MYSTERY OF MOTHERS ON THE LABOUR MARKET

Comparison of the Differences in Labour Market Participation of Married Mothers with Small Children in Germany and Finland during the 1990's

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The aim of the study is to view and explain the differences in the labour market participation of mothers of young children during the 1990's in Germany and Finland. The analysis is based on cross-national comparison of the labour market participation of the mothers during the period while the children are still very young (0-3 years) in two different countries.

In order to explain the societal differences in labour market participation of women in Germany and Finland two different theoretical approaches are used: the welfare state regime models and gender arrangement approaches. The research method of cross-national comparison is used viewing two European countries. The empirical part of the research consists of existing studies and literature in the field of social research as well the cross-national statistical description used so far as it is possible on the basis of secondary data.

The cross-national statistical analysis done here indicates that the differences in labour market participation of married mothers with small children in Germany and Finland is still quite visible during the 1990's. The analysis shows that the labour market participation of German mothers often is disrupted during the period when the children are young. However, German mothers usually re-enter the labour market when the children go to school and often on a part-time basis. In contrast, the labour market participation of Finnish mothers seems to be relatively continuous even during the period when the children are small and even then often on a full-time basis.

This study seeks also answers to the cross-national differences. It views the institutional elements, such as family, welfare state and family policies and labour market, whether they can explain the international variations in labour market behaviour of mothers. The analysis finds out that these elements can partly contribute to explanation, however, not totally. The analysis has to include also the element of culture in order to fully understand the surroundings where the mothers perform and make decisions of their employment. The mystery of labour market participation differences of mothers can be solved after placing the institutional elements in a cultural context.

Key words: Cross-national comparison, gender, employment, welfare state, culture.

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Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on tarkastella ja selvittää pienten lasten äitien työhön osallistumisen eroja 1990- luvulla Saksassa ja Suomessa. Analyysi perustuu vertailevaan tutkimukseen naimisissa olevien äitien päätöksenteosta osallistuako työmarkkinoille, silloin kun lapset ovat hyvin nuoria (0-3 vuotta), kahdessa eurooppalaisessa maassa.

Jotta voitaisiin selittää yhteiskunnallisia eroavaisuuksia työhön osallistumisessa Saksassa ja Suomessa, käytetään kahta teoreettista lähestymistapaa: hyvinvointivaltio-regiimimallia sekä sukupuolijärjestelmä-lähestymistapaa. Tutkimusmetodina on kahden eurooppalaisen maan vertaileva tutkimus. Tutkimuksen empiirisessä osassa käytetään jo valmiina olevia tutkimuksia ja kirjallisuutta sosiaalitieteistä, sekä vertailevia tilastollisia aineistoja niin pitkälle kuin se on mahdollista sekundäärisen aineiston pohjalta.

Tutkimuksen vertaileva analyysi osoittaa, että erot saksalaisten ja suomalaisten naimissa olevien pienten lasten äitien työhön osallistumisessa ovat yhä havaittavissa 1990-luvulla. Tuloksena on, että saksalaisten äitien työhön osallistuminen keskeytyy usein ajaksi, jolloin lapset ovat vielä nuoria. Kuitenkin, saksalaiset äidit usein palaavat työmarkkinoille lasten mentyä kouluun, tosin usein osa-aikaisesti. Päinvastoin, suomalaisten äitien työhön osallistuminen osoittautuu olevan suhteellisen jatkuvaa jo aikana, jolloin lapset ovat pieniä, ja silloinkin usein kokopäiväisesti.

Tutkimus etsii lisäksi vastauksia maiden välisiin eroavaisuuksiin. Työ luo katsauksen institutionaalisiin tekijöihin, kuten perheeseen, hyvinvointivaltioon sekä perhepolitiikkaan ja työmarkkinoihin, pystyisivätkö nämä tekijät selittämään kansainvälisiä eroja äitien työmarkkinakäyttäytymisessä. Tutkimus selvittää, että nämä tekijät voivat selittää osin eroavaisuuksia, mutta ei kokonaan. Analyysin tulee huomioida myös kulttuurillinen osatekijä, jotta voisimme täysin ymmärtää sitä ympäristöä jossa äidit tekevät päätöksiään työllisyydestään. Arvoitus äitien eroista työmarkkinoilla voidaan siis ratkaista vasta kun institutionaaliset tekijät on asetettu kulttuurilliseen kontekstiin.

Avainsanat: vertaileva tutkimus, sukupuoli, työ, hyvinvointivaltio, kulttuuri.

Forewords

This study is a one step towards a joint Europe. Even though the topic deals the perspective of the differences, that is only the other side of the coin. International experience and cross-national research brings us every time closer to each other by showing how we are in fact quite the same, we are all Europeans!

The research for this study was carried out in Germany and Finland between the years 1999-2001. Several German researchers (Birgit Pfau-Effinger, Suzanne Schünter-Kleeman, Aila-Leena Matthies and Dorit Sing among others) helped me kindly in finding accurate German literature and material. Especially I want to thank Dr. Prof. Birgit Pfau-Effinger for all the tremendous support she has given me during the last years, as a scholar and a mentor but particularly as a friend. Her role for my master's thesis was highly important, for she read and commented this study several times in its many stages and she helped me in understanding the German society and the position of woman better. Moreover, I want to thank my university, the University of Tampere, which has given me a solid basis from which it is good for me to continue further in the field of social policy and social research. Therefore, a special thank you for Pertti Koistinen and Anneli Anttonen and all the researchers and personnel of faculty of Social policy and Social work for the help and advice. Finally, i want to thank my husband, Roland van Gerven for the everlasting love, support and understanding, as well as his "financial sponsorship".

I dedicate this work for my mother, Raija Haanpää, whose love and faith in me have given me the strength to reach to the stars.

In Aleksanterinkatu, Tampere 30.10.2001.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The increase of the employment is a very important aim inside the European Union today. The objective of raising the European employment rate has been central to European employment policy since the 1993 white paper *Growth, Competitiveness and Employment*. At the Lisbon Summit 2000 the European Council set a goal for raising the employment rate of men from 61 to 70 per cent and of women from 51 to 60 per cent by the year 2010. The requirements for raising the employment rate are due to the need of higher employment level among the working age population in order to guarantee a sustainable economy as well as finance the welfare state in the future. (Haataja 2000, 2) All this has impact for the demand of women to enter the labour market more than earlier. Because a big portion of the working-aged women are already engaged on the labour market the additional female workforce has to be found among women outside the labour market, for instance among mothers and students.

The goal, however, is quite a challenge for European Union. Problematic for raising the employment rate of women arises from the considerable national differences in the female labour market participation level, especially concerning the structures of labour market integration and exclusion indicated by the development of participation rates of women. Moreover, the labour market participation varies remarkably between different groups of women, e.g. among mothers in different European countries. If the additional female workforce for rising the employment has to be found among the group of mothers, it is important to learn to understand the variation of labour market behaviour of mothers. Due to that fact, this study tends to contribute to the social research by finding out *the comparative differences of labour market participation of married mothers of small children in (west) Germany and Finland?*

The labour market behaviour should be studied in the context of societal settings of institutions, structures of welfare states and labour market without forgetting the cultural element. In order to explain the societal differences in labour market behaviour of women in Germany and Finland I will utilise two different theoretical approaches: the welfare state regime and gender arrangement approaches. These two concepts viewed together create a wider approach which renders more closely to examine a complex phenomenon like mothers' labour market participation. The em-

pirical part of the research consists of existing studies and literature in the field of social research. The statistical description will be used so far as it is possible on the basis of secondary data.

2. THE DIFFERENCE IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF EUROPEAN MOTHERS

There are considerable differences in the labour market participation between women and men in Europe today. Men often remain on the labour markets from the time they enter working life until their retirement age. Women, usually after giving childbirth, are much more likely to interrupt their working careers, possibly returning to the labour markets later. (OECD 1994, 35)

The equality between man and women is a well-known and nowadays even a legalised goal, but still not a every-day practice. Ability to give birth to a child and responsibility of taking care of the children have often been seen as an obstacle for women to obtain equal opportunities with men, because the child care is mainly held as women's duties. (Naisten ja miesten yhtäläiset mahdollisuudet Euroopan Unionissa 1997, 57) The cornerstones for the transformation towards equal opportunities on the labour market are the development and extension of education system. The strong value of education has prevailed the education system during the last decades and both the society and the individuals have today strong faith in high education level and through life learning to be a guarantee for the social and financial welfare. Common feature for each of the European countries is the continuous increase of education level, which prevents itself when the younger generations are more educated than their predecessors and the distinctions of the education level are bigger between the older generation than the younger one. However, there are big variations among education levels between different European countries. In the countries with high education level, such as *Germany* and Norway, 80 per cents of the population aged 25-64-years have at least upper secondary education, while in some countries, like Spain or Portugal, the corresponding share is 20-30 per cent. However, the expansion of the education system in all European countries during recent decades means that average qualification levels have risen among women overall in Europe. (Nurmi 1999, 5; Rubery et al 1999, 87-92)

When the education achievements specified by gender significant are examined, there are variations between men and women. Traditionally, women's education level has been clearly lower than the one of men, but increase of the education has been stronger among women during the last decades. As a matter of fact, among some of the OECD countries this arrangement has

turned to opposite; on an average the women are more educated than men, when measured with index of the gender differences of the education. In 1992 this was the case in Denmark, Belgium, Spain, Norway, Sweden, *Finland*, Portugal and Ireland. The equable division education capital between men and women is essential for equal opportunities for women, because along the increase of education level the labour force participation increases, the risk of getting unemployed diminishes and the salary level increases. (Nurmi 1999, 5-7)

Together with the increase of education level of women over last decades the female employment and women's share of overall employment in gainful work has been growing. The intensity of participation in economic activity is measured by two factors: number of those taking part and length of their participation in the labour market (OECD Women and structural change 1994, 54). Knowing that there is increased number of women on the labour market, one must also determine whether women's professional paths have become more continuous over the life course. The question of continuity on the labour market brings up the idea of the situation of mothers on the labour market. Although the general increase of women's labour market participation, the motherhood still has a visible effect on women's economic activity and on the continuity of employment.

Women with children generally have lower employment and economic activity rates than childless women aged 20 to 39 years, even though the latter group includes a substantial number of students who are not economically active. The effect varies however considerably between countries. The employment and economical activity of the mothers in *West Germany*, Spain, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the UK are often disrupted after giving child-birth, while in the Nordic countries (including Sweden, *Finland*, Norway and Denmark) and East Germany mothers have higher levels of economic activity and employment. (Reconciliation of work and family life and the quality of care services 1997, 15)

Within the European Union there have been made studies in order to find out the cross-national differences among women and situations of mothers in the labour market. The report of European Commission *Reconciliation of work and family life and the quality of care services* (1997, 16) creates a cross-sectional picture of mother's labour market participation. According to it, another way of looking how the motherhood effects on women's labour market participation and it's changes considering age-related economic activity curves, is viewing the economic activity rate for woman at different ages. By using this method different cohorts of women can be com-

pared by looking at changes over time. European countries generally can be classified into three groups:

1. A ”plateau” curve

The countries included in this group are showing continuous employment over working life, similar to men but at a somewhat lower level of activity. Nations as the **Nordic countries**, France and former East Germany are included to plateau-curve model.

2. ”M-shaped” curve

In this group the economic activity is interrupted by motherhood, but being followed by mothers returning to the labour markets. Nations as United Kingdom, **(west) Germany**, Austria and the Netherlands are included to this ”M-shaped” curve model.

3. a ”left hand peak” curve

Among this group the labour market participation drops off with the age, showing little evidence of later return. The report does not mention any nation that would fit into this category, but most likely this model describes nations such as Spain and Italy.

The classification gives some sort of general view of the differences in labour market participation of mothers, however, the distinctions are diminishing. The activity patterns of women are more continuos today and labour market disruptions has become fewer and shorter among the younger generations of women (Reconciliation of work and family life and the quality of care services 1997, 17; see more e.g. Rubery et al 1999). Here has to be kept on mind, however, that not only childbearing causes labour market disruptions. For instance, in European countries labour markets, e.g. unemployment has caused unwanted disruptions in the working careers.

In order to reconciliation the work and the family, mothers have been seeking the solutions for their problems from the new working forms. For example, the part-time work gives more freedom and flexibility and most of all an opportunity to better reconcile the work and the family for working mothers. There are large societal differences in preferences of the working forms among mothers. The most common form is the part-time employment, which is particularly popular in the UK and the Netherlands, where it accounts for more than half of all employed mothers, but it is also very significant in Sweden, Denmark and *(west) Germany*. In contrast to countries such as *Finland* and Ireland where the part-time working among mothers is the lowest. The general

European trend is that women with children are more than twice as likely to work part-time than childless women. (Reconciliation of work and family life and the quality of care services 1997, 16)

3. THE OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH

This study aims to comparative analysis of **labour market participation of married mothers with young children in (west) Germany and Finland during the 1990's**. My personal every day experiences of international relationships inspired me to choose the cross-national comparison. Furthermore, I find the cross-national research challenging and extremely important for the development of social science. The importance of the cross-national research can be incorporated into the argument of Esmond Lisle (1985, 26) "the cross-national comparatists are forced to attempt to adopt a different cultural perspective, to learn to understand the thought processes of another culture and to see it from the native's pointview, while also reconsider their own country from the perspective of a skilled observer from outside. This in itself might be considered as a sufficient justification for undertaking cross-national projects".

I wanted to examine two European countries and I choose two countries where I had lived some time and of which I had some personal experiences. Moreover, as a condition for cross-national comparison is that the researcher is able to use the comparative societal literature in its original language (Eco 1989, 38-42). Moreover, in order to successfully compare two different countries, they have to be enough similar as well different from each other (See more e.g. Koistinen & Ostner 1994; Kosonen 1995; 1998; Koistinen 1995; Castro et al 1999). With a large population (total population of 82.057 million in 1998 according to Eurostat (2000, 3)) and strong industry, the Federation Republic of Germany has marked herself as one of most powerful[1] nations of the European Union. When compared within the population of Germany, Finland seems to be only a

[1] However, in order to achieve the place of one of the most influential position among the European countries, the German society has undergone various transformations, which come for ideology, social arrangements, and politics of citizen's participation and working. For instance, building of the Weimar Republic, spreading of the ideological and political ideas of the Nazi regime, reconstruction of the society after the Second World War, the fast economic growth in the 1960's, joining the European Union, all these events have controversially affected the German society, social policy systems and general goals of the society. (Koistinen & Ostner 1994, 17) Therefore, Germany has learned from the history the importance of specifying the position of the state, which can be seen in the German State constructions. Steinar Stèrno (1995, 52-53) refers the importance of the special history of Germany when referring that the Fascism taught that the state cannot be created too strong. Moreover, the crisis in the 1920's in Weimar Republic showed the Germans that the state should not be too weak either. As a consequence to the history, the balance and the dialogue of societal power is constructed in manifold ways in Germany. Firstly, the power is scattered among the Federation, the States, the Constitutional court of law as well as the Central Bank. Secondly, the relationships between employer and employees are institutionalised. Thirdly, the organisations and associations have a strong influence power and the activity of the civil society is canalised through these organisations. (Anttonen & Sipilä 2000, 197; See more e.g. Schmidt 1989, Lee et al 1997)

small country (regarding to Eurostat (2000, 3) only 5.147 million inhabitants in 1998). However, in many sense Finland[2] is one of the leading European countries, especially what comes to welfare state, economy and high tech industry. Similarly Germany and Finland are both modern European countries, which rely heavily on the principle of economic growth based on rapid technological development. Moreover, both countries can be described as economically rich countries after experiencing phases of economic growth, Finland during the 1970's and 1980's, west Germany during the 1960's and again 1980's. Both countries have established a welfare state for providing the adequate social security for the citizens[3]. One should remember also the close relationship between Germany and Finland as well as the lively intellectual exchange between Finland and Germany starting from the mid 19th century onwards, when the Bismarckian Social Policy became well known among Finnish scholars and some principles of the policy were institutionalised in Finnish Social policy. In generally, when concentrating on the other common indicators of a modern industrial society, e.g. (male) labour market performance, there appears to be many similarities in these compared nations. However, when approaching to the essential indicator of this research, female employment, Germany and Finland differ greatly from each other.

One must also note, that Germany in this research refers only to the western part of Germany, excluding the former GDR[4]. This limitation is done, because the difference between eastern and western part of the country is still existing after only a little over a decade after unification of "der Bundesrepublik Deutschland" in 1989. Therefore, if including the eastern part of Germany into this analysis, instead of explicit twofold setting the whole analysis would be based on com-

[2] Regarding Raija Julkunen and Jouko Nätti (1999b, 19) Finland can be characterised as "a northern periphery, which in many respects, for instance, with regard to industrialisation, has been what one might say as a late starter. On the other hand, Finland is a pioneer, for instance, in the area of women's integration into labour market and political life". Moreover, the modernisation of Finnish welfare states has happened due to very drastic transformation. First example is the rapid transformation from predominantly agrarian to urban industries which took place in the 1960's and 1970's in only some 15-20 years, while the same social change in the other Nordic countries took at least three times longer and took nearly centuries in the other European Countries. The second example is Finland's integration into opening and financially deregulated world economy through a violent national economic crisis. (Rantalaiho 1997, 22; Julkunen & Nätti 1999b, 19)

[3] Even though the institutions and methods of providing social services differ between Germany and Finland.

[4] Former GDR refers to the Federal States of eastern Germany and east Berlin, including the regions of Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia and east Berlin for the period prior to 3.10.1990. (Families in Germany 1999, 175)

plex comparison between three diverse social, politics and cultures. The countries, Germany and Finland, present also the two different welfare state regimes (qf. Esping-Andersen 1990)

The gender perspective underlines greatly this research. While working a year in gender research atmosphere in Germany my own interest towards gendered approach was awaken. Naturally the facts that I am women myself and that the feministic studies have a prominent position in the Nordic social research as well as in the University of Tampere, influenced my interest on feministic research. Even though feministic research consists of many various current ideologies, they all are linked with an idea, which according to Kathy Ferguson (1983, 3) is that the gender is a principle that constructs, arranges and is significance for the social life. My research is especially greatly inspired of Birgit Pfau-Effinger's (1999a-c; 2000) gender sensitive approach of gender arrangement and her cross-national analyses of gender, work and the family. I share her approach of importance of the culture together with institutions and other social actors when defining the place of the women in a society.

The gendered perspective on the labour market reflects to what kind of positions and occupations the women and men are working in and how are they employed, in generally meaning either the full-time employed or having atypical[5] forms of employment. More generally speaking, the gendered division of work is divided also to unpaid work (such as voluntary and domestic work) and to gainful wage work. The interest of my research outlines to the employment system (Koistinen 1999) which includes both the gainful employment performed on the labour market[6] as well as non-paid position of women outside of the labour market. This approach can describe the position of mothers more closely. From the aspect of social sciences the labour market is seen as social constructions, which means that the actions of the people together with other societal institutions are constructing the labour market (Koistinen 1999).

Finally, the research outlines to married mothers of young children. The motherhood is a multidimensional concept, not only in cross-national comparison, but also mothers as individuals and

[5] The concept of atypical (also named as Non Standard in the research literature)is a bit indistinct, because the forms of employment have not been clearly defined by the researchers. Problematic is that the forms of employment are not defined by some common feature but by virtue of being in some respect different from so called normal forms of employment, which is regular, continuous and full-time. (Pusa 1997, 3)

[6] According to neo-classic economic scholars the labour market is defined as a place where independent demand and supply of the employment is met in the conditions of total knowledge and free competition, and where the employment and the level of salary is defined (See e.g. Nätti 1988)

their living conditions vary greatly from each other. Firstly, this research focuses on mothers, who have small children (aged from 0-3 years-old) I choose this group, because I argue that mothers with small children must be the most confronted with the problems to reconcile of wage and the responsibilities at home. Secondly, the group of married mothers represent the traditional family model (mother, father and child/children) and I choose this group of mothers, because I expect them to be most homogenous and stabile, and therefore, most suitable group for cross-national comparison. For the same reason the research outlines to married mother separating them from the cohabiting couples whose living situations, at least hypothetical speaking, is more often changed e.g. if the relationship is formally made official by getting married. However, this is not always possible, because the secondary statistics often unite the group of cohabiting women to the married women. Moreover, I am not separating the different ethnic and socio-cultural backgrounds of motherhood intentionally of each other, even though this variation might have different consequences for the mothers. However, once again the secondary statistics do not always separate the races of women.

4. TWO DIFFERENT THEORETICAL APPROCHES

In order to analyse such a complex phenomenon as mothers' labour market participation wide theoretical approach is required. Therefore, the theoretical approach of this research is grounded on two different theoretical approaches. By selecting this kind of conceptualised frame, the analysis uses the analytical concepts, which render to view more closely the different dimensions, and therefore, contribute to the wider approach and explanation of mothers' employment.

The first approach views the comparative social research. Examining the large-scale comparison of welfare state does this. I present the most notable regime theory developed by Gøsta Esping-Andersen (1990) in chapter 4.1. According to his welfare state classification the women's labour market participation can be viewed through the structures of the welfare states, especially by viewing the social security systems for rendering (un)independence of the labour market. This approach provides a basis for understanding how the states are different, how they have the internal structures of their own and how the life course of an individual is constructed differently in the states like Germany and Finland.

The second approach views from the gender-sensitive social theory. German scholar Birgit Pfau-Effinger (1999a-c; 2000) developed the concept of gender arrangement, which has inspired my research the most. This sociological aspect emphasise the importance of complex interrelation of culture, institutions, structure and market for explaining the position of mothers in a society and it is presented in the chapter 4.2. The theory allows analysing the change of women's labour market participation as well as the structure of gendered division of labour from the cultural aspect.

4.1 Theorising the welfare state

After the publication of Gøsta Esping-Andersen's book *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* in 1990, the theory of welfare regimes has become a sort of a cornerstone for the social political

research in cross-national comparison. (see e.g. Langan & Ostner 1991; Lewis 1992; Ostner 1994; Kosonen 1995) According to Simon Duncan (1995) and several other scholars the work of Esping-Andersen represents a considerable advance in the comparative study of social policy. Regarding to Duncan (1995, 265) the strength of Esping-Andersen's work is that crucially the classification of the welfare state regimes is not merely ad hoc and descriptive, rather it is based on analytical distinctions about what the welfare state does, how this can differ and hence why we should expect different outcomes in the terms of social policy.

In the welfare state classification the regimes are divided by presenting how the labour market participation of the men and women varies and how widely the people's income and their access to social security and social services is bond with the labour market participation. This theoretical analysis views how far different welfare states erode the commodity status of labour in a capitalist system (i.e. how far people are independent from selling their labour) and as, a consequence, how far welfare states intervene in the class system (Duncan 1995, 265). De-commodification occurs when a service is rendered as a matter of right, and when a person can maintain a livelihood without reliance on the market. A minimal definition according to Esping-Andersen (1990, 22) must entail that "citizens can freely and without potential loss of job, income or general welfare, opt out of work they themselves consider it necessary". Most of the Western nations have moved towards this level of de-commodification but with significant exemptions; the Scandinavian model tend to be the most de-commodifying, whereas the Anglo-Saxon the least (Esping-Andersen 1990, 21-23).

Despite the success of the theory, the accuracy of the theory has been questioned, especially concerning the aspect of women's position on the labour market. Esping-Andersen's (1990) model has brought up the importance of the extent of gender, nevertheless from the feministic critique perspective (Borchorst 1994; Ostner 1994; Crompton 1999a) accusations are made against the model for having too limited gender aspect[7] (see e.g. Lewis 1992; Duncan 1995). Therefore, some followers to Esping-Andersen have paid more attention to the gender specific outcomes of welfare state regimes (Langan & Ostner 1991; Leibfried 1993). These scholars, e.g. Ilona Ostner (1994, 31-40), have elucidated the subchapters of the Esping-Andersen' regime models by adding more gender-precise perspectives.

[7] In recent literature, by drawing his inspiration from the feministic critics, Esping-Andersen has dealt more thoroughly with the values of gender, equality and family aspects of welfare state regimes (Esping-Andersen 1996, 1-27a; 1996b, 67-85).

Esping-Andersen's (1990, 26-27; see also 1993) welfare state regime theory consists of different types of welfare state regimes: *liberal (found in the United Stated, the United Kingdom and Australia), conservative-corporatist (Austria, France, (West) Germany and the Netherlands) and social democratic (the Scandinavian countries).* Later the fourth regime has been added, *the Latin Rim (presenting southern European countries)*(Leibfried 1993). This comparative approach shows that welfare states are not all of one type. On the contrary, each regime model is organised around its own discrete logic of organisation, stratification and societal integration and like Esping-Andersen puts it (1990, 3) "each model owes its origins to different historical forces, and they follow qualitatively different developmental trajectories" (Esping-Andersen 1990, 3). My approach presents a closer view to the conservative-corporatist and social democratic regimes, which describe the models of investigated countries, Germany and Finland, leaving the other regimes (Liberal and Latin Rim regimes) just by naming them, because they are only of secondary of importance for this research.

1. Conservative-corporatist welfare state

The archetypal examples of this model are nations such as Austria, France, (*West) Germany* and the Netherlands. In these conservative and strongly corporatist welfare states, the liberal obsession with market efficiency and commodification was never pre-eminent. What is important is the preservation of status differentials: rights are attached to class and status on the labour market. (Esping-Andersen 1990, 27)

The corporatist regimes and individual- society relationships are typically shaped by the social ideas and norms of catholic church and hence strongly committed to the preservation of traditional family. Social insurance of the wage working husband includes non-working wives and the family benefits encourage the women choose motherhood. Day care and similar family services are conspicuously underdeveloped and the family is seen as the most important provider of social services. In many cases necessary aid is offered through the civil society and especially strong pressure is placed on various kinds of voluntary organisations for providing care services. The principle of subsidiary emphasises that the state will only interfere when the family capacity to serve its members is exhausted. (Esping-Andersen 1990, 27; Alestalo & Flora 1996, 58)

Conservative-corporatist societies, such as Germany, connect social provision and security with social status and display a policy maintaining the existing status. According to subchapters of

Esping-Andersen's regime models developed by Ilona Ostner (1994, 36) men are the standard workers, who are continuously employed and when married, heads of the households. Women are perceived as wives and mothers, who preferably work part-time in order to be able to combine family and work. Gender roles differ very much. There is a division of tasks between the highly productive and mobile wage working husbands and immobile wives staying at home. For instance, in conservative regimes the service employment has not expanded to the same extent than in Social Democratic welfare states. Moreover in conservative model the family is regarded as the major service provider and the emphasis is on using childcare to support full-time housewives. This all has restricted the growth of mothers' employment. Therefore, a relatively low female labour market participation rate is characteristic of this model, named also as the conservative state maintenance model, and part-time work is the most common among the female workers. (Ostner 1994, 36-37)

2. **Social democratic welfare state**

Social democratic regimes cluster is composed of those countries in which the principles of universalism and individual independence of the state (de-commodification) are the strongest, for example the Scandinavian countries, such as Sweden and *Finland.* Esping-Andersen (1990, 27) describes this model to "rather than tolerating a dualism between state and market and between working class and middle class, the social democrats pursued a welfare state that would promote an equality of highest standards; not an equality of the minimal needs as was pursued elsewhere". Therefore, according to Esping-Andersen (1990, 27) the services and benefits are upgraded to levels commensurate with the middle classes and also equality is furnished by guaranteeing workers full participation in the quality of rights enjoyed by the rich. (Esping-Andersen 1990, 27)

The social democratic regime's policy of emancipation addresses both the market and the traditional family. In contrast to the corporative-subsidiary model, the principle of the social democratic regime is not to wait until the family's capacity to care is exhausted, but to pre-emptively socialise the costs and the tasks of the family. Therefore, the ideal is not to maximise dependence on the family, rather to improve the capacities for individual independence. In this sense, "the model is a peculiar fusion of social democracy" (Esping-Andersen 1990, 27). The result is a welfare state that grants financial transfers directly to children (but paid to the parents), and takes direct responsibility for caring for children, the old, the handicapped and the helpless. Scandina-

vian welfare states are therefore committed to a heavy social burden, not only to service family needs but also to allow women (mothers) to choose both, family and work. (Esping-Andersen 1990, 28; Julkunen 1992)

In the Social democratic model, and as Ostner (1994, 32) calls it "a state enhanced female service economy model", women are treated equally with men as individual wage earners and taxpayers. Comparably generous family policies acknowledge the importance of the individuals, not only fathers but also mothers. But the people are expected to perform on the labour market in order to fully benefit from the social rights.(Julkunen 1994, 193-194; Ostner 1994, 32-34)

In Scandinavian countries equality of the individuals can be seen in the fact that women do not have to rely on the income of the husband, and the children or the elderly in need of care are no longer depended on the family, rather on the state. The public sector has become the most important employer for women. Quite often, women employed by the state take on service jobs that other working women would otherwise perform (such as child care), whereas other European countries, e.g. Germany, typically female tasks are done by the mother at home. (Anttonen 1994b, 217-219; Ostner 1994, 32-24) In the social democratic welfare regimes, where the welfare state employment and public provision of professionalized childcare are more available, the mothers are able to enter more easily to the labour market.

Summing up the theoretical approach, the welfare state regime model gives indeed the foundations for the research. The division to conservative and social-democratic regimes creates the antithesis between Germany and Finland and therefore justifies the usage of the countries for the comparison. The welfare state regimes are particularly useful for my research approach because they describe the responsibility relations between the individuals and the society and defining the (un)depency of the people of the social security systems, gainful wage work and income. Important is also to define the surrounding environment, the welfare state and it's institutions if wanting to understand the behaviour of women and mothers better. Moreover, the regimes separate the countries from each other by how wide the labour market participation (of men and somewhat of women) and how strongly their income, social security and access to welfare services are connected to wage work. Despite all the benefits of the theory, the welfare state regime approach is very fixed as a theory and very bond to the history. According to the approach the changes occur only very slowly and therefore I needed more dynamic approach to explain very

adaptable phenomenon such mothers labour market participation. This is provided in the following chapter.

4.2 The Gender Arrangement approach

Birgit Pfau-Effinger (1999a-c; 2000) presents a theoretical approach to the explanation of national differences in the employment behaviour of women that includes the dimension of socio-cultural influences as a substantial part of the explanation. She conceptualises the main social processes that work together to influence women's decisions to seek gainful employment. She refers here to the concept of representative culture as conceived by Tenbruck (1992, 79). Culture in this sense means those "ideas, meanings and values, which can be seen as a generally valid interpretation of the world and which form the necessary framework for a common understanding of existence for social action" (Tenbruck 1992, 79). According to Pfau-Effinger (1999a, 73) "the basic idea is that this approach allows us to analyse the development of women's labour market participation as the result of the interplay of the development of culture, family structures, structures and policies of welfare states and of the employment systems. The contribution of individual and/or collective actors is an integral part of the analysis". (Pfau-Effinger 1999a, 73; 2000, 68)

Pfau-Effinger's theoretical approach consists of three central parts: the concepts of gender culture (Geschlechterkultur), gender order (Geschlechtordnung) and, most comprehensively, gender arrangement (Geschlechter-Arrangement).

1. **Gender culture – the cultural settings**

In every society there are cultural values and models, that are formed by societal integration and division of labour between men and women. These cultural models have strong cultural expectations for gender relations and they are also bond on time, place and generations. These kinds of models Pfau-Effinger calls as *gender culture*. According to Pfau-Effinger (2000, 69-70) "in every modern society one or more models are dominating as result of conflicts, negotiation proc-

esses and compromises between social groups. They are, in general, anchored in the forms of the norms of institutional system and therefore relatively stabile". (Pfau-Effinger 2000, 69-70)

However, the dominant ideal of gender culture is not necessarily proportioned equally by all social groups. "Its normative validity may vary according to generations, regions, social strata and ethnicity. Analysis of these differences is important because they may be the starting point for further change of the gender arrangement" as Pfau-Effinger (1999a, 74) argues.

The duality of culture and social order is an important element of sociological theory. Seminal works and theories of political and sociological thinkers such as Weber, Marx, Parsons and Habermas have demonstrated the explanatory power of these analytical dimensions. Feminist theories have often, however, tended to neglect the differentiation between these dimensions. Pfau-Effinger (1999a, 74) shows that "the theoretical differentiation between gender culture and gender order allows us to uncover and explain important aspects of manifold connections and relationships as well as the tensions, breaks and time lag in the relationships of cultural ideals and social practice".(Pfau-Effinger 1999a, 74)

2. **Gender order – the institutional settings**

When using the concept of a *gender order* Pfau-Effinger refers to the theory of Robert Connell outlined in his book Gender and Power (1987). According to Connell (1987) "the gender order comprises the pertinent structures of gender relationships as well as the relations between the different institutions of society with reference to gender structures"(Pfau-Effinger 1999a 73-74). Connell differentiates between three gender structures, which are inter-related, but which are also relatively autonomous from each other: division of labour, power and carthexis, i.e. the emotional and sexual relationships between both genders. The most important three institutions affecting the gender division of labour in modern industrial societies are the labour market, family/household and state. (Pfau-Effinger 1999a, 73-74; 2000, 70-71)

According to Pfau-Effinger (1999a, 73-74) Connell neglects in his theory the special role of the state compared with the impact of other social institutions on gender relations in modern society. Pfau-Effinger (1999a) finds the structures and policies of the state very important, because they shape the regulatory framework for the gender division of labour. Therefore, the way institutions

are linked within the respective *welfare mix* of a society and the way gender is embedded in them should be considered[8]. (Pfau-Effinger 1999a, 73-74; 2000, 70-71)

3. Gender arrangement as an approach

The respective *gender arrangement* forms the frame produced by gender culture and gender order. By referring to gender arrangement Pfau-Effinger stresses the general binding content of gender culture and the gender structures that are the results of social negotiations. She refers here to the gender contract concept of Yvonne Hirdman (1990b). Especially, the Nordic feminist researchers use the concept of *a gender contract* to analyse the historical structuration of social institutions and cultural practices (Hirdman 1990b; Silius 1992; Anttonen 1994a ; Rantalaiho 1994a; Rantalaiho & Julkunen 1994b; also Pfau-Effinger 1999c). According to Rantalaiho (1997b, 25) "A gender contracts tells about the unspoken rules, mutual obligations and rights which define the relations between women and men, between genders and generations and finally between the areas of production and reproduction". It is "a simple concept to describe the complex reality of interdependence between men and women" says Yvonne Hirdman (1990b, 78) who has studied the history of successive gender contracts in Swedish society from *the housewife contract* of the 1930's, via *the equality contract* of the 1950's to *the equal worth contract* of the 1980's and the processes of public debate that has transformed them (Hirdman 1990a).

Gender contracts, according to Liisa Rantalaiho (1997b, 25), are dynamic concepts and they are transformed through discursive shifts in the prevailing understanding of gender relations. Rantalaiho (1997b, 25) states that "these shifts are constructed to solve social and economic tensions and they produce institutional consequences and new cultural practices. Structural changes do not automatically transform gender contracts, rather a new contract has to be created in negotiations between collective social actors".

The transition of the gender contract is often characterised by a definition of women's citizenship. Rantalaiho (1997b, 25) sees this as two clear phases of transition in Finnish society. At the turn of the century women became political citizens in a process that produced the first modern

[8] The role of collective actors is also important to mention here, particularly the feminist movement. However Mósesdóttir (1995) argues that the success of the feminist movement is not a necessary precondition for the establishment of egalitarian gender principles. (Pfau-Effinger 1999a, 74)

gender contract of *women's social motherhood*. The principle of a special female citizenship had similarities within the international feminist movement at this time (see e.g. Bock & Thane 1991). European women themselves wanted to maintain the gender difference and to shape it into men and women's separate arenas of social action. Moreover, women were important as mothers for the continuity of the whole nation. (Rantalaiho 1997b, 26) The basic idea behind the social motherhood contract was that in new, modern and functional homes the respected mothers were raising efficiently new citizens and therefore, new celebrated form of citizenship, social motherhood, was to be institutionalised into society.(Nieminen 1994, 64)

In many middle European nations like, for instance, in Germany, the new maternal citizenship was strongly institutionalised and the society started emphasising marriage patriarchy, where the position of women had been secured through their status as dependents, wives and mothers, simply not as individuals (Schunter-Kleeman 1992, 145). This social approach has created the strong institution of the position of the housewife, where the women mainly stayed at home when men provided the income with gainful employment (See e.g. Ostner 1994, Pfau-Effinger 1999b).

When a society changes its gender contract may become outdated and then the contract has to be renegotiated. In the beginning of the 20th century the industrialisation and generalisation of wage work brought tensions into society. More and more number of workers were needed to satisfy the need of labour force in growing industries, which contributed, with variations among countries, to the feminisation of the labour market. When the structure of a society had changed so greatly, women's place in the society and on the labour market had to be renegotiated and reconstructed. The second form of women's citizenship that was institutionalised is characterised as a contract based on *wage worker motherhood*, with a basic tenet that embraces the increase of women's paid work (Rantalaiho 1997b, 26). This contract enables more efficiently to reconcile the work and the family than the preceding gender contract in order to guarantee the production of the work force and the reproduction of the population.

A Finnish scholar Tapio Rissanen (2000b, 2) has seen these two societal contracts to strengthen the basis of the wage work society. *The first contract secures the livelihood of the wageworker's household by securing the basis of material reproduction*. This is consisted of social security, which is aimed at compensating the hazards of income losses, for instance, which may occur during a period of unemployment, sickness or retirement. *The second contract arranges the every day reproductive tasks of the households; the most visible of which is the provision of care*

(focusing in contemporary households on childcare). In several European wage work societies, according to Rissanen (2000b, 2) the second contract affected the gendered division of work by liberating women from the economic necessity of wage work to dedicate themselves to unpaid work at home. This societal solution is supported within family wages, several other family policy measures and juridical and political regulations, which restrict or prohibit women's paid work. With these two contracts, according to Rissanen (2000b, 2), the wage work was normalised and the male breadwinnership and female home-motherhood was institutionalised.

However, according to Pfau-Effinger (1999a, 74), Hirdman leaves the way culture and social order are inter-related as an open question. The approach of gender contracts stresses the importance of negotiations between actors for social order and social change, even though the negotiations may be based on an unequal distribution of power. Moreover, the actors enter the negotiations with different resources and different abilities to use their power. (Pfau-Effinger 1999a, 75)

Especially, in gender arrangement approach necessity of analysing the dynamics of change is stressed. Because cultural ideas about gender are developed inside social institutions, gender arrangements can, at least in principle, be held relatively stable. In the phases of rapid modernisation or transformation of society, the speed and level of change, on the level of gender culture and gender order, may differ from one another. Pfau-Effinger (1999a, 75) argues that "this may increase pertinent tensions and contradictions or create new ones. Important in this context is whether change leads to processes of re-negotiation of the gender arrangement by individual and/or collective actors and whether further change is the result".(Pfau-Effinger 1999a, 75)

Pfau-Effinger's (1999a, 76-77; 1999b, 137-139) research has shown that in western Europe alone, there can be distinguished at least five gender cultural models. She characterises the five different gender arrangement models as follows:

1. The family economy gender model. This model is based on co-operation between women and men in their own family business (usually farm or craft business) in which both genders and all members of the household contribute substantially to the economic survival of the family.

2. The male breadwinner/female carer model. This model is based on the idea of a basic differentiation of society into public and private spheres. Different genders are seen to be competent for one of these spheres and to complement each other: men are regarded as breadwinners who

earn the family's income in the public sphere by working for a wage, whereas women are primarily as responsible for work at home, including childcare.

3. The male breadwinner/female part-time carer model. This is a modernised version of the male breadwinner model. Women and men both go out to earn a wage as long as there are no dependant children in the household. However, during the phases of active motherhood, women tend to combine waged work and caring by working part-time.

4. The dual breadwinner/state carer model. This model conforms to the idea with full-time integration of both sexes into the employment system. Women and men are seen as individuals, both breadwinners and earning income to the household. The children's day care is not seen primarily as task of the family, but to a considerable extent, as the task of the welfare state.

5. The dual breadwinner/dual carer. This model consists of idea of family economy consisting of equal distribution of domestic work and waged work between a female and a male head-of-house. (Pfau-Effinger 1999a, 76-77; 1999b, 137-139)

Pfau-Effinger (1999a, 80-90; 1999b, 139-144) has contributed one explanatory model for the dynamics of the transformation of the employment of mothers in West Germany and Finland (and the Netherlands). She sees that the modernisation of German family model presents the change from the male breadwinner/family child-care provider model towards the male breadwinner/female part-time child-care provider model. The Finnish family model has also gone through a modernisation process from the family economic gender model to the dual breadwinner/female part-time child-care provider model.

Finally summing up the benefits of gender arrangement approach over the welfare state regime approach. The concept of gender arrangement is more dynamic and it describes more closely the process including the elements such as negotiation and conflicts and giving the people the role as influential agent not just a plain doer. The concept of gender arrangement connects to societal and gendered division of work, the income, the status and the welfare received from wage work as well as the context of how the power and responsibility relations between men and women are constructed in every culture in certain times. At its best the gender system approach covers the social and cultural structures and practices. The approaches of welfare state regimes and gender

arrangement together re-frame the surroundings of men and women as well as the activity of welfare states and therefore create the theoretical instrument for a sociological and social political research done in the study.

5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DATA

The aim of this study is to examine **the differences in labour market participation of mothers of small children in (west) Germany and Finland during the 1990's**. This analysis intends to find out *why the labour market participation varies so strongly among German and Finnish mothers with small children? And what elements can contribute to explanation of differences in the national labour market behaviour?* In order to find these answers I choose to use the research method of cross-national comparison to view the secondary statistical data and already existing literature and research in the field of sociology and social policy.

The method of the research is cross-national[9] comparison. According to Linda Hantrais and Steen Mangen (1996, 2) a study can be said to be cross-national and comparative "if one or more units in two or more societies, cultures and countries are compared in respect of the same concepts and concerning the systemic analysis of phenomena, usually with the intention of explaining them and generalising them". The expectation for cross-national research is that the researchers gather data about the object of study within different context and therefore, by making comparisons, gain a greater awareness and a deeper understanding of social reality. (Øyen 1990, 7; Hantrais & Mangen 1996, 2) Highly important in cross-national research is that the researcher should not condemn what is right and what is wrong, nor which way is the right way of dealing things. This is easier said than done, because the researcher easily brings his/her own cultural background into the research. However, the (cross-national) researcher should just present the accurate data keep her/his own shortcomings in mind and facts and stay neutral.

This research focuses particularly on cross-national labour market research from the gender point of view. This kind of research method reveals that although women's paid work may everywhere be on increase, nevertheless, there are many important national differences in both level and the structuring of the employment, reflecting historical variations in the development of the national institutions and cultures. This method is named as societal-systems approach for comparative

[9] Some authors distinguish between concepts e.g. cross-country, cross-national, cross-societal, cross-cultural, cross-systemic and cross-institutional, but I have chosen the cross-national, a concept often used in the methodological literature (see e.g. Øyen 1990, 7; Hantrais & Mangen 1996).

analysis (see e.g. Maurice et al 1986; Rubery et al 1998b) and it seeks to explain women's employment outcomes through an understanding of the processes of its structuring. In the method there is to be recognised the complexity of the institutional structuring as well as the differences of the outcomes at the national level. The societal-systems approach, according to Rosemary Crompton (1999, 11) is pluralistic and avoids universal or single-theory explanations.

Comparative research is by no far very simple method of research. Especially cross-national comparison done between different countries reflects strongly the point that national boundaries are different from ethnic, cultural[10] and social boundaries. Within all countries one may find several sub-societies which on some variables may show greater variation than variations across national boundaries can demonstrate. (Øyen 1990, 7) This feature affects my research closely, while the two chosen countries are very different what comes to the population of the countries. While the population in Finland is still more or less homogenous, the number of various ethnic cultures came to Germany as guest workers and other foreigners is extremely high in comparison with Finland. Therefore it is hard to find comparable data and results and generalisations have be always interpret with care.

The biggest problem of this research, however, was to find cross-national statistics that would be suitable for comparison. Due to a fact that the research was made by only using secondary and already existing data, it was sometimes very difficult to find accurate and comparable statistics. It turned out unfortunately to be impossible to find data of all the wanted phenomena. For the empirical part of the thesis I mainly utilised national statistics (Statistics Finland/Tilastokeskus, Finnish Labour force Surveys and Federal Statistics Office of Germany, Statistisches Bundesamt) for the closer presentation of each country Moreover I used European Union level secondary statistics (Eurostat and ILO-statistics) for the cross-national comparison, which would present the same phenomena at the same period of time. However, the finding of comparable data turned out to be more difficult task than I first expected it to be. Particularly difficult was to

[10] The cross-national comparative research is, however, somewhat problematic. The scholars Hantrais and Mangen (1996, 5) admit that the descriptive cross-national comparative research tends to underestimate the impact of cultural differences. According to these scholars "the shift in orientation towards a more interpretative approach means that quintessential linguistic and cultural factors can no longer be downplayed" (Hantrais & Mangen 1996, 5). Nevertheless, whatever the method is adopted the researcher must remain alert to the dangers of cultural interference. In interpreting the results, whenever possible, findings should be carefully examined in relation to their wider societal context and with regard to the limitations of the original research parameters. (Hantrais & Mangen 1996, 11)

find fully comparable data on maternal labour market participation because there are yet only little data available for all 15 European Union member countries. However, by accepting the restrictions it was possible to obtain enough material for this research.

However, the problem of the statistical cross-national research is the impression that comparisons can be made from published data. Although the material collected in different countries is harmonised, the data still needs to be carefully interpreted (Shirley Dex 1996, 13). First and fore most, the statistics often contain random errors[11]. Moreover, the scholars (e.g. Desrosières 1996, 17; Glover 1996, 36) agree that a closer scrutiny of harmonised data, such as statistics of ILO and Eurostat, which I use in this research, suggests that statistical products are dependent on the history, culture and administrative structures specific to each country and are far from being identical, even despite the costly efforts made by statisticians to harmonise methods, questionnaires and nomenclatures. Therefore, the comparability of figures presented in cross-tabulations may be dubious value to the detriment of the user who expects to find truly comparable data as results of ever greater international harmonisation of data collection. Nevertheless, according Alain Desrosières (1997, 17), "legitimate the aim of achieving general harmonisation of data collection, coding and the classification of basic information may be, it is only partially attainable".

Problems occur also with the national statistics. Often national statistics, i.e. labour force surveys which are also used in this research, consist of average values, which are collected with different methods of sampling and during different times. Moreover, one must consider that the methods and measuring used in those statistics are not always consistent with the other nation's statistics. This makes the national data problematic for comparative analysis. In response to that, I use the national statistic mainly in creating a separate view of each country, because the use of national data sets provides maximum insight into micro-context and therefore is important to this analysis. However, one must recall that, the more detailed the data, the greater the difficulties appear, or perhaps the greater is their visibility. Therefore, the harmonised data is more better for the cross-national research, because it seeks to alleviate these difficulties, or at least to make them invisible. (Glover 1996, 36-37)

[11] The mistakes can occur when translating a concept from one cultural context into another cultural context, because this translating may distort the content and meaning of the concept and therefore the data looses valuable and characteristic information in the process (Øyen 1990, 8).

Even though both methods of analysing data seem to be somewhat problematic, this kind of cross-national statistical research done within European Union is important in order to examine the differences and similarities of the countries within the European Union. The value of gendered perspective of comparative analysis is now recognised also in the gender mainstreaming principle of the EU. According to the European Commission in the gender mainstreaming the primary targets and needs must systematically be taken into account in all the fields of politics. Important part of the principle of gender mainstreaming is the research made of the existing circumstances of women, the practices and politics directed towards men and women. This involves not only social policy rather than all the fields of the policies. (Naisten ja miesten yhtäläiset mahdollisuudet…1997, 15) Therefore, the cross-national research for my analysis endeavours to follow the aspect of gendered perspective and thus contribute to the social scientific research of EU.

6. WORKING MOTHERS IN GERMANY AND FINLAND

The following chapter presents the empirical analysis of the employment system of mothers in Germany and Finland, where the labour market participation of mothers is viewed on the light of secondary statistics. The chapter views also the position of in-active women, and therefore includes the approach of employment system developed by Pertti Koistinen (2001, 3). I use the concept of employment system instead of labour marker because the concept of employment system is a wider theoretical instrument for explaining the labour market participation. The concept of labour market covers only the wage work, entrepreneurship and self-employment, whereas the concept of employment system[12] includes productive work as well as reproductive work and therefore the approach defines more closely the accurate relation between mothers and employment. (Koistinen 2000, 3)

The employment system concept is preferable also from the sociological point of view, because according to sociological view, the employment is based on structural, institutional and behavioural factors[13]. These factors together have an impact to the choices when (during what period of life) how actively, with what kind of contributions and preferences the individuals are seeking work, or, are working outside of the markets doing socially important work. (Koistinen 2001, 3-4) Therefore the employment system provides an useful concept for studying the labour market participation especially from the comparative[14] aspect and helps the researchers for deeper understanding of the labour market behaviour of mothers.

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[12] For instance, the paid wage work on the labour market is combined together with unpaid work performed at the households, voluntary work, co-operative work and other work forms that are not intermediated by market mechanism rather from the welfare expectations and the need of the care and services (Koistinen 2001, 3).

[13] **Structural factors** are, among other things, *population* and production structures, **institutional factors** are *welfare state*, education and social security systems, the regulation system of the industrial relations and the systems affecting the mobility of the workforce. **Behavioural factors** are the values of the individuals and other groups, expectations of the welfare, *cultural expectations of the roles of men and women in the society as well as in the family*, different life and working expectations in different situations and periods of life (e.g. youth, starting up the family, retaining to the pension etc.), importance of the participation and possibilities. (Koistinen 2001, 3-4)

[14] This concept is especially suitable for comparative research, because the labour market behaviour is strongly bond to the national conditions. This can be seen in the variation between countries in the structure of labour force, employment rates, inactivity rates, share of paid work and non-standard employment, national models of industrial nations and working time systems. For the European employment system is important know how the national employment systems adapt and in what amount there is possibility for a general employment system model developing a side with the national ones. (Koistinen 2001, 3-4)

6.1 The employment system of mothers in Germany

Employment is an important factor today in the life planning of German women. Of the more than half of women between ages of 15 and under 65 are gainfully employed in the Federal Republic of Germany. In the old Federal Länder[15] the labour market participation rate of women has increased considerably during the last decades, from 49 per cent in 1960 to 58,7 per cent in 1997. (Women in the Federal Republic of Germany 1998, 29)

Figure 1 **Female labour force participation rate (15-64 year olds) in 1990-1997 in Germany**
Source: ILO, the Key Indicators of the labour market 1999.

The figure 1 shows the change of labour force participation of women during the 1990's. The general trend is the increase of the labour market activity[16] among women during the last decade. Starting from 56,5 per cent in 1990 the rate has risen to it's highest in 1996 and it has remained near 59 per cent in 1997. Unfortunately it was not possible for obtaining the rates during 1998-99

[15] The old Federal Länder, also known as the former FRG, means the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany prior to 3.10.1990, including West Berlin.

[16] Both employed and unemployed women are included in the ILO labour force participation rates, however, because the research outlines to employment of German and Finnish mothers, the unemployment rate is only noted as an additional information. According to Eurostat's Yearbook (2001) the female unemployment was 9,1 per cent in Germany in 1999.

for this research, however, it can be assumed from the general trend that the labour force participation steadily increases also in the end of the 1990's.

Figure 2 **Female labour force participation rate by the age of the women in 1999 in Germany**
Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (2001e).

Women enter the labour market today later than the women of previous generation did. A reason for this is the education system, which usually keeps women outside of the labour market longer than before. The figure 2 shows how the employment of women varies among different age groups of the women. First, the German girls are obliged follow the full-time compulsory education starting at the age of six and lasting nine years until they are 16 years of age (Piening 2001). After graduating the labour force participation rate increases sharply until girls reach the age of (mid) twenties. Generally, before reaching the age of 30 most of German women have their first child[17] which keeps them away from the labour market and smoothens the increase of labour force participation rate. However, the increase of the labour force participation continues until the age of 30 and it stabilises to little over 70 per cents among women in their thirties. After that rate seems to remain relatively stabile and interestingly, the new increase in the labour market participation emerges not until among the middle-aged women. As a matter of fact, the growing number of middle aged women is explained by German Government to be the primarily explanation for considerable increase of the number of working women (Women in Federal Republic

[17] In 1993 mothers' mean age at child birth was 28,1 in west Germany (Rubery et al 1999, 96).

of Germany 1998, 28). This means that the number of working young women, also including mothers with young children, has not increased strongly during the last years. Rather the increase has occurred among middle-aged mothers, whose children has already left home or the children are big enough to manage on their own during the day time. However, also in Germany, there is a trend of more and more mothers entering the labour market, even during the active motherhood.

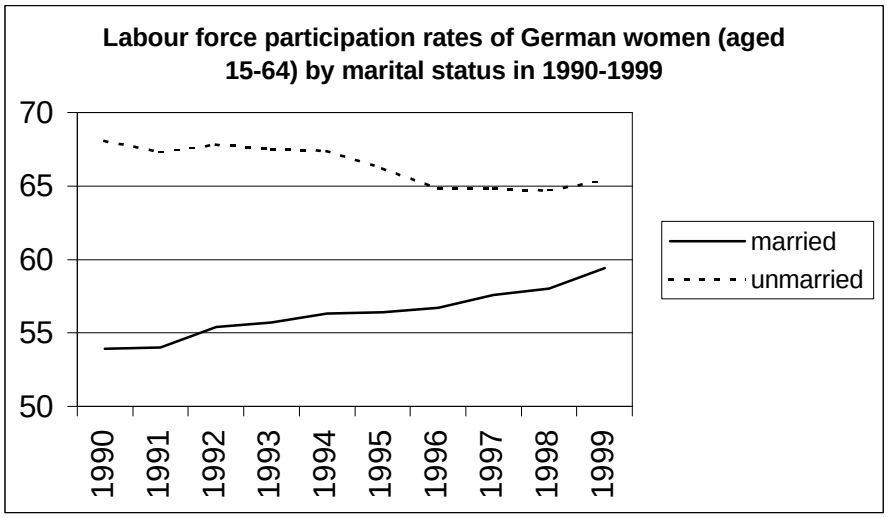

Figure 3 **Labour force participation rates of German women aged of 15 -64 –year-olds by marital status in 1990-1999**
Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (2001a).

The age is not the only variable effecting the female labour force participation. There are variations in labour force participation between different groups of women. For instance the marital status might effect the labour market behaviour of women. The figure 3 describes the difference between married and unmarried women and their labour market participation. During the 1990's the labour force participation rate of both married as well as unmarried women has increased; as a matter a fact, the participation rate of married women has increased even faster. The increase of labour market participation of married mothers proves empirically that in Germany the cultural model of male breadwinner/housewife has indeed lost some of its power. However, the gainful employment among unmarried women is still more common than among their married sisters in Germany. In 1999 the labour force participation rate was six per cent higher (65,4 %) among unmarried women than among married women (59,4 %).

In per cents (%)	Total of women	Total of employed women	Married or cohabiting women	*Employed and married (or cohabiting) mothers*
All women	100	44,4	55	*25,5*
*Women with at least one child **under 3 years***	*100*	*48*	*88,5*	***42,5***
Women with at least one child **under 6 years**	100	50,1	87,2	*43,5*
Women with at least one child **under 10 years**	100	53,9	85,6	*45,5*
Women with at least one child **under 15 years**	100	57,8	84,3	*48*
Women with at least one child **under 18 years**	100	59,6	84,3	*49,2*

Table 1 **Women over 15 year of age by the age group of their children, marital status and labour market participation in 1999**[18]
Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (2001d).

Recent decades have seen a manifest change in the labour force participation of women with children in Germany. During the last twenty years the labour market participation of mother has been particularly dependent on the age of the youngest child in the family (Families in Germany 1999, 110). As seen in the table 1, mothers' involvement in the labour market rises with the age of the child. For instance in 1999, while only 42,5 per cents of married women with at least one child under three worked, was the percentage 49,2 among married mothers with at least one child under 18. The period when German mothers do not work is usually restricted to the phase when children are small and not yet going to school. Nevertheless, the employment of married mothers seems to increase relatively slowly even when the children grow older. Therefore, the number of working mothers increases very slowly. There is a surprisingly small variation in the labour market participation between mothers with small children (42,5 %) and mothers with school-aged children (43,5 %).

[18] Note of the table: all the per cent values are compared to the column “total of women” (=100)

Therefore, the matter of having children seems to be the most important variable what comes to the differences in female labour force participation. According to German calculations (Families in Germany 1999, 110), only 44 per cent of mothers with children under six years of age in the West are employed, even if we include the number of women on temporary leave of absence (mainly mothers on maternity leave or child-rearing leave). Moreover, according to the results of a study by the Federal Labour Office (1997) only half of all mothers who take child-rearing leave will be back at work three years later, and only a quarter in their old jobs. This leads to a distorted picture of the day-to-day realities of mothers at home and work, especially among mothers with small children. If considering only mothers who are actually working, the involvement of these women on the labour market substantially declines: instead of the official figure of 44 per cent, in fact only 26 per cent of mother with children under three years of age are in gainful employment in 1997. (Families in Germany 1999, 110)

Working forms

When female labour force participation is studied, it is highly important to recall that the secondary statistics do not always separate the different forms of working. However, there is a big difference for combining family and work if a mother works part-time or full-time. Part-time work has been found among German mothers as a wonderful way to reconcile work and family (referring to Pfau-Effinger's (2000) modernisation path of male breadwinner/women part-time carer model). This can also be seen in a time series study "equal rights of women and men – Reality and public attitudes", which has been conducted three times since 1992 on behalf of the Federal Ministry of Women's Affairs. In this study it was asked whether the German women preferred either full-time or part-time work. The result was that 64 per cent of German women preferred part-time employment, while only 34 per cent preferred a full-time job.(Women in the Federal Republic of Germany 1998, 68)

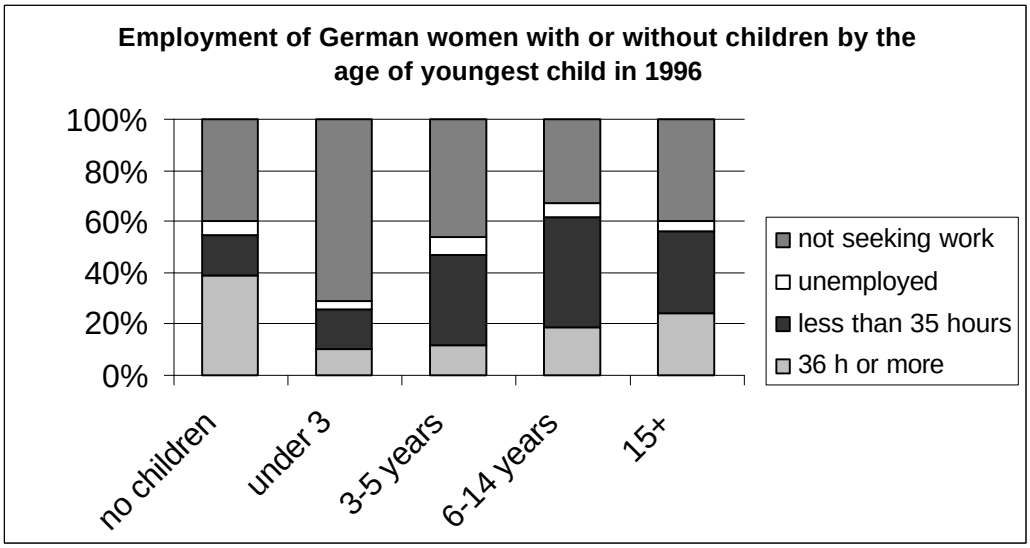

Figure 4 Employment of German women with or without Children by the age of the youngest child in 1996
Source: Federal Statistics Office, in Families in Germany 1999, 114.

The figure 4 views closely the employment of mother with a child under three years old in 1996. The majority of women with children under three prefer staying at home and not searching for work (71,3 %). Only very small number of mothers worked and the majority of them less than 35 hours (15,6 %) and only minority of them 36 hours or more (10%). Only a very small percentage (3,1%) of women was classified as unemployed. According to figure part-time employment seems to be most common working form of women with children. Especially the mothers whose children have reached school age and who previously did not go out to work at all are now tending to work part-time. This is an indicative of a change from solely male earner towards second-income marriage (as stated in male breadwinner/female part-time carer model by Pfau-Effinger 1999a-c; 2000). (Families in Germany 1999, 111)

Furthermore, the fact that the proportion of mothers working full-time has not risen almost at all, supports the assumption for mothers preferring the part-time work. In 1996 there were actually fewer women with minor children working full-time (16 %) than in 1972 (21 %). This was naturally the case of mothers of small children, who in 1972 were not to be able to take child-rearing leave, but also of mothers whose children are already at school. (Families in Germany 1999, 111)

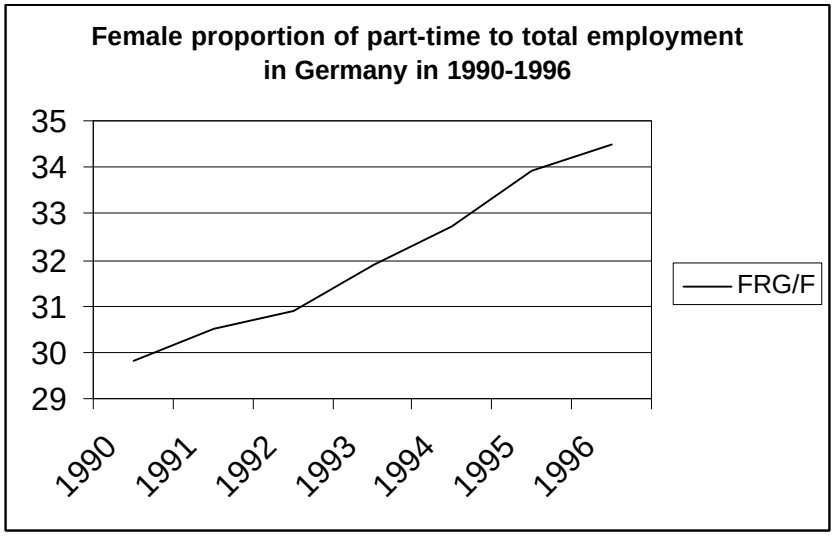

Figure 5 Female proportion of part-time to total employment in Germany in 1990-1996
Source: ILO, Key Indicators of the Labour market 1999.

Apparently, the increase of working mothers during the last decade is due mainly to an increase in part-time activity in Germany. The trend during the 1990's is shown in the figure 5. Starting from proportion of 30 per cent in 1990, the proportion of part-time employment has steadily risen to 34,5 per cent in 1996. Part-time employment has indeed established its place in the employment behaviour of German women. However, the supply of jobs of this kind is still too low in the Federal Republic of Germany. (Women in the Federal Republic of Germany 1998, 68)

Women outside the labour market

In order to study the labour market participation of mothers, it is important also to view the situation outside the labour market, because the employment system concept (Koistinen 2000) includes also the number of in-active women.

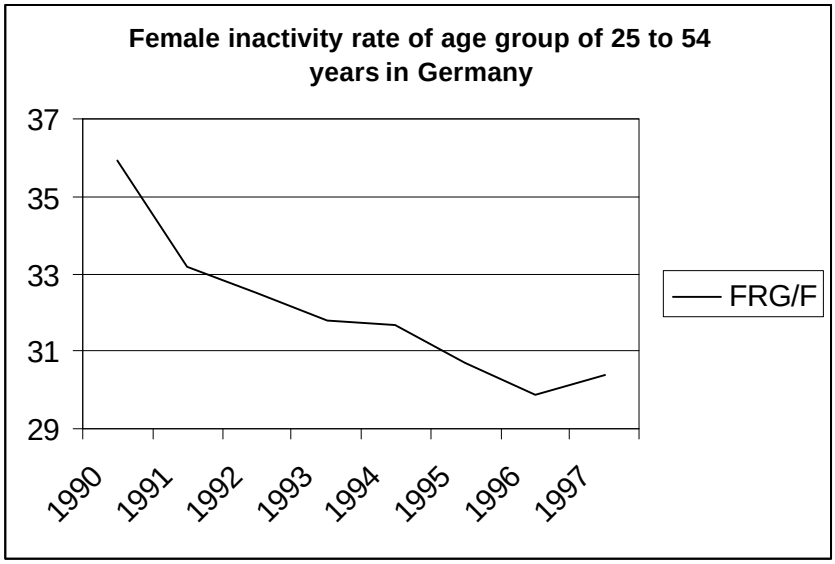

Figure 6 **Female inactivity rate of age group of 25 to 54 years in Germany in 1990-1997**
Source: ILO, Key Indicators of the Labour market 1999.

When examining the inactivity rate of 25 to 54-year-old women during the 1990's the statistics show the decline of the number of women outside of the labour market. The inactivity rate fell from 35,9 in 1990 to 30,4 in 1997. The phenomenon speaks clearly on behalf of the increase in labour market participation among German women.

Year	Total (1000 persons)	Personal or family responsibilities	Students	Retired	Dismissed from work	Limited (in duration) work contracts	Own resignation	Military service /civil service	Other reasons or no reasons
1999	10472	4297	108	4157	348	91	404	6	1061

Table 2 **In-active German women over 15-years of age, prior engaged to employment with the most important factor of ending of most recent work in 1999**
Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (2001c).

Women outside of the labour market are classified in the table 2 above. Two biggest groups are the women with personal or family responsibilities and the retired. Nevertheless, the housewives are the biggest group of inactive women. Therefore, the decrease in inactivity rates reflects also the decrease in the number of housewives, which also speaks about the growing interest of mothers to be employed.

6.2 The employment system of mothers in Finland

Generally speaking in Finland, the parents with children have a higher employment rate than working aged population average. For instance, in 1998 the employment rate of mothers with children under age of 18 years was 69 per cent and fathers 89 per cent, when the average employment rate of working aged population (15-64 year-olds) was about 63 per cent (Kartovaara & Sauli 2000, 119).

Figure 7 **Female labour force participation rate of 16-64-year-olds in 1990-1997 in Finland**
Source: ILO, the Key Indicators of the Labour Market 1999.

In the beginning of the 1990's the recession changed the situation on the Finnish labour market and collapsed the labour force participation rates, as the Figure 7 describes. After an extended period of rapid economy growth and almost full employment, the Finnish economy sank into a repression in the beginning of the 1990's. During the period of 1991-1993 the Finnish GDP shrank by 12 per cent and the unemployment[19] rose from 3.5 per cent in 1990 to 18 per cent in 1994 (Julkunen & Nätti 1999b, 19). Due to the economic recession the female labour market participation experienced a decrease from the beginning to the mid of the 1990's. The figure 7 shows how the female labour force participation from 72,5 per cent in 1990 to 69,6 in 1994.

[19] In Finland the activity rates for women began to fall already in 1990, although the decline was less than that for men. The decline was concentrated on young people, but rates fell for all women under 40 years and all men under 55 years. (Rubery et al 1999, 82)

From 1994 onwards, the economy has been improving and labour force participation rates have once again risen. (Kosonen 1998, 256). In 1997 the labour force participation rate was 71,1. However, the employment of mothers was also effected by the recession during the 1990's: 75 per cent of mothers had a place of work, but during the recession years, the employment rate fell about ten per cent by the year of 1995. In 1998 the proportion of the employed rose again and exceeded 70 per cent[20]. (Kartovaara & Sauli 2000, 119)

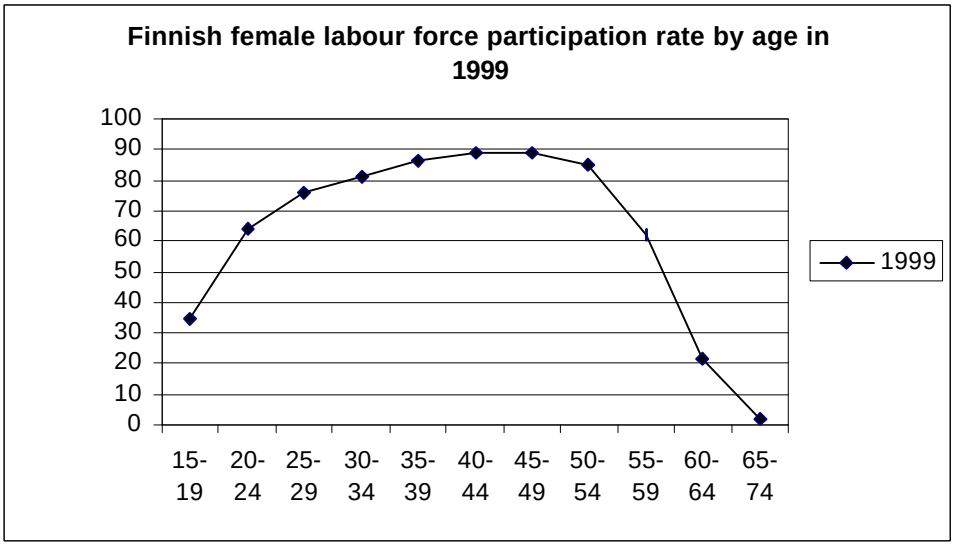

Figure 8 **Finnish female labour force participation rate by age in 1999**
Source: Työvoimatilasto/Labour force Statistics 2000, 53.

The female labour force participation varies among different age groups, but it is relatively continuous over the life span in Finland. During the early adulthood the employment is very seldom because compulsory attendance at school begins at age of 7 and end at nine years later at the age of 16 (Suomen koulutusjärjestelmä 1998). Further education holds the young adults away from the labour market usually until they turn on their mid twenties. Women in the 1990's educate themselves longer than ever and therefore their employment is postponed. However, after entering the labour market Finnish women seem to remain to be employed relatively stabile and the labour force participation even appear to increase. The entrance from the labour market happens not until the women retire at the age of 60.

[20] Remark just to notice, that the female unemployment rate was 10,7 per cent in 1999 in Finland (Eurostat 2001)

	In number / %	In labour force	Employed	Unemployed	On maternity leave
Child under 1	48 / 100	10,6	8,3	2,1	39,6
1-2 years	93 / 100	56,4	49,5	6,5	2,2
3-6 years	128 / 100	89,8	81,3	8,6	0,8
7-17 years	260 / 100	91,5	85,4	6,2	0,0

Table 3 Finnish married or cohabiting mothers in the labour force by the age of the youngest child in 1999.
Source: Tilastokeskus. KK/EU-työvoimatutkimus 1999.

Unfortunately, there were no figures available for this research concerning the variation in labour force participation between married and unmarried women, but in generally when regarding the historical literature (e.g. Rissanen 2000a) there are no significant variations in employment behaviour caused by the marital status in Finland. However, as the table 3 describes, the employment of mothers with babies is also very seldom in Finland, rather most of them are at home taking care of her children on maternity leave. However, these mothers using the family leave system and in fact are therefore classified as employed in Finland (Kartovaara & Sauli 2000, 121). Mothers' entrance into the labour market increases rapidly after the period of utilisation of family leaves end (a period of nine months after the birth of the child) and already 56 per cent of the mothers of one or two-year-old are in the labour force and most of them employed. The rest of mothers with children from one to two are outside of the labour market, however, they often do not devoted totally on their children, rather many of them are studying, are ill or looking for work (Kartovaara & Sauli 2000, 121). The labour market participation of mothers continues to increase further when children turn up to three years of age and ever-increasing when the children start the comprehensive school. The majority of mothers with children in comprehensive school and the teenagers work outside of home in Finland.

Working forms

As was seen in the employment forms of mothers in Germany the employment of mothers can be very multiform. Particular for Finnish mothers is that they work mostly full-time independent of the age of the child (Kartovaara & Sauli 2000, 127).

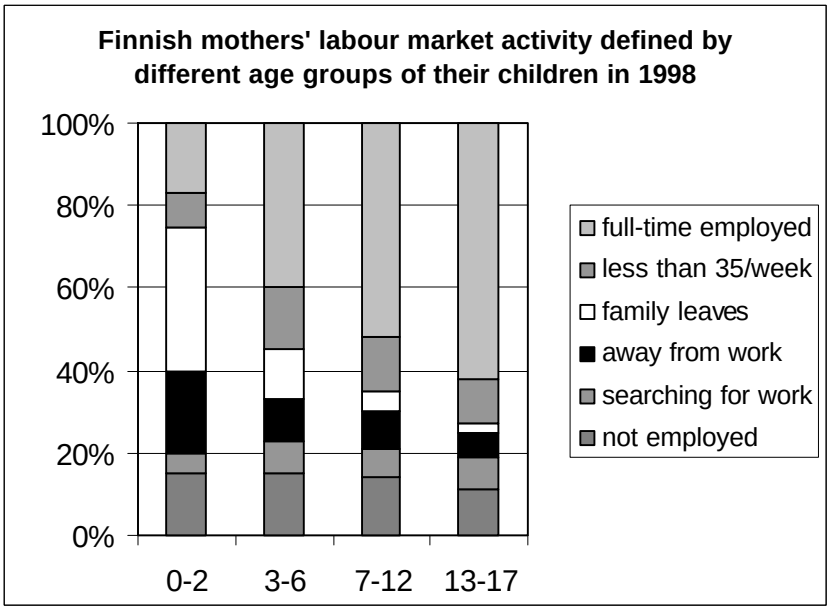

Figure 9 Finnish mothers' labour market activity defined by different age groups of their children in 1998
Source: Suomalainen Lapsi 2000, 127.

The figure 9 sums up the situation by presenting simultaneously the employment and working times of mothers defined in 1998. The biggest group (35 %) of mothers with small children of 0-2 year (on a family leaves) cares their children. Part-time employment is not so popular in Finland because even the mothers of very young children who are employed seem to work full-time. The number of full-time working mothers rises rapidly after the child gets older. For instance, while only 17 per cents of the mother of 0-2 year-old works full-time, the number is 40 per cent among mothers of 3-6 year-olds. Therefore, the European solution for mothers' employment, part-time work, is still not common alternative for Finnish mothers[21]. Only 8 per cent of mothers of 0-2 year-olds work part-time, while 15 per cent of mothers of 3 to 6 year-olds do so.

[21] Compared to other employed persons, the parents – especially mothers – have succeed in some level to arrange their working time even more normal than average. From all the adults in the labour force about 63 per cent worked in atypical working relations in 1998; 69 per cent from men and 57 per cent of women. Every third child's mother (32 % of all mothers) and more than every second child's father (61 %) were working atypical times. Every fifth, that is the parents of over 215 000 children were working gainfully other than so called normal employment times. Furthermore, the age of the child seem to have only little influence whether the parents work atypical times. The mothers of very young children seem to avoid shift work and weekend work, but nighttime work is done equally to families with various ages of children. (Kartovaara & Sauli 2000, 131)

Figure 10 Female proportion of part-time to total employment in Finland 1990-1997
Source: ILO, Key indicators of the labour market, 1999.

As is seen in the figure 10, the part-time work remains relatively seldom in Finland. The number of part-time working increased after the economic recession, but has decreased after the employment situation improved. One may here argue that many of the women working part-time were forced for cutting down the working hours during the recession years. However, in 1997 there were only less than 11 per cent of women of total employment working part-time, which highly low rate in comparison with average female part-time employment rate (33 % in 1998) in Europe (Eurostat 2000, 34).

Mothers outside of the labour market

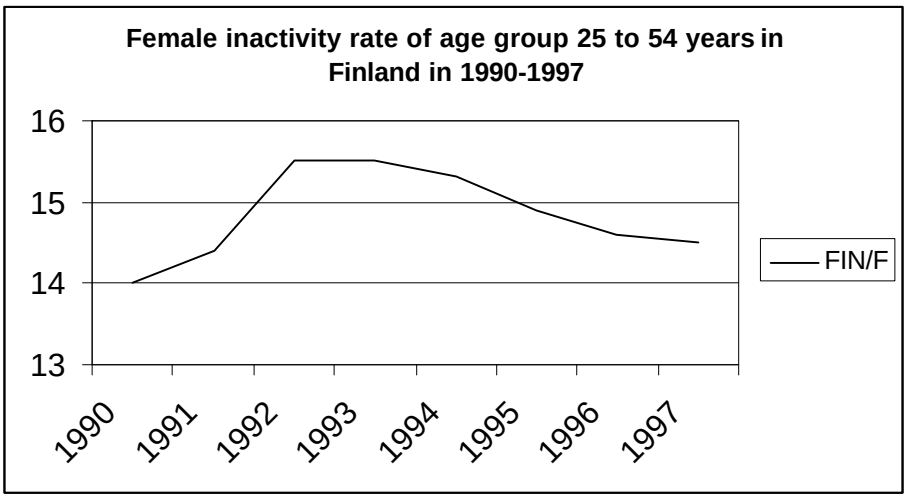

Figure 11 **Female inactivity rate of age group 25 to 54 years in Finland in 1990-1997**
Source: ILO, Key Indicators of the Labour Market 1999.

When the recession started in the beginning of 1990's the inactivity rate rose. Simultaneously rose the number of students due the shortage of employment opportunities. Moreover, mothers remained now easier at home taking care of their children because there were no jobs available. However, most of these mothers staying at homes were also registered as unemployed (Anttonen 1998b).Because the unemployed mothers are included into the figure of active women they are not visible in the in-active population even though they might be at home caring (as housewives) for their children. The situation on the labour market improved when reaching in the end of 1990's and simultaneously the inactive rate has reverted close to the situation before the economical repression.

Year	Total (1000 persons)	Students	Military service/ civil service	Person performing domestic works	Disabled persons	Retired on the basis of age	Others
1999	734	169	0	96	102	306	60

Table 4 **Inactive female Population aged 15-74 by activity in 1999 in Finland**
Source: Työvoimatilasto- Labour force Statistics 2000, 79.

The table 4 views the groups of inactive population in 1999. The biggest groups consisted of the retired and the students. Furthermore, since 1995 the Finnish women have an opportunity for

entering the voluntary military service (Pakanen 2001). However, according to the Table of Finnish Labour Force Statistics (2000, 79) there were no women in the army in 1999. This is not accurate, because regarding to the information from the Finnish Defence Ministry in 1998 402 women entered the military service in Finland, as well as in 1999 375 (Pakanen 2001). For whatever reason, those women are not included in the Labour force statistics (2000, 79). However, interesting here is that even the group of disabled persons is bigger than the group of performing domestic works. From this one can draw conclusion that the housewives are not common among the inactive population. Or at least the number of women intentionally chosen to be a housewife is very modest in Finland. However, as noted before the group of mothers that uses the family leave system is not in the group of inactive population, rather they are classified employed and same goes with the unemployed mothers. Therefore, even though there are mother who do not work but are caring for their children at home, the figures of them are hidden behind the figures of active women and the figures of housewives are very low even though they do exist.

6.3 Differences in employment system of mothers in Germany and Finland

First and foremost, one has to keep in mind when viewing the figure 12 of ILO's[22] labour force participation rates that the working women in the statistics can be either full-time workers as well as workers with very few working hours per week. This has to be kept in mind especially when cross-nationally comparing female labour market participation. No generalisations can therefore be made from the female labour force participation rates before one has pointed out of what sort of employment women are performing.

Figure 12 **Female labour force participation rate of 15-64-year-olds in Finland and Germany in 1990-1997**
Source: ILO, Key indicators of the Labour Market 1999.

However, from figure 12 one can see the general difference between German and Finnish women labour market participation. While the labour force participation rate among 15-64 year-old women varies between 72,5 per cent in 1990 to 71 per cent in 1997 in Finland, the rate is

[22] Labour force participation rates include the 15-64-years of age economically active population and comprehend the active working population during the performance of the sample collection as well as the unemployed persons during that time. A positive side of EU labour force statistics is that they identify all persons who are not in employment but want to work. This makes it possible to get information about the number of people wanting to work and to analyse the national differences in this area. (Haataja 2000, 3) However, in labour statistics work is limited to the activities that are directed towards the production of goods and services as defined by the System of National Accounts (SNA). The definition of economic activity includes the production of goods and services for sale and market, but not for own consumption. Research on time use has tried to make women's total working time and working load, including unpaid housework and care more visible. However, usually it has not succeed, because many of data is often unavailable. For instance, the information of statutory family leaves (paid or compensated) is not available in many of the welfare states. (Haataja 2000, 3)

over 10 per cents lower in Germany. However, since 1990, the labour force participation rate has been in continuous increase in Germany, from 56,4 per cent in 1990 to 58,2 per cent in 1997. In Finland, the increase of participation rate was interrupted by the recession in the first half of 1990's, but the rate started increasing after that, however, more slowly than before the recession.

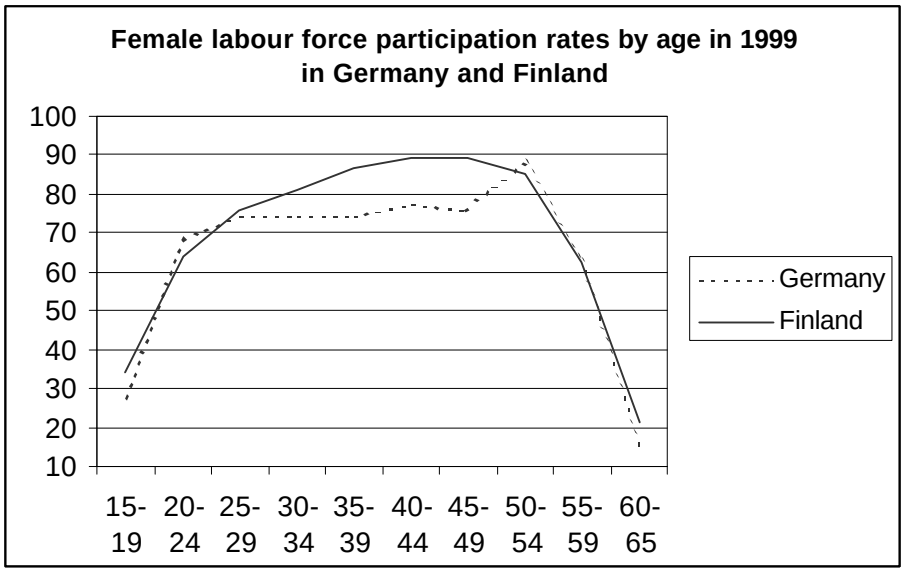

Figure 13 Female labour force participation rates by age in 1999 in Germany and Finland

Source: Germany; Statistisches Bundesamt (2001e); Finland: Työvoimatilasto- Labour force Statistics 2000, 53.

The age of woman seems to play a important role for labour market participation in these two different countries. The labour force participation in Finland is more continuous over whole life span of women in contrast to the employment of German women, which is interrupted for approximately from ten to fifteen years, most likely due to motherhood, but being followed by mothers returning to the labour market. Therefore, the classifications of economic activity curves (presented in chapter 2) divided to a plateau curve in Finland and M shaped curve in Germany still seems to be relatively accurate. However, the trend of generational increase in women labour market continuity among European mothers forecasts that the continuity patterns have already conformed to each other in different European countries (Rubery et al 1999, 83). Nevertheless, the statistics still view the difference between Germany and Finland by coming in the end of 1990's. However, the increase in labour market participation in general does not mean that the labour market behaviour of e.g. mothers has changed. In contrast, the national statistic tell that the labour market participation among the German women, has been increased among the middle-aged women.

Age of woman	**15-24**	**25-54**	**55-64**
Finland	44,6	85,5	42,6
Germany	47,1	69,6	32,5

Table 5 **Female labour force participation rates by age group in Finland and Germany in 1997**
Source: ILO, Key indicators of the Labour market 1999.

Similarly to previous figure, the table 5 shows the labour market participation rates by age group. Among women aged 15 to 24 the variation is relatively modest in Germany and Finland. Reasons for this are the relatively similar education system in Germany and Finland and the general European trend of studying longer than the previous generations did. However, there is a significant variation in labour force participation rates by the age group of 25-54 women between Germany and Finland. This age group of women (25-54) is interesting for this research because most mothers are included in that age group. The difference diminishes again among women aged 55 to 64.

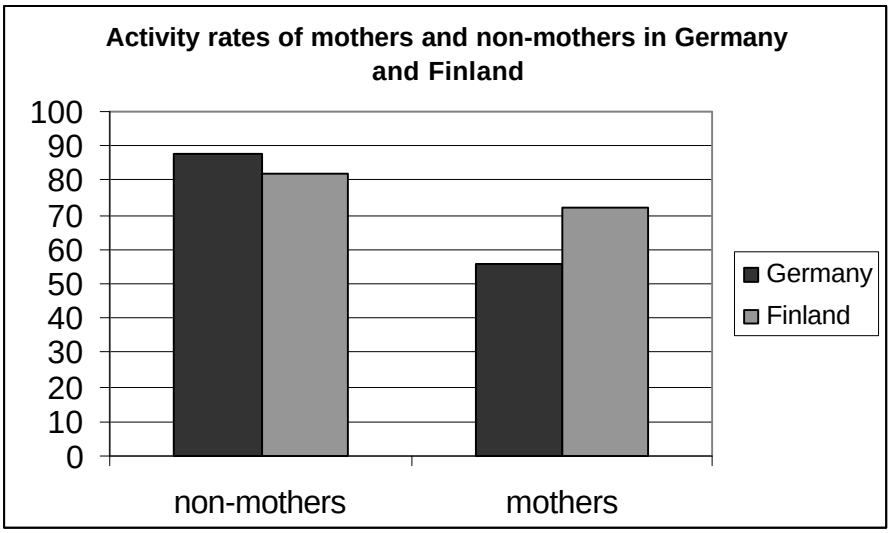

Figure 14 **Activity rates of mothers and non-mother aged 20-39 in Germany and Finland**[23]
Source: European Labour force survey 1994 and 1996 in Rubery et al 1999, 99.

[23] Note of the table: data for west Germany is for 1994; those for Finland is for 1996. Data related to women who are the household head, either individually or as part of a couple. Mothers have at least one child under 15. (Rubery et al 1999, 99)

The effect of motherhood on activity rates is illustrated for German and Finnish women aged 20-39 in figure 14. In both countries mothers have lower activity rates than women of similar age without dependent children, however, the influence of children for mothers employment behaviour is much smaller in Finland than in Germany. A surprising element in the figure above was the higher activity rate of non-mothers in Germany than in Finland. The reason for this is probably the time of data was collected in Finland. In 1996 Finland just started recovering from the hard recession and therefore the activity rates for Finland are a bit lower than they are again in the end of the 1990's. However, the data showed that being a mother in itself does not reduce women's labour market activity so much in Finland as it does in Germany.

There is, however, an importance of the age of child when viewing the labour market participation of mothers. As the national comparison shows (seen in the tables 1 and 3) in both countries the mother of an infant (under 1 year) usually stays at home. However, the Finnish mothers seem to re-enter the labour market rapidly after the child turn one year of age. Interesting is also the variation that according to Finnish system, the mother who use the Finnish family leave (9 months total) they are classified as employed. Because mothers seem to re-enter fast the labour market after the family leaves period ends up, therefore it seems that female labour market participation is not interrupted by the motherhood in Finland. In contrast, in Germany mothers seem to stay at home at least until the child turns three years of age or as in many of the cases even much longer. This means that the German mothers stay at home extremely longer than the Finnish mothers. However, there were too little data of concerning the employment of the group of mothers with small children. For example it would have been interesting to view the national difference between mothers of one, two or three year old children separate from each others and see if there are cross-national differences. Unfortunately, those mothers were mainly classified under only one group of mother.

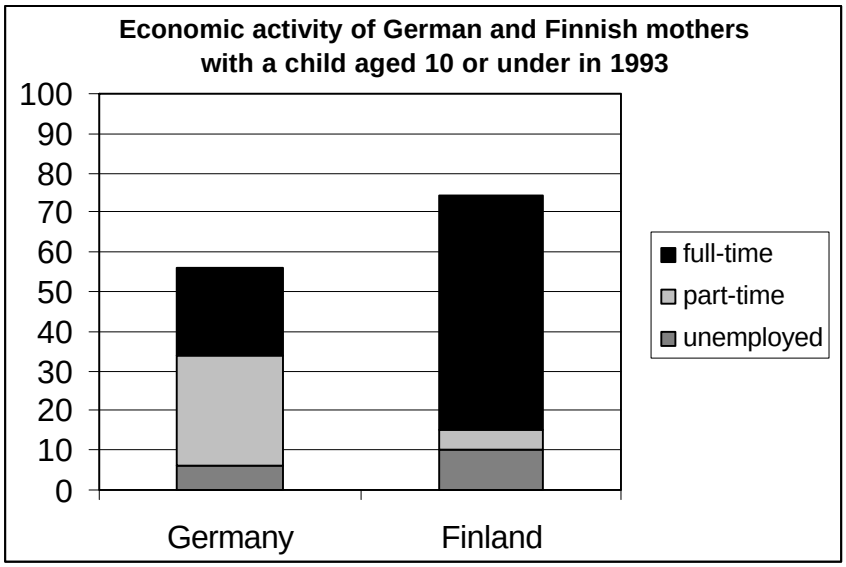

Figure 15 Economic activity of mothers with a child aged 10 or under in Germany and Finland in 1993
Source: European Childcare Network (1996) in Rubery et al 1999, 104.

Figure 15 views the economic activity considering the group of mothers in Germany and Finland. The figure leaves no doubt about it that the labour market participation is different among the mothers in these countries. First and foremost, the figure shows that mothers' economic activity is higher in Finland, but most interesting is to see how differently the mothers actually work. Where most of the mothers prefer full-time employment in Finland, only very small number of German mothers does so. Contrast is also the preference of part-time work. When in most of the German mothers seem to engaged in the forms of part-time activity, even the number of unemployed is higher in Finland than the level of part-time employment.

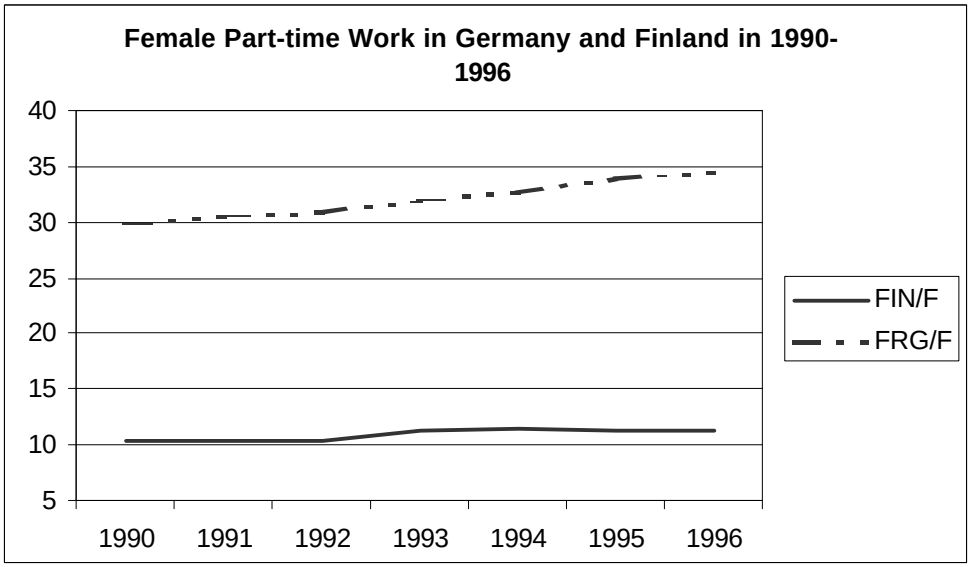

Figure 16 Female part-time work in Finland and Germany in 1990-1996
Source: ILO, Key indicators of the Labour Market 1999.

Same phenomenon is seen in the figure 16. It describes clearly the difference of part-time working in Germany and Finland. Whereas increasing number of German mothers enter the labour market by the means of part-time working during the 1990's, only a very modest number of Finnish women do so. In 1996, 35 per cents of German women were working part-time, in comparison to only a little over 10 per cents of their Finnish sisters. It seems to be true that the German mothers have chosen like many of their European sisters to be employed by a part-time basis. However, Finnish women (as well as mothers) are relatively against this form of employment. This can be caused by many things, however, one reason could be the strong traditional norm of full-time employment promoted by the (social democratic) welfare state.

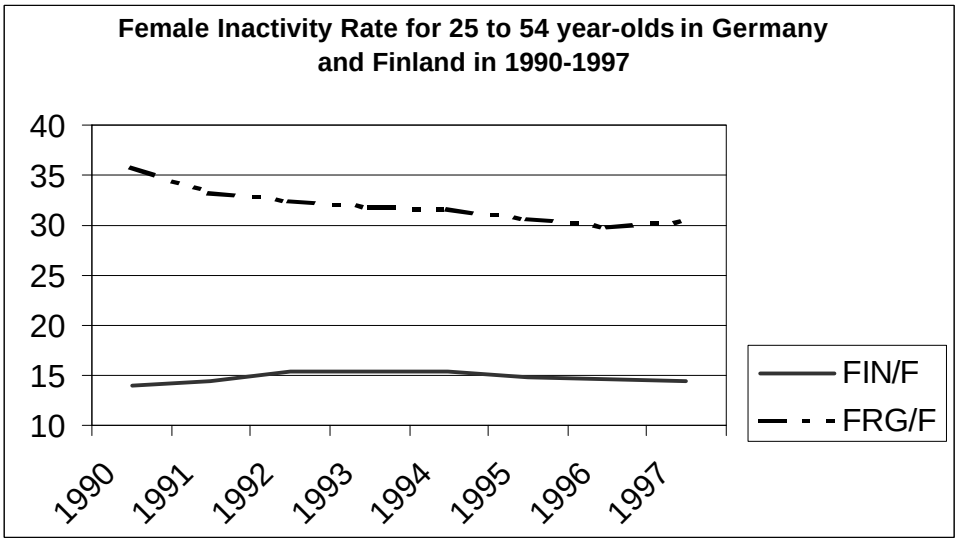

Figure 17 Female inactivity rate for 25 to 54 year-olds in Finland and Germany in 1990-1997
Source: ILO, Key indicators of the Labour Market 1999.

From the figure 17, the ILO[24] statistics for inactive females, one can see the difference of women outside the labour market in Germany and Finland. The inactivity trend of German women has decreased since 1990 and in 1997 30 per cent of women were classified as inactive in Germany, however the same rate was only around 14 percents in Finland. As the national comparison showed (tables 2 and 4), the most women outside of the labour market are the housewives in Germany, in contrast to Finland, where only the minority of women perform domestic works. The fact that the number of women performing domestic works is even lower than the number of disabled women reflects that the housewifery is not especially popular in Finland. However, as was stated in the national description, there are non-working mothers caring for their children at home also in Finland, however, they are very seldom classified in the rates of in-active women. On contrast, these women are often classified as active, either as unemployed or persons on family leaves. However, it is accurate to argue that the number of mothers who intentionally has chosen to become a housewife is very low in Finland in contrast to Germany.

[24] Women are more often classified as being out of the labour force than men are when the ILO definition is used. Part of the population outside the labour force can be identified as hidden unemployed. The hidden unemployed, according Jill Rubery and Colette Fagan (1998, 34), are those who a) have actively sought work during a period of four weeks but would need more than two weeks to be available to start working, b) are discouraged from actively seeking work because they do not believe that they will get work, or c) would like to work, but are not actively looking for work and consider themselves to be "looking after the home". At the European level two per cent of men and four per cent of women are classified as hidden unemployed , while men's official unemployment rate was 7.4 per vent and women's 7.1 per cent in 1995. When taking account the hidden unemployment, the unemployment rate of women was higher than that of men. (Haataja 2000, 3)

7. INSTITUTIONAL SETTINGS AS EXPLANATORY FACTOR

The statistical analysis shows that there is indeed a large difference in the labour market participation among German and Finnish mothers with small children. The following chapters look to answers for explanations of the national differences. The institutional factors, such as labour market, welfare state and family structure are often believed to represent the explanation divergent labour market participation of mothers in different countries (Connell 1987). Moreover, even though the family policies are a part of social policy, it has such an important influence for mothers' behaviour that I find it important to separate from the welfare state and social policy. The following chapter considers whether the institutional settings can account for the difference of labour market participation of mothers with small children in Germany and Finland.

7.1 Family as an institution

Family as an institution is a very important factor when defining the position of women. Until mid of 20th century many of European women were supposed to choose between employment and family. The work of men and women was structurally divided; men proving the livelihood by gainful employment, and women's as non-working housewife[25] (Pfau-Effinger 1994; Pfau-Effinger 1999a) with the primary responsibility of providing care and taking care of the family. Especially in Germany the traditional family model of male breadwinner and housewife became cornerstone of the society. German women usually after getting married or at the latest after the birth of the first child remained at home as housewives and took care of the family. The life long employment was predominantly correct for men and only for unmarried women without a family. (Sommerkorn 1988, 118; Pfau-Effinger 2000, 117)

[25] An interesting point is here that the "house wife" is meaning "a married women", this concept does not include idea of motherhood. The place of women was therefore seen at home, even before she had the tasks of the childcare. Moreover, the social concept *housewife* (Hausfrau) excludes fundamentally the unpaid work, but many of the middle-class women were active in the voluntary work

However, the position of housewife was not institutionalised in same degree overall in Europe. Family had great importance also for Finnish society, but family and female employment did not exclude each other so strongly as they did in Germany. This was, among other things, due to periferical agrarian conditions during the beginning of 20 century in Finland. The survival in the small farms called everybody living at the farm for work together and the marriage between woman and man was based on working side by side (Lehtonen 1985, 19-20). This kind of partnership softened the gender division. This is one of the reasons why male-breadwinnership never became dominant in Finland. In those agrarian conditions the wives could not remain at home solely taking care of the family, rather the work of the wives was necessary in gaining the livelihood for the family. Moreover, the childhood was not seen as a life phase of its own. The children were not separated from the family unit and therefore they were not individually promoted and cared for, rather children were supervised alongside and they were expected to contribute to the farm work as early as they were able. (Pfau-Effinger 1999c, 74)

Modernisation and industrialisation brought tension to the old societies and families as an institution. As argued in theoretical part (gender contracts of Hirdman (1990b) and gender arrangement by Pfau-Effinger (2000) represent in chapter 4.2) in the new societies the old rules do not account any more and the positions of women and the family have to be reviewed again. However, even though women have been liberated to enter the labour market overall in Europe, the legacy of housewife institution and norm of one own's responsibility of his family are still very strong in Germany[26]. In Finland, where mothers hardly ever became housewives, the new conditions affected the women by supporting them to enter the labour market aside with men. Family responsibilities were simultaneously solved by establishing welfare state to share the responsibilities of family, such as childcare.

The family has had a very important role for women's life planning in the past. The following analysis tends to find out does the family structure vary between Germany and Finland and how does the family as an institution effect the labour market participation of the mothers in Germany and Finland in 1990's.

[26] The German scholars (Baumeister 1994: Geissler & Oechsle 1996: Oechsle & Geissler 1998) argue that young German women today want to have both; employment and family. This is called as double life style, which mean that there is a strong bind between employment and responsibilities of social motherhood in the life planning of German women today. (Baumeister 1994, 86) However, a high proportion of West German women does not still question the male-breadwinner model of the family. Remarkable is, that it is still accepted by the great majority of younger women (Geissler & Oechsle 1996).

First are viewed the fertility rates. One might assume that the number of children might affect the mothers' opportunity to enter the labour market. Because the statistical comparison shows that German mothers participate less on the labour market than Finnish mothers, one might argue that German mother have on average more children who prohibits them to enter the labour market. However, within Europe, Germany is one of the countries with the lowest birth rate and the highest rate of childlessness – second to Italy. (Women in the Federal Republic of Germany 1998, 53-54) The birth rate is higher in Finland.

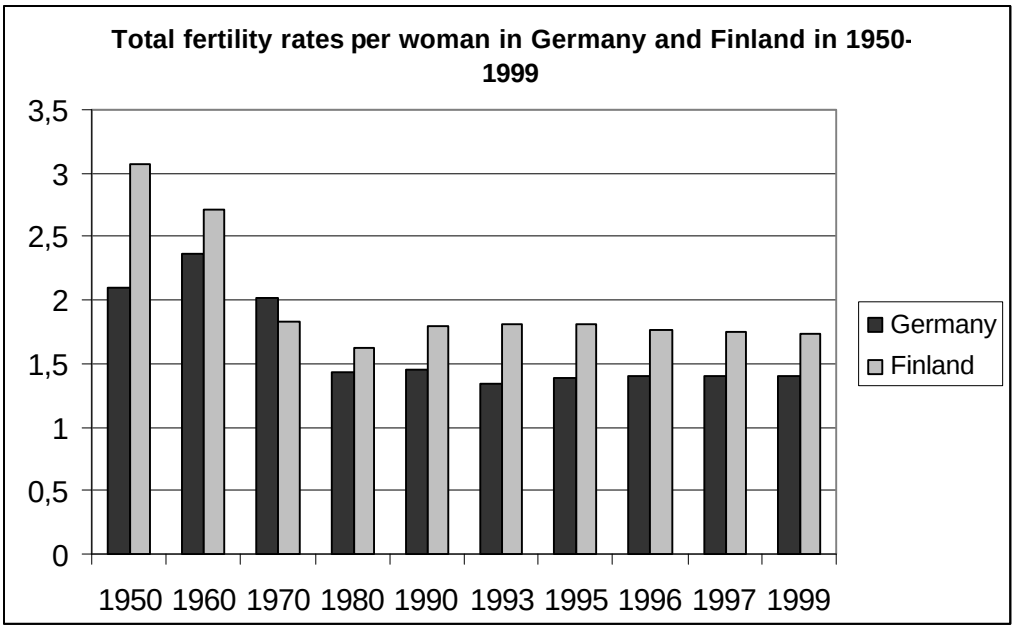

Figure 18 **Total fertility rate per women in Germany and Finland in 1950-1999**
Source: Germany: Families in Germany 1999, 99 and data for years 1997-1999 from Federal statistical office (web); Finland: Väestöliitto –population Research Institute 2001.

In general, the total fertility trend has been declining overall in Europe ever since 1950's. After the Second World War, the rebuilding of the European societies required more citizens and the fertility was high. The fertility rate peaked in 1950 in Finland (3,08 children per woman) and a decade later in Germany (2,37 children per woman in 1960). During the last decades the total fertility rate has steadily decreased and in 1990's the fertility rate has remained relatively stabile in both of the countries. In 1999 the fertility rate was 1,4 children per woman in Germany and 1,74 in Finland. The phenomenon of decrease of fertility rates can be linked partially with the increase in labour market participation of mothers in Germany and Finland. The increased opportunity for economic and social independence may influence women's fertility patterns. Women can delay the age at with they start up the family, they are having fewer children and a growing

minority are remaining childless. (Rubery et al 1999, 80) However, quite interesting is that the fertility rate is higher in Finland where most of the mothers are employed, than in Germany where the employment rates are lower even though the German fertility rate is one of the lowest in Europe.

Moreover, intriguing is the fact that the most standard western European family model has been during the last 50 years a family with two children. However, as figure 18 above shows the fertility trends has been simultaneously decreasing. This could be explained by a fact that more and more women prefer to have only one child. Nevertheless, there is no trend towards one-child families in either of the countries, on the contrast, families with two or more children are once again becoming more common as well in Germany as in Finland (Women in the Federal Republic of Germany 1998, 53-54; Kartovaara & Sauli 2000, 34-39). Therefore, there is not a strong variation between Germany and Finland when viewing the numbers of children by a mother and this cannot explain the variation in labour market participation either. The decrease of the fertility rate can however, be explained by a continuously increasing number of couples who are either not having any children at all, or fulfilling their desire to have at least two children.

Country	Women's mean age at child birth			Share of live births outside marriages			Crude fertility rate (/1000 pop.)		
	1960	1989	1993	1960	1989	1993	1960	1989	1993
Germany	27,5	27,6	28,1	7,6	15,5	14,8	2,4	1,4	1,3
Finland	28,3	28,8	29,0	4,0	22,9	30,3	2,7	1,7	1,8
E 15	-	28,1	28,6	5,1	18,9	21,7	-	1,6	1,5

Table 6 **Trends in childbearing in the European Union 1960-1993**
Source: Eurostat 1995 in Rubery et al 1999, 96.

The transition to parenthood among the new generation takes place later. This reflects the fact that modern women want work and gain experiences before settling down and raising a family. In Finland the average age for the mother is 29 years whereas in Germany women were on average 28,1 years old on giving birth for the first time. (Families in Germany 1999, 97; Rubery et al 1999, 96; Kartovaara & Sauli 2000, 31-33) Table 6 presents the fact that share of live births outside marriages has increased since 1960's. The share in Germany has redoubled when coming to 1990's, however, it has stabilised to the share of 15, whereas the trends is much higher in Finland. Starting from 1960's the share grown sixfold (from 4,0 to 30,3) when coming to 1993. This reflects the high increase of live births outside of marriages, especially in Finland. From this one

might draw the conclusion that the increase of single mothers would be a very important explication for the higher labour market participation rate in Finland, because single mothers are likely to be employed in order to gain the necessary livelihood. However, the data (table 7 and figures 18 and 19) does not confirm totally this assumption.

1994		Activity rates for single adults with 1 or more children under age of 15	
		Male	Female
Germany	9,3	87,8	74,7
Finland	12,1	95,0	71,7

Table 7 One parent families as a share of all families with children in 1994
Source: Eurostat 1996 in Rubery et al 1999, 98.

The table 7 shows first of all that there is not such a big difference in the activity rates for single mothers between Germany and Finland. Therefore, the single mothers in both countries seem to react quite the same way what comes to gainful employment and as a matter of fact the lone parenthood seem to have a bigger influence for activity rates for the fathers. However, it is true that when the share of live birth outside marriage is that almost half higher in Finland (30,3) than in Germany (14,8) this might have some affect on the labour market participation of the mothers in Finland. However, this has to be reflected carefully because the not all the mothers who have a child outside of the wedlock is a single mother. Many of the children born outside of the marriage might be a child born for a cohabiting couple. and the cohabiting has became very popular among the young. In contrast, the popularity of marriage has been in decrease as well in Germany as in Finland.

Country	Women's mean age at first marriage			Crude marriage rate (/1000 pop.)			Crude divorce rate (/1000 pop.)			Female remarriage rate as % of all marriage		
	1960	1989	1993	1960	1989	1993	1960	1989	1993	1960	1989	1993
Germany	23,4	24,6	26,1	9,5	6,7	5,5	1,0	2,2	1,9	10,9	22,3	22,9
Finland	23,8	25,8	26,6	7,4	4,9	4,9	0,8	2,9	2,5	8,7	15,8	18,0
E15	24,1	25,2	26,1	7,9	6,2	5,3	0,5	1,7	1,7	7,4	15,8	15,6

Table 8 Marital trends in European Union 1960-1993
Source: Eurostat in Rubery et al 1999, 95.

As the table 8 shows the decrease in marriages and increase in divorces. Women get married now older than in 1960's and this phenomenon can be seen as well in Germany as in Finland. In fact, many of the couples feel that marriage is no longer a institution and the modern trend in many European countries is that women who giving child birth today sometimes are even younger than women who get married (Kartovaara & Sauli 2000, 31-33). This tells that the new generations no more feel as strongly than the previous generations that the entering into matrimony is a necessary basis for family with children. Because the number of divorces have increased, has this phenomenon also brought more and more couples to remarry if the first (or second or third etc.) marriage has broken down. From the female remarriage rate in table 8 can be seen that German women seem to remarry faster than the Finnish ones, which might confirm that in Germany the institution of a marriage is still more valued than in Finland. Or at least the German women feel it more important (or more beneficial due the welfare state systems) to be married.

The family type might have significance for mothers' labour market participation. Moreover, this study views specifically the situation of married mothers and therefore it is important to view the prevailing family types in each compared countries.

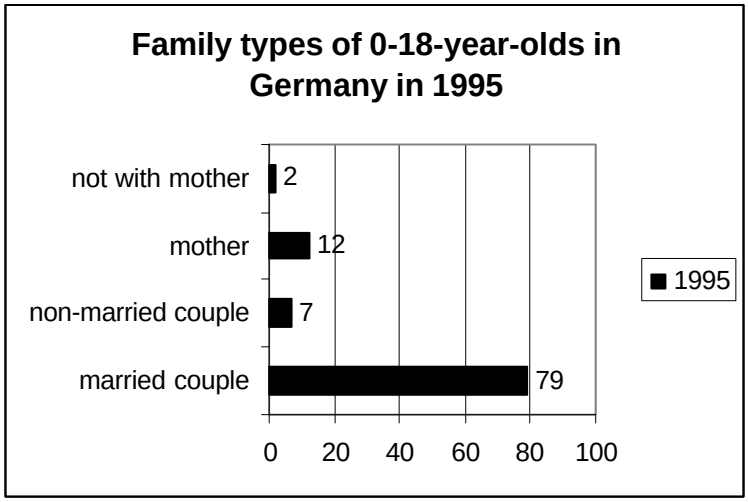

Figure 19 **German family types of 0-18 year-olds**
Source: Families in Germany 1999, 36.

The majority of the German population (79.4 per cent in 1995) lives in family households including married couples with children or whose children no longer lived at home (Women in the Federal Republic of Germany 1998, 53). The traditional family type with married parents and child(ren) remains still to be a norm in Germany, even though other family types are increasing continuously (Families in Germany 1999, 45-46).

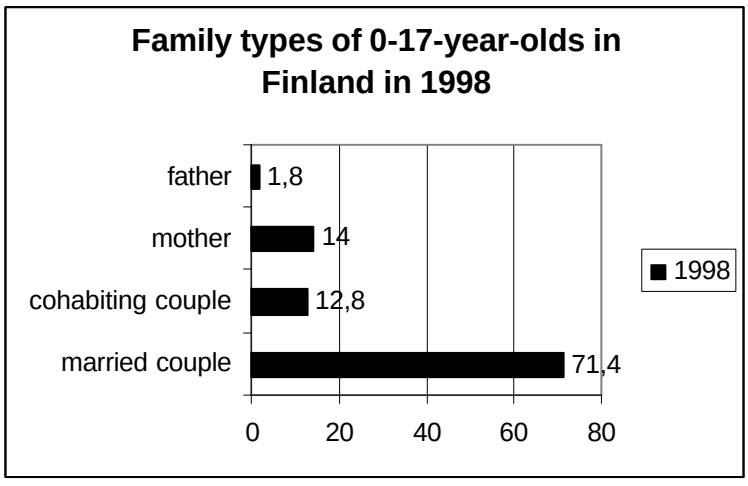

Figure 20 **Family types of 0-17-year-olds in Finland in 1998**
Source: Suomalainen lapsi 2000, 30.

The figure 20 shows that also the majority of the children in Finland lives with a married couple. This number is, however, decreasing all the time. While in 1985 still 85 per cent of the children were living with their married parents, the number decreased till 71 per cent when coming to the

year 1998 (Kartovaara & Sauli 2000, 29). The married couples can also mean the parents of extended family who are married but where only one of the parent is the real biological parent of the child in the family. This holds true as well in Germany as in Finland. As stated before, also ever increasing number of the parents prefer the cohabitation instead of the marriage. However, usually cohabiting is often a pre-marital state and often happens that parents cohabit while the child is born and they will marry after the child grows older. However, the number of lone parents, the majority of them lone mothers, has been growing in both countries during the 1990's. This is mainly due to the increasing number of divorces but the number of single parents by own choice has also risen. However, the lone parenthood is generally a temporary phase caused by a failure in a marriage or non-married partnership and it can in due time be changed if the mother becomes involved into a relationship in the future. However from all the new forms of family types the married couple is still the most important child providers both in Germany and Finland.

CONCLUSION

The family as an institution has extremely importance for mothers labour market behaviour and in general the analysis of families in Germany and Finland turned out to be relatively similar. The traditional family type of married couple with children is still a norm in both of the countries, Germany and Finland. General European development in birth rate is similar; fertility rate has decreased, the number of marriages has decreased and in contrast to the previous indicators, the number of divorces has increased. However, there is no trend towards the preference of families of having only one child. On the contrary, families in Germany and Finland either prefer of having either two children (or more) or not at all. Therefore the number of children per mother cannot explain the variation in female employment either. Family types also resemble each others in the analysis. Married parents are the biggest group of having children and the number of lone mothers is relatively same. Based on the empirical analysis I draw the conclusion of that while the trend in fertility trends, marital behaviour and family types are evidently relatively similar in both countries, there is only a little evidence of differences between German and Finnish families as an institution. However, the analysis of the family structure is important factor in understanding the labour market behaviour of mothers.

7.2 Welfare state

The theoretical analysis was started with the regime theory of **Gøsta Esping-Andersen** (1990) which is named as a cornerstone for comparative social sciences. The *welfare state regime theory* gives the basis for comparison of two countries; Germany representing corporatist-conservative regime and Finland social democratic regime. The theory of Esping-Andersen's (1990) welfare regimes enlighten that different welfare regimes have different implications for women, particularly for mothers, especially when viewed the position on the labour market. Welfare states have in-built incentives for supporting the position of women in the direction they would prefer. The gender arrangement of each country effects the direction of chosen welfare state policies for women. The following chapter views the economical incentives that German and Finnish welfare state uses on influencing the labour market participation of mothers.

Germany is known as the home country of social policy and especially social insurance, in which the central arrangements of livelihood were created already in the 1880's. Particularly the social insurance, where the rights are gained by gainful employment, is well developed. German welfare state emphasises the family responsibilities, especially in social service production. Moreover, while the social insurance system is highly developed in Germany, the social policy regarded as benefits financed with taxes and provided services is emphasised only relatively little[27]. (Koistinen & Ostner 1994, 10-11; Anttonen & Sipilä 2000, 195) Finnish welfare stare is characterised by a strong state with a general steering apparatus, used as an instrument of assurance of equality and universal social rights. Important features in Finnish social policy are the wideness of the public sector, high taxation, active labour market policy, large volume of service production and the role of the government and municipalities. (Alestalo & Flora 1996; Kosonen 1998, Kautto et al 1999)

The modern German welfare state is based on civil society, where the citizens create themselves the social political systems and the provision of the social services. The basic idea of civil soci-

[27] A good exemple for this is cross-national difference the financing of the medical care. In German the financing of the medical care is based on the insurance grounded for performance and organisations of citizens have a central role in the production of health care and social services, in contrast to Finland, where the financing of health care is usually based on taxation. (Anttonen 1997, 199-200; Anttonen & Sipilä 2000, 196; Women in the Federal Republic of Germany 1998, 55)

ety consists of the balance between the family, organisations and government. (Anttonen & Sipilä 2000, 197-198) The state and political systems are important factors when providing social services for the citizens, for instance the provision of day-care is financed and planned on the community level. However, in Germany the public sector only has a preference of subsidising[28] other sectors (intermediary non-profit[29] (Verbände) and other voluntary organisations) to produce social services and care for its citizens. The preference of states only as financial supporter of social services has lead to favouring the family policies in taxation and social care system and emphasising the importance of the family's own responsibilities. If the family or the kin are not able to provide the needed social services[30] voluntary organisations and non-profit sectors

[28] What comes into public provision of day care in Germany, in keeping with the subsidiary principle local governments either provides its own day care slots, or as what usually happens, local government allocates money to non-profit organisations, which in turn provide day care. These subsidies generally cover up to 90 per cent of the operating costs. (Hank & Kreyenfeld 2000, 9)

[29] The definition is this sector swinging: every culture has its definitions and names for this sector. American scholars often use the name "non-profit sector", British "voluntary organisation", German "gemeinnützige Organisation" (charitable organisation) or "intermediäre Sektor" (intermediary sector) and a term used in Finland is "kolmas sektori" (third sector). Also widely used is the international term "NGO" (non-governmental organisation). (Salamon & Anheimer 1992, 128; Matthies et al 1996, 11; Helander 1998, 33-36) In this conceptualisation the concept the third sector refers to all formal and informal social organisations and associations which are not strictly production-related non-governmental or familial in character (Ruschemeyer et al 1992, 6; Alestalo & Flora 1996, 57).

[30] According to German researcher Dorit Sing (2000, 17) the relationship between paid (professional) and unpaid (voluntary) in German social services has changed during the last decades. She sees that the increase in income and resources of the private households and especially the extension of the social Welfare State are responsible for the expansion of the paid social services sector in the past. In addition, an enormous differentiation and specialisation in this sector has taken place. Furthermore, one can expect that social services will increasingly be needed in the future due to demographic changes, an increasing individualisation, the change of traditional family structures, an increasing labour force participation of women, chancing mobility patterns etc. Therefore an increasing number of German population will depend on institutional support and help, while on the other hand specific needs and requirements in the field of social and cultural infrastructure will be formulated and demanded. This will be paralleled by the increase in quality of awareness for the offered services on the part of the both actors; the providers of the services as well as their customers and clients. (Sing 2000, 17)

have got the most important role in the provision[31] of social services in Germany[32]. (Anheier 1997, 30-33; Anttonen & Sipilä 2000, 200; Hank & Kreyenfeld 2000, 9; see also van Kersbergen 1994; Stjérno 1995)

Whereas, in Germany the welfare state emphasises the individual's own responsibility, the wide-ranging publicly provided social services are probably the most distinctive feature of Finnish welfare state. Even though most of the services are provided by the public sector, the local governments in Finland are not totally separated from the civil society. However, the difference between the significance of the civil society in social service production in Germany and Finland is great. The Finnish municipalities are often seen as a sort of mediator[33] between the state and rest of the society (e.g. Anttonen & Sipilä 1994d; Sipilä et al 1996). Moreover, the wide social services production has a special significance for women in Finland. Women keep the caring state running as workers in the social service production. Therefore, the Finnish women are dependent on social services as well as customers as clients. (Anttonen 1994c, 26; Sipilä et al 1997b) Particular for the Finnish social services is the also fact that the middle class is also among the users of public services. This is again related with the fact that the service system responds most specifically to the interest of women. (Anttonen 1994c, 26; Sipilä et al 1997b)

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[31] Six national central organisations (die freien Träger or die freien Wohlfahrtsphlege) provide the majority of the tasks of social and health care as well as social services. These organisations are also official co-operation partners of the government and they are ideologically and juridical stabile and strong. In the post war era the imprint of social Catholicism and its doctrine of subsidiary has been particularly efficient in Germany, therefore the largest organisations of providers of social services represent the churches; Diakonisches Werk der Ewangelischen Kirche im Deutschland for the protestant church and Deutscher Caritasverband for the Catholic church. Other organisations are the labour welfare organisation (Arbeiterwohlfahrt), the Jewish organisation (Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland), the German Red Cross (Deutches Rote Kreuz) and the co-operation organ for politically and religiously independent organisation, the German parity welfare association (Deutcher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband). Each of these organisations may have different position in different parts of Germany, but it is important for the German social policy that nobody has the monopoly of it. (Anheier 1997, 32-35; Anttonen & Sipilä 1995, 5; 2000, 207-208; Esping-Andersen 1999, 81; Riffkin 1995, 276)

[32] According to Helmut Anheier (1997, 30-31) the German third sector differs from the third sectors in the other countries especially because the central area of relations between the public and the third sector is very highly structured. Annette Zimmer (1997, 70) sees also the relation between third sector and public sector in Germany being assessed positive and therefore there can be seen a possibility some sort of public private partnership. But even though the state is participating to service production the third sector is still the most important body to produce social services in Germany.

[33] During the 1990's the municipalities have been obliged, by central states, to take their own decisions concerning the provision of services. One might incorrectly assume that all social services in Finland are publicly arranged. Many day care centres and old age homes are actually run by voluntary organisations. However, the voluntary organisations do not usually have financial independence because the users do not cover the real costs of the services, rather the organisations rely mostly for the funding on local governments. (Sipilä et al 1997b, 34) Municipalities may also, when so wanting, subsidise the services from the private market (Kröger 1996, 76-82; 1997, 504)

Many families related policies in Finland focuses on the social services in order to transfer many of the family obligations to the state. Therefore it can be talked about *public childhood and public motherhood* (see also Pfau-Effinger 2000) in Finnish welfare state, where the responsibilities of proving care and social services are no longer only at the shoulders of the family.

Even though Finland could appear to have more equal and universalistic welfare state than Germany, the special feature of German social policy is its' wide acceptance. There are no taxation protests in Germany and the political movements have not critize the social state (Anttonen & Sipilä 2000, 198). Esping-Andersen (1996b, 66-68) sees the German welfare state as the most unanimous welfare state in Europe and he presumes that to be due from the insurance principle. The insurance fees yield the right for the benefits and also the equivalence of the payments and the benefits is easy to understand and accept. (Anttonen & Sipilä 2000, 55) In contrast, in spite the success of welfare state and social policy in Finland, even prior to the recession of the 1990, some economics, media and other elite had begun to criticise the overly expanded public sector or social policy in general. The criticisers presented the overly expanded and generous welfare state as the culprit of economic troubles during the recession. However, the more common conviction is that the welfare state and social policy were not the causes of the recession, but, contrarily, its hardest victim[34]. (Julkunen & Nätti 1999b, 24)

With a closer cross-national scrutiny towards mothers' positions in the welfare states the differences emerge. German social policy is a good example of securing the (male) wage worker and it is based on strong male-breadwinner family model, where all the family members are secured with the insurance of the (male) wage worker. The Finnish government and social policy support the independence and equality of the individuals. Especially women are supported by the state by providing social and other services in order to make women full and autonomous citizens. Scholars even speak about women-friendly welfare state[35]. (Anttonen 1994c, 27)

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[34] The Finnish welfare state responded to the widening deficits and growing debt due to a recession and aggregated public spending explosion (explained mainly by the rise of the costs of unemployment), by cutting public expenditures and raising taxes. The cumulative discretionary savings accumulated by the central government between 1991 and 1997 amounted to nearly 10 % of the total GDP and the public spending on social welfare in the beginning of 21 is expected to be 8-9 % less compared to the situation without cuts. (Julkunen & Nätti 1999b, 25)

[35] The idea of Scandinavian women friendly welfare state was developed by Norwegian Helga Maria Hernes (1987), but into a wider used the concept came during 1990's among scholars e.g. Acker 1992, Anttonen 1994a, Julkunen 1992.

In practices these in-built incentives can be seen clearly in several social political arrangements. To begin within the framework of the social insurance system in Germany, the housewives, who are not working or only a part-time basis, are entitled to social insurance of her husbands. As a matter of fact, only women as sole earners, single mothers and widows of low paid husband risk being dependent on welfare benefits. (Women in the Federal Republic of Germany 1998, 55) In contrast, in Finnish social security benefits are based on citizenship and therefore all the citizens are liable for a basic income. However, persons who are working obtain higher level of compensate because of the earning related benefits. On one hand the German social security system is good because it secures the whole family, however it secretly forces women to marry and stay even in a bad marriage. According to a cross-national research made by Katja Repo (1996) if housewife's liability for pension is gained by the social insurance of the male-breadwinner, as it does in Germany, after divorce the woman may be left to survive with income support or with other social security arrangements (Anttonen & Sipilä 2000, 196). Finnish system is more individualistic, securing all but simultaneously supporting/pressuring persons to be (full-time) employed for receiving higher benefits. (Julkunen & Nätti 1999b, 49; Anttonen & Sipilä 2000, 164-165)

Another example of German welfare state to support the male breadwinnership is the pension system. This system does not support women for discontinuous employment, rather most women derive higher pension from their husbands pensions than from their own, if the wife has not worked continuous and full-time. Furthermore, the German pension scheme is based on earnings-related old-age insurance for wage workers and other gainful employment groups. But also the housewives are entitled to old-age (retirement) pension through the working spouse and nowadays the mothers receive pension points for caring the child. (Anttonen & Sipilä 2000, 164-165; Ostner 1994, 37; Women in the Federal Republic of Germany 1998, 78) In the Finnish pension system everybody is entitled to national basic pension system, even though not everybody are drawing it. The housewives, as well as everybody outside of the labour market, are entitled to national basic pension after turning 65 years, but no kind of special housewife pension is known in Finland. (Anttonen & Sipilä 2000, 164-165) This, once again, tells about the appreciation of Finnish welfare state for women working outside of the household.

Moreover, the German taxation of married couples under tax law indirectly benefits the women staying at home or working only part-time. Spouses living together can select joint assessments, in which case the income tax is determined by the splitting method. It assesses the spouses as

though each had achieved half the joint income. This means that, compared to separate assessment, married couple with different income levels ultimately pays less tax. (Künzler 1994, 67; Women in the Federal Republic of Germany 1998, 55) Once again contrast to Germany, is that in Finland separate taxation system is used and there is no support via taxation to single breadwinner families (Julkunen & Nätti 1999b, 49; Anttonen & Sipilä 2000, 164-165).

CONCLUSION

Based on Esping-Andersen's (1990) regime welfare state theory it has been argued that conservative-corporatist regime, such as German welfare state, stimulates the female wage worker less than the social democratic regime, clustering Finnish welfare state. When viewing the economic incentives built in German and Finnish welfare states it seems to be true.

According to the comparative analysis of welfare states it seems that the German welfare state still promotes and protects the male earner marriage based on the male breadwinnership. In German welfare state many economic incentives indicate as well directly as indirectly, that the man is the breadwinner of the family and women should give the priority for the family. Systems like social security, pensions and even taxation promote the model of male breadwinner family. In Finland, the welfare state has adopted a different direction. A great value is given for the principle of universality, individuality and (full-time)employment. The welfare state is held more as an ally for the women, for enabling them to join the labour market. However, there are contrast approaches in the research literature (e.g. Ostner 1993) that view that the Finnish welfare state instead of supporting and enabling women to be employed rather forces women to work However, by establishing wide ranging public social service provision Finnish welfare state has chosen to support the dual breadwinnership. The welfare state comparison and analysis of the economical incentives explain partially the different labour market participation of mothers. It does not explain difference totally; because if all the mothers would follow the spirit of the welfare state politics then all the German mothers should be outside of the labour market and all the Finnish mothers would be continuously working and according to statistical analysis (in chapter 6) we have already seen that it is not so. Therefore there has to be some other elements to explain the diverse employment behaviour

7.3 Family policies

The European parents are entitled to several social political benefits and leave systems[36] in order to better to care for their children. Especially important these arrangements are for working mothers for reconciling the employment and family. At least in theory, both countries have similar family political systems like maternity leave, opportunity to care for child at home until the child turn three-year-old and child day care. But how the leave systems and benefits present themselves in practice, however, varies in Germany and Finland. And can the family policies contribute to explanation of the difference in mothers' labour market participation in Germany and Finland?

	Age 0-4	Age 4-6
Mother	*84 %*	69 %
Spouse	*34 %*	31 %
Grandparent	*45 %*	33 %
Other relative	*10 %*	8 %
Child minders	*10 %*	7 %
Day care	*5 %*	57 %

Table 9 **Use of care arrangements of employed mothers by age of the child in 1995 in Germany**
Source: Engelbrech & Jungkunst (1998) in Hank & Kreyenfeld 2001, 31.

The table 9 presents what was already argued in the chapter 7.2 that the German welfare state supports the male breadwinnership by prioritising the family's own responsibilities. Especially when the children are small the main responsibility is shared by the family, mainly by the mother (84 %) or grandparent (45 %). Only very small number of small children (5%) is cared in day care arrangements. However, among pre-schoolers (4-6 years) the care outside of the households begins to be more significant, but still the family plays important role in the provision of child-care.

[36] In principle, these leaves of absence associated with parenthood, with exception of maternity leave, equally accessible to men and women. In practice, though, they are used generally by mothers.

Childcare arrangement	*Children under 3*	Children under 7
Parental leave (benefit) Parent as carer	*29*	12
Child home care allowance Parent as carer	*41*	26
Private home care allowance	*1*	2
Public day-care	*11*	30
Public family day-care	*13*	17
Other	*5*	13

Table 10 The Finnish care arrangements of children under 3 and under 7 years of age by the end of 1997 (in per cents)
Source: STM 1999, 4.

However, the table 10 shows that also in Finland many the families take the care most of the small children, either with parental leave (family leaves) or home care allowance. Therefore the general exceptions that most Finnish children are actually cared in day care facilities turns out to be incorrect. However, the importance of public day care increases rapidly when the children grow older. But before drawing definite conclusion of care arrangements of children a closer comparative scrutiny is needed.

1. Maternity leave and parental leave

German and Finnish family policies allow the mothers to remain at home taking care of the child until the child reaches the age of three. However, as the table 11 below presents the structure of leave system varies in Germany and Finland.

Germany	Maternity leave 14 weeks	Parental leave (child rearing leave) Until the child turns three years	
Finland	Maternity leave 15 weeks	*Parental leave* 158 days (about 22 weeks)	Child home care allowance Until the child turns three years

Table 11 Child home caring possibilities entitled to German and Finnish mothers
Source; ILO (1998).

After the birth of a child the mother is entitled to take leave of absence called maternity leave. The duration of a maternity leave in Germany is for 14 weeks, whereas it is a week longer weeks

(for 105 days) in Finland. During this time the employed German mother receives a compensation of 100 per cent of her normal salary, while Finnish mother is paid 80 per cent of the normal salary. Finnish fathers are entitled to 6-12 paternity benefit days[37] during the maternity leave. In contrast, there is no paternity leave system in Germany. (ILO 1998, Anttonen & Sipilä 2000, 206; Rantalaiho 2000, 12)

After the maternity leave is utilised by the mothers, the leave system varies between Germany and Finland. When the maternity leave has finished in Germany, one parent[38] can choose to take a additional parental leave, called now as child-rearing leave until a child is 3 years old. If the both parents were employed before the birth of the baby, if preferred so, the parents can alternate of staying at home. Moreover, the child-rearing leave system evidently has the priority for maintaining mothers at home caring for their small children, but however, it also protects the working mothers[39] because the employees are guaranteed a job at their former workplace when the leave is over. (ILO 1998) In Finland the parents have a possibility for parental leave for 158 days with the income compensation. After total of 9 months (263 days) of Finnish family leaves[40] parents can choose the child home care allowance and remain home until the child turns three. In principle, the Finnish family leaves of absence associated with parenthood, with excep-

[37] Additionally father can take 6 paternity days when he wants during the maternity or parental leave. In the former case 6 days is the minimum length of the paternity leave. In practise this means that father can take several shorter separate leaves or one longer at the same time when mother is on leave. (Rantalaiho 2000, 12)

[38] Only about two per cent of German men decide to stay at home and look after their children while their wives are working, therefore the majority of person taking the child rearing leave are the mothers (Bundesministerium für Familie… 1999, 5).

[39] For meeting better the needs of modern women and improving the situation of the mother on the labour market, the German government has passed a new legislation in 2001 Federal ChildCare Benefit Act (Bundeserziehungsgeldgesetz). First of all, the parental leave "Erziehungsurlaub" was renamed as "Elternzeit" in German. The new legislation gives the wage work parents more better opportunity to reconcile the child-rearing and employment. However, this legislation affects only children born after January 1st 2001 and therefore has no direct effect on this study. However, the new legislation reflects the increasing public acceptance for mothers to enter the labour market and is therefore important to mention here. Very important change is the increased opportunity for part-time work during the child rearing leave. The limits of permitted part-time work before the change varied from 19 to 30 hours per week. Moreover, the parent who want take only one year child rearing leave will profit from the new legislation. They may receive a monthly payment up to 900 DM (450), including also the charges of the maternity benefits. (Schiersmann 1991, 63; Erziehungsgeld Elternzeit 2000, 7) These changes however, reflect a stronger acceptance for the mothers to work, which is indeed fundamentally a big step towards mothers being accepted as employees even during the period of active motherhood.

[40] Since summer 1998 maternity leave, paternity leave and parental leave are named as family leaves (Rantalaiho 2000, 12).

tion of maternity leave, equally accessible to men and women. In practice, though, they are used generally by mothers[41]. (Julkunen & Nätti 1999b, 46; Rantalaiho 2000, 12)

Most of the German mothers use their right for the utilisation of child rearing leave, as can be seen in the table 12. The percentage of utilisation has decreased slightly during the 1990's but still majority of mothers (93,5 %) in 1999 utilised child-rearing benefit.

1991	98,6
1992	96,9
1993	97
1994	96
1995	95,7
1996	92,4
1997	93,6
1998	94,2
1999	93,5

Table 12 The utilisation of child-caring benefit during 1991-1999 in Old Federal Republic of Germany
Source: Bundesministerium für Familie… 1999, 2.

Similar to German child rearing benefit is the Finnish child home care allowance system. As an alternative form of care to public day care the parents can choose either the child home care allowance[42] or private care allowance. The families with a child under three years are liable for child home care allowance. In this case, the allowance also covers the other under school-aged children in the family. For the private care allowance is entitled to a family with under school-aged child, who is taken care by private carer accepted by the municipality. The private carer can be either private day-care centre or a carer employed by the parents. (Anttonen 1999b, 45; KELA 2001, 1) Almost all children under one-year old were cared at home (about 96 per cent) (Kartovaara & Sauli 2000, 133-134).

[41] Contradictionary is that the parental leave benefits paid for women (who are the main user of the system) are extremely low if compared those paid for men in Finland. Minna Rantalaiho (2000, 17) argues that "because the taxation is progressive one could ask if ,as the often used argument goes that families cannot afford father taking the leave, have that much value. Discursive power of economic reasoning in the case of parental leave sharing between mother and father is, however, strong and almost uncontested." (Rantalaiho 2000, 17)

[42] In addition to this statutory, nation wide, child home care allowance system, supplementary allowances are provided by the local government. The need for such additional programs has been greatest in the greater Helsinki region and in some other larger cities. In these cities, there is an inadequate supply of public day care because of the personnel shortage and the high costs of the childcare. (Mikkola 1991, 159)

Year	Total number	9 moths to 6 years	9 months to 2 years
		% of population of corresponding age	
1993	159940		69,6
1994	153840		69,0
1995	138440		61,6
1996	122330		54,8
1997	129400	32,3	58,6
1998	129350	32,8	60,3
1999	127660	33,2	61,1

Table 13 Eligible children for child home care allowance in 1993-1999in Finland
Source: Valli 2001, 2.

The table 13 describes the child home care allowance during 1993-1999. The utilisation of home care allowance has varied during the years, from the increase in the end of 1980's till decrease after 1994. During the last few years the popularity of the home care allowance has risen again, even though the level of allowance was cut in the years 1996 and 1998 (Keinänen & Savola & Sauli 1999, 34). However, a slight increase of utilisation of child home care allowance continues and in 1999 already 61,1 % of families with children aged between 9 months and two years of population of corresponding age were using the benefit. However, when comparing the figures with the utilisation of German child rearing benefit the difference is visible. In 1999 93,5 per cent German mothers used the child rearing benefit, where as only 61,1 of Finnish mothers of children under two years did so.

In both countries a parent who remains at home after the maternity leave caring for the child is liable for benefit until the child turns three years of age. In Germany the monthly paid childcares benefit, child-rearing benefit is fundamentally 600 DM (300). The payment is independent of the family income for the first six month and on a means-tested basis thereafter. (Schiersmann 1991, 63; Erziehungsgeld Elternzeit 2000, 7). The Finnish child home care allowance is slightly lower[43] consisting (in 1997) of a basic flat amount of 1500 FIM (250) and the private care a l-lowance is 700 FIM (117) per each child. The childcare allowance is taxable income and therefore at the beginning of the period majority (about 83 %) of those eligible use it but only 20 per cent at the end. (Mikkola 1991, 159; Anttonen 1999b, 48; Keinänen & Savola & Sauli 1999,

[43] To straighten the matter, one can only made comparison of sums of money if one also include the information of it's relation to national purchasing power, salary level, other benefits levels, price levels etc. However, the difference of the allowance between Germany and Finland is so modest, that I found it only important to mention this fact.

34) However, in both of countries this payment is income related and most of users loose the benefit in due time.

When the family political benefit of child home care allowance was introduced to the Finnish population, an intense debate arose. Some scholars argued that with this benefit the concept of housewives would be institutionalised to the Finnish society as it is in Germany (see e.g. Julkunen 1999a). Despite of the intense debate and nevertheless of the increase of the utilisation of the home care allowance, this family political instrument has not lead to harmonisation of Finnish and German motherhood and it certainly has not increased drop-outs of women outside of the labour market in Finland. In contrast to Germany many the Finnish mothers who are utilising the home care allowance were often already outside of the labour market (Keinänen & Savola & Sauli 1999, 34). This can be partly explained by the fact that the Finnish child home care allowance is similar allowance to income support and labour market subsidy where the persons with high income hac better to remain working. Moreover, even if a Finnish mother is working part-time, this diminishes the amount of received allowance. Therefore, the Finnish child home care allowance only provide a moderate livelihood for a family with low income, that is a family where both adults are low-paid, or one is not working at all. Whereas in Germany mothers choose the child-rearing leave with almost common consent, the users of Finnish child home care allowance are often low-income families and mainly women[44] outside of the labour market. (Anttonen 1999b, 76)

Not only the mother, rather other relatives often participate on the caring of the child. However, Finland varies also drastically from Germany when viewing the use of carer such as grandparents and other relatives. It seems that in Finland in the most cases the carer of a young child (under 3 years) is the mother (97 per cent) or the father (two per cent) or some other person (one per cent) (Kartovaara & Sauli 2000, 133-134). The utilisation of the help of other family members as temporary care taker differs therefore strongly between Germany and Finland. In Germany the grandparents play a very important role in the caring the (grand)child (as can be seen in table 9),

[44] Even though the purpose of the Finnish Child home care allowance was to give an opportunity to the fathers to share the caring of their children and improve the situations of the mother and enabling them to stay at home whenever wanting to do so, this system has not guaranteed the equality of the gender. Anneli Anttonen (1999b, 110) sees a reason for the contradictionary situation the low level of compensation of the child home care allowances system for those who are employed. This makes women rather than men more likely to stay at home, because women's salaries are on average lower than men's. Therefore the women, once again, are likely to foster women's role as primary care-takers and the attempt for encouraging fathers to care for their young children has somewhat failed. (Anttonen 1999b, 110)

whereas in Finland the parents do not use on regular basis the help of other family members. According to study of child-care made by Stakes (Takala 2000, 115) the grandparents are asked only for temporary situations, such as if child gets ill and the mother cannot stay at home. The temporary caretakers in Finland are viewed in the table 14 below.

Nobody	15
Grandparents	65
The siblings of the child	9
Other relatives	26
Neighbours	10
Colleagues or friends	13
A hired nanny	10
Somebody else	1

Table 14 The temporary care-takers in 1999 in Finland
Source: Takala 2000, 115.

2. Childcare

Childcare is generally the most visible form of family policies, which have made it easier for mothers to reconcile the gainful employment and family. Especially in Finland the publicly arranged universal day care for children is regarded as the cornerstone of *women friendly welfare state (*see more e.g. Leira 1992). The Finnish day care system is also the most commonly used explanation[45] for high employment rate for mothers, because it offers full-time care to all in need (e.g. Bosch et al 1992).

The children, both in Germany and Finland, have a legal right for day care. Since January 1st 1999, every German child from the beginning of the third year of life till starting the school, has a legal right a place in a kindergarten (Rückkehr in den Beruf 2000, 12). As well, since the beginning of the 1990's the new Children's Day Care Act[46] entitles a place in public day care to every child under school age as a subjective right in Finland (Mikkola 1991, 160-161). The difference between Germany and Finland is that whereas in Finland all the children under school age (including also very young children) are entitled to a place in public day care, only children from three till age starting the school in Germany have such. In Germany the children under three have no subjective right for a day care.

Krippe (0-3)	2 %
Kindergarten (3-6)	85 %
Kindergarten (3-6) all day, including lunch	17 %
Hort (6-10)	5 %

Table 15 Childcare provision in western Germany 1994
Source: Deutsches Jugendinstitut 1998, in Hank & Kreyenfeld, 2001, 30.

[45] This is partly true, but not the entire explanation. The Finnish mothers of small children had extensively engaged in urban wage work even before law established the public day care system in 1973. While in 1950 one third (34 %) of all married women aged 15-64 years and living in urban areas were occupationally active, in 1975, when the establishment of public day care was in its beginning, the same proportion amounted to 65 per cent. However, those days, only ten per cent of the children in need of day care due to employment or studying of the mother received a place in public day-care. (Julkunen & Nätti 1999b, 47)

[46] Furthermore, the Act guaranteed the right for parents to choose the form of care they preferred for a child under the age of three years; either home-care (by the means of home care allowance) or public day care. (Mikkola 1991, 160-161)

The table 15 describes clearly the situation of childcare in Germany[47]. Only very tiny number (2%) of small children is cared in a ***day nurseries (Krippes)***, which is meant for children under three years of age. On contrast, most of the children from three till six years of age (85%) attend **Kindergartens**. Kindergartens are the first level of German education system and they aim is to supplement upbringing by the family. However, most of the kindergartens are open only half days and mothers usually come and pick up the child briefly for a lunch. Only small number (17 %) of the kindergarten are open the whole day and provide the lunch for the children (Lash 1994, 166). Furthermore, only few of the school-aged children (5 %) are cared for in an **after-school-care centres (der Hort).** (Daly 1994, 111: Künzler 1995, 68; Rückkehr in den Beruf 2000, 12-14)

The age of the child	Home-care			Public day care		Private day-care		Other	Total (in numbers)
	Mother/ Father	Other Relative	Hired nanny	Day-care centre	Family day-care	Private Day-care centre	Family day-care		
0	*97*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*2*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*100 (906)*
1-2	*60*	*3*	*1*	*15*	*18*	*1*	*2*	*1*	*100 (2426)*
3-5	34	1	1	37	21	3	2	1	100 (3992)
6	22	2	1	55	14	4	1	2	100 (1364)
Total	46	2	1	30	17	3	1	1	100 (8688)

Table 16 The care forms of under-school aged children by different age groups in 2000 in Finland
Source: Takala 2000, 49.

The table 16 presents that most (97 %) of very young children in Finland are cared at home by their parents using the family leave system and only very small number (2%) in day-care facili-

[47] One of the most interesting feature of German childcare is that almost no private day care market has ever really evolved. Reasons for this have been found in e.g. in a share of employment mothers relying on informal childcare arrangements (as presented in the table 6). Most importantly, as Karsten Hank and Michaela Kreyenfeld (2000, 13) believe that the institutional settings of the German day care regime systematically prevents the development of a private day care market. Strict regulations and difficult registration have to fulfilled before a private day-centres could be opened. Moreover, in contrast to public providers of childcare, private day care market are not allowed to receive subsidies from the state. Therefore running a private day-care centre seems anything but profitable. (Hank & Kreyenfeld 2000, 13) For the same reasons, hardly any market for child minder has ever evolved either in Germany. Although the use of child minders (Tagespflege) or day-care nannies (Tagesmütters) has slightly increased since the 1980's, it is still quite seldom. (Hank & Kreyenfeld 2000, 13; Rückkehr in den Beruf 2000, 15)

ties. Thus the situation resembles strongly of the one in Germany. After the parents decide to use the care facilities outside the households they can choose between public day care (day care centre or family day care) or private day care (private day care or private family day care) which usually are financed by the subsidies by the government. The care in public day care arrangements increases rapidly when the children grow older: when 36 per cents of children aged 1-2 years are cared by public or private day-care, the number grows to 63 per cent among the children aged 3-5. (Kartovaara & Sauli 2000, 133-134; Takala 2000, 48) This is contrast to Germany, because even within the period the child is very young (0-3 years) the use of public day care is only two per cents (table 12).

The fact that German infants (children under three years) have no subjective right for place in Day nurseries has a visible effect on supply of the care. Unfortunately, in a view of the growing interest in gainful employment among mothers, it has become increasingly clear that the number of childcare facilities for younger children in West Germany is totally inadequate (Schiersmann 1991, 54). Especially, there are hardly any day-care slots available for infants (age 0-3), as can be seen in Table 17. However, one reason for this lack of day-care places for the infants is also the most of the German women rather care their children themselves till the age of three.

Federal State	*Krippe* *(age 0-3)*	Kindergarten (age 3-6)	Hort (age 6-10)
Schleswig-Holstein	*13*	757,5	45,2
Hamburg (excl. Berlin)	*119*	593	212
Niedersachsen	*15,9*	747,4	30
Bremen	*45*	709,5	128,5
Nordrhein-Westfalen	*14,6*	736,7	36,4
Hessen	*19,4*	904,1	61,0
Rheinland-Pfalz/ Saarland	*12,1*	1044,3	31,5
Baden-Württemberg	*14,7*	1077,8	30,6
Bayern	*13,2*	898,8	45,7

Table 17 Regional variation of slots in day-care centres per 1000 children of different age groups in western Germany 1994
Source: Hank & Kreyenfeld 2000, 29.

There is a huge regional variation in day care arrangements in Germany. With the exception of Hamburg and Bremen, there are hardly any day care slots for the youngest children. In contrast to the slots available children at the age of 3 to 6, the situation varies enormously. However,

there is lack of day-care slots also in Finland. Especially inadequate is the number of day care places in the capital region as well as in other larger cities. Peculiar is however, that the biggest need for day-care places are among the children ages three to six. This situation in reversal of the usual pattern seen in other countries, such as Germany. (Mikkola 1991, 160-161)

CONCLUSION

How do the day care arrangements effect the mothers' labour market participation? The analysis shows that majority of the infants (under one year) are cared by their parents as well in Germany as in Finland. During that time mothers are indeed out of work. However, during the first year after the baby is born most of Finnish mothers are in fact using their right for family leaves and therefore are classified as employed during that time. After the child turns one the utilisation of Finnish child care allowance for remaining at home decreases continuously and by the child turns two year old only about 60 per cent of mothers are caring for them. This trends continuous until the age of three, when only 34 per cent of women are caring at home. In contrast with the figures of Germany, where the majority of mothers (93,5 %) stay at home at least until the child turn three. The importance of day care arrangements allowing mothers to re-enter the labour market starts in Finland already after the child turn one and is excelerated rapidly since that. The situation is different among German women. Generally the German mothers share the consensus of using the child rearing leave until the child turns out three. However, even after the child has the subjective right for a place in kindergarten (after turning three) German mothers are not liberated from the family responsibilities to enter the labour market. This is due to a fact that most day care centres (kindergarten) in Germany are caring only for a part-time basis, whereas in Finland most of day-care centres care full-time. This has an enormous effect for the possibility of the labour market participation of mothers. Most German mothers therefore are not able to work (at least full-time) when their children are only cared part-time and the mothers have to pick the children up at noon for a lunch. In the light of this, it easy to understand that the Finnish mothers are indeed earlier liberated by the day care system to enter the labour market.

The family policies contribute also to the explanation of the difference in the labour market participation of mothers in Germany and Finland. It is true that most of the family political systems are similar, at least in theory. For instance, mothers are allowed for staying at home caring for

their children till the child turn three, the mothers receive almost same amount of money for doing that and there are various child care arrangements established in the society and the children have a legal right for attending the day care facility. However, it seem to be that Finnish welfare state has more wide covering public services for allowing the mothers to be employees. Finnish welfare state has also regulated so that the women are gaining better off if they are employed than remaining at home. On the contrary, German welfare state prioritises the family responsibilities and promotes the male breadwinnership by not create so strong economical incentives for women to join the labour market. By using these economical incentives, like e.g. regulating the number of day-care slots available, the two countries can indirect way influence the mothers decision-making whether or not to enter the labour market. However, not only welfare states policies alone can explain the diverse labour market participation, because if that would be the case, the Finnish women would have entered the labour market after the 1970's when the day care system was established. And from the history (and chapter 7.1) it is known that they entered already before that.

7.4 Labour market

What kind of labour market one country has, has evidently influence for mothers possibility to enter the labour market. A labour market is arranged in certain way in which capital and labour relates, together with individual relation and legal framework. All this is organised around Gender arrangement, which defines what is the relation of mother and employment. The following chapter reflects the importance of the structure of labour market as an explanation for cross-national differences of mothers' employment.

Especially service sector employment has had very important role in providing working places for women during the last decades. According to OECD study of the Employment Outlook (2000, 80) the service sector employment has continued to grow since the second half of 1980's and approached the three-quarters of all jobs in several OECD-countries. Despite the considerable international differences in the composition of service sector employment, some quantitative pattern are relatively similar. One pattern of convergence is that social service employment

is the largest employment sector in all countries. Moreover, women occupy the largest share of employment in social and personal services.(OECD Employment Outlook 2000, 80)

Even though Finnish labour market is known for forest industry and nowadays for high tech industry following the triumph of Nokia, the role of service sector is highly emphasised in Finland, especially in employing women[48]. The service-sector jobs, such as public sector jobs, are regarded among Finnish women to be highly qualified and safe work place, even though not very well paid (Kovalainen 1999). Despite the lower pay, the public sector is seen as the women friendly arrangement in Finland, which made it possible for women to enter the labour market by providing public social care services as well as employed a large number of the female work force (Julkunen 1992, 46-47; Rissanen 2000a, 85).On contrast the German labour market relies strongly on industrialism and with this kind of structure of the labour market prefers male employee and therefore supports the male breadwinner model, leaving the women outside of the labour market. It is widely agreed that, with the transition to the service society, the German model is now in need of an overhaul[49] (Steeck & Heinze 1999; Bosch 2000, 3). The growth in the service sector has not happened in the same level in Germany than in the comparison with other industrial countries. This has been experienced as a employment problem, especially affecting

[48] There is a relatively strong segregation by gender in Finnish labour market. This means that the division to male and female occupations and employment (the horizontal segregation) is particularly strong in Finland, even when comparing with other OECD-countries. Women work in the areas of humanistic and social sciences, education, theology, art and medicine, while men work in the arithmetic, IT-technology, engineering and architecture (Nurmi 1999,8). However, from 1970 till 1990 the segregation has decreased faster in Finland than the other OECD-countries on average. This has happened when women have more and more broke the traditional boundaries and started to work in the occupations prior categorised as male occupations. Nevertheless the men have not entered in the same level to female occupations. However, the changes in the segregation happen slowly. (Kolehmainen 1999; Nurmi 1999)

[49] As to the details, however, the critics take several approaches. Streeck and Heinze (1999) consider the traditional German model for manufacturing industry to be still serviceable, although they regard the trade unions in service industries, anxious to defend industry-wide collective agreements, as the principle obstacles to growth. (Bosch 2000, 3)

women, so that the German scholars speak about *Service gap*[50] (see more Baethge et al 1999; Streeck & Heinze 1999; Bosch 2000; Bosch & Wagner 2000).

Moreover, if regarding the difference in social service sectors in Germany and Finland, one can see that, as stated in the chapter 7.1 and 7.2, whereas the biggest responsibility of the social service production is on the families and households themselves as well as on intermediary sector in Germany, the wide publicly arranged social service provision is professionalised in Finland. Therefore, the Finnish social service sector provides more jobs for women than the German one.

However, the economic situation in 1990's had a deep impact for the labour markets in Europe. Starting already in the beginning of 1990's the deep recession changed the continuous enlargement [51]of European welfare state and weakened the labour market. Most Western European countries experienced similar situations, although the crisis was the most severe in Finland. Finnish scholar Raija Julkunen and Jouko Nätti (1999b, 19) even talk about a depression. The labour market and the wage work society was now put into a test whether the structures created in the era of continuous growth could survive through the recession and change. The regressing economy and drastically increasing unemployment created a new functional environment, where many of the meanings and influences of operational principles of social political systems linked with motherhood and employment could be reformed. (Julkunen & Nätti 1999b, 19)

Marks of this can be seen in Finnish labour market even today. The service sector offered a lot of working opportunities to the women during phase of the economic growth. Now the strong gen-

[50] Streeck and Heinze (1999) argue that the German model as a suitable form of regulation for manufacturing industry, but propose the Anglo-Saxon model, with its greater wage differentiation for the service sector. Baethge (1999) rejects such polarisation of regulatory forms. On his view, the tertiary sector cannot expand unless high-quality services are developed; at the same time he sees a close connection between service sector and flexible employment forms. Bosch (2000) adopts a line similar to that of Baethge, but does not regard as inevitable either association of service sector employment with certain flexible employment forms, such as fixed-term contracts and part-time work, or de-professionalisation frequently associated with service sector jobs. (Bosch 2000, 27) Moreover, Scott Lash (1994, 166) argues that the partial explanation for the underdeveloped service sector can be found on traditions of German way of living. The well established system of apprenticeship in Germany has not promoted the well-educated women to enter to the labour market, because the jobs gained through this education system are often more segregated than the jobs acquiring higher education. (Lash 1994, 166)

[51] By the end of the 1980's most of the population outside of the work force was shrunk to minimum. Especially in Finland outside of the labour force were only the mothers of the newborn babies, students and retired people. The structures of the welfare state and labour market were supporting the full employment . (Julkunen & Nätti 1999b, 19)

dered segregation on the labour market threats the employment of the women, especially in the public sector. The long maternity leaves gave women a change of stop working and care for the children in the 1980's. During the recession the step of dropping out of the labour market has became harder, because of the fear of not re-entering so easily has became stronger. (Rissanen 2000a, 86) However, generally speaking, the recession, or any other factors, has not changed the employment model of the Finnish mothers when coming to the end of 1990's even though it weakened the labour market. During the time of deepest recession when there were no job available the Finnish mothers reported themselves unemployed instead of the mothers staying at home taking care of the households. (Rissanen 2000a, 86)

CONCLUSION

The structure of labour market either promote the labour market participation of mothers or not. In the case of Germany the labour market is not particularly favourable for mothers' employment. Together with the reason that labour market in Germany is still very orientated towards industrialism and that the (social) service sector is highly undeveloped the German women have difficulties of find a suitable job. Plus the fact that the child care be arranged normally only for half a day, it makes it even more difficult for mothers to be employed, at least full-time. However, with the increase of willingness of the mothers to work, more jobs have been created. But still the number of jobs suitable for mothers is inadequate in Germany and that naturally effects the labour market participation of mothers in Germany.

Finnish labour market however, is struggling with another kind of problem. During the economical recession the main employer of women, the social service sector, has experienced difficulties. The cut down in the expenditures has diminished the portion of available jobs for women. However, when confronting Finnish mothers with the situation that they were no jobs to return to, the mothers rather reported themselves as unemployed and looking for work than would stay at home as housewives. This tells about strong norm of gainful employment in Finland. Simultaneously this reflects the appreciation of work by the welfare state, because unemployment benefit is higher than the child home care allowance.

7.5 Institutional elements as an explanation for cross-national comparison

In the last chapters I analysed the importance of institutions such as family, welfare state, family policies and labour market and reflected whether they can explain the variation in mothers' labour market participation in Germany and Finland.

In the case of family, I draw the conclusion that in this study it had some importance, even though the families in Germany and Finland are rather similar. However, the family as an institution has so much importance for the opportunity for labour market participation of mothers that it have to deal in this research. What comes to the welfare state and family policies, they have more importance for explaining the cross-national difference. The analysis shows that in both of the countries there are in-built economic incentives by the government to support and promote a certain kind of position of the mothers. Also the labour market mainly observes and follows the wishes of the government by creating a labour market structure compatible with welfare state regime.

However, even after the empirical analysis of institutions, not all the differences can be explained within these elements. There are some questions still not answered. E.g. why does a Finnish mother rather report herself as unemployed rather than become a housewife like her German sister? The institutions can contribute partially to the explanation. In order to fully comprehend the settings where mothers make decisions of the labour market participation I must continue for further analysis of the cultural models in Germany and Finland.

8. CULTURAL MODELS OF MOTHERHOOD AND EMPLOYMENT

The cultural image of motherhood and it relations to wage work during the 1990's have been under several changes overall in Europe. The new models withholds the idea of wage work orientation of the women, especially among the younger generation, who today give the employment as a central importance in their life planning. Birgit Pfau-Effingers (1999a-c; 2000) theory presents an approach for explaining the transformation of gender cultural models of motherhood and employment in Germany and Finland (See the chapter 4.2). Based on the gender arrangement approach I present in the following chapter the present cultural model in Germany and Finland, and how it can contribute to the explanation why the labour market participation of mothers vary in these countries.

Especially the change[52] in German from the male breadwinner/female home-carer model to female part-time carer model has had fundamental effects on women position on the labour market. During the last decades German mothers started slowly integrating into the labour market and the transition into new gender cultural model, **male breadwinner/female part-time carer model,** became inevitable. However, the majority of German women still have not fundamentally abandoned the tradition of motherhood and childhood: the idea of private childhood and the

[52] The change of women's employment during the last decades can be seen in the results of the empirical research documents. During mid 1960's the young German women, according Elisabeth Pfeil (1966, 99), were highly family-oriented on their expectations for the future. These women intended to marry and concentrate fully to the household and motherhood. In another research made in the end of the 1960's and beginning of 1970's expressed that some women already had interest for employment (Pfeil 1966). For instance, the strong expansion of the education system in the beginning of the 1970's, among other things, had consequences that there was now an opportunity for the women to reach out on the labour market. Simultaneously with the model employment of the women the model of motherhood and childhood was in transformation. In the life plans of the mothers, aside with family, now also the career and position on the labour market was getting more important. (Pfau-Effinger 2000, 120) However, during 1970's Helge Pross (1975) in his research stated out that many women (especially the mothers) had contradictionary feelings towards employment. There was a great ambivalens, when many of the women showed no interest towards their tasks as housewives and they saw the possibility for emancipation only in the wage work. Nevertheless, women did not consider the employment as an acceptable alternative for the housewife roles either. (Pfau-Effinger 2000, 121)

responsibility of the family as child carer still lies deep in the German society[53]. (Pfau-Effinger 2000, 124) However, the new cultural images of motherhood can be found in the German research, for instance in the studies of Burger and Seidenspinner (1982) and Geissler and Oechsle (1996). These studies show that qualified education and gainful employment has became natural components of life plans for German young women. The wage work has independent importance for the self-image and identity of women, which does not restrict to the financial autonomy either. However, economic considerations are not the only reason that women are increasingly likely to work, although an ever-increasing percentage of them can no longer depend on their husbands to support them during their whole life. Alongside economic motives such as ensuring themselves or the family income or becoming entitled to their own pension, German women also desire to break out of the confines of their familiar surroundings. Scholars have found reasons like longer life expectancy, the declining number of children, higher level of education, increased self-assertiveness and a greater claim to participate in society as a whole are relevant factors to explain the employment orientation of women. (Schiersmann 1991, 52)

Finland has also undergone some drastic changes since 1960's when the change of industrial structure and urbanisation took place. This brought changes from family economic gender model towards **Dual breadwinner Society/state carer**. The change in Finland, however, was not so harsh as it has been in Germany, because women had already somewhat institutionalised their places on the labour market and the housewife institution never was established in Finland[54]. Full-time employment is still a norm in spite of the gender in the Finnish society. Furthermore, the motherhood is culturally constructed within this framework as public motherhood, where the caring of children is done by women whose jobs are considered to be of a relatively high quality (Pfau-Effinger 1999c, 74). The cultural tradition of full-time participation of the mothers in pro-

[53] This was shown in a survey carried out in 1996 where women were asked which life situation they would prefer. The great majority of women answered that they would prefer to be a mother (83 %). About half (52 %) of these women said that they would most like to do this by combining caring and waged work by working part-time, whereas, the second largest group, mostly older women said, that they would like best to be a housewife and mother (37 %). It is likely that the total orientation towards housewife and mother model will be marginalised when the older generation dies out. However, the preference of being a full time employed and a mother in west Germany has nearly no relevance at all, and was preferred only by a small group of mothers (only 8 % of all the women) (Institut für Demoskopie Allensbauch 1996; Pfau-Effinger 1999c, 69)

[54] After the change from agricultural production towards wage work society, men entered the labour markets first, but women followed them reasonable fast to gainful employment. Especially during the war years (1939-45 during the Second World War) the women's wage work increased and after the war women worked already side by side with men. The transition affect the whole nation and women entered the labour market aside with men, no gender division was made rather it separated the urban wage work. In order to solve the new social problems a modern social security and welfare state were created (Rissanen 2000a, 84-85)

duction sphere was maintained during the modernisation process. The welfare state was given a new strong role for the professional caring facilities and a cultural construction of public childhood was developed and comprehensively realised. (Pfau-Effinger 1999c, 76; Rissanen 2000a, 84-85).

Therefore from the beginning on, Finnish mothers have not had such a strong image that the place of the mother is at home, as it was in Germany. On the contrary, the studies show how the image of the motherhood in Finland is strongly bond with the self-image as a wage worker. For instance Tuula Gordon (1991, 133-147) examined[55] the images of motherhood in Finland and Great Britain in the beginning of 1990's. Among Finnish mothers the continuously staying at home, was experienced mainly with negatively feelings, such as boringness, loneliness, and feelings of inefficiency. (Gordon 1991, 139) This reflects the strong value of wage work among Finnish mothers. Moreover, regarding the same research, women truly emphasise the meaning of wage work for self-awareness. The Finnish women held in high value the financial independence, and feelings of self-esteem and self-relieness obtained through employment. In contrast to the high value of wage working mothers, the respect for housewives was relatively low. (Gordon 1991, 141) The publicly arranged child care services made it possible for mothers to work, even in full-time, but they still did worry about the quality of care the child got. Particular point here is that the women did not felt guilty about working, rather they did not totally trust for the day carers to do their jobs well. (Gordon 1991, 144-145)

Based on cultural analysis of the images of the motherhood and employment one can argue that in Finland the position of the mothers on the labour market has been a sort of natural continuum, where as the mothers in Germany have gone through a harder fight during the 1990's in order to institutionalise their place as a wage worker. In fact the new model in Germany has now similar ideals of a more equal-gendered division of labour as the Finnish model. However, in Germany the new ideal of wage worker mother together with the old traditional norm childhood at domestic atmosphere overlap in a somewhat contradictory way. On the one hand the waged work of mothers is accepted more than before and the wage work has gained more importance the lives of women. Moreover, the public childcare is today more accepted within the population to a substantially higher degree than it was some decades ago. However, on the other hand the widely

[55] The research was not a compared study, but some special features can be found for Finnish attitudes towards motherhood and work.

accepted image of childhood in Germany is strongly linked to the idea that it is best for children to be supervised by their mother at home. Children are seen as a central element of a good life for their parents, as individuals who need much personal care, supervision and education within the family. (Pfau-Effinger 1999c, 69)

In contrast, as Birgit Pfau-Effinger (2000, 199) argues, the public childhood/motherhood is the most important aspect of Finnish gender arrangement. The concept includes the essential for the childcare and raising the children, however, the care is not provided at the household rather by professionals. There is also overlapping factors on the Finnish cultural model. On the one hand, the symmetry of labour market participation of men and women is highly valued, where men and women are equally included in the labour force. However, on the other hand, the universal femininity, where the motherhood is constructed expects that societal responsibility of the care of the children and elderly people traditionally belong to women. A Finnish solution for this has been institutionalising the public motherhood[56], where the responsibilities of the family are delegated to the state. (Pfau-Effinger 2000, 199)

The German modernisation process of the male-breadwinner family model includes now both important factors for the mothers: the traditional image of childhood and new image of working mothers. In order to reconcile them both, the element of part-time working of mothers plays an very important part in the new model in Germany. Somewhat precarious part-time work turns out to be a new form of employment of women, especially during the biographical phases of active motherhood. However, the new orientation is only part reflected in social practices of motherhood. The share of women who want to work full-time (35 %) and those who are really working full-time (35 %) matches rather well. However, because of institutional lags in development of part-time working, the share of women who want to work part-time (35 %) is much higher than that of women who are in fact working part-time (15 %). Particularly, according to Jürgen Schupp (1991), among the non-employed and unemployed, a high proportion of women would prefer part-time employment to staying at home. (Pfau-Effinger 1999c, 70)

Finally, the cultural images are reflected in attitudes of the society. In order to make the national attitudes empirically visible this analysis observes the difference between Germany and Finland

[56] An important precondition to this is that the welfare state is universally founded. The care provided by professionals and is the responsibility of the government. (Pfau-Effinger 2000, 199)

viewing the Eurobarometer[57] attitude studies[58] providing cross-national research results of the cultural difference of opinion.

When asked whether it is just as important for women to have a job as it is for a man, 94 per cent of the Finnish men tend to agree, when west German men lag behind with 79 per cent. In both of the countries, more women than men are of this opinion. (Eurobarometer 1996, 26) This reflects the general attitude of women concerning the importance of work. As expected, almost all Finnish (94 %) women valued the employment, however, the percentage of German women (79%) was also reasonably high.

Furthermore, while 76 per cent of German men and 72 per cent of German women agree that a mother should give priority to her young child than her work, only 61 per cent of Finnish men and 63 per cent of Finnish women think so. (Eurobarometer 1996, 37) Here one can see the variation between Germany and Finland what comes to the place of mother. German parents feel it to be more important for mothers to stay at home than the parents in Finland do.

The attitudes between Germans and Finns vary in quite fundamental way when asked if the mother employment outside of the households tends to have a positive effect on the well being of the child? The view in Finland represent the average for the European Union (41 % for women and 38 % for men), differing strongly from the attitudes in Germany, where no more than one fifth (20 %) of women share this view (in comparison with 12 % of German men). (Eurobarometer 1996, 40). This question reflects strongly the male-breadwinnership and its' impor-

[57] I use here Eurobarometer survey collected in the spring of 1996 which aims to form a picture of the attitudes and opinions of men and women in Europe on the question of women working and the obstacles they encounter at work. (Eurobarometer 1996, 5)

[58] There have been made an innumerable amount of attitude surveys whether mothers should stay at home or go to work, and whether women are as capable as men of doing a job well. However, Catherine Hakim (1996, 84-85) critises strongly the attitude surveys. According to her these studies (1996) generally find little or no association between attitude statements and respondents' own employment choices. There are three reasons for this: firstly, attitudes are poor predictors of actual behaviour; very low associations are usually found. Secondly, people can and do endorse mutually contradictory attitudes and incompatible stereotypes of male and female behaviour and sex-roles. Thirdly, general attitudes on the desirability of women working or not tell us little about women's personal preferences and aims. Referring to Hakim (1996, 84-85)'too many surveys fail to make a distinction between approval and choice, between personal goals and beliefs, between what is desired by the survey respondent and what is desirable in society in general'. (Hakim 1996, 84-85) However, i find the Eurobarometer as good attitude survey because the data was collected both in Germany and Finland and therefore it is possible to get comparative results about general attitudes towards mothers' employment in those countries.

tance still among the German population. The employment of mother is expected to have a negative effect for the well being of the child in Germany.

Same phenomenon is seen in following attitudes. The minority of women (25 %) in Germany feels that the children and work cannot be combined; therefore most women (74 %) believe that women are forced to choose between working and having children. Quite in contrast, most Finnish women (70 %) believe it is possible to reconcile the work and family and only small number of women (24 %) feel that women are forced to choose in Finland. Men appear to share the opinions of their fellow countrywomen. Most of German men (67 %) feel that women must choose between work and children and only 25 per cent of them believe that women can combine family and work. On contrast, most of Finnish men (57 %) believe that women can combine both and only 34 % of them feel that women should choose. (Eurobarometer 1996, 43)

Based on this cultural analysis, it seems that even though the labour market behaviour among the German and Finnish mothers have become closer to each other, there is still a very fundament difference between German and Finnish mothers. German women want to work but the priority is still on family. Therefore, most of German mothers, at least during the phase of active motherhood prefer either stay at home or part-time working. On contrast, the Finnish girls have grown up in a society where the cultural appreciation for mothers' full-time working is strong. And now during the 1990's they just continue the same pattern what they learned at home, reconciling the family and full-time wage work. This makes it more understandable why the women actually choose in they do in Germany and Finland. However, it is reasonable to say that not culture alone can explain the labour market participation. Furthermore, with the concept of culture one should not try to explain matters otherwise difficult or even impossible to comprehend. However, when analysing such dynamic and culturally bond matter such mothers labour market behaviour one must include the element of culture to the research.

9. THE MYSTERY OF MOTHERS ON LABOUR MARKET

The mystery of mothers on the labour market is solved. Or at least the research provides one explanatory model. As a matter of fact, the analysis of this study is a bit like a detective story or a puzzle. A bit by bit all the pieces of the puzzle are found. And only when each and every piece of the puzzle is placed in its own place the whole picture becomes clearly understood. Within the framework of gender arrangement including the interplay of welfare state policies with other institutions such as the employment system placed in a cultural context, the mystery of difference of labour market participation of married mothers with small child could be finally understood.

	Society	*Priorities of mothers*	*Labour market participation of mothers*	*Reaction towards crisis on the labour market*	*Relation between mother and work*
Conservative motherhood	Male-breadwinnership empowering housewife-position	Care for children at home	Interrupted by motherhood, in-active housewives combined with part-time working mothers	Return to home	First mothers, secondly an employees
Individual motherhood	Wage-work society promoting dual-breadwinners	Recombining work and family	Continuos employment, mainly full-time basis	Register themselves as unemployed	Wage-work mothers

Table 18 Employment paths of mothers in this research

The table 18 concludes the essence of this research; the difference in labour market participation of mothers. The research confirms that German and Finnish mothers choose differently what comes to entering the labour market participation while the children are still young. The critics in the research methodology chapter warned about making too precise generalisations based on data, however, even after keeping these warnings in mind, from the analysis rises two different paths of employment which I here name as conservative and individual motherhood. Germany tends to follow the traditional path of conservative motherhood, whereas Finnish mothers have chosen the individual motherhood. The change towards new model of employment may occur

but is very slow. In due time the labour market behaviour of mothers can approach to each other, however, the chosen path of employment is deeply rooted into mothers' employment behaviour.

The empirical analysis of data and statistics reflects also the employment paths. First and foremost the statistical analysis shows that the employment of women indeed is in increase in both of the countries, however, the statistics proves that the female labour force participation is generally on higher level among Finnish women than German women. Moreover, the labour force participation is more continuous among Finnish women, whereas the employment of German women tends to be interrupted, often during the period of active motherhood. The marital status has some effect on labour force participation of German women, however, less than I had first expected. In Finland, no data was available on the difference between married and unmarried women, nevertheless, at least traditionally viewed the marital status has not played any significant role for women' employment.. However, the statistics do not confirm the assumptions of the increase of labour force participation of mothers and especially not of mothers with small children. As a matter of fact, the increase in female labour force participation rates is explained with the growing number of middle aged women entering the labour market in Germany. And in Finland the increase in the end of 1990's in the labour force rates is explained with the fact that recovering economy and labour market are once again able to employ women after the recession years. Therefore, the goal of European union for raising employment rates of women, at least in the case of mothers with small numbers seems to be an utopia. During the 1990's the employment of mothers with small children has been rising relatively slowly so that the additional female labour force has to be found somewhere else.

What is the position of mothers with small children on the labour market then? And do the modernised paths of male breadwinner/female part-time carer in Germany and dual breadwinner/state carer in Finland find its place on the mothers' employment statistics? Yes they did. Especially strong is the part-time carer model among mothers with children (under) school age in Germany. However, mothers with small children prefer staying at home taking care of their children at least until the child turn three or as usually, even longer. Part-time work as a means of reconciling family and work is mainly used by German mothers with school aged children. As a matter of fact, full-time employment of mothers with small children is evidently unsuitable for a good mother in Germany. The path of Finland, dual breadwinner, according the statistics is very strong, even among the group of mothers with small children. Even though most mothers, also in Finland, take care of their children during the first year after the birth, the labour market behav-

iours seems not to be interrupted by the motherhood in Finland. However, this can be explained with a fact that a mother using the Finnish care leave system and staying at home caring for her infant child during the first nine months after the birth of the baby is hidden behind the figures of employed. Moreover, the labour market participation of mothers usually continues relatively fast after the family leaves and mainly on a full-time basis. Therefore there is no visible interruptions in the working career of a Finnish mother. The statistics also reflects that women rather register themselves as unemployed than remain at home as housewives. This tells about the strong norm of wage work among Finnish women. Visible is, however, that the mothers' involvement in the labour market in both countries rises with the age of the children. Nevertheless much faster in Finland than in Germany.

After indicating that there is indeed a variation between the labour market participation among mothers in Germany and Finland, this research starts to look reasons for the different labour market behaviour of mothers. Institutional factors are expected to explain the national differences, therefore, the indicators such as labour market, welfare state, family policies and family structure are viewed as explanatory indicators for the variation of mothers' employment.

First of all, the family as an institution. Even though the family as an institution has a very important effect on the labour market behaviour in general, it seems that families in Germany and Finland are quite similar. There are only small variations in fertility rates, family sizes or portion of the lone mothers. Therefore it can be assumed that the families as institutions can explain only little the labour market participation difference in Germany and Finland. As a matter of fact, the triumph of the traditional family model consist of married parents with two children still continues Germany and Finland even after 50 years.

However, the welfare state is an important element for explaining the difference in working mothers. With in-built incentives indicate as well directly as indirectly the welfare state can promote and protect the position of women of its preference. In these surroundings the mothers have to choose whether to enter the labour market or not. In the case of Germany the state support today the male breadwinner society. In-built incentives such as political systems like social security, pensions, taxation and lack of social service provision all attracts German women rather to stay at home. In contrast Finnish welfare state supports women strongly to enter the labour market with universalistic and individualistic benefits and services. Whereas the housewives in

Germany, even up to now, are highly appreciated, they are in Finland seen more as the outcasts. The cultural model of motherhood is therefore also reflected in the welfare state legislation.

Moreover, the family policies effect on mothers' opportunity to be employed or not. The cross-national comparison of family policies turns out to very interesting and even a bit paradoxical. It seems, at least in theory, that both of the compared countries have similar family political arrangements, such as maternity leave, opportunity and state financing for mother to stay at home taking care for her child until the child turn to three year old as well as care services outside homes for all aged children. But in practice, the family policies follow very much the great lines of the welfare states and cultural models of motherhood. This means that the German welfare state supports women to stay at home by (a slightly) higher payment of child rearing benefit than the Finnish one. However, even stronger incentive in Germany is the fact that mothers have to choose after 14 weeks of maternity leave whether to re-enter the labour or stay at home until the child turns three. Moreover, the fact that very small children under three years of age are not entitled to day care slots and there is a huge lack in day-care slots for the children of that age, is the possibility for mother to work only small. The Finnish women, in contrast, have an opportunity to stay at home until the child is nine months and then just to decide whether to be employed and take the child to a day care centre (to which every child has a subjective right until s/he goes to school) or remain at home.

Realistically looked, it is no wonder why the German women rather stay at home with such a small child of just 14 weeks. Even after the child turns three and is entitled to place day care centre in Germany, this does not mean that the German mothers would be at that point liberated for gainful employment. Opposite for Finnish full-time day-care centre system, the most German Kindergarten are open just for a half day and even then the mothers have to organise the midday lunch for their children. Therefore it is quite understandable that the full-time employment what is the norm for Finnish women is not preferred or often even not possible for the German mothers.

This variation shows, that in Germany, mothers are at once guided with this family political system remaining home at least until the child is three years and usually even longer, while Finnish family leaves system endeavours to keep mothers shorter away from the labour market. As a matter of fact, the utilisation of day-care arrangements among Finnish mother rises strongly already during the first three years after the birth of a child. This means that labour market partici-

pation among mothers of small children in fact is increasing. There are marks of this also in statistics as noted before (table 3). The empirical analysis show, that the utilisation of Finnish child home care allowance has remained relatively low in comparison with German child raising benefit. Reasons for unpopularity of the Finnish home care allowance can be found in the strong value of wage work also among women as well as its' moderate level of compensation. These reasons also explain why the Finnish mothers rather seem to register themselves as unemployed and looking for work than choose the home care allowance. Once again, the cultural models of motherhood and national attitudes towards the preference of working mothers are supported by the welfare state legislation.

Also the structure of the labour market is influenced by the welfare state and the cultural images where is the place of the mother. Labour market in Finland offers more jobs for women than the one in Germany. Questionable however remains, would there been a remarkable increase in labour market participation in Germany if new jobs would be available? Based to this study the answer would be probably not, because not only the labour market structure alone explain national differences in the labour market participation of mothers.

The importance of the cultural context has became clear in the analysis. Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that the cultural models and national attitudes are reflected into all the elements and settings surrounding the mothers and their decision-making of their employment. However, it is difficult to argue whether the culture really effects the institutions or just the opposite? Important for cross-national comparison is to view the institutions and social actors placed in a cultural context, not separate them.

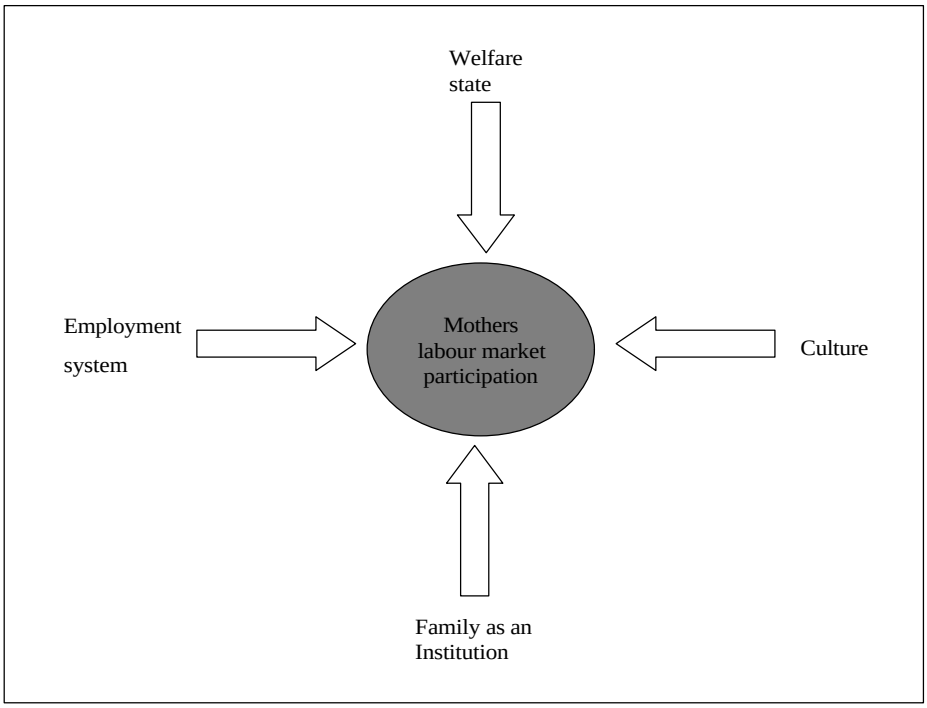

Figure 21 Elements that effect the labour market participation of mothers in Germany and Finland during 1990's

Figure 21 describes the final answer for the analysis, that *not only welfare state, labour market or cultural model alone, but rather all these elements together can contribute the explanation for the difference for the labour market participation of married mothers with small children during 1990's in Germany and Finland.* Important is, however, to recall that this research demonstrates that the cross-national differences cannot be explained one-sidedly, but rather by complex inter-relations of institutions, cultures and social actors.

Another important lesson learned from this research is that there are different ways of dealing the questions about motherhood and employment in Europe. The different ways of being a (working) mother have to be understood in the national contexts, and I want to emphasise here that none of those ways is better or more worse than the other ones. The task of a social researcher is not to judge, but to present the facts and to be impartial.

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