

Work-family conflict in comparative perspective: The role of social policies[☆]

Haya Stier^{a,b,*}, Noah Lewin-Epstein^a, Michael Braun^c

^a Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tel Aviv University, Israel

^b Department of Labor Studies, Tel Aviv University, Israel

^c GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences, Mannheim, Germany

Received 25 August 2011; received in revised form 7 February 2012; accepted 13 February 2012

Abstract

This study focuses on the role of social policies in mitigating work-family incompatibilities in 27 countries. We ask whether work-family conflict is reduced in countries that provide family-friendly policies and flexible employment arrangements, and whether women and men are similarly affected by such policies. The study, based on the ISSP 2002, demonstrates considerable variation among countries in the perceived work-family conflict. In all but two countries, women report higher levels of conflict than men. At the individual level, working hours, the presence of children and work characteristics affect the perception of conflict. At the macro level, childcare availability and to a certain extent maternity leave reduce women's and men's sense of conflict. Additionally, the availability of childcare facilities alleviates the adverse effect of children on work-family balance for mothers while flexible job arrangements intensify this effect.

© 2012 International Sociological Association Research Committee 28 on Social Stratification and Mobility. Published by Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

Keywords: Work-family conflict; Work-family balance; Social policies; Family-friendly policies; Comparative study

1. Introduction

As long as market work on the one hand and family care and domestic work on the other hand were the distinct domains of men and women, respectively, the matter of personal balancing of the two was not an issue neither in everyday practice nor as a research topic. With the ever-increasing labor force participation

of women and especially mothers, the dominant family model in advanced industrial societies has shifted from the male-breadwinner – female-carer family to the two-earner model. Concomitantly, work-family conflict and its corollaries emerged as a topic attracting increased attention from the research community and as a topic of policy concern.

Work-family conflicts which result from the incompatible demands of these two domains involve time pressures as well as conflicting responsibilities from home and work (Roehling, Moen, & Batt, 2003; Valcour & Batt, 2003; Voydanoff, 2004). Most studies that examined the work-family nexus concentrated on family and job characteristics that ease or intensify the conflicting demands from the workplace and from home. These include accommodating features of jobs such as

[☆] An earlier version of the paper was presentation at the ISA-RC28 on Social Stratification meetings in Beijing, China, May 14–16, 2009.

* Corresponding author at: Department of Labor Studies, Tel Aviv University, Ramat Aviv, Tel Aviv 69978, Israel. Fax: +972 3 6407300.

E-mail addresses: haya1@post.tau.ac.il (H. Stier),
[Noah1@post.tau.ac.il](mailto>Noah1@post.tau.ac.il) (N. Lewin-Epstein), michael.braun@gesis.org (M. Braun).

flexibility and control over time schedules (Grzywacz & Marks, 2000; Maume & Houston, 2001; Valcour & Batt, 2003; White, Hill, McGovern, Mills, & Smeaton, 2003) or conflict exaggerating factors such as the presence of young children (Dex & Bond, 2005; Kinnunen & Mauno, 1998) or scarcity of time (Roehling et al., 2003).

In recent years growing attention is given to work-family reconciliation strategies, at the firm or market-wide, with the expectation that they would help balance work and family demands. In the United States, firm-level policies such as parental leave or arrangements for time-off during the workday to meet personal or family needs have been found to reduce work-family conflict (Major, Klein, & Ehrhart, 2002; Voydanoff, 2004). Several studies examined the effect of policies at the national level, but the findings were not consistent. Some support the claim that employment-supportive (or family-friendly) policies reduce work-family conflict (e.g., Crompton & Lyonette, 2006) while others contend that policies have no significant effect (e.g., Edlund, 2007; Lippe, Jager, & Kops 2006; Strandh & Nordenmark, 2006). These inconsistencies may result from the fact that most comparative studies did not test directly which policies have a balancing effect on women (and men) but rather compared the level and determinants of work-family conflicts in countries known to provide different policy configurations. The aim of our study is to extend and enhance this line of research. More specifically, we intend to examine the role of policy measures and employment strategies at the national level in ameliorating work-family incompatibilities which are manifested in perceptions of conflict between paid and family work among women and men.

Employment-supportive policies (such as maternity and parental leave, day care facilities) were implemented in most industrialized countries in order to encourage the incorporation of women with family responsibilities into the workforce. Yet, inherent in these policies is the expectation that women combine market and family activities. Indeed, it is not yet clear whether these policies actually help to achieve a balanced life and, especially, whether they reduce work-family conflict created by the presence of children. Moreover, the effect of such policies on men's work-family conflict has not been studied before, as they were seldom seen as a policy target. Hence, an additional aim of our study is to test whether policies affect similarly the level of work-family conflict experienced by women and men with different family responsibilities and at different stages of their family life course.

2. Theoretical background

The time pressure implied by work-family conflict is often viewed as a feature of modernization. Simmel referred to the phenomenon as “increased pace of life”; that is, a situation in which individuals are confronted with simultaneous tasks and roles which they must rapidly run through (in Garhammer, 2002). In a comprehensive review of studies that addressed the “pace of life” in advanced industrial societies, Garhammer (2002) concluded that societies have generally adapted to the higher pace of life and the resulting time pressure. Yet, the overall, or the aggregate, picture hides considerable variation among social groups defined by their gender, age, family status and employment situation. These variations and especially those associated with gender and the family situation are the focus of the present paper.

Modernization, as it is manifested in advanced industrialization, is associated with changes not only in work demands and life pressures in general but also in family behaviors. Most notably is the rise in women's, especially mothers', labor force participation. This change is related to the rise in mass education, declining fertility and change in household composition as evident in most industrialized (as well as less developed) countries. During the past half-century many countries experienced a shift to the service society and changes in the organization of work, alongside the expansion of social policies (Wilensky, 2002). The increased involvement of women in paid employment is often seen as a driving force behind political and cultural developments, in particular the growing demand for gender equality and the introduction of work-family policies. The “pressures of life” associated with growing modernization refers mainly to the structure of employment, the length of the working day and the pressures coming from the work place. Yet, in recent years work-family conflict is also associated with the profound changes in household composition, especially the transition to dual-earner households and growing rates of single parenthood associated with the pervasiveness of divorce (Gallie & Russell, 2009; Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). As a consequence, most families are faced with the problem of balancing their paid and care work. States and social institutions responded to the growing pressures for balancing life by introducing policies and arrangements to facilitate the work of families. These policies and arrangements, as they vary across countries, are at the center of our study.

2.1. Drivers of work-family conflict

Before exploring possible societal differences in the likelihood of experiencing work-family conflict (or

balance) we review several individual and family attributes that were found in past research to affect the level of conflict between work and family. These include time pressures, family burdens and work demands. Since time is a scarce resource, the *time availability* approach (Coverman, 1985; Jager, 2002) argues that in attempting to balance work and family demands, longer hours spent in the labor market are likely to result in a time-squeeze. This approach received considerable attention from policy makers as well as empirical support (Dex & Bond, 2005; Grzywacz & Marks, 2000; Major et al., 2002; Valcour & Batt, 2003; Voydanoff, 2004; White et al., 2003).

A second line of argumentation emphasizes *family demands*. The “demand” hypothesis (Coverman, 1985) posits that the greater the household demands, the more difficult it is to balance work and family. Household demands vary with family composition and are especially high when young children are present. As women typically carry the major responsibility for childcare the work-family conflict is more pronounced among employed mothers of young children, as several studies show (Dex & Bond, 2005; Kinnunen & Mauno, 1998; Kinnunen, Feldt, Geurts, & Pulkkinen, 2006; Maume & Houston, 2001). However, recent studies emphasize the growing involvement of fathers in childcare which blurs the boundaries between their role as economic providers and caregivers. Consequently, men as well may experience conflict between work and family demands, associated with their role as fathers (Nomaguchi, 2007; Winslow, 2005).

From the labor market perspective, *job demands* were found to affect the work-family conflict. Employees often experience on-the-job pressures that may result from responsibilities, work schedules and the nature of the job. Professional occupations, for example, exert more pressure than other occupations, although they often involve high levels of rewards (McGinnity & Calvert, 2008). Work-family conflicts may also intensify when the job carries authority or involves uncertainty. By way of contrast, flexible employment arrangements are viewed as important elements in creating work-family conflict. This relationship, however, is not straightforward. When flexibility is accompanied by employment insecurity as in the case of precarious jobs, the pressure emanating from the work situation is likely to increase. Yet, when the employee is given greater opportunity to arrange the work schedule it is easier to coordinate work and family care and, hence, to reach a better work-family balance. Additionally, a work environment that acknowledges and supports workers’ family demands may ease conflicts

and increase the sense of balance in life (Valcour & Batt, 2003).

2.2. *Work-family conflict in context*

As noted above, with the increased participation of women in the labor force and the transition to dual-earner households, the issue of work-family conflict became more salient. Modernization, as it is manifest in advanced industrialization, is associated with changes in fertility and household composition, rise of mass higher education, growing participation of women in the labor market, growing demand for gender equality, shift to the service society, changes in the organization of work and the expansion of social policies (Wilensky, 2002). While it had been argued that these developments produce differences in work-family balance between advanced industrial societies and economically less developed societies (Edlund, 2007), it is not clear in which group of countries one would find stronger perceptions of work-family conflict. Processes associated with modernity have added to women’s traditional roles the expectation that they should work outside the home and contribute to family income. This, in turn, increases the work-family tensions for both women and men, as families need to re-organize around the dual role of carers and providers. However, these same processes of modernization brought about the development of more efficient household technologies and flexible employment arrangements. Indeed, one might expect that women in less developed societies that were only recently incorporated in large numbers into the economy would experience the greatest work-family conflict.

Even among more industrialized societies it is likely that patterns of work-family balance vary considerably. Edlund (2007), using Esping-Andersen’s welfare regimes, noted that in “. . . the Nordic countries the issue of work-family balance falls within the political sphere.” (p. 2). In market oriented countries such as the United States, as Edlund points out, female employment rates are relatively high, as is the case in the Nordic countries. Yet, they are shaped primarily by market forces with little state intervention. In this context, work-family balance is viewed primarily as a private matter that individuals and families are expected to resolve. In countries on the European continent – those countries Esping-Andersen referred to as conservative – the family is viewed as the dominant provider of welfare and the work-family issue for women is often resolved through exit from the labor force or reduced participation in employment activities. Edlund’s findings, in fact, point to a weakness in using “regimes” to explain

variation in work-family conflict. This is mainly because regimes, composed of clusters of countries, conceal substantial variation in institutional arrangements, policies and cultures (Stier, 2009). Moreover, not all countries fall easily into one regime or another, especially non-European or less developed countries. Our study, which includes a wide range of countries, tries to overcome this generalization by unpacking general concepts such as modernization and welfare regimes, and by focusing directly on the effect of policies on the ability of men and women to balance work and family.

Specific institutional arrangements were developed in most countries in order to reconcile work-family conflicts. These arrangements, which vary across countries with similar level of modernization and also within welfare regimes, were aimed mainly to reduce women's work-family tensions, allowing them to combine their role as provider and carer for the family. However, they do not affect uniformly women's employment patterns or gender inequality in the labor market or at home (e.g. Hook, 2006; Mandel & Semyonov, 2005; Stier & Mandel, 2009; Stier & Lewin-Epstein, 2007). Parental leave schemes are available, to varied degrees, in many countries. They allow mothers and to a certain degree also fathers to take time off when family demands are high, while still keeping their involvement in the labor market, as several studies show (Mandel & Semyonov, 2005; Petit & Hook, 2005). Maternity leave is especially important for women who still perform the lion's share of care work.

Similarly, high quality, publicly subsidized and maintained day-care facilities allow women to devote a greater share of their time to work activities without being pressured by family demands, and may also help to distribute the responsibility for children between both parents in a more equal way. The variation across countries is partly related to the actual rate of female labor force participation and the prevalence of dual-earner households, but is also related to general ideologies concerning the involvement of the state in facilitating the work of families (Esping-Andersen, 1999; Lewis, 1992). For example, some countries with high rates of women in the labor force (e.g., Sweden, Denmark and Slovenia) provide generous maternity and paternity leave, while others, such as the U.S. and Australia have no formal paid maternity leave. The Scandinavian countries provide publically subsidized day care facilities to children at very young ages while in other countries day-care centers, especially for very young children, are either absent or are provided by private organizations, as is the case in the U.S. (Gornick & Meyers, 2003). Consequently, the rate of young children in day care arrangements varies

considerably by country. In general, then, work-family conflict, especially among parents of young children, is expected to be less prevalent in countries that support working mothers than in countries where women are supposed to find their own childcare and negotiate their own work arrangements, or in countries that adhere to women's traditional role as carers.

In a similar vein, work arrangements that are more family friendly (e.g., flexibility in work schedules; shorter hours of work) may create an environment that allows parents to combine their work and family demands and share family burdens more equally. The relationship between flexible work arrangements and work-family conflict has received significant attention in recent years (Winslow-Bowe, 2007). Long and rigid hours of work create problems for parents while a more flexible work schedule is assumed to facilitate the coping with children's expected and unexpected needs. Non-standard hours (mainly working weekends, nights or shorter hours) can present another source of strain to the family, especially when they involve irregularity, shift work and low pay. As Mutari and Figart (2001) note, flexible work arrangements may benefit employers more than their employees. In addition, they point out that non-standard hours may increase gender inequality in work patterns.

Countries differ in the way they regulate non-standard hours and the work conditions associated with these types of employment (Gornick & Meyers, 2003). Gornick and Meyers argue that regulated flexible arrangements support parents by providing better means for combining work and childcare. It is noteworthy, however, that such regulations also contain restrictive elements since they may direct employees to work non-standard hours, offering such jobs exclusively to mothers or limiting the availability of them in general (pp. 172–173).

The effect of policies on women's work-family conflict is rather straightforward, as such policies are designed to ease women's dual role as providers and carers. Yet, the effect on men, and especially fathers, is less clear. As we stated above, some of the employment-supportive or family friendly policies may affect men's participation in childcare and housework (Fuwa & Cohen, 2007; Hook, 2006; Stier & Lewin-Epstein, 2007). Paternity leave allows men to take time off when children demand special care; fathers can take responsibility for children's day care schedules and are more likely to attend to children's needs when they have flexible job arrangements. One possible outcome of such policies is an increase in the work-family conflict experienced by men. Once men become more involved in

childcare as a consequence of these policies, they may feel conflicting demands from home and work, similar to women (Winslow, 2005).

To summarize, in this study we raise three major questions:

1. To what extent are policies and arrangements aimed at facilitating women's employment successful in reducing work-family conflicts?
2. Are these policies more effective in the case of women or do they similarly affect both spouses?
3. Can policies reduce the effect of family demands on work-family conflicts? More specifically, since children are the major source of tension between these two life domains, are policies successful in reducing the effect of children on the perceived conflict?

In general, we anticipate a lower level of work-family conflict in countries that provide support for working mothers, either in the form of generous maternity leave, day care facilities or flexible work arrangements. These effects are expected to be more pronounced for women than for men, as most policies target women and are designed to lower their work-family conflict. Furthermore, we expect that these policies and arrangements will reduce mainly the conflict level of workers who have high family demands (i.e., parents to young children) and, again, more so for women than for men.

3. Data sources

We use the ISSP 2002 module on family and gender roles to analyze the factors that affect perceptions of work-family conflict at the individual level. The current study comprises twenty-seven countries that participated in the survey and had data on all individual- and country-level variables. These include: Australia, Belgium, Chile, Czech Republic, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Japan, Latvia, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Slovenia, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the U.K., and the U.S. We restrict the samples to men and women who participated in paid employment and responded to the statements concerning the work-family conflict. It is important bearing in mind that working women are selected to paid employment and selection may vary across countries. We attend to this issue later. The total sample includes 8190 women and 8357 men.

Table 1
Factor loadings, employed men and women, ISSP 2002.

	Component matrix		
	Total	Women	Men
Too tired from work to do duties at home	0.709	0.706	0.712
Difficult to fulfill family responsibility	0.768	0.787	0.757
Too tired from housework to function in job	0.774	0.789	0.754
Difficult to concentrate at work	0.760	0.767	0.748
Eigenvalue	2.269	2.329	2.207
Cronbach's α	0.74	0.75	0.72
% Explained variance	56.7	58.2	55.2

4. Measurements

4.1. The measure of work-family conflict

We define work-family conflict or lack of balance as the difficulties perceived by individuals in attempting to combine paid work and family care activities, that is the pressure arising from the perceived incompatibility of work and family roles (see Edlund, 2007; Moen, 2003a, 2003b). This is measured by the responses to four questions that pertain to the interface of work and family in daily life and are worded as follows:

How often has each of the following happened to you during the past three months?

1. I have come home from work too tired to do the chores which need to be done.
2. It has been difficult for me to fulfill my family responsibilities because of the amount of time I spent on my job.
3. I have arrived at work too tired to function well because of the household work I had done.
4. I have found it difficult to concentrate at work because of my family responsibilities.

The answers ranged from 1 = several times a week to 4 = never.

In order to build a coherent measure of work-family conflict we conducted a factor analysis including the four statements. The results for the entire sample are presented in Table 1. The four statements form one common factor with high and similar factor loadings of all of its components. A reliability test reveals a high level of reliability ($\alpha = 0.74$ for the entire population, 0.75 and 0.72 for women and men, respectively). Repeating the analysis separately for each country, we found the same single factor structure with reliability ranging from

0.61 in Germany to 0.82 in Cyprus. This factor accounts for 57% of the total variance in the entire population (ranging from 47% in Germany and Denmark to 67% in Cyprus). Based on the factor scores we created a scale, reversing the factor scores so that a high value indicates high incompatibility (conflict) between work and family.

4.2. Country-level and individual determinants of the perception of work-family conflict

The focus of the analysis in this paper is on the ways that policies and arrangements aimed at facilitating women's, and especially mothers', employment contribute to balancing work and family demands. We consider three types of policies and arrangements that were also found to affect women's employment (Gornick & Meyers, 2003; Mandel & Semyonov, 2005, 2006): the number of paid weeks of maternity leave; the rate of children 0–3 years of age in day care (Clearinghouse, 2004); and the extent of flexibility in work arrangements. The latter measure was obtained from the ISSP module on "Work Orientations" (2005), using three questions on work arrangements:

1. Whether respondent controls starting and ending time of work.
2. Whether respondent decides how to organize daily work.
3. Whether respondent can take time off during working hours.

A combined measure of "flexibility" was created using factor analysis. A high score implies high flexibility in work organization.¹

Table 2 presents the figures for the main macro-level indicators, by country. The table demonstrates substantial variation among countries in their policies. For example, the highest rate of childcare is in Denmark, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands, followed closely by Belgium, Finland and Slovenia. At the bottom we can find the Philippines, Poland, Mexico, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Cyprus and Germany with less than 10% of the children in this age group attending some kind of childcare arrangement. Maternity leave also varies across countries, with the most generous leave available in Slovenia, Denmark, Norway and Sweden and the lowest in the U.S., Australia and the Philippines. According to these two measures some countries (Norway,

Table 2
Values of macro-level indicators by country.

Country	% Children in day care	Weeks paid maternity leave	Level of flexibility
Australia	29.0	0.0	0.370
Belgium	38.5	15.0	−0.632
Chile	9.8	13.0	−0.075
Cyprus	7.0	16.0	−1.318
Czech Republic	3.0	28.0	−0.848
Denmark	61.7	52.0	1.267
Finland	35.0	18.0	0.705
France	26.0	16.0	0.180
Germany	9.0	14.0	−0.182
Hungary	8.0	24.0	−1.093
Israel	17.8	12.0	−0.021
Japan	15.2	14.0	−0.757
Latvia	16.1	16.0	−1.637
Mexico	3.0	12.0	0.607
Netherlands	39.0	16.0	−0.075
Norway	43.7	52.0	0.095
Philippines	0.0	8.0	2.050
Poland	7.9	16.0	−0.075
Portugal	23.5	26.0	−0.707
Russia	–	28.0	−2.496
Slovak Republic	17.7	28.0	−0.075
Slovenia	33.5	52.0	−0.418
Spain	20.7	16.0	−0.518
Sweden	39.5	52.0	1.193
Switzerland ^a	–	16.0	1.733
U.K.	25.8	18.0	0.274
U.S.	29.5	0.0	0.754

^a Data on childcare could not be provided for Switzerland and Russia. In the multivariate analysis the value of childcare for these two countries was estimated.

Denmark, Sweden and Slovenia) stand out in their generosity, while the Philippines and Mexico are located at the other end, as failing to provide support. Flexibility shows a different pattern with the highest level of flexible arrangements in the Philippines, Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland and the lowest in Russia, Hungary, Latvia and Cyprus.

It is important to note that the correlation between the two measures of family support (% children in day care and maternity leave) is strong ($r=0.5$) but the level of job flexibility, a clear indicator of work arrangements, is not related to the other measures. Also, the childcare measure is highly correlated with the country's GDP ($r=0.75$) and the rate of female labor force participation (0.5). As we argued at the outset, a prominent feature of advanced industrialized countries is the high rate of women's employment and policies to support their employment.

At the individual level we measure demographic, family and job characteristics which are expected to affect the compatibility between the work and family domains.

¹ The three indicators were highly correlated. Details of the factor analysis can be obtained from the authors.

To denote *time availability* we included a measure of weekly hours of paid work. *Family demand* is measured by the presence of children younger than 18 in the household,² and *work demands* are measured by several job characteristics: the *type of occupation* (measured in three categories based on the ISCO categorization: high white-collar occupations (the reference category); low white-collar occupations; and blue-collar occupations); whether the respondent is self-employed; whether the job is in the public sector; and whether the respondent has a supervisory role in the job. The models control also for education (measured in years), age and age squared, and marital status.³ Table A1 in the appendix presents the means, standard deviations and ranges of all individual-level variables.

We expect high demands at the work place or in the family to be associated with a stronger perception of incompatibility between these two life domains. This means that hours of work, the presence of children, employment in high white-collar occupations, self-employment and having authority on the job are expected to increase the level of conflict. Employment in the public sector is expected to reduce the sense of incompatibility between work and family because it permits to better accommodate family demands.

We use Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM) where the dependent variable is the work-family conflict construct and both individual and societal variables serve as independent variables. Using HLM we are able to model the two components simultaneously, and to separate the contributions of individual- and country-level characteristics to the total variance explained. This method allows us to examine the effect of employment supportive policies and flexibility arrangements on country differences in the average level of conflict and also to test whether they interact with important determinants of work-family conflict on the individual level, such as the presence of children. Because, as we stated earlier, working women may be self-selected to the labor force on the basis of their expected wages and opportunity costs, and since this selection may vary across countries, we also estimate a model which takes sample selection into account. The probability of employment is based on country-specific estimation. The equation included education, age, the presence of children, marital status and a composed measure of gender roles.

² In preliminary analyses we separated children under 6 and children 6–17. The effect was similar leading to our conclusion to use only one measure of child presence.

³ We also considered including a measure of unpaid work, but this measure was not available for non-partnered respondents.

5. Findings

Fig. 1 depicts country variation in perceived work-family conflict for women and men in each of the countries included in our study. For convenience of presentation, we add the value of 1 to the country's mean factor score so that all values become positive. Fig. 1 reveals substantial country differences in perceived work-family conflict and this is true for both gender groups. Interestingly, the level of work-family conflict is related to “modernization” but in a somewhat unexpected way—the correlation with the country's GDP is negative ($r = -0.69$ for women's level of conflict and -0.62 for men's) and is similarly negative with the rate of female labor force participation. This means that while modernization introduces pressures for family life, as argued earlier, and especially with the rise in women's paid employment, it also provides the necessary conditions to resolve these pressures. One aspect of these solutions may be seen in the adaptation of policies and work arrangements aimed at facilitating the work of parents. Another aspect has to do with advanced household technologies in richer countries, which alleviate some of the conflict by easing women's household duties such as cleaning and cooking. Modernization notwithstanding, there is still interesting variation across countries. For both men and women, Chile has the highest score of work-family conflict, followed closely by Mexico, Slovakia, Poland and Israel. Chile and Mexico have relatively low levels of support for working parents, as suggested in Table 2, and also low levels of GDP and female labor force participation. However, this is not the case for Israel that enjoys higher support for mothers, and also higher level of modernization. On the other hand, Switzerland, Denmark and Japan differ in their policies, and also in their level of economic advancement and female employment. Other advanced and affluent countries, such as the U.S., also exhibit a higher level of conflict (and less support for families). Interestingly, the correlation between the level of conflict and the rate of female labor force participation is negative ($r = -0.64$ with women's conflict and -0.58 with men's), suggesting that work-family conflict is not a mere reflection of the change in gender roles or in women's economic activity but rather related in a more complex way to the institutional context.

The comparison between the genders reveals that, while in almost all countries women report a higher level of perceived conflict between work and family, there is a general compatibility between men's and women's perception – the correlation between their

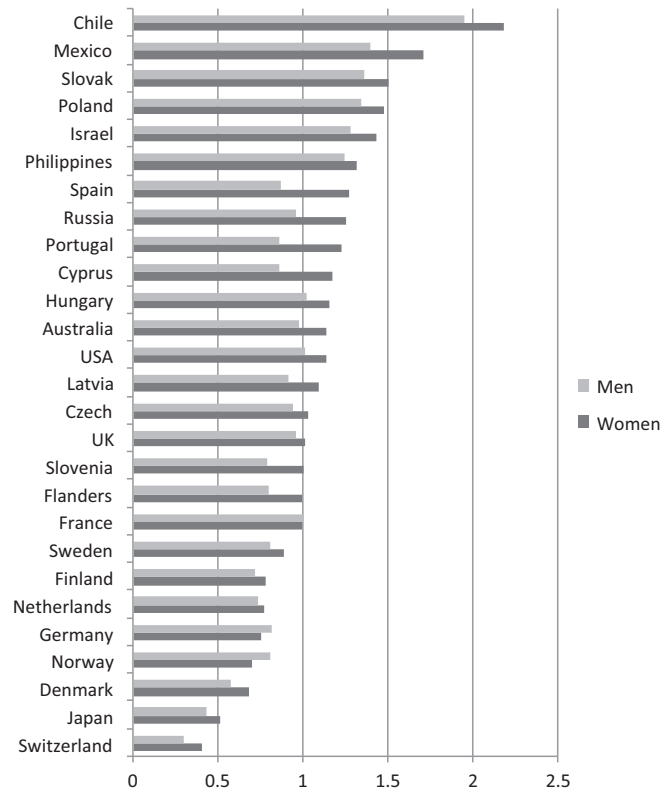


Fig. 1. Level of work-family imbalance, employed men and women.

scores is extremely high ($r=0.94$). Exceptions are Spain, Portugal, Cyprus and Russia where women perceive a much higher level of work-family conflict than men do. Only in Germany and Norway the level of work-family incompatibility is somewhat higher for men than for women, while the scores are almost equal in France. This suggests that factors at the country level account for differences in the way workers perceive the compatibility between their work and family lives.

We begin the multilevel analysis by examining the effect of gender on work-family conflict. Table 3 presents several multilevel models for the entire population in which we test first whether men and women differ in their average level of work-family conflict, independent of their work and family characteristics, and second, whether the effect of gender varies in the context of different policy measures. The first model, the null model, does not include any of the independent variables and is used to identify the between-country variation in the level of conflict. The variance components of the model indicate that 27% of the total variation in the sample results from country differences in women's and men's reported work-family conflict.

The second model examines the effect of gender, controlling for all individual-level variables. As can be seen,

women report a higher level of work-family conflict than men, on the average ($b=0.241$). The model also shows, as expected, that the sense of work-family conflict is stronger for those who work longer hours ($b=0.011$) and have children at home ($b=0.153$).

Workers in low white-collar occupations (e.g., technicians, elementary school teachers) have a lower level of conflict than those in high white-collar occupations but there is no difference between the latter and blue-collar workers. This is probably because workers in these two types of occupational groups face more strains and difficulties in balancing work and family, though not necessarily for the same reasons – workers in professional and managerial jobs often experience pressures and responsibilities that create a stressful work environment, while workers in blue-collar occupations often have less favorable work conditions, lower levels of flexibility in organizing time schedules and daily tasks and lower levels of job security which add strains to their lives. Authority on the job intensifies the sense of incompatibility, but there was no effect of self-employment, working in the public sector or education. The findings also show that the married have lower levels of conflict than the non-married. Older respondents are more likely to perceive conflicting demands from work and

Table 3
Multi-level models predicting level of work-family conflict (standard errors) in 27 countries, employed men and women.

	Null model	Individual level variables	Policy effect	Policy and gender interaction
Individual-level variables				
Intercept	0.022 (0.065)	−0.163* (0.053)	−0.163* (0.051)	−0.165* (0.050)
Gender (1 = female)		0.241* (0.028)	0.241* (0.028)	0.242* (0.022)
Age		0.017* (0.004)	0.018* (0.004)	0.017* (0.004)
Age ²		−0.000* (0.000)	−0.000* (0.000)	−0.000* (0.000)
Marital status		−0.051* (0.021)	−0.051* (0.022)	−0.049* (0.022)
Children at home		0.153* (0.015)	0.152* (0.015)	0.150* (0.015)
Education		−0.004 (0.006)	−0.004 (0.006)	−0.004 (0.006)
Weekly working hours		0.011* (0.001)	0.011* (0.001)	0.011* (0.001)
Occupation				
Low white-collar		−0.039* (0.020)	−0.039* (0.020)	−0.038 (0.021)
Blue-collar		0.003 (0.027)	0.002 (0.027)	0.002 (0.027)
Self employed		0.021 (0.034)	0.021 (0.034)	0.025 (0.035)
Employed in public sector		0.000 (0.018)	−0.000 (0.017)	0.006 (0.017)
Job authority		0.078* (0.019)	0.079* (0.019)	0.076* (0.019)
Country effects on intercept				
Weeks paid maternity leave			−0.003 (0.003)	−0.003 (0.003)
% Children 0–3 in day care			−0.008* (0.002)	−0.007* (0.002)
Flexibility Index			−0.000 (0.047)	0.023 (0.050)
Country effects on gender				
Weeks paid maternity leave				−0.001 (0.001)
% Children 0–3 in day care				−0.001 (0.002)
Flexibility Index				−0.048* (0.021)
Variance components				
Intercept	0.343	0.313	0.296	0.292
Level 1	0.953 (27%)	0.927	0.927	0.926
χ^2 Intercept (df)	2266.0 (26)	1772.6* (26)	1376.2* (23)	768.7 (23)
χ^2 Gender slope (df)				61.5* (23)
N (n countries)	16,547 (27)			

* $p < 0.05$.

family although the effect of age levels out in later life, probably because children already left home or because they experience lower levels of pressures at work.⁴

The third model adds three policy indicators: weeks of maternity leave, percent of young children in day care and the job flexibility macro-level indicator. The model demonstrates that only one of the policies we introduced in the model affects the perception of work-family compatibility – in countries with higher availability of day care facilities for very young children, the level of conflict is lower (−0.008). Work flexibility and the length paid maternity leave did not affect the perception of work-family conflict. The effect of all individual-level variables, including gender, remains unchanged. The last

model in Table 3 examines whether the effect of gender varies across countries with different policy and work arrangements. In other words, this model adds three interaction terms between gender and each of the policy indicators.

While the gender difference indeed varies across countries, it cannot be fully explained by national policies. Only flexible work arrangements interact with the effect of gender, so that gender differences in work-family conflict are smaller in countries that provide flexible job arrangements. Hence, while job flexibility does not affect the overall level of work-family conflict, it has the potential for more equally assigning family duties between men and women, or allowing men and women to adopt similar work patterns.

5.1. Modeling work-family conflict separately for women and men

The models in Table 3 assume that the structure of the relationship between individual- and country-level

⁴ We considered a control for family income, to capture the effect of economic pressures on work-family conflict. However, due to missing values in some countries, including the income variable resulted in a loss of too many cases although the basic patterns of relationships in the model remained unchanged.

Table 4

Multi-level models predicting level of work-family conflict (standard errors) in 27 countries, employed women and men.

	Women		Correction for selection (3)	Men	
	Policy effect (1)	Full model (2)		Policy effect (4)	Full model (5)
Individual-level variables					
Intercept	-0.059 (0.051)	-0.070 (0.051)	-0.113 (0.050)	-0.037 (0.059)	-0.037 (0.060)
Age	0.017* (0.007)	0.018* (0.007)	0.017* (0.007)	0.012* (0.004)	0.012* (0.004)
Age ²	-0.0003* (0.0001)	-0.0002* (0.0001)	-0.0002* (0.0001)	-0.0002* (0.0000)	-0.0002* (0.0000)
Marital Status	0.033 (0.028)	-0.031 (0.028)	0.014 (0.032)	-0.058 (0.033)	-0.057 (0.032)
Children at home	0.168* (0.031)	0.179* (0.028)	0.198* (0.029)	0.149* (0.017)	0.144* (0.018)
Education	0.004 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.005)	0.006 (0.005)	-0.002 (0.007)	0.002 (0.007)
Weekly working hours	0.013* (0.002)	0.013* (0.002)	0.014* (0.002)	0.009* (0.002)	0.009* (0.002)
Occupation					
Low white-collar	-0.032 (0.028)	-0.033 (0.028)	-0.037 (0.028)	-0.042 (0.033)	-0.042 (0.034)
Blue-collar	0.038 (0.038)	-0.035 (0.039)	-0.023 (0.040)	-0.019 (0.031)	-0.019 (0.031)
Self employed	-0.055 (0.053)	-0.059 (0.052)	-0.060 (0.051)	0.084* (0.031)	0.084* (0.030)
Employed in public sector	0.023 (0.022)	0.021 (0.022)	0.023 (0.022)	-0.020 (0.022)	-0.020 (0.023)
Has job authority	0.062* (0.031)	0.061* (0.031)	0.067* (0.030)	0.074* (0.022)	0.073* (0.022)
Selection indicator			-0.549* (0.163)		
Country effects on intercept					
Weeks paid maternity leave	-0.004 (0.003)	-0.004* (0.002)	-0.005* (0.002)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)
% Children 0–3 in day care	-0.007* (0.003)	-0.004 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.008* (0.002)	-0.009* (0.002)
Flexibility Index	-0.021 (0.044)	-0.071 (0.051)	-0.067 (0.049)	0.020 (0.051)	0.036 (0.053)
Country effects on children					
Maternity leave		0.001 (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)		-0.001 (0.001)
% Children 0–3 in day care		-0.005* (0.002)	-0.005* (0.002)		0.003* (0.002)
Flexibility Index		0.076* (0.026)	0.064* (0.027)		-0.025 (0.020)
χ^2 intercept (23 df)	597.1*	228.5*	201.8*	839.4	378.1*
χ^2 Children's slope (23 df)		40.6	33.9		19.0
<i>N</i> (27 countries)		8190			8357

* $p < 0.05 \sim p < 0.10$.

variables on the one hand and work-family conflict on the other hand is similar for men and women. This may not be the case, as women are more likely to be affected by family demands while men, who are usually less involved in care activities, may be more influenced by their work characteristics. Moreover, the two major policy indicators – maternity leave and day care facilities – are directly designed to influence the compatibility of work and family demands for mothers, and much less so for men. Therefore, Table 4 presents the same analyses separately for men and women. The first and fourth models estimate the effect of individual and macro-level variables on the perception of work-family conflict for women and men, respectively. Columns 2 and 5 add to these models the interaction of the macro-level indicators with the presence of children at home. We also added a model which takes into account women's selection to the labor force, mainly to capture differences across countries in this selection (column 3 in Table 4).

Starting with women, model 1 indicates that at the individual-level the major stressors are the presence of children at home and higher demand from work as indicated by the effect of working hours and job authority. Our main interest is in the effect of policies that countries enact. According to the model, the availability of childcare arrangements reduces the work-family conflict ($b = -0.007$). However, the effects of maternity leave and flexible work arrangements are not significant. Models 2 in Table 4 introduces interaction terms between the policy indicators and the presence of children in the household. We expected that the effect of the presence of children on the perception of work-family conflict will vary across countries that provide different policy bundles. The findings support this expectation. On average, the presence of children is associated with a sense of greater conflict ($b = 0.178$) for women but this effect is reduced in countries with higher coverage of day care facilities for very young children (aged 0–3). This

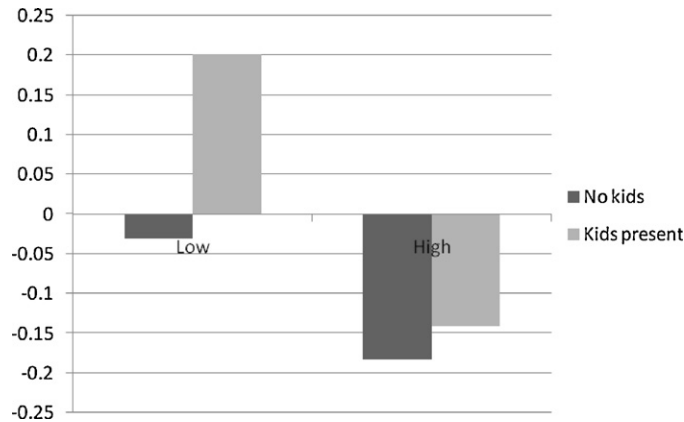


Fig. 2. Interaction effect of child presence and level of childcare, women.

interaction effect means that childcare arrangements are especially consequential for women who have children at home, while this policy does not affect the perception of conflict for other women. To capture more clearly the interaction effect between having young children and the coverage of childcare facilities in a country we carried out a simulation predicting the level of conflict for women with and without children who live in two hypothetical settings: a country in which only 10% of the children go to day care and a country in which 50% of the children do so. Fig. 2 shows clearly that in countries with high day care coverage there is little difference (and not significant) in work-family conflict between women with and without children at home, while under the condition of low coverage mothers of young children report much higher conflict than women who have no children in the household. In other words, this employment-supportive arrangement clearly allows mothers with children still present at home to combine work and family and reduce the tension between these two life spheres, as expected (see for example Gornick & Meyers, 2003).

Returning to Table 4 (model 2), we find that the level of conflict is reduced in countries with more generous maternity leave, but the effect does not differ between women with or without young children. Unexpectedly, we find a positive interaction between the prevalence of flexible work arrangements in a country and the relationship between presence of children in the household and women's work-family conflict. This interaction suggests that the effect of children in the household on women's level of perceived conflict is stronger in countries where flexible work arrangements are more prevalent. This underscores the "two-edged" nature of many family policies. In this case they help women to combine responsibility for the household with market work, but they do not provide a sufficient solution when

childcare is added to women's responsibility. Indeed, it is plausible that flexible work arrangements create more burdens for working mothers in two ways: first, because they have flexible arrangements at work they may take more responsibility for children's needs at any time; and second, additional burden is added in the form of having to plan and to face irregular schedules in the workplace.

The comparison between columns 2 and 3 (women's full model with and without selection) indicates that the selection to paid employment, while affecting significantly the average level of work-family conflict, does not account for the effect of any of the individual-level attributes or policy measures. The main effect of the presence of children is stronger after controlling for selection but the difference is not significant. The same can be said for the effect of job authority. At the macro level, the effect of maternity leave becomes somewhat stronger after taking women's selection to paid employment into account, indicating that above and beyond its effect on women's labor force participation, generous maternity leave contributes also to the reduction of work-family conflict for women. The interaction of the macro-level indicators with the presence of children is similar in the two models; with a somewhat weaker effect of job flexibility (differences of coefficients in the two models are not significant).

Because the selection term did not affect the results, and to achieve the highest comparability between models, we base the gender comparisons on models that do not include the selection term. Similar to women, men's perception of work-family conflict is also affected by the presence of children and high work demands (e.g., working hours and authority position). The slight differences in the effect of these variables (see models 1 and 4) are small and not significant. Self-employment, which had no significant effect on women, is significantly

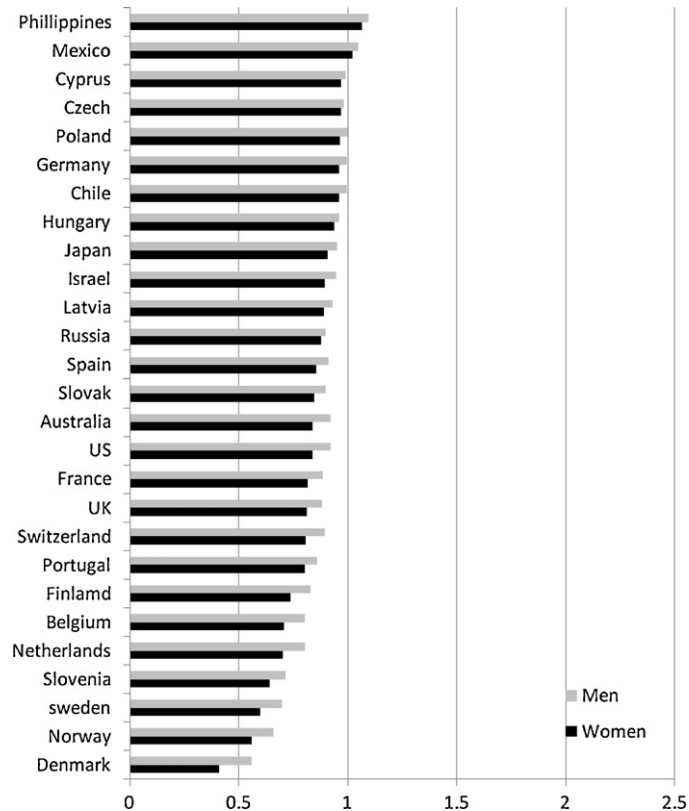


Fig. 3. Predicted level of women's and men work-family imbalance based on specific country policies.

associated with greater work-family conflict among men. This is in line with past research that had suggested that for women self-employment is often a strategy to combine work and family demands (Budig, 2003).

Turning to the macro-level indicators (model 4), the effect of childcare on men's work-family conflict is negative and similar to that of women. This finding indicates that providing alternative arrangements for women's care work indeed allow families to combine work and family, contributing to the reduction of the overall level of conflict. In contrast with the results reported for women, there is no significant interaction effect for men between the presence of children and childcare availability (model 5). This means that in countries with a high percentage of children in day care, all men, independent of whether they have children at home or not, experience lower levels of work-family conflict, probably because men, in most cases, are not the major caretakers of children. Similarly, flexibility does not interact with the presence of children, possibly because men are less likely to use flexible work arrangements for caring for children.

Due to the fact that policy effects are complex we further calculated the predicted level of conflict for a

typical family with children for women and men, respectively (based on the coefficients in models 2 and 5 in Table 4) allowing only the policy measures – maternity leave, rate of childcare and level of flexibility – to vary across countries. Fig. 3 illustrates the variation in work-family conflict that results merely from cross-country policy variations. The lowest level of conflict for both women (0.4) and men (0.4) is observed in Denmark, followed closely by Norway, Sweden and Slovenia. These countries offer high coverage of childcare facilities, which explains the low rate of conflict for women and men. The highest level of conflict is predicted for the Philippines and Mexico followed closely by Cyprus, the Czech Republic and Poland for women, while men exhibit higher levels of conflict in Germany and Chile. These countries have very limited provisions for childcare to young children and, at least for the Philippines and to some extent also for Mexico, also high levels of flexibility that does not necessarily help to reduce work-family conflicts. The comparison of Figs. 3 and 1 reveals the effect of policies on the ranking of countries on the “conflict” scale. Japan, for example, had a low rank of reported conflict. After controlling for the variation in individual-level composition,

and allowing only the policy indicators to vary across countries, Japan is ranked among the countries with the highest level of work-family conflict. A similar pattern can be found for other countries, such as Germany. On the opposite end, due to its elaborated policy schemes and childcare arrangements Slovenia is ranked among the countries with the lowest level of conflict, as is the case with Sweden (which was ranked much higher in Fig. 1). These findings support the claim that, overall, employment-supportive policies make a difference and manage to increase the life balance of women and men.⁵

6. Conclusions

In this paper we set out to explore the role of policies and employment-supportive arrangements in affecting work-family conflict, for women and men. We outlined some expectations regarding the factors that create pressures on working parents, including the availability of time, family demands and job pressures. Drawing on our individual-level findings, these general expectations gained support: working long hours, having young children at home and holding more demanding jobs (as exemplified in the effect of job authority) all contribute to an augmented perception of work-family conflict. The findings were generally similar for men and women.

When discussing welfare regimes, it has been commonly argued that extensive support to working parents in the form of family oriented policies, as is apparent in the Scandinavian welfare model, encourages the participation of mothers in paid employment by reducing the work family conflict (Gornick, Meyers & Ross, 1997; Mandel & Semyonov, 2005; Petit & Hook, 2005). Our findings suggest that these policies only partly succeed in doing so. High availability of day care centers for young children allow parents to better balance their work and family demands. However, the effect of this policy measure is more complex, as it interacts with important stressors, such as the presence of children in the household. We found considerable differences in the joint effect of policies and parenthood between men and women. The findings for women show that mothers to young children enjoy a better balance between work and family when there are possibilities to reduce the burden of childcare (especially through day care centers), but there is no comparable effect for fathers. Once

again this underscores the fact that care work is perceived mainly as women's work even in those countries and welfare regimes that provide alternative means of caring for children. While we found a lower level of conflict for women in countries with more generous leave arrangements, this policy did not particularly help mothers who have children at home, and has no effect on men's level of conflict. The weak effect of maternity leave policies can be attributed to its limited relevance to mothers who already returned to paid employment. Maternity leave policies are present in most countries. In recent years, leave schemes were extended in time, and in many countries include fathers, to some extent. However, it is important to bear in mind that, while providing support to working mothers in general, maternity leave schemes cannot reduce the inherent conflict between the work of raising children and paid employment. It is the childcare arrangements that, in practical terms, allow women to cope with their double burden. The difference in the effect of these policies highlights the importance of examining separately each policy measure instead of comparing clusters of countries. Indeed, some countries, in particular the social-democratic ones, have both highly developed childcare facilities and generous maternity leave. These countries also enjoy a low level of work-family conflict. However, the findings, as well as policy implications, would have been different, and even misleading, for countries that provide, for example, generous maternity leave but limited childcare facilities (as some central European countries).

Another interesting finding is that the prevalence of flexible work arrangements at the country level does not necessarily help mothers cope with their work and family demands. Further research should explore in depth how flexibility is organized and whether more flexibility is associated with other sources of burden such as the incompatibility between children's schooling and day care, or uncertainty at work that may become a source of tension. Finally, this study examined the perceived conflict between work and family among men and women in the labor force. While in all countries most men work, this is not necessarily the case for women. Although we estimated a standard model that addressed women's self-selection into the labor force and found that the selection factor does not alter other relationships, it is possible that a specific group of women – those who would otherwise be in the labor market, but as they could not cope with the double burden of work and family, left the labor market – is not included in the study. It is not entirely clear whether the ability to cope with work and family demands is related to other characteristics of women, such as their level of skills, type of occupation

⁵ While it may seem that the Scandinavian countries, with their high level of childcare facilities, drive the results, excluding these countries from the models, or adding an indicator for belonging to Scandinavia (models not shown here), did not change the overall pattern of results.

or the economic standing of their families. Future research could attend to these issues as well in order to understand the driving forces leading to more balanced lives.

Overall, then, our findings suggest complex and, at times, contradictory effects of different social policies and employment arrangements on the perception of work-family conflict among women and men. Yet, taken

as a whole it is clear that national policies and institutional arrangements do make a difference and enhance to some extent the life balance of employed women and men.

Appendix A.

See [Table A1](#).

Table A1
Mean (SD) or percent distribution of individual-level variables included in the analyses.

	Total population	Women	Men
Variables			
% Women	49.9		
Education	12.73 (3.51)	12.9 (3.3)	12.6 (3.7)
Age	40.6 (11.7)	40.1 (11.3)	41.1 (12.0)
% Married	72.7%	70.7%	74.8%
% Having children at home	51.1%	52.5%	50.0%
Weekly work hours	40.4 (13.1)	36.5 (12.4)	44.2 (12.6)
Occupation			
% Low white-collar	23.6%	34.3%	12.9%
% Blue-collar	29.2%	16.8%	41.5%
% In public sector	32.6%	39.3%	26.0%
% Self employed	15.3%	11.8%	18.6%
% With job authority	31.3%	24.4%	38.2%
<i>N</i> of cases	16,547	8190	8357

References

- Budig, M. (2003). Are women's employment and fertility histories interdependent? An examination of causal order using event history analysis. *Social Science Research*, 32(3), 376–401.
- Clearinghouse on International Development in Child, Youth, and Family Policies. (2004). *Early childhood education and care policy dimensions and programs in selected countries, Table 1.22.*, accessed at <http://www.childpolicyintl.org>
- Coverman, S. (1985). Explaining husbands' participation in domestic labor. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 26(1), 81–97.
- Crompton, R., & Lyonette, C. (2006). Work-life balance in Europe. *Acta Sociologica*, 49(4), 379–393.
- Dex, S., & Bond, S. (2005). Measuring work-life balance and its covariates. *Work Employment & Society*, 91(3), 627–637.
- Edlund, J. (2007). The work-family time squeeze: conflicting demands of paid and unpaid work among working couples in 29 countries. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 48(6), 451–480.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1999). *Social foundations of postindustrial economies*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fuwa, M., & Cohen, P. (2007). Policy and housework. *Social Science Research*, 36(2), 512–530.
- Gallie, D., & Russell, H. (2009). Work-family conflict and working conditions in Western Europe. *Social Indicators Research*, 93(3), 445–467.
- Garhammer, M. (2002). Pace of life and enjoyment of life. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 3(3), 217–225.
- Gornick, J. C., & Meyers, M. K. (2003). *Families that work: Policies for reconciling parenthood and employment*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Gornick, J. C., Meyers, M. K., & Ross, K. E. (1997). Supporting the Employment of Mothers: Policy Variation Across Fourteen Welfare States. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 7(1), 45–70.
- Grzywacz, J. G., & Marks, N. F. (2000). Reconceptualizing the work-family interface: An ecological perspective on the correlates of positive and negative spillover between work and family. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 5(1), 111–126.
- Hook, J. (2006). Care in context: Men's unpaid work in 20 countries, 1965–2003. *American Sociological Review*, 71(4), 639–660.
- Jager, A. K. (2002). Households, work and flexibility: The Netherlands. In C. Wallace (Ed.), *HWF research report by countries*. Vienna: HWF Research Consortium.
- Jacobs, J. A., & Gerson, K. (2004). *The time divide: Work, family, and gender inequality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kinnunen, U., & Mauno, S. (1998). Antecedents and outcomes of work-household conflict among employed women and men in Finland. *Human Relations*, 51(2), 157–177.
- Kinnunen, U., Feldt, T., Geurts, S., & Pulkkinen, L. (2006). Types of work-family interface: Well-being correlates of negative and positive spillover between work and family. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, 47(2), 149–162.
- Lewis, Jane. (1992). Gender and the development of welfare regimes. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 2(3), 159–173.
- Lippe, T. van der, Jager, A., & Kops, Y. (2006). Combination pressure: The paid work-family balance of men and women in European countries. *Acta Sociologica*, 49(3), 303–319.
- Major, V. S., Klein, K. J., & Ehrhart, M. G. (2002). Work time, work interference with family, and psychological distress. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 87(3), 427–436.
- Mandel, H., & Semyonov, M. (2005). Family policies, wage structures and gender gaps: Sources of earnings inequality in 20 countries. *American Sociological Review*, 70(6), 949–968.
- Mandel, H., & Semyonov, M. (2006). A welfare state paradox: State interventions and women's employment opportunities in 22 countries. *American Journal of Sociology*, 111(6), 1910–1949.
- Maume, D. J., & Houston, P. (2001). Job segregation and gender differences in work-family spillover among white-collar workers. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues* 22, 171–189.
- McGinnity, F., & Calvert, E. (2008). Yuppie Kvetch? Work-life conflict and social class in Western Europe', ESRI, Working paper no. 239.
- Moen, P. (Ed.). (2003a). *It's about time: Couples and careers*. Ithaca: ILR Press, Cornell University Press.
- Moen, P. (Ed.). (2003b). *It's about time: Couples and careers*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Mutari, E., & Figart, D. M. (2001). Europe at a crossroads: Harmonization, liberalization, and the gender of work time. *Social politics*, 8(1), 36–64.
- Nomaguchi, K. M. (2007). Change in work-family conflict among employed parents between 1977 and 1997. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 71(February), 15–32.
- Petit, B., & Hook, J. (2005). The structure of women's employment in comparative perspective. *Social Forces*, 84(2), 779–801.
- Roehling, P. V., Moen, P., & Batt, R. (2003). Spillover. In P. Moen (Ed.), *It's about time: Couples and careers*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Stier, H. (2009). Conceptualization and measurements of institutional contexts: A Review (Chapter 1). In H.-J. Andreß, & D. Hummelsheim (Eds.), *When Marriage Ends: Economic and social consequences of partnership dissolution – Comparative Perspectives* (pp. 29–47). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Stier, H., & Lewin-Epstein, N. (2007). Policy effects on the division of housework. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 9(3), 235–259.
- Stier, H., & Mandel, H. (2009). Inequality in the Family: The Institutional Aspects of Women's Earning Contribution. *Social Science Research*, 38(3), 594–608.
- Strandh, M., & Nordenmark, M. (2006). The interference of paid work with household demands in different social policy contexts: Perceived work-household conflict in Sweden, the UK, the Netherlands, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 57(4), 597–617.
- Valcour, M. P., & Batt, R. (2003). Work-life integration: Challenges and organizational responses. In P. Moen (Ed.), *It's about time: couples and careers*. Ithaca: ILR Press, Cornell University Press.
- Voydanoff, P. (2004). The effects of work demands and resources on work-to-family conflict and facilitation. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 66(2), 398–412.
- White, M., Hill, S., McGovern, P., Mills, C., & Smeaton, D. (2003). 'High-performance' management practices, working hours and work-life balance. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 41(2), 175–195.
- Wilensky, H. L. (2002). *Rich democracies: Political economy, public policy, and performance*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Winslow, S. (2005). Work-family conflict, gender, and parenthood, 1977–1997. *Journal of Family Issues* 26, 727–755.
- Winslow-Bowe, S. (2007). Work-family intersections. *Sociology Compass*, 1(1), 385–403.