Full-time working couples in the Netherlands

Causes and consequences

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Voltijd werkende paren in Nederland

Oorzaken en gevolgen

Een wetenschappelijke proeve op het gebied van de Sociale Wetenschappen

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Promotor   Prof. dr. W.C. Ultee

Copromotores   Dr. G. Kraaykamp
                              Prof. dr. ir. T. van der Lippe (Universiteit Utrecht)

Manuscriptcommissie   Prof. dr. N.D. de Graaf (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen /
                              Nuffield College, Oxford)
                              Prof. dr. P. de Graaf (Universiteit van Tilburg)
                              Prof. dr. S. Drobnič (Universität Hamburg)

Voorwoord

De afgelopen vijf jaar heb ik geregeld proefschriften van collega's geopend om snel door te bladeren naar het voorwoord. Vaak is het doornemen van het voorwoord het eerste dat de meeste lezers doen na het bekijken van de omslag, met de gedachte: "wie waren van belang?" Ik ben dolblij dat het nu mijn beurt is om iedereen te bedanken die op enigerlei wijze heeft bijgedragen aan dit proefschrift.

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Contents

Introduction and background

1.1 Introduction

Labour markets in Western societies have gone through a remarkable transformation in recent decades. The second half of the twentieth century can be characterised as the period in which a dramatic increase in women's employment took place. Nowadays in almost all industrialised countries, it is more likely for women to have paid jobs than be full-time housewives (Van der Lippe & Van Dijk, 2001). The Dutch labour market has been exposed to the same progression. A statistical fact is that the net participation rate of women increased from 30% in 1981 to 54% in 2005 (CBS, 2007; Keuzenkamp & Faulk, 2006). These changes in the employment of women are an important aspect of our study, chiefly because they altered the division of labour within households. The emergence of dual-earner couples, especially full-time working couples, is in our view one of the most important developments, as the time these couples devote to paid labour may seriously affect their family life.

The transformation of the Dutch labour market can be comprehended as the outcome of changes in the demand for paid labour as well as changes in labour supply. Female emancipation fuelled the demand for jobs, as more women wanted to work. This rising demand was initiated by a higher educational attainment, a more progressive attitude towards the household division of labour, and a changing societal climate where working women became more accepted (Keuzenkamp & Oudhof, 2000; Kraaykamp, 2002). These changes caused women to take up more paid labour than before, and more women either kept working even after a first childbirth or postponed motherhood. From the supply side (the number of available jobs), the economic welfare growth and the increased availability of part-time work enabled a rise in female paid employment. In retrospect, the 1982 'Wassenaar Agreement' can be pinpointed as imperative for the availability of part-time employment and economic growth. The foundation of this agreement holds that government, labour unions and employers negotiate a redistribution of work. It stipulates a general reduction of labour time, a rise in part-time work opportunities and an increase in opportunities for early retirement (CPB, 2000; SCP, 2000, p293). This general agreement was successful in generating part-time employment growth, which resulted in a steep increase of female employment. Moreover, in the last three decades expanding childcare facilities further relaxed the

combination of work and care (Turksema, 2000), providing more possibilities for women to work.

Given these changes in the demand and supply for paid labour, how can the changes in the Dutch labour market during the post-war period be characterised? Our argument is that the most striking development took place within households. Until the 1970s, a traditional family arrangement with a sole male breadwinner was the most widespread: more than 70% of all Dutch couples consisted of a full-time working male and a non-working female housekeeper. By 2006, only 26% of all Dutch couples lived in such an arrangement. As more women entered the labour market, it is likely that spouses had to negotiate the division of paid and unpaid labour. Alongside the strong decline of the single-earner male household, a reassessment of the hours worked by spouses resulted in a rapid growth of combination households – those with a full-time working husband and a part-time working wife.

The emergence in the Netherlands and other industrialised countries of households with two working spouses, the dual-earners, instigated significant attention from social scientists. They identified time pressure within these households (Jacobs & Gerson, 2001; Robinson & Godbey, 1997; Schor, 1991). However, scholars hardly paid attention to the increase in the number of full-time working couples, while the effects for the family might be very strong here. From the 1970s onwards, the share of such households doubled from 8% to about 15% in the 1990s, and remained at that level up to now. In these households, both spouses work at least 35 hours a week, which means they are away most of the day. From an emancipation standard, this arrangement may be preferred as the working hours are shared more or less equally among husband and wife, and both invest substantially in their professional career. However, the amount of paid labour performed by women is not counterbalanced by either an appreciable increase of domestic responsibilities for men or a downsizing of their employment hours. As a result, full-time working couples may face severe difficulties balancing their working career versus care and attention for their children, and even their personal and social time. Full-time employment of both spouses from a family perspective clearly jeopardises the time these couples have for the family, and is sometimes characterised as 'the double burden' for both husband and wife (Beaujot & Liu, 2005).

Having indicated the scale of changes that took place in the Dutch labour market, the household level is where we believe the most significant changes took place. To enhance our knowledge on households, this study examines in close detail couples with two full-time working spouses. Of all couples active in the labour market, full-time dual earners are investing the largest share of their available time in their careers. Their investments may yield an above-average income, a successful high-status career and a

splendid level of occupational enjoyment. But, up to now, we hardly know who they are, and to what extent the full-time employment of both spouses has consequences for the family. Who enters such an arrangement, and how did these numbers double in recent decades?

The increase in the number of working women is often interpreted in terms of a stronger inflow of women into the labour market. However, it also may be that women became less likely to leave the labour market – this is to be expected from a couple perspective, since women traditionally left the labour market after getting married and having children. To study exactly what is going on, cross-sectional research is not enough, and dynamic research is becoming more important. With few exceptions, dynamic explorations have so far dealt with questions on the life courses of women and the decisions they make during life-course transitions like motherhood or marriage (De Graaf & Vermeulen, 1997; Drobnic, Blossfeld & Rohwer, 1999; Van der Lippe & Van Dijk, 2001). Dynamic studies on the life courses of full-time working couples are virtually nonexistent.

The research presented here will improve upon earlier work by introducing couple-level explanations and analyses. Using the retrospective occupational careers of both spouses we will examine which spouses are both working full-time, when, where, for how long and under which conditions. This will not only greatly enhance current knowledge on the working of spouses, but for the first time shed light on the full-time working careers of households and the consequences for the individual, the couple and the family. The following two sections will put the Dutch case within a European perspective and explain the contribution of research on the choices couples make.

1.2 The Dutch case from a European perspective

A priority formulated by the European Commission is the reduction of inequality and the realisation of economic independence between men and women living in the European Union. An important matter of policy in this respect is the question of how to increase female labour force participation, outlined in the *Roadmap for Equality between Women and Men* (EC, 2006; Keuzenkamp, 2006). Over the last 20 years the labour force participation of men has remained stable, topping 80% for the Netherlands in 2005.[1] The overall participation rate of women aged 15-64 amounted to 66% in 2005, which is slightly above the EU average of 56%. Only Scandinavian countries reported a

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[1] National employment rates differ from the EU employment rates due to different definitions. Statistics Netherlands regards working fewer than 12 hours as 'not working', therefore the female activity rate in the EU perspective is 66% and 54% in a national perspective.

3

higher female participation rate of 72% in 2005. Does this mean that the Netherlands is a good EU student in reducing economic dependency with a participation rate of 10% above the EU average? Things look quite different when we zoom in on the actual hours worked per week. The Netherlands are known for a large number of part-time employees, women as well as men. Of all women active in the labour market, 61% are employed part-time and these are overwhelmingly small part-time jobs. A shared second ranking is taken by the United Kingdom and Germany, both with 39% part-time employees – a huge gap. The same holds for Dutch men: 15% are employed part-time, compared to only a small percentage of the men in surrounding countries. From a European perspective, the labour market participation rate of Dutch women may be close to the average, but the actual hours worked are significantly below average. If we move from the individual perspective to a household view, a bigger issue becomes apparent, as illustrated in Figure 1.1.
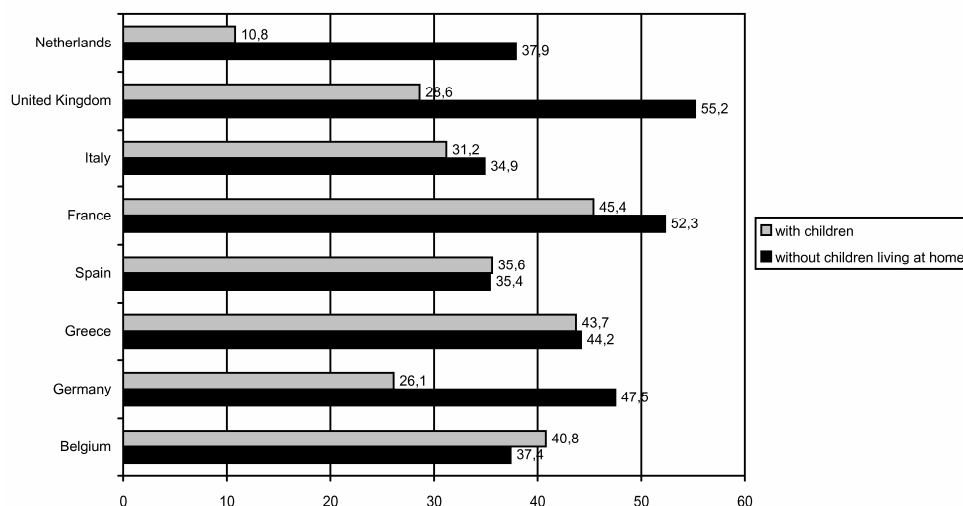
Figure 1.1 Full-time working couples in eight countries of the European Union in 2002 as percentage of the number of dual-earners.

Of all Dutch households with both spouses doing paid labour, almost 38% is a full-time working couple. In surrounding countries this percentage is much higher, with more than 50% of dual-earner couples in France and the United Kingdom working full-time. What is even more striking is the difference in coupled labour force participation when spouses have become parents. Of all dual-earner couples with children, a mere 10.8% work full-time in the Netherlands, compared to about 30% in the United Kingdom, Italy

and Germany. In France, Greece and Spain these numbers are even higher (Eurostat, 2002).

It thus seems that, compared to other EU countries, a full-time job for both husband and wife is not very common for Dutch couples, especially Dutch parents. A large majority of women work part-time, and as many as a quarter of men in the Netherlands now working full-time in a dual-earner household would like to work part-time (Esveldt, Beets, Henkens, Liefbroer & Moors, 2001, p76).

The exceptional situation in the Dutch labour market is noteworthy in many respects. Labour market participation rates are high, but the supply of labour is not utilised efficiently. The high percentage of part-time jobs leaves a large share of human capital unused. This may be problematic in a welfare state with an aging population like the Netherlands, which is still among the most generous systems in the Western world (Becker, 2000). Despite the explosion of part-time workers – male and female – since the 1980s, it is at the very least surprising that the number of full-time working couples rose at all. This again stresses the importance of knowing who the full-time working couples in Dutch society are. The present study examines causes that lead to an increase of full-time working couples. We will also explore the consequences of dual full-time work for the individual, the couple and their families.

1.3 Three perspectives for progress: couples, the life course and values

1.3.1 Full-time work: a couple perspective

Given the major changes in the labour markets in the Western world with respect to the employment of women, many scholars have focused on women's paid labour and investigated new patterns in the division of labour between men and women (Hakim, 1997; Van der Lippe & Van Dijk, 2001). This research has greatly increased our knowledge on the career trajectories of women and its consequences for leisure and family life (Barnett, 1994; Bratberg, Dahl & Risa, 2002; Meijer, Dykstra, Siegers & De Jong Gierveld, 1998; Pungello & Kurtz-Costes, 2000; Schoen, Astone, Rothert, Standish & Kim, 2002; Shaw, 1990). That female participation has remained the focal point of interest in many scientific debates is not surprising; the norm for working women was to stop doing paid work when entering motherhood (Cohen & Bianchi, 1999; Desai & Waite, 1991). These investigations revealed that transitions like cohabitation, marriage, occupational mobility and children are of great importance in explaining the outflow from full-time into part-time labour (Drobnic & Blossfeld, 2001; Grimm & Bonneuil, 2001; Hendrickx, Bernasco & De Graaf, 2001; Henkens, Grift & Siegers, 2002).

What most of these studies have in common is that they may have overlooked the context in which the decision on the hours worked by women take place, and likewise where possible consequences of such decisions occur. Scholars have occasionally included characteristics of spouses in their empirical analyses, but their key research questions remained at the individual level. Couple-level issues were hardly ever addressed, and female participation in paid labour has remained the focus of most studies. A widely used argument for the single-actor research design is that there is little variation in male employment, and that husbands overwhelmingly have full-time jobs (Hendrickx et al., 2001). But, as we have just seen, part-time work is rising among men, is very popular among women, and the share of full-timers is going up. It thus seems likely there is a lot more going on, especially at the couple level.

Research that has emphasised the importance of the context in which decisions on labour market participation take place can be labelled under the *partner effect studies*. Rooted in stratification research, these studies argue that homogamy between spouses, resemblance in educational level, is increasing inequality (Kalmijn, 1998). Homogamy is a consequence of partner choice in the marriage market where spouses tend to choose marriage partners that are alike in educational level. Not only does this lead to a positive association between partners labour-market careers, but spouses keep influencing each other during the course of life, thereby strengthening the effect (Hendrickx, Uunk & Smits, 1995). This means that human capital accumulation for one spouse may positively affect the labour market career of the partner (Bernasco, 1994; Bernasco, Graaf & Ultee, 1998). Studies on partner effects have greatly increased the attention of researchers for the context in which individuals live.

A good example of the increased awareness for the careers of both spouses is the work by Blossfeld and Drobnic (2001). This international comparative study examines how couples – and the spouses that comprise them – move in and out of part-time or full-time employment across different regimes. This work has been influential in promoting the couple perspective. Theoretical questions and empirical analyses largely contain women's labour market transitions, most of the time supported by the association between husbands' labour market status and wives' career transitions. The contribution of Han and Moen (2001) in the book of Blossfeld and Drobnic is a good example of the interlinking career pathways of both men and women, and how *couples* shift through different life stages. They argue that couples' conjoint choices about the hours they work, the kind of occupation they have, as well as the timing and number of children, are part of the story of contemporary pathways to effectively manage work/life obligations (Moen, 2003).

In this study on full-time working couples in the Netherlands we build upon the couple perspective to reach new expectations on the consequences of the full-time employment of both spouses. In this arrangement both spouses are constantly strategising about his job, her job, and their family (Moen & Wethington, 1992; Moen & Yu, 1999). The couple perspective is rather new, especially for the Netherlands. Our aim is to use this perspective to explore where the largest investments in professional careers take place, when and how couples move in and out of full-time employment, and which consequences may follow from this arrangement.

1.3.2 Full-time work: a life-course perspective

The careers of people and couples are far from static. Couples move in and out of employment during their lives and take on different working schedules depending on their life course. In researching the consequences of dual full-time employment, the life courses of couples are very important. A life-course perspective departs from the traditional use of explaining the association between work and family by emphasising the dynamics of occupational careers. Life-course dynamics are traditionally conceptualised by the interrelated concepts of role trajectories and transitions (Elder, 1985). These trajectories are best described as the temporal involvement of couples in marriage, paid employment or parenthood. The transitions, sometimes addressed as events, mark the end and the beginning of a certain trajectory (Macmillan & Copher, 2005). In order to explain which couples are working full-time in the Netherlands, a dynamic approach is preferable. The occupational careers of couples provide new information on who these couples are, and which transitions mark the end of their full-time working arrangement. The good thing about life-course information is that the causal order of events is clear. This enables us to conclude about cause and consequence; does getting married affect the number of hours worked, and how do fluctuating family responsibilities affect spousal employment levels? These questions require information of the life courses of couples, and our study uses detailed event history data at the couple level to provide the answers. The possibility of combining the accurate estimation of causal explanatory models with a couple-level perspective is a major progression upon existing research.

1.3.3 Full-time work: a perspective on values

Up to now we have stressed that full-time working couples are different from other couples as a result of structural characteristics: they work more. It is true that they make other choices regarding their investment in their professional career. Yet, they are different not only in their employment: their behaviour is also likely to be the result of

values on how they spend their time. More time in the labour market necessarily leads to less time for family life, joint or single leisure participation, and other activities. This behaviour can be regarded as an example of cultural changes in Dutch society: the value attached to the individual is higher, and people strive more often for a self-directed life course by investing in their occupational career (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1995; Cherlin, 2004). This process has frequently been labelled as individualisation: traditional beliefs erode and values that emphasise personal responsibilities, self-created chances and autonomy become more important (Kuijsten, 1996). Table 1.1 presents the opinions of full-time working couples and other couples to illustrate the difference in values for couples in various working arrangements on marriage and family, the division of labour and things that are valuable in life. The data are collected by the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) to track opinions and attitudes on population issues (Esveldt et al., 2001).[2]

Table 1.1 Percentage of persons expressing particular opinions on marriage, having children, the division of labour and things that are considered important in life for different household working arrangements.

	single-earner male household	combination households	full-time working couples	non-employed
Do you agree[a] or disagree with the following statements on marriage and children?				
marriage is an outdated institution	15.56	17.98	25.00	7.25
people who want children should get married	43.88	25.32	20.45	58.55
a child needs both a mother and a father to grow up happily	66.24	53.03	46.21	84.35
it should be possible for women to become single parents	43.22	58.35	63.64	39.13
To what extent do you agree[b] or disagree with the following statements on the division of labour and family life?				
a man becomes a real father if he (partly) takes care of his children	55.77	62.89	71.05	52.92
working women are very much respected	27.04	30.61	38.60	26.30
it is not a good thing if a man stays home to care for the children and the woman is doing paid labour	13.24	6.50	2.63	20.78
women are better at caring than men	54.93	44.03	36.84	63.64
How important[c] are the following things to you?				
having a professional career	25.43	22.86	29.51	44.07
striving for self-fulfilment	26.67	28.57	35.00	43.88
having enough time for yourself and your interests	64.45	73.36	74.59	65.68
being satisfied and happy with your life	88.18	88.98	90.98	81.78

a   answer category 'disagree' is not displayed; source: NIDI-MOAB2002
b   answer categories 'neutral' and 'disagree' are not displayed; source: NIDI-MOAB2002
c   answer categories 'of little importance' and 'not important' are not displayed; source: NIDI-MOAB1994

[2] We thank the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute, especially Ingrid Esveldt and Kène Henkens, for providing the data they gathered on the opinions and attitudes of population issues.

Table 1.1 shows that, compared to other couples, full-timers attach little importance to traditional beliefs, such as being married before having children. About 25% of people living in a full-time working household arrangement agree to the statement that marriage is an outdated institution. Moreover, they have less of a problem with single parenting, and attach less importance to children growing up with both parents compared to other couples. Their progressive viewpoints continue in the next section on the division of labour between men and women. For individuals in a full-time working couple, men caring for their children is more common and appreciated than among other couples. About 36% of respondents in full-time working households think women are better at caring than men; these percentages are much higher for single-earner male households (55%), combination households (44%) and the non-employed (63%).

Women doing paid work is most appreciated among full-time working couples – which is not that surprising. Based upon these figures, we conclude that full-time workers adhere to more modern views about marriage, motherhood and paid labour. The last four items of the NIDI opinion surveys relate to self-actualisation. Here, full-time working couples attach more importance to self-fulfilment, satisfaction in life and a professional career than other couples.

In explaining the consequences of dual full-time work, these values are important. Although we do not have direct access to these questions from the empirical data used in this study, we will try to account for values by including structural traits from the socialisation period. Values do not emerge out of the blue, they are transferred from one generation to the next, or transmitted within a certain context. Previous research has shown that family, school and workplace are all contexts where social patterns and interactions with peers affect an individual's preferences (Hagestad, 1990). Moreover, the use of structural traits is preferred, as these can be better retrieved in a retrospective research design. Respondents are accurate in recalling salient characteristics, whereas accurately remembering previous attitudes is worrisome. Hence our study frequently controls for educational background of couples and their parents, the societal climate in which these couples grew up, and the family structure in the parental home.

1.4 Causes and consequences

The aim of our research is twofold. In chapters 2 and 3 we focus on *causes*: who are the full-time working couples in the Netherlands? We use a repeated cross-sectional design and a life-course perspective to study the increase in the number of full-time working couples and the choices they make in their careers. These chapters describe the unique nature of full-time working couples and their exceptional variant in the Netherlands.

The major difference between couples with two full-time working spouses and other working arrangements is that less time is available for family-related activities. Full-time working couples may therefore experience time scarcity due to their relative large investments in working hours. Moreover, their values towards work and life orientation are very different from the opinions of other couples, especially with regard to marriage, paid labour and family life. These characteristics combined stress the urgency to investigate whether both spouses' full-time work has consequences for other domains in life. In chapters 3, 4 and 5 we focus on the *consequences* of dual full-time work for the timing of a first and second childbirth, private and social leisure participation, and individual and joint cultural participation. The overarching question is how much the investments in other life realms, like family and community, are affected when attitudes individualise and such a large amount of time is spent at work. The growing number of full-time working couples is often seen as an indication for the loosening of family ties, and sometimes even symbolises the rise of individualism and/or hedonism. If we follow this reasoning, continuation of this demographic trend may result in a society where a highly individualistic labour force is loosening up traditional family structures and bonds.

The combination of individualised values and a large number of working hours may have serious effects on relationships with the family, but also on an individual's access to social capital, conferred through informal networks and formal organisational memberships (Becker & Hofmeister, 2000). The possible withdrawal from community involvement, what Hertz (1986) has called the 'privatisation of family life', may be a direct result of dual full-time employment. Both Schor and Hochschild have studied the consequences of long working hours for household members, and they conclude that the time squeeze experienced by dual-earner couples may be linked to a decline in volunteering, thereby reducing individuals' access to social capital (Hochschild, 1997, p243; Schor, 1991, p161). The concerns brought up by previous research on the possible minimisation of investments in other life domains besides work are investigated in three subsequent chapters following the causes. Explicit research questions per chapter will now be discussed.

1.4.1 Causes: research questions
Chapter 2 investigates issues related to the increase in the number of full-time working couples. Unlike the majority of Dutch couples that worked part-time in recent decades, full-time working couples cut across the grain and both members are employed full-time. How exactly this change came about in the last 25 years is the key question in this chapter. First we study whether the increase of full-time working couples is a result of

cohort succession and/or period differences. Second, we address the extent to which full-time working couples in the Netherlands have gone through compositional changes with respect to young children and educational level. These aims are summarised in the following research questions:

> *To what extent can the increase in full-time working couples be understood as a period effect and/or cohort succession effect?*

and

> *To what extent has the composition of full-time working couples regarding educational attainment and having children changed over time?*

These questions will be answered using detailed information of nearly half a million Dutch couples in the Netherlands over a period of 25 years.

   In Chapter 3, the cross-sectional analyses of Chapter 2 are improved upon by adding dynamic information on the careers of couples. From a cross-sectional research design, deployed in the previous chapter, it is difficult to conclude anything about the sequence of events. The order of causes and consequences is missing, which makes pinpointing causal mechanisms difficult. This is not a problem in estimating a trend, but can be problematic when observing a chain of events. For example, a cross-sectional research design does enable researchers to conclude that working a large number of hours is negatively associated with having young children, yet it is incorrect to conclude that a first childbirth leads to a lowering of these working hours. Chapter 3 uses the career and family histories of couples and builds upon a dynamic design to reach conclusions on who the full-time working couples are. This is important progress, since we add both the couple perspective and the life course to explain changes in the working career. Life events such as beginning to cohabit, getting married, changing jobs and having a child are used to estimate the likelihood of couples exiting from dual full-time work (Drobnic & Blossfeld, 2001; Hendrickx et al., 2001; Henkens et al., 2002). We study exits since we know that most couples start out working full-time. Other dynamic studies have found that women who kept on working after a family life event are most likely employed part-time (Blossfeld, 1997; De Graaf & Vermeulen, 1997; Even, 1987). Including both spouses in our expectations provides new information on the explanatory power of the characteristics of both spouses, and may lead to new conclusions. In a event-history analysis we explain which couples work full-time during the course of their lives, and more importantly, which couples choose to discontinue this in favour of other working arrangements. The research question answered in this chapter reads:

> *Which couples discontinue dual full-time employment over the life course, and which events may account for the cutback of their working hours?*

1.4.2 Consequences: research questions

In the subsequent three chapters the consequences for fertility, private and social leisure time, and cultural participation are examined. Chapter 4 explores which couples are less likely to have children. Given the fact that spouses jointly decide on having children, we perform a coupled event history analysis to investigate how career investments interfere with a first and second childbirth. Spouses may decide to follow a career path, for example strive for a better job or promotion that may not be easily combined with care for one or more children. Dropping fertility rates have been common since the 1970s in many Western societies (Klijzing & Corijn, 2002). This results in smaller families and an aging population as the share of younger people declines – a shrinking population which will affect the economy, the labour and housing market, and the social security system. The combination of dual full-time jobs and a value orientation aimed at self-fulfilment, a professional career and a view of marriage as an outdated institution seem a perfect match for dropping fertility rates. While most previous research has examined the role of women and men separately to explain fertility behaviour, we propose a couple-level explanation. Again, we raise questions on the basis of a life-course perspective to gain information on the association between labour market choices and having children. The detailed career histories of both spouses are used to track previous employment patterns, and how they relate to future fertility decisions is investigated. To this end, we propose the following research question:

> *To what extent do dual full-time careers of couples affect the probability and the timing of a first and second childbirth?*

Social interaction with friends and relatives and private leisure recreation is the second phenomenon on which we test expectations on consequences of the full-time employment of both spouses. Chapter 5 argues that those living as a full-time working couple have on average less time to spend on their private and social leisure activities. Logically, less time is available for other activities among households with longer hours of paid work. Individuals in a full-time working couple exchange time for money, whereas others consume this time to undertake activities either on their own or with relatives or friends. This has created concerns about societal cohesion, as more people are away from home during the day (Coleman, 1988). With more people at work, neighbourhoods tend to be empty in the daytime, and family members interact in the

evening and early morning hours. Outside the family, get-togethers with friends and participation in leisure activities may be scarcer and require intensive planning. Volunteer organisations face difficulties recruiting active members. In this sense, the increasing working hours of family members may result in a decline of social capital (Putnam, 1995). When spouses invest more of their available hours in work, it is evident that this time cannot be dedicated to close social relations with others – relatives (including children), friends and societal involvement. Recent social sciences research revealed shrinking friendship networks of Americans during the last two decades (McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Brashears, 2006). The authors observe a decline in core discussion networks with more emerging social isolates among the American public. The greater involvement in paid labour, with more extensive day-to-day commuting, may explain the deterioration of these friendship networks. In Chapter 5 we study the association between the full-time employment of couples and the time devoted to leisure-time activities. Our expectation is that the cutbacks on leisure activities will vary according to the nature of that specific activity. The fact that people report that leisure time has become scarcer and more harried than before clearly implies that choices have to be made regarding which things they do in their spare time (Garhammer, 2004; Robinson & Godbey, 1997). To understand which specific activities have a lower frequency among full-time working couples, we distinguish three kinds of activities. First, private time, such as reading, listening to music and solitary hobbies. Second, interaction with relatives and friends such as conversing with family members, sitting down together for meals and visiting friends. Third, institutionalised social interaction, like volunteering, cultural participation or attending sports events. In this chapter we ask what happens when people are pressed for time: will they economise on their private time, or will they reduce the hours spent on close social relations with relatives and friends? The questions read:

> *To what extent do individuals living as a full-time working couple experience a lower number of hours to be spent on private and social activities?*

and

> *What is the relative importance of private and social activities for individuals living in a full-time working household compared to individuals living with different household working arrangements?*

In Chapter 6 the subject of study is the frequency of single and conjoint cultural participation by members of couples. Our third main expectation on the consequences of dual full-time employment is concentrated around household working hours and

(coupled) cultural activities. If time pressure arguments and value orientations are important mechanisms for leisure participation in general (examined in Chapter 5), these mechanisms should be visible in a more detailed investigation as well. Surely, visiting a museum or attending a classical concert consumes time. Surprising is the relatively small attention paid to time constraints in studies on cultural participation levels. The observed decline in free time has led to a rising volume of work on time constraints and their effects on family life, life satisfaction and leisure participation (Barnett & Gareis, 2000; Becker & Moen, 1999; Clarckberg & Merola, 2003; Garhammer, 2004; Milkie, Mattingly, Nomaguchi, Bianchi & Robinson, 2004). However, the research field on participation in cultural activities has not yet taken advantage of the increased focus on time constraints within other studies. Moreover, studies that have done so, using individual-level measures, show only modest effects of time constraints on the cultural participation rate (Ganzeboom, 1982, 1989; Kraaykamp, 1996; Kraaykamp & van Eijck, 2005). Again, the link between work and cultural consumption may be hard to detect if the context of the individual is neglected. In this chapter we improve upon earlier research by showing the effects of couple-level time constraints on cultural participation.

Noteworthy is that the detailed nature of this last examination provides the possibility to study the relation between time at work and specific attendance to cultural events from the household level. We introduce couple-level time constraints for individual as well as joint cultural participation. The data used is rich on information on the participation rates of both partners and the frequency of joint attendance to cultural events. Hence both partners may experience different effects from their full-time work – to the best of our knowledge a novel perspective. This chapter might provide answers on whether a time squeeze has consequences for individual leisure participation and to the same extent for couples' joint cultural participation. The questions we answer read:

> *To what extent is individual cultural participation restricted by couple-level time constraints?*

and

> *To what extent is joint participation of couples in cultural activities restricted by couple-level time constraints?*

Figure 1.2 provides a schematic overview of the structure of our study. The left side presents the chapters on causes, the right side the chapters on consequences.
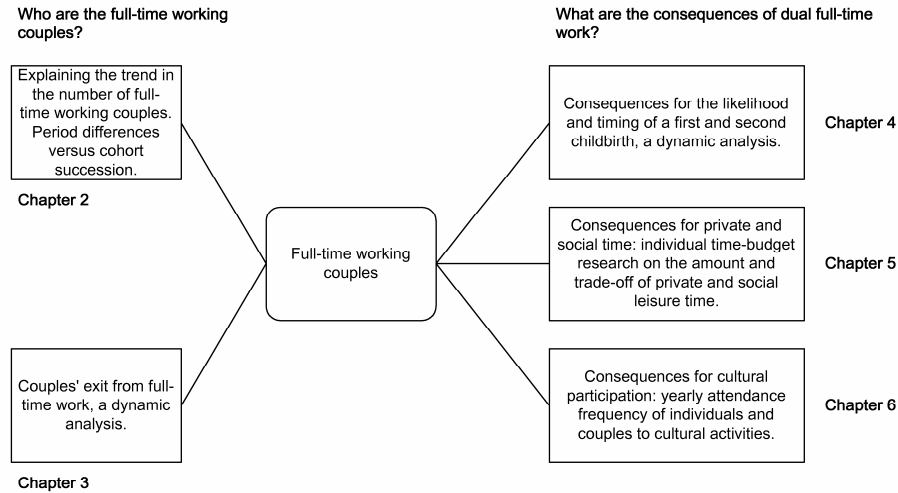
Figure 1.2 Schematic structure of the study on full-time working couples.

1.5 Data

Every chapter has specific data requirements to thoroughly test the research question. A shared quality of the datasets we use is the presence of household-level information, on either the working hours of both spouses or the outcome variable. In total we use over 20 different sets of data from three main sources. Some are large-scale with little detail, others provide rich information on a more detailed level, i.e. the minutes spent on different activities per day.

Chapter 2 employs large-scale labour market information to explain changes in the number and composition of the group of full-time working couples. Statistics Netherlands gathers large-scale cross-sectional data on the labour market activities of Dutch citizens belonging to the potential labour population. These Labour Force Surveys (LFS) are used for the monitoring of the Dutch labour market, and provide information on the working status and working hours of the primary respondent and his or her partner (if available). They also contain information on the highest attained educational level, number and ages of children, and respondents' year of birth. For our analysis in Chapter 2, I stacked and harmonised 13 of these LFS cross-sectional data

files with household-level information on labour force participation – specifically, the LFS[3] from 1977, 1981, 1983 and 1985 (in Dutch know as the *Arbeidskrachtentelling* or AKT) and those from 1990, 1992, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2001 and 2002 (in Dutch known as *Enquête Beroepsbevolking* or EBB). The LFS are conducted among the non-institutionalised Dutch population aged 15 years and older; until 1985 written questionnaires were used, in 1991 Computed Assisted Personal Interviews were introduced.

The Family Surveys of the Dutch Population, organised by the Department of Sociology of Radboud University Nijmegen, are the basis for the analyses in chapters 3, 4 and 6. In the years 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003, couples were questioned using a face-to-face computer-assisted interview and a written questionnaire (De Graaf, De Graaf, Kraaykamp & Ultee, 1998, 2000, 2003; Ganzeboom & Ultee, 1992). Respondents in all four surveys were selected from a random sample (drawn from the registers of a stratified sample on the basis of municipality and urbanization) of non-institutionalised Dutch population between 18 and 70 years of age. In the 2003 survey, additional respondents (40% of total sample) were sampled from a representative household panel. In the interviews the complete educational and occupational career, and family history of both spouses were collected with retrospective structured questioning. At the time the interviewer questioned the primary respondent with the help of a computer, the spouse answered the written questionnaire. At the end of the interview, roles were switched so that both spouses completed the oral interview and answered the written questionnaire. Formulation of the questions and format of the surveys are highly comparable over time. The retrospective career histories are used to create person-period files for households to track occupational changes throughout the life course. These histories are used in chapters 3 and 4 to deal with changes in a household working arrangement using event history techniques. In Chapter 6 we do not use the occupational histories of the spouses, but draw upon repeated questions about the cultural consumption of both household members.

A third source of data are the Time-Use Surveys 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995 and 2000 collected by the Social and Cultural Planning Office in the Netherlands. In these years a random sample of the Dutch population older than 12 was invited to participate in the Dutch time-use survey. Respondents kept a diary in which they recorded their main and secondary activity per 15-minute episode. The diary was kept for a whole week starting on Sunday. Additionally, respondents answered a structured written

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[3] We thank Statistics Netherlands for onsite access to their 1981, 1983 and 1985 Labour Force Surveys. This provided the opportunity to reconstruct household-level datasets and test our expectations.

questionnaire containing questions on their background, household structure, education, ethnicity, employment and information about the spouse. In Chapter 5 we use this detailed recording to construct measures for amount of private time, social interaction with family members and friends, and institutionalised social interaction.

The utilisation of rather different data sources is a powerful tool in the empirical test of the expectations. May spouses, their families and friends experience consequences of the full-time employment of couples, these should be visible regardless of the nature of the data sources used.

1.6 Definition of household working arrangements

Throughout this study we compare couples that work full-time with couples that have a different arrangement of working hours. The official definition outlined by Statistics Netherlands is used to categorise couples on the basis of their standard weekly working hours (Reemers, 2003). People who work less than 12 hours are categorised as unemployed, individuals who work 12 to 35 hours a week are part-time workers, and individuals working 35 hours or more a week are considered full-time workers. When both women and men are labelled according to their hours worked per week, specific arrangements are available, as illustrated in Figure 1.3.
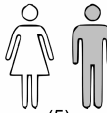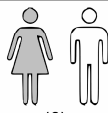
Figure 1.3 Combinations of working hours within couples.

The working hours of both spouses are combined into the following categories: (1) Both spouses work 35 hours or more: full-time working couples; (2) a full-time working male and a part-time working female; (3) a full-time working female and a part-time working male; (4) both spouses working part-time; (5) a full-time or part-time working male and a non-working female; (6) a full-time or part-time working female and a non-working male; and (7) both spouses are non-employed. This classification is the basis for our investigation in every chapter, but categories are often taken together when it comes to the analyses.

The empirical chapters 2, 4, 5 and 6 use the following household working arrangements: *full-time working couples* where both spouses work at least 35 hours a week (number 1 in Figure 1.3); *combination households* where both spouses work either part-time or full-time and at least one spouse is employed part-time (numbers 2, 3 and 4); *single-earner male households* where husbands work either full-time or part-time and wives are not employed (number 5); and *non-employed couples* where both partners either do not work or work less than 12 hours a week (number 7 in Figure 1.3).

Note that single-earner female households are omitted from the analyses, as they constitute a tiny minority of all household working arrangements. The relative size of this group means that we do not have sufficient cases to conduct a proper analyses. Theoretically, single-earner female households are somewhat peculiar cases and may not reflect an actual household choice: husbands may not be employed as a result of a handicap, temporary unemployment or serious illness. In Chapter 3 we do not use the given definition of household working arrangements used throughout the rest of our study. In that chapter, the research questions demand an outcome variable that is more detailed than the household working arrangements construction used in other chapters. We shall discuss that construction in the chapter.

1.7 Outline of the study

Table 1.2 presents an overview of all the empirical chapters, the questions asked therein, the perspective used, the data and methods, and their aims. A concluding Chapter 7 will reflect on the findings, and reach back to the main issues brought up in this introduction.

Table 1.2   Outline of empirical chapters

chapter	questions	perspective	data sources	methods of analysis
2	who are the full-time working couples in the Netherlands, and how did their numbers increase over time?	period differences vs cohort succession	labour force surveys 1977, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1990, 1992, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002	multinomial logistic regression analysis
3	which couples exit dual full-time employment over the life course, and which events can be held responsible for the cutback of their working hours?	family events, geographical mobility, family background and education	family surveys of the Dutch population 1992, 1998, 2000, 2003	discrete time event history analysis with competing events
4	to what extent does spouses' dual full-time employment affect the probability and timing of a first and second childbirth?	costs and benefits of children vs norms	family surveys of the Dutch population 1992, 1998, 2000, 2003	discrete time event history analysis
5	how does both partners working full-time affect the division of the total time budget on private leisure consumption, social interaction with friends and family, and institutionalised social interaction?	temporal organisation theory vs social motivation theory	time-use surveys 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000	ordinary least squares regression analyses, with an outcome variable reflecting the ratio between time investments
6	how and to what extent is the individual and joint cultural participation of couples affected by both spouses working full-time?	coupled time pressure imbedded within cultural research	family surveys of the Dutch population 1992, 1998, 2000, 2003	ordinary least squares regression analyses

The emergence of dual-earner couples: A longitudinal study of the Netherlands[1]

In this chapter we address the extent to which full-time working couples in the Netherlands have gone through compositional changes in terms of young children and educational level. Using a stacked dataset of 13 large-scale labour-force surveys collected by Statistics Netherlands ranging from 1977 to 2002 (N=461.003 Dutch couples), we first studied whether the increase in full-time working couples is a result of new entries to the labour market (a cohort effect) and/or existing labour-market members changing their working hours (period effect). It is concluded that the steady growth of full-time working households is mainly accounted for by cohort succession; in couples from younger birth cohorts, both partners increasingly prefer to work full-time. Second, we investigated the composition of those full-time working couples. As a starting point it is clear that full-time working couples are mostly found among the higher educated without children. For this composition, our analyses show that over time the educational level of the group of full-time working couples is rising, more so than it is among male single earners or combination households. Most important is that the negative effect of having young children for full-time working couples became more negative over cohorts, which indicates that combining children and full-time work as a couple has become less attractive in recent cohorts.

2.1 Introduction

Until the 1970s, a family configuration with a male breadwinner was the most widespread in the Netherlands: more than 70% of all Dutch couples consisted of a full-time working male and a non-working female housekeeper. In the 1980s and 1990s a considerable change in this state of affairs took place. Educational expansion, economic welfare growth, female emancipation and expanding childcare facilities all stimulated women's labour participation. Obviously, this resulted in an increase of dual-working couples. In this respect, two more specific developments are to be distinguished. First, a

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[1] A slightly different English-language version of this chapter is forthcoming as an article in International Sociology, with co-author Gerbert Kraaykamp. A different Dutch-language version of this chapter was published as an article in Bevolking & Gezin 2004, 33(3), pp. 95-125, with co-author Gerbert Kraaykamp.

sizeable growth of so-called combination couples occurred. These are couples in which both partners work doing paid labour, but at least one of them works part-time (Van der Lippe, 2001). Second, a substantial expansion of full-time working couples, in which both partners are employed more than 35 hours per week, was established. In a 20-year period, the number of full-time working couples almost doubled – from 8% in 1977 to 15% in 1998 (CBS, 2005; Van Gils & Kraaykamp, 2004).

At the couple level, the Dutch labour market is known nowadays for its 'one-and-a-half' earner type with a full-time working husband and a part-time working wife. The contrast between the working hours of Dutch female spouses and those in surrounding European countries is striking. If we compare all dual-earner couples across nations, the Netherlands displays a mere 38% of all dual-earner couples working full-time, whereas in the UK and France more than 50% of dual earners are employed full-time. If we account for having children as a structural constraint, the difference becomes even larger. When children arrive, only 10% of all dual-earner couples in the Netherlands work full-time, compared to at least 30 to 40% of such couples in surrounding countries (Eurostat, 2002). It thus seems that, compared to other countries, full-time work by both spouses is not preferred by Dutch couples. Although emancipation has stimulated both partners to work, part-time work is still the favoured strategy by women. This is exactly what we believe makes the Dutch labour market an interesting case for studying the emergence of full-time working couples. Obviously, if a preference for full-time work is lower compared to surrounding countries, then which couples are responsible for an increase in the number of full-time working couples over time? This chapter investigates which demographic mechanisms are behind the increase in the number of full-time working couples in the Netherlands.

We address two research questions on the increase of full-time work in the Netherlands. First, we will study this trend and examine cohort succession (couples born between 1921 and 1981) and period effects (running from 1977 to 2002). Studying these effects will answer whether the rising inclination of the full-time working arrangement can be ascribed to widely shared societal changes that took place among all couples in Dutch society (period effect) or to a socialisation into more modern conditions and norms solely among couples from certain birth cohorts (cohort effect). Second, this chapter studies whether the composition of full-time working couples has changed over time with respect to educational level and having children – which couples choose to be in such an arrangement? Previous research by the Social and Cultural Planning Office provides only a brief description of full-time working couples (Hooghiemstra, 1997). International studies show that full-time workers seem to be relatively young, childless and higher educated (Blossfeld & Drobnic, 2001; De Graaf &

Vermeulen, 1997; Hakim, 1997). Until now, questions on compositional changes of full-time couples have not been addressed. More specifically, we will study whether full-time work as a couple has become more common among all educational groups or has remained an exclusive choice made chiefly by the higher educated. A similar question may be posed on combining children and full-time work. Has it become more or less common as a family to work full-time and have children?

To study the increase of full-time working couples and compositional change, we pose the following two research questions: (1) 'To what extent can the increase in full-time working couples be understood as a period effect and/or cohort succession effect?', and (2) 'To what extent has the composition of full-time working couples regarding educational attainment and having children changed over time?' In order to answer these research questions, we employ a large-scale stacked dataset of 13 individual cross-sections between the years 1977 and 2002. These data from Statistics Netherlands are a representative sample of the Dutch labour force in this time frame. It enables us to study the demographic trend towards more full-time working couples over a period of 25 years, and for birth cohorts from 1921 to 1981.

Previous research that has focussed on working hours mainly discussed female labour force participation, unequal chances in paid employment and the male-female division of labour (Blossfeld & Hakim, 1997; Hakim, 1995; Van der Lippe & Van Dijk, 2001). By and large, this research has studied female labour participation and examined the changing position of women solely. Although it has provided valuable knowledge on the male-female division of paid and unpaid labour, the research has left the couple as a unit of analysis underexposed (Blossfeld & Drobnic, 2001). From this 'couple view', it follows that decisions on spousal working hours are made in conjunction by both partners in a household (Moen, 2003). In our contribution we apply a couple perspective and explicitly focus on the time couples devote to paid labour, thus refraining from examining differences between men and women. In doing so, we stress that important employment decisions of couples are made in consultation and are not a result of an isolated act of an individual (Coltrane, 2000; Han & Moen, 1999, 2001). Indeed, in these decisions preferences and perceived restrictions of both men and women are reflected. This chapter thus illustrates the changing of their preferences and restrictions over time.

2.2 Trends in the full-time employment of couples: cohort and period effects
Our first research question concerns the trend towards a higher number of full-time working couples. This trend may be explained by cohort, period or age effects. An increase as a result of cohort effects examines the time frame in which individuals grew

up and were socialised. Individuals born in the same societal circumstances undergo a common socialisation, and these experiences during the formative years differ between birth cohorts (Inglehart, 1977). Moreover, the individual's experiences felt in the formative years are believed to have a lasting influence on preferences and behaviour (Alwin & Krosnick, 1991; Glenn, 1980; Mannheim, 1964). In this study, with information on birth cohorts from 1922 to 1981, it is implied that specific socialisation experiences affect the decision to work full-time as a couple. Preferences and perceived restrictions for dual full-time work may differ between cohorts, and this can be the engine behind a modernisation process since older generations retire and younger generations enter the labour force.

A period effect can also be held responsible for the increase in the number of full-time working couples. This results from societal circumstances that affect all people in society simultaneously. People's preferences and constraints are then influenced by current opinions in societal debate or perceived restrictions (i.e. legislation, childcare facilities) affecting people from all social groups and all birth cohorts. In our study, this means that the decision of both partners to work full-time is influenced by the societal climate and characteristics of the Dutch context of the period between 1977 and 2002.

A trend may occur as result of the influence of age. However, there are serious reasons why age has little predictive value for explaining an increase in full-time working couples in the Netherlands. The reason lies in the fact that both spouses' full-time employment is most attractive among young couples. Most individuals exiting daytime education, around the age of 20, will prefer to work full-time (Grimm & Bonneuil, 2001). The transition from daytime education to paid labour often coincides with the start of a stable relationship, and this results in a full-time working couple. Still, to explain an increase in the number of full-time working couples by means of an age effect implies that over time the group of youngsters in the labour market must have grown substantially in size relative to older age groups. Demographic reports show that the group of 20-to-30-year-olds has shrunk over recent decades (Eurostat, 2004), therefore age cannot provide an explanation for the observed increase in the number of full-time working couples in the Netherlands from 1977 to 2002. Note that our research question focuses on either cohort succession or period effects as explanations for the rising number of full-time working couples. The question thus addresses which process is most important.

2.2.1 Cohort effect: socialisation within a certain time frame
To elaborate on a cohort explanation of the trend towards more full-time working couples, it is important to examine features of the time frame in which a couple grew up

and was socialised. Here we make a distinction between structural and cultural societal characteristics. Structural features predominantly reflect restrictions in the institutional and legislative state of affairs, whereas cultural aspects indicate the attitudinal climate in society (Buchmann, 1989; Liefbroer & Dykstra, 2000).

What are the characteristics of Dutch society over the past century (1921-1981) that lead us to expect an increase in the number of full-time working couples as a result of cohort succession? As far as structural characteristics are concerned, it is clear that younger birth cohorts were raised when female employment became more common. First, government legislation stimulated female labour participation, especially during the economic recession of the 1980s. Second, the growing availability of childcare facilities has improved the options of women taking on paid labour (Van der Lippe, 2001). Third, contraception improved significantly and facilitated the delay of a first childbirth. These three structural conditions advanced the participation of women in the labour market. As a result, even more people were socialised in times when female work was more widespread.

Next to structural characteristics of Dutch society, some cultural features have been subject to change as well. A general trend towards individualisation may be observed in the Netherlands, just as in most other Western societies. In this process of individualisation, traditional beliefs erode and values that emphasise personal responsibilities, self-created chances and autonomy become self-evident (Kuijsten, 1996). Individuals increasingly strive for a self-directed life course and invest more in their occupational career (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1995; Cherlin, 2004). The emancipation of women is another characteristic of Western societies over recent decades. Previous international research clearly underscores the rising approval of non-traditional sex roles for women (Alwin, Braun & Scott, 1992). More specifically, it has become increasingly accepted for women to do paid labour and to continue to work after having children. These cultural conditions have also contributed to a socialisation of birth cohorts where working women are more common.

Both structural and cultural developments of recent decades have contributed to increase female labour market participation. A direct consequence of this development is that over birth cohorts more young adults experience the full-time employment of women in a couple as a realistic opportunity. Our expectation based upon cohort succession then reads: from both structural and cultural developments in Dutch society it may be expected that couples from the recent birth cohorts prefer full-time employment to a larger extent than couples from the earlier cohorts (hypothesis 1a).

2.2.2 Period effect: a general trend

A second explanation for the rise of full-time working couples in Dutch society may stem from period effects. Again, we try to deal with such effects in terms of structural and cultural developments that took place in recent decades. This study for the Netherlands researches the period between 1977 and 2002. With respect to some structural conditions in that period, it is clear that educational expansion is a key development, as increasing numbers of higher educated workers entered the labour market. At the same time, demand for the higher educated rose considerably, mainly due to a substantial economic growth in the 1990s. From a labour market perspective this can be labelled as a pull factor, especially for women to remain employed full-time. Availability of childcare facilities improved considerably in the 1990s, enabling women to work outside the home for longer hours (Turksema, 2000). In this period it seems clear that modernisation and individualisation were ongoing processes in terms of developments in the cultural domain. Attitudes anchored in traditional beliefs have lost importance over the last three decades. This loosening up of traditional bonds may have expectedly affected decisions of all couples, and not only those from specific birth cohorts. Our expectation based upon a period effect then reads: in both structural and cultural terms, we expect that couples in 2002 will prefer full-time employment to a larger extent than couples in 1977 (hypothesis 1b).

2.3 A transformation in the composition of full-time working couples

Our second research question deals with the composition of full-time working couples with respect to having children and educational attainment, and possible changes in that composition over birth cohorts and time periods.

2.3.1 Full-time working couples and young children

The amount of time that couples spend on paid labour is likely subject to change as they move from one life stage to another. A major transition in a couple's life course is the birth of a child. It generates additional family obligations like caring, rearing and educating. Research on the transition to parenthood provides information that having young children is interlinked with (latent) preferences on the reduction of working hours, i.e. holding part-time jobs (Barber, Axinn & Thorton, 2002; Even, 1987; Hakim, 2002; McRae, 2003). The actual transition is believed to alter a person's preferences on the combination of work and care (Clarckberg & Moen, 2001; Lee, MacDermid, Dohring & Kossek, 2005). As a consequence, people with young children appreciate their family life more, and are more likely to refrain from dual full-time work. A reduction, then, is most likely in families with young children and less likely in families with older children

or no children at all (Drobnic, Blossfeld & Rohwer, 1999). To what extent couples scale back in working hours may be affected by the time in which they live, but also by the time in which they are socialised. Over birth cohorts, opinions on the combination of work and care have modernised and restrictions relaxed (Alwin et al., 1992). In couples with children from the younger birth cohorts, spouses will more likely work full-time compared to couples from older birth cohorts (hypothesis 2a). The same argument holds for an expected compositional change over time periods. Between 1977 and 2002, the sex-role attitudes of the Dutch population on working women loosened up and a substantial growth in the number of childcare facilities took place. By and large, it may be expected that for couples these developments made it easier to combine work and care, which encourages the full-time employment of both spouses. Therefore, we presume that couples with children are more likely to work full-time in 2002, compared to 1977 (hypothesis 2b).

2.3.2 Educational level among full-time working couples
The higher educated are more likely to be employed full-time than the lower educated; full-time working couples are found more often among the higher educated (Blossfeld & Drobnic, 2001; Henz & Sundström, 2001; Jacobs & Gornick, 2002). The years spent in education can be seen as an investment; the realisation of this capital is harvested by working in the labour market (Becker, 1964). It is therefore clear that the higher educated will participate more in full-time paid labour than the lower educated. Research has also shown that higher levels of schooling go along with progressive values on combining work and care, the use of childcare facilities, work commitment and acknowledgment of the job-reward potential of women (Desai & Waite, 1991; Drobnic et al., 1999; Gornick & Meyers, 2003). Furthermore, higher educated women are far more likely to return to the labour market after having a child than lower educated women (Klerman & Leibowitz, 1999). People's preference for a full-time working couple where husbands and wives work equal hours is largely reflected by their educational level (Hakim, 2003:94).

Again, the educational composition of full-time working couples may be expected to change over birth cohorts and time periods. The above-average full-time employment of higher educated couples may function as an appealing example for comparably higher educated couples in Dutch society. Over time, this would have only encouraged the full-time employment of other higher educated couples. If this is the case over birth cohorts, the positive effect of education on the full-time employment of couples has become even stronger. Hence we expect the average educational level of full-time working couples to

be higher in the younger birth cohorts compared to the older birth cohorts (hypothesis 3a).

A contrasting hypothesis states that, over time, the preferences of the higher educated on combining work and care became more widespread. It is therefore likely that dual full-time work may occur among all educational groups in society, implying an emancipation of the lower educated. A consequence would be a weakening of the positive effect of education on the full-time employment of couples between 1977 and 2002. We thus expect more full-time working couples among the lower educated in 2002 compared to 1977 (hypothesis 3b).

2.4 Data, method and measurement

2.4.1 Labour Force Surveys 1977-2002
To answer our research questions, we stacked 13 cross-sectional data files with couple information on labour force participation originating from Statistics Netherlands. Specifically, the Labour Force Surveys (Arbeidskrachtentelling or AKT) from 1977, 1981, 1983 and 1985 and the Labour Force Surveys (Enquête beroepsbevolking or EBB) from 1990, 1992, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2001 and 2002 have been analysed. The AKT surveys are conducted among the non-institutionalised Dutch population aged 15 and older. The EBB is a standardised survey conducted yearly with a comparable sample frame.

From these data we selected all male-female couples, between 21 and 55 years of age, either married or cohabiting. Respondents subject to military service were removed from the dataset. The age selection was applied because we intended to examine the work-arrangement decisions of couples who were in the active labour force. Many individuals under age 21 are still enrolled in daytime education and tend not to have a stable relationship. Individuals over age 55 were left out of the analyses, since labour participation in this group is relatively low. Early retirement or disability are the main reasons to end a working career before the compulsory age of 65. Hence, for this age group the decision not to work full-time as a couple has little to do with preferences, but rather with institutional arrangements in the Netherlands. After this selection, our dataset consisted of 461,003 Dutch couples born between 1921 and 1980, and interviewed between 1977 and 2002.

2.4.2 Method
In the analyses performed to test our expectations, we model the likelihood of observing full-time working couples versus the likelihood of observing a different household

working arrangement. Since the outcome variable consists of multiple non-metric categories, we use multinomial logistic regression analysis. This technique strongly resembles logistic regression analysis, but allows more categories in the dependent variable (Long, 1997). When utilising a large dataset to test hypotheses, the substance of regression coefficients is more important than their significance, therefore we focus on the magnitude of the coefficients rather than on significance levels. In our multinomial logit model the parameters (log odds) in the text will be interpreted in terms of odds ratios. This means that with every unit increase in a given x, the odds are expected to change by a factor of exp(b), holding all other variables constant. The tables display the effect on the logit, enabling us to calculate the effect size of the interaction parameters. For reasons of presentation, we estimate the odds on full-time employment of a couple in contrast to other arrangements. Full-time couples are always coded one (1), and single-earner male households or combination households are coded zero (0). Although non-employed couples and single-earner females are included in the multinomial design, we will not present results of this comparison.

2.4.3 Measurement
To categorise couples according to working hours, we apply the standard definition of Statistics Netherlands (Reemers, 2003). People who work less than 12 hours are categorised as non-employed, individuals who work 12 to 35 hours a week are part-time workers, and individuals working 35 hours or more a week are considered full-time workers. Applying this categorisation to couples leads to: (1) full-time working couples with both partners working over 35 hours a week; (2) single-earner male households with a man working either part-time or full-time and a non-working wife; (3) combination couples where both partners work, at least one of them part-time; (4) non-employed couples where both partners either do not work or work less than 12 hours a week; and (5) single-earner females.

Individual educational attainment in the Netherlands is measured in five levels: primary school; lower vocational and lower secondary education (lbo/mavo); intermediate vocational, general secondary and pre-college education (mbo/havo/vwo); higher vocational education (hbo); and university (wo). The measure for couples pertains to the average educational attainment of both spouses. The actual presence of children in a household is measured by: no children in the household, youngest child below the age of 4, youngest child older than 4. Survey years 1981, 1983 and 1985 do not contain a measure for children. In these years the measure for children is set to zero and a dummy indicating missing values for the presence of children in those cases is included in the model. Birth cohort and time period are interval variables in our analysis; birth

cohort reflects the average year in which a couple is born, time period equalling measurement year. See Table 2.1 for range, mean and standard deviations for all used instruments.

Table 2.1   Descriptives of measurements

	minimum	maximum	mean	std
household working arrangement				
full-time working couple	0.00	1.00	0.11	0.31
combination household	0.00	1.00	0.24	0.43
single-earner male	0.00	1.00	0.55	0.50
birth cohort (1950=0)	-28.00	31.00	0.13	10.70
time period (1977=0)	0.00	25.00	10.88	8.53
children				
no children	0.00	1.00	0.61	0.49
youngest child under age 4	0.00	1.00	0.16	0.36
youngest child older than 4	0.00	1.00	0.23	0.42
educational level (couple average)	0.00	4.00	1.56	0.87

2.5 Results

2.5.1 Description of the trend

First, bivariate results are presented which reflect the changes that took place in the Netherlands over the last few decades. What kind of developments took place with respect to couples' employment? This is illustrated in Table 2.2. In column 1 we observe a large decline of the single-earner male household, plummeting from 72% in 1977 to 32% in 2002. This trend is accompanied by a 36% increase in the number of combination couples where both spouses work and at least one works part-time (column 2). The share of full-time working couples is presented in column 3. Here we observe a substantial growth from 8% in 1977 to about 15% in the 1990s. This upward trend has been levelling off in the last three years.

Table 2.2   Trends in household types based on labour market participation 1977–2002, couples aged 21–55 (unweighted)[a]

	single-earner male	combination households	full-time working couples	non-employed	single-earner female	sample size (couples)
	1	2	3			
1977	71.9	11.8	8.1	6.8	1.4	56220
1981	66.4	14.2	9.0	7.7	2.7	88073
1983	63.7	14.9	8.9	9.2	3.4	53766
1985	63.8	16.0	8.7	8.4	3.1	51546
1990	49.4	24.7	12.7	9.6	3.6	29370
1992	48.7	28.9	14.3	5.3	2.8	22745
1995	44.6	32.8	13.9	5.5	3.2	25462
1996	43.8	34.1	13.9	4.9	3.3	23487
1997	41.8	36.0	14.8	4.2	3.1	23308
1998	39.5	39.2	15.3	3.5	2.5	21222
2000	36.9	41.2	13.4	5.2	3.3	22601
2001	34.6	43.9	14.4	3.9	3.3	21762
2002	32.2	48.0	13.6	3.2	3.0	21441

a   Less than 12 hours = not employed; 12 to 35 hours = part-time; 35 hours or more = full-time

Source   Labour Force Surveys (1977, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1990, 1992, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002)

Figures 2.1 and 2.2 describe the compositional change in the average educational level of spouses and the presence of children for the three most relevant household arrangements.
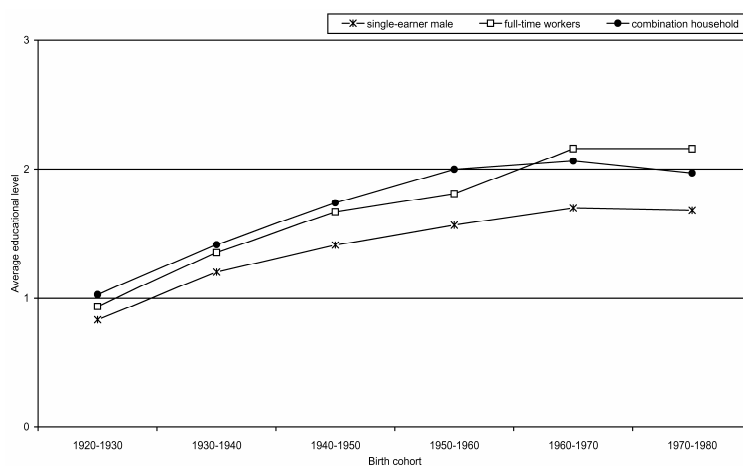
Figure 2.1a Average educational level of couples born between 1920 and 1980
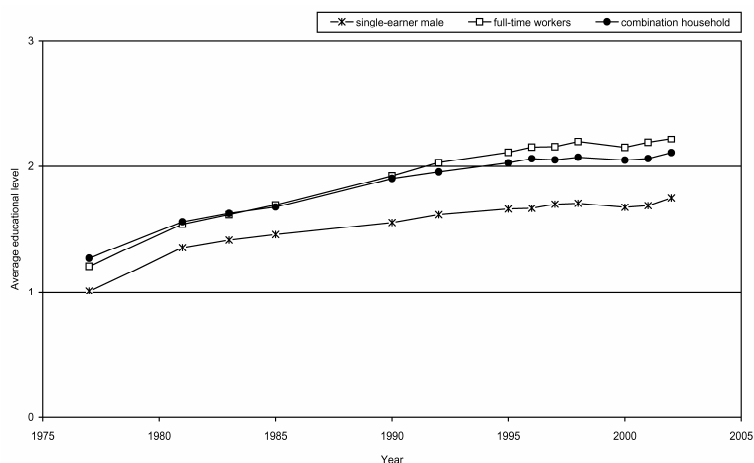
Figure 2.1b Average educational level of couples, 1977-2002

Figure 2.1a displays the average educational level across birth cohorts for the three households under study. As expected, it is rising. An increase is evident among all types of couples; this is the same as the general trend for the Netherlands, but the rise among full-time working couples is higher than among other couples. It thus seems that over birth cohorts the educational level expanded more rapidly among full-time workers, which would imply that full-time working couples are increasingly found among the higher educated. Figure 2.1b displays the educational composition over a period. Full-time working couples are the highest educated here – the line even seems to move away from the others over time.

Figure 2.2a displays the percentage of couples with children for subsequent birth cohorts. The dip around the 1940-1950 cohort is due to the fact that the years 1981, 1983 and 1985 lack information on children. As can be seen in Figure 2.2b, over the years (1977-2002) the percentage of couples with children diminishes for all arrangements. On average, 90% of single earners have children, whereas this number is as low as 40% among full-time workers. These numbers decline over time, while they seem to increase for the combination couples, especially in the 1990s. This indicates that children and full-time work are combined less often over the years. This would speak against our arguments expressed in hypothesis 2a, which expected an increase in children among full-time working couples. Multinomial logistic regression analysis should reveal whether these compositional changes can be observed while controlling for other relevant characteristics.
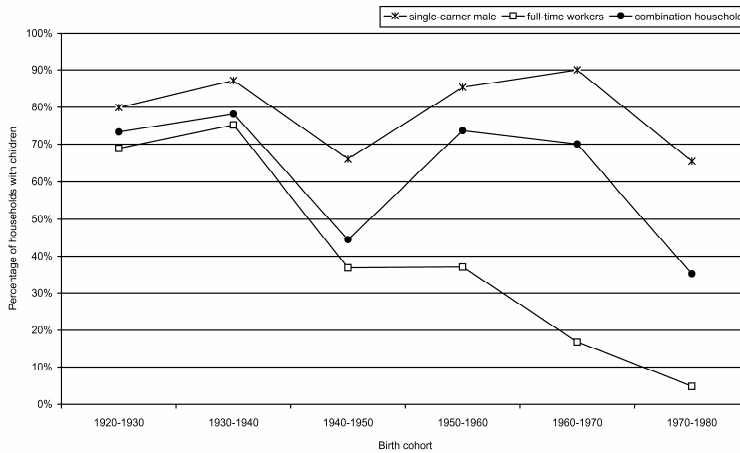
Figure 2.2a Percentage of couples with children in the year of measurement, birth cohorts 1920-1980
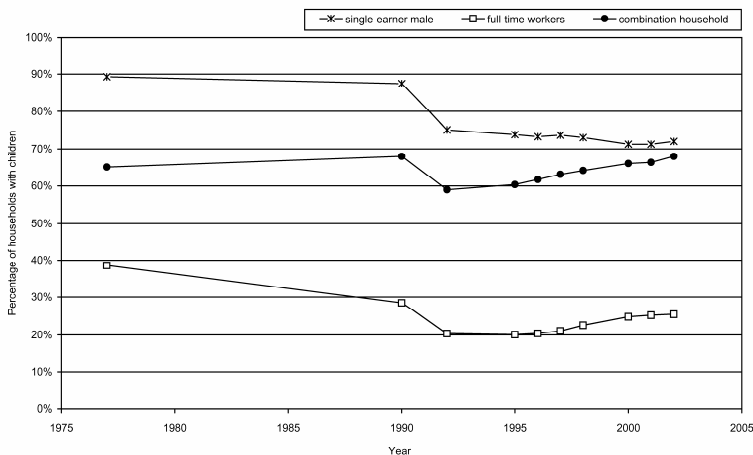
Figure 2.2b Percentage of couples with children, 1977-2002

2.5.2 Multinomial regression: which couples are working full-time and when

Table 2.3 displays the comparison between full-time working couples and other households. First, in Model 1 the effects of birth cohort and time period are considered. The odds of being employed full-time as a couple are clearly higher when spouses are born in the younger birth cohorts. Each birth year beyond 1950 increases the odds on full-time employment by a factor of 1.09 (e$^{.089}$) as opposed to a single-earner male household and a factor of 1.07 as compared to a combination couple. Over time (1977-2002) we observe a decline in the odds of being in a full-time working couple. Every year

the odds on dual full-time employment get smaller, with 2.2% in favour of single-earner male households (1/e$^{-.022}$) and 9.9% in favour of a combination couple (1/e$^{-.094}$). As a result, we may conclude that the rise in full-time working couples of recent decades clearly seems to be determined by a cohort succession effect. Both members of couples that were socialised when the employment of women became more widely accepted decide more often to work full-time than couples born in earlier cohorts. This is in accordance with our expectations, formulated in hypothesis 1a.

To enlighten the difference in effects between time period and birth year, figures 2.3a and 2.3b provide predicted probabilities for choosing either a single-earner male household, a combination household or a full-time working household. These probabilities are calculated holding the other parameter (either period or cohort) at its mean value. Figure 2.3a clearly shows that the developments that took place from 1977 to 2002 certainly did not contribute to a rise in the number of full-time working couples in Dutch society. The popularity of full-time working couples dropped during this period, while chances for a one-and-a-half construction increased substantially. Figure 2.3b provides evidence that those born in the younger cohorts favour a full-time working couple. These younger couples, socialised at a time when female labour expanded, had a 10% probability in 1950 rising to a 60% chance in the 1980s.
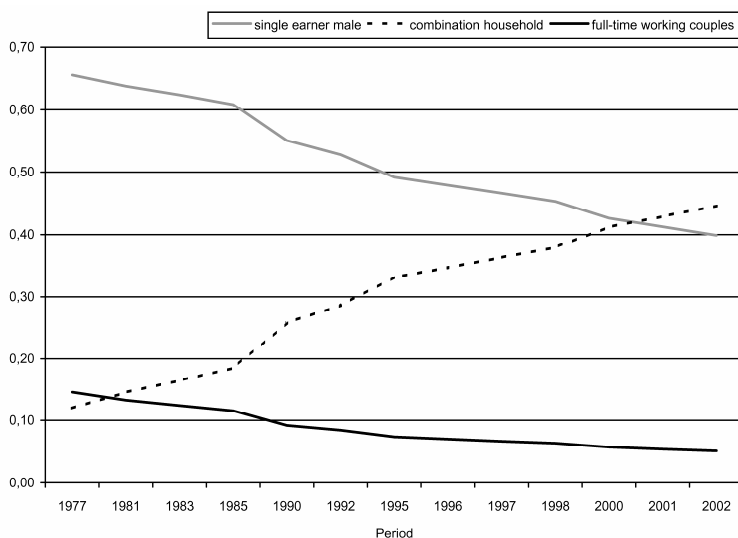
Figure 2.3a Predicted probability over time period for different household types.
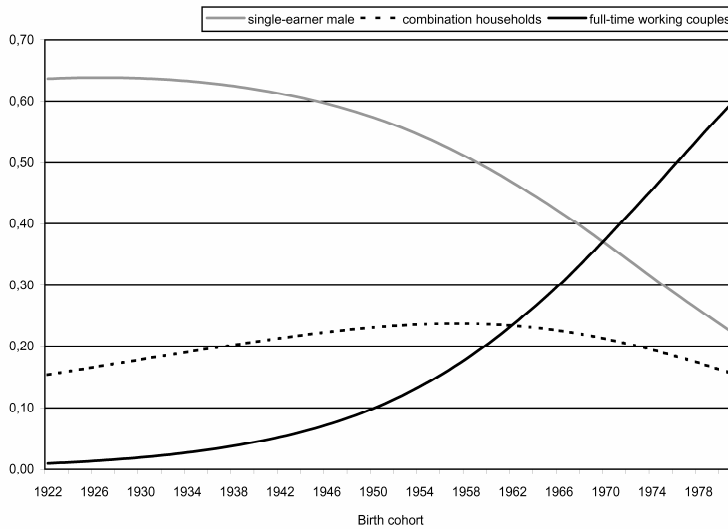
Figure 2.3b Predicted probability over birth cohorts for different household types.

Model 2 in Table 2.3 introduces the main effects for having children (family cycle) and educational level. In comparison to both single-earner male households and combination households, the presence of children significantly decreases the odds of couples being employed full-time. As expected, a high educational level increases the likelihood of a couple's full-time employment as compared to being in a household with only a working male. It is interesting to note that in comparison with combination couples, educational level matters significantly less.

In models 3 and 4 we study to what extent compositional transformations can be observed among full-time working couples. Changes over time in the effect of having a young child are put to closer scrutiny. The results show that over birth cohorts the negative effect of having young children on the odds of being in a full-time working couple increased. More specifically, for couples born between 1955 and 1965 the odds of dual full-time employment while having a young child declined from 0.987 in 1955 ($e^{.097}$ + (5 *-.022)) to 0.792 in 1965 ($e^{.097}$ + (15 *-.022)) – a drop in the odds of 24.9%. As a result, couples socialised in younger cohorts seem to combine full-time work and the care for young children to a relatively lesser extent than couples from older cohorts.

Table 2.3   Multinomial logistic regression: log odds for a full-time working couple versus a single-earner male and versus a combination household regressed on cohort, period, children and educational level (standard errors between brackets).

full-time working couples (1)	single-earner male (0)						combination households (0)					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
intercept	-1.519**	-.652**	-.927**	-.512**	-.651**	-.243**	.182**	.878**	.617**	.438*	.891**	1.105**
cohort (1950=0)	.089**	.089**	.097**	.089**	.058**	.090**	.071**	.061**	.066**	.062**	.044**	.060**
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
period (1977=0)	-.022**	-.045**	-.032**	-.054**	-.045**	-.084**	-.094**	-.090**	-.077**	-.067**	-.089**	-.112**
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.002)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.002)
children 0-4		-3.121**	-2.877**	-3.621**	-3.146**	-3.155**		-2.148**	-1.650**	-1.117**	-2.132**	-2.150**
		(.022)	(.038)	(.056)	(.022)	(.022)		(.022)	(.041)	(.063)	(.022)	(.022)
children > 4		-1.778**	-1.656**	-1.704	-1.762**	-1.798**		-1.267**	-1.130**	-.656**	-1.249**	-1.269**
		(.018)	(.019)	(.035)	(.017)	(.017)		(.018)	(.019)	(.039)	(.018)	(.018)
data on children missing		-1.476**	-1.231**	-1.579**	-1.432**	-1.429**		-.805**	-.573**	-.473**	-.775**	-.768**
		(.017)	(.019)	(.020)	(.017)	(.017)		(.018)	(.021)	(.022)	(.018)	(.018)
educational level		.465**	.459**	.468**	.432**	.179**		.026**	.014*	.028**	-.008	-.137**
		(.007)	(.007)	(.007)	(.007)	(.011)		(.007)	(.007)	(.007)	(.007)	(.013)
cohort * child 0-4			-.022**						-.040**			
			(.003)						(.003)			
cohort * child > 4			-.061**						-.047**			
			(.002)						(.002)			
period * child 0-4				.032**						-.053**		
				(.003)						(.003)		
period * child > 4				-.006**						-.035**		
				(.002)						(.002)		
cohort * education					.010**						.009**	
					(.001)						(.001)	
period * education						.024**						.014**
						(.001)						(.001)
nagelkerke R²	14.6	26.0	26.4	26.5	26.3	26.3	14.6	26.0	26.4	26.5	26.3	26.3
log likelihood	-5197.94	-4943.98	-4916.76	-4927.68	-4934.68	-4934.62	-5197.94	-4943.98	-4916.76	-4927.68	-4934.68	-4934.62

Significance   * ($p<0.05$); ** ($p<0.01$). N = 461003

Source   Labour Force Surveys 1977, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1990, 1992, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002

Evaluating the period from 1977 to 2002, the odds of combining full-time employment with young children weaken as well, but only in comparison to the combination couples. Here it becomes evident that working and caring is done more often if spouses share the workload. However, in comparison to a male single-earner households, the presence of young children among full-time workers increases. We expected that couples with young children would prefer to work full-time more often than before, given that the combination of work and care over cohorts and time became more accepted and legislation provided more structural facilities. This seems to be the case for the choice between a single-earner male household and a full-time working couple between 1977 and 2002. It is clearly not the case for the comparison with combination couples, so we find mixed support for hypothesis 2b and no support for hypothesis 2a.

In models 5 and 6 we test whether full-time working couples became increasingly popular among the higher or lower educated as compared to the other arrangements. The positive interaction between educational level and birth cohort means that the effect of educational level in explaining a full-time working preference becomes stronger with the inflow of younger birth cohorts on the labour market. In contrast to a combination couple, the odds on full-time work increased from 0.932 in 1980 ($e^{-.112}$ + (3 * .014)) to 1.268 in 2002 ($e^{-.112}$ + (25 * .014)). Hence for higher educated couples, full-time work became even more likely. This effect increased in magnitude over birth cohorts and over time, justifying our presumptions in hypothesis 3b about the rising educational level of full-time working couples.

2.6 Conclusion and discussion

In this chapter we have shown that couples from the younger birth cohorts work full-time more often than other couples – they grew up in times of rising female labour participation, expanding childcare facilities and improved contraception. Macro-societal circumstances present in society during adolescence might thus matter for future preferences regarding employment decisions and caring for children, so the younger birth cohorts are the driving force behind the increase in the number of full-time workers in Dutch society. These modern arrangements appear on the labour market predominantly through new entries and not through a change among existing labour market members. It must be investigated if in other countries cohorts succession is equally important for the increase in the number of full-time working couples. It may well be that in other countries with a different legislation or cultural climate period differences play a more important role. There was no evidence that societal characteristics affected the choices couples make with regard to their working hours over time. A full-time working arrangement has not increased in popularity over the

last 25 years as a result of period differences; over the years, couples prefer more often a combination household or a single-earner male arrangement.

These results do not imply that the specific societal characteristics described in our theoretical section are determined to be the main ingredients for the mechanisms behind the increase in full-time working couples. Our contribution has focussed on describing a development in the employment of couples and suggested mechanisms that might be of influence. In order to test whether these societal characteristics – i.e. improved contraception, childcare facilities – display a genuine causal relation with full-time employment of both partners, a larger study is required that includes more countries that differ in these aspects. Only then, when there is variation in government legislation and cultural conditions between societies, is a solid test of those mechanisms possible.

A major issue in our chapter dealt with compositional transformation in full-time working couples over time. Is it a constant that the higher educated and people without children are to be found more among full-time working couples? In our analyses, the presence of young children in a household is indeed negatively associated with couples' full-time employment – full-time working couples have young children less often, and this effect seems to grow more negatively over measurement years and cohorts. Apparently, in the Netherlands working full-time is still not perceived as a very attractive arrangement to raise children, in contrast to Scandinavian countries. This is a meaningful conclusion, since government policy in most Western countries is aimed at stimulating equal working hours by both partners, by implementing extensive child care facilities and attractive maternal leave arrangements. When most couples work fewer hours once they have children, a reconsideration of these government incentives directed at working full-time is reasonable. At least in Dutch society, it is clear that working couples still experience cultural and structural restrictions that keep them from combining full-time employment with the care for young children.

We also found evidence that couples in which both partners work full-time have become increasingly higher educated. This is surprising, since it is often assumed that the higher educated are typically the 'early adopters' of modernisation in society. The idea implies that behaviours common among the higher educated trickle down in society to lower educated groups. In the Netherlands this is certainly not the case when it comes to the full-time employment of spouses. It seems that full-time work is a choice increasingly made only by the highest educated couples. It may be that the nature of employment for couples with a college education leads to more intrinsic motivation, which may stimulate them to work more hours. Still, as mentioned previously, couples might face significant constraints in trying to combine full-time work and care, either

culturally or structurally. A possible future line of research might focus on cultural and structural differences between European countries to explain variations in labour force participation using a multi-level design. An international perspective to find more answers is not the only way to investigate full-time working couples more intensively and study the resources, restrictions and motives that cause them to work full-time. A dynamic modelling of employment choices over the life course may be a promising line of research too. This will enable researchers to study at what time and under which conditions some couples decide to scale back in working hours, while others choose to keep on working full-time. In doing so, researchers may want to examine cultural and structural conditions at the respondent level, which might explain which couples remain employed full-time and which couples discontinue full-time work during the life course.

The exit from full-time employment by couples over the life course[1]

Most couples entering the labour market after they finish their education start as full-time working couples. In this chapter we study the exit of couples in the Netherlands from full-time employment. Complete career reports of 2014 couples are used to answer the question of which life-course events and individual resources determine the exit from dual full-time employment. We estimate the probability of leaving full-time work with dynamic competing risk models. Our results indicate that especially family transitions such as a first childbirth, family growth and geographical mobility cause a couple to leave full-time work. Results also showed that men raised in highly educated families favour an arrangement in which their wives work part-time as opposed to becoming housewives. By contrast, for women a high occupational status keeps them in dual full-time employment.

3.1 Introduction

Recent social research has demonstrated that the career trajectories of women and men can no longer be seen independently. This calls for new investigations that incorporate the careers of both women and men, preferably from a life-course perspective (Blossfeld & Drobnic, 2001; Han & Moen, 1999, 2001). The present chapter explores the transition from full-time work by both spouses to a different arrangement of working hours in the Netherlands. Over the last 40 years, Dutch society has experienced historical changes, creating opportunities for women in the labour market (Hakim, 2000). Rising educational levels, economic welfare, women's emancipation and a growing availability of childcare facilities are all foundations for female labour market participation, resulting in a rise of dual working couples. However, the number of full-time working couples in the Netherlands is rather low compared to other Western countries (De Graaf & Vermeulen, 1997; Hakim, 1997; Henkens, Grift & Siegers, 2002; Jacobs & Gornick,

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[1] A different Dutch-language version of this chapter was published with co-authors Gerbert Kraaykamp and Tanja van der Lippe in *De maakbaarheid van de levensloop* (Van der Lippe, T., Kraaykamp, G., Dykstra, P. & Schippers, J. (2007). Assen: Van Gorcum (pp. 113 -134)).

2002; Smith, 2005). This begs the question of why most couples that started working full-time stopped doing so.

The Dutch labour market is known for its 'one-and-a-half' earner type with a full-time working husband and a part-time working wife. Only 38% of all dual-earner couples in the Netherlands work full-time, compared to more than 50% in the UK and France. These figures turn out to be even higher when couples have children: in that case, only 10% of all dual-earner couples in the Netherlands work full-time, compared to at least 30 to 40% of such couples in surrounding countries (Eurostat, 2002). Data by Statistics Netherlands further shows that entry into the labour market starts with a full-time job, and along the life course many people change their labour market activity to either part-time or non-employment (Van Gils & Kraaykamp, 2004). Moreover, from an economic perspective, in the Netherlands becoming a full-time parent after a first childbirth or continuing full-time employment has equivalent financial pay-offs. For many, the pay from a day of market labour is more or less comparable to the costs of a single day of childcare. This makes the Netherlands an interesting case when looking at the move away from full-time employment. The aim of our research is therefore to investigate the life courses of full-time working couples in the Netherlands, and test specific explanations for the transition away from dual full-time work.

Couples' decision to discontinue full-time employment is undoubtedly a tough one (Moen & Roehling, 2005). Paid labour yields financial capital and supports building an occupational career. Yet, full-time work may cause serious fine-tuning problems between caring tasks, leisure, social contacts and work obligations (Gershuny & Sullivan, 1998; Lundberg & Rose, 2000; Roehling, Moen & Batt, 2003; Schor, 1991). Many scholars have focused on women's transitions from full-time to part-time work, and investigated new patterns in the division of paid and unpaid labour between men and women (Hakim, 1997; Van der Lippe & Van Dijk, 2001). This research definitely has resulted in an enhancement of our knowledge on the occupational careers of women. It has hardly addressed questions at the couple level though. Female participation has remained the focal point of most studies, overlooking the fact that decisions on working full-time are taken by women and men in a family context.

In this chapter a life-course perspective is used to investigate the full-time employment of couples in detail. We think progress can be made on at least four issues. First, we consider dual full-time work as the outcome of a negotiation process that takes place among spouses. Although we do not study bargaining processes within families directly, it may be assumed that the discussion on spousal contribution to the family and paid work leads to a couple's choice for a specific work arrangement. Second, we will use information on life-course transitions to understand at what points in life couples

discontinue full-time work. More specifically, a first childbirth, a growing family and moving to another city are known as important transitions that may lead to a reorientation of a couple's work arrangement. Third, we will make a distinction between the various exit options by applying a competing risk model. Couples may transfer into a new household working arrangement as a result of women scaling back in working hours, women fully discontinuing paid employment, or men scaling back or becoming housekeeper. Specific expectations on the occurrence of these exit options will be discussed in the hypotheses section. Fourth, in order to deal with preferences as causal mechanisms for working choices we include socialisation characteristics to account for prior preferences. We differentiate between the actual characteristics of men and women within a couple using individuals' socio-economic resources and parental background, since these aspects are likely to be relevant in explaining the shift from full-time work (Dryler, 1998) To answer our research questions we will use life-course information on 2014 full-time working Dutch households from four representative surveys conducted between 1992 and 2003.

3.2 From an individual to a couple perspective

In recent decades, scholars have frequently focused on the difficulties women face when combining paid labour and family responsibilities. Research has examined the effects of a rising female labour force participation and the scaling back of paid labour among women. It is shown that for women the presence of young children and the accompanying household chores seriously interfere with an occupational career. Accordingly, women are more likely to prefer jobs and working hours that do not get in the way of family obligations (Drobnic, Blossfeld & Rohwer, 1999; Hakim, 1997). Women' decision to scale back working hours or to stop working is most likely driven by significant life events, like cohabitation, marriage, occupational mobility and childbirth (Drobnic & Blossfeld, 2001; Hendrickx, Bernasco & De Graaf, 2001; Henkens et al., 2002). In Europe it is found that women who kept on working after a first childbirth are most likely employed part-time (Blossfeld, 1997; De Graaf & Vermeulen, 1997; Even, 1987). Moreover, life events cast their shadow into the future, as for women they often remain a restriction in their occupational career. Consequently, re-entry of women into full-time labour occurs only marginally (Drobnic et al., 1999).

A possible flaw of the research done so far might be that it zooms in exclusively on women's participation in paid labour and hardly pays attention to couples working full-time. The concept of interlinked careers of spouses however is meaningful in decisions taken on working hours (Macmillan & Copher, 2005). Scholars occasionally include individual characteristics of spouses in their empirical analyses, but usually central

questions remain at the individual (female) level. A widely used argument for this actor-oriented research design is that there is simply little variation in male employment, as husbands overwhelmingly have full-time jobs (Hendrickx et al., 2001). For the Netherlands this assumption is questionable. Statistics Netherlands shows that the share of male employees working part-time increased from 9% in the early 1990s to 14% in 2003 (CBS, 2006). It is precisely this development that calls for a 'coupled' view on the allocation of paid work. As women increasingly enter the labour market and the number of part-time working men rises, a need for research that incorporates information on both men and women increases. This argumentation stresses that actual choices on working hours should not be studied as isolated individual acts. We assume that working arrangements are the result of negotiation processes between the two partners in a household. Consequently, investigations on the outcomes of these negotiations cannot be fully understood by looking at characteristics of women alone (Coltrane, 2000; Han & Moen, 1999, 2001; Moen & Sweet, 2003).

Previous research on coupled action explicitly deals with how partners reach a mutual understanding on work arrangements (Corijn, Liefbroer & De Jong Gierveld, 1996; Thomson, 1990). Although we do not have detailed information on negotiations that take place within a household, shifts from a full-time employment status to an alternative work arrangement can be observed as the factual outcomes of negotiations between spouses. Certainly, negotiation processes are affected by previous preferences of both partners (Hakim, 2000). We will try to deal with prior preferences by incorporating parental background aspects and individual resources.

3.3 Hypotheses on life course events

3.3.1 Life-course events on a family level
In the literature on life-course transitions, a first childbirth is considered to bring about considerable change in the distribution of paid and unpaid work (Hendrickx et al., 2001; Stier, Lewin-Epstein & Braun, 2001; Van der Lippe & Van Dijk, 2001). A theoretical rationale of why a first childbirth affects the work allocation of spouses can be derived from New Home Economics, where the household is a production unit with time and monetary constraints (Becker, 1981). It is stated that the partner who is relatively most productive in either paid or unpaid labour will specialise, because for a household that yields most profits. Becker's pivotal assumption is that women have better nursing and childrearing qualities, and are therefore more likely to specialise in unpaid labour (Becker, 1981 p. 38). At the event of a first childbirth, the need for care, nursing and education increases. Additional money maybe required to support the family. Thus,

when couples start a family there is a higher chance of women discontinuing full-time employment as a result of specialisation.

On top of this, the birth of a first child triggers commonly accepted gender roles that are adopted during socialisation. This presumption, which is usually referred to as 'doing gender', calls attention to the culturally prescribed caring roles of women, whereas men's roles are usually directed at paid work (Bittman, England, Sayer, Folbre & Matheson, 2003; De Vault, 1991; Hakim, 2002). To sustain these culturally prescribed roles, gender identities have to be produced and reproduced in recurrent everyday social interaction. Women may therefore be expected to scale back their working hours when a first child is born, while men keep on working (Bielby & Bielby, 1992). Although more progressive values on sex roles have gained popularity among the population at large, traditional values on the raising and rearing of children are still believed to influence a couple's decisions on their work arrangement (Moen & Smith, 1986).

Recent research also indicates that the transition to parenthood is closely connected to (latent) preferences on the reduction of working hours, i.e. working in part-time jobs (Barber, Axinn & Thorton, 2002; Hakim, 1997, 2002). A first childbirth, then, is believed to alter a person's preferences on the combination of work and care (Clarckberg & Moen, 2001; Lee, MacDermid, Dohring & Kossek, 2005). These studies imply that having a child causes people to appreciate their family life more, which might also result in a reduction of working hours. These arguments lead to the following hypothesis on childbirth: The chances of discontinuing full-time employment as a couple will be higher at the moment the first child is born. From the theoretical notions it seems most likely that women have a higher chance of discontinuing full-time employment than men, increasing the odds of a shift to a single-earner male or traditional dual-earner construction.

In addition, keeping up full-time work may be more difficult as a family expands. According to time availability arguments (Coverman, 1985; Hiller, 1984), juggling full-time work and care for a larger number of children is more difficult. After all, a bigger family demands more time than a smaller one. Especially when children are under the age of 12, the chances of spouses discontinuing full-time employment may be higher. From this age and beyond, children are more likely to be able to spend time without supervision, and older children may keep an eye on younger ones. Hence the family-size hypothesis reads: The chances of discontinuing full-time employment as a couple will be higher when the number of children under 12 years of age increases. Again, for women the chances of discontinuing full-time employment are probably greater, given the economic and normative arguments indicated above.

Generally, married couples are more traditional than cohabiting couples. Previous studies have shown that for women marriage actually increases hours of unpaid work and reduces participation on the labour market (Clarckberg, Stolzenberg & Waite, 1995; Kirkpatrick Johnson, 2005). Others argue that marriage in itself has little impact on paid labour beyond being a parent of young children (Cohen & Bianchi, 1999). For this reason, it remains to be seen whether there is an additional effect of marriage regarding spousal exit from full-time work. We argue that married couples are more traditional, and cohabiting couples have more progressive values on work and life integration. Our expectation on married versus cohabiting couples reads: The chances of discontinuing full-time employment as a couple are higher for married couples than for cohabiting couples. Marriage may trigger traditional sex roles, increasing the likelihood of exiting to a arrangement where women work less or do not work. On the other hand, for cohabiting couples we expect the odds of a reduction in men's working hours to be very strong, as they adhere to more progressive values on work and life integration. This may lead to part-time employment among men.

3.3.2 Geographical mobility events

Previous research hardly ever studied geographical mobility as a relevant turning point in a couple's work allocation career (Wethington, Pixley & Kavey, 2003). This may be surprising, since relocation signifies a substantial change in people's lives. Couples move for various reasons, for instance to find a better house or local environment, to start a new job or to improve job opportunities (De Jong & Fawcett, 1981). Empirical studies indicate that migration regularly takes place for the sake of a husband's career, especially in the case of long-distance moves – hence it often causes unemployment among female spouses at the new location (Bielby & Bielby, 1992; Mulder & Van Ham, 2005). In particular, lower educated women seem to experience difficulties finding a new job. Having young children in combination with geographical mobility also hampers the re-employment of women (Smits, 1999).

How exactly does residential mobility affect a couple's full-time employment? First, moving to another city tends to be an improvement for one spouse. There is little chance that both partners will have a preferred job at a new location at the same time. This is known as the 'tied mover' effect: spouses of persons who accept a job at a sizeable distance have a higher chance of becoming unemployed (Van Ham, 2001). Migration over a small distance probably will not affect a couple's full-time employment, as commuting is a realistic option. Still, travelling from home to work consumes additional time. A reduction in working hours of this travelling spouse, then, may be a serious option to save time. Second, settling in a new and unfamiliar town is a time-consuming

process. One needs time to adjust to the new job situation, become familiar with the environment and (re)build social contacts. This, too, might lead to a higher chance of couples discontinuing full-time employment. The geographical mobility hypothesis reads: The chances of discontinuing full-time employment as a couple will be higher when couples move to another city, and the greater the distance they move, the higher the chances of discontinuing full-time employment. As stated above, we think moving affects predominantly women in their employment. Consequently, we expect women's chances of discontinuing full-time employment to be higher than men's.

3.4 Hypotheses on social background: family, educational and occupational resources

So far, we have addressed a couple's transition from full-time employment as a result of life-course events. A common difficulty when estimating such transition probabilities is that prior preferences may account for the actual event. Decisions on the division of working hours within households may reflect preferences, depending on a person's background. For instance, a first childbirth may be seen as an important reason to discontinue full-time employment. It may well be that couples already made decisions on scaling back their working hours prior to the actual childbirth. Although these preferences are hard to measure in retrospect, we expect them to be largely accounted for by features of a person's family socialisation and educational and occupational resources.

3.4.1 Family socialisation

The absence of any direct measure of prior preferences is counteracted by the use of structural conditions. Individuals' preferences are shaped during interactions with peers in the context of the family, school and workplace (Hagestad, 1990). It is realistic to assume that children who have grown up with a working mother socialised in a context where female labour participation was more accepted (Glass, Bengtson & Dunham, 1986; Starrels, 1992). Maturing with a working mother will transmit more progressive attitudes on work and care to young adults than growing up with a mother who has not been in paid employment (Moen, Erickson & Dempster McClain, 1997). Second, the educational level of the parents may further contribute to the level of progressive values. Growing up in a family with higher educated parents will probably affect a person's preferences on the combination of work and care, since the higher educated adhere less to traditional opinions about moral issues than the lower educated (Hyman & Wright, 1979).

The progressive background hypothesis reads: The chances of discontinuing full-time work as a couple will be lower for couples that grew up with a working mother and higher-educated parents. We presume this progressive socialisation effect will be found especially among men, since for them progressive sex roles will lead to a more equal sharing of work and care, and subsequently higher chances of discontinuing full-time employment. In contrast, for women such a progressive family background will probably improve the chances of pursuing a professional career, so a reduction of working hours is less likely.

3.4.2 Educational and occupational resources
Another aspect of a person's prior preferences lies with personal resources. Paid labour signifies the utilisation of educational attainment. Educational investments demand realisation of the acquired capital on the labour market (Becker, 1964), therefore it is clear that the higher educated will participate more in full-time paid labour than the lower educated. Research has also shown that higher levels of schooling go along with progressive values on combining work and care, the use of childcare facilities, work commitment, and the acknowledgment of the job-reward potential of women (Desai & Waite, 1991; Drobnic et al., 1999; Gornick & Meyers, 2003). Hence for the higher educated, the risk of exiting full-time employment is expected to be lower. A similar argument can be made for job status. It seems likely that people in high-status occupational positions are less keen on scaling back in working hours. The financial status and intrinsic benefits of a high position probably leads them to stay in full-time employment to a larger extent than people from the lower classes. The human resources hypothesis thus reads: The chance of discontinuing full-time work as a couple will be lower for couples with high educational levels and high occupational status positions. Once more, for men these aspects of progressive prior preferences will most likely enhance their chances of exiting full-time employment, while for women these chances will be reduced.

3.5 Data, method and measurement

3.5.1 Family Surveys of the Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003
We test our hypotheses on discontinuing full-time employment as a couple with the Family Surveys for the Dutch Population (De Graaf, De Graaf, Kraaykamp & Ultee, 1998, 2000, 2003; Ganzeboom & Ultee, 1992). The Family Surveys are cross-sectional datasets with retrospective questioning. Every set contains different respondents that were randomly sampled from the non-institutionalised Dutch population between 18

and 70 years of age. Primary respondents and their partners, in total 3213 couples in 4 years, participated through face-to-face computer-assisted interviews and a written questionnaire. The interviews contain the complete educational and occupational career, the entire family history, and housing records of both spouses collected using retrospective structured questioning. While the primary respondent answered the written questionnaire, the interviewer conducted a computer-assisted interview with the spouse and vice versa. The formulation of the questions and the surveys' format is comparable over time. Response rates for the 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003 surveys are 43, 47, 41 and 53% respectively. For the Netherlands, response rates are rarely over 50%. Given the fact that the interviews took a considerable amount of time (about two hours) and both spouses were urged to cooperate for a successful response, the cooperation rates are considered very good.

Previous research on the quality of retrospective questioning has shown that respondents are accurate in recalling salient characteristics used in the Family Surveys, like occupation, education and the birth of children (De Vries, 2006; Van der Vaart, 1996). The investigation on reliability of retrospective questioning by De Vries was performed using the Family Surveys for the Dutch Population, the same data used in our analysis. The significance of an event, for instance a job change or a marriage, affects the strength of the memory trace, therefore salient characteristics are less subject to measurement error or recall decay than less salient aspects such as attitudes or emotions (Eisenhower, Mathiowetz & Morganstein, 1991). Above and beyond, should any measurement error exist, it would only be problematic if a systematic measurement error was associated with either the independent or the outcome variables. In our samples there is no reason to suspect such systematic errors exist.

3.5.2 Method
In order to test our expectations we use discrete time models (Allison, 1984). In doing so, we intend to find a better understanding of the influences of life-course transitions on a couple's exit from full-time work. Not only is the timing and occurrence of events better dealt with by event history analyses, it also provides us with the ability to model family dynamics more realistically than would be possible with cross-sectional data (Heaton & Vaughn, 1995). With the use of the retrospective questions we constructed a couple-period file in which every record holds information on both spouses for that specific calendar year. Since we want to model the likelihood of discontinuing full-time employment by couples, the risk set starts at the moment both spouses are employed full-time. This can be anywhere along the life course. A full-time working state is reached when both spouses work at least 35 hours a week. From here on, the histories of

couples are recorded in full-time working years. Each record holds information for a particular year, i.e. job level, number of children, married or cohabiting, etc. The risk period ends when a shift from dual full-time work to an alternative working arrangement takes place. Note that both left and right censoring is possible since the observation period is limited. Spouses may have had previous relationships in which they were at risk (left censoring), but our surveys do not contain information on the careers of previous spouses. Further, events may take place after the interview was conducted (right censoring). It is generally assumed that censoring of the risk period does not cause serious problems in event-history analysis (Blossfeld & Rohwer, 1995).

An exit from full-time work is defined threefold, using a competing risk model (Yamaguchi, 1991). The possibilities for the exit from full-time employment are different that the comparisons made in other chapters. As we argued in Chapter 1, this specific analysis requires a greater level of detail in the outcome variable. Therefore, couples that discontinue full-time work have three outflow options: (a) women discontinue paid employment and become full-time housekeepers; (b) women reduce their working hours and start part-time employment; (c) men decide to work part-time, or become full-time housekeepers. A shift to a situation where both spouses work part-time is rare; we observed six cases, and they are assigned to category 'c'. We used the official definition from Statistics Netherlands to tag spouses for full-time work, part-time work or unemployment: 35 hours per week or more is considered full-time work, part-time work equals 12 to 35 hours a week, and someone working fewer than 12 hours is considered non-employed. Couples shifting from full-time work to non-employment of both spouses were removed from the risk set (9 couples). Table 3.1 provides an overview of the data.

Table 3.1   Representation of the dataset[a]

	1992	1998	2000	2003	total
number of full-time working couples	445	552	435	582	2014
number of full-time working couple years	1838	2284	2217	3349	9688
transitions from full-time work to					
a) women discontinuing paid employment	293	301	259	278	1131
b) women reducing working hours	93	172	118	186	569
c) men reducing hours or discontinuing paid employment	19	19	24	42	104
	405	492	401	506	1804

a	Dataset starts when both spouses work full-time, and ends when an event occurs (=exit to a, b or c)
Source	Family Survey Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003

Compiling all four surveys into a couple-period file yields 3213 male-female couples, 2014 of which started full-time employment at some point in their relationship; 62.6% of all couples worked full-time at some point. In total we analysed 9688 couple years with

complete information, observing 1804 events. We allowed couples to re-enter the risk set after a previous event (150 couples). Couples that once worked full-time and changed their working arrangement were allowed to re-enter if they restarted full-time work after a previous transition. This violates the assumption of independent events. To control for this, we included a dummy in all models indicating multiple events by a couple, which is not significant in any of the models (not reported).

3.5.3 Measurement

A first childbirth is measured as the year in which the first child is born, coded '1' in the year of birth and '0' in all other years. Family size measures the number of children below the age of 12 in a couple year. A couple has a score of '1' when they are married and a score of '0' if they cohabit. Geographical mobility is '0' in all years, except in those years couples moved to another city under the condition that the geographical distance is larger than 30 kilometres. For those years we calculated the distance in kilometres in a straight line from the place of origin to the place of destination. We included geographical distance as the natural log of distance in kilometres, since the experienced difference between a relocation of 200 or 230 kilometres is probably far smaller than the difference between moving 30 or 60 kilometres. Family background is quantified as the maximum years of education the parents of a male or female had, and whether spouses were raised in a family with a working mother (0/1). The individual resources consist of the number of education years of both wives and husbands (in each couple year) and the occupational status of both spouses (in each couple year) using the standard International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI) of occupational status (Ganzeboom, De Graaf & Treiman, 1992). The ISEI measures the characteristics of the occupation that convert a person's education into income.

We also included the time-varying controls of duration and age. Duration was modelled as the length of time that couples are at risk, coded in segments of 5-year periods. Female age in 10-year categories was included; including both the age of women and men is problematic because of multicollinearity. Time period is included (calendar year), since the chances of couples exiting full-time employment may decrease or increase over time. Next, the hazard of exiting full-time employment may be related to the actual labour market conditions at the time. In an economic recession with high levels of unemployment, an exit from full-time employment may occur earlier as a result of discharges and a downsizing of firms. To control for these conditions we included national unemployment rates per year from 1948 to 2003. Table 3.2 gives a description of the variables. Before the variables enter the analyses they are bottom-coded to '0'

(original value minus the minimum). Occupational status scores are divided by 10, so parameter effects reflect a 10-point increase or decrease on the status scale.

Table 3.2   Descriptives of measurements: time-varying and time-fixed variables (N=2014)[a].

	minimum	maximum	mean	std
time-varying variables				
duration	1.00	38.00	5.62	5.89
female age	17.00	66.00	30.58	8.59
national unemployment rate	0.70	11.70	5.52	2.80
yime period	1948	2003	1985.32	10.51
occupational status - female	10.00	90.00	49.60	14.11
occupational status - male	10.00	88.00	49.53	15.10
first childbirth	0.00	1.00	0.11	0.31
family size	0.00	1.00	0.49	0.81
married couple	0.00	1.00	0.84	0.37
geographical mobility	0.00	6.91	0.09	0.66
time-fixed variables				
educational level of parents - female	6.00	20.00	9.92	3.13
working mother during childhood - female	0.00	1.00	0.12	0.33
educational level - female	6.00	20.00	13.79	3.68
educational level of parents - male	6.00	20.00	9.65	3.13
working mother during childhood - male	0.00	1.00	0.13	0.34
educational level - male	11.00	20.00	15.21	3.47

a   N=2014 couples, 9688 years, calculations made on couple-year file
Source   Family Survey Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003

3.6 Results

Figure 3.1 presents a flowchart of the various options in the event history analysis. Among all couples, 62.6% has worked full-time at some point and is therefore eligible for entering the risk set. A majority of couples stop working full-time somewhere along the life course, with a 52.7% exit to a single-earner male household, a 27.0% exit to a traditional dual-earner arrangement, and 5% to a role-reversal model. Of all full-time working couples, 15.3% keeps working full-time over the life course. Note that for these couples the event may take place in the future (right censoring).

The percentages displayed in Figure 3.1 are consistent with reports from cross-sectional data; research on such data since the 1990s shows that about 15% of Dutch couples are working full-time (Van Gils & Kraaykamp, 2004). Here we observe that many couples worked full-time at some point (62.6%), but only few remain in this earnings category.
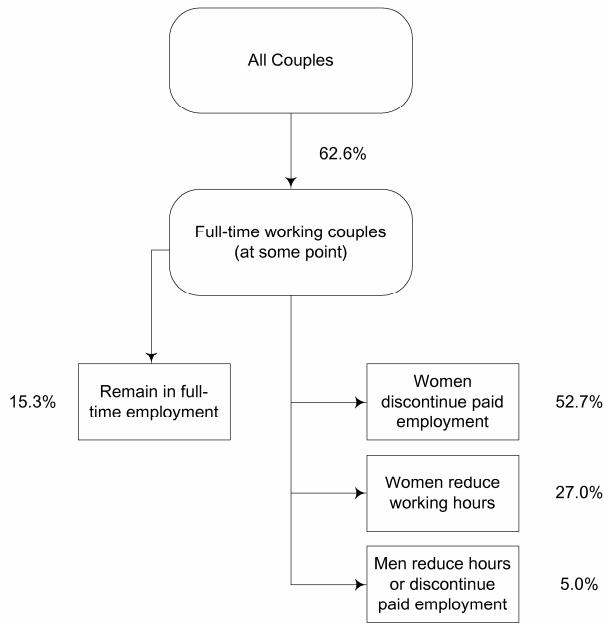
Figure 3.1 Full-time working couples and exit possibilities

3.6.1 Testing the effects of family socialisation and individual resources

In Table 3.3 we present the results of a competing risk event history analysis for exiting full-time work. The regression coefficients displayed are log odds. The exponential function (exp) of the nonstandardised coefficients (b) can be interpreted as follows: with every unit increase in a given parameter, the odds of experiencing the drop-out event into another household working arrangement are expected to change by a factor of e^b, all other aspects held constant. In Table 3.3 both spouses' likelihood of discontinuing full-time work is regressed on family socialisation, individual resources, relevant life-course transitions and some control variables. Model 1 introduces the controls, duration, age, labour market conditions and time period. Model 2 adds the family socialisation aspects and individual resources for women, and Model 3 includes these aspects for men.

Model 1 first introduces the effect of duration. The longer the full-time employment spell of spouses, the lower the probability that women will reduce working hours or stop with paid employment completely. No significant effects are found for a change in working hours for men. Hence exits occur primarily during the first five years (reference category). The odds of couples choosing an arrangement where the wife is not

in paid employment is a factor 0.63 lower ($e^{-.47}$) than the first five years, and a factor 0.25 lower ($e^{-1.39}$) for couples that have been working full-time for at least 16 years. A similar pattern can be observed for the effects of female age on exiting full-time employment. The likelihood of changing a work arrangement before age 35 is highest, especially when it comes to a female partner who stops working or reduces her working hours. The negative associations with the logit when women have crossed the age of 35 indicate that career transitions away from dual full-time employment happen at an earlier age.

Surprisingly, a higher national unemployment rate is negatively associated with the likelihood of exiting to a single-earner male household only where wives stop with their paid employment completely. Across the years every unit increase in the national unemployment rate (percentage increase) decreases the risk for couples deciding to prefer a single-earner male household over a full-time working arrangement by a factor of 0.96 ($e^{-.04}$). This is contrary to our expectations. A possible explanation is that full-time working couples probably value job security more at times when the threat of losing a job is high. A high unemployment rate does not affect the risks for the other exit options. Over time, we observe a trend that is similar to earlier research on cross-sectional data; over the years, the odds of entering a single-earner male household seriously decline by 6% yearly ($e^{-.06}$), whereas the odds of inflow into an arrangement with a full-time working male and a part-time working female increase 4% yearly ($e^{.03}$).

With Model 2 we describe the effects of parental socialisation and women's individual resources on the likelihood of exiting full-time employment as a couple. Over the various exit possibilities, the effects of a wife's occupational status stands out. A high occupational status for women clearly decreases the risk of an exit from full-time employment – a firm confirmation of our subsequent hypothesis. With every additional 10 ISEI status points, the odds of exiting to an arrangement where wives are not employed or employed part-time diminishes by a factor of 0.86 ($e^{-.15}$) and 0.89 ($e^{-.11}$). Also, in accordance with our expectations, having had higher-educated parents slightly decreases a woman's odds of exiting full-time work. Growing up in a higher-educated family with modern attitudes on the combination of work and care might be the proposed mechanism behind this association. In contrast with our hypotheses is that higher-educated women themselves have a slightly higher chance of discontinuing full-time work – 2% with every additional year of schooling. We do not have a plausible explanation for this effect. No significant effects of female individual resources or parental socialisation for an exit to part-time work were found.

Table 3.3   Discrete time event history models: log odds for couples' exit from full-time employment

		women's discontinued paid employment				reduction of women's working hours				reduction of men's hours or discontinued paid employment			
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
intercept		.60 **	.93 **	.98 **	-.87 **	-3.70 **	-3.58 **	-3.76 **	-4.66 **	-4.48 **	-4.59 **	-4.56 **	-3.77 **
duration in years	1-5 (ref)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	6-10	**	-.48 **	-.49 **	-.73 **	.08	.09	.13	.12	.01	.01	.01	.11
	11-15	-.73 **	-.80 **	-.81 **	-1.24 **	-.77 **	-.77 **	-.71 **	-.61 *	-.23	-.25	-.23	-.10
	16-20	-1.39 **	-1.50 **	-1.50 **	-1.66 **	-.74	-.77	-.71	-.67	-1.69	-1.72	-1.70	-1.57
	>20	-.16	-.32	-.33	-.45	-.78	-.82	-.74	-.78	-.20	-.24	-.22	-.05
female age< 25 (ref)		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	26-35	.03	.12	.13	-.08	.05	.07	.02	-.06	-.22	-.20	-.20	-.15
	36-45	-.93 **	-.81 **	-.80 **	-1.02 **	-.80 **	-.74 **	-.80 **	-.79 **	-.42	-.41	-.40	-.24
	> 45	-.64 *	-.49	-.49	-.36	-1.32 **	-1.22 **	-1.29 **	-1.31 **	.58	.59	.62	.80
national unemployment rate		-.04 **	-.04 **	-.04 **	-.03 *	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.02
time period (0=1948)		-.06 **	-.06 **	-.06 **	-.04 **	.03 **	.04 **	.03 **	.04 **	.01	.01	.01	.00
educational level of parents – female			-.02 *	-.02	-.02		.03	.01	.01		.00	-.00	-.00
working mother during childhood – female			.09	.12	.14		-.04	-.07	-.07		-.49	-.50	-.51
educational level – female			.02 *	.02 *	.02 *		.02	.02	.02		.03	.03	.03
occupational status – female			-.15 **	-.14 **	-.10 **		-.11 **	-.14 **	-.13 **		-.04	-.04	-.05
educational level of parents – male				-.00	-.00			.05 **	.05 **			.01	.01
working mother during childhood – male				-.23 *	-.17			.01	.05			.18	.13
educational level – male				.01	.01			-.00	-.00			.01	.00
occupational status – male				-.04	-.05			.07 *	.07 *			-.02	-.03
first childbirth					.80 **				1.02 **				.39
family size					.48 **				-.09				.01
married couple					1.03 **				.51 **				-.67 **
geographical mobility					.13 **				.13 *				-.09
log likelihood		-5594.09	-5558.82	-5545.51	-5339.85	-5594.09	-5558.82	-5545.51	-5339.85	-5594.09	-5558.82	-5545.51	-5339.85
nagelkerke R²		.148	.157	.160	.212	.148	.157	.160	.212	.148	.157	.160	.212

Significance   * (p<0.05); ** (p<0.01)

Source   Family Surveys of the Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003. Models controlled for re-entry into the risk set; N = 2014 couples, 9688 couple years.

Model 3 introduces male parental socialisation and individual resources. Some interesting findings may be observed. First, we establish that when the male partner had a working mother, the odds of a couple ending up in a single-earner male household are significantly lower ($e^{-.23} = 0.79$). This confirms our hypothesis on the effects of progressive socialisation for men and their preference for a union with a working wife. At the same time, the father's educational level increases the likelihood of trading a full-time working household for an arrangement where women work part-time; this amounts to a 5% increase for every additional year of education of his parents. Both effects seem to emphasise the importance of men's socialisation in terms of progressive attitudes towards work and care, which have shown to contribute strongly to preferences for working arrangements later in life. Second, it is surprising that the educational and occupational resources of men hardly matter when it comes to exiting full-time work as a couple. Only for a household arrangement with a full-time working male and a part-time working female are occupational credentials important; an additional 10 ISEI score increases the odds for this arrangement when couples decide to exit dual full-time work by 7.3% ($e^{.07}$). This illustrates that effects of a high occupation are reversed for men and women; highly qualified men prefer a part-time working wife, whereas highly qualified women prefer full-time employment.

3.6.2 Testing the effects of family events and geographical mobility
In Model 4 we investigate which life-course transitions are associated with the likelihood of couples discontinuing full-time employment. In general, the parameters that reflect such transitions have a considerable weight in the analyses. Since these effects are substantial, they contribute to our knowledge on the mechanisms behind changes in a couple's working hours arrangement. This emphasises the need to include couple-level events in an analysis of a couple's work arrangements.

As we hypothesised, the birth of a first child greatly increases the likelihood that a full-time working couple will choose a different working arrangement. The actual gendered roles of men and women in a couple are demonstrated by our results. The odds for couples choosing an alternative working arrangement where the wife is not working and the husband is employed full-time constitute a factor 2.23 greater ($e^{.80}$) in the year a first child is born. Yet, the odds of them choosing a construction where the wife remains employed and scales down her working hours are 2.78 times larger ($e^{1.02}$) than in other years. These results are a confirmation of Becker's specialisation hypothesis, where men specialise in paid employment and women specialise in unpaid labour. Becoming parents does not seem to be associated with the choice for an arrangement where men scale back their working hours.

Family size is only of importance for the odds on the exit to a single-earner male situation; for each additional child, couples have 62% higher odds of choosing an arrangement with a full-time working male and a non-working female over other arrangements. Family size does not increase the likelihood for any other working arrangement. Next, marriage influences the odds of discontinuing full-time employment, especially for women. The odds for married couples entering a single-earner male arrangement constitute a factor 2.80 higher ($e^{1.03}$) than that for cohabiting couples. The same holds for the exit to a dual-earner household with a part-time working wife, a factor of 1.66 ($e^{.51}$). Yet, marriage seems to seriously decrease the likelihood for switching to an arrangement where men work fewer hours than women. Marriage reduces the odds of role reversal by a factor of 0.51 ($e^{.67}$ or 96%). Again, this supports our gendered hypothesis on the effects of marriage and cohabitation. Geographic mobility is clearly associated with the probability of exiting full-time employment. Apparently moving has this negative effect for women only; the odds of them discontinuing full-time work is a factor 1.14 higher than in other years ($e^{.13}$). This result is a confirmation of the gendered tied-mover hypothesis; if a male spouse moves, the female partner is often forced to discontinue full-time employment, ends up unemployed or has to take on part-time working hours. The effect sizes are equal for a shift to part-time work or discontinue paid employment completely.

3.7 Conclusions and discussion

In this chapter we argued that in order to explain transitions in couples' working arrangements, the focus should be not solely on women's participation: explicit questions at the couple level should be the starting point of analyses on work and care time management in families. Here we studied to what extent family events and spousal socialisation and resources could explain how some couples discontinue a full-time working state, whereas others keep on working full-time. The exit from full-time employment as a couple however is multi-shaped, as a couple may decide on various exit strategies: women who discontinue paid employment, women who reduce paid employment, or men who either reduce hours or discontinue paid employment. To gain more insight into these transitions that couples go through, we used a dynamic competing risk model. A total of 1804 transitions from full-time work were observed over 9688 couple years, enabling us to study the exit from full-time work by couples in the Netherlands.

From our analyses it can be concluded that a couple's departure from full-time employment is determined mainly by family events. Marriage, a first childbirth and geographical mobility are the relevant factors that explain a couple's reallocation of

working hours. It must nonetheless be stated that these events are most influential for women in a full-time working couple. The consequences of getting married, becoming a mother and moving to another city tend to lead to a situation in which the female spouse reduces her working hours. In this respect, one could say that family events are highly gendered, especially when it comes to their actual effects on couples' work arrangements.

A person's socialisation and resources matter for a couple's decision to exit full-time employment too. These effects remained influential in all models, and confirm our argumentation on preferences that where shaped during socialisation. Again, these aspects work rather differently for men than for women. For men, a progressive socialisation in the family of origin clearly leads to a more progressive attitude on sex roles, resulting in a household where women favour a reduction of work hours above leaving the labour market. In the near future one may expect that if men are gradually more socialised with contemporary norms about work and care, a reduction of their working hours will become an acceptable option too. For women, socialisation effects hardly matter, but a high occupational status leads them to discontinue full-time work to a lesser extent; they are less likely to quit their working hours than women in lower-rank occupations. It thus seems that, for women who are part of a couple, success in an occupational career prevents them from reducing working hours.

What our study especially shows is that it is profitable to focus on the life courses of couples instead of those of women only. As Jacobs and Gerson (2004) stressed in earlier work, an analysis of husbands' and wives' employment separately may miss much of the music in family-level changes. Since decisions on work and family are theoretically made in conjunction within a household, this is true indeed. We hope that our research has provided some arguments to conclude that empirically this is a preferable strategy too. Although we are convinced that research on decisions couples make should be analysed using couple information, our results do not challenge the existing knowledge on work transitions. Our results, however, do indicate that emphasising the couple as a unit of analysis leads to additional insights. First, it is concluded that a couple's decision to scale back on working hours is not only dependent on characteristics of the female spouse, but also on characteristics of the male. The substantial effects of a male's parental socialisation and his occupational status are good examples in this respect. Second, we think that it is important to establish the odds of leaving full-time employment controlling for relevant life-course events. As life-course events occur at the couple level, these odds can only be validly ascertained controlling for couple-level life-course events. Finally, our contribution is important for relevant debates and we expect research on households to become even more meaningful in the near future. In the

Netherlands we observe a vivid trend in the number of men working part-time. Although we were unable to explain the choice for a role-reversal arrangement in more detail, with more men working part-time these questions about couples will become even more urgent in the near future.

Full-time working couples and their transition to parenthood

This chapter examines which couples have a lower probability of entering parenthood. There is a great degree of difference in fertility rates between household working arrangements. We studied to what extent the likelihood for entry into parenthood depends on specific life-course characteristics of the household. To test expectations we used household-level information and performed a coupled-event history analysis to investigate how career investments interfere with the transition to parenthood. In total we tracked the fertility histories of 3120 couples over 17572 years. Full-time working couples, those with the highest investments in working hours, have the lowest probability of entering parenthood. Further, we find strong support for both the characteristics of husbands and wives being important for fertility decisions.

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter we investigate how the transition to parenthood is affected by the full-time employment of both spouses in a household. In recent decades, fertility behaviour has been a focal point of interest in the social sciences. As a result, research on the timing and number of children has expanded substantially. The increasing interest in fertility decisions is partly caused by declining birth rates in industrial societies. The consequences of this development are numerous: families becoming smaller, populations aging as the share of younger people declines, populations shrinking. All of this will affect the economy, the social security system, and the labour and housing markets (Klijzing & Corijn, 2002). Research aimed at explaining these declining fertility rates has primarily studied the role of women, and few studies incorporate characteristics of men. In this study we improve upon earlier work by lifting the research on fertility behaviour to an aggregate couple level. Our aim is to study the characteristics of both spouses in a couple, recording them from the time they became a couple, to explain which couples enter parenthood and when.

In previous debates on the timing of children and childlessness, most of the attention is directed at the decisions of women. Men were often disregarded in fertility research since childbearing is considered the domain of women (Hakim, 2003; Kemkes-Grottenthaler, 2003; Meijer, Dykstra, Siegers & De Jong Gierveld, 1998). While it may

be true that structural characteristics of husbands prove to be less important compared to those of women, their intentions, behaviour and attitudes most probably are relevant. In two different studies on the United States, Thomson reports that husbands' desires and intentions influence childbirths with approximately equal force to that of wives' desires and intentions (Thomson, 1997; Thomson, McDonald & Bumpass, 1990). Jansen and Liefbroer (2006) find similar results for the Netherlands on couples' attitudes towards having children: attitudes of both spouses are found equally important for such decisions.

This study uses retrospective reports on the life courses of couples, providing a detailed history of previous events and fertility behaviour. This enables us to examine which couples have a lower likelihood of entering parenthood while retaining the dynamic nature of these decisions. Our chief argument is that couples' choices for having children are reflected in their investments on the labour market. Most eye-catching in this respect is couples in which both husband and wife work full-time, since they share modern, individualistic values and are most likely to postpone childbirth (Corijn, Liefbroer & De Jong Gierveld, 1996; Van Gils & Kraaykamp, 2004). The investments made by these spouses in their working career are likely to affect fertility behaviour. This may affect their probability of becoming parents, as well as the number of children they have. Full-time employment reflects a strong preference for working and may contribute to explain the decision of entering parenthood on top of mechanisms observed in previous research. Our central research question then reads: 'To what extent do dual full-time careers of couples affect the probability and the timing of a first and second child birth?' Below we explicate the link behind career investments and having children, discuss previous research and propose hypotheses to test our expectations. We test our ideas using the retrospective fertility histories and occupational careers of couples in the Netherlands. They provide the opportunity to conduct an event history analysis that includes childbirths as well as the time between a first and second child.

4.2 The choice between career investments and a first childbirth
Two main lines are dominant in fertility research, both trying to answer the questions of who will have children, how many and when. Both fields contain the building blocks to expect full-time working couples to have lower fertility rates than other couples.

4.2.1 Costs and benefits of having children
A first approach focuses on the perceived cost and rewards of having children and how this affects the choice for childbearing (Liefbroer, 2005). Couples' fertility decisions are

then reached by weighing the costs and benefits of having children. In other words, couples answer for themselves the question of the extent to which having children may hamper the attainment of other valued goals (Fawcett, 1988; Hoffman & Hoffman, 1973). Within this approach we distinguish two research traditions. First, Becker's economic theory (1981) suggests that the gains from marriage and having children have been reduced through increased educational attainment – mainly women's. Their investment in human capital yields few returns if they withdraw from the labour market after a childbirth. Highly educated women, mainly full-time employed, thus face opportunity costs compared to their lower educated counterparts. The perceived costs of having children and the effect this may have upon career opportunities are the key reason why full-time workers may choose to delay childbirth or remain voluntarily childless. Friedman, Hechter and Kanazawa (1994) offer a second explanation of why full-time working couples may have fewer children. Their theory on the value of children uses uncertainty reduction as a motivation for behaviour. The main assumption is that people strive to reduce uncertainty in their lives. Stable employment and a full-time career provide an effective means to reduce uncertainty, and thus the propensity towards parenthood is lower among people with successful careers than it is for people with less successful careers, i.e. more uncertainty (Friedman et al., 1994, p 385).

4.2.2 Motivations for having children

A second approach addresses motivations and attitudes related to having children. This normative approach argues that the effects found for sociodemographic characteristics upon fertility decisions are indirect. These characteristics are seen as exogenous and have an effect upon intentions and motivations, i.e. a higher educational level is associated with sex-role attitudes which in turn decreases the chances of having children (Beckman, Aizenberg, Forsythe & Day, 1983). Research for the Netherlands provides evidence that values, especially the value attached to children, are of great importance for childbearing (Beets, 2004; de Meester, Esveldt, Mulder & Beets, 2005). The impact of values and goals on the decision to have children is also described in the preference theory developed by Hakim (2003). Hakim emphasises the role of personal values for decisions on childbearing. Work-centred women are childless, emphasise employment and invest substantially in employment activities. These lifestyle preferences are used to pinpoint who is work-centred and therefore less likely to have children. Preference theory even argues that preferences cut across educational and socio-economic groups (Hakim, 2003, p365). Yet, this theory does not explain where these preferences have emerged from. In this study we argue that spouses' dual full-time employment expresses a preference for career investments and a career-centred

view. This preference for work does not align with having children, hence full-time working couples may have lower fertility rates than other couples. Earlier work by Kalwij (2000) and Heaton, Jacobsen and Holland (1999) demonstrated that being employed significantly reduces both the likelihood of having children and the number of children. Yet, being employed does not entail a one-to-one relation with not having children, the authors note. Couples that work may be postponing childbearing decisions, which may eventually lead to (involuntary) childlessness.

From both approaches – the costs of having children and a work-centred motivation – we develop the expectation that for full-time working couples the likelihood of having children is significantly lower than it is for other couples. This first hypothesis is supported by the fact that households where both spouses work full-time display a clear preference for paid employment that may not be easily combined with the care for children. Whether this is the result of a clear-cut weighing of costs and benefits or a rationale based on working preferences is hard to distinguish. Note that it is not our intention to test which of these two theories has more predictive power. We use both theories to deduct an expectation formulated at an aggregate couple level. The career prospects of both spouses and the joint preferences for a working career are reflected at the couple level as a union where both partners participate full-time in the labour market.

In addition to our first expectation, we argue that a higher number of years that couples work full-time out of the total number of years they have worked thus far exhibits a stronger preference for work. People express their preference through their behaviour, so the more they work the more they manifest their priority for their career (Bumpass, 1990). Both spouses' full-time employment is a strong expression of their career preference, and the longer they uphold this household working arrangement, the greater their preference for work. Therefore, our second expectation holds that share of full-time working years given the total number of years couples work is negatively associated with a first childbirth – the longer the time that couples both work full-time, the stronger their preference for work, and the lower the likelihood of a first childbirth.

A third expectation regarding couples' fertility decisions and full-time employment deals with the spacing between a first and a possible second childbirth. A first childbirth is often accompanied by a scaling back of working hours among full-time working couples (Van Gils, Kraaykamp & Van der Lippe, 2006), who reflect the importance of work through their full-time participation in the labour market. If they decide to have children, they may want to have little time between childbirths, thereby shortening the time that they are outside the labour market (De Graaf & Kats, 2007). Reducing the space between two childbirths enables a speedy re-entry into the labour market. We

believe this preference to return full-time to the labour market is stronger for full-time working couples than it is for other couples.

4.3 Additional explanatory aspects

Although the focus of this chapter is on full-time work and the likelihood of having children, there are other factors associated with the chances and timing of a first childbirth that cannot be ignored. We will briefly discuss these, and if applicable explain their relation to couples' full-time employment. We distinguish between aspects of individual-, couple- and national-measurement level.

4.3.1 Individual-level aspects

A higher educational level is important for having children in at least four ways. First, it is argued that higher educated couples may postpone having children or decide not to have children at all due to opportunity costs. As women have become higher educated over time, their earning power has increased. Having children then raises the relative costs of having them, thereby reducing the demand for them (Becker, 1981, pp245-247). Blossfeld and Huinink (1991) show that educational level is positively related to the entry into motherhood, while career opportunities are the real restriction for childbearing. Second, a higher educational level implies longer participation in the educational system, which may lead to postponement and eventually childlessness. Empirical research however demonstrates that forbearance is no acquittance (Kalmijn, 1996; Mulder, 2003). Third, some scholars argue that among the higher educated, the so-called 'waiting-time-to-conception' is smaller than among the lower educated (Esveldt, Beets, Henkens, Liefbroer & Moors, 2001). The higher educated have more knowledge about conception and more means to plan their childbirth with great detail. Therefore, higher educated women will be pregnant sooner when the desire to have a child arises than the lower educated. Fourth, couples that share modern, individualistic values can be expected to be overrepresented among the highly educated, which can be assumed to postpone childbirth (Corijn et al., 1996). Among these couples the need for individual autonomy is believed to be higher, and family formation decisions will be postponed or a decision to remain childless will be taken. Interviews taken from voluntarily childless women reveal that the desire to continue to experience their freedom of lifestyle is central in their decision not to have children (Callan, 1986).

These arguments illustrate that it is of fundamental importance to deal with educational conditions if we want to explain how dual full-time work is associated with having children. Full-time working couples are on average very highly educated (Van Gils & Kraaykamp, 2004). This implies that a large part of the effect of the educational

level of both spouses runs via couples' full-time employment, which we expect is associated with the decision to have children. Controlling for educational conditions enables separation of the direct effect of education, and the indirect association between full-time employment as a career investment and the likelihood of entering parenthood.

Age is an important factor to consider when couples decide whether or not to have children. This is certainly true for women, since their reproductive span is limited to the time between menarche and menopause (Heaton et al., 1999). Age is further related to the time people spend in the educational track, and at what point in time they meet a partner with whom they want to have children. Full-time working couples that are higher educated are relatively older when they exit daytime education. They may therefore be older when they meet a marriage partner and have children.

4.3.2 Couple-level aspects

Clarckberg, Stolzenberg and Waite (1995) found that the choice between cohabitation or marriage is associated with family aspirations. If couples decide to cohabit instead of getting married, this expresses an attachment to work and career rather than family (Corijn et al., 1996; Schoen, Kim, Nathanson, Fields & Astone, 1997). By and large, married couples are more traditional than cohabiting couples; women work more unpaid hours and the likelihood of childbirth is higher (Cohen & Bianchi, 1999; Kirkpatrick Johnson, 2005). As we have seen in the introductory chapter, full-time working couples attach far less value to marriage and largely prefer a union in which they cohabit. This implies that there is a direct effect between couples' full-time employment and cohabitation. Since we expect the likelihood of a first childbirth to be lower among cohabiting couples than among married couples, controlling for type of union is needed to estimate the net effect of their full-time employment.

Related to the effect of marriage is the time that couples co-reside, either in cohabitation or in marriage. Research by Manning demonstrates that the total time that couples co-reside significantly affects the entry into parenthood (1995). The experience of cohabitation may lead to less traditional decisions on family formation behaviour (Axinn & Thornton, 1992). As full-time working couples on average have a less traditional family life-course with a longer cohabitation spell and a lower marriage likelihood, controlling for the length of co-residence is necessary.

4.3.3 National-level aspects

Perceived opportunities for economic success are argued to at least cause childbirth delay and even cancellation because of opportunity costs for women. The effects for men are quite different. For men, favourable economic conditions increase the likelihood of

them getting married and having children (Teachman & Schollaert, 1989). Above and beyond, in times when the risk of becoming unemployed is greater, couples may decide to postpone a first childbirth as they might face a loss of income in the near future. We therefore expect the likelihood of a first childbirth to be lower at times when a society suffers from high unemployment rates. These rates are particularly important for full-time working couples, as their lifestyle is adjusted to a double income and they run a relatively higher risk, given that both spouses are at risk of losing their job.

4.4 Data, method and measurement

4.4.1 Family Surveys of the Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003

We model the likelihood of couples entering parenthood using the Family Surveys of the Dutch Population (De Graaf, De Graaf, Kraaykamp & Ultee, 1998, 2000, 2003; Ultee & Ganzeboom, 1992). The Family Surveys are cross-sectional datasets with structured retrospective questioning. Every set contains different respondents that were randomly sampled from the non-institutionalised Dutch population between 18 and 70 years of age. Primary respondents and their partners, in total 3213 couples in four survey years, participated through face-to-face computer-assisted interviews and a written questionnaire. The interviews contain their complete educational and occupational career, their entire family history, and rich information on the parental home. While the primary respondent answered the written questionnaire, the interviewer conducted a computer-assisted interview with the spouse and vice versa. Formulation of the questions and format of the surveys are comparable over time. Response rates for the 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003 surveys are 43, 47, 41 and 53% respectively. For the Netherlands, response rates are rarely over 50%. Given the fact that the interviews took a considerable amount of time (about two hours) and both spouses had to cooperate for a successful response, the cooperation rates are considered very good.

4.4.2 Method

Discrete time event history models (Allison, 1984) are used to estimate the probability of a first childbirth for different household working arrangements. Answers to all retrospective questions that pertain to either childbirth or the explanatory variables are recorded in a couple-period file. This yields a data matrix where every record holds information on both spouses in a specific calendar year. Our goal is to model the likelihood of a first or second childbirth, and this requires some restrictions on which couples are at risk of having a first or second child. The risk period for a first childbirth starts at the moment both spouses start cohabiting or become married, and ends when a

first child is born. The risk period may continue if no child is born and then runs up until the last observation year. The risk period for a second childbirth starts the year after the first birth, and ends when a second child is born or at the end of the observation period. In an event history design we speak of 'censoring' when information that may be of influence on the risk of experiencing an event is missing. In our case, left censoring is possible: a first child may be born prior to our observation when the woman was cohabiting with another partner or gave birth as a single mother. These previous childbirths are omitted from the analyses and do not enter the risk set, because our data does not contain information on the careers of previous spouses. A first or second child may also be born after the interview was conducted, right-censoring. It is generally assumed that right censoring referring to the risk period does not cause serious problems in event-history analysis (Blossfeld & Rohwer, 1995).

Compiling all four surveys into a couple-period-file yields complete information on 3120 male-female couples that are at risk of becoming parents. These couples are observed over a period of 17572 couple-years in which 2271 first childbirths occur and 1786 second child births are observed.

4.4.3 Measurement

A childbirth event is zero on all occasions except for the year in which a first or second child is born, when it equals '1'. The independent variables used to explain a first childbirth may be time-varying (subject to change over time) or time-fixed (constant in all observation years). The following measures are time-varying: for household working arrangements we used the official definition from Statistics Netherlands to tag spouses for full-time work, part-time work or unemployment, in which 35 hours per week or more is considered full-time work, part-time work equals 12 to 35 hours a week, and someone working fewer than 12 hours is considered non-employed. The household working arrangement then consists of four different working types: (1) full-time working couples; (2) combination households where both spouses work and at least one works part-time; (3) single-earner male households with a full-time working male and a non-working female; and (4) the non-employed, where both spouses are not active on the labour market, or active less than 12 hours per week. Single-earner females are omitted from the analysis as they constitute a tiny minority. The household working share equals the percentage of the total number of years that couples have worked in a certain arrangement given the total number of hours they have worked. For instance, in a year where a couple has co-resided for 10 years with 4 years in full-time employment equals a full-time share of 40%. The measures for male and female age are not linearly associated with the outcome variable: the chances of a childbirth will first increase and

then decline as people get older. To account for this nonmonotonic age dependency we include two measures for both male and female spouses relating to the increase when they are younger and a decrease when they are older, given their reproduction period; for examples see Blossfeld & Huinink (1991) and Kalmijn (1996). The reproductive range for women equals 15-45 years[1], for men 15-70. The measure for the increase then equals 'log (female age-15)' for women and 'log (male age-15)' for men, while the measure for the decrease equals 'log (45-female age)' for women and 'log (70-male age)' for men.

Table 4.1   Descriptives of measurements: time-varying and time-fixed variables[a]

	minimum	maximum	mean	std
time-varying variables				
first childbirth	0.00	1.00	0.13	0.34
full-time working couple	0.00	1.00	0.41	0.49
combination household	0.00	1.00	0.26	0.44
single-earner male household	0.00	1.00	0.26	0.44
non-employed couple	0.00	1.00	0.06	0.23
share of dual full-time employment	0.00	100.00	35.08	44.36
share of combination household	0.00	100.00	19.51	36.20
share of single-earner male household	0.00	100.00	22.47	38.33
share of dual non-employment	0.00	100.00	5.20	20.75
female age - Log (age-15)	0.00	3.40	2.44	0.49
female age - Log (45-age)	0.00	3.40	2.69	0.65
male age - Log (age-15)	0.00	4.01	2.65	0.44
male age - Log (70-age)	1.95	3.99	3.65	0.22
married couple	0.00	1.00	0.78	0.42
co-residence duration	0.00	28.00	4.75	5.14
co-residence duration sq	0.00	784.00	49.03	96.42
national unemployment rate	0.70	11.70	5.39	2.89
time-fixed variables				
educational level - female	6.00	20.00	14.61	3.56
educational level - male	6.00	20.00	13.59	3.73

a   Calculations made on couple-year file for first childbirth, N = 17572 couple years, 3120 couples

Further, a dummy for married couples is used, equal to '1' when they are married and '0' when cohabiting. Co-residence duration is measured in years since they started cohabitation. Unemployment rates are included per year from 1947 to 2003, and equal the official unemployed rates reported by Statistics Netherlands. Time-fixed variables in the analysis are educational level of both husbands and wives, measured as total years

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[1] The average onset of menopause is 50.5 years, but some women enter menopause at a younger age. In our sample the oldest female that gave birth to a first child is aged 40, with age 45 for a second child.

of education.[2] Table 4.1 provides a description of all the measurements used in the analysis.

4.5 Results

Before estimating the likelihood for the transition to parenthood, let us first review some of the decisions made by the couples in our sample. In total there were 2271 couples that entered parenthood out of 3120; that's a 72.7% chance of becoming a parent. Of these 2271 couples that have children, 1786 also have a second child, 552 a third child and 199 couples have four children or more. Of all couples that decided to have children, the average time it took between marriage or cohabitation and a first childbirth was 2.7 years.
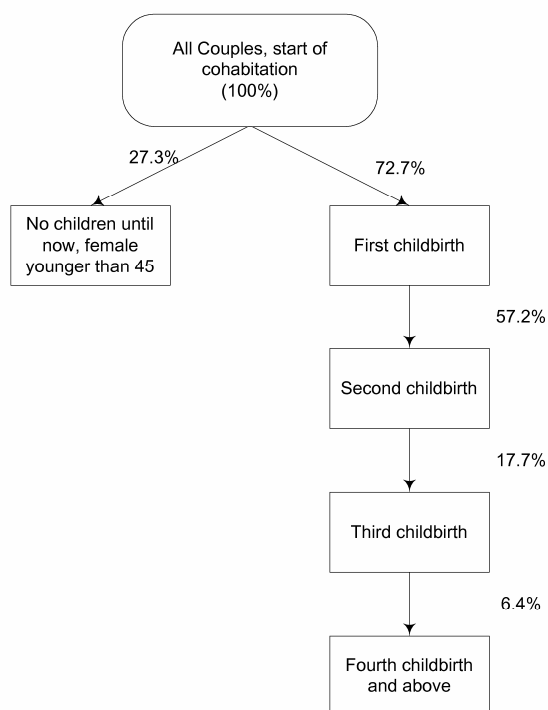
Figure 4.1 Fertility decisions among Dutch couples

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[2] The number of years in school is measured as: lo/vglo=6, lbo/v(m)bo/mavo=10, havo/kmbo=11, vwo/hbs=12, mbo=13, hbo=15, wo=17, post-wo=20.

The time it took between starting a stable relationship and a first childbirth varies greatly by educational level. The lowest educated with only 6 years of primary school became parents no later than a year after marriage. The higher educated, who were enrolled in the educational system for at least 15 years, became parents on average 3.5 years after marriage/cohabitation. The average time between the moment of cohabitation and a first childbirth was 1.7 years. Women who had a second child after age 35 waited on average 3 years before having their second child. Younger women have a much lower spacing between childbirths (about one year). This may not only be subject to family planning of the couples involved, it may be due mostly to younger women being more fertile than older women. While a large majority of couples had children, 27.3% was still childless at the time of interview. Note that more than 70% of these women have not yet reached the age of 45 and are therefore still at risk of having children.

In Table 4.2 we estimate the chances of having a first child in Model 1 and a second child in Model 2. While the mechanisms for having a second child may be different, this model is crucial if we want to explain how the time between childbirths is associated with a specific household working arrangement. Theoretically, we expect full-time working couples to have children with small intervals in-between, to minimise as much as possible the time away from the labour market. The regression coefficients displayed are log odds. The exponential function (exp) of the nonstandardised coefficients (b) can be interpreted as follows: with every unit increase in a given parameter, the likelihood of a first or second childbirth is expected to change by a factor of e^b, all other aspects held constant.

First, we test whether the odds of a first childbirth is lower for full-time working couples than it is for other couples. Households where both spouses work full-time serve as the reference category. These odds are 1.72 higher ($e^{.54}$) for combination households than for full-time working couples. Looking at the other coefficients, the likelihood of a first childbirth is a factor 2.85 higher ($e^{1.05}$) for single-earner male households and a factor of 2.18 ($e^{0.78}$) for the non-employed. This corroborates our primary expectation that couples that have taken on full-time jobs are less likely to enter parenthood compared to other household working arrangements. The amount of paid labour thus clearly results in a higher likelihood of not having children. The opportunity costs of having children may be too high for full-time working couples. Moreover, the motivation to keep working may full-time is not easy to combine with the care for young children. Among other households, with fewer working hours, the probability of a first childbirth is higher. The largest difference is observed between single-earner male households and full-time working couples.

Next, we test whether the share of the total labour market time in a certain working arrangement affects the likelihood of having children. The number of years that spouses have been in a full-time working couples given the total amount of years they have worked is not related to the likelihood of a first childbirth. This means that our expectations with regard to a lower likelihood of becoming parents as a result of previous labour market involvement is not supported in our model.

Table 4.2   Discrete time-event history models: log odds of the first and second childbirths

	first childbirth		second childbirth	
	b	se	b	se
intercept	-21.48 **		-20.87 **	
individual level				
female age - Log (age-15)	0.59 **	0.15	0.88 *	0.28
female age - Log (45-age)	1.10 **	0.20	1.28 **	0.30
male age - Log (age-15)	0.62 **	0.23	1.39 **	0.47
male age - Log (70-age)	2.97 **	0.62	2.49 *	1.11
educational level - female	0.01 *	0.00	0.01	0.01
educational level - male	0.03 **	0.07	0.01	0.01
couple level				
full-time working couple (ref)	-	-	-	-
combination household	0.54 **	0.11	-0.80 **	0.23
single-earner male household	1.05 **	0.10	-0.10	0.17
non-employed couple	0.78 **	0.18	0.17	0.35
share of dual full-time employment (ref)	-	-	-	-
share of combination household	0.00	0.00	0.02 **	0.01
share of single-earner male household	-0.00	0.00	0.01 **	0.01
share of dual non-employment	-0.01 **	0.00	0.01 *	0.04
married couple	1.81 **	0.10	0.65 **	0.22
co-residence duration	0.24 **	0.03	-0.18 **	0.04
co-residence duration squared	-0.02 **	0.01	-0.00	0.00
national level				
national unemployment rate	-0.07 **	0.01	0.05 **	0.01
years between a first and a second childbirth (y)			0.94 **	0.10
y * full-time working couple			-	
y * combination household			-0.29 *	0.11
y * single-earner male household			-0.37 **	0.10
y * non-employed couple			-0.45 **	0.15
number of couple years	17572		8528	
number of couples	3120		2201	
log likelihood	-5763.90		-3224.79	
nagelkerke R^2	.19		.32	

Significance   * (p<0.05); ** (p<0.01).
Source   Family Survey of the Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003

The effects for female and male age confirm a nonmonotonic pattern; the second parameters (45/70 - age) are greater, revealing a right-skewed path of the risk rate into parenthood. For women the parameters are more equal than for men, the second being a bit larger (1.10) than the first (0.59); this indicates that the top of the curve is equal to the mean of the age range (15-45). For men, the larger second coefficient indicates that a birth is more likely closer to the bottom range (15) than the top range (70). The top of the curve can be calculated more precisely by taking the first derivative with respect to age.[3] For female spouses the top is 25.5, for male spouses 24.4. For married couples the odds of becoming parents are significantly higher than for cohabiting couples. Having a first child is 6.11 times ($e^{1.81}$) more likely for a married couple than it is for a cohabiting couple. The control for co-residence reveals that the likelihood of becoming parents as spouses start to co-reside increase every year with a factor of 1.27 ($e^{0.24}$). The quadratic functions indicates that this effect is not linear; the impact of co-residence duration decreases after time. Further, as we argued, societal economic conditions are of influence on the first childbirth, and a higher percentage of unemployment may hold back the decision to start a family. More precisely, every percentage increase in the national unemployment rate decreases the probability of a first childbirth by 7.3% ($e^{-.07}$).

The positive association found between the educational level of husbands and wives and for the likelihood of a first childbirth are consistent with earlier reports by Blossfeld (1991, p160). Higher educated couples are on average older when they start a stable relationship compared to lower educated couples. It is also argued that the higher educated have a shorter 'waiting-time-to-conception', which adds to this same relation. Every year of additional education increases the odds of a first childbirth versus the odds of not entering parenthood by 1% for women and 2% for men. Since we control to a great deal for the influence of age in this model, the waiting-time-to-conception hypothesis seems more likely. The higher educated have on average more knowledge about contraception, and are better able to plan a first childbirth in detail. This might explain why they often succeed, more so than the lower educated at this age, in entering parenthood.

Model 2 in Table 4.2 estimates the likelihood of a second childbirth; this model is necessary to answer our third hypothesis. The transition from a first to a second childbirth is different than the initial transition to parenthood. This is why the coefficients displayed in Model 2 do not resemble those in Model 1. For couples that already entered parenthood, the role of career investments or future prospects seem to

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[3] Let β1 denote log(age-15) and let β2 denote log(45-age). The top of the curve for women is then equal to (45*β1 + 15*β2) / (β1+β2).

matter less. The odds of a second childbirth do not differ between full-time working couples and couples from a single-earner male household and a non-employed household. Yet, a combination household has a slightly lower likelihood of having a second child compared to full-time working couples (who keep working full-time after their first child is born).

The share of working years in a specific working arrangement is all positively associated with a second childbirth. The percentage of total labour market years couples spend in either a combination household, a single-earner male household or a non-employed household increase the odds for a subsequent childbirth compared to couples that spend a larger share of their time working full-time. The age of couples matters to the same degree for their chances on a second childbirth, although at a later age. Married couples have a likelihood that is 1.92 times greater ($e^{.65}$) than cohabiting couples to expand their family with a second childbirth. Economic conditions however do not seem to increase or decrease the odds of having a second child. We test our third hypothesis by including the time it takes before couples have a second child, and interact this with household working arrangements. Full-time working couples show a higher probability (2.38) of having their second child as the time since the first childbirth increases. This relation is reversed for other households, -0.29 for combination households, -0.37 for single-earner male households, and -0.45 for the non-employed. These effects corroborate our expectation that the spacing between a first and a second childbirth varies significantly between household working arrangements. Yet, we expected that the time between these births would be smallest for full-time working couples to enable a speedy re-entry to the labour market. To the contrary, full-time working couples wait a significant longer time before having a second child than other household arrangements. Finally, higher educated couples do not have a significantly higher likelihood of having a second child compared to lower educated couples. Apparently, educational conditions within households only matter for the initial transition to parenthood.

4.6 Conclusion and discussion

The main question of this chapter was whether full-time working couples have a lower likelihood of having children compared to other household working arrangements. We have shown that, for the Netherlands, a household working arrangement where both partners participate full-time in the labour market has a significantly lower probability of entering parenthood compared to couples that have chosen a different household working arrangement. Most significant in this finding is that career investments at the couple level measured by labour market participation strongly decrease the likelihood of

having a first child. This is a new finding that adds to current knowledge on fertility decisions. Examining the effects for a first and a second childbirth further illustrates that the theoretical mechanisms are quite different. Spousal characteristics only seem very important for the initial decision of having children and weigh much less in further fertility decisions.

Current household working status may thus explain which couples have a lower likelihood of having a first or second child. The years spouses have experienced a certain working arrangement does not alter the probability of a first childbirth. Yet, for full-time working couples, the likelihood of a second childbirth is lower when they have worked more years as a full-time working couple. This might be because those spouses kept on working in full-time jobs after their first child was born. Also, full-time working couples tend to wait longer before they decide to have a second child. Once they have entered parenthood they might postpone a subsequent birth until their career investments have reached a level comparable to the level they had before the first childbirth. Thus, we found no evidence for our argument that reduction of the space between two childbirths for full-time working couples is preferable as it enables a speedy re-entry into the labour market.

We have presented arguments from two theoretical approaches which lead us to expect that full-time working couples have a substantially lower probability of becoming parents than single-earner male households, combination households and non-employed couples. While the structure of these arguments differs greatly, the expectations derived from them do not. Future research could start to disentangle whether full-time working couples display a lower fertility rate because they perceive high opportunity costs in their professional careers, or they uphold a career- or family-oriented attitude that leads them to decide to postpone or defer childbirth. Measuring previous attitudes in more detail to gain knowledge on fertility decisions would be a prospective design.

Full-time employment and the trade-off between private and social activities

The time couples spend on paid labour comes at a price. In this chapter it is argued that individuals living as a full-time working couple have on average less time to spend on their private and social leisure activities than individuals living under other household working arrangements. Using time budget information on 9063 Dutch couples, we analyse the private, social and family time of people living as full-time working couples. Next, we question what happens when people have a small spare-time budget; will they economise on their private time, or will they reduce the hours spent on close social relations with family members and friends? Results show that individuals part of a full-time working couple spend a smaller proportion of their available time budget on social interaction with family members and friends than individuals living under other household working arrangements. Instead, they prefer to spend relatively more time on private leisure and institutionalised social interaction.

5.1 Introduction

How is couples' dual full-time employment associated with a smaller time budget, and what are the consequences for their leisure participation? In this study we examine if and how the time for private and social activities is affected when people are required to make choices on how they spend their spare-time budget. The spending of the available time budget can be seen as a trade-off; time for one activity cannot be spent on another. To explain time use among Dutch couples, we set out to understand how the trade-off between different activities occurs by using two very different theories. Choices with regard to their spare time may result from structural characteristics on how time is organised, or from an intrinsic motivation where activities yield a social pay-off.

The substantial changes in household routines since the 1960s are a direct result of an increased inflow of women on labour market (Van der Lippe, 2001). Although the emergence of dual-earner couples has resulted in decreasing gender inequality in the Western world, it has also brought about significant changes in how couples organise their private lives. Women took up more paid labour and invested less in domestic tasks, while men did not increase their time for domestic responsibilities. For such households, this obviously leads to an increasing time squeeze with private and social

activities in the middle. These problems of time scarcity have been put at the centre of attention in social science research on families and households. Especially quality of life in dual-earner families is a shared concern in this work (Garhammer, 2004; Robinson & Godbey, 1997; Schor, 1991). These studies report that leisure time has become scarcer and harried (Jacobs & Gerson, 2001). Full-time working couples are in this respect a textbook example for those who make the largest investments in their careers, and may experience most of these consequences. In a household where both partners work full-time, both may face a time crunch regarding their time for private leisure consumption, and interaction with family members and friends. It is therefore not surprising that of all working couples, those working full-time are the most likely to be squeezed between work demands and recreation (Jacobs & Gerson, 2001). Actual time shortage accompanied by a feeling of not having enough time is well documented and stresses that the speedup of life caused by work demands is stretching people to the limit, especially dual-career parents (Hochschild & Machung, 2003; Mattingly & Sayer, 2006). A serious decline of time for other activities is thus observed.

The decision made within households about the hours worked by both spouses is a choice between time at home and time at work. Full-time working couples exchange the largest part of their available time budget for financial capital by working. Other couples that work fewer hours may decide to consume this time to undertake activities either on their own, with family members or with friends. That this choice for dual full-time work has been occurring more frequently throughout recent decades has created concerns about societal cohesion, as more people are away during the day (Coleman, 1988). Consequences are that neighbourhoods tend to be empty in the daytime, and family members interact primarily in the evening and early morning hours. Moreover, voluntary organisations face difficulties in recruiting active members, and get-togethers with friends and participation in leisure may be scarcer and require thorough planning. In this sense, the increasing working hours of family members may result in a decline of social capital (Putnam, 1995). When spouses invest more of their available hours on work, it is evident that this time cannot be dedicated to close social relations with others – family members, including children, and friends – or to societal involvement.

In this contribution we will focus on how the consumption of spare time for individuals living as a full-time working couple is distributed over three kinds of leisure activities, and compare it with individuals living under other household arrangements. Our main interest lies with leisure activities people may choose to economise upon when compulsory tasks (work, education, caring) consume more hours. In order to understand which specific leisure-time activity is affected the most, we distinguish three kinds of activities. First, our private time, such as reading, listening to music and solitary

hobbies. Second, interaction with family members and friends, such as conversing with family members, having meals together and visiting friends. Third, institutionalised social interaction, like volunteering, cultural participation or attending sports events. To examine the trade-off between these activities in detail, we use six Dutch time-use surveys ranging from 1975 to 2000.

5.2 The choices we have in our spare time
On the whole, there is no inequality in the endowment of available time. Everybody has 24 hours in a day that may be spent on paid labour, household chores, cultural activities, playing with children and other activities. Given the nature of time, however, an increase in working hours is necessarily associated with a reduction of attention to other activities. Time individuals have is restricted, can only be spent once, and cannot be saved for moments when it is needed most (Szalai, 1973). The time people spend working is not the only factor causing a time squeeze, yet it is a most inflexible one, since household chores and errands can be done after working hours at various instances during the day. When people face a time shortage for their leisure consumption they may economise on cleaning, childcare, shopping or education, or even outsource these tasks to gain more time. In other words, these activities are flexible in nature, whereas paid labour is not. The greatest impact on how people spend their time is therefore not expected to result from their level of participation in the labour market.

Level of activity in the labour market is thus vital to our investigation. We choose to examine more than just the individual workload, as this is only part of the picture. It is important to recognise that there is a substantial difference between the individual time budget and a family's or couple's time budget. As two spouses together are responsible for the management of their family, both experience the resources it provides as well as the restrictions it imposes. Couples live together either in marriage or cohabitation and are therefore restricted by a joint schedule. They combine work, sleep, care and consumption, so individuals have to organise a household agenda for their activities (Moen, 2003). By studying the difference in time spent on activities, we aim to show which kind of activities are skipped easily and which remain high on the priority list. There are three basic time settings through which individuals may shape their time investment according to their own needs: private time, social-interaction time with family members and friends, and institutionalised social time.

5.2.1 Private time
The time we take for ourselves, devoted mostly to solitary activities like hobbies, sports and reading, may be characterised as flexible, not set by a fixed schedule; it can be

controlled by the individual itself and is perceived as less mandatory than other activities. To investigate the effects of dual working hours on our private time spending, we select from the time-use diaries the following activities that contribute to private time: watching television, listening to the radio, reading and solitary hobbies. These personal leisure moments are mostly unbound, do not require much planning and communication with others, and are perceived as very enjoyable (Gershuny & Sullivan, 1998, p81) A number of studies suggest that the more time people spend on the labour market, the less involvement there is in these private leisure pursuits (Blekesaune, 2005; Clarckberg & Merola, 2003; Gershuny, 2000; Schor, 1991). For instance, Nomaguchi and Bianchi (2004) show that hours worked in the labour market significantly decrease the time people spend on private exercise. They argue that exercise time is a perfect example of private time for the individual, as it is self-controlled and flexible. Given the nature of this type of activity, it is easily squeezed between work and family demands, and therefore skipped more often than other pursuits that may be more demanding. Yet, the consumption of private time is experienced as relaxing and stimulates opportunities for personal growth. In a similar fashion, Mattingly and Bianchi (2003) demonstrate that working hours reduce free time for men as well as women. Not only does market work decrease the amount of private leisure time, its perceived quality also tends to be lower as a result of time-squeeze effects. In both studies, effects are stronger for women than for men.

5.2.2 Social interaction time with family members and friends

Whether time spent in the labour market is negatively associated with the time people spend with their families has been a topic of serious debate in recent decades. To examine the effect of dual full-time work on family member contact and close social relations with friends, we selected the following activities: playing with children or family members, eating and conversing with family members, playing games, taking a walk or stroll together, and visiting friends. Although at first glance these activities may seem to be very different from each other, we chose them because they involve intimate social relations in and around the home. Coleman (1988) argued that social capital may be declining as more parents are at work most of the day. Children will miss out on parental attention during this time. He further stresses that many mothers have taken on paid labour, leaving neighbourhoods empty in daytime, and are thus unable to supervise their own children, let alone their neighbours' (Coleman, 1988). As a consequence, family and community control of children may be disintegrating. Nock and Kingston (1988) express similar concerns by demonstrating that parents spend significantly less time with their children when they work more. The time parents have

for social interaction with their children has diminished due to increased time spent on paid labour, and this effect is stronger if parents work irregular hours or weekend and night shifts.

Contradicting these claims are investigations on time spent with children by Sayer (2005). She reveals that fathers nowadays are spending significantly more time in routine and developmental child care activities than in the past. Not only would this fill the alleged gap that working mothers left behind, for working mothers an increase of time with children is observed as well. Gauthier, Smeeding, and Furstenberg (2004) even show an increase in parental time investment in children from the 1960s onwards; parents appear to be devoting more time to children than they did 40 years ago.On the basis of these and other observations, some have concluded that dual careers and having children come at a price: there is little time left for leisure (Daly, 2001). Surely, family time not only consists of the hours parents care for their children. A household setting provides close social contacts; i.e. joint dinners where the day is discussed, conversing with family members and enjoying leisure time together. Moreover, the informal social contacts people have with friends and family members contribute to a strong sense of belonging to a certain group in society. The strength of these social contacts is important for the development of our personal identity (Cote, 1996).

5.2.3 Institutionalised social interaction

Social interaction in an institutional setting forms the third area for which we study the effects of paid labour. To examine the effect of dual full-time work on social interaction in an institutional setting we selected the following activities: community work; voluntary involvement; church attendance; going out to a restaurant, party or dinner; attending a sports game, museum or theatre. Participation with and amongst others makes up the external social cohesion in a society. Putnam rang the alarm bell on declining civic engagement across all generations in the US (1995). Falling memberships for voluntary organisations, dropping election rate turnouts and declining civic engagement in general constitute the core of his arguments. One of the causal mechanisms proposed is the entry of women to the labour market (Tiehen, 2000). Yet, the relation between paid work and social integration is not as straightforward as it seems. Indeed, longer working hours do increase time-budget problems for social activities (i.e. voluntary involvement). On the other hand, paid labour provides an environment that may stimulate social integration, because you meet other people. This would encourage volunteering among people active in the labour force and result in lower rates of volunteering among the non-employed (Wilson, 2000). Yet, participation in social activities does require a time investment that may not be easy to make by dual-

career households. Recent investigations in the Netherlands have shown that couples in a full-time working household attend on average fewer cultural activities than people in other households (Van Gils, Kraaykamp & Ultee, 2006).

5.3 Theoretical background

5.3.1 Hypotheses on time pressure and leisure

We investigate to what extent longer working hours affect individual engagement in private time, social interaction with friends and family members, and institutionalised social contacts. To explain differences in time use, two theoretical lines of reasoning provide contradictory expectations. What people choose to do in the free time that is available to them might be explained by structural characteristics such as frequency, location and scheduling of events, but might also be driven by an intrinsic motivation, i.e. the norm is to spend time with your children (Kelly, 1978).

These theories contain the building blocks for the expectation on how people reach a priority in the activities they undertake. Preceding these expectations we express our general argument on time pressure and leisure consumption. The foundation for views about time pressure lies with a general consideration on time budgets. The argument reads that individuals living in a household where more available time is devoted to a professional career have less time for private and social activities (Bianchi, Casper, King & National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (U.S.), 2005). How we fill our days is, to a large extent, fixed. By habit or by obligation, we work, sleep, eat and care at predictable times for more or less the same duration every day. Other, less obligatory activities are performed around this daily routine. If people want to spent time on leisure activities, they have to find an empty time slot that fits the characteristics of that activity (Gershuny, 2000). In other words, an individual needs a certain amount of spare time, and needs to be to able to use that time to conduct a certain activity. Finding this yet unused time, or time that may be traded off against another activity, might be more difficult for some than for others. The more obligatory tasks people have, the more problems there are to find this empty time slot. If we focus on the household level, we argue that full-time working couples have days that are filled with more obligatory tasks. Of all couples they have the most working hours, which are inflexible in comparison to other compulsory activities (i.e. caring and housework). It is impossible to shift our working hours to a time that is more convenient. More working hours therefore involve more constraints, and fewer options to create empty time slots. On the basis of this argument we expect full-time working couples to have less time for private leisure consumption, interaction with friends and family, and institutional social

contacts than people living in single-earner or combination households. Our first general hypothesis on the use of activities for working couples then reads: 'Individuals living in a full-time working household will spend on average less time on private and social activities than individuals living under other household working arrangements.'

The question that remains is whether private and social activities are done less often altogether, or do couples choose to undertake certain private and social activities more than others when pressed for time? To answer this question we use two opposing theories that predict on what activities people may economise the most when they work full-time as a couple.

Temporal organisation theory
First, we draw upon theory that focuses on how activities are ordered throughout the day (Southerton, 2006). The mechanisms proposed by this theory are the amount of effort and management it takes to conduct a certain activity, given an individual's daily schedule.

In temporal organisation theory, the daily actions of people can be described as a progressive modification of what has been done before. In other words, people are familiar with habits and shape their time horizon with formerly-conducted activities. This habitual sequence can be adjusted, albeit slowly with small changes; this is also familiar in the work of Gershuny (2000), where it is labelled microsequential theory. Changes can be established by finding an empty time slot within the temporal sequence, which may be filled with an activity. Everyday we run through a routine of events, doing the things we do on any given Monday or Tuesday. Temporal organisation theory tries to understand this temporal rhythm of a usual day using a conceptual framework. This is necessary to recognise why some activities are more difficult to execute than others. All activities we undertake during the day can be classified according to specific time dimensions, originally distinguished by Fine (1996). These five dimensions – duration, tempo, sequence, synchronisation and periodicity – are used to understand how social practices, with their specific requirements and demands, are executed during the day. Duration is simply the time an event takes between start and end, the primary focus in time-budget research. Tempo is the pace at which activities take place. Sequence is the order in which practices are conducted. Synchronisation refers to a certain dependence upon other practices, for instance whether private leisure time is providing undisturbed quality/enjoyment or is (frequently) interrupted by other obligations. Periodicity refers to frequency and repetition of activities. Using the interviews of twenty households, Southerton plotted free-time activities against these five dimensions (2006). This provided the empirical basis for temporal organisation

theory: some practices are more difficult to maintain in a busier schedule than others. Some activities tend to have a malleable or flexible nature, enabling the filling of empty time slots. Others require a fixed point in the agenda, have a long duration, and are therefore more difficult to fit into decreasing free time.

Since our main interest lies with the trade-off between private time, social interaction with friends and family members, and institutionalised social interaction, we use Southerton's empirical work to reach expectations about the priority of different activities. By and large, private leisure pursuits tend to be short-term, not fixed, regular and frequent. Because there is little or no interaction with others and the execution is not always fixed to a geographical location or specific time of the day, they easily fit into empty time slots, which makes them easier to execute. Social interaction, on the other hand, especially with non-household members, has a fixed location, requires a high degree of arrangement, has a long duration, and does not occur regularly. These institutionalised social contacts are therefore perceived as difficult to maintain when they compete with other, more flexible activities. Social interaction with family members or friends tends to be alike; it is more routine and has a regular nature, and is not bound by geographical location. This makes it more flexible and easier to manage than institutionalised social interaction. Combining these characteristics, the greatest efforts have to be made for institutionalised social activities, as they require the most management. It can therefore be expected that people living in full-time working households will economise on these activities first. Our hypothesis concerning the priority of activities when people have to economise then reads: 'People who are part of a full-time working couple will first of all economise on institutionalised social activities, then scale down on their social interaction with family members and friends, and last of all reduce their time for private activities'.

Social motivation theory

Opposite to the technical approach offered by the temporal organisation theory on the difficulty of executing a certain activity is social motivation theory on how we shape our free time. Social motivation theory zooms in on the social payoffs of certain activities (Argyle, 1996; Hills & Argyle, 1998). Social benefits of why we engage in leisure activities contain the essence of this theory. Its core arguments are that leisure time exemplifies freedom of choice for the individual, intrinsic motivation, and the quality or enjoyment of the experience (Mannell & Kleiber, 1997; Shaw, 1985). Following this line of reasoning, activities that gain more social utility are preferred above others. People undertake activities in their free time that satisfy certain social needs. Fulfilling these

needs leads to positive emotions, satisfaction and self-efficacy if these activities are performed successfully.

Related studies on intrinsic motivation to perform certain leisure activities show that individuals choose to engage in them not only for their own benefits. Shaw (2001) showed that good family functioning, including enhanced family communication and cohesion, are important goals for certain activities. The payoffs gained from executing certain activities are favourable outcomes of family activities for children, and learning healthy lifestyles as well as moral values. These normative motivations are consistent with earlier research conducted by Orthner and Mancini that positively relates leisure activities to family satisfaction, interaction and bonding (1990). Previous research also studied what people like to do best in their spare time. The American Time Budget surveys question respondents on the importance of activities. Affection and intimacy, informal conversation, coupled activities, outings, social events and playing with children are rated most important. More personal activities like reading, watching television and solitary hobbies were ranked lower (Kelly, 1996). Similar results emerge from research by Robinson and Godbey (1997), asking respondents the following: 'Suppose something has come up suddenly, and you have to make room for that. What things would you give up to make that time?' The activity deemed least necessary is watching television (1997, p239). Respondents rate activities where they interact with others, especially children, sports, hobbies, cultural events and entertainment as most important. The norm thus is that family time will not be given up despite relative busyness.

From these theories and empirical observations follows a quite different expectation of what happens when people have less time for leisure. Social interaction with family members and friends and institutionalised social interaction are most important from a social motivation point of view. The norm is to uphold activities that involve close social relations, at the expense of private leisure pursuits. Our hypothesis concerning the priority of activities when people have to economise based on social motivation theory then reads: 'People who are part of a full-time working couple will first of all economise on their private activities, then scale on down their institutionalised social activities and last of all reduce their time for social interaction with family members and friends'.

5.3.2 Controls related to both full-time work and time use

Examining how exactly spouses' working arrangement matter for their leisure time requires controlling for other characteristics that are associated with the execution of certain activities. First, research has shown that full-time working couples mostly consist of highly educated individuals (Van Gils & Kraaykamp, 2004). From a human

capital perspective, their intensive participation in the labour market is the result of their investments in cognitive abilities and skills via their educational attainment. A higher education or better-developed cognitive abilities also show a relationship with time investments. The ability to perform multiple tasks at once and strict scheduling in the daily routine are traits for the higher educated. When pressed for time, people will try to find solutions so all obligatory tasks are dealt with. It is believed that a higher educational level is accommodating in this respect. Second, a higher education is an indication for a higher job status. Higher-grade professionals are less bound by the clock at work than many lower-class workers. Their contract often does require a 40-hour workweek, but it is less strict in the timing of these hours. It provides more of a possibility to synchronise private and social time with work obligations. This will certainly make the management of their available time more straightforward, as they are able to shift their working hours around other tasks (Warren, 2003). Third, the higher educated have a higher level of institutionalised leisure participation, i.e. cultural consumption or volunteering (Ganzeboom, 1982; Kraaykamp, 2002; Van de Werfhorst & Kraaykamp, 2001; Wilson, 2000). Intellectual competencies provided by a higher educational level provide the ability to process and understand the information offered at venues like museums or concert halls (Berlyne, 1976; Mockros, 1993). Clearly, it is essential to control for educational level – it corresponds to a higher likelihood of full-time work, more institutionalised leisure recreation and better schedule-management skills.

The life course is also filled with events and transitions that may speed up the pace of life or lower it (Elder, 1985). Job changes, geographical relocations, retirement, and above all having children are important is this respect. It is therefore not surprising that the number of full-time working couples is high among young adults and drops considerably as they grow older (Van Gils, Kraaykamp & Van der Lippe, 2007). The presence of children intensifies the need to synchronise practices for household members, constituting a heavy load on the available amount of time. To control for these effects we include measures for the life stage a person is in. This corresponds to the likelihood of couples working full-time as well as the time left for social interaction and private activities.

5.3.3 Differences between spouses: partner effects

We argue that the trade-off between private and social activities is related to the hours worked by spouses in the labour market. Yet, their combined hours may also be defined as a concatenation of their working hours. Seen in this light, the time spent on either private activities, social interaction with family and friends, or social interaction within

an institutionalised setting may be lower or higher given the spouse's working hours. In order to observe these different effects, we also present the working hours of each spouse separately next to the couple perspective. This will reveal the direct impact of a person's own working hours as well as the effect of the spouse's work.

Given the significance of the difference between men and women in previous debates and research, we choose to include these partner effects along the gender line, adding the working hours of husbands and wives (Berg, Trost, Schneider & Allison, 2001; Bittman & Wajcman, 2000; Mattingly & Bianchi, 2003; Shaw, 1990). Details about the daily activities of women point in the direction of severe troubles juggling work, family and leisure (Bryant & Zick, 1996). A direct cause for these observations often is an uneven distribution of unpaid labour resulting in a gender gap of free time. Not only do men have slightly more free time to spare, the quality of that time also tends to be higher (Bittman & Wajcman, 2000; Mattingly & Bianchi, 2003). Including partner effects and differentiating by gender at the same time may reveal whether the impact of paid labour is different for men than for women.

5.4 Data and measurement

5.4.1 Time-Use Surveys 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995 and 2000

To test our expectations we used the Time-Use Surveys 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995 and 2000 collected by the Social and Cultural Planning Office in the Netherlands. In these years a random sample of the Dutch population older than 12 was invited to participate in the Dutch time-use surveys. Respondents kept a time-use diary in which they recorded their main and secondary activity per 15-minute episode. The diary was kept for a whole week in October starting on Sunday. Additionally, respondents answered a structured written questionnaire containing questions on their background, household structure, education, ethnicity, employment and spousal information.

5.4.2 Measurement

Using the detailed information provided by the daily diary of respondents we constructed measures for private activities, social interaction with family and friends, and social interaction within an institutionalised setting. Private leisure consists of the total hours per week spent on reading books, newspapers or magazines, watching television, listening to the radio or music, solitary hobbies and relaxation. Social interaction with family and friends consists of the weekly hours spent playing with children or family members, eating and conversing with family members, playing games and taking a walk or stroll together, and visiting friends. Institutionalised social time is

measured by the weekly hours spent on voluntary work, going to a café, restaurant or bar, cultural participation, church attendance, going to public events, and participation in sports. We analyse the individual time spent per week for these three activities.

The independent variables we constructed are household working arrangement, educational level, family life cycle, age, female, and time period. Table 5.1 provides an overview of the range, means and standard deviation of our instruments. To score all respondents on the basis of their household working hours, we selected all married or cohabiting respondents and tagged their and their spouses' working status for either not employed, part-time employed or full-time employed. Following the definition of Statistics Netherlands (CBS, 2005): working fewer than 12 hours is considered not working, part-time is defined as working 12 to 34 hours, and full-time as working at least 35 hours.

For the individual working arrangement, people are either not employed, part-time employed or full-time employed. The household working arrangement then consists of four different working types: (1) full-time working couples, (2) combination household where both spouses work and at least one works part-time, (3) single-earner male households with a full-time working male and a non-working female, and (4) the non-employed, where neither spouse is active in the labour market (or is active less than 12 hours). Educational level of respondents is harmonised across survey years and recorded in six levels.[1] Family life cycle is recorded as follows: (1) no children or children older than 12, (2) youngest child aged 0-4, (3) youngest child aged 5-12. Age of respondents is restricted to a maximum of 65 and a minimum of 21. Below and above these limits, most are not (yet) active in the labour market and are therefore not at risk of making a trade-off between working hours and leisure time. Survey year is included to observe whether the time spent on private or social time changes over time is equal to zero for the year 1975. In total, we pooled complete information of 9063 respondents over six survey years. We are analysing the link between household working arrangements and leisure-time activities separately for men and for women: models for men contain 3683 observations and models for women 5380 observations.

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[1] In Dutch: 1. lo-vglo-lavo, 2. lbo, 3. ulo-mavo-vmbo, 4. mbo-havo-vwo, 5. hbo, 6. wo.

Table 5.1   Descriptives of measurements

	minimum	maximum	mean	std	n
private time	0.00	88.50	20.72	10.05	9063
social interaction with friends and family	0.00	70.75	22.79	9.05	9063
institutionalised social interaction	0.00	77.00	6.35	6.39	9063
total time budget	0.00	116.75	49.86	13.56	9063
full-time working household	0.00	1.00	0.09	0.28	9063
combination household	0.00	1.00	0.20	0.40	9063
single-earner male household	0.00	1.00	0.56	0.50	9063
non-employed household	0.00	1.00	0.15	0.36	9063
male full-time employed	0.00	1.00	0.76	0.42	3683
male part-time employed	0.00	1.00	0.06	0.24	3683
male not employed	0.00	1.00	0.18	0.38	3683
female partner full-time employed	0.00	1.00	0.11	0.31	3683
female partner part-time employed	0.00	1.00	0.19	0.39	3683
female partner not employed	0.00	1.00	0.70	0.46	3683
female full-time employed	0.00	1.00	0.08	0.28	5380
female part-time employed	0.00	1.00	0.20	0.40	5380
female not employed	0.00	1.00	0.72	0.45	5380
male partner full-time employed	0.00	1.00	0.81	0.39	5380
male partner part-time employed	0.00	1.00	0.05	0.22	5380
male partner not employed	0.00	1.00	0.14	0.34	5380
educational level	1.00	6.00	3.10	1.40	9063
age	21.00	65.00	39.50	11.37	9063
no children and older children (ref)	0.00	1.00	0.34	0.47	9063
youngest child < 4	0.00	1.00	0.27	0.44	9063
youngest child < 13	0.00	1.00	0.24	0.43	9063
time period	0.00	25.00	12.79	7.38	9063
female	0.00	1.00	0.59	0.49	9063

5.5 Results

We performed two different analyses in which we test our expectations on the time use of individuals with different household levels of working hours using the Dutch time-use surveys. In Table 5.2 we focus on the absolute difference in time spent per week on different activities by household working arrangement and individual working hours. Subsequently, in Table 5.3 we explore the relative difference of time spent on private and social activities per week for different working arrangements. For every type of activity we display three different model types. Model 1 includes a measure for household working arrangement that will show whether individuals in full-time

working couples have on average more or less time per week for the three time categories distinguished compared to people living in other household types. In Model 2 the time diary measures pertain to men, and for them we estimate the difference between full-time work, part-time work and not working. This model also contains partner effects, full-time work, part-time work and not working for women, and how their working hours are affecting men's spare-time use. In Model 3 we repeat this same procedure for women. Hence the time diary measures pertain to women, and for them we estimate the difference between full-time work, part-time work and not working. Partner effects are included as well, estimating how the working hours of men affect women's spare-time use.

5.5.1 Absolute difference in private and social time

In the three Model 1 columns of Table 5.2 we compare individuals living in a full-time working household with people living in other household types. On the whole, people living in a full-time working household spend significantly less time on private leisure consumption, social interaction with friends and family, and institutionalised social interaction. The biggest difference is observed for social engagement with friends and family members. Here, people living in a combination household spend 2.63 hours per week more on social activities with their family and friends than people living in a full-time working household. Compared to individuals living in a single-earner male household, the difference per week adds up to 5 hours, and 7.88 hours compared to the non-employed. This clearly corroborates our main expectation for this specific activity. Our expectation also seems to hold for the time spent on private leisure consumption, although the differences between individuals living in different household settings are much smaller: a little more than one hour (1.13) of private time for members of combination households, 2.86 hours for single-earner male households and 7.31 for people living in a non-employed household. Smaller differences are found for institutionalised social interaction, adding up to differences of almost one hour a week (0.96) compared to single-earner male households and 1.44 hours compared to people from a non-employed household. This certainly confirms our baseline expectation that individuals part of a full-time working couple have on average significantly less time to spend on private and social activities than people living in other household arrangements.

Models 2 and 3 test whether these differences are the same for men and women, and if partner effects may increase the difference in time spending. We discuss these models for men and women together per activity, starting with private time. There seems to be no difference in the amount of private time men have when they work full-time or part-

time. Men who are not employed report almost eight more hours (7.72) of private time than men working full-time. The working hours of the partners, the wife in this example, have no additional effect. This model on private time is quite different for women (Model 3). Full-time working women have 1.88 fewer hours for their private activities compared to part-time working women; this difference is about 5 hours per week (4.86) compared to non-employed women. Women living with full-time working men have an additional disadvantage, depending on their husbands' working hours. They have 1.33 fewer hours of private time if their husbands work full-time instead of part-time, and 1.94 hours if they work full-time instead of not working. Hence there seem to be partner effects in the analyses of private time, but only for women.

The conclusions are different when we turn to models 2 and 3 for social interaction with family and friends. Model 2 shows that men who work part-time spend 2.37 more hours with family members and friends; this difference adds up to 6.55 compared to non-working men. Further, the time men have for these close social relations is also affected by their wives' working hours. Men living with a full-time working wife have 1.46 fewer hours to spare with their family and friends compared to men living with a part-time working wife. In addition, men living with non-working wives have 2.19 hours more time to spare on close social relations. This supports our argument that restrictions within couples affect both partners, and that looking at individuals alone may lead to a wrong conclusion. Model 3 for this same activity displays no significant partner effects. Women who work full-time clearly have less time per week for family members and friends compared to women who work less, but the working hours of husbands do not add to this difference.

We can be brief about the parameters displayed in models 2 and 3 for institutionalised social interaction. There is a difference for both men and women regarding full-time work and non-employment of 1.87 hours per week for men and 1.61 for women, but no significant partner effects were observed.

Table 5.2   OLS regression for absolute time spent on private activities, activities with family and friends, and institutionalised social interaction per week.

	private time						interaction with family and friends						institutionalised social interaction					
	couples		men		women		couples		men		women		couples		men		women	
	1		2		3		1		2		3		1		2		3	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
educational level	-.67 **	.08	-.80 **	.12	-.71 **	.10	-.10	.07	-.10	.10	.24 *	.09	.46 **	.05	.33 **	.08	.51 **	.07
age	.13 **	.01	.17 **	.02	.09 **	.01	.01	.01	.03	.02	.04 **	.01	-.01	.01	-.02	.01	-.01	.01
no (young) children (ref)																		
youngest child < 4	-2.61 **	.29	-1.36 **	.48	-3.57 **	.36	-1.19 **	.27	-1.59 **	.42	-.34	.33	-2.00 **	.20	-1.38 **	.34	-2.53 **	.24
youngest child < 13	-.70 **	.27	.02	.46	-1.16 **	.32	-1.17 **	.25	-1.37 **	.40	-1.08 **	.30	-.47 *	.18	-.55	.33	-.48 *	.21
time period	-.04 **	.01	-.05 *	.02	-.02	.02	-.24 **	.01	-.30 **	.02	-.23 **	.02	.03 **	.01	.01	.02	.05 **	.01
full-time working household (ref)																		
combination household	1.13 **	.42					2.63 **	.39					.28	.28				
single-earner male household	2.86 **	.41					5.00 **	.38					.96 **	.28				
non-employed household	7.31 **	.49					7.88 **	.45					1.44 **	.33				
male full-time employed (ref)																		
male part-time employed			.47	.69					2.37 **	.59					.35	.49		
male not employed			7.72 **	.52					6.55 **	.44					1.87 **	.36		
female partner full-time empl. (ref)																		
female partner part-time employed			.34	.65					1.46 **	.56					.75	.46		
female partner not employed			.15	.63					2.19 **	.54					.57	.45		
female full-time employed (ref)																		
female part-time employed					1.88 **	.51					2.69 **	.48					.45	.34
female not employed (ref)					4.86 **	.50					6.05 **	.47					1.61 **	.33
male partner full-time employed (ref)																		
male partner part-time employed					1.33 *	.53					.45	.50					.01	.36
male partner not employed					1.94 **	.40					.28	.38					-.57 *	.27
constant	15.93 **	.57	16.94 **	.91	16.09 **	.73	21.98 **	.53	21.19 **	.79	20.29 **	.68	4.65 **	.39	6.00 **	.65	3.90 **	.49
N	9063		3683		5380		9063		3683		5380		9063		3683		5380	
R² adjusted	.15		.19		.14		.11		.17		.11		.03		.02		.04	

Significance   * (p<0.05); ** (p<0.01)

Source   Time Use Surveys 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995 and 2000

Table 5.3 OLS regression for the relative time spent on private activities, activities with family and friends, and institutionalised social interaction per week.

	ratio of total budget spent on private time[a]						ratio of total budget spent on interaction family and friend						ratio of total budget spent on inst. social interaction					
	couples		men		women		couples		men		women		couples		men		women	
	1		2		3		1		2		3		1		2		3	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
educational level	-1.07 **	.12	-1.09 **	.18	-1.48 **	.16	.13	.12	.30	.17	.52 **	.16	.95 **	.09	.79 **	.15	.97 **	.12
age	.15 **	.02	.18 **	.03	.06 **	.02	-.09 **	.02	-.09 **	.03	-.00	.02	-.06 **	.01	-.10 **	.02	-.06 **	.02
no (young) children (ref)																		
youngest child < 4	-.28	.47	1.26	.77	-1.59 **	.59	2.84 **	.45	.55	.71	4.96 **	.56	-2.55 **	.37	-1.81 **	.62	-3.37 **	.45
youngest child < 13	.56	.43	1.86 *	.73	-.05	.52	-.32	.41	-1.31	.67	.19	.50	-.24	.34	-.55	.59	-.13	.40
time period	.11 **	.02	.20 **	.04	.10 **	.03	-.26 **	.02	-.33 **	.04	-.26 **	.03	.14 **	.02	.13 **	.03	.16 **	.02
total leisure-time budget	.04 **	.01	.03	.02	.08 **	.02	-.08 **	.01	-.10 **	.02	-.12 **	.02	.04 **	.01	.06 **	.02	.04 **	.01
full-time working household (ref)																		
combination household	-.86	.67					2.14 **	.64					-1.27 *	.52				
single-earner male household	-1.53 *	.67					2.88 **	.64					-1.35 **	.52				
non-employed household	-.48	.82					3.15 **	.78					-2.67 **	.63				
male full-time employed (ref)																		
male part-time employed			-1.99	1.09					3.08 **	1.01					-1.09	.88		
male not employed			-.11	.88					1.80 *	.82					-1.69 *	.71		
female partner full-time empl. (ref)																		
female partner part-time employed			-1.42	1.04					1.42	.96					.00	.84		
female partner not employed			-2.40 *	1.00					2.95 **	.93					-.55	.81		
female full-time employed (ref)																		
female part-time employed					-.37	.84					1.38	.80					-1.01	.64
female not employed (ref)					-.95	.84					1.83 *	.80					-.88	.64
male partner full-time employed (ref)																		
male partner part-time employed					.82	.87					-.33	.83					-.50	.66
male partner not employed					1.76 **	.65					-.46	.62					-1.29 **	.50
constant	36.27 **	1.08	37.19 **	1.72	36.99 **	1.38	53.4 **	1.04	50.83 **	1.59	53.79 **	1.32	10.25 **	.84	11.98 **	1.39	9.22 **	1.05
N	9063		3683		5380		9063		3683		5380		9063		3683		5380	
R² adjusted	.03		.03		.04		.05		.04		.06		.04		.03		.05	

a   The ratio equals the time spent on private activities given the total amount of leisure time: private time / (private time + social interaction with family and friends + institutionalised social interaction) * 100
Significance   * (p<0.05); ** (p<0.01)

Our argument that the higher educated have a stronger preference for institutionalised social interaction and perhaps better agenda-management skills provided by their organisational abilities is partly supported by the analysis. For institutionalised social interaction, a higher educational level matters; the higher educated attend more social events and cultural activities. If we turn to the model on private leisure consumption, the higher educated engage less in solitary hobbies and the consumption of media like watching television, reading, and listening to music or the radio. Surprisingly, educational attainment does not seem to matter for close social relations with family members and friends. The life course indicators provide a stronghold in explaining the distribution of time. The older people are, the more they invest in their private time, and a small decrease of institutionalised social interaction is observed. Further, the presence of young children cuts considerably on the available hours for all leisure consumption. Having young children below the age of four reduces time for private activities and institutionalised social interaction by about two hours, and one hour for close social relations. Further, over survey years minutes of private time and social interaction with friends and family members are sacrificed. Social interaction in an institutionalised setting increases slightly over the years.

5.5.2 Relative difference in private and social time
In the analyses displayed in Table 5.3 we compare the relative time spent on private time, social interaction with family members and friends, and institutionalised social interaction by working hours of spouses and couples. We chose to analyse a relative time budget because the number of hours available for each activity differs substantially. This method has proven successful in previous research on the share of household labour performed by men given the total amount of household labour (Blair, 2003). We calculated the ratio of the time spent on an activity given the total amount of leisure time; for private time this equals private time / (private time + social interaction with family and friends + institutionalised social interaction) * 100. Use of this ratio supports the fact that people make choices, regardless of their total spare time. For example, playing with your child for one hour is a bigger investment for someone who has four hours of spare time per week than for someone who has 16 available hours. The ratio thus corrects the differences that exist in people's total time budgets.

   As a result, the outcome variable in Table 5.3 can be interpreted as the percentage of the total time budget spent on each activity. Consequently, an increase in the percentage of total leisure time spent on private activities necessarily goes at the expense of the other two activities (family and friends, and institutionalised social interaction). We also controlled for the total time budget people have, since the amount

of the budget may vary greatly between different household arrangements. The use of relative time budgets enables us to compare the effect of living in different household working arrangements for each activity. The setup of the models is identical to Table 5.2; Model 1 introduces household effects, and models 2 and 3 introduce individual effects for men and women combined with partner effects.

The Model 1 columns in Table 5.3 show that people living in a full-time working household spend on average a significantly smaller proportion of their budget on interaction with family members and friends. By comparison, combination households spend 2.14% more on their contacts with family and friends, single-earner male households 2.88% more, and people in non-employed households 3.15% more. This lower relative amount of time happens to the advantage of time for institutionalised interaction and private leisure. The choice made by members of full-time working couples largely favours institutionalised social interaction, as people spend a significantly larger proportion of their available time on this activity compared to individuals from a combination household, single-earner male household and non-employed household – 1.27%, 1.35% and 2.67% respectively. Further, the larger the total leisure time budget is, the lower the relative amount of time for friends and family, and the larger the proportion of time for private and institutionalised leisure.

If we turn to partner effects we observe that the individual working hours of people resemble the household effect for all three activities. Models 2 and 3 for relative private time display that men living with a full-time working wife have about 2.40% more time for themselves than men living with a non-employed wife. The opposite holds for women, who when living with non-employed men instead of full-time working men have 1.76% less of their private time. Even more substantial are the differences for men and women in the relative time spent on close relations with family members and friends. Full-time working men spend a smaller share on time with friends and family than on other leisure activities (3.08% compared to men living in a combination household). Living with a full-time working female reduces the time for these activities slightly, 2.95% compared to men living with a non-employed wife. The models for institutionalised social interaction present few significant findings; on average, men working full-time choose to spend more time on these activities compared to men who do not work. This same conclusion holds for women, and no partner effects are observed.

5.6 Conclusion and discussion
In what way does living in a full-time working household matter for the activities you undertake in your spare time? We have tried to answer this question for private leisure consumption, social interaction with friends and family, and institutionalised social

interaction. We have seen that people living in a full-time working household have significantly fewer hours per week for these activities than people living under a different household arrangement. By and large, full-timers have fewer hours to spare per week than people living in a combination household where at least one spouse works part-time. The gap between full-time workers and people living in a single-earner male household is more substantial, and amounts to several hours per week. What's more, the gap with the non-employed is almost eight hours per week. This corroborates our expectations that both spouses' full-time employment has consequences for their private and social activities.

Our following question was if people clearly prioritise activities when they have a lower time budget. Two different theories on people's priorities were put forward. Although these theories had opposite expectations, both had some trouble withstanding the empirical test. For example, let us compare the relative time taken for the three distinguished spare-time activities, and see what can be said about the expectations derived from the theory on the organisation of time and social motivation theory. Suppose we gave four individuals each living under a different household working arrangement 10 hours of spare time to spend on either private pursuits, social interaction with family members or friends, or institutionalised leisure recreation. Individuals part of a full-time working couple chose to spend less time (5.26 hours) on social interaction with family members and friends compared to individuals living in a combination household (5.53 hours), single-earner male household (5.47 hours) or non-employed household (5.57 hours). The opposite occurs for the other two activities: full-time workers choose to spend a larger share of their available time budget on private leisure-time and institutionalised social interaction. The organisation of time theory argues that activities requiring more management, more effort to execute, would be the first to go. This means that the expectation derived from the temporal organisation theory is partly confirmed. As expected, economising is not done on private activities, it favours other activities. The cutback on time with family and friends is substantial, confirming our expectations. However, this same line of reasoning also posits that institutionalised social interaction would require the most effort and management to maintain, and would face a severe cutback when people would have to make choices. This is certainly not the case: institutionalised social interaction remains untouched, and is allocated a greater part of the time budget among full-time working couples. From this point of view, temporal organisation theory is false, since institutionalised social interaction requires significantly more management and communication with others, and is therefore more difficult to bring about than other activities. An alternative explanation might be that attendance to highbrow cultural activities (part of

this measure) is most often done by individuals living as a full-time working couple, who have the cultural capital to enjoy such performances as well as the financial capital to afford access them.

How did the empirical test turn out for the social motivation theory? Social motivation theory argues that close social relations with family members and friends would be continued despite a squeeze for time, since they are most important for the individual with the highest social payoffs. The possible pay-off from social interaction is deemed greater than private leisure engagement, and the latter would therefore face a cutback when people are pressed for time. The empirical results do not show a resemblance with this expectation: full-timers have on average relatively more time for private time compared to single earners, and invest relatively fewer hours in social interaction with family members and friends. The upside of our analysis reveals that individuals and couples with more working hours do not economise on institutionalised social interaction. Hence increasing working hours from this perspective may not be as detrimental for external social cohesion as argued before (Putnam, 1995). The downside reveals a drain of attention from the nuclear family and close social relations with friends. Full-time hours of individuals and couples are negatively associated with time investment in these close social relations, a concern previously expressed in the work of Coleman (1988).

Next, we split the household effects into partner effects. They play a prominent role in the absolute difference for leisure activities, but play a smaller part in the relative difference. People in a full-time working couple spend a relatively smaller share on interaction with family and friends. Both full-time working women and full-time working men have less time for these contacts compared to their part-time or non-working counterparts – but full-time working men have even less of it, depending on the working hours of their wives.

There are at least two issues left unanswered. First, it could be possible that certain activities suffer from a ceiling effect. Maybe there is a limited amount of time a person can devote to interaction with family members and friends before these contacts become saturated. The saturation point for private time may have no end theoretically – one could watch television for hours and hours. Second, interaction with family members and friends does require them to be available. If full-time working couples have fewer family members and friends in their surrounding, their level of social contact might be lower because there is less opportunity to invest the available time in close social relations. Research on the selection into social networks of full-time working couples therefore seems necessary.

Cultural attendance among full-time working couples explaining individual and joint visits

Until now, research on cultural participation has paid little attention to time constraints as an explanation for differences in attendance levels. In this chapter we introduce couple-level time constraints for individual as well as joint cultural participation. With data on 5438 individuals from four large-scale surveys for the Netherlands, we show that full-time working couples that have to accommodate leisure after paid labour consume significantly less high culture than other couples. Especially part-time working men have a higher yearly attendance rate compared to full-time working men. Moreover, in households where husbands work part-time, wives' cultural participation is higher too. For joint cultural visits we do not find evidence that working hours hamper joint cultural visits. This indicates that full-time working couples may prioritise tasks, but their joint cultural activities are not affected by their longer weekly working hours.

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter we study whether participation in high culture is affected by aspects of time. Research on participation in cultural activities has focused for the largest part on differences in participation as a consequence of individual status positions (Bourdieu, 1984; Sobel, 1981; Veblen, 1924). If we follow the ideas of Bourdieu, individuals distinguish themselves socially by their expressions of taste. These expressions, such as attending arts events, reveal the status position of the group or social class a person belongs to. Whether to participate in cultural activities or not, then, is determined by both the amount and the type of resources people possess (Kraaykamp, 2002). Classically, scholars differentiate between cultural and economic capital to explain lifestyle differentiation. The usual explanations put forward for the differentiation in attendance to arts events are educational attainment, current income, age, urban residence, gender and family background (DiMaggio & Useem, 1978; Kracman, 1996; van Eijck, 1997).

Until now, the availability of time remains an underrated aspect in the explanation of participation in culture. Yet, visiting a museum or attending a classical concert consumes a considerable amount of time. The relatively minor attention paid to time constraints in studies investigating cultural participation is surprising, because the

availability of free time has generally declined in recent decades due to developments such as growing female labour participation and the resulting increase in dual-earner families (Jacobs & Gerson, 2001). These developments have led to a rising volume of scientific work on time constraints and their effects on family life, life satisfaction and leisure participation (Barnett & Gareis, 2000; Becker & Moen, 1999; Clarckberg & Merola, 2003; Garhammer, 2004; Milkie, Mattingly, Nomaguchi, Bianchi & Robinson, 2004). This research provides evidence that the time pressure experienced by people has a net effect on the time they devote to other activities such as shared time with children, exercise time and leisure participation in general. The research field on participation in cultural activities has not yet taken advantage of the increased focus on time constraints within other studies. Studies that have done so, using individual-level measures, show only modest effects of time constraints on the cultural participation rate (Ganzeboom, 1982, 1989; Kraaykamp, 1996; Kraaykamp & van Eijck, 2005). A standard argument for the exclusion of time availability is that income is more than a sufficient measure for time available. The financial resources people posses are an indirect measure for the time they devote to work (Linder, 1970).

Our aim is to show that the availability of time may have an important impact on arts attendance. So far, studies that have explored the relation between time and cultural attendance used individual time budgets, thereby neglecting the social embeddedness of individuals within families. Improvements can be made by attaching the social context in which people live. By showing the relation between couple-level time constraints and cultural participation, we add to current social science research that stresses the need for partner information in order to explain individual cultural behaviour (Upright, 2004). The context is important, since people do not operate in a social vacuum, nor are they solely dependent on their own resources and restrictions. Most live in a household setting with a spouse and perhaps children. This is the context in which couples share responsibility for caring, financial well-being, cleaning and much more.

The growing labour force participation of women alongside the less pronounced household involvement of men greatly increased time pressure within households. This holds especially true for full-time working couples, whose household chores must be done after work, and who report being most busy of all households (Jacobs & Gerson, 2001). A coupled explanation for differences in cultural consumption may answer whether the availability of time matters for cultural activities. We think progress can be made in two directions: first by using couple-level explanations, second by using couple-level attendance. There are sufficient reasons to further investigate both options. Recent work has demonstrated that partner effects play a significant role in the behaviour of

the spouse (Upright, 2004). Above and beyond, we know that leisurely activities are often consumed together (Berg, Trost, Schneider & Allison, 2001; Clarckberg & Merola, 2003). Therefore, the introduction of a couple-level perspective may prove worthwhile. Whether full-time working couples are more restricted in their available time than other couples and how this affects participation in cultural activities is a question we set out to examine

To improve upon earlier studies, we aim to answer two new research questions. Possible extensions of current research questions on cultural participation are displayed in a schematic overview in Figure 6.1. Previous research has investigated the individual level of cultural consumption and provided explanations for differences in this level by using individual explanations (A). The main objective of our contribution is to improve upon earlier research by looking at the settings in which people live. We introduce couple characteristics to explain levels of individual cultural participation illustrated by arrow 1 (C). The research question with regard to this objective reads: 'To what extent is individual cultural participation restricted by couple-level time constraints?'

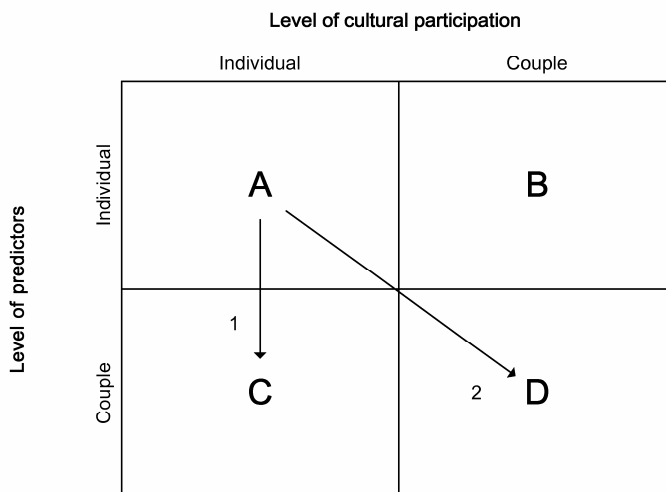Figure 6.1 Different levels of explanations and measurement

Our second objective is to use couple-level cultural participation, i.e. whether spouses attend cultural activities together. Until now we have discussed the cultural participation of individuals, while from previous studies we know that when one spouse undertakes leisure activities, the other spouse often comes along (Kalmijn & Bernasco,

2001). In this approach, the time constraints of a household could reflect upon the joint cultural consumption of couples, as illustrated by arrow 2 (D). Improving the research question of cultural participation by adding the couple level reads: 'To what extent is joint participation of couples in cultural activities restricted by couple-level time constraints?'

To explore to what extent time availability matters for arts attendance, we use data from the Family Surveys of the Dutch Population (FSDP; 1992, 1998, 2000, 2003). These surveys contain complete information on the cultural participation of 5438 individuals. We improve upon earlier research first of all by taking the employment of a partner into account. To this we add two new research questions that reflect the influence of couple-level characteristics. Second, we incorporate knowledge from other studies on time availability to deduct hypotheses about time restrictions and cultural participation. In doing so we intend to show that previous research may have mistakenly disregarded couple-level time restrictions.

6.2 Theoretical background

6.2.1 Time and cultural participation

An individual's time budget is equipped with 24 hours in a day that may be spent on a variety of activities. A large part of this budget is used for work; a full-time job consumes about eight hours a day, travelling time excluded. Another seven to eight hours are consumed by sleeping. The spare time that remains is available for personal care, caring for children, household cleaning, exercise, eating, shopping and all kinds of leisure pursuits such as television-watching, visiting friends or going to the movies (Robinson & Godbey, 1997). But most people live together either in a marriage or cohabitation setting, and are therefore restricted by a joint time budget. Formulating expectations based solely on individual time constraints may thus be unrealistic. Couples work, sleep, care and consume together, and manage a household agenda for their activities (Kalmijn & Bernasco, 2001; Moen, 2003). The greater the number of total hours worked by spouses, the fewer hours that will remain for other activities. This has been shown by Nock and Kingston (1989): for every hour worked in paid labour, the time spent on leisure is reduced by 40 minutes. For every hour spent on household tasks, the decline in leisure time is about 30 minutes. Not only paid employment, but also unpaid labour affects the time available for leisure. Along this line of reasoning, full-time working couples are most likely to be squeezed between work demands and recreation (Jacobs & Gerson, 2001). When both spouses work eight hours a day and

unpaid labour has to be done afterwards, little time may remain for other activities compared to households where couples work less.

The number of adults who report feeling rushed most of the day is increasing. Labour restrictions are the most direct cause of a rising time-squeeze (Garhammer, 1998; Gershuny, 2000; Schor, 1991). The number of hours that people work cuts on the availability of time for child and personal care. This decline of time for oneself is associated with feeling rushed, which is prominent among full-time workers (Garhammer, 2004). In addition, issues of synchronising and coordinating family responsibilities arise when both spouses participate full-time in the labour market. In such an arrangement, the division of paid labour is relatively equal, while at the same time tuning problems between working hours and managing family obligations are manifest. In assessments of feeling hurried, full-time working couples report the highest levels of time pressure (Hochschild, 1997; Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). For them, a time squeeze may seriously interfere with cultural activities.

By and large, the largest career investments are made among full-time working couples. The result for such couples may be to skip free time and leisure first, therefore reporting lower levels of cultural participation. Our time-restriction hypothesis for cultural participation reads: 'Cultural participation in full-time working couples is lower than cultural participation in other household working arrangements'. For this and other subsequent hypotheses, the direction of the expectation is equal for individual-level attendance and spouses' joint cultural attendance.

Of course the impact of a household working arrangement may be seen as a concatenation of the working hours of wives and husbands. Therefore, cultural participation may be lower or higher given the working hours of the spouse. To find out whether we can observe different couple-level time effects depending on the working hours of spouses, we include partner effects in our analyses. It is well-known that the traditional division of labour still entails that free time for women is primarily consumed by household duties, while free time for men may be spent on other activities. We control for these specific gendered effects of time constraints by studying separate time constraints for men and women.

In addition to the hours worked jointly, family restrictions also cut on the availability of time. The current stage in the lifecycle is a strong predictor for activities that may hamper cultural participation. When people meet on the marriage market they might have enough time to participate in cultural activities. However, when over the life course they start to cohabit and have children, family restrictions increase since the care for one or more children consumes a considerable part of their time budget. The more children there are, the more time they will consume. Especially in families with

young children, activities have to be planned in advance, and in order for parents to engage in cultural activities a nanny might be needed. Consequently, the household requires more management, and consumes more time than in earlier or latter stadiums. Our expectation is that the care for children, especially young ones, will restrict visits to cultural activities among couples. Our children-restriction hypothesis reads: 'Cultural participation of couples with (young) children is lower than cultural participation of couples without (young) children'.

6.2.2 Cultural resources and cultural participation
Cultural participation is in several ways different from general leisure recreation, and is not as easily available to everyone as taking a stroll through the park or visiting the zoo. To be able to visit a museum or attend a classical concert, knowledge about art or music is needed if one is to enjoy the activity. Such enjoyment has to do with intellectual competencies to appreciate forms of high culture (Ganzeboom, 1982; Kraaykamp, 2002; Van de Werfhorst & Kraaykamp, 2001). A visit to an art exhibit is more satisfying if a person has knowledge about the artist, the history of the paintings, the meaning of the expressions, the time in which they are painted and the skills it took to paint them. Moreover, the information offered to the audience, whether this is music, colours of a painting, or the structure of buildings, requires background knowledge as well as the capacity to process it. Theory on information processing in consuming works of art is well developed (Berlyne, 1976; Ganzeboom, 1982; Mockros, 1993). The more complex the information, and the more able a person is of understanding the information, the higher the levels of enjoyment. It comes as no surprise that a higher educational level provides the ability to process more difficult and complex information. A higher education stands for better-developed cognitive skills and an ability to appreciate the expression of fine art. As a result, the composition of an arts audience is far more elitist than the general public. Here, partner resources may serve as a proxy for knowledge about the arts. A higher educated spouse may transfer knowledge or skills and thus contributes to the likelihood of attendance. See Upright (2004) for an example of educational effects on cultural attendance of the spouse.

Previous research shows that full-time working couples are mostly found among the highest educated (Van Gils & Kraaykamp, 2004). The higher the educational level, the more likely individuals will actively put the gained knowledge to practice on the labour market. Since educational attainment corresponds to full-time work as well as to level of cultural activity, it is vital to control for educational conditions. Disregarding the educational effect on cultural attendance would suppress the influence of time restrictions. Cultural resources (education) have a positive effect on cultural

participation as well as full-time work. However, we predict a negative influence of full-time work on cultural attendance. If cultural resources were absent, the effect of time resources would also reflect educational differences. Hence the negative effect of time restrictions would be underestimated or not visible simply because it is suppressed by the high educational level of full-time working couples. To anticipate on this relation, educational level is included in our models.

Additionally, cultural capital is not only obtained via educational level but may be transferred from parents to children as well. Parents who are active participants in cultural activities transmit their cultural knowledge on to their children, so children from higher educated parents have a larger potential cultural capital compared to respondents with lower educated parents. Previous research for the Netherlands reports a strong influence of the parental home on respondents' cultural participation (Nagel & Ganzeboom, 2002). Along the same line of reasoning, the educational level of parents could suppress the effect of time constraints if we did not control for them. Both predict cultural activity, as the educational level of parents works as a proxy for a preference for full-time work. Inclusion of parents' educational level is, then, a control for selection in full-time working couples. Our cultural resources hypothesis therefore reads: 'The higher the educational attainment of couples and the higher the educational level of their parents, the higher the participation rate in cultural activities'.

6.2.3 Economic resources and cultural participation

The possession of financial resources determines to a degree the opportunities for participation in cultural activities. Tickets are required to visit a museum or attend a classical concert, and appropriate clothing may be needed, whereas more general leisure activities like taking a stroll or riding a bike in the countryside is virtually free. Previous studies have found a positive relation between financial resources and participation in cultural activities (Ganzeboom, de Graaf & Robbert, 1990; Katz-Gerro & Shavit, 1998; Kraaykamp & Nieuwbeerta, 2000). Recent research also demonstrates that income is positively related to a wide variety of cultural activities (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005). A general empirical regularity observed in the Netherlands is that the more money is needed to participate in cultural activities, the lower the number of visitors and the more segregated the attending public.

In the case of couples, both spouses benefit equally from the total household income. Therefore, our hypothesis includes household income as a determinant of cultural participation rather than of individual financial resources. Obviously, total household income is directly related to the number of hours worked by spouses. For full-time working couples, financial capital may be higher as they participate more in paid

labour. Thus part of the relation between full-time working couples and cultural consumption is interpreted through their economic resources. If there is anything to be said about time restrictions of full-time work, economic resources should be accounted for. Controlling for economic capital further provides a stronger test for the time-constraints hypothesis. Our financial resources hypothesis reads: 'The more financial resources a couple has, the higher the participation rate in cultural activities'.

6.2.4 Additional explanatory aspects
Earlier findings indicate that a few more explanations are important for who is consuming the arts. As people get older, they tend to participate more in cultural activities. Over the course of life they accumulate knowledge on cultural events, and as a result show a higher attendance rate than younger people. Second, urban residence is associated with a higher attendance level, mainly because the supply of cultural activities is higher in larger cities. When there are more cultural facilities in the immediate environment, less effort has to be made to actually attend these activities. We expect that people living in more urban locations will have on average a higher degree of participation.

6.3 Data, measurement and method

6.3.1 Family Surveys of the Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003
In this chapter we use information on the cultural participation of individuals and couples from the Family Surveys of the Dutch Population (De Graaf, De Graaf, Kraaykamp & Ultee, 1998, 2000, 2003; Ganzeboom & Ultee, 1992). In 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003, couples were questioned using a face-to-face computer-assisted interview and a written questionnaire. Respondents in all four surveys were selected from a random sample of the non-institutionalised Dutch population between 18 and 70 years of age. In the 2003 survey, additional respondents (40% of total sample) were sampled from a representative household panel. In the interviews the complete educational and occupational careers, and family history of both spouses were collected using retrospective structured questioning. At the time, the interviewer questioned the primary respondent with the help of a computer; the spouse answered the written questionnaire. At the end of the interview, roles were switched so that both spouses completed the oral interview and answered the written questionnaire. The formulation of the questions and the format of the surveys is highly comparable over time.

6.3.2 Measurement

For every year, the survey contains questions about attendance to arts venues. Before these questions can be used, two difficulties have to be taken care of: the answer categories differ between years, and the formulation of the question differs slightly between years. To overcome these differences we recoded the answers to reflect the number of visits per year for three categories: (a) attendance to classical concerts, the opera or ballet; (b) visits to historical museums and art exhibits; (c) attendance to popular or classical theatre.[1] In addition, a total cultural consumption scale was created by summing the visits to these three types of venues.

   The three subscales and the total consumption scale are used for our first objective: explaining individual cultural attendance by couple characteristics. Analysing separate cultural activities is a stronger test for our time-constraints hypothesis. For spouses that work full-time it may be easier to accommodate attendance to an evening event, like an opera or ballet, and difficult to find a free time slot for a joint daytime museum visit. Table 6.1 displays all questions asked in every year on attendance to cultural activities. For years where the question is asked, the average attendance frequency per year is given.

Table 6.1   Survey questions on cultural participation and average attendance per year

		1992	1998	2000	2003
a	how often do you attend a classical concert, or an opera or ballet?	-	1.26	1.21	0.81
	how often do you attend an opera or ballet?	0.29	-	-	-
	how often do you attend a classical concert?	0.50	-	-	-
b	how often do you visit historical or art museums?	-	-	-	2.12
	how often do you visit historical museums?	1.12	1.42	2.10	-
	how often do you visit art museums?	0.99	2.27	1.46	-
c	how often do you go see classic or popular theatre?	1.16	-	-	2.49
	how often do you go see classic theatre (drama, dance)?	-	1.06	1.03	-
	how often do you go see popular theatre (musical, cabaret, comedy)?	-	2.09	2.18	-

Source   Family Surveys of the Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003; N=5438

Our second objective is to see whether we can explain couples' joint attendance. The 2003 survey had an additional question on top of individual attendance: 'On how many occasions did you and your partner go to the opera/museum/theatre together?' Possible

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[1] The coding scheme for the surveys is as follows: 1992 'never'=0; 'at least once'=1; 'several times a year'=4; 1998 and 2000 'never'=0; '1, 2 or 3 times a year'=3; '4, 5 or 6 times a year'=6; 'more than 6 times a year'=12; 2003 'never'=0, '1, 2 or 3 times a year'=3; '4, 5 or 6 times a year'=6; 'once a month, once a week, twice a week, more than twice a week'=12.

answers were 25, 50, 75 or 100% of all occasions. We multiplied the original individual attendance by this answer (0.25 / 0.50 / 0.75 / 1.00) to get the joint number of visits.

The independent variables we constructed are individual and household working arrangement, family-life cycle, financial resources, cultural resources, age and urban residence. To score all individuals and couples on the basis of their working hours we selected all male-female couples and tagged all spouses for either not working, working part-time or working full-time. Following the definition of Statistics Netherlands (CBS, 2005), working less than 12 hours is considered not working, part-time is defined as working 12 to 34 hours, and full-time as 35 hours and above.

Table 6.2   Descriptives of measurements

	minimum	maximum	mean	std
dependent variables				
total cultural participation	0.00	60.00	6.17	6.74
attendance to classical concerts, opera or ballet	0.00	60.00	6.11	6.63
attendance to historical or art museums	0.00	12.00	0.95	2.05
attendance to classic or popular theatre	0.00	24.00	2.74	3.30
total joint cultural participation (n=809)	0.00	24.00	2.43	3.11
independent variables				
age	21.00	65.00	41.85	10.52
educational level (years)	6.00	20.00	11.97	3.15
educational level of mother (years)	6.00	20.00	8.56	2.72
educational level of father (years)	6.00	20.00	9.43	3.40
full-time workers	0.00	1.00	0.50	0.50
part-time workers	0.00	1.00	0.21	0.41
non-employed	0.00	1.00	0.29	0.45
household Income (log)	0.00	11.44	7.51	1.27
degree of urbanisation	1.00	5.00	2.86	1.30
no children	0.00	1.00	0.31	0.46
youngest child 0-12	0.00	1.00	0.44	0.50
youngest child > 12	0.00	1.00	0.25	0.43
full-time working couples	0.00	1.00	0.16	0.36
combination household	0.00	1.00	0.37	0.48
single-earner male household	0.00	1.00	0.37	0.48
non-employed couples	0.00	1.00	0.11	0.31

Source   Family Surveys of the Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003; N=5438

For the individual working arrangement, people either do not work, or work part-time or full-time. The household working arrangement consists of four different working types: (1) full-time working couples, (2) combination households where both spouses work and at least one works part-time, (3) single-earner male households with a full-

time working male and a non-working female, (4) and the non-employed. The family-life cycle is measured as the age of the youngest child present in the household and reads: (1) no children, (2) youngest child below thirteen, and (3) youngest child older than twelve. Cultural resources are measured through the educational level of individuals and their parents expressed in the total years of schooling they had.[2] The financial resources of the couple are a measure of the monthly household income, which is converted to euros and log transformed. This is done to overcome large income differences within a sample year and to account for the fact that a difference between 2000 and 4000 euros monthly is far greater than a difference between 7000 and 9000 euros. Next, age of respondents age is restricted to a maximum of 65 and a minimum of 21. Urban residence is based on address density of respondents' neighbourhoods and coded as (1) very rural, (2) moderately rural, (3) moderately urbanised, (4) moderately-to-strongly urbanised, and (5) strongly urbanised. After selection of missing values, 5824 individuals are left. Table 6.2 presents an overview of all variables constructed.

6.3.3 Method

In the next section we present our multivariate analyses for different kinds of cultural attendance and the combined cultural consumption scale. Tables 6.3 and 6.4 present estimates for individual cultural participation, Table 6.5 estimates for joint cultural participation. It is likely that the effects of time constraints may differ between men and women. To be able to observe these possible gendered effects, we analyse models for men and women and present them separately.

6.4 Results for individual cultural participation

In Tables 6.3, 6.4a and 6.4b our expectations on the working arrangements of couples and their cultural participation are put to the test separately for men and women. In Table 6.3 the first model is a baseline model that shows close resemblance to previous research and contains all expectations besides time restrictions based on working hours. Model 2 adds household working arrangement defined as couples' weekly working hours, models 3 and 4 add respondents' working hours and partner's working hours separately.

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[2] The number of years in school is measured as: lo/vglo=6, lbo/v(m)bo/mavo=10, havo/kmbo=11, vwo/hbs=12, mbo=13, hbo=15, wo=17, post-wo=20.

6.4.1 Total individual cultural participation

Looking at Model 1, we observe that older people tend to participate more, as expected. The more years of education an individual has had, the higher the probability of attending cultural places of interest. Further, males as well as females tend to profit from their spouse's educational skills for their own cultural participation. Attending cultural activities is more frequent with a higher educated spouse. These effects are in accordance with our expectations that consumption of the arts requires a certain background knowledge and cognitive skills to process the information offered.

Table 6.3   OLS regression for yearly cultural attendance for men and women

	model 1		model 2		model 3		model 4	
males								
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
age	.14 **	.01	.15 **	.01	.15 **	.01	.15 **	.01
educational level - male (years)	.55 **	.04	.53 **	.04	.54 **	.04	.53 **	.04
educational level - female (years)	.39 **	.04	.37 **	.04	.37 **	.04	.37 **	.04
educational level - mother (years)	.10 *	.05	.10 *	.05	.10 *	.05	.10 *	.05
educational level - father (years)	.07	.04	.07	.04	.07	.04	.07	.04
log household income	.38 **	.09	.33 **	.09	.35 **	.09	.33 **	.09
no children (ref)								
youngest child 0-12	-.61 *	.25	-.76 **	.27	-.66 **	.26	-.68 *	.27
youngest child > 12	.92 **	.31	.80 *	.31	.83 **	.31	.82 **	.31
degree of urbanisation	.69 **	.08	.69 **	.08	.69 **	.08	.68 **	.08
full-time working couple (ref)								
combination household			.83 *	.34				
single-earner household			.18	.35				
non-employed household			-.62	.49				
male full-time employed (ref)								
male part-time employed					1.34 **	.44	1.26 **	.44
male not employed					-.89 *	.40	-.70	.41
female full-time employed (ref)								
female part-time employed							.50	.33
female not employed							-.05	.35
constant	-17.99 **	1.03	-17.91 **	1.06	-17.84 **	1.03	-17.66 **	1.06
N	2719		2719		2719		2719	
R^2 adjusted	.261		.264		.264		.265	

Table 6.3 continued . . . .

	model 1		model 2		model 3		model 4	
females								
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
age	.18 **	.01	.20 **	.01	.19 **	.01	.20 **	.01
educational level - female (years)	.55 **	.05	.52 **	.05	.52 **	.05	.51 **	.05
educational level - male (years)	.42 **	.04	.41 **	.04	.42 **	.04	.41 **	.04
educational level - mother (years)	.10	.05	.10	.05	.10	.05	.10	.05
educational level - father (years)	.14 **	.04	.13 **	.04	.13 **	.04	.13 **	.04
log household income	.39 **	.09	.31 **	.09	.33 **	.09	.31 **	.09
no children (ref)								
youngest child 0-12	-.52	.27	-.51	.29	-.39	.29	-.43	.29
youngest child > 12	1.16 **	.33	1.10 **	.33	1.18 **	.33	1.12 **	.33
degree of urbanisation	.75 **	.09	.74 **	.09	.73 **	.09	.73 **	.09
full-time working couple (ref)								
combination household			.60	.36				
single-earner household			-.49	.38				
non-employed household			-1.15 *	.52				
female full-time employed (ref)								
female part-time employed					.34	.35	.28	.35
female not employed					-.80 *	.36	-.71	.37
male full-time employed (ref)								
male part-time employed							1.30 **	.47
male not employed							-.56	.43
constant	-19.75 **	1.09	-19.18 **	1.11	-19.03 **	1.11	-18.92 **	1.11
N	2719		2719		2719		2719	
R² adjusted	.267		.273		.272		.274	

Significance   * (p<0.05); ** (p<0.01)

Source   Family Surveys of the Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003

Parameters for parental cultural resources are much lower compared to personal educational level. Further, economic resources increase the yearly attendance frequency, about equally for both spouses (.38 and .39). This is in support of our expectations regarding the economic resources needed for participation in cultural activities. Having young children seems to affect male attendance more than female, although the effect for women is on the border of significance. As children grow older, they increase the likelihood of cultural participation; husbands and wives with children older than 12 visit cultural activities 0.92 and 1.16 times more often per year than husbands and wives with younger children. The more urbanised the region where couples live, the higher the likelihood of attending cultural places of interest. Again, this supports our expectations, and shows results similar to previous studies.

Model 2 introduces household-level time constraints. Since we expect full-time working couples to cope with the highest time constraints, they serve as a reference category here. Judging from the coefficients displayed, those combination households that combine paid and unpaid labour, and thus have at least one part-time working spouse, report significantly higher levels of cultural participation than full-time working couples. It only works out this way for men, and not for women. Thus, for husbands our time-restriction hypothesis is supported; when they are part of a full-time working couple, they consume on average less culture than men who are part of a dual-earner couple with a part-time working spouse. Men in a full-time working household have less time available for cultural attendance than men in a combination household, while for women this difference is absent.

In models 3 and 4 the working status for both partners is added separately, which may provide more information on why combination households have on average more time to attend cultural activities. If we compare Model 3 for husbands and wives, it is clear that part-time work increases yearly cultural attendance by 1.34 for men, while for women there is no difference between working part-time or full-time – for them, reducing working hours does not increase time for cultural leisure. However, adding the spouse's work status in Model 4 on top of respondents' own working hours shows a remarkable effect. Part-time work not only increases men's cultural attendance, it also shows a positive relation with the cultural participation of women. This means that the effect of household working hours in Model 2 can be fully attributed to men's part-time working status. There is no difference in attendance to cultural activities for women working part-time or full-time. However, living together with a part-time working husband increases the yearly attendance level by 1.30 visits compared to having a husband who works full-time. This might imply that spouses often attend these activities together. We will come back to this issue when discussing Table 6.5.

6.4.2 Individual attendance to different cultural events
In tables 6.4a & 6.4b we perform the same analysis and focus on different cultural events: attendance to classical concerts, opera or ballet; visiting arts museums and historical museums; and attending classical or popular theatre. The first baseline model is omitted, since is shows close resemblance to Model 1 in Table 6.3.

The analysis for males in Table 6.4a displays some differences across the various activities. We observe no influence of working hours for attendance to classical concerts, opera or ballet. Both couple-level working hours and partner effects are insignificant. On the other hand, stronger effects are found for museum visits. Males from full-time working couples spend significantly less time attending museums per year than men

from combination or single-earner households. For museum visits, this supports our hypothesis on household working arrangements and cultural activity: spouses in a full-time working household may not be able to visit museums during the daytime. The analysis for attendance to classic and popular theatre displays slightly different results: men living in single-earner or combination households do not have a higher likelihood of attending high- or popular-culture events. Yet, their individual working hours matter – working part-time instead of full-time increases their yearly attendance frequency by .56.

These analyses are repeated for women in Table 6.4b. They show close resemblance to previous findings: attendance to classical concerts, opera or ballet is not affected by household working arrangement or spousal employment status. Women from combination households go to museums more often than women from full-time working households. Models 2 and 3 show that this is not a result of part-time employment itself, but the part-time participation of husbands in the labour market – .56 for museum visits and .66 for classic or popular theatre. It is an interesting result that, for women, finding time for museum and theatre attendance is bound at the household level to husbands' working hours. There is no connection between women's part-time of full-time work and museum or theatre attendance. This might be because part-time work does not free the same amount of time for women than it does for men. Women may traditionally be more bound to domestic labour, while men are not. It might also be that women tend not to go to museums or the theatre on their own, but are accompanied by their husbands.

Differentiation among various forms of cultural participation has shown that museum attendance is significantly lower among full-time working couples than among combination households. This effect occurs for husbands as well as for wives. Of course, museums are open during the daytime, while classical concerts and the opera take place mostly on evenings and weekends. This may explain why full-time working couples who have day shifts go to the museum less often.

Table 6.4a   OLS regression for yearly attendance to classical concerts, opera or ballet, historical museums or art exhibitions, and classic or popular theatre for men

	classical concerts, opera or ballet						historical museums or art exhibitions						classic or popular theatre					
	model 1		model 2		model 3		model 1		model 2		model 3		model 1		model 2		model 3	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
age	.05 **	.00	.05 **	.00	.05 **	.00	.06 **	.01	.06 **	.01	.06 **	.01	.05 **	.01	.05 **	.01	.05 **	.01
educational level - male (years)	.12 **	.01	.12 **	.01	.12 **	.01	.26 **	.02	.26 **	.02	.26 **	.02	.16 **	.02	.16 **	.02	.16 **	.02
educational level - female (years)	.08 **	.01	.08 **	.01	.08 **	.01	.17 **	.02	.16 **	.02	.16 **	.02	.12 **	.02	.13 **	.02	.12 **	.02
educational level - mother (years)	.03	.02	.03	.02	.03	.02	.05 *	.03	.05 *	.03	.05 *	.03	.02	.02	.02	.02	.02	.02
educational level - father (years)	.05 **	.01	.05 **	.01	.05 **	.01	.01	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02
log household income	.06 *	.03	.06 *	.03	.06 *	.03	.13 **	.05	.13 **	.05	.13 **	.05	.13 **	.04	.16 **	.04	.13 **	.04
no children (ref)																		
youngest child 0-12	-.25 **	.09	-.23 **	.08	-.25 **	.09	-.12	.14	-.00	.14	-.07	.14	-.39 **	.14	-.43 **	.13	-.37 **	.14
youngest child > 12	.01	.10	.02	.10	.01	.10	.59 **	.16	.63 **	.16	.60 **	.16	.20	.15	.18	.15	.21	.15
degree of urbanisation	.13 **	.03	.13 **	.03	.13 **	.03	.35 **	.04	.34 **	.04	.34 **	.04	.21 **	.04	.21 **	.04	.21 **	.04
full-time working couple (ref)																		
combination household	.12	.11					.39 *	.18					.32	.17				
single-earner household	.06	.12					.38 *	.19					-.27	.18				
non-employed household	-.19	.16					.24	.26					-.67 **	.24				
male full-time employed (ref)																		
male part-time employed			.09	.15	.08	.15			.68 **	.23	.67 **	.23			.56 **	.22	.50 *	.22
male not employed			-.26	.13	-.25	.14			-.05	.21	-.09	.22			-.58 **	.20	-.36	.20
female full-time employed (ref)																		
female part-time employed			.10	.11					.19	.18					.21	.17		
female not employed			.05	.11					.25	.18					-.35 *	.17		
constant	-5.06 **	.35	-5.04 **	.34	-5.05 **	.35	-7.89 **	.56	-7.60 **	.55	-7.75 **	.56	-4.95 **	.53	-5.21 **	.52	-4.86 **	.53
N	2719		2719		2719		2719		2719		2719		2719		2719		2719	
R² adjusted	.163		.163		.162		.200		.201		.201		.133		.128		.134	

Significance   * (p<0.05); ** (p<0.01)

Source   Family Surveys of the Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003

Table 6.4b   OLS regression for yearly attendance to classical concerts, opera or ballet, historical museums or art exhibitions, and classic or popular theatre for women

	classical concerts, opera or ballet						historical museums or art exhibitions						classic or popular theatre					
	model 1		model 2		model 3		model 1		model 2		model 3		model 1		model 2		model 3	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
age	.06 **	.00	.06 **	.00	.06 **	.00	.08 **	.01	.08 **	.01	.08 **	.01	.06 **	.01	.06 **	.01	.06 **	.01
educational level - female (years)	.11 **	.02	.11 **	.02	.11 **	.02	.26 **	.02	.26 **	.02	.25 **	.02	.16 **	.02	.15 **	.02	.15 **	.02
educational level - male (years)	.11 **	.01	.11 **	.01	.11 **	.01	.16 **	.02	.16 **	.02	.16 **	.02	.14 **	.02	.14 **	.02	.14 **	.02
educational level - mother (years)	.03	.02	.03	.02	.03	.02	.02	.03	.02	.03	.02	.03	.05	.03	.05	.03	.05	.03
educational level - father (years)	.04 **	.01	.04 **	.01	.04 **	.01	.08 **	.02	.08 **	.02	.08 **	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02
log household income	.07 *	.03	.07 *	.03	.07 *	.03	.11 *	.05	.12 *	.05	.11 *	.05	.13 **	.05	.14 **	.05	.13 **	.05
no children (ref)																		
youngest child 0-12	-.15	.10	-.13	.09	-.14	.10	-.27	.15	-.23	.15	-.25	.15	-.09	.15	-.03	.15	-.05	.15
youngest child > 12	.08	.11	.09	.11	.08	.11	.48 **	.17	.51 **	.17	.48 **	.17	.54 **	.17	.59 **	.17	.55 **	.17
degree of urbanisation	.14 **	.03	.14 **	.03	.14 **	.03	.31 **	.04	.31 **	.04	.31 **	.04	.28 **	.05	.28 **	.05	.28 **	.05
full-time working couple (ref)																		
combination household	.02	.12					.36 *	.18					.22	.18				
single-earner household	-.15	.12					.17	.19					-.51 **	.19				
non-employed household	-.25	.17					-.09	.27					-.82 **	.27				
female full-time employed (ref)																		
female part-time employed			-.02	.12	-.03	.12			.31	.18	.28	.18			.05	.18	.02	.18
female not employed			-.20	.12	-.18	.12			.08	.19	.11	.19			-.68 **	.19	-.64 **	.19
male full-time employed (ref)																		
male part-time employed					.08	.15					.56 *	.24					.66 **	.24
male not employed					-.09	.14					-.21	.22					-.26	.22
constant	-5.35 **	.36	-5.33 **	.36	-5.33 **	.36	-8.23 **	.57	-8.19 **	.57	-8.13 **	.57	-5.60 **	.57	-5.52 **	.57	-5.45 **	.57
N	2719		2719		2719		2719		2719		2719		2719		2719		2719	
R² adjusted	.171		.171		.171		.205		.205		.206		.139		.138		.140	

Significance   * (p<0.05); ** (p<0.01)
Source   Family Surveys of the Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003

6.5 Analysis of joint cultural participation

In Table 6.5 we study the cultural participation of couples. In the 2003 survey an
additional question was asked on how frequently spouses attended cultural activities
jointly. Since female age and male age correlate very highly, we have chosen to include
female age only. Second, because the dependent variable resides at the couple level, we
have four measures for parental cultural resources. We chose the maximum parental
educational attainment for each spouse.

Table 6.5   OLS regression for joint yearly cultural attendance for couples

couples	model 1 b		model 1 se	model 2 b		model 2 se	model 3 b		model 3 se	model 4 b		model 4 se
female age	.05	**	.01	.05	**	.01	.05	**	.01	.05	**	.01
educational level - male (years)	.11	**	.02	.11	**	.02	.11	**	.02	.11	**	.02
educational level - female (years)	.13	**	.03	.12	**	.03	.13	**	.03	.12	**	.03
educational level - male's parents (max)	.04		.02	.04		.02	.04		.02	.04		.02
educational level - female's parents (max)	.02		.03	.01		.03	.02		.03	.02		.03
log household income	.06		.04	.05		.04	.06		.04	.05		.04
no children (ref)												
youngest child 0-12	-.45	**	.15	-.48	**	.16	-.46	**	.15	-.47	**	.16
youngest child > 12	-.61	**	.23	-.66	**	.23	-.64	**	.23	-.66	**	.23
degree of urbanisation	.23	**	.05	.23	**	.05	.23	**	.05	.23	**	.05
full-time working couple (ref)												
combination household				.25		.19						
single-earner household				-.07		.20						
non-employed household				-.05		.29						
male full-time employed (ref)												
male not employed							-.13		.24	.01		.26
male part-time employed							.08		.25	.02		.25
female full-time employed (ref)												
female not employed										-.12		.20
female part-time employed										.18		.19
constant	-4.76	**	.58	-4.63	**	.58	-4.75	**	.58	-4.62	**	.59
N	809			809			809			809		
R² adjusted	.189			.191			.188			.189		

Significance   * (p<0.05); ** (p<0.01)

Source   Family Surveys of the Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003

The coefficients for individual educational level, lifecycle and degree of urbanisation are
as expected in Model 1, however no significant effect is observed for household income or
parental educational level. Young as well as older children decrease the joint yearly
attendance frequency (-.45 for young children and -.61 for older children). In Model 2 we
add couple-level working arrangements. Although they are in the expected direction and

resemble earlier results on individual attendance level, they fail to reach significance. This means that joint visits are not affected by household working hours. The subsequent models 3 and 4, which introduce the working hours of men and women separately, show the same results. Apparently, full-time workers find time to keep up their joint cultural activities despite longer working hours. When full-time working couples are faced with a need to prioritise between tasks, their joint cultural consumption remains favourable. We were able to show that household working arrangements matter for individual attendance, but were unable to observe these consequences for joint cultural attendance.

Other possibilities for not finding support for our hypothesis may be a lack of power. Here we deal with 809 couples, whereas other analyses were equipped with 2719 individuals. A more thorough investigation of the data does not show support for the 2003 survey being an odd case. The effects reported in previous tables are stable across survey years. Consequently, we have no reason to question our results here, and reject the time-constraints hypothesis for joint cultural visits.

6.6 Conclusion and discussion

We started this chapter from the viewpoint that in order to be fully able to explain levels of leisure consumption, and cultural participation in particular, information on both individuals and couples is needed. Previous studies that have focused mainly on individual leisure consumption have found only marginal effects of time budgets. Most find significant results for life-cycle indicators, but fail to report significant results for hours of paid labour. We argued as a possible reason that in studying the use of cultural facilities, measures of time restrictions should reflect the setting in which individuals live. Incorporating the social structure in which individuals operate in daily life into our models for couples has shown to be a valuable addition. In order to see how much a household matters for cultural consumption, we introduced two new research questions. Individual cultural participation was regressed on household-level characteristics as well as individual traits. This involves a better measure for time constraints, since it justifies the fact that people live together and share time in order to work, sleep, eat, do household duties and participate in leisure activities.

With regard to our first research question, we conclude that a household working arrangement can indeed explain individual levels of cultural participation. Where other studies failed to report significant effects of working hours on cultural consumption, we have shown that the combined working hours of spouses matter. Our hypothesis that full-time working couples suffer the highest time constraints and as a result participate less in culture is supported when we compare dual-earning spouses. When we

differentiate between forms of high culture, it is museum visits – which take place during the daytime – that are attended less often by full-time workers. However, we find little support for lack of time to attend cultural activities when we compare full-time working couples with single earners or non-employed couples. The largest differences lie between couples where at least one spouse is employed part-time and couples where both spouses are employed full-time.

Studying the employment of couples in more detail showed that men working part-time attend culture activities more often than men working full-time, supporting our hypothesis on time restrictions. For women however this effect is absent: full-time working women do not differ in their cultural attendance from part-time working women. This indicates that the effect of working hours is sex-specific and may therefore not have been noted in previous research. Remarkable is that male working hours also affect female attendance, but not the other way around. Why are husbands' working hours important for wives' cultural attendance? A possibility is that people often attend cultural activities together with their spouse and hardly ever by themselves. As a result, wives' attendance only occurs when their husbands are available – when they work part-time. This does not explain why women do not attend more cultural venues when working part-time, independently of their spouses' working hours. They may be facing a second shift at home when they work part-time, whereas men do not. The upside of the investigation in this chapter is the rejection of the time-squeeze hypothesis for joint cultural attendance. As we saw in the previous chapter, full-time employment of both spouses pulls a heavy drain on the resources for close social relations with family and friends. Yet, in this chapter these results do not reappear for joint attendance. We might also say that couples protect these joint activities from time-pressure problems; the last thing they economise on are coupled leisure activities.

Our analysis for the second research question could have answered queries that remained unanswered by the first research question. However, we were not able to detect any significant difference in cultural participation as a result of working hours. Since we do not doubt the reliability of our data here, we are left with an alternative explanation. Couples seem to reserve time to attend cultural activities. They prioritise tasks, and have a preference for keeping the night out together in their agenda and skip other activities labelled as less important. Which other activities are ranked lower on the priority list remains a topic for further investigation. Future research could benefit a great deal from couple-level information in explaining leisure behaviour, experienced time pressure and time devoted to children within families. Our investigation has shown that it matters in what kind of setting people live. Up to now, within social science research it is very common to investigate the impact of time constraints on well-

being, time devoted to the family and leisure participation by using an individual time budget. Nonetheless, as we have shown here, this may not always be the right way to go.

Conclusion and discussion

7.1 Introduction

The present study examined the full-time employment of couples in Dutch society. As a consequence of changes in the supply of labour as well as the demand for paid work in the Netherlands, the number of dual-earners rose considerably in recent decades. The emergence of full-time working couples has been the focal point of our study, as researchers report growing concerns on time-squeeze and coordination problems within dual-earner households. The previous chapters have all addressed research questions related to who these couples are and the consequences they may face as a result of their dual full-time employment. A couple-level perspective and a dynamic perspective were introduced, providing answers to the research questions but also raising new issues.

We have addressed five research questions in the preceding chapters. In the following sections we recapitulate the main conclusions regarding these research questions and draw general conclusions. The implications of our results, their strengths and shortcomings, and recommendations for future research will be discussed.

7.2 Answers to the research questions

7.2.1 Full-time working couples: who are they, and how have they changed

In Chapter 2 the trend in the number of full-time working couples in Dutch society was scrutinised. We first investigated how the increase in full-time working couples resulted from societal changes and the inflow of new labour market cohorts with different preferences regarding spouses' full-time work. The first question in Chapter 2 reads: To what extent can the increase in full-time working couples be understood as period differences and/or cohort succession effect?

Theoretically, an increase resulting from period differences occurs when societal change may be due to specific circumstances that affect everyone in that society simultaneously. Current opinions in societal debate or perceived restrictions (i.e. legislation, childcare facilities) may then affect the hours that couples work. Substantial economic growth in the 1990s, educational expansion, increasing availability of childcare facilities and secularisation are deemed ongoing processes in terms of developments in the cultural domain. This is believed to stimulate the loosening of

traditional viewpoints for all labour market members and result in more full-time working couples. A second option to generate change is by means of cohort succession. The mechanism behind this change is that younger birth cohorts that enter the labour market went through an intrinsically different socialisation period when they were young. They grew up when female employment became more common, delaying childbirth occurred on a regular basis, and an ongoing process of individualisation that underscores the rising approval of non-traditional sex roles for women became more prominent (Alwin & Krosnick, 1991; Glenn, 1980; Liefbroer & Dykstra, 2000; Mannheim, 1964).

Using a stacked dataset of 13 large-scale labour-force surveys collected by Statistics Netherlands ranging from 1977 to 2002 (N=461,003 Dutch couples), we studied changes as a result of period differences and cohort succession. Our empirical analyses provided clear evidence that the rise of full-time employment among couples resulted from cohort replacement effects and not from period differences. The answer to our first question in this chapter thus reads that *the younger birth cohorts who grew up in times of rising female labour participation and more progressive attitudes on the combination of work and care choose dual full-time work more often.* They are the driving force behind the increase in the number of full-time workers in Dutch society (Van Gils & Kraaykamp, 2004). Modern arrangements in the labour market are thus predominantly incorporated by new entries and not by existing labour market members.

A second question put forward in Chapter 2 concerns the extent to which full-time working couples in the Netherlands have gone through compositional changes with respect to young children and educational level. The growth of dual full-time work can be explained by the inflow of younger birth cohorts, yet we do not know what the characteristics of these couples are. To gain more knowledge, we investigated to what extent the composition of full-time working couples with respect to educational attainment and having children changed over time. An easy assumption is that the combination of having children and working would be more problematic for full-time working couples. Whether this relation changed over time in terms of birth cohorts and time periods is more difficult to predict. Over birth cohorts as well as time periods, opinions on the combination of work and care have modernised and restrictions have been relaxed (Alwin, Braun & Scott, 1992). This would allow for full-time working couples to combine their careers with the care for children more often. Yet, the empirical observations that became available by the analysis in Chapter 2 certainly did not support this argument. A first answer to our second research question reads that *the likelihood of full-time working couples taking care of young children more often diminished over time as well as over birth cohorts.* Apparently, in the Netherlands a full-

time working couple is still not perceived as a very attractive arrangement to raise children. Our expectations on the compositional change of the group of full-time working couples was twofold. First, an emancipation of the lower educated was probable, since full-time work became more common among all educational levels. Second, full-time working couples in general are becoming increasingly higher educated, making them to a large extent an elitist vanguard of higher educated individuals. A second answer to our second research question in this chapter is that *the group of full-time working couples has become increasingly higher educated relative to other working couples.* It appears that the behaviour of early adopters of modernisation does not trickle down in society to lower educational strata. The choice for a full-time dual career is thus made more often by increasingly higher educated individuals, and thus ever more restricted to a society's elite.

7.2.2 Couples' choice to discontinue dual full-time work

Chapter 3 closely examines the life courses of couples, providing more insight into who the full-time working couples are and which events during their life course led to an interruption of dual full-time employment. This chapter builds on the information gained in the previous one, but has a more detailed and dynamic investigation. By using life-course histories of 2014 couples, we answered the following research question: Which couples discontinue dual full-time employment during the life course, and which events may account for the cutback of their working hours?

From a European perspective, the number of full-time working couples is very low. Yet, if we observe couples over the life course, it becomes apparent that two out of every three couples have worked full-time at some point. Many Dutch couples too make the decision to discontinue their dual full-time work. We studied to what extent family events and spousal socialisation and resources could explain that some couples leave a full-time working status, whereas others keep on working full-time. Couples' exit from full-time work is multi-shaped: a couple may decide on various exit strategies, which we have reduced to women who discontinue paid employment, women who reduce paid employment, and men who either reduce hours or discontinue paid employment. In Chapter 3 we have persuasively shown that emphasis on the couple as a unit of analysis leads to additional insights. A couple's decision to scale back on working hours is not only dependent on characteristics of a female spouse, but also on characteristics of the male: the husband's occupational status and his family background. A dynamic competing-risk model was applied to identify causes for the exit from full-time employment.

An overall answer to our question is that *a couple's exit from full-time employment is determined largely by family events. Marriage, a first childbirth and geographical mobility are the relevant factors that explain a couple's reallocation of working hours.* Although these life-course events cause couples to exit full-time employment, it turns out that they are most influential for the scaling back of women's working hours. The consequences of getting married, becoming a mother and moving to another city tend to lead to a situation in which the female spouse reduces working hours. Yet, this decision is most likely the result of household negotiations where both spouses decide on their strategy.

Besides family events, a person's socialisation and resources matter a great deal for a couple's decision to leave full-time work. These results are important, as they reveal in more detail a mechanism that was tested in the previous chapter too. An additional answer relates to the context in which people grow up: *the socialisation period is of influence to a couple's employment preferences and may affect future employment decisions.* These aspects work rather differently for men than for women. For men, a progressive socialisation in the family of origin clearly leads to a more progressive attitude on sex roles, resulting in a higher likelihood of reducing work hours. Consequently, if men are gradually more socialised with contemporary norms about work and care, we may expect a reduction of their working hours to become an acceptable option in the near future. For women, socialisation effects hardly matter, but a high occupational status leads them to discontinue full-time work to a lesser extent; they are less likely to quit their working hours than women in lower-rank occupations. It thus seems that professional success prevents women who are in a couple from reducing working hours.

7.2.3 Consequences for fertility

Chapter 4 marks the start of the second part of our study, where we focus on the consequences of dual full-time work. In this chapter we investigated how the full-time employment of both spouses affects the transition to parenthood. The investigation on the fertility of couples fits perfectly with our aim to research consequences at the couple level. Explaining dropping fertility rates has been studied primarily by examining the role of women. Here we tried to improve upon earlier work by lifting the research on fertility behaviour to a higher level. We proposed a couple-level event-history analysis, with the fertility histories of 3120 couples over 17572 years, where the characteristics of the couple, the female and the male explain which couples are more likely to enter parenthood and when. To this end, we answered the following research question: To what extent do couples' dual full-time careers affect the timing and probability of a first

and second childbirth? Indeed, the full-time employment of both spouses has substantial consequences for their likelihood of becoming parents. *A significantly lower probability of full-time working couples entering parenthood compared to couples that have chosen a different household working arrangement is the key finding in this chapter.* Most significant in this finding is that career investments at the couple level measured by labour market participation strongly decrease the likelihood of having a first child. This is a new finding that adds to current knowledge on fertility decisions, which has until now focussed on separate effects for men and women. This previous research showed a negative association between working and having children for women, and a positive or non-existing association for men. Within our research design, the full-time employment construction for couples measures joint career investments, reflecting their current and future employment prospects, and these correlate negatively with the likelihood of a first childbirth. Another conclusion we draw in this chapter is that couples that have a longer history of full-time work are postponing a second childbirth. Once they have entered parenthood they might postpone a subsequent birth until their career investments have reached a level comparable to the level they had before the first childbirth. In the long run, most couples become parents and this transition is strongly related to adjustments in their working arrangement afterwards, as we have shown in chapters 2 and 3.

7.2.4 Consequences for private and social leisure time

In Chapter 5 questions related to time scarcity are at the centre of attention. Societal change generating increasing numbers of dual-earners is causing leisure time to become scarcer and be experienced as harried (Jacobs & Gerson, 2001). Full-time working couples are in this respect a textbook example of people who make large investments in their careers, and thus may experience the most consequences. In this chapter we argue that those living as a full-time working couple have on average less time to spend on their private and social leisure activities. This brings up questions about what happens when people are pressed for time: will they economise on their private time, or will they reduce the hours spent on close social relations with family members and friends?

Employing time budget information on 9063 Dutch couples, we analysed the private, social and family time of people living as full-time working couples. The answer to the general question in this chapter is that *people living in a full-time working household have significantly fewer hours per week for private and social activities than people living in a different household construction.* Obviously, full-timers have fewer hours to spare per week than people living in a combination household where at least one spouse works part-time. The gap between full-time workers and people living in single-earner

male households is more substantial, and amounts to several hours per week. The gap with the non-employed amounts to almost eight hours per week.

We were mostly interested in the ratio of time for different activities. When people are pressed for time, which activities do they cut down on the most? People may economise on different forms of leisure time when compulsory tasks (work, education, care) consume more hours. To understand which specific leisure-time activity is affected the most by time pressure, we distinguish private time, such as reading, listening to music and solitary hobbies; interaction with family members and friends, such as conversing with family members, having meals together and visiting friends; and institutionalised social interaction, like volunteering, cultural participation or attending sports events. Two opposing theories were used to craft hypotheses on the relative importance of leisure activities: theory on the organisation of time and the social motivation theory. The organisation of time theory argues that activities requiring more management, more effort to execute, would be the first to go. The social motivation theory argues that some activities yield a higher social pay-off than others, and remain untouched when people are more busy.

The conclusions we drew are that *economisation is not done on private activities, but on other activities*. A cutback is expected more for time with friends and family, since it requires more effort than private time. The empirical observations underline this expectation. Organisation theory also posited that institutionalised social interaction would require the most effort and management to maintain, and would face a severe cutback when people have to make choices. This is certainly not the case: *institutionalised social interaction remained untouched*, and was even given a greater part of the budget among full-time working couples. From this point of view, the hypotheses we drew from the temporal organisation theory are falsified, since institutionalised social interaction requires significantly more management and communication with others, and is therefore more difficult to execute than other activities. An alternative explanation might be that attendance to highbrow cultural activities (part of this measure) is most often done by individuals living as a full-time working couple, who have the cultural capital to enjoy performances as well as the financial capital to afford admission fees. Social motivation theory argues that close social relations with family members and friends would be continued despite a squeeze for time, since they are most important for the individual and have the highest social payoffs. The possible pay-off from social interaction was deemed greater than private leisure engagement, and the latter would therefore face a cutback when people are pressed for time. The empirical results do not show a resemblance to this expectation: *full-timers have on average relatively more time for private time compared to single*

earners, and invest substantially fewer hours in social interaction with family members and friends. The upside of our analysis reveals that people and couples with more working hours do not economise on institutionalised social interaction. Of all their available time, people in a full-time working couple devote the largest proportion of their budget to institutionalised social interaction. From this perspective, increasing working hours may not be that detrimental for external social cohesion, as argued before (Putnam, 1995). Of course, full-time working couples are less involved in institutionalised interaction when measured in hours per week. Yet, the hours put into paid labour do not affect their community involvement on the same scale. The downside reveals a drain of attention to the nuclear family and close social relations with friends. Full-time hours of individuals and couples are negatively associated with time investment in these close social relations, a concern previously expressed in the work of Coleman (1988).

In households where both spouses are employed full-time, little time for leisure pursuits is made available. This primarily cuts on the time these people spend with their closest relations – other family members and intimate friends. For this reason, concerns raised in many studies on the consequences of an increasing time squeeze seem justified.

7.2.5 Consequences for cultural participation: individual and joint attendance

In Chapter 6 we examine the possible consequences of dual full-time employment. The subject of study is the frequency of individual and couples' joint cultural participation. Again, we test whether couple-level time constraints as a result of full-time employment are a mechanism behind lower cultural participation. The aim in this chapter is comparable with that in Chapter 5, although the level of detail here is far greater. We questioned to what extent individual and joint cultural participation is restricted by couple-level time constraints. A general answer to this question is that *full-time working couples, who have to accommodate leisure after paid labour, consume significantly less culture in comparison to other couples.* Most of all, this chapter provided a new insight: a time squeeze has very different consequences for individual leisure participation than for couples' joint cultural participation.

The availability of time has remained an underrated aspect in the explanation of participation in culture. It is not exactly clear why the research field on participation in cultural activities has not yet taken advantage of other studies' increased focus on time constraints. We argue that in studying the use of cultural facilities, measures of time restrictions should reflect the setting in which individuals live. In this study, where the full-time employment of couples is central, such a setting directly connects to our main

arguments. To study effects of a time squeeze, a researcher needs partner information. With regard to our first research question we conclude that a household working arrangement can indeed explain individual levels of cultural participation. Where other studies failed to report significant effects of working hours on cultural consumption, we have shown that the combined working hours of spouses matter. Our hypothesis that full-time working couples suffer the highest time constraints and as a result participate less in culture is supported when we compare dual-earning spouses. When we differentiate between forms of high culture, we observe that full-time workers attend day-time activities, like museums, less frequently. However, we find little support for a lack of time to attend cultural activities when we compare full-time working couples with single earners or non-employed couples. The largest differences occur between couples with at least one spouse employed part-time and couples with both spouses employed full-time.

Individual level and partner effects were introduced as well, revealing that men working part-time attend cultural activities more often than men working full-time. For women this effect is absent: full-time working women do not differ in their cultural attendance from part-time working women. This indicates that *the effect of working hours is gender-specific and may therefore not have been noted in previous research.* Remarkable is that male working hours also affect female attendance, but not the other way around. Why are husbands' working hours important for wives' attendance? A possibility could be that people often attend cultural activities with their spouse and hardly by themselves. As a result, wives' attendance would only occur when their husbands are available, i.e. work part-time. This does not explain why women do not have higher attendance levels when working part-time, independently from men's working hours. A possibility is that they may be facing a 'second shift' at home when they work part-time, whereas men do not.

Our analysis for the second research question, on the joint cultural participation of couples, could have answered some questions left by the previous question. *However, we were not able to detect any significant difference in joint cultural participation as a result of couples' working hours.* The upside of the answer to this last question is the rejection of the time-squeeze hypothesis for joint cultural attendance. Since we do not question the reliability of our data here, we are left with an alternative explanation. As we saw in Chapter 5, the full-time employment of both spouses pulls a heavy drain on the resources for close social relations with family and friends. Yet, in this chapter, the results do not reappear for joint visits, a conclusion similar to that in Chapter 5 on institutionalised social interaction. We might also say that couples protect these joint activities from time-pressure problems, and the last thing they economise on are

coupled leisure activities. Couples seem to reserve time to attend cultural activities. They prioritise tasks and have a preference for keeping the joint evening out in their agenda, skipping other activities labelled as less important.

7.3 Evaluating the couple, the life course and the value perspective

In the introduction to this study we argued that progress could be made by applying three perspectives: a couple, a life-course and a value perspective. We changed the individual focus, by applying an aggregate couple-level perspective. We argued that information on both spouses is needed to thoroughly examine what exactly is going on within households in terms of paid labour and family life. People who live together either in marriage or cohabitation experience the restriction that such a union has – i.e. their joint time budget – but also profit from joint resources like income, education and shared interests. They work, sleep, care and consume together, and manage a household agenda for their activities (Kalmijn & Bernasco, 2001; Moen, 2003). This means that their occupational career as well as their family career is dependent on their partner's.

Our argument that an individual-level approach might not always explain phenomena that include a larger context has shown to be true in many ways. Coupled employment decisions are by no means solely dependent on individual characteristics. We have shown that couples' exit from dual full-time work can be explained by individual-, couple- and national-level characteristics. The birth of a first child, geographical mobility and marriage are good examples in this respect. These couple events explain the largest part of the exit from dual full-time employment. Moreover, individual traits, such as educational level and growing up with a working mother, are important for personal employment changes as well as for career choices of the spouse. Men who grew up in a progressive family, i.e. higher educated parents and a working mother, are less likely to be part of a single-earner male household. We have also shown that the combined careers of couples are very important for the timing and likelihood of a first childbirth. When both spouses work full-time, the odds of a transition to parenthood are significantly lower compared to other couples. These empirical findings are supportive of our theoretical argument that an analysis of husbands' and wives' employment separately may miss much of the variation in family-level changes – an argument that Jacobs and Gerson (2004) emphasised in earlier work. Decisions on work and family are theoretically made in conjunction within a household. Although empirically these decisions may influence primarily the occupational career of women, theoretically they are the result of couples' decision-taking.

On the time use of couples we have shown that household working arrangements as a measure for a time squeeze are able to partially explain the link between full-time

careers and how individuals within couples spend their time. Full-time working couples spend significantly less time with their family members, in absolute terms as well as relative to their total spare time. This too is a new conclusion, where couples' joint working hours show to be relevant to family-level interaction. Including the couple perspective in social science research may thus result in new expectations and empirical findings that prove important for the understanding of sociological issues.

Additionally, a life-course perspective was combined with the couple perspective where possible. We have shown that the exit from dual full-time work can be explained in an event-history analysis where couples' life courses are used to study career transitions. Typical events in the lives of couples trigger this exit, where a first childbirth and geographical mobility prove to be relevant factors that explain a reallocation of working hours. Partner effects play an important role as well; the scaling down in the hours for women is negatively associated with the socio-economic status of wives, and positively associated with husbands' occupational status. The life-course histories of couples enabled us to conclude that spouses do not anticipate on having a child by reducing their working hours in advance. By reconstructing couples' histories, we know that those with high career investments postpone childbirth, but do not cancel plans to have children in the long run.

Throughout this study we have dealt with people's norms on the division of labour, marriage, the care for children and the employment of women. We have argued that opinions on how people want to arrange their lives may be very dependent on how they where socialised. The socialisation period during early adulthood may be very influential for future decisions. Because it is difficult to measure these opinions in retrospect, we have used salient characteristics from the parental home to account for the previous preferences. Growing up in a more progressive family indeed displays a positive association with future choices on couples' working arrangement. The single-earner male arrangement is not common among couples with higher educated parents and a family where the mother worked in paid employment during the respondents' formative years. These are important findings, as they illustrate again that individuals are part of a larger context. Behaviour cannot be seen as a sole individual action, it is dependent on the environment in which people grow up. A fine example of this relation is that the choices for working arrangements depend on the era in which couples were born. Societal climate as an even larger context, present during the formative years of individuals, has an impact on future household working arrangements.

7.4 The road ahead: recommendations for future research

The perspectives used in our study have added to knowledge on how the full-time working hours of couples affect fertility behaviour, joint and individual leisure participation, and time spent with family and friends. Of course there are areas that have not been explored, but might be very interesting for future research.

First, a possible consequence of dual full-time work has to do with relationship quality. In a situation where both spouses are employed full-time, marriages may fail because spouses do not reach an agreement on the number of hours worked. Take for instance an academic couple, both with high aspirations, married, and a husband with a traditional family background. Their views on combining family and work may differ, heightening the likelihood of divorce (Schoen, Astone, Rothert, Standish & Kim, 2002). Further, time-budget problems associated with less leisure time with family and friends may lead to lower relationship quality, as spouses do not have enough opportunities to spend time together (Spitze & South, 1985). While this may not seem a problem in the first few years of marriage, in the long run their full-time employment could well lead to divorce (Poortman, 2005). Studying divorce as a result of employment schedules may require a prospective research design where spouses are questioned throughout the course of life. In a typical panel design respondents are interviewed, and information on the present spouse is gained during these interviews. This would enable researchers to study whether a marital split or a relationship break-up is associated with earlier dual full-time employment.

Second, elaboration on the current study is possible by focusing on the occupational composition of the group of full-time working couples in the Netherlands. In Chapter 2 we showed that full-time working couples are becoming ever more higher educated. One might question whether the same development is taking place among the occupational positions of these couples. Are full-time working couples in the Netherlands confined to professional and managerial positions? Might we observe a difference between economic and cultural specialists? These are questions that might provide more information on who these couples are, as well as on how they have changed in recent decades. From a labour market perspective, certain areas might be more fit for dual full-time employment, i.e. private versus public institutions.

Third, it may be very fruitful to study household time-budget agendas. When does spare time become available to individuals and couples? Spouses may not be working at the exact same hours of the day, which means that joint attendance is very dependent on their work schedules. For example, in a household where one of the partners works day and night shifts, or has regular weekend hours, the time that remains during the week for both spouses to spend joint leisure time together is more reduced. Their

window of opportunity to jointly engage in spare-time activities is limited. Investigating their daily schedules may prove very interesting from this angle. An unpublished paper by Lesnard (2005) provides an important step in that direction. The author argues that working is not just a question of the amount of hours worked, but more a question about the quality, i.e. the chronological dimension of work. The synchronicity of time use within dual-earner couples seems to be a promising line of research, not only because it will greatly enhance our understanding of time-spending within a household, but also because non-standard work schedules are associated with the social positions of both spouses – in this case they are more probably among the lower educated.

Fourth, in this study we have assumed that the behaviour displayed by couples may result from negotiations between the spouses. The consequences that may result from dual full-time work and the choices couples make regarding their work arrangements are the factual outcomes of negotiations between spouses. Yet, we did not study these bargaining processes directly. Research on coupled action-taking explicitly deals with how partners reach a mutual understanding on work arrangements (Corijn, Liefbroer & De Jong Gierveld, 1996; Thomson, 1990). The difficulty with two actors that reach a decision on the combination between work and care is that husbands and wives may have different preferences. Variation in preferences may lead to either agreement or disagreement on coupled action. To zoom in on how negotiations between spouses eventually result in behaviour, i.e. full-time employment, might be quite interesting. It would require interviews with couples before and after working-hours transitions.

Fifth, in this study we have argued that full-time working couples are a good example from an emancipation viewpoint, since both spouses invest an equal share in their occupational career. Also, we have frequently paid attention to the number of men in the Netherlands who have a preference for part-time employment and the growing number of husbands employed part-time . These two issues combined may provide a new ground for future research. If we take a closer look at the combination households, displayed in Table 7.1, we see that they consist of the traditional form with a full-time male and a part-time female.

Table 7.1   A detailed view on the increase in the number of combination households,
             as a percentage of all Dutch couples

1977	0.30	10.72	0.58
1981	0.48	12.57	0.66
1983	0.47	13.49	0.77
1985	0.45	14.57	0.83
1990	0.92	21.34	2.48
1992	0.89	22.40	1.88
1993	1.12	23.41	2.03
1994	0.99	23.56	2.16
1995	1.10	25.18	2.47
1996	1.24	25.80	2.52
1997	1.24	27.36	2.77
1998	1.31	29.40	3.14
1999	1.25	30.49	3.38
2000	1.50	32.09	3.80
2001	1.28	32.82	3.81
2002	1.37	33.98	4.60
2003	1.42	34.24	4.70
2004	1.40	34.77	4.55
2005	1.45	35.07	5.09

Source   Statistics Netherlands, retrieved online at www.statline.nl and completed with own
          calculations from the Labour Force Surveys 1977-1985

A growing working arrangement is one where both spouses have part-time jobs. Here again, both invest an equal share of time in their career. In the 1970s this arrangement was non-existent. By 2005, about 5% of all couples worked part-time. Who are the couples choosing part-time jobs?

Sixth, the extent of managed tasks among full-time working couples may result in role strain. Their work, characterised by high demands, may be detrimental to personal well-being and mental and physical health (Crouter, Bumpus, Head & McHale, 2001; Townsend, 2002; Wall, Jackson, Mullarkey & Parker, 1996). People who experience a certain amount of strain most likely adapt to their situation by using coping mechanisms, for instance working flexible hours, better prioritising of tasks and a shift in domestic labour between the spouses (Stanfield, 1998). At the couple level, however, these coping mechanisms are harder to realise, because when spouses work full-time,

shifts in domestic labour are hardly an option (Doumas, Margolin & John, 2003; Voydanoff, 2002). Lower mental and physical well-being among full-time working couples in comparison to other couples may be the result.

Seventh, this study has used context information by including partner information as well as variation in the national context that may affect respondents' behaviour. For example, the national unemployment rate is negatively associated with an exit from dual full-time work and having a first child. In our first empirical chapter we put forward hypotheses on the developments within the Dutch labour market based upon variation in national context. i.e. availability of day care, legislation, stimulation of female employment and secularisation. Increasing the variation in national contexts will provide for a more thorough test of our ideas. To this end, research may need household-level information on the life course of individuals from different countries or regions. It also requires additional national statistics, such as the national unemployment rate. This may reveal whether the mechanisms behind the choices that couples make work in the same direction in other countries too.

This study has revealed several new insights. Full-time working couples clearly are different from other household working arrangements. They consist of more higher educated, primarily childless individuals that postpone childbirth and cut back on family time. Future research should tell whether this situation remains and if other factors are relevant in looking at couples' full-time employment.

Nederlandstalige samenvatting – summary in Dutch

1. Introductie

In de afgelopen decennia is de arbeidsmarkt in het Westen aanzienlijk veranderd. Aan de basis hiervan staat de sterk gestegen arbeidsdeelname van vrouwen in het tweede gedeelte van de 20e eeuw. Heden ten dage is het in vrijwel alle geïndustrialiseerde samenlevingen gebruikelijk voor vrouwen om een betaalde baan te hebben. Zo is de netto participatiegraad van vrouwen in Nederland gestegen van 30% in 1981 naar 54% in 2005 (CBS, 2007; Keuzenkamp & Faulk, 2006). Deze verandering speelt een sleutelrol in deze studie, voornamelijk omdat zij de arbeidsverdeling binnen het huishouden sterk heeft veranderd. In de jaren '70 was een traditioneel huishouden met een man als kostwinner het meest gebruikelijk; ruim 70% van alle huishoudens leefde in een dergelijk arrangement. In 2006 kiest slechts 26% van alle paren voor deze constructie. Het gevolg van deze ontwikkeling is een sterke toename van het aantal huishoudens waarin beide partners actief zijn op de arbeidsmarkt: de tweeverdieners. Zo verdubbelt het aantal voltijd werkende paren van 8% in de jaren '70 naar 15% in de jaren '90. Het opkomen van de tweeverdieners, de voltijd werkende paren in het bijzonder, is naar onze mening een belangrijke ontwikkeling. De hoeveelheid tijd die deze paren besteden op de arbeidsmarkt, kan serieuze gevolgen hebben voor het gezinsleven.

De opkomst van de tweeverdieners heeft de aandacht getrokken van veel sociaal wetenschappers (Jacobs & Gerson, 2001; Robinson & Godbey, 1997; Schor, 1991). Zij wijzen voortdurend op de toegenomen tijdsdruk onder tweeverdieners. Tot op heden is er echter weinig specifieke aandacht geweest voor huishoudens waarin beide partners een voltijd baan hebben. Dit is opmerkelijk, vooral omdat zij van alle tweeverdieners de meeste tijd aan betaald werk besteden. In deze huishoudens werken beide partners ten minste 35 uur per week, wat betekent dat zij een groot deel van hun beschikbare tijd buitenhuis doorbrengen.

Vanuit een emancipatie oogpunt kan deze ontwikkeling worden toegejuicht; beide partners werken immers evenveel en investeren een gelijk deel in hun beroepscarrière. Maar aangezien mannen geen evenredige toename laten zien in de uren die zij besteden aan huishoudelijke verplichtingen, leidt de toename van het aantal tweeverdieners - voltijd werkende paren in het bijzonder - tot problemen in de balans tussen werk en het gezinsleven. Gezien in dit perspectief zet het voltijd werken van beiden de tijd die beschikbaar is voor het gezin serieus onder druk (Beaujot & Lui, 2005). Hoe en in welke mate het voltijd werken van beide partners gevolgen heeft voor het gezinsleven is het

onderwerp van deze studie. De volgende paragraaf bespreekt op welke manieren we vooruitgang boeken op bestaand sociaal wetenschappelijk onderzoek naar de arbeidsverhoudingen tussen partners en de gevolgen voor het gezinsleven.

2. De drie peilers voor vooruitgang: focus op paren, de levensloop en opvattingen

2.1 paren

Bestaand wetenschappelijk onderzoek naar de arbeidsverdeling in een huishouden heeft zich tot nu toe met name gericht op ontwikkelingen in de arbeidsparticipatie van vrouwen (Barnett, 1994; Bratberg, Dahl & Risa, 2002; Meijer, Dykstra, Siegers & De Jong Gierveld, 1998; Pungello & Kurtz-Costes, 2000; Schoen, Astone, Rothert, Standish & Kim, 2002; Shaw, 1990). Dit onderzoek heeft veel kennis opgeleverd over de beroepscarrière van vrouwen. Zo is de relatie tussen het verloop van de carrière en de gevolgen voor de persoonlijke vrijetijdsbesteding en de tijd voor het gezinsleven in kaart gebracht. De focus op vrouwen in het sociaal wetenschappelijk debat is niet verrassend aangezien het merendeel van de vrouwen vroeger stopte met werken bij belangrijke transities in de levensfase. Samenwonen, trouwen, en het krijgen van kinderen zijn voorbeelden van gebeurtenissen die er voor zorgen dat vrouwen minder gaan werken, of helemaal stoppen met werken (Drobnic & Blossfeld, 2001; Grimm & Bonneuil, 2001; Hendrickx, Bernasco & De Graaf, 2001; Henkens, Grift & Siegers, 2002).

Wat al deze studies echter gemeen hebben is dat zij wellicht een bredere context, daar waar beslissingen over het aantal uren dat men werkt worden genomen, over het hoofd heeft gezien. Tot dusver werden de meeste vragen gesteld op een individueel niveau, waarbij soms rekening wordt gehouden met kenmerken van de partner. Een veel gebruikt argument voor een individueel – vrouwelijk – perspectief is dat er te weinig variatie bestaat in de werkuren van mannen; zij werken immers allemaal voltijd. Echter, 15% van alle mannen in Nederland werkt op dit moment in deeltijd en maar liefst een kwart van alle voltijd werkende mannen geeft aan deeltijd te willen werken (EC, 2006; Keuzenkamp, 2006; Esveldt, Beets, Henkens, Liefbroer & Moors, 2001, p76). Het is dus redelijk te veronderstellen dat er meer gaande is op het paar-niveau dan het individuele perspectief doet vermoeden.

Onderzoek dat het paren perspectief op de kaart heeft gezet zijn de zogenaamde partner effect studies. Kalmijn (1998), Bernasco, De Graaf & Ultee (1994, 1998) maar ook Hendrickx, Uunk en Smits (1995) laten zien dat partners elkaar sterk beïnvloeden in hun keuzes gedurende de levensloop; en dit heeft gevolgen voor de beroepscarrière van beide partners. Deze studies hebben duidelijk het voortouw genomen naar een focus

op een bredere context: het (echt)paar. In deze studie bouwen we voort op bestaande kennis over de wederzijdse beïnvloeding van partners. We werpen nieuwe verwachtingen op over de invloed die voltijd werkenden hebben bij het maken van keuzes. In deze huishoudens jongleren partners met hun eigen carrière, die van hun partner en hun gezinsleven (Moen & Wethington, 1992; Moen & Yu, 1999). Het paarperspectief dat aan de basis ligt van deze studie is relatief nieuw, zeker voor Nederland. Licht werpen op de voltijd werkende paren vanuit dit perspectief is ons doel. Wanneer en op welke wijze maken paren keuzes in het aantal uren dat zij werken, en welke gevolgen heeft deze beslissing?

2.2 de levensloop

De levenslopen van paren zijn verre van statisch. Partners ervaren verschillende ritmes gedurende hun leven, afhankelijk van de levensfase waarin zij verkeren. Het dynamische karakter van de levensloop stelt ons in staat te verklaren welke transities gevolgen hebben voor het gezinsleven. Ook laat zij zien welke gebeurtenissen in het gezinsleven gevolgen hebben voor de werkverdeling tussen beide partners. Middels het levensloopperspectief willen we begrijpen welke paren kiezen voor voltijd werken, en welke veranderingen of gebeurtenissen ervoor zorgen dat zij stoppen met voltijd werken.

Door de tijdsdimensie van beroepscarrières in kaart te brengen verschaffen we gedetailleerde informatie over de causale volgorde van gebeurtenissen. Het biedt de mogelijkheid om oorzaak en gevolg te onderscheiden; beïnvloedt trouwen het aantal uren dat men werkt, en in welke mate beïnvloedt de verantwoordelijkheid voor een gezin de werkuren van een paar? Het bestuderen van de combinatie tussen de geschiedenis van de gezins- en beroepscarrière enerzijds en het paarperspectief anderzijds is een belangrijke vooruitgang ten opzichte van bestaand onderzoek.

2.3 opvattingen

Voltijd werkende paren verschillen van andere paren omdat zij andere keuzes maken met betrekking tot de uren per week die zij willen werken. Maar in vergelijking tot andere paren verschillen zij niet enkel in dit aspect. Deze keuze is logischerwijs ook het gevolg van opvattingen over hoe zij hun beschikbare tijd willen indelen.

Hoe meer men werkt, hoe minder tijd er overblijft voor het gezin, de individuele of gezamenlijke vrijetijdsbesteding en andere activiteiten. Door de tijd heen zijn opvattingen over de individuele tijdsbesteding een voorbeeld van culturele verandering in de Nederlandse samenleving. Zo neemt de waarde die wordt toegekend aan het individu toe, personen streven een maakbare levensloop na (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1995; Elzen, 2002; Liefbroer & Dykstra, 2000). Deze ontwikkeling waarin het individu

centraal staat – beter bekend als individualisering - verstaan we dat traditionele bindingen en overtuigingen los worden gelaten en aan waarden die de eigen verantwoordelijkheid en de autonomie van de persoon onderstrepen wordt meer gewicht toegekend (Kuijsten, 2000). Uit onderzoek van het Nederlands Interdisciplinair Demografisch Instituut (NIDI) blijkt dat voltijd werkende paren veel minder belang hechten aan traditionele opvattingen zoals getrouwd zijn voordat je kinderen krijgt (Esveldt et al., 2001). Zij hebben significant minder problemen met het werken van vrouwen, een kind dat opgroeit in een eenoudergezin, of een huishouden waarin de man het leeuwendeel van de opvoeding voor zijn rekening neemt. Daarentegen kennen zij relatief meer waarde toe aan persoonlijke ontwikkeling in vergelijking tot andere paren.

3. Onderzoeksvragen en antwoorden

Deze studie is opgedeeld in twee delen. Het eerste deel, hoofdstuk 2 en 3, bevat de oorzaken: welke paren werken voltijd in Nederland? Het tweede deel, hoofdstuk 4, 5 en 6, bevat de mogelijke gevolgen van het voltijd werken van beiden. Het krijgen van kinderen, de persoonlijke en gezamenlijke tijdsbesteding, en individueel en gezamenlijke culturele participatie zijn hier het onderwerp.

3.1 Voltijd werkende paren in Nederland

In het eerste deel van dit boek wordt het groeiend aantal voltijd werkende paren in Nederland bekeken. Is deze toename het gevolg van maatschappelijk veranderingen die gelden voor iedereen, of is dit een gevolg van instroom van nieuwe arbeidsmarktcohorten die andere voorkeuren hebben dan voorgaande cohorten. Meer specifiek luidt de vraag: In welke mate is de stijging van het aantal voltijd werkende paren te verklaren door cohort- en/of periode-effecten?

Theoretisch gezien kan een toename van het aantal voltijd werkende paren als gevolg van een periode verschil verklaard worden door kenmerken van de samenleving die iedereen beïnvloeden. De economische groei gedurende de jaren '90, de stijging van het gemiddelde opleidingsniveau, en de stijging in de beschikbaarheid van kinderopvang zijn hier voorbeelden van. Zij vergemakkelijken het loslaten van traditionele opvattingen, en maken het voltijd werken van beide partners mogelijk.

Een toename van het aantal voltijd werkende paren kan echter ook het gevolg zijn van cohortopvolging. Jongere cohorten die de arbeidsmarkt betreden zijn hier het mechanisme achter verandering. Zij socialiseren in een progressievere omgeving dan oudere cohorten, namelijk in een tijd waar het werken van vrouwen gangbaar is, het uistellen van de kinderwens ten behoeve van de carrière vaker voorkomt, en een niet traditionele arbeidsverdeling tussen mannen en vrouwen wordt geaccepteerd.

Uit de analyse blijkt dat de groei van het aantal voltijd werkende paren met name kan worden toegeschreven aan cohort-effecten. Paren uit de jongere geboortecohorten die zijn opgegroeid in een tijd waarin de deelname van vrouwen aan het arbeidsproces sterk steeg, en progressieve opvattingen over de verdeling tussen betaald en onbetaald werk belangrijker werden, kiezen later vaker voor het voltijd werken van beide partners. Deze jongere cohorten zijn de motor achter een meer moderne werkverdeling tussen mannen en vrouwen op de arbeidsmarkt (Van Gils & Kraaykamp, 2004).

Een tweede onderzoeksvraag richt zich op mogelijke veranderingen in de samenstelling van de groep voltijd werkende paren in de tijd in relatie tot het hebben van kinderen en het opleidingsniveau. Een logische assumptie is dat het voltijd werken van beide partners minder gemakkelijk samen gaat met het hebben van jonge kinderen dan voor paren die voor een andere werkverdeling gekozen hebben. Maar in hoeverre is dit spanningsveld over de tijd en over geboortecohorten veranderd? Over de tijd zijn de opvattingen over de combinatie tussen werk en zorg gemoderniseerd (Alwin, Braun & Scott, 1992). Dit zou kunnen betekenen dat het voltijd werken van beide partners steeds vaker samen gaat met het hebben van jonge kinderen. Hiervoor wordt echter geen enkel bewijs gevonden; de kans dat voltijd werkende paren zorgen voor jonge kinderen neemt eerder af over de tijd en over geboortecohorten dan toe.

Klaarblijkelijk is het voltijd werken van beide partners in combinatie met het opvoeden van jonge kinderen niet aantrekkelijk in Nederland. Met betrekking tot de veranderingen in het opleidingsniveau hebben we twee verwachtingen. Enerzijds verwachten we een emancipatie van de laagopgeleiden, waardoor het gemiddeld opleidingsniveau onder de voltijd werkende paren daalt. Anderzijds is het mogelijk dat over de tijd alleen een selecte groep hoogopgeleiden de keuze maakt om beiden voltijd te werken, wat een stijging van het gemiddeld opleidingsniveau onder de voltijd werkende paren tot gevolg heeft. De empirie geeft met name ondersteuning voor het laatste, wat betekent dat de voltijd werkende paren in Nederland met name te vinden zijn onder de hoogst opgeleiden.

3.2 Stoppen met voltijd werken

In hoofdstuk 3 wordt de levensloop van voltijd werkende paren onderzocht. Middels een gebeurtenissenanalyse beschrijven we wie de voltijd werkende paren in Nederland zijn, en welke gebeurtenissen gedurende het leven van deze paren ervoor zorgen dat zij stoppen met voltijd werk.

Allereerst blijkt dat bijna tweederde van alle paren in Nederland een bepaalde periode gedurende de relatie voltijd werkt. De beslissing voor paren om vervolgens te stoppen met voltijd werk is ongetwijfeld een moeilijke (Moen & Roehling, 2005). Werken

zorgt in een zeker mate voor financieel kapitaal en draagt bij aan het opbouwen van een carrière. Echter, voltijd werken kan ook serieus interfereren met huishoudelijke taken, de verzorging en opvoeding van kinderen, de vrijetijdsbesteding en het onderhouden van sociale contacten (Gershuny & Sullivan, 1998; Lundberg & Rose, 2000; Roehling, Moen, & Batt, 2003; Schor, 1991). De algemene vraag in dit hoofdstuk luidt: Welke voltijd werkende paren stoppen met voltijd werk, en welke gebeurtenissen en kenmerken van deze paren dragen bij aan de verklaring hiervoor?

De resultaten van dit onderzoek laten zien dat met name gebeurtenissen in het gezin, zoals de geboorte van een (eerste) kind, of een verhuizingen in sterke mate het stoppen met voltijd werk verklaren. Ze hebben echter de grootste invloed op de werkuren van vrouwen; zij verminderen in vergelijking met mannen veel vaker het aantal werk uren .

Naast gebeurtenissen in het gezin hebben de socialisatie van partners en de omvang van hun hulpbronnen tevens een niet te onderschatten invloed op het stoppen met voltijd werk. Mannen die zijn opgegroeid in een progressieve omgeving, bijvoorbeeld met een werkende moeder en relatief hoogopgeleide ouders, hebben later een partner die bij gebeurtenissen in het gezin vaker zal kiezen (deeltijd) te blijven werken. Voor vrouwen zijn deze socialisatiekenmerken minder van belang, met uitzondering van een hogere beroepsstatus.

3.3 Geboorte van kinderen

Hoofdstuk 4 markeert het tweede gedeelte van deze studie en beschrijft en verklaart de gevolgen van het voltijd werken van beide partners. Dit hoofdstuk onderzoekt in welke mate het voltijd werken van paren van invloed is op het krijgen van kinderen. Voorgaand onderzoek heeft met name de dalende fertiliteit onderzocht aan de hand van kenmerken van vrouwen. In dit hoofdstuk proberen we echter het bestaande onderzoek naar een hoger plan te tillen. Middels een gebeurtenissenanalyse op paar-niveau schatten we de kans op het krijgen van een eerste en tweede kind. We geven antwoord op de volgende onderzoeksvraag: In welke mate beïnvloedt het voltijd werken van paren de timing en waarschijnlijkheid van de geboorte van een eerste en tweede kind?

De analyse wijst uit dat het voltijd werken van beide partners substantiële gevolgen heeft voor het krijgen van kinderen. Dit is een nieuwe bevinding die voor het eerst aantoont dat zowel de kenmerken van de vrouw als die van de man bepalend zijn voor de keuze voor het ouderschap. De investering in de beroepscarrière speelt hier de sleutelrol, en kan gezien worden als de huidige en toekomstige kans op ontwikkeling in de carrière welke negatief samenhangt met de kans voor het krijgen van kinderen. Tevens laat de analyse in dit hoofdstuk zien dat voltijd werkende paren die na de

geboorte van een eerste kind voltijd blijven werken, relatief langer wachten met een tweede kind.

3.4 Persoonlijke en gemeenschappelijke vrijetijdsbesteding
In hoofdstuk 5 onderzoeken we in welke mate het voltijd werken van paren gevolgen heeft voor de tijdsbesteding aan andere activiteiten. Voorgaand onderzoek heeft laten zien dat de hoeveelheid werkuren de vrijetijdsbesteding ernstig onder druk zet. De voltijd werkende paren besteden het grootste gedeelte van hun beschikbare tijd aan betaalde arbeid, en dus lopen zij het grootste risico hiervan gevolgen te ondervinden. De algemene vraag luidt: In welke mate ondervinden voltijd werkende paren de absolute en relatieve gevolgen voor hun tijdsbesteding aan persoonlijke en gemeenschappelijke vrijetijdsbesteding? Er zijn immers maar 24 uur in een dag, en meer tijd besteedt aan betaalde arbeid gaat ten koste van tijd die aan een andere activiteit wordt besteed. Onze hypothese is dat de bezuiniging op andere activiteiten sterk afhankelijk is van de aard van die activiteiten. We onderzoeken drie vormen: allereerst de persoonlijke vrije tijd zoals lezen; ten tweede de sociale interactie met het gezin en vrienden zoals samen dineren; en ten derde de maatschappelijke sociale interactie zoals vrijwilligerswerk, of museumbezoek. Wat blijkt is dat voltijd werkende paren in absolute termen minder tijd ter beschikking hebben voor de persoonlijke en gemeenschappelijke vrijetijdsbesteding in vergelijking tot andere huishoudens.

De gevolgen zijn echter beter zichtbaar in relatieve termen, omdat deze de vraag beantwoordt welke activiteiten het meest de gevolgen ondervinden van het voltijd werken van beide partners. Gezien de aard van de activiteiten houden we rekening met twee verschillende theorieën. Allereerst voorspelt een theorie die is gebaseerd op hoe de tijd in ons leven is georganiseerd, dat het eerst wordt bezuinigd op activiteiten die meer moeite en management kosten om ze tot uitvoer te brengen. Zo is het lezen van een krant makkelijker in te plannen dan een avond naar het theater. Een tweede theorie, gericht op de sociale motivatie van activiteiten, voorspelt dat het minst wordt bezuinigd op bezigheden die een hogere sociale opbrengst hebben. Zo is de tijd met gezinsleden belangrijker dan computeren.

De analyse laat zien dat voltijd werkende paren relatief gezien meer persoonlijke vrije tijd hebben in vergelijking tot huishoudens waarin één partner werkt. Daar staat tegenover dat zij relatief gezien significant minder tijd besteden aan de sociale interactie met het gezin en vrienden. Beide theorieën hebben moeilijkheden met de uitkomst van deze toets. In zijn algemeenheid kan worden gezegd dat het voltijd werken door beide partners in ieder geval geen invloed heeft op de maatschappelijke participatie. De keerzijde van deze constatering is echter wel dat de investering van

voltijd werkende paren in de beroepscarrière grotendeels ten koste gaat van de tijd met familie en vrienden.

3.5 Individuele en gezamenlijke culturele participatie
In hoofdstuk 6 onderzoeken we nogmaals de vrijetijdsdeelname en zoomen we in op de individuele en gezamenlijke culturele participatie. Het doel van dit hoofdstuk is vergelijkbaar met dat van hoofdstuk 5, alleen het detailniveau is groter. In het algemeen stellen we de vraag: In welke mate heeft het voltijd werken van beide partners gevolgen voor de individuele en gezamenlijke vrijetijdsbesteding?

De beschikbaarheid van vrije tijd is in het onderzoeksveld naar de culturele participatie lange tijd onderbelicht gebleven. Dit is een gemis, omdat tijdsrestricties die een invloed uitoefenen op gedrag, adequaat rekening moeten houden met de context waarin personen leven. De hypothese dat voltijd werkende paren minder tijd besteden aan culturele participatie dan andere paren wordt deels in dit hoofdstuk bevestigd. Voltijd werkende paren hebben minder tijd voor cultuur als we ze vergelijken met combinatiehuishoudens waarin beide partners werken en ten minste één van de partners in deeltijd werkt. In vergelijking met andere huishoudens is er geen verschil.

Vervolgens verdiepen we ons onderzoek door de afzonderlijke werkuren van mannen en vrouwen te introduceren als partnereffecten. Dit betekent dat de werkuren van de man invloed kunnen uitoefenen op de culturele participatie van vrouwen en vice versa. Hieruit blijkt dat er geen verschil in culturele participatie bestaat voor vrouwen die voltijd of deeltijd werken, terwijl dit effect wel aanwezig is voor mannen. Meer opmerkelijk is echter dat de werkuren van mannen de bezoek frequentie van vrouwen negatief beïnvloedt, andersom bestaat deze relatie niet. Er bestaat dus een afhankelijkheid in de culturele participatie van vrouwen ten opzichte van de werkuren van mannen. De vervolgvraag is of deze afhankelijkheid tot stand komt doordat paren vaak samen een museum bezoeken en dat dit dus alleen kan wanneer ze beiden tijd hebben.

De vervolganalyse voor gezamenlijke culturele participatie beantwoordt deze vraag niet bevestigend. Met de werkuren van paren kunnen we de gezamenlijke culturele participatie niet verklaren. Dit betekent dat voltijd werkende paren niet bezuinigen op de gezamenlijke culturele participatie, een conclusie die overeenkomt met de bevinding voor maatschappelijke participatie in hoofdstuk 5. Een mogelijke verklaring hiervoor is dat paren de tijd voor deze activiteiten reserveren, ofwel een hoge prioriteit geven, en kiezen voor bezuiniging op andere terreinen.

4. Evaluatie van het paar-, levensloop- en opvattingenperspectief

In retrospect bekijken we in welke mate de drie gekozen perspectieven in dit onderzoek hebben bijgedragen aan het beantwoorden van vragen, en welke nieuwe vragen er wellicht bij zijn gekomen. Allereerst kan worden gezegd dat het paarperspectief in belangrijke mate zijn vruchten heeft afgeworpen. De beslissingen die paren nemen in hun beroepscarrière is niet enkel afhankelijk van het individu, de partner draagt in belangrijke mate bij aan deze beslissing. Zo hebben we bijvoorbeeld aangetoond dat het stoppen met voltijd werk door beide partners kan worden verklaard door individuele, gepaarde en nationale data. De geboorte van een eerste kind, geografische mobiliteit, het aantal geregistreerde werklozen, en het huwelijk zijn voorbeelden hiervan. Tevens hebben we laten zien dat de gecombineerde carrières van voltijd werkende paren de kans op de geboorte van een eerste kind sterk beïnvloeden. Deze empirische bevindingen geven steun aan ons algemeen theoretisch idee dat analyses naar de afzonderlijke levensloop van het individu incompleet zijn zonder het paarperspectief.

Ten tweede hebben we het levensloopperspectief vaak gecombineerd met het paarperspectief. Zo hebben we in een gebeurtenissenanalyse het stoppen met voltijd werk door beide partners onder de loep genomen door veranderingen in de beroepscarrière van beiden te modelleren. Partnereffecten zijn van belang in de verklaring welke personen voltijd blijven werken en welke niet. Zo blijkt dat vrouwen met een hogere beroepsstatus minder vaak de transitie maken van voltijd werk naar deeltijd werk. Echter, deze transitie komt juist vaker voor bij vrouwen die samen wonen met een man met een hogere beroepsstatus. In hoofdstuk 4, over de fertiliteit van voltijd werken paren, gebruiken we wederom een levensloopperspectief om te verklaren waarom bij hen de kans op het krijgen van kinderen lager is. Paren met de grootste investering in de beroepscarrière stellen het krijgen van kinderen uit tot een tijdstip waarop het ouderschap minder zal interfereren met de carrière.

Ten derde hebben rekening gehouden met opvattingen van personen en paren. Een veelgebruikt argument in deze studie is dat onze opvattingen heden ten dage afhankelijk zijn van onze socialisatieperiode. De culturele waarden in onze omgeving tijdens de jongvolwassenheid hebben een langdurige invloed op onze waarden gedurende de rest van ons leven. In ieder geval hebben we in deze studie aan kunnen tonen dat opgroeien in een progressieve familie samenhangt met beslissingen over de verdeling van het aantal werkuren in een relatie. Zo is een mannelijk kostwinner huishouden niet populair onder paren die opgroeiden met relatief hoogopgeleide ouders, waarin de moeder werkte gedurende de formatieve jaren van de respondent.

5. Mogelijkheden voor vervolgonderzoek

De drie perspectieven die we hebben gebruikt in deze studie hebben bijgedragen aan onze kennis over de gevolgen voor de fertiliteit, de individuele en gezamenlijke vrijetijdsbesteding, en de tijd die men doorbrengt met vrienden en familie in relatie tot het voltijd werken van beide partners. De resultaten hebben vaak bestaande vragen beantwoord, maar roepen tevens nieuwe vragen op die interessant zijn voor toekomstig onderzoek.

Ten eerste is het interessant te onderzoeken in welke mate het voltijd werken van beide partners gevolgen heeft voor de kwaliteit van de relatie. Wanneer beiden voltijd werken kunnen huwelijken stranden omdat paren geen overeenstemming bereiken over het aantal uren dat zij beiden willen werken. Opvattingen over hoe werk en zorg moeten worden verdeeld zijn vaak aanleiding voor een echtscheiding (Schoen, Astone, Rothert, Standish & Kim, 2002). Verder hebben we laten zien dat voltijd werkende paren significant minder tijd besteden aan vrienden en familie. Deze bevinding sluit aan bij bestaand onderzoek dat aantoont dat paren die minder mogelijkheden benutten om samen tijd door te brengen een lagere relatie kwaliteit kunnen ervaren (Spitze & South, 1985).

Ten tweede is het interessant nader in te zoomen op de inhoud van het beroep van voltijd werkende paren. In hoofdstuk 2 toonden we al aan dat het opleidingsniveau onder de groep voltijd werkende paren stijgt over de tijd; het is de vraag of deze ontwikkeling zich ook uit in de beroepsstatus van deze paren.

Ten derde zijn de agenda's van huishoudens van belang als we meer willen weten hoe paren hun tijd besteden. Dit kan de vraag beantwoorden op welke tijdstippen van de dag of week er vrije tijd beschikbaar komt. Paren werken niet altijd dezelfde uren op een dag, wat betekent dat gezamenlijke activiteiten afhankelijk zijn van het temporele ritme van beide agenda's. Een eerste stap in deze richting wordt gezet door Lesnard (2005) die in een ongepubliceerd artikel over de Franse samenleving beschrijft voor welke paren de vrije tijd synchroon verloopt.

Ten vierde hebben we in deze studie steeds beargumenteerd dat het voltijd werken van beide partners en een verandering van werkuren een resultaat is van een onderhandeling tussen partners. Dit onderhandelingsproces hebben we niet direct waargenomen en dus ook niet onderzocht. Informatie over op welke wijze deze onderhandelingen precies verlopen en hoe partners tot een overeenkomst komen kan erg interessant zijn. Hiervoor is het wellicht noodzakelijk om paren te interviewen voorafgaand aan een verandering in de beroepscarrière en wederom te ondervragen nadat hun werkuren zijn gewijzigd.

Ten vijfde hebben we de nadruk gelegd op voltijd werkende paren omdat zij vanuit een emancipatieoogpunt een goed voorbeeld zijn: beide partners investeren evenveel in hun carrière. Echter, de tweeverdieners bestaan uit meer dan alleen de voltijd werkende paren. In tabel 7.1 is de ontwikkeling van de combinatiehuishoudens weergegeven. Het aantal traditionele combinatiehuishoudens - een voltijd werkende man en een deeltijd werkende vrouw – zijn sterk gegroeid. Maar er is meer ontwikkeling zichtbaar: het aandeel deeltijd werkende paren groeit van bijna niets naar ruim 5% in 2005. Het is interessant om deze paren nader te bekijken, omdat ook zij er voor kiezen om beiden evenveel te investeren in hun beroepscarrière.

Ten zesde is het mogelijk dat de hoeveelheid taken van voltijd werkende paren kan leiden tot stress. Het werk dat zij doen, dat wordt gekenmerkt door hoge verwachtingen, kan serieuze gevolgen hebben voor zowel de mentale als fysieke gezondheid (Crouter, Bumpus, Head & McHale, 2001; Townsend, 2002; Wall, Jackson, Mullarkey & Parker, 1996). Op individueel niveau is het bekend dat werkgerelateerde stress samenhangt met een slechtere mentale en fysieke gezondheid. In het geval van voltijd werkende paren worden wellicht beide partners in het huishouden blootgesteld aan dezelfde stress wat het wellicht lastiger maakt om terug te vallen op hun levenspartner wanneer dat nodig is (Doumas, Margolin & John, 2003; Voydanoff, 2002). Het resultaat zou kunnen zijn dat voltijd werkende paren een relatief lagere mentale en fysieke gezondheid hebben dan andere paren.

Ten zevende heeft deze studie steeds geprobeerd informatie over de context waarin personen leven – het huishouden en de samenleving – toe te voegen aan het verklaringsmodel. Zo hangt het nationaal werkloosheidscijfer negatief samen met de beslissing om te stoppen met voltijd werk en de geboorte van het eerste kind. Het belang van de nationale context wordt nog beter getoetst wanneer er meer variatie bestaat. Dit verreist het toevoegen van meerdere landen, waarin de nationale context per land verschillend is. Pas dan wordt echt duidelijk in welke mate de nationale context bijdraagt aan verklaringen over transities in de beroepscarrière.

Tot slot merken we op dat deze studie verschillende vragen heeft beantwoord, en tevens nieuwe heeft opgeroepen. Voltijd werkende paren zijn duidelijk anders dan andere paren. Ze bestaan uit hoogopgeleide individuen, voornamelijk kinderloos en zij bezuinigen op de tijd met vrienden, familie en kennissen. Toekomstig onderzoek kan uitwijzen of de kenmerken van voltijd werkende paren zoals hierboven beschreven veranderen of standhouden.

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Wouter van Gils was born on June 23, 1977 in Vlaardingen the Netherlands. He studied sociology at the University of Nijmegen from 1997 to 2002. In September 2002, he started his PhD project at the Interuniversity Center for Social Science Theory and Methodology (ICS) at the department of Sociology, University of Nijmegen. In 2004, while performing research that led to this dissertation, he attended the ICPSR Summer Program in Quantitative Methods of Social Research, Ann Arbor Michigan, United States of America, where he followed courses on maximum likelihood estimation. As of April 2007, he is employed by OHRA where he holds a position as business analyst.

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