of enhancing their citizens' well-being.

In order to facilitate the reconciliation of family and work, parents in Romania have the right to a maternity and parental leave and they may also ask their employers for financial childcare support. Germany's new family policy aims at higher birth rates and better reconciliation of work and family life. For this purpose, the German Government has set up a competence centre, which measures and compares the effects of family-related services and benefits on an international basis and suggests changes. Several countries are increasing the number of care places (DEU, FRA, LTU) and promoting corporate childcare schemes to encourage companies to offer family-friendly services (DEU, FRA). The Czech Republic is currently planning incentives to support flexible forms of employment that are presently not widespread. To make the reconciliation of family and work easier, two countries reported that they are seeking strong cooperation with all partners (e.g. companies, associations, churches, foundations, municipalities) at different levels (DEU, FRA). Much emphasis was also placed on the encouragement of men to take up family responsibilities and the importance of changing stereotypical attitudes concerning the role of men in society (DEU, LTU).

The policy statements indicated that walking the tightrope of career and family is a complex task that needs support from a variety of institutions and partners at different levels. UNECE member States have made great efforts to introduce different initiatives aiming at the reconciliation of employment and family, which is considered a key issue for realization of birth intentions. However, research suggests that the same policies might have different effects in different countries. Therefore, the efficiency of measures should be monitored (DEU). The following deliberations on research results emphasized the importance of using and expanding the knowledge base to improve implementation of policies and their subsequent monitoring.

One of the more pressing questions is how institutional frameworks and gender attitudes influence employment positions and the wages of men and women. For example, both France and the Russian Federation have high rates of female paid employment and both support gender equality in law, but gender equality in the two respective labour markets differs markedly. How can this be explained? The research presented is based on the assumption that the State and employers can reduce the costs incurred to the parents by providing childcare and flexible time arrangements at work. On the other hand, gender inequalities can be reinforced by more traditional attitudes towards gender roles in the family and less women-friendly family policy. Thus, apart from institutional help, the State should foster gender equality at the institutional level as well as at the level of norms, values and behaviours.

A key question is how and to what extent female employment and motherhood can be seen as competing activities. Research has identified a trend that children decrease the labour supply of mothers in France and the Russian Federation, but in different ways. The negative effect of small children on female labour participation is stronger in the Russian Federation than in France. Furthermore, gender attitudes influence labour supply decisions especially of women in both countries. Hence, the support of traditional and conservative gender attitudes may hinder female employment. The research shows a tendency for the Russian Federation and other former socialist economies to support traditional gender attitudes, which in turn may inhibit female employment due to the internal

conflict between the mother's role and the need to work.

Further research examined why intentions to have children might not have been fully realized. Analysis of Bulgarian data focused in particular on gender-related labour market effects and on child-related benefits in the effort to identify the reasons behind this non-realization of intentions. Research has pointed out that a person's age, partnership status and partnership duration all influence the probability of having children. Younger couples at early stages of partnership are more likely to realize their birth intentions. The research evidence also shows that for individuals already in the labour market, becoming parents is comparatively more difficult then for those who are out of the labour market. Furthermore, working women with medium to high earnings tend to have the lowest rate of realization of birth intentions. The situation is even more complicated if a mother intends to have another child. The highest chance of fulfilling the wish to have children is among those who are on maternity leave at the time of interview.

Policies promoting labour market flexibility, formal day care beyond kindergarten, parental leave and gender equality in the labour market could improve the reconciliation of family and work and give couples the opportunity to fulfil their wish to have children. Thus, the dual goals of increasing employment and fertility rates could be achieved.

PANEL DISCUSSION D: BREAKING DOWN BARRIERS BY INTEGRATING YOUNG PEOPLE

Concerning the integration of young people, the United Nations Population Fund presented findings of its Youth Policy Review "Counting on Youth", which was undertaken in 2006 and 2007 to enhance and enrich the knowledge base about young people. The study showed that only a few young individuals appear to be concerned with core demographic issues such as fertility intentions and stable union formation. There was general assent that children and marriage were eventually desired, but were far from the minds of the young people. In contrast, young people are very concerned about work opportunities, education and mobility. Moreover, a serious lack of youth participation has been observed. The isolation of many relevant institutions such as ministries and international organizations from youth policy development is considered to be a barrier for the integration and participation of young people in society, which can have implications for intergenerational solidarity.

In today's Europe, young people are facing manifold challenges. Their specific situation was illustrated by focusing on transition to adulthood in the Czech Republic. Further research analysed the trends in family formation among young people in Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania and the Russian Federation. The findings show that the economic situation has worsened in many of these countries, which contributes to delaying of family formation.

Special attention was given to recent developments in the formation of marital and non-marital unions in those countries. Decline in and postponement of marriages, increase in cohabitation and non-marital births, decline in fertility and postponement of childbearing could be discerned in all these countries. These trends can mostly be ascribed to the change of family-related norms and values, while having unique features in each country.

An important marker of transition to adulthood is the shift from economic dependence and participation in the family of origin to economic independence and the establishment of a partnership and a family. In this sense, leaving the parental home and establishing one's own household signifies an important change in both the living conditions and life experiences of young adults. When do young people leave home? Which determinants affect this process and the reasons for leaving home? What role do the questions of appropriate housing and of housing affordability play in the context of housing-related policies throughout the period of economic transition?

In this regard, research has identified several factors. Educated young people with more than one sibling or who live with a step-parent tend to leave the parental home earlier than their counterparts. In addition, the common trend was observed that men tend to stay in the parental home longer than women. The current status of partnership, age and economic activity are key factors in the decision-making process of young people in terms of whether to leave the parental home or not. In

addition to the objective indicators, the opinions of peers and important others also play a major role in the decision.

One of the emerging trends in the young generation is the postponement of family formation and childbearing. In the past, leaving the parental home was closely related to getting married and having children. Under socialism, early family formation was even favoured by the State through subsidized housing for young families, although the shortage of housing remained a crucial obstacle in this process. After the transition, the problem of housing affordability arose and superseded the formerly existing problem of housing availability. The large-scale owner-occupied housing market might be one reason for the postponement of family formation and childbearing among lower income groups. Thus, housing policies should take the challenges presented to young people into account. Youth policies solely focusing on employment and education are insufficient. Policies fostering rental housing instead of supporting owner-occupied housing is considered to be one way of reducing barriers for young people's independence.

PANEL DISCUSSION E: IN THE AGE OF OLD AGE

Challenges rising from an ageing population and examples how policies can improve older persons' quality of life were addressed in this session. In Greece, policy responses to current demographic challenges include prolongation of active life by means of health improvement and lifelong learning. In Finland, a national framework for high-quality services for older people with an emphasis on health promotion and preventive services has been introduced to mainstream ageing into all society functions. This should help older people remain independent and productive for as long as possible. In addition, Finland stressed the necessity to increase informal home and community care over institutional care in order to enable older persons to live independent and meaningful lives in their own homes and in a familiar environment. Furthermore, age-based public transport is another element encouraging them to remain active and play a role in everyday life. There was consensus that ageing should not be seen as a problem, but as an opportunity and a challenge.

The need of reinforcing gerontological expertise was also emphasized. Research focused on various facets of current challenges arising from an ageing population. Attention was paid to intergenerational relations as well as the pivotal role of health and education in the context of active ageing.

The strength of intergenerational relations is strictly connected to the frequency of family contacts between generations. Factors such as geographic proximity and relationship quality are important characteristics of such contact. To a certain extent, health and disability also affect the frequency of the relations. In both France and Germany, where these issues were studied, intergenerational relations appeared to be strong. This strength can be expressed either through co-residence or through regular contact between parents and adult children living separately. Both types of family relationships are partly able to guarantee social integration and alleviate loneliness.

Generally speaking, there is not much room for policy intervention when looking at contacts between generations, as these are more personal than public. Poor health of the grandparents' generation might be related to a certain distance between them and their children. Hence, public policies such as financial assistance or health policies that pay special attention to older persons may eventually increase the frequency of contact between generations. Furthermore, childless older adults are at a particular risk, which points out the need to develop policies paying special attention to this population group in order to promote social integration.

Policy can play an important role when addressing health-care needs of older persons. At the same time, focus should be placed on education in this context, both in terms of its general level and in terms of a lifelong learning approach, because health and education are key determinants of active ageing.

The concept of active ageing constitutes an important change in our understanding of the life course. For a long time, older persons' limitations were emphasized. From this point of view, learning, working and resting were portrayed as three distinct stages of life course. The concept of active ageing promotes the ongoing participation of elderly in the society and the integration of life domains, e.g. work, care, active leisure activities and contact with family and friends.

Research has revealed the ways in which individual characteristics, e.g. age and sex, explain differences in activity level. Furthermore, the societal level was included by examining possible differences in active ageing between Bulgaria, France, Georgia, Germany, Hungary and the Russian Federation. The impact of factors such as age, gender, education and health is similar in all countries. Younger, better educated and healthier persons are more likely to achieve a high activity status. Thus despite national differences such as the employment rate of older persons, the underlying mechanisms of active ageing are similar.

Both research contributions suggested that while the rising number of older persons is a concern, it is the health of older persons that should be the primary concern. Preventive health-care policy, coupled with the development of educational level of the population, can be considered a crucial leveller to cope with an ageing society.

Both the research and policy statements highlighted the main challenges Governments face in coping with ageing societies. Positive aspects of ageing, for instance the contribution of older persons to economic and social development, were also emphasized. Research suggested that policy should pay special attention to older persons, as this would support social integration, prevent poverty in old age and promote inter-generational solidarity. Ideally, a society of all ages should be created and the concept of active ageing supported, while ensuring ageing in dignity.

PANEL DISCUSSION F: SOLIDARITY BETWEEN AND WITHIN GENERATIONS

In the light of demographic developments, solidarity between and within generations becomes an increasingly desirable policy goal. Countries presented their policies towards reducing older persons' dependency by means of social services (ARM, GBR). Armenia is also working to develop childcare social services and care institutions for people with disabilities. However, reliance on such services may contradict traditional social values. In Armenia, a large family with multiple generations taking care of each other is considered a great virtue and contemporary nuclear families struggle very hard to provide the same level of support to their members as bigger families could in the past. The United Kingdom encourages older persons to stay in the labour market for longer and promotes flexible retirement schemes. Thereby policymakers aim at balancing the tax burden across generations. New State-supported private pension schemes – as well as providing a minimum pension income, and thereby serve to combat pensioner poverty – encourage workers to save for their retirement.

The two research contributions analysed the availability of familial support for older persons and filial obligations, both from a cross-national perspective.

Research underscored that a large majority of older persons have good possibilities to receive support from their adult children. On the one hand, the differences between the studied countries (BUL, DEU, FRA, RUS) regarding family support were relatively small. On the other, the main factors influencing family support diverge. In Bulgaria and the Russian Federation, co-residence with adult children is an important factor of intergenerational solidarity. In France and Germany, the higher number of non-resident adult children is balanced by their closer distance. Furthermore, socio-demographic variables, such as age, gender, residence and subjective assessment of economic situation, influence the possibilities of support for older persons by adult children. In France, older persons assessing their situation as difficult are more likely to report good possibilities for support by their children. In Germany, older persons living in rural areas get more support than their urban counterparts, while in Bulgaria the situation is the opposite. Finally, research has shown that even if the impact of individual variables varies across countries, there are good possibilities for older persons to get support by their children.

Another closely related issue of concern is current trends in filial obligations, which were analysed in a cross-national perspective. Previous work has largely been inspired by the idea that people are less inclined to provide care to their families if formal provisions are available. Research has repeatedly shown that formal care does not replace informal care, but rather complements it.

The presented studies addressed the two sides of filial obligations: younger adults' willingness to provide care and older adults' willingness to receive

care. How strong are younger and older adults' feelings of filial obligation in different countries? To what extent are people's feelings of obligation shaped by socio-structural circumstances and their cultural background? Significant differences were observed between Eastern and Western European countries in perceived family obligations. Bulgarians, Hungarians and Russians feel have more of sense of filial obligation. Children with higher education, who are employed in a fulltime job and who are living in consensual union feel obligations towards their parents less strongly.

Despite changes in family structures and differences between societies, intergenerational solidarity exists in each analysed country. There is evidence of much interaction between generations in countries with cultural traditions of strong family ties as well as in those without them. Measures that support childcare and dependency care, as well as measures that afford a better balance in distributing family and domestic responsibilities, can strengthen intergenerational solidarity. Furthermore, policies support people to be active in their later life and to improve their health could make a valuable contribution to intergenerational and intragenerational solidarity.

PANEL DISCUSSION G: MOVING TOWARDS GENDER EQUALITY

There is consensus that participation and partnership of both women and men are required for work and family life, including shared responsibilities with respect to childcare and the maintenance of the household. At the same time, the majority of those with caring responsibilities are women. It is also acknowledged that the increase in women's labour market participation has not prompted an increase in men's domestic duties, which is frequently referred to as women's dual burden. While gender equality in itself is an important policy goal, analyses have also revealed that in the context of low fertility, fertility levels remain relatively high when there are high levels of gender equality in the economy, family and society.

In this panel session, Germany provided insights into its policies regarding role patterns. Despite the widespread approval of the idea of gender equality in Germany, studies show that there is a significant gap between visions of gender equality and the role allocations practiced, which particularly leads to problems when mothers decide to return to work. Problems around women's re-entry to the labour market illustrate how modern gender equality policy in Germany can only be successful if men are also taken into account. Thus, policy should therefore focus on both levels: on the institutional level by supporting flexible work schedules and on the level of gender-related role models and attitudes.

The Republic of Moldova reported that stereotypes prevent men from applying for a paid parental leave that has recently been introduced, thus leading to unequal employment patterns for men and women. Furthermore, the long duration of parental leave (up to six years) creates difficulties when parents wish to re-enter the labour market.

Recently, nearly all UNECE member States have devoted attention to achieving gender equality. Nevertheless, it remains a pressing issue and a crucial policy challenge for the future. Researchers can therefore make valuable contributions by ensuring a better understanding of recent policy developments aiming at gender equality and by providing as well as expanding knowledge-based information about gender roles and attitudes.

A study of gender roles and gender asymmetry in France and Georgia pointed out the profound changes in the gender system over the last 50 years. In France, egalitarian attitudes had a negative effect on fertility and marriage rates. In both France and Georgia, the distribution of household tasks among partners is unequal in that in 8 unions out of 10, women take on many more domestic tasks than do men do. In France, however, equality predominates in the management of income, with couples sharing these responsibilities in an egalitarian way. In Georgia, specialization of tasks by sex is even slightly higher than in France, but some women have more power of decision than men. However, equality in the management of income is not as frequent in Georgia as it is in France.

During the socialist era, the Czech Republic experienced higher fertility rates, which were encouraged by a system of almost free childcare facilities and State financial support to family budget. Since the 1990s, parental leave arrangements and family-based childcare have been given more attention, while public childcare services for

children under the age of 3 have been reduced for the most part. Consequently, the traditionally high female employment rates and gender equality of the past seem to be eroding. Is there evidence of a discontent with this new family policy paradigm among the Czech population? Do men and women share similar opinions regarding childbearing, care-giving, female labour force participation and leadership positions?

Research identified two different groups revealing significant differences in gender attitudes. Women mainly tend to adopt the pro-family attitudes emphasizing the role of the mother in childrearing. Furthermore, women more often agree that in case of divorce it is better for the child to stay with them. Men, on the other hand, demonstrate male breadwinner behaviours by disapproving the higher incomes of women and stating that men make better political leaders than women do. Higher education and younger age contribute the most to gender equality attitudes.

The presented research findings did not provide strong evidence for a discontent with the new policy paradigm reinforcing the male breadwinner model after 1990. Among Czech men and women, expansion of childcare services for very young children was not considered a priority.

Further research focused on the variation in the support for filial obligations. The analysis assumed that population ageing directly challenges the family potential for elderly care due to the increasing number of old people in need of family support. Other demographic trends, e.g. increasing rates of childlessness, higher divorce rates, higher education levels and higher female labour participation rates, may do so indirectly by impacting on norms and attitudes about family care. Thus, the central question is: Which socio-demographic groups are most in need and where should public care complement familial support for older family members? Research has shown that in most countries, the above-mentioned individual characteristics make little difference. Cultural differences and heritage, however, also shape attitudes and support. Actual support may not suffer, since public services seem to supplement rather than substitute family support. Hence generalization across countries is difficult und country characteristics must not go unrecognized in the process of policymaking.

Both policymakers and researchers highlighted the task of achieving gender equality as priority. UNECE member States have made great efforts to introduce different initiatives aimed at gender equality. Nonetheless, policies should continue fostering the gender mainstreaming approach. While opportunity structures set by the labour market and social protection systems undoubtedly play an important role with respect to gender equality, changing attitudes, norms and values can also explain much of the change in behaviours. Therefore, Governments should adopt measures at the institutional level, for example measures counteracting women's marginalization in terms of professional activities and social protection systems, as well as at the level of gender and family-related norms, values and behaviours.

CHAPTER 9

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE

INTRODUCTION

1. The Conference on How Generations and Gender Shape Demographic Change was held from 14 to 16 May 2008 at the Palais des Nations, Geneva.

2. Ministers and representatives from 32 UNECE member States participated in the Conference. The following member States were represented : Albania, Armenia, Belarus, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Israel, Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, Moldova, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, the Russian Federation, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Switzerland, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and Uzbekistan.

3. The European Commission was also represented.

4. Holy See participated as an observer State.

5. Representatives from the United Nations Population Fund, the Council of Europe and the European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research participated.

6. Representatives of six non-governmental organizations and experts from 37 institutions participated in the Conference. The total number of participants was 157. The full list is available on the Conference website at: http://www.unece.org/pau/ggp/conf.

I. OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE AND ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

7. Mr. M. Belka, Executive Secretary, UNECE, Ms. U. Palo, Minister of Population and Ethnic Affairs, Estonia, Ms. L. Denisova, Minister of Labour and Social Policy, Ukraine and Mr. K. Barka, Minister of Labour, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, Albania made opening statements. The Conference elected Ms. J. Gottely-Fayet, France as Chairperson of the Conference. The Conference approved its agenda as contained in the document ECE/AC.31/2008/1.

II. POLICY DISCUSSION AND RESEARCH ON GENERATIONS AND GENDER

8. UNECE coordinates the Generations and Gender Programme (GGP), which is designed to improve understanding of causes and consequences of demographic developments. It comprises: (a) a survey covering a broad range of influences on demographic behaviour; (b) a related contextual database of national and regional trends and policies on these issues; and (c) analyses of these data. All research contributions to the Conference were based on data collected through GGP. The secretariat presented the concept of the Programme and its current stage of implementation. Representatives of the United Nations Population Fund, the European Commission and the Council of Europe presented overviews of activities of these organizations that address generations and gender issues.

III. PANEL DISCUSSIONS

9. Seven panel discussions were held on a broad range of issues related to the Conference topic:

(a) Very low birth rates;
(b) Realities of parenthood and childbearing;
(c) Walking the tightrope of career and family;
(d) Breaking down barriers by integrating young people;
(e) In the age of old age;
(f) Solidarity between and within generations;
(g) Moving towards gender equality.

10. The composition of panels is provided in annex II.

IV. CONCLUDING SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE

11. The Rapporteur, Mr. R. Beaujot, University of Western Ontario, Canada, presented the Conference summary (see annex I).

12. In two short interventions, the secretariat informed participants about the linkage of the Conference theme to the intergovernmental processes on population and development (Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development, 1994), ageing (Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing and its UNECE Regional Implementation Strategy, 2002) and gender (Beijing Platform of Action, 1997).

13. After several interventions from the floor, Ms. C. von Schweinichen, Acting Director, Environment, Housing and Land Management Division, UNECE, summarized the session and encouraged participants to communicate to the secretariat suggestions on further steps to promote dialogue between researchers and policymakers.

14. The Chairperson thanked the participants and closed the Conference.

ANNEX I

Rapporteur's summary

1. This Conference has been placed in the context of the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo, 1994) and its approaching fifteenth anniversary. While the Cairo Conference was a watershed, it also had certain difficulties. One of these difficulties was an inability to say much about families in the Programme of Action, since supporting families would have meant supporting traditional families, which limit women's opportunities. We see from the present Conference that much progress has been made in our thinking about families. The theoretical and empirical work has shown that we can support diversity in families. We now almost take it for granted that women's participation in the labour force and increased opportunities for women support rather than undermine families, including family formation and childbearing. Research using the Generations and Gender Surveys (GGS) is confirming that under the right circumstances women's participation in the labour force has a positive relation to childbearing.

2. Recently adopted final documents of the UNECE Ministerial Conferences on Ageing (Berlin, 2002 and León, Spain, 2007) contain much of value regarding accommodations to an aging population and in particular the welfare of the older persons. Discussion of ageing-related questions also laid in the foundation of the Generations and Gender Programme. It was particularly insightful, on the part of the organizers of GGP to extend the preoccupation with ageing to an interest in generations, where in effect surveys on caregiving and care-receiving have been married to a modern family survey, with a clear mainstreaming of gender in the whole project. Thus, the life-course perspective and inter-generational relations have been put front and centre in our thinking about well-being and achieving the full potential of individuals, communities and societies.

3. This Conference also made an advance by bringing policy people into the discussions around the first results of the GGP. This advance has given researchers a much deeper appreciation of the complexities of the policy world, and it has in turn allowed those in the policy sector to help define the research questions to be pursued.

4. I feel that the Conference has advanced our thinking on "happiness" and "loneliness". It was ingenious of the GGS to tackle the measurement of these concepts that represent important realities for individuals and societies. Some 25 years ago, I was asking respondents in Tunisia, "Why do people have children?" The answers came fairly readily; people have children for (a) support in old age, and (b) because "children are the joy of life". When I have since asked Canadian respondents about this, the answers are not so readily available, but in some ways one gets to the same ideas: people have children because it is enjoyable to interact with children, and to have someone who will be close to you for your whole life. It seems that this can be translated into the concepts of happiness and loneliness.

5. It is easy to think of barriers to having children, but our theoretical thinking will be incomplete if it does not speak to why people have children. Our research is often too focused on an economic perspective that highlights the barriers and the costs, while giving inadequate attention to values and attitudes.

6. We need both, of course, but I feel that the Conference has advanced our thinking on the cultural side of determinants of demographic behaviour, and for that matter on the cultural side of determinants of gender equity and intergenerational solidarity. Background documents for this Conference speak about "subjective dimensions such as norms, values and attitudes." It would follow better from this Conference on "How generations and gender shape demographic change" to speak not of "subjective dimensions" but of cultural norms as expressed and measured through values and attitudes. A subtle difference, but a recognition that norms are not purely a subjective dimension; they are part of the society.

7. From this perspective on norms, it becomes possible to think of a society and various groups of people evolving norms of behaviour and interaction. Thus our norms can move in the direction

of promoting equal opportunity; gender equity; family diversity; cultural pluralism and equity; intergenerational solidarity and equity; childbearing and work as normal parts of adult life for both women and men; men's participation in caring activities; and partnerships based on choice, mutuality and equality.

8. I will not try to address all the issues brought up in this Conference. The sheer quantity of ministries and policies that deal with these questions across our societies is impressive. I suspect that researchers are often too quick in jumping to policy conclusions. When proposing policies, we need to study the competing priorities, the trade-offs and the possible fall-outs. This speaks to a need for a horizontal view, where policies from various domains are discussed in terms of their interactions; again, this speaks to the benefits of a life-course perspective.

9. We have seen through the presentations of policymakers that other things are important, for instance sustainability; leveraging partnerships including with employers, worker's representatives, the private sector and civil society groups; and the variety of policy histories across societies that complicates learning from the best practices of others.

10. By having so many of the players around the table, we are reminded of the trade-offs. We hear that the middle generation should not be ignored, that the older and youth generations have their unique things to bring to the table. This forces us to look seriously at possible trade-offs and fall-outs. For instance, does the promotion of active aging undermine the opportunities of youth to have secure jobs? As an example, does active aging mean that older people stay longer in policymaking positions, thus preventing younger generations from being similarly involved? Young people have waited a long time for the baby boomers to retire and opportunities to open up. Now it seems that the baby boomers are staying on. This is but one example of potential conflict that needs to be recognized, and we must find ways to work things out in the direction of cohesion rather than conflict.

11. It is very premature to try to summarize where this Conference has brought us. All presenters must be admired for having shared their insights into the rich potential of the data. Nevertheless, we have yet to show how the data can give us new and different insights into society and social policy. The job is not done, but the instruments are there and the challenge remains before us.

12. As very well demonstrated by the Conference sessions, GGP is particularly useful in its ability to analyse central interrelated questions affecting the demographics of our societies, in particular aging, low fertility, delayed early life transitions, changing family forms, the work-life balance, labour force participation, care of dependents and intergenerational relations. With the help of the micro and macro data from GGP, we are able to better understand the relative role of individual and social factors, ranging from economic and normative questions to institutional and policy contexts.

13. Let me identify two specific questions among many where GGP is playing a central role. First, what is the optimal parental leave time – and how it should be shared by women and men – that would maximize both childbearing and labour market contributions of a maximum number of people over the life course? Second, what are the conditions that would encourage people to have children in below-replacement populations, including the policy context associated with transfers, child care, parental leave and the work-life balance? Central to these questions is their placement in a life-course framework, with considerations of gender and generations at the centre of our preoccupation. This requires data for individuals over the various segments of the life course, and it requires a prospective look at the evolving dynamics of individual behaviour and its micro- and macro-level determinants. It requires the forethought to gather these data in various countries as our societies evolve, to maximize the potential for comparisons over time and across populations. In effect, GGP is a formidable laboratory for research and policy discussions of the central questions of our societies.

14. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the work of the session rapporteurs and the UNECE secretariat in preparing the summaries of each session, and also my colleagues from Canada who have greatly helped me in fulfilling this task: Ms. J. Keefe, Mr. J. Légaré, Ms. K. O'Hara, Ms. L. Paquette and Mr. S. Tupper.

ANNEX II
List of speakers

Opening

Mr. Marek Belka, Executive Secretary, UNECE

Ms. Urve Palo, Minister of Population and Ethnic Affairs, Estonia

Ms. Liudmila Denisova, Minister of Labour and Social Policy, Ukraine

Mr. Koço Barka, Minister of Labour, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, Albania

Policy discussion and research on generations and gender

Chair:	Ms. Jacqueline Gottely-Fayet, Responsable de la mission des études, de la recherche et des statistiques, Service des droits des femmes et de l'égalité, France
Speakers:	Mr. Andres Vikat, Chief, Population Unit, UNECE
	Ms. Siri Tellier, Director, Geneva Office, United Nations Population Fund
	Mr. Julius op de Beke, Socio-Economic Analyst, Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, European Commission
	Ms. Agnes von Maravić, Head, Family Policies Section, Council of Europe

Panel (a): Very low birth rates

Chair and moderator:	Ms. Janina Józwiak, Director, Institute of Statistics and Demography, Warsaw School of Economics, Poland
Keynote speaker:	Mr. Francesco C. Billari, Director and Professor, Carlo F. Dondena Centre for Research on Social Dynamics, Bocconi University, Italy
Policy statements:	Ms. Mare Ainsaar, Counsellor to the Minister, Ministry of Population and Ethnic Affairs, Estonia
	Mr. Janez Malačič, Professor, Faculty of Economics, Statistical Institute, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
Research contributions:	Mr. Dimiter Philipov, Leader of Research Group on Comparative European Demography, Vienna Institute of Demography, Austria
	Ms. Inge Pasteels, Research Centre for Longitudinal and Life Course Studies, University of Antwerp, Belgium
Rapporteur:	Ms. Duška Knežević Hočevar, Senior Research Fellow, Sociomedical Institute, Scientific Research Centre at the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts

Panel (b): Realities of parenthood and childbearing

Chair and moderator:	Ms. Siri Tellier, Director, United Nations Population Fund Geneva Office
Keynote speaker:	Ms. Michaela Kreyenfeld, Professor, Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research / Rostock University, Germany
Policy statements:	Ms. Ileana Carmen Manu, Director, Directorate of social services and social assistance rights, Specialist in geriatrics and gerontology, Ministry of Labour, Family and Equal Opportunities, Romania
	Ms. Majda Erzar, Director General, Directorate for Family Affairs, Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, Slovenia

Research contributions:	Mr. Sergei V. Zakharov, Deputy Director, Institute of Demography, State University – Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation
	Mr. Gijs Beets, Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute
Rapporteur:	Mr. Jürgen Dorbritz, Senior Researcher, Federal Institute for Population Research, Germany

Panel (c): Walking the tightrope of career and family

Chair and moderator:	Mr. Werner Haug, Director, Population Studies and Household Surveys, Swiss Federal Statistical Office
Keynote speaker:	Ms. Ariane Pailhé, Head, Unit of Economic Demography, Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques, France
Policy statements:	Ms. Jacqueline Gottely-Fayet, Responsable de la mission des études, de la recherche et des statistiques, Service des droits des femmes et de l'égalité, France
	Ms. Nina Parra, Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, Germany
	Ms. Violeta Murauskaite, Secretary, Ministry of Social Security and Labour, Lithuania
Research contributions:	Mr. Zsolt Spéder, Director, Demographic Research Institute, Hungarian Central Statistical Office
	Ms. Oxana Sinyavskaya, Deputy Director, Independent Institute for Social Policy, Russian Federation
Rapporteur:	Ms. Martine Corijn, Research Centre of the Flemish Government, Belgium

Panel (d): Breaking down barriers by integrating young people

Chair and moderator:	Mr. Helge Brunborg, Senior Researcher, Division for Social and Demographic Research, Statistics Norway
Keynote speaker:	Mr. John Hobcraft, Professor, Department of Social Policy and Social Work, University of York, United Kingdom
Policy statements:	Mr. Christopher Grollman, Youth policy researcher, CST Bratislava, United Nations Population Fund
Research contributions:	Ms. Sylva Höhne, Research Institute for Labour and Social Affairs, Czech Republic
	Ms. Aiva Jasilioniene, Laboratory of Demographic Data, Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research, Germany
Rapporteur:	Mr. Arnstein Aassve, Professor, C.F. Dondena Centre for Research on Social Dynamics, Bocconi University, Italy

Panel (e): In the age of old age

Chair and moderator:	Ms. Pearl A. Dykstra, Professor, Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute
Keynote speaker:	Ms. Jenny Gierveld, Professor Emeritus, Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute
Policy statements:	Ms. Kathy O'Hara, Senior Associate Deputy Minister, Human Resources and Social Development Canada

	Ms. Päivi Voutilainen, Development Manager, Department for Family and Social Affairs, Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, Finland
Research contributions:	Ms. Kim Boudiny, Research Centre for Longitudinal and Life Course Studies, University of Antwerp, Belgium
	Mr. Jacques Légaré, Professor Emeritus, Department of Demography, University of Montreal, Canada
Rapporteur:	Mr. Patrick Deboosere, Research Associate, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium

Panel (f): Solidarity between and within generations

Chair and moderator:	Ms. Marja-Liisa Parjanne, Ministerial Counsellor, Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, Finland
Keynote speaker:	Mr. Svein Olav Daatland, Research Professor, NOVA – Norwegian Social Research
Policy statements:	Ms. Galina Poghosyan, Chief Specialist, Family, Children and Women Issues Department Ministry of Labour and Social Issues, Armenia
	Ms. Kallirroi Nicolis, Expert in Geriatric Issues, Ministry of Health and Social Solidarity, Greece
	Mr. Ian Moss, Head of Strategy Unit, Strategy Directorate, Department for Work and Pensions, United Kingdom
Research contributions:	Ms. Pearl A. Dykstra, Professor, Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute
	Mr. Robert Naderi, Federal Institute for Population Research, Germany
Rapporteur:	Ms. Oxana Sinyavskaya, Deputy Director, Independent Institute for Social Policy, Russian Federation

Panel (g): Moving towards gender equality

Chair and moderator:	Ms. Jacqueline Gottely-Fayet, Responsable de la mission des études, de la recherche et des statistiques, Service des droits des femmes et de l'égalité, France
Keynote speaker:	Ms. Gerda Neyer, Head of the Laboratory of Population and Policy, Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research, Germany
Policy statements:	Ms. Katerina Příhodová, Head of Family Policy Department, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Czech Republic
	Mr. Christian Hoenisch, Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, Germany
	Mr. Sergiu Sainciuc, Deputy Minister of Economy and Trade, Moldova
Research contributions:	Ms. Jitka Rychtaříková, Professor, Department of Demography and Geodemography, Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic
	Ms. Britt Slagsvold, Senior Researcher, NOVA – Norwegian Social Research
	Ms. Irina Badurashvili, Director, Georgian Centre of Population Research
Rapporteur:	Ms. Romina Fraboni, Researcher, Istituto Nazionale di Statistica, Italy

Summary and concluding discussion

Chair:	Ms. Jacqueline Gottely-Fayet, Responsable de la mission des études, de la recherche et des statistiques, Service des droits des femmes et de l'égalité, France
Rapporteur:	Mr. Roderic Beaujot, Professor of Sociology, University of Western Ontario, Canada
Speakers:	Mr. Andres Vikat, Chief, Population Unit, UNECE
	Ms. Ewa Zimny, Senior Social Affairs Officer, UNECE
	Ms. Christina von Schweinichen, Acting Director, Environment, Housing and Land Management Division, UNECE