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**Work vs. play: competing models of the proper use of time.**

**Policy perspectives for the future division of professional and family labour.  
The Combination Model as the basis for an integrated policy  
in democratic welfare states**

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## **Introduction**

The realisation of a better division of professional and family labour is one of the main challenges within modern society, since it covers many societal fields and actors: men and women, families, companies, clubs and governmental organisations. In the broad sense of the word, the daily combination of professional and family life is a major motor of the daily life of all men and women within society. It also largely determines the development of the labour market, i.e. quantitative and qualitative differentiation of the demand side (professional organisations) and the supply side (employees and families). An effective employment and family policy must therefore link up with the past and actual combination of professional and family labour.

During this IATUR conference, we want to present an interdisciplinary, integrated approach to the daily division of time of men and women in society. This approach has been given the label 'Combination Model', expressing the permanent challenge of daily life, to combine the different activities in a suitable way in order to realise the desired level of welfare and/or well being, in all stages of the life course. The daily combination of professional and family labour is a major part of this broad issue, and as such a major challenge in modern societies. The Combination Model consists of a conceptual, an empirical and a normative perspective or approach that are permanently interacting with one another. The interaction between these perspectives is the basis for the development of an integrated policy in democratic societies. Consequently, the combination model is strictly an interdisciplinary approach, emphasizing the integration of the theoretical concepts of several disciplines.

The study wants to answer the basic normative question: what kind of division of labour should be developed in future society? To answer this question, an adequate conceptual and normative approach must be formulated for future society, starting from the actual development during the last decades.

The first chapter deals with the conceptual approach of the 'Combination Model' with respect to the daily life of men and women in a complex modern society, with the daily combination of professional and family labour as a central axis. We develop a broad integrated approach to the daily life and the life course of men and women within the different societal entities or organisations (families, clubs, companies, public organisations etc.) It is essentially an interdisciplinary approach, reformulating the useful concepts of traditional models, formulating some new concepts and integrating them in a new general framework. In the integrated approach, all actors of society and their activities are explained within the same general theoretical model, covering all basic components of the societal system.

The second chapter presents the concept of 'strong democracy' as the overall normative concept, which expresses a new balance of four basic values or principles to be realised on all levels of society: freedom of choice, equality, solidarity and efficiency. In this context, special attention goes to the basic idea of a democratic division of labour among men and women..

Chapter 3 briefly treats the actual development of the division of professional and family labour, from the 'strong breadwinner model' in the period 1950-1970 to a 'moderate combination model' in the period 1985-2005. We stress the overall similar process in all countries, but at the same time we illustrate the main gradual differences between the different (types of) welfare states.

Next, three normative future models for the division of professional and family labour are proposed, reflecting the main normative views in society: the Strong Combination Model (SCM), the Complete Combination Model (CCM) and the Moderate Combination Model (MCM). As we have done for Flanders/Belgium before, we argue that the *Complete Combination Model* (CCM) is the most suitable policy model for the next decades in all democratic welfare states. The model is most of all compatible with a fully democratic division of labour in families and organisations and it is also most of all in line with the actual development during the last decades. We argue that long term normative models can strongly increase the efficiency of the policy debate, enabling the different policy actors to come to a consistent policy view and programme in a more efficient way.

Finally, following the CCM as a long term policy orientation, an integrated set of policy perspectives with respect to the relevant societal fields is formulated in chapter 5.

1. investing in a positive attitude towards the Complete Combination Model,
2. an integrated policy for full employment for all men and women,
3. an adequate reformation of the fiscal and social security system,
4. adequate leave arrangements as a bridge between professional life and family life,
5. day time education/care as a basic service for children and parents,
6. investing in an adequate mobility infrastructure,
7. investing in an efficient combination policy in organisations, with the application of specific audit tools.

This presentation partly consists of a comparison with some other integrating models that were developed by other research groups in other countries, f.i. the 'Combination Scenario' in the Netherlands (Commissie Dagindeling, 1998), the 'Transitional Labour Markets Model' (Schmid et al., 2002, 2004), The Flexicurity Model (Wilthagen, 2004a, 2004b; Madsen, 2006), the 'Dual-earner, Dual-carer Model' (Crompton, 1999; Gornick & Meyers, 2003) and the Breadwinner-Caregiver Model (Fraser, 1994, 2006). Basically, all these policy models aim at the realisation of a new and better division of professional and family labour in the future welfare states, that sufficiently satisfies a number of basic normative principles. The models are largely overlapping and complementary, be it with important gradual differences. We argue that it is very important to develop a permanent international exchange and collaboration concerning the further development and improvement of the existing policy models.

The paper is based on a broad internationally comparative study on the division of professional and family work in the Western world (Van Dongen, 2007). This study largely results from a number of previous papers presented on the IATUR conferences in Rome (Van Dongen, 2004e), in Halifax (Van Dongen, 2005c) and in Copenhagen (Van Dongen, 2006), the TLM.NET conferences in Amsterdam (Van Dongen, 2004f) and in Budapest (Van Dongen, 2005a) and on the Conference of the International Centre for Work and Family (ICWF) in Barcelona (Van Dongen, 2005b).

## 1. Conceptual approach to the division of labour of men and women

### 1.1. *Conceptual approach to the division of labour within a complex society*

Under the umbrella of the Combination Model, we developed a broad integrated approach to *the daily life and the life course of men and women within the different societal entities or organisations*: families, clubs, companies, public organisations etc. It is essentially an interdisciplinary approach, reformulating the useful concepts of traditional models, formulating some new concepts and integrating them in a new general framework. The approach also needs to be consistent with the basic concepts of modern physics, biology and evolutionary theory (Csani, 1982, 1989; Rohlich, 1987; Nicolis and Prigogine, 1989; Prigogine, 1996a, 1996b). In an integrated approach, all actors of society (individuals, families, enterprises, organizations, public institutes, states, international systems, etc.) and their activities are explained within the same general theoretical model, covering all basic components of the societal system.

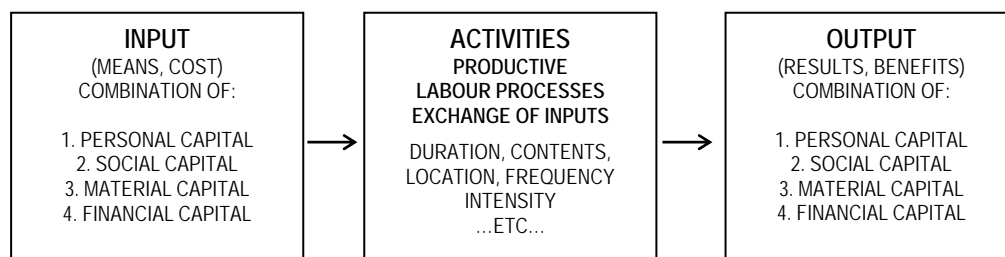
The *daily life* is seen as the daily division of activities or labour processes and of their results. The activities are the dynamic 'vehicles' of the daily life during the life course. All activities of all subjects are seen as productive labour processes, i.e. material input-output processes that produce a certain valuable output and that are regulated by the general mechanism of human exchange, in others words the general mechanism of demand and

supply. During the labour process, the input elements exchange certain aspects, resulting in an output that differs qualitatively from the input. Labour is a central part of all activities, i.e. the 'physical energy' offered by the inputs. In that way, figure 1 shows us that the different (categories of) inputs offer different forms of labour or energy, that are being combined in the activities (labour processes), in order to produce useful outputs.

The different means at the input and the output side of the activities are called the available total capital or potential, which is being expressed at certain moments of the life course, using a certain time perspective (minute, hour, day, month, year, decade etc.). Because the total capital can never be determined exactly, it is expressed in terms of the quantity and quality of the main components:

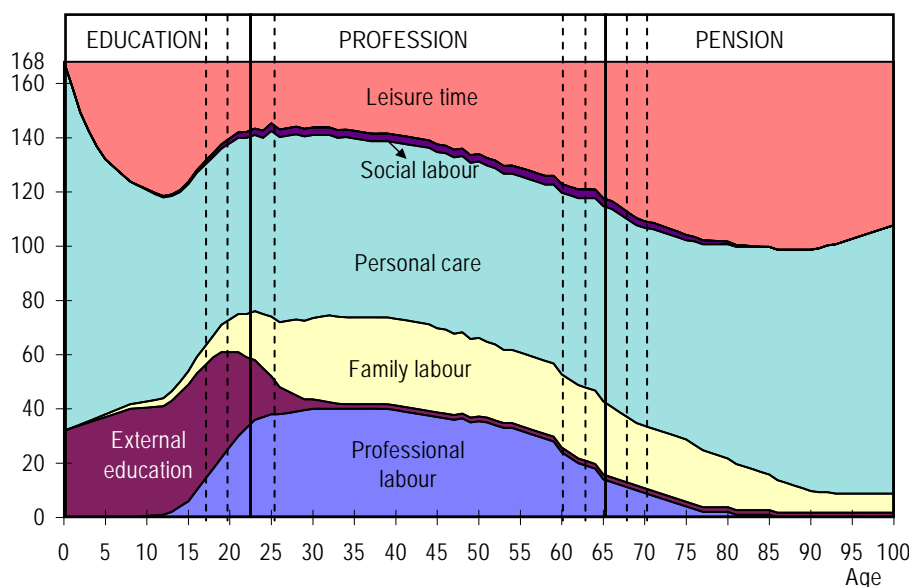
- the personal capital: cognitive and physical abilities, attitudes, needs, affections, emotions, etc.,
- the social capital: the social position and social network,
- the material capital: durable and non-durable goods and housing facilities
- the financial capital: monetary income periodically received and saved income in different forms or assets.

Figure 1. A general conceptual model for all human activities



The activities of individuals can be classified in a number of main categories: professional or paid labour, family labour, (voluntary) social labour, external education/care, leisure activities and personal care. These categories can be further subdivided into smaller activities. Figure 2 illustrates a model of the individual division of main activities of men and women during the life course (Van Dongen et al., 2001a), with the gradual distinction between the three main stages as formulated in the TLM model (Schmid et al., 2002, 2004).

Figure 2. The combination of activities (average number of hours a week) of men and women during the life course



Men and women daily aim at a balanced *combination of the main activities*, which has to offer the desired composition of personal, social, material and financial means, in all stages of their life. Each activity provides a certain output which is an input for other activities. The activities are functionally integrated in a complex and dynamic feedback system. All activities are therefore in principle equally important in daily life. They (have to) provide each other with the necessary combination of personal, social, material and financial means. The differences are gradual and refer to the basic functions and the specific characteristics of the activities. The *combination of family and professional work* refers to a central part of the daily life of men and women.

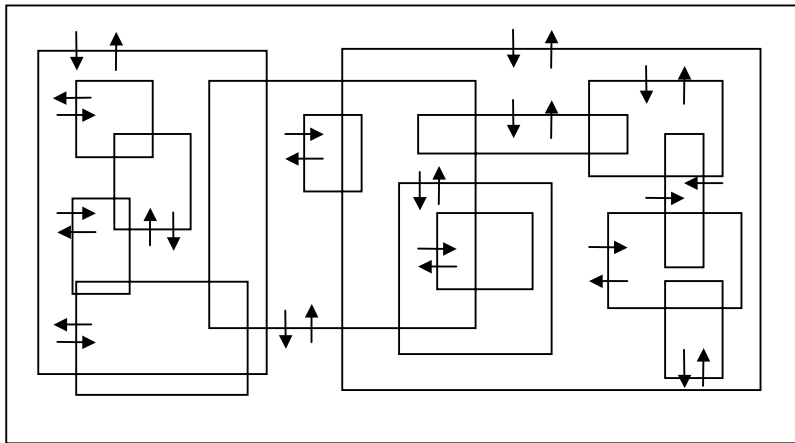
The meaning or value of the different activities is determined by the specific combination of personal, social, material and financial benefits, at the input and the output side. *Professional labour* is to a large extent externally oriented and offers the most financial benefits, necessary to buy different input elements for the other activities. Yet, also the direct personal, social and material benefits are important. In other words; the financial reward is very important but people do not have a job only for the money. *Social or voluntary labour* is also largely oriented towards persons or organisations outside the own family but it offers only a little or no direct financial benefit. The activity aims more at direct personal, social and material benefits. Yet, a relatively small financial reward is possible. At the same time, one can always express these benefits in monetary terms to a certain extent, i.e. the amount of money being spared. The basic goal of *family labour* is to directly provide certain personal, social and material services within the family, by means of exchange between family members. The direct reward for this activity is offered within the family. Indirectly, family labour also offers an output for other activities (outside the family). Also here, one can always express the benefits in terms of the amount of money being spared. A similar reasoning is possible for external education, leisure time and personal care.

Equally important is the *life course perspective*. During the various phases of the life course, the division of activities and means changes. An endless number of combinations within different families are possible, according to sex, age, education etc. In the short run, every one tries to realise a positive result, i.e. a growth of the total capital. Yet, from time to time, every one can fail to a certain extent and can suffer losses in the short run. This means that the long term finality is expressed by the adaptation capacity to change a negative development into a positive one (Van Dongen, 1993, 90-92; 1997b). Within the life course perspective, it is clear that the division of time within families strongly depends on the *actual family form*: living alone, living together (married or unmarried), with or without children, with or without other dependent persons (elderly people, handicapped persons).

The individual division of activities of men and women is always taking place within one of the different societal organisations (figure 3). In this integrated model, the different subjects, labour and exchange processes can be located in an adequate and gradual way on the different complexity levels of society. The central notion is the gradual distinction between (more) private and (more) collective systems. The mutual functionality and division of labour is the basic principle, saying that every system provides certain services for and receives certain services from smaller as well as from larger systems and vice versa (see arrows in figure 3). In this model all existing subjects are principally complex: they are part of larger, more enclosing systems and at the same time they are constituted of a number of smaller partial systems. This implies that the traditional distinction between f.i. the economic, social and cultural sector is no longer recognisable. At first sight this new model seems to be chaotic. Complexity, however, does not imply the absence of structure or order, but it means that the order has a fundamentally different shape.

Within this complex model of society we come to the basic concept of the *internal and external division of labour*, the mechanism by means of which the activities and their results are divided among the different societal entities, in time and space: families or households, clubs or associations, companies and public institutions. The internal division of time and means is called the *labour organisation*, the external division of time and means with other subjects is the *market functioning*. The system of market transactions among all societal actors is the *market system*. This means that all subjects have market transactions and participate in the market system to a certain extent, as a complement to their internal transactions. The actual market system of a country or larger region is the complex combination of gradually different partial markets, according to a number of characteristics, such as openness, product segmentation, degree of centralisation and competitive pressure. Reflecting the normative view on society, many different market systems can be conceived, f.i. from a strong liberal free market system on the one hand to a strong collectivist market system on the other.

Figure 3. A new basic model of the complex society



The division of time of men and women is very often analysed in terms of the position within their *family or household*. Each family (member) acquires inputs for the labour and exchange process outside the family through the external division of labour or market transactions. In the same way, the output of the internal division of labour provides inputs for the activities and transactions with subjects outside the family. Complementary, also organisations (professional and non-professional) must be integrated within the analysis of the daily life of men and women.

On the conceptual level, the Combination Model wants to integrate the major theoretical perspectives being used in social sciences with respect to the division labour during the past decades (f.i. Gershuny et al. 1994; Gershuny, 2000; Bianchi et al., 2000; Windebank 2001, Gornick & Meyers, 2003; Hakim, 2003; Fuwa, 2004; Geist, 2005; Hook, 2005a, 2005b). The research reveals the following major (types of) models:

- specialisation model, rational choice model, time availability and potential earnings model;
- underlying preferences model, preference essentialism;
- social exchange model, bargaining model, relative resources model, power struggle model;
- gender role model, gender ideology model, socialisation model.

The *specialisation model* is largely inspired by the economic approach of Becker (1965, 1975, 1976, 1981), arguing that the (unequal) division of labour between the partners is mainly determined by the rational choice of the partners to maximize the material and financial output of the household, starting from the comparative advantage and higher earning potential of the male partner in professional work. Therefore, men specialize in professional work, while women specialize in family work. During the last decades a number of variants of this basic model has been developed, dealing with the basic elements of specialisation, rational choice, time availability and potential earnings (Bianchi, 2000; Hook, 2005b).

The *underlying preferences model* (Hakim, 2003; Gornick & Meyers, 2003) says that the unequal division of labour reflects the fundamental difference in the underlying preferences of men and women. These preferences are seen as essential characteristics of human beings, strongly related to their biological and psychological constitution. In that way Hakim (2003) elaborates a typology of women and men with respect to the division of labour, that is based on their preferences. This typology is then being used for the empirical study of the division of labour within families, showing that the actual division of labour largely reflects the preferred division of labour of men and women.

The *social exchange model and the economic bargaining model* (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Manser & Brown, 1980; Lundberg & Pollak, 1996) start from the possible conflicting interests of partners with respect to the available resources. The (unequal) division of labour is the result of the permanent negotiation process between partners, based on the relative power or the relative availability of resources. A such, partners do not (try to) maximize the joint output but their own individual output. Since women have less resources (human capital, earning potential), they are more dependent on their husbands. Therefore, women have to spend more time on household work and can invest less time and other resources in their professional career.

The *gender role model or socialisation model* (Ferree, 1990; Brines, 1994; Greenstein, 1996a, 1996b, 2000; Bianchi, 2000) says that the (unequal) division of labour between the partners is mainly the result of gender role

attitudes that are being socialised in society. Women and men who share a more egalitarian gender role will realise a more equal division of labour in the household. Since the male breadwinner family became dominant in most countries, most men and women realised an unequal division of labour within their household. A more equal division of labour is only possible when an egalitarian gender role becomes sufficiently dominant in society.

Each of these models combines some of the basic components of the integrated model of the division of labour. In that way, they all bring in some elements and relations that really play a role in the complex process. Consequently, it is not surprising that all three models are partially supported and partially contested by empirical evidence (Hook, 2005a, 2005b). But by fundamentally reducing the complex societal process to some components of it, all four models get stuck in their chain of reasoning, especially with respect to the order and causality in the interaction processes and the consequent application during a longer historical period. The models largely suffer from the 'hen or egg dilemma': which element or factor was first; which is the cause and which is the consequence at which moment at which place? For that reason, all these theories have been strongly criticised during the last decades.

Applying the *specialisation model* in a consequent way leads to a dead end street, since one cannot explain the origin of the comparative advantage of men nor the (differences in) preferences and utility functions. Above all, largely the opposite development has been observed during the last four decades. As such, the model cannot explain the major historical turning points of the division of labour: from the old combination model in the nineteenth century to the breadwinner model in the twentieth century, and then to the modern combination model in the second half of the twentieth century. Moreover, the model is too much focused on the material and financial components of the activities, neglecting to a large extent the personal and social aspects.

In the same way, the *underlying preferences model* does not give a solid explanation for the origin of the deeply rooted preferences. Again, what was first: the preferences or the visible behaviour? According to the integrated approach, all preferences are the result of activities, but they also have an effect on the next activities. To explain the process to a more equal division of labour in the last decades, one has to explain the changing preferences that are the basis for the changing division of labour. Moreover, in a normative sense, the existence of certain preferences does not imply that these preferences and the division of labour based on it, are desirable and acceptable for society as a whole. So, the model can only partly be the basis for future policy.

More or less the same counts for the *bargaining or relative resources models*. Everyone will recognise that negotiations and the relative power of partners play a role in the division of labour. But the model does not explain the process leading to the different resources. One could argue that the specialisation process is one of the reasons of the differences in resources and of the need for bargaining. Moreover, empirical evidence shows that in most households, partners (also) try to realise joint household goals to a certain extent, next to their individual goals and the joint goals in other societal organisations.

For the same reason, the *gender role model or socialisation model* is only a partial model, not being able to explain the origin and dominance of the traditional gender role in society. This refers to the interaction between attitudes and the total visible behaviour in human life. After all, the dominance of the traditional gender role (breadwinner role) during a certain period cannot explain the development toward a more equal division of labour. It could only explain the slowness of the process towards a more equal division of labour.

Applying the separate models to the actual division of labour leads to an either/or attitude and to fairly extreme empirical perspectives (Van Dongen, 1990; Gershuny et al., 1994; Windebank, 2001; Hook, 2005b). On the one hand, there is the 'adaptive' or 'optimistic' perspective saying that the increasing participation of women in professional labour (both in participation rate and number of hours) during the last five decades went hand in hand with an almost equal increase of the participation of men in family labour (both in participation rate and number of hours). On the other hand, we find the 'non adaptive' or 'pessimistic' perspective implying the inverse relation, i.e. the increasing participation of women in professional labour did not lead to a significant increase of the participation of men in family labour. This non adaptive process has been called the 'stalled revolution' (Hochschild, 1989; Hook, 2005a, 2005b). Between these two perspectives, several intermediate 'realistic' positions are possible. In that way, Gershuny et al. (1994) speak about the 'lagged adaptation', referring to the slow reaction within two-earner families to redistribute the household tasks, in line with the changing division of professional labour. The slow adaptation process is related to a number of impediments in society.

Since all models are at the same time partially being supported by empirical evidence and partly being criticised on theoretical and empirical grounds (Hook, 2005a, 2005b), it would be more useful to combine their basic arguments as much as possible in a more general approach. Such an integrated approach avoids the either/or story by dealing with the complex interaction process among the different components in time, on all levels of society.

The last two decades, more attention went to the influence of the types of welfare states (macro level) on the daily division of labour of men and women within households, in combination with the major models mentioned before. However, these studies show different outcomes. Windebank (2001) gives some support for the idea that the influence of the different welfare state policies is not really significant. Gornick & Meyers (2003), Geist (2005) and Hook (2005a, 2005b) show the other view, stressing the specific, additional influence of the different policies, next to the individual, family and organisational aspects. The empirical analysis of the last studies is more convincing in the light of an integrated approach, emphasizing the dynamic feedback among the different aspects in time. For that reason, we largely follow their hypotheses and try to show both the gradual similarities and differences between the (types of) welfare states.

## *1.2. Comparison with other 'integrating' models*

In the introduction we mentioned the existence of other 'integrating' policy oriented models of daily life or the division of activities: the 'Transitional Labour Markets Model' (Schmid et al., 2002, 2004), The Flexicurity Model (Wilthagen, 2004a, 2004b; Madsen, 2006), the 'Dual-earner, Dual-carer Model' (Crompton, 1999; Gornick & Meyers, 2003) and the Breadwinner-Caregiver Model (Fraser, 1994, 2006). Therefore, it is useful to firstly compare the Combination Model with these models on the conceptual level.

Schmid et al. (2002, 2004) show that the TLM model largely follows the broader but still dual definition of activities (figure 2). We found no indications for the basic idea that all activities are conceived as productive labour processes. Professional labour is mainly seen as the basis for societal welfare and the professional career as the central axis of the life course. This is expressed by the general presentation of the TLM model emphasizing the three basic stages of life: education, profession and pension (figure 4). The model treats the basic transitions from the one to the other stage and some shifts within the professional stage, seen from the perspective of professional labour and the labour market. This approach to the professional career is located within a rather traditional view on society. To our opinion, the combination model offers a more general and more gradual approach. Starting from a general life course approach, it deals with all possible (changes in) combinations of activities for men and women, placed within the main life course stages and within the complex structure of the market system. Therefore, these stages can only be determined in a gradual way: all men and women are combining all basic activities in a certain way in all stages, in quantity and quality.

Although the Flexicurity model was mainly formulated as a policy strategy, it also offers an analytical matrix to study the actual development of the different combinations of flexibility and security in different countries (Wilthagen & Tros, 2004; Madsen, 2006). It combines four types of flexibility with four types of security. Wilthagen et al. (2004) use the matrix to show the actual Flexicurity combinations and the concrete policy strategies in a number of European countries, illustrating both the similarities and the differences between these countries. They conclude that every group of countries emphasizes different aspects of the Flexicurity matrix. Kerkhofs et al. (2006) present a comparative analysis of the actual strategies of working time flexibility in European companies, starting from a typology based on a number of working time variables concerning part time work, irregular and flexible working hours, overtime, parental leave, long term leave, early retirement, flexible contracts, child care. The study shows the gradual differences among the different (types of) welfare states in Europe to a certain extent.

Gornick & Meyers (2003) in fact pay little attention to (the development of) the conceptual approach to the division of labour. Their work focuses on the historical development of the division of labour, the actual policy models in different western countries, the formulation of a new normative model for the future division of labour and on the policy perspectives following from these model. Implicitly, one can notice the shift to a broader concept of 'labour' and 'division of labour' in society, implying that both paid professional labour and unpaid family labour are equally important in the concept of daily life and the life course. As a consequence, they stress the importance of an interdisciplinary approach, without elaborating it more explicitly.

With respect to the conceptual approach of the Universal Caregiver Model of Fraser (1994, 2006), almost the same comments can be formulated as for the Dual-earner/Dual-carer Model. By far, the presentation is very normative and policy oriented, with few attention for the conceptual approach to the division of labour among men and women. But also here, an implicit 'combination model' is detectable, covering some theories we mentioned in the previous paragraph, be it from a strong feminist perspective.

In social sciences, the conceptual approach always has a large impact on the empirical and normative approach (and vice versa) (Adam, 1990). Therefore, it is important to develop a permanent international exchange and collaboration concerning the further development and improvement of the conceptual approaches. The experiences of all researchers and research groups with conceptual models on the broad field of daily life and the division of labour in society, should be brought together, in order to stimulate a constructive dialogue and collaboration. In that way, one can see how far the conceptual models can be streamlined under the same broad umbrella.

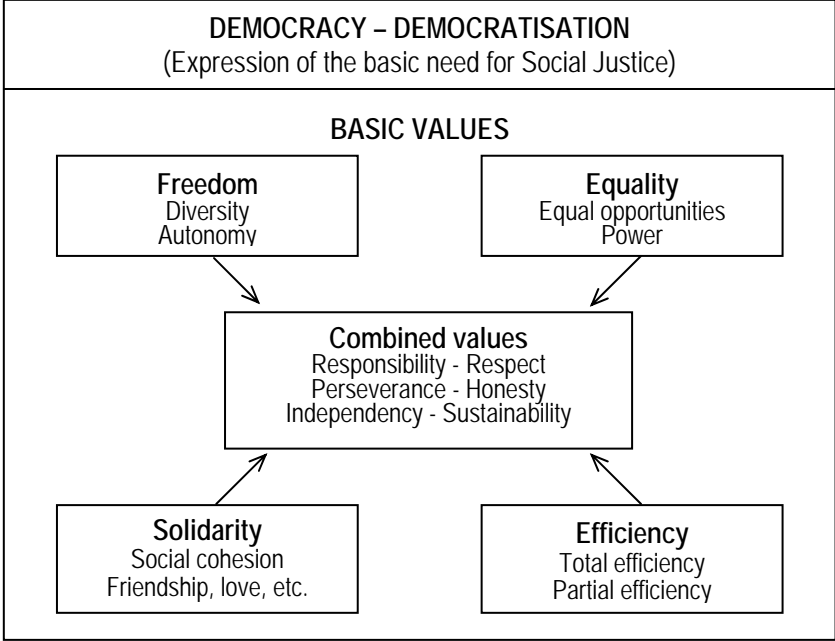
**2. Towards a democratic division of professional and family labour ?**

*2.1. Democracy as the overall normative concept for society*

All western countries stand for the basic normative question how the division of labour among men and women should be developed in the (near) future, given the actual evolution during the past decades. To answer this question, an adequate normative approach has to be formulated for future society. Since all scientific models of the past and current world have a normative dimension, background or determinant, this is also -and a fortiori- the case for all scientific models of the future world. This normative dimension can be explicit or implicit, dominant or subordinate, clear or vague, etc.; yet it is always there. An integrated view on science therefore implies that the normative dimension is explicitly and actively used, in a controlled way, as a positive and constructive component for the development of the most relevant future models. In that perspective, we use the label 'normative future models'. Since the basic goal of this study is to inform and to support the policy debate and process on different levels of society, these 'normative future models' are also called 'policy models'.

Figure 4 presents in a schematic way a new general normative approach, for which different variants can be formulated, according to the ideological views in society. It is an instrument for the reformulation of the normative basis of society, in line with the development of a new conceptual approach. We emphasize that the approach can always be discussed and adjusted.

*Figure 4 A new normative approach for future society*



The new normative approach differs from the traditional approach, not with respect to the choice of the basic values as such, but especially with respect to the concrete meaning and the relative weight of these values in the overall normative concept. Democracy was a basic value in the traditional model, standing at the same level as other values such as freedom, equality and economic efficiency. As such, democracy strongly referred to the



western political parliamentary system. During the last decades, the concept democracy has been broadened systematically, especially by the increasing application to the daily life of men and women within families, clubs, companies and institutions.

Together with the conceptual approach, also the basic normative view has been changing step by step during the last decades. To the extent that the conceptual distinction of the activities and the societal sectors became less explicit, also the hierarchy of the values was being questioned. The concept democracy (and democratisation) has been broadened systematically and is increasingly being used as a normative concept to discuss and deal with the daily life of men and women in different societal organisations. Among others, this shift is largely expressed in the view of the current democratic political parties in Europe (Social democracy, Liberal democracy, Christian democracy, Ecological democracy etc.). The term democracy is the common part in all views, while the labels express the different variants of the broad concept of democracy.

In the new basic model, democracy is seen as the overall normative concept for (the daily life or division of labour within) society, from the micro level to the macro level (Kruithof, 1980; Van Dongen, 1993, 1997b, 2004a, 2005c; Van Dongen et al., 2001a, 2003; Gratton, 2004). In that way, democracy is defined as a *multidimensional* normative concept for society that combines a number of basic values to be applied on all levels of society: 'democracy of daily life'. Democratisation then is the realisation process towards a higher level of democracy in society. One can argue that democracy is not the only or the most useful concept to be used as an overall normative concept, and that other concepts can serve that goals in a better way, for instance the concept 'social justice'. (Vandenbroucke, 1999, 2000). However, the concept social justice expresses the general need of people to apply certain values in order to structure and guide societal life, but it does not formulate itself a concrete normative choice, position or direction. In fact, all ideological groups claim the concept and define it according to their normative view. In that way, it has no normative distinctive potential and the use of the concept is strongly restricted. The concept democracy, however, has always had an explicit *normative direction* during its development during so many centuries. Therefore, it can not be defined in two opposite directions. As such, democracy is a concrete expression of the general idea of social justice. In that way, one can formulate a gradual normative spectrum for society, from a very weak democracy on the one end to a very strong democracy on the other end. In this perspective, the concept 'Strong Democracy' can be used as an new overall normative concept for future society, expressing the need of a democratisation process to increase the overall level of democracy.

## 2.2. *The basic values of democracy*

A first basic value of democracy is that all actors have *sufficient freedom* to determine their activities: choosing the goals and the means, deciding on the procedure and the timing, executing the actual process and determining the destination and use of the output. With respect to the division of activities and means, the concept freedom is strongly related to the concept of *diversity* among the actors. Diversity is an important condition and incentive for a successful adaptation process of all actors within society.

A democratic society also demands *sufficient equality* among the different actors with respect to the division of time, at the input and the output side. Equality especially refers to the relative situation or position of the different sorts of actors (activities and means), according to gender, age, education, (dis)abilities, origin etc.

Freedom and equality are equally important and should not be seen as antipodes but as mutual levers and restrictions. Given the complex nature of society, certain differences or inequalities will always exist and equality will always occur in a gradual way. Society therefore has to determine which differences are seen as *unacceptable societal inequalities*. Consequently, these inequalities need to be visualised and tackled by an adequate policy.

Thirdly, *sufficient solidarity* among the actors of society must be developed. Solidarity implies that, due to specific disabilities or dependencies, certain groups of society have to be supported by other groups, in monetary and/or in non-monetary terms. Mostly, solidarity mechanisms are related to the disability of people to have a (full) paid job, due to age (too young or too old), long-term physical or mental disability, illness and forced unemployment. An efficient solidarity system, therefore, needs an adequate collective system with enough financial means for the social investment programmes. It also needs a high level of responsibility of the people that are actually able to contribute to the collective system by means of their professional labour.

Finally, a democratic society has to be sufficiently *efficient*, in the broad sense of the word, integrating the personal, social, material and financial elements (positive and negative, more private and more collective). Total efficiency means that, within a certain time perspective, the total (monetary and non-monetary) value of the out-

put of the activities is larger than the total value of the input. In other words, that a certain amount of surplus value is realised. At the same time, a number of partial efficiency measures must be met, for instance the financial efficiency measure that takes into account the financial input and output elements. Partial measures are necessary and can be useful for certain goals, but they can also be misleading when certain elements are largely ignored. In that way, financial efficiency (profit) is a necessary condition for total efficiency, but it is certainly not a sufficient condition.

The selection of the basic values means that other important values can be placed under one of the basic values, with a more instrumental character for the realisation of the basic values. Figure 1 shows a few values that are important for the daily combination of professional and family life. *Responsibility, respect, perseverance and honesty* are major instrumental values for the effective realisation of the basic values in the daily life of all societal actors, for instance to realise the different combinations of professional and family work within a certain normative model. *Independency* can be seen as the combined expression of the basic values with respect to the mutual social relations of persons and organisations. *Sustainability* has increasingly been formulated as an important value during the past decades, especially in the context of the environmental problems in society. The value refers to the efficiency of activities and their results, in the short and long run, that can be expressed in terms of the personal, social, material and financial capital. The concept emphasizes the importance of the quality of the means and the need to maximally avoid and/or correct the different sorts of damage in daily life. Therefore, the realisation of the value demands sufficient freedom, equality and solidarity.

### *2.3. Strong democracy as the maximal balance of the basic values*

The main normative ambition is to realise a new balance between the basic values, under the general concept of 'democracy' or 'democratisation' on all levels of society: freedom, equality, solidarity and efficiency. Within this framework we can speak of a 'democratic market system' as a strong alternative for the 'free market system' (Van Dongen, 2004a). Since perfect democracy does not exist and cannot be established, the main goal is to initiate a permanent process of democratisation in the daily life of all subjects, relative to their actual situation.

In that sense, one can make a gradual distinction between a very weak democracy on the one hand and a very strong democracy on the other hand, expressed by the degree of the joint realisation of the basic values on all levels of society. Without ignoring the possible tension between these values, we want to emphasize that each basic value is both a positive lever and a restriction for the other values. In other words: the one basic value can not be (partially) realised, without (partially) realising the other and the partial realisation of one basic value prevents the dominance by another. The basic empirical question is to what extent society can and will actually move towards a strong democratic market system.

### *2.4. A democratic division of labour among men and women, within families*

The central question here is how the concept of strong democracy can be translated to the daily life of men and women, within families, companies and different sorts of organisations, starting from the conceptual approach. And how can this concept be made operational? This 'translation' firstly refers to the actual development from the traditional breadwinner model in the period 1950-1960 to the modern, moderate combination model during the past twenty years. We will deal with this in the next chapters. Following the conceptual approach, the basic normative concept and the empirical analysis, the second part of this translation concerns the development of some relevant normative future models. The last part then consists of determining the most useful 'normative combination model' that can serve as the basis for a coherent set of efficient policy perspectives.

In general, a strongly democratic division of labour among men and women implies a real balance between the basic values freedom, equality, solidarity and efficiency with respect to the division of labour. All values have to be realised in a sufficient way simultaneously, both stimulating and restricting one another. Equality within and among families is very important but must be demanded in a gradual way, leaving choice for all possible options to a certain extent. The logical basic objective then is that in most couple families professional labour, family tasks and the other main activities are more or less equally divided.

On the micro level, individuals and families must have sufficient freedom to choose the division of labour according to their own historic background, within the societal boundaries. A democratic society needs a diversity of

family types with respect to the division of labour. We search a model that explicitly combines sufficient equality with sufficient free choice for employees and their families and for employers.

The model must also satisfy the solidarity principle, which implies that the share of professionally active men and women is large enough (working enough hours and days a week and enough years in the total career), in order to realise a collective (financial) basis that is sufficiently large to finance all social investments, both for professionally active and inactive persons or families.

Finally, also the efficiency principle must be met, which implies that the human capital of all men and women is employed in a sufficiently efficient way, for professional labour, family labour and other activities, in combination with the material and financial capital.

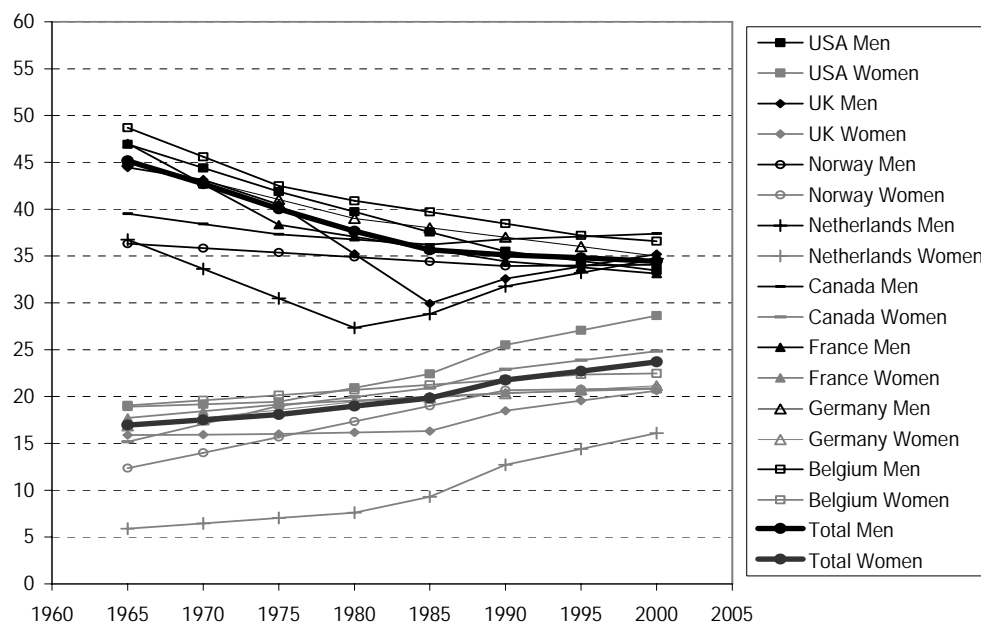
### 3. Actual development of the division of professional and family labour (1960-2005)

#### 3.1. Development of the average number of hours of professional and family labour

##### 3.1.1. Development of the hours per week spent on professional labour

Figure 5 presents the development of the hours per week spent on *professional labour* (excluding travel to work) in eight countries. Due to the circumstances, we could not use the original MTUS SPSS dataset, containing the data of some countries for the period 1960-1980. Therefore, we are very thankful to Jennifer Hook, who delivered us the tables needed, based on her MTUS dataset (Hook, 2005a, 2005b) for men and women from 20 to 59 years old. We selected eight Western countries with at least three useable observation years (covering a sufficiently long period), except Germany: the US (1965, 1975, 1985, 1998, 2003), the UK (1975, 1987, 2000), Norway (1981, 1990, 2000), the Netherlands (1975, 1985, 2000), Canada (1971, 1986, 1998), France (1965, 1974, 1998), Germany (1965, 1992), Belgium (1965, 1999, 2004). We made a simple estimate of the average number of hours of men and women for the missing years. In that way, a trend line was created for each country for the period 1965-2000 with an observed or estimated value every five years. Next, a weighted average trend line for all these countries together was calculated, based on the relative share of the population of each country in the total reference group (EU-15, Norway, Switzerland, Iceland, US, Canada, New-Zeeland and Australia) (bold lines). The upper curves for men are presented in black, the lower curves for women in grey. The figure gives the trend lines for each country and the trend line for all countries together, largely representing the Western world.

Figure 5 Development of the average number of hours of professional labour of men and women (20-59 years) in some countries (1965-2000) (MTUS data, Hook, 2005a)



The development of the number of hours of professional labour largely expresses the basic (moderately optimistic) model, at the same time showing the gradual differences among the countries. Only the Netherlands is an outlier, with a much lower average number of hours for women and for men (until 1980). After 1980 the number of hours of men have been increasing again fairly much, largely maintaining the gap with women. The same process can be observed in the UK, with 1985 as a turning point.

During the last two decades, the decrease of the gap between men and women goes on at a lower speed. The general model and this last observation is important for the policy debate about the future development.

In most countries, lower educated women had more hours of professional labour than higher educated men during the whole period and the differences remained stable more or less. Only in Norway, lower educated women had a larger number of hours until 1985, but it turned around afterwards. Lower educated men had more hours of professional labour than higher educated men until approximately 1985 in most countries, but it turned around afterwards and the gap increased during the last decades. Only in Belgium, lower educated men had less hours of professional labour than higher educated men during the whole period.

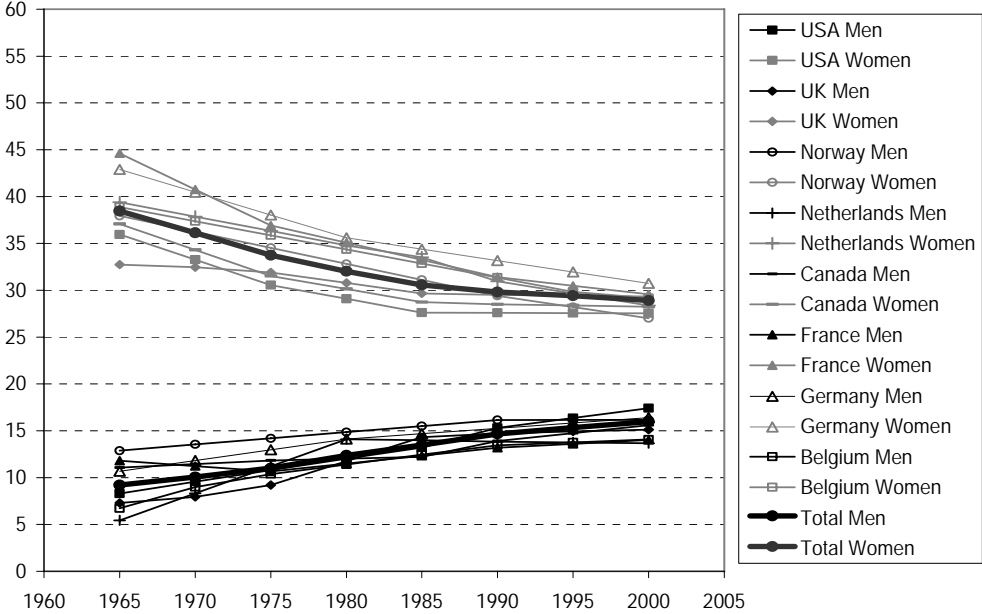
3.1.2. Development of the hours per week spent on family labour

Complementary, figure 6 presents the development of the hours per week spent on family labour in these countries. The curves of men and women are now turned upside down: the lower curves for men are presented in black, the upper curves for women in grey. Again, the figure shows the trend lines for each country and the estimated trend line for all these countries together.

The development of the hours of family labour is fairly clear, again with gradual differences among the countries, be it smaller than for professional labour. In fact, there are no outliers for family labour. Also for family labour, the difference between men and women has been decreasing at a lower speed during the last two decades. The basic policy question is how to deal with this in the future.

In all countries, lower educated women had more hours of family labour than higher educated men during the whole period, but the differences decreased to a certain extent. In the US and Norway, the difference was fairly low as compared to the other countries. The difference between lower and higher educated men was very small during the whole period, but followed the development of professional labour in a reversed way: lower educated men had less hours of family labour than higher educated men until approximately 1985 in most countries and it turned around afterwards. Only in Belgium, lower educated men spent somewhat more time at family labour than higher educated men during the whole period.

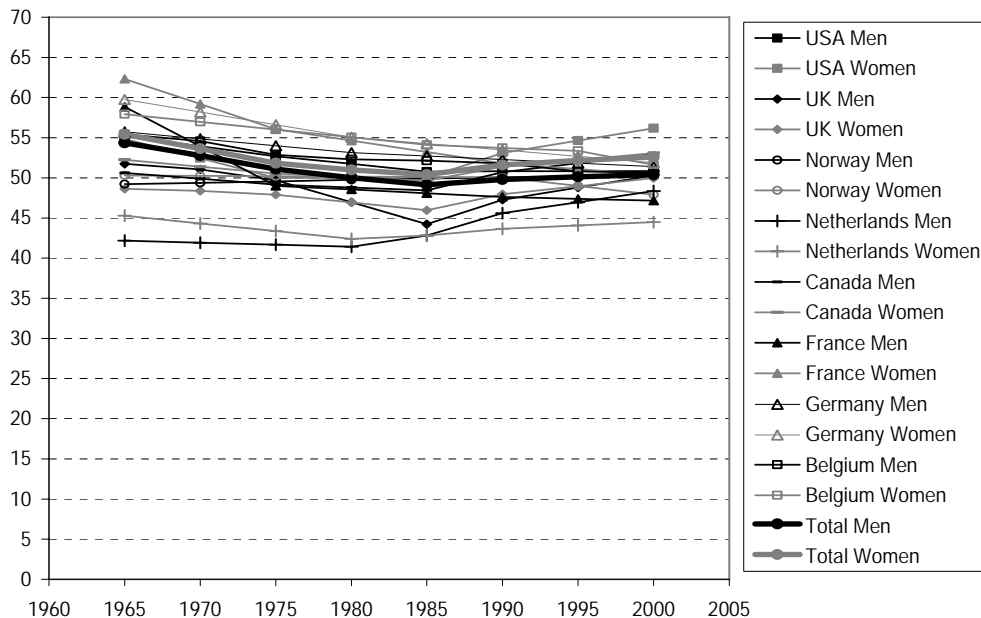
Figure 6 Development of the average number of hours of family labour of men and women (20-59 years) in some countries (1965-2000) (MTUS data, Hook, 2005a)



### 3.1.3. Development of the hours per week spent on total labour

Finally, figure 7 gives the development of the hours per week of total labour in these countries, i.e. the sum of the hours of professional and family labour. A completely different picture emerges, as was expected from the conceptual and the historical model. While professional and family labour separately show significant (gradual) differences between men and women in all countries, the total labour of men and women is on average largely equally divided in all countries. This 'on average equality', however, hides a large inequality between men and women for both professional and family labour. The average trend lines for all countries show that the average number of hours of total labour of women is somewhat larger than that of men during the whole period. The increase of this difference since 1985 is completely related to the development in the US. When we calculate trend lines for the European countries and Canada, excluding the USA, the line of women also lies higher than that of men during the whole period, but the evolution is the other way around. The gap is then higher in the period 1965-1980 and decreases systematically during the period 1980-2000.

Figure 7 Development of the average number of hours of total labour of men and women (20-59 years) in some countries (1965-2000) (MTUS data, Hook, 2005a)



### 3.2. The division of the hours of professional and family labour (1950-2000)

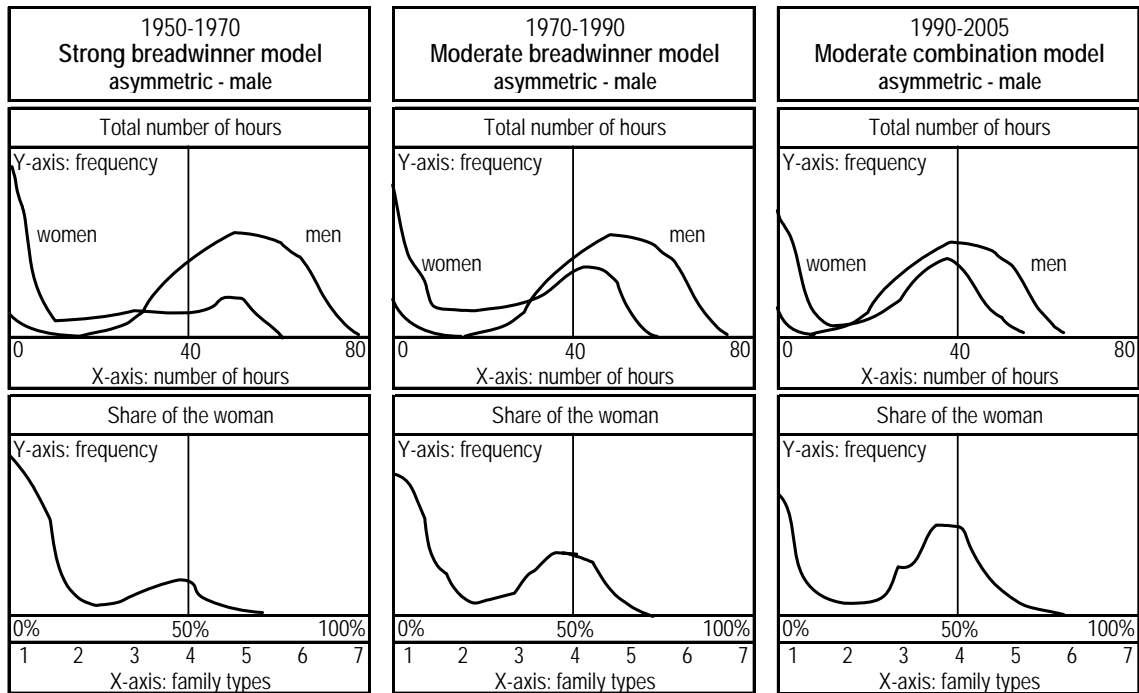
This part deals with the gradual division of the number of hours of professional and family work. The main purpose is to give a better picture of the gradual equality or inequality of the division of labour, both between men and women as two groups and within the group of men and the group of women. In that way, figure 8 shows an hypothetical historical model which is complementary to the previous models, presenting the division of professional labour (1) and of family labour (2) between men and women, based on the *distribution of the number of hours*. It contains three partial models covering three successive periods: the strong breadwinner model in the period 1950-1970, the moderate breadwinner model in period 1970-1990 and the moderate combination model in the period 1990-2005 (Van Dongen et al., 2001a, 2001b). Mainly for didactical reasons, only three partial models, are presented, emphasizing the gradual differences within and between the three periods. If necessary, one can construct more partial models for shorter periods, to show more clearly that gradual evolution.

The models show the *quantitative distribution or division of professional and family labour of individual men and women (upper part) and the relative division of labour between partners within families with two adult partners (lower part)*. The division of labour of individual men and women in the upper part of each picture is expressed by the relative share of the different jobs of men and women, in terms of the actual number of hours. The lower part of each picture gives the division of labour within families with two partners. It shows the distribution of seven

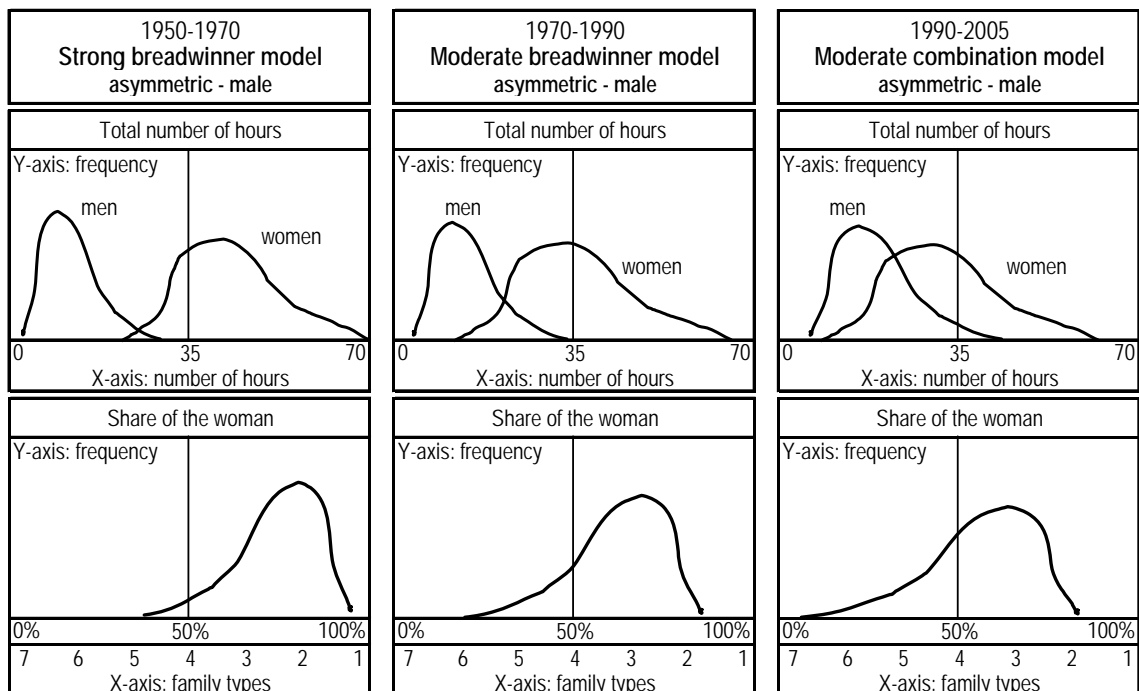
family types, based on the relative share of women in the total professional and household labour in their family: from the strong male breadwinner family (type 1) on the one end (the man is responsible for almost all professional labour and the women for almost all family labour), to the complete combination family in the centre (type 4) (the relative share of the man and the woman in professional and family labour equalises), to the strong female breadwinner family (type 7) at the other end (the woman is responsible for almost all professional labour and the man for almost all family labour).

Figure 8. An hypothetical historical model for the division of labour within families

1. Division of professional labour



2. Division of family labour



The name of the historical models is related to the dominant family type in the distribution. While the models refer to the traditional man-woman families, with or without children, they can easily be translated to other family forms. Furthermore, the societal position of children can be integrated in the models.

Following Crompton (1999, 202-214), Gornick & Meyers (2003, 90-94) present similar historical models, however without any graphical presentation. To a large extent, their models can be translated to the models in figure 8 (or vice versa). The strong breadwinner model (1950-1970) refers to their 'male breadwinner / female carer model'. The moderate breadwinner model (1970-1990) is similar to their 'dual earner / female part-time carer model'. The moderate combination model largely refers to their 'dual earner / substitute carer' model, with two variants: the 'dual earner / state carer model' in the former socialist and social-democratic (Nordic) countries and the 'dual earner / marketized carer model' in the US.

The models are the result of a 'historical' reconstruction, largely based on empirical data of the past decades and supported by empirical data of the period before. Of course, the demarcation of the periods can be discussed, especially when applied to different countries. In fact, the models give an empirically supported but still hypothetical expression of the real development in different countries. In the first place, they can be used for the comparative analysis of the historical development of the division of labour in different (types of) countries, f.i. according to the classification of Esping-Anderson (1999). Secondly, the models are the expression of the actual combination of the basic values in the daily division of labour: freedom, equality, solidarity and efficiency. In that way they also reflect (the result of) the actual policy models in these (types of) countries to a certain degree. Finally, the models are the empirical basis for the development of future policy models, in line with the normative views in society.

Unfortunately, these curves cannot be constructed for the period 1950-1980, since comparative labour market data are not available and the MTUS samples (time use data) for that period mostly were too small to create reliable curves. Van Dongen (2007) presents these curves for the period 1985-2004, together with some other indicators. In that way, we can hold the strong hypothesis that the hypothetical model in figure 8 is a good presentation of the actual development during the period 1950-2000 in most western countries, be it with clear gradual differences among the countries. Here we only formulate the general meaning of the historical model.

### *3.2.1. The period of the Strong Breadwinner Model (1950-1970)*

During the period of the strong breadwinner model, the strong breadwinner family was dominant in quantitative terms. Because of the lack of adequate data, we have to rely on some weaker indicators, as in figures 7 and 8. The majority of women had no or only a very small share in the total professional labour of the family. Yet, an important part of the women remained professionally active, mostly in a full-time job since part-time work was not developed that much. Around 1950, most West-European countries took the strong breadwinner family as a reference for the development of the welfare state and introduced a number of structural policy instruments to support it. The societal context of the fifties formed a good feeding ground for this family type. Likewise, the family type was largely legitimised by the principle duty (also expressed in terms of the free choice) of families to raise the young children almost completely within the family. In reality, the breadwinner family was strongly promoted and supported by governments (and the social partners) by means of discriminative legislation and strong financial support within the fiscal and social security system and the public provisions. The Strong Breadwinner Model goes hand in hand with a very unequal division of labour between men and women, both on the macro and the micro level. At the same time, the financial basis for the solidarity system was relatively weak (unlike the high economic growth in that period), i.e. the financial capacity of the government to invest in children, elderly people, handicapped people, people with an inadequate education. Finally, the efficiency principle is largely sacrificed by the inadequate use of the human resources of women in business life and of those of men in family life.

### *3.2.2. The period of the Moderate Breadwinner Model (1970-1990)*

Starting from the sixties, more women (re-)entered the labour market in most Western countries. Moreover, (married) women increasingly remained professionally active after the arrival of the children. The Strong Breadwinner Model was systematically losing impact. Part-time jobs received more space, so the number of moderate breadwinner and moderate combination families increased. At the same time, the average number of hours of paid work of men systematically decreased. Consequently, one can speak of the period of the Moderate Breadwinner Model. In this model, the free choice of families with respect to the division of labour and the education of children must make some place for a more equal division of labour between men and women, for the solidarity system for

financially dependent people and for an increasing use of female resources in business life. As mentioned before, with some delay, also the division of household work changed step by step, with a decrease of the share of women and an increase of the share of men.

### *3.2.3. The period of the Moderate Combination Model (1990-2005)*

Since the beginning of the nineties one can speak of a Moderate Combination Model in most Western countries, be it with some variants, since the combination families with a more equal division of professional and family labour become the majority. Among others, the model has been stimulated by the emancipation movement for a more equal division of time and means among men and women, both on the micro and macro level. This movement went together with the increasing awareness of the importance of a high(er) professional participation to achieve a sufficiently high family income, a strong collective financial basis (solidarity system) and a more efficient use of women's resources in business life. In the period 1900-2005, the total activity rate of women (share of professionally active women in the whole female population) increased almost permanently (figure 7).

Van Dongen (2007) gives ample comparative empirical support for the period 1985-2004 by means of some basic indicators for the development of the division of professional and family labour among men and women during the last two decades in Western countries, showing both the similarities and differences of the (types of) countries. The main question is: in which stage are the different (types of) countries currently situated? During the past ten years, (most of) these indicators have been created first for Belgium or/and Flanders. Since the middle of 2004, an international comparative database with basic indicators is being developed for EU countries and some other OECD countries. The following indicators are shown: the general division of time in some EU-15 countries, the professional activity rates of men and women per age group, the division of the number of working hours, the average number of working hours per age group, the division of the number of hours of household or family work, and the average number of hours of household or family work per age group.

The empirical analysis results in an overview of the variants or stages of the contemporary Moderate Combination Model in different countries. The classification is certainly not new but offers a more differentiated basis with respect to the division of labour than the classification of Esping-Anderson (1990, 1999) and Korpi (2000), reflecting the differences in social, employment, gender and family policy. Most countries can be placed fairly easy in one group. The countries between brackets are less typical for that model and are located on the border with another model. We also refer to Anxo (2004) and Anxo et al. (2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2006), who present similar empirical models for the division of labour, largely starting from the model van the Transitional Labour Markets (TLM), emphasizing the life course perspective.

1. the Southern Weaker Combination Model (Moderate Breadwinner Model) in Italy, Spain, Greece, Cyprus and Malta.
2. the Continental Moderate Combination Model in Belgium, France, Germany, Austria, Luxembourg, (the Netherlands and Portugal).
3. the Anglo-Saxon Moderate Combination Model in the English speaking countries United States, Canada, United Kingdom (and Ireland).
4. the Nordic more Advanced Combination Model in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland and Iceland.
5. the Eastern more Advanced Combination model in Eastern European countries.

In general, one can notice that the historical development of the division of the basic activities among men and women is largely similar in the European (and other Western) countries. In all countries one can observe more or less the same basic division of professional, family labour, social labour, personal care and free time. This means that all countries have gone through the same historic basic models, from the Old Combination Model in the nineteenth century to the Breadwinner Model in the twentieth century, to the new Moderate Combination Model at the end of the twentieth century. This would imply that the normative challenge concerning the future division of professional and family work is largely similar for all these countries, taking into account the differences in welfare level and societal context.

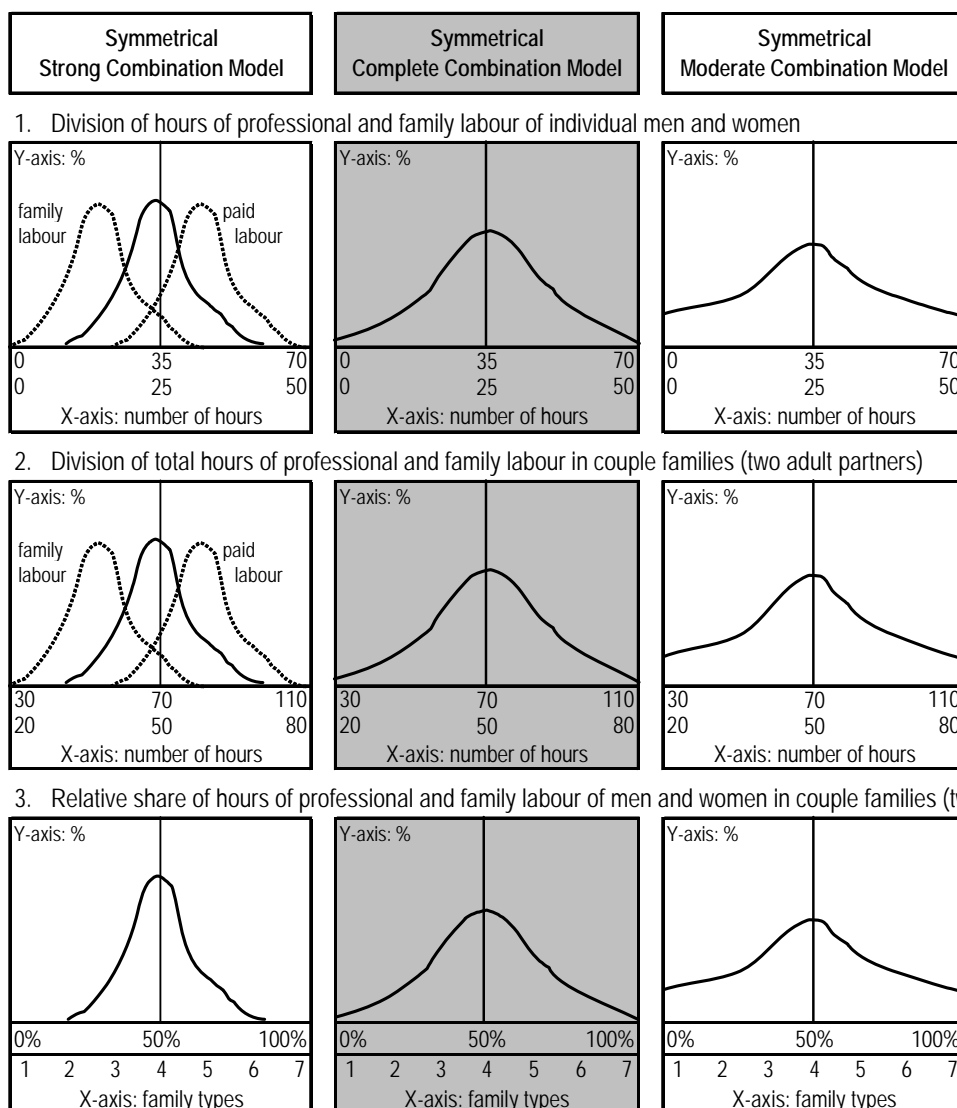


#### 4. Normative future models for the division of labour and the labour market

##### 4.1. Presentation of the normative future models

Starting from the general concept 'democracy of daily life' and the actual division of professional and family labour during the past decades, one can formulate the basic normative question: which normative future model can serve as an adequate guide for the future development and for future policy? This general question contains three specific questions, expressing the interaction between the conceptual, empirical and normative dimension. Firstly, to what extent does the normative model reflect the balance of the basic values (freedom, equality, solidarity and efficiency)? Secondly, to what extent does the policy model link up with the actual development and is it feasible within a certain time? Finally, to what extent can the model lead to a consistent set of mutually supportive policy perspectives for the long run, as a strong basis for policy measures and instruments in the short run? It is logical that in all countries at least a better combination model has to be realised in the short run, i.e. a more advanced stage of the moderate combination model. To do so, it is important that the normative model for the long run is explicitly formulated and thoroughly discussed. Therefore, figure 9 shows three normative models for the future division of professional and family labour, within a long term perspective (2000-2050): the Strong Combination Model (SCM), the Complete Combination Model (CCM) and the Moderate Combination Model (MCM).

Figure 9. Normative future models for the division of professional and family labour of individual men and women and of families (2030-2050)



The figure follows the presentation in figure 8, since it expresses the basic normative idea with respect to the desirable division of labour. To have a more complete picture, the models can also be expressed by means of some other indicators (Van Dongen, 2007).

As the picture clearly shows, all three normative models are symmetric, expressing the importance of gender equality in (all countries of) the European Union, as a basic value on the macro level for future policy. If necessary, less symmetric variants can be designed for each model. The shape of the curve (smaller or wider) determines the level of equality on the micro level, i.e. within the group of men and women and within families. A smaller curve implies a higher degree of equality, while a wider curve implies a lower degree of equality.

*The upper part* of the figure shows for the three models the desirable division of the number of hours of professional and family work for all men and women in the professional population, with or without a partner, with or without children (macro level). The curve of professional and family work of men and women coincide completely in all three models, be it with a different scale on the X-axis: from 0 to 70 hours for professional labour and from 0 to 50 hours for family labour. Although this range of hours largely results from the actual development, it is not absolute and can be modified.

The curves show that the division of the number of hours of professional and family work must be symmetric on the macro level, i.e. between the whole group of men and the whole group of women. Each curve presents a possible normative answer to the actual and undesirable unequal division of professional and family work.

The *middle part* illustrates the desirable division of the total number of hours of professional and family work within couple families. Again, the curves of professional and family work of men and women coincide in all three models, with a different scale on the X-axis: from 30 to 110 hours for professional labour and from 20 to 80 hours for family labour. Also here, the range of hours can be modified. These curves give possible normative answers to the undesirable actual unequal division of the total professional and family work within couple families. Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient internationally comparative data to show the actual division of the total professional and family work. This is an empirical task for the future, offering additional support for the development of the combination model. The curves express the additional condition for future policy that couple families need a sufficient total number of hours of professional and family work to realise a decent welfare level. The importance of this condition is illustrated by Cantillon et al. (2002) emphasizing the high poverty risk for couple families without any professional work and, consequently, without any professional income.

The *lower part* presents the desirable relative division of professional and family work between the partners of couple families, as an additional condition for equality on the micro level. The figures give the distribution of couple families (Y-axis) based on the relative share of the number of hours of professional and family work of women in the total number of hours of professional and family work of the family (X-axis). The curve of professional and family work of men and women coincide in all three models, with the same scale on the X-axis: from 0% to 100%, reflecting the gradual typology of the seven family types mentioned before: from the strong male breadwinner family (type 1) on the left side, over the complete combination family in the centre (type 4), to the strong female breadwinner family (type 7) at the right side. The curves give possible normative answers to the actual undesirable unequal division of professional and family work within couple families. Unfortunately, we lack comparative data to show the actual relative division of professional and family work between partners. This is an important empirical task for the future.

The three models are idealised models that -by definition- do not coincide with actual political or ideological views. They must be used as reflective instruments or long term guidelines to feed and orient the societal and political debate about the future division of labour in modern societies. Every societal actor (individuals, families, companies, societal organisations, political parties, government etc.) can choose only one model as a normative guideline. Of course, many variants of these models can be constructed, but this does not offer more clarity or efficiency for the policy debate. Every societal actor (individuals, families, companies, societal organisations, political parties, government etc.) can choose only one model as the normative guideline for the future division of labour. Therefore, it is important that all major societal and political actors explicitly show which normative model they choose as the long term guideline for their policy view and for the policy programmes in the shorter run. In that way, the political debate can become more transparent and efficient.

The *symmetric Strong Combination Model* (SCM) on the left side of figure 4.2 aims at a high professional participation of all men and women and at a largely equal division of professional and family labour, on the individual and family level, leaving less freedom to choose a more unequal division of labour. The *symmetric Complete Combination Model* (CCM) allows all possible choices, combining a fairly high participation of men and women with a fairly equal division of professional and family labour, and given somewhat more freedom to choose a less equal division of labour. The *Moderate Combination Model* (MCM) offers more space for an unequal division of professional and family labour, sacrificing the equality condition to a larger extent.

#### 4.2. The Complete Combination Model as the basis for an integrated policy ?

It would take too much pages to explain all three normative models in detail. Therefore, it is better to use one of the models as the reference and give a brief comparison with the other models. The figure visually expresses our central normative hypothesis that the *Complete Combination Model* (CCM) is the best future model for an adequate long term policy in countries that choose for a strongly democratic division of labour. Of course, everyone has the right and opportunity to discuss this and to give arguments in favour of another policy model. In that way, the models really serve as a basis for a constructive policy debate.

##### 4.2.1. The division of professional and family labour in the Complete Combination Model

The main starting point of the CCM is that almost all potentially professionally active men and women combine professional, family and other activities in a balanced way during their life course. In that way, one can fulfil both the professional and family responsibility and realise a suitable combination of personal, social, material and financial capital.. The upper part of the figure gives the division of the number of hours spent at professional and family labour by men and women, in that way showing four identical curves: professional work for men and women (from 0 to 70 hours a week) and household work for men and women (form 0 to 50 hours a week). Let us emphasize that this range of hours is not to be seen as a definite choice, but as a strong proposition, given the actual situation. The model essentially implies that a *normal full-time job* will count approximately 35 hours a week (or about 40 hours a week including travelling and overtime). At the same time, the model offers a maximal diversity of jobs, from very small jobs (less than 10 hours a week) to very large jobs (up to 70 hours a week), according to the needs of families (or family members) and organisations. The *normal household task* implies about 25 hours a week, with a broad variation from less than 10 hours a week to about 50 hours a week. The clock curve implies that the paid jobs and household tasks occur less frequently to the extent that the number of hours becomes smaller or larger than the norm.

Differentiation according to the life course stage is an essential part of the model: small jobs for students, larger flexible jobs and smaller household tasks for men and women without children, jobs of 30 to 35 hours with somewhat larger household tasks for parents and smaller jobs for older people partially leaving the labour market. As shown in the lower part of the figure, the model implies that the moderate and complete combination families are dominant in the large group of *couple families*. But also the other family types with a more unequal division of labour are allowed to a certain degree.

The Complete Combination Model offers a real balance of the *basic values* of a strong democracy (freedom, equality, solidarity and efficiency) with respect to the division of labour. All values have to be realised in a sufficient way simultaneously, permanently stimulating and restricting one another.

*Gender equality* among men and women and within the families is very important but is demanded in a gradual way, leaving choice for all possible options. The basic objective is that men and women will have the same overall division of professional and family work, but with a large diversity within the two groups. Moreover, the model implies that in most couple families the professional and family tasks are more or less equally divided. The number of (male and female) breadwinner families is reduced to a minimum, as far as it is necessary and inevitable in some families (for family and/or professional reasons) and as far as it is possible and acceptable in business life and in society as a whole.

On the micro level, all families have sufficient *freedom to choose* the division of labour according to their own historic background and to their personal preferences at a certain stage of their life course, be it within the societal boundaries of the clock curve. The diversity of family types offered by the model is larger than the actual diversity during the past decades. In the old breadwinner model, a lot of women did not have the opportunity to have a

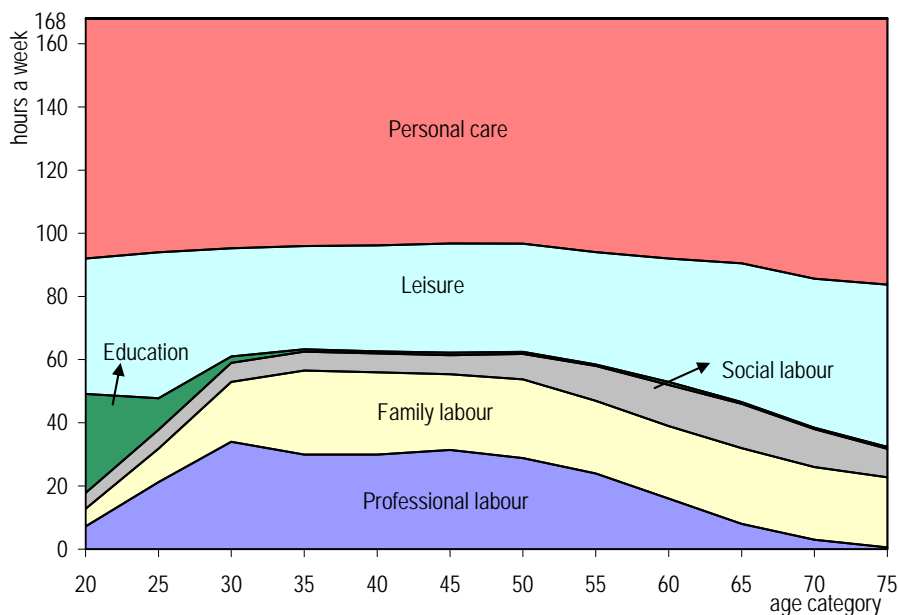
(full-time) paid job, while a lot of men were hardly able to work part-time and to fully participate in the household. In that perspective, the CCM explicitly shows that more equality in the division of labour can go hand in hand with more choices for men and women and their families, and for employers. The model offers a clear win-win situation and solves the old trade off in traditional economic theory between freedom and equality.

The CCM also largely satisfies the *solidarity* principle since the share of professionally active men and women is large enough and the societal cost of the breadwinner families is restricted to a minimum. In that way the collective basis is large enough to finance the social investments for financially dependent persons or families, including the small group of breadwinner families.

Finally, also the *efficiency* principle is sufficiently met, since the human capital of all men and women is being used in an efficient way, for professional work, family work and the other activities. By fully integrating most men and women in the labour market in a sufficiently equal way and with sufficient respect for individual or family choices, everyone can largely realise the aspired professional position or level, the aspired family engagement and the aspired other social engagements.

Figure 10 illustrates the combination of the number of hours of the basic activities during the life course for the average man and woman in the CCM. As said, the picture is the same for men and women, as the answer of the CCM to the actual inequality of professional and family labour in the different countries.

Figure 10 Average number of hours of the basic activities during the life course for men and women in the CCM



#### 4.2.2. The pedagogical view of the Complete Combination Model

The CCM implies a *new pedagogical view* with respect to the position and education of children, which is fully compatible with the concept of a democratic division of labour among adult men and women. The basic pedagogical view of the CCM says that all boys and girls can enjoy a 'shared' or 'combined' education of high quality from birth on, both within and outside the family. Also here, a shared education must be seen in a gradual way, allowing all combinations to a certain extent. In that way, the model goes beyond the traditional pedagogical view of Bowlby and Spitz saying that young children need an (almost) exclusive education within the family (by the mother), mainly because of the contractions among the different variants of that view (Van Dongen, 1992b, 1993; Vandenbroeck, 2003).

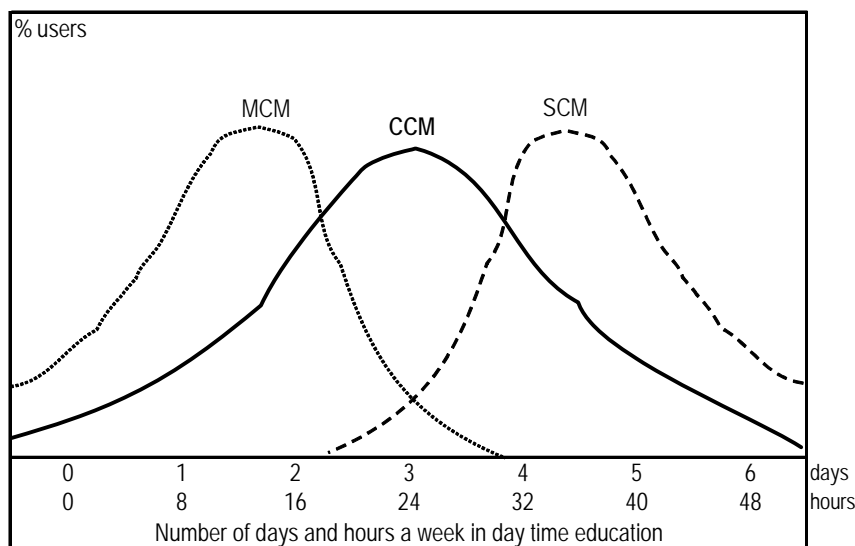
According to the CCM, the family of the child must be able to fully play its pedagogical role of home base and central axis. But the external day time education/care is also a full part of the broad development of all children, starting a few weeks after birth, not as a replacement for the education within the family but as a full complement and enrichment of it. Again, the clock curves of figure 9 can be used to express the gradual distribution of the

number of hours and days a week that children of different age groups spend in the external education/care, f.i. from 0 to 48 hours a week, according to the normative models. Figure 11 illustrates this for the MCM, the CCM and the SCM.

The curve of the CCM implies that all children are gradually located around the average number of hours/days per week of external education/care, f.i. 24 hours a week. The actual number of hours and days is then largely determined by the age and other characteristics of the children and by the living and working conditions of the parents. As for the working hours of adults, the model here also implies that the extreme choices are reduced to the minimum level that is necessary and useful in society. Between the two extremes, all gradual forms of combined education are possible, permanently offering the children a combination of the internal pedagogical sources of the family with the external pedagogical sources of society. In that way the division of hours of children is fully compatible with the division of hours of parents.

The family and the external education/care are seen as two educational cornerstones, both quantitatively and qualitatively, that have to support and stimulate each other permanently, in order to offer every child a complete development within society. These two cornerstones are to be supplemented with other activities (personal care, free playing, sports, art, etc.) within the large family, the neighbourhood, the circle of friends and the local clubs. In that way, the CCM follows the well known phrase: 'It take a village to raise a child', indicating that, from birth on, all children are a member of different societal actors and that all these actors have to play their role in the total educational process (Vandenbroeck, 2003).

Figure 11. Division of the number of hours and days a week of external education/care for children from 0 to 12 years old in three future models



#### 4.2.3. Meaning of the other normative combination models

*The Strong Combination Model (SCM)* on the left side of figure 9 emphasises to a larger extent the (gender) equality and the higher professional participation as the basis for welfare and solidarity. The strong male and female breadwinner families are excluded and made impossible. In that way, the free choice of families and the need within society for sufficient diversity is sacrificed to a certain degree. Given the importance of individual free choice and diversity, this model does not realise the balance of the basic values. By strongly emphasizing professional labour, other major activities receive less space, for instance the household work and the education of children within the family. Consequently, also the efficiency condition is not sufficiently satisfied. Finally, the feasibility condition cannot be fully satisfied, because the model is less in line with the actual development.

*The Moderate Combination Model (MCM)* on the right side gradually offers more space for the free choice of families to work less or more hours than the average, sacrificing the equality condition to a certain extent. Families are more stimulated to choose for a more unequal division of family and professional labour. Consequently, the share of both the male and female breadwinner families becomes larger. This weakens the feasibility of the

model because it is farther removed from the actual division of labour. Since professional labour has to make (much) more room for family work, less collective means are available to invest in dependent groups (solidarity) and the professional human capital of many men and women is used less efficiently for societal development. Moreover, seeing external day care largely as a substitute for family care and not as a complement, the model gives less room for a fully shared education of children younger than three years. In that way, the pedagogical basis for their future development within the family and other entities in society becomes weaker.

#### 4.3. Comparison with the other integrating models

We can briefly compare the CCM with the other integrating normative models, i.e. the 'Combination Scenario' in the Netherlands (Commissie Dagindeling, 1998), the 'Transitional Labour Markets Model' (Schmid et al., 2002, 2004), The Flexicurity Model (Wilthagen, 2004a, 2004b; Madsen, 2006), the 'Dual-earner, Dual-carer Model' (Crompton, 1999; Gornick & Meyers, 2003) and the Breadwinner-Caregiver Models (Fraser, 1994, 2006).

The Dutch normative *Combination Scenario* is largely similar to the CCM, expressing the idea that the division of both professional and family labour among men and women should become much more equal in the next decades, with sufficient diversity among individuals and families. However, the Combination Scenario was presented mainly by means of the ideal family type with an equal division of professional and family labour between the two partners. In that way, the opponents of the Combination Scenario interpreted and presented it as a (very) Strong Combination Model, as if it would largely eliminate the free choice of people/families to choose another division of labour and as if it would lead to a maximal uniformity among men and women and among families. Although the political discussion about the Combination Scenario resulted in different policy proposals in the period 1999-2001, the policy model was not communicated in an efficient way in order to make it acceptable for a majority in society and –above all- in the political world. After some time, the Combination Scenario lost its political support, prohibiting further practical elaboration, improvement and communication.

The general normative message of the *TLM model* seems largely similar to that of the CCM, going beyond the traditional welfare state and aiming at a stronger democracy on all levels of society. Yet, the model seems to express a somewhat 'weaker' version of the normative concept of democracy. Not surprisingly, Schmid (2002a, 177, figure 5.1) also presents the normative TLM model by means of a clock curve, with the gradual distribution of the number of working hours. The concrete curve, however, is in fact largely similar to the curve of the Strong Combination Model (SCM) as presented in figure 9, showing a rather small curve. This actually implies that the options not to work, to work very few hours or to work many hours are not possible in the normative model. Contrary to this 'strong' graphical presentation, the further explanation of the model and its policy perspectives expresses the basic idea of the Moderate Combination Model (MCM), emphasizing a large freedom to leave the market for quite a long time for family reasons, mainly for the education of young children at home. The discussions during the last two conferences of the TLM network in 2004 (Amsterdam) and in 2005 (Budapest), showed that the normative TLM model has a wider scope than the CCM, in fact largely covering the three combination models in figure 9. This would mean that the TLM model is less clear as a long term policy model or guideline, because it covers a larger range of possible normative statements and policy perspectives, with a much higher possibility of internal contradictions. Unfortunately, the TLM network has stopped after the conference in Budapest in November 2005, strongly diminishing the incentives for further scientific work and policy debate inspired by the TLM model.

More or less the same can be said about the normative *Flexicurity Model*. The model basically aims at a 'more democratic' labour market, offering a combination of sufficient flexibility and sufficient security to both employees and employers. This flexicurity idea covers also the normative view of a more equal division of labour of men and women, with sufficient respect for individual choices during the life course. As currently proposed, this normative view is also rather broad, in fact as broad as the normative TLM model. However, Wilthagen & Tros (2004, 169) clearly state that there is only one unique Flexicurity policy strategy, as the only good and desirable combination of the different sorts of flexibility and security. But they implicitly show that different normative Flexicurity models are possible, for instance from a very weak to a very strong variant. In that way, they create a contradiction between the analytical and empirical Flexicurity on the one hand tool and the normative strategy on the other. The analytical and empirical tool implies the existence of different combinations (of levels) of flexibility and security, which means that different normative combinations of Flexicurity are possible. So, the concept 'Flexicurity' cannot

be preserved for only one normative combination. The danger of reducing the normative Flexicurity concept is that it leads to a number of 'more or less' different normative strategies, i.e. variants of the unique strategy proposed by Wilthagen & Tros (2004), to be placed under the normative Flexicurity concept. As a consequence, it will become broader and vaguer, leading to the same problem of the TLM model, i.e. a high risk of internal contradictions.

Therefore, it would be positive that some relevant variants of the normative TLM model and Flexicurity model, are elaborated, starting from the empirical models. Furthermore, it is useful to elaborate and explain more explicitly the link between the two normative models, as the basis for more integrating models, which would be most probably very similar to the normative Combination Models.

It is clear that the basic message of the Dual-earner/Dual-carer Model of Crompton (1999) and Gornick & Meyers (2003, 90-111) goes further than the traditional model of the welfare state. Implicitly, the model aims at a more democratic division of labour on all levels of society, in the broad sense of the word. Yet, the model also seems to start from a 'weaker' version of the normative concept of democracy, mainly influenced by the actual societal and political circumstances in the USA, i.e. a strong free market system with little support by the government for a family and gender friendly division of labour. Starting from the actual situation in the USA, the normative and political ambition of the model, therefore, seems to be more restricted. Although they do not give any visual presentation of their normative 'dual earner / dual carer' model (in line with the presentation of the actual development), their explanation of the model clearly shows that it is in fact most similar to the *Moderate* Combination Model (MCM) in figure 9. In fact, they see a certain variant of the actual 'European model' as the most useful future model in the shorter run, somehow a mix of the continental and the Nordic model. In this context, they emphasize the strong tension between the need for sufficient family time and the need for more equality between men and women. By starting the explanation of their policy perspectives with family leave policy and -above all- by emphasizing the desirability of long leave arrangements for the (full-time) education of young children under the age of three years within the family, they in fact express the central idea of the MCM in figure 9. Moreover, the external day care for children younger than three years old is largely conceived as a substitute for the education within the family and not as a complement, thereby largely following the traditional pedagogical view. The basic idea of the MCM is also emphasized by the much lower ideal average number of working hours being proposed in their model for families (one or two parents) with children under the age of three than for families with older children (Gornick & Meyers, 2003, 96-97).

The basic normative view of Fraser (1994, 2006) aims at real gender equity, implying the joint realisation of five distinct norms for different aspects of the daily life: the antipoverty principle, the anti-exploitation principle, three equality principles (income equality, leisure-time equality and equality of respect), the anti-marginalization principle and the anti-androcentrism principle. Moreover, gender equity must be placed next to some other basic values in society, especially freedom and efficiency, to have an integrated normative approach to the division of labour within the modern welfare state. She then formulates and evaluates three ideal policy models for the future division of labour. The first model is called the Universal Breadwinner Model, which is largely similar to the Strong Combination Model in figure 9, emphasizing the equal division of professional and family labour, with a full participation and remuneration of both men and women in the labour market, but with less time for family needs. Most care activities are shifted from the family to the market sector (private or public). According to Fraser the model would have good results with respect to the antipoverty and anti-exploitation principle, moderate results for income equality, equality of respect and anti-marginalization, but poor results for leisure time equality and anti-androcentrism. She concludes that this ideal model is far removed from current reality (in the United States) which implies that it is not really feasible in the long run. Moreover, it does not sufficiently satisfy all five principles together.

An alternative is the Caregiver Parity Model, which is close to the Moderate Combination Model in figure 9, allowing one partner (man or women) to stay at home during a fairly long period of the life course. The caregivers then receive financial support of the government. Probably, in reality mostly women will actually play the role of caregiver, so most men will not be challenged to change their division of labour. This model would also score well with respect to the antipoverty and antiexploitation principle, moderately for leisure time equality, equality of respect and antiandrocentrism, but poorly for income equality and antimarginalization. Her conclusion is that this ideal model is also far removed from the real situation (in the United States) and therefore not really feasible. It also insufficiently satisfies the five principles.

To solve the basic 'combination problem' of both models, i.e. the 'workerism' of the first model and the 'domestic privatism' of the second one, Fraser (1994) proposes a new ideal future policy model, that satisfies all five norma-

tive principles of full equity. As such, the model combines the strong aspects of the former unsatisfying models and transforms their weaknesses into positive elements. Fraser (2006) calls this model the Universal Caregiver Model, stressing that the (caring) lifestyle of women should be much more the reference for the future division of labour and that men also have to change their lifestyle. This policy model is largely similar to the Complete Combination Model. Although the name of the model does not really suggest it, it aims at an equal division of both professional and family work among men and women, both on the individual and the family level. The model implies the deconstruction of the gendered opposition between 'breadwinning' (professional work) and 'care-giving' (family work). She thinks that this new model is very promising for the future development of societal life. In that perspective, we would propose to call it the Universal Breadwinner-Caregiver Model, to express the equal division of professional and family work among men and women and the necessity for both men and women to adjust their lifestyle and division of labour. Unfortunately, she does not further elaborate the new model but only concludes that much work needs to be done to develop this model for the future welfare states. We hope that our study is a useful contribution to that major challenge

This brief comparison shows the importance of a clear differentiation and explanation of the relevant future policy models, as the basis for a coherent policy analysis and debate. Therefore, it would be very useful to elaborate a more extensive comparison of these normative models and see how far the models can be streamlined under the broad normative umbrella of 'strong democracy'.

## 5. Policy perspectives for the realisation of the Complete Combination Model

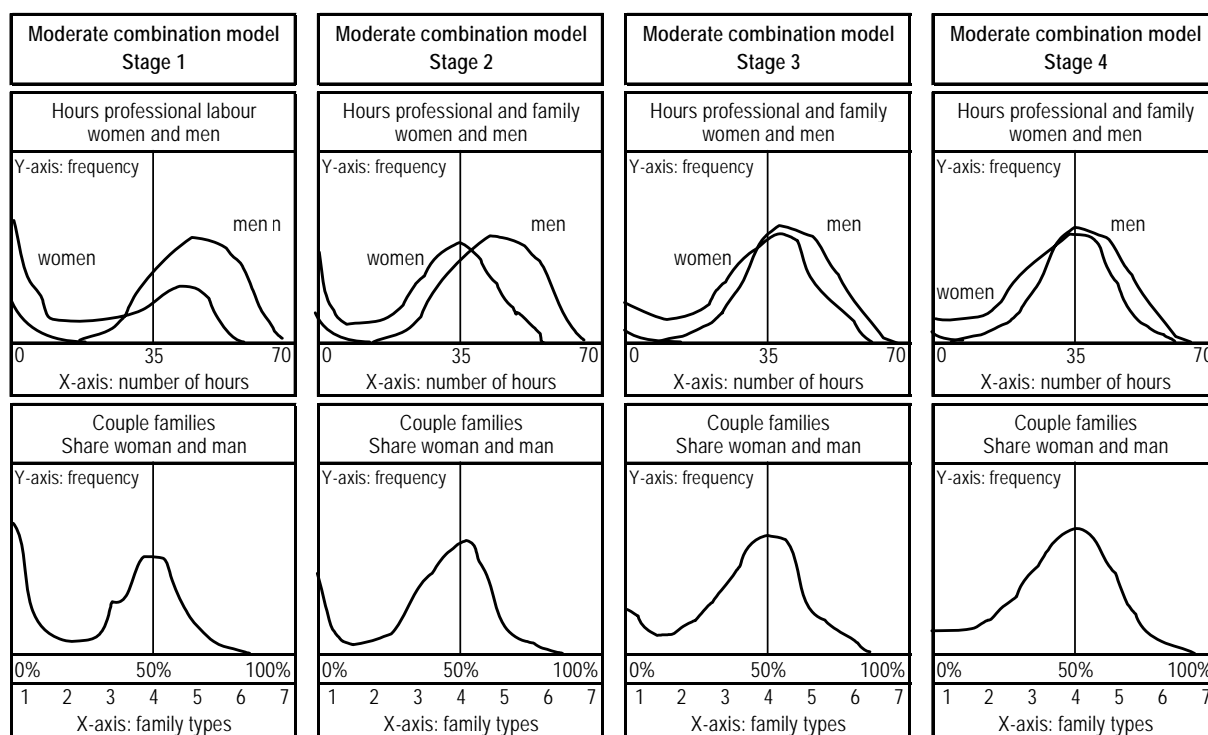
The *central hypothesis* is that the Complete Combination Model (CCM) forms the strongest long term orientation for future policy in all welfare states that want to develop a strongly democratic division of labour within families and organisations, unlike the fact that different (types of) countries are actually in a different stage of the Moderate Combination Model. Of all models, the CCM can offer the best balance between the basic values freedom, equality, solidarity and efficiency. Within the boundaries of that balance, it can sufficiently realise equality between men and women, both on the micro and on the macro level. At the same time, the CCM is most in line with the actual development during the past decades, implying a higher feasibility for the realisation. Again, although we start from this hypothesis, everyone is free to support and defend another model. This would actually lead to a constructive scientific and policy debate about this important societal issue.

The realisation of the CCM needs an integrated policy, both in the short and the long run. Integrated means that the main components are dealt with together in an interactive framework, on all levels and for all relevant actors of society. Realising such a long term model implies realising a sequence of short term models of for instance ten years, starting from the actual situation or stage (figure 12). Given the actual stage, all countries have to realise a feasible next stage of the Moderate Combination Model, taking some clear steps forward in the direction of the CCM. Of course, it remains an open question to what extent and how fast the different countries can realise the CCM. In each policy stage, a set of feasible goals has to be formulated with respect to the daily division of time and means, as the basis for a coherent policy plan covering different societal fields. To facilitate a positive long term result, the instruments and measures of that plan must be mutually supportive. By the end of each stage, the results must be evaluated in order to adjust the policy process during the next stage.

Because it is impossible to elaborate a full policy programme for all countries here, this final chapter will briefly present a number of long term policy perspectives that are essential to realise the CCM. Van Dongen (2007) offers a more detailed presentation. For every country, these perspectives have to be translated to a pragmatic policy programme to realise the next stage in the long policy process. This short overview can be compared with the policy perspectives presented by Schmid et al. (2002) and by Gornick & Meyers (2003), as they are derived from their normative model. We can also refer to Gauthier (1996), Den Dulk et al. (1999), Den Dulk (2001).



Figure 12. Stages towards the Complete Combination Model (professional labour)



### 5.1. Investing in a positive attitude towards a democratic division of labour

Given the necessary respect for individual circumstances, it is practically impossible and undesirable that the policy chosen implies a direct intervention in the daily family life of men and women. Impossible, because such a policy would not change their attitude to the division of labour nor increase their ability to adjust the professional situation. Undesirable, because such a policy would negatively stigmatise men and women who, for some reason, have not (yet) achieved a more equal division of labour. In that respect, many campaigns for an equal sharing of family tasks are not effective, because of the exclusive role model being used, in that way neglecting the gradual character of the normative model. Continuous investments to explain and promote the gradual model are much more useful in order to influence the habits of men and women and to realise a positive effect on their actual division of labour. These investments are most effective when they bring a specific message for all age groups, with extra attention for young men and women starting a steady relationship or their own household. The levers and instruments for such a policy are located in all segments of society: the labour market, public services such as schools, service centres for elderly people, sporting centres, artistic centres, the media etc.

Since the differences in qualifications between men and women have decreased considerably, more attention must go to the choice of the branch of studies. At the family level, it is impossible to remove all gender specific differences in the level and the specific course of education. Young people have to be made aware of the importance of their relative professional position, in terms of the number of hours, the sector, the profession, the wage, etc., when they start a steady relationship or their own family. They should get enough opportunities to find out to what extent the background, the daily duties, the attitudes and the aspirations of both partners are or can be brought on the same line. Therefore, the main aspects of the daily combination of professional and family life should become a part of the external day time education of children and young people.

### 5.2. A consequent full employment policy for all men and women in the professional population

In the first place, the narrow traditional policy goal of 'full employment for the male breadwinner' should be replaced by a general goal of *full employment for all men and women that are potentially professionally active* (finished the formal education, no chronic illness or handicap, no severe family problem, not on pension). The central principle behind this is the combination of the right and the duty for all men and women with respect to profes-

sional labour and family labour. The right to sufficient professional labour (and professional income) and to enough family time is then strongly related to the responsibility or duty to carry out sufficient professional labour and family labour during their life course. The combination of a professional right and duty implies that professional organisations, both private and public, have the responsibility to create sufficient jobs of sufficient quality. Full employment then implies that all potentially professionally active men and women can have sufficient hours of paid work that is also fulfilling in terms of the quality during a sufficiently long career. The complete combination model implies a gradual division of jobs in terms of the number of hours a week: 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 45, 50, 55 hours etc. Consequently, one should skip the dual notion 'full-time' versus 'part-time'. The official 35 hours job can be seen as the new 'normal full-time job', with sufficient differentiation according to the stage in the life course and the family context. One could for instance preserve mainly small jobs of 5-20 hours a week for students, larger jobs of 35-45 hours for adult men and women without children, moderate jobs of 25-35 hours for (young) parents and also smaller jobs of 5-20 hours for elderly people.

The combination of the right and duty with respect to professional labour and family labour demands for a clear formulation and recognition of the possible (temporary) *exemptions from professional labour and family labour*. The recognised exemptions from professional labour then imply the right to a sufficiently high replacement income. At this moment, several exemptions are already recognised, with a financial compensation by means of the social security system: illness, invalidity, pension and forced unemployment (lack of jobs or lack of employability). The CCM implies a further improvement of these arrangements, as far as is possible and useful. However, the general traditional exemption for housewives who (want to) stay at home (during a long time) to do the housework and raise the (young) children at home, also with a certain financial compensation arrangement, can no longer be maintained. This idea was already formulated by Cuvillier (1979), referring to the high societal (financial) cost of housewives for society, mainly being paid by professionally active women. The still existing exemption for housewives in most countries, should be replaced by a specific, temporary exemption for very specific or difficult family situations that do not allow both partners to combine a paid job with the family work. This recognised specific and temporary exemption, preserved for a relatively small group of persons/families, can then be combined with a sufficient temporary replacement income for the persons involved.

### 5.3. Transformation of the fiscal and social security system

The collective sector, with the fiscal system (including the social security system) at the income side and the provided public services at the expense side, always has a large impact on the production process on the different levels of the market system. All fiscal systems are (implicitly or explicitly) based on a certain normative view on the division of labour in society and, at the same time, support a certain division of labour. Therefore, it is essential that all countries that want to realise the CCM, try to develop a fiscal system that is both largely inspired by and sufficiently supportive for the realisation process toward the CCM. In this part, we propose some major changes of the fiscal system that are necessary and/or supportive for the realisation of the CCM.

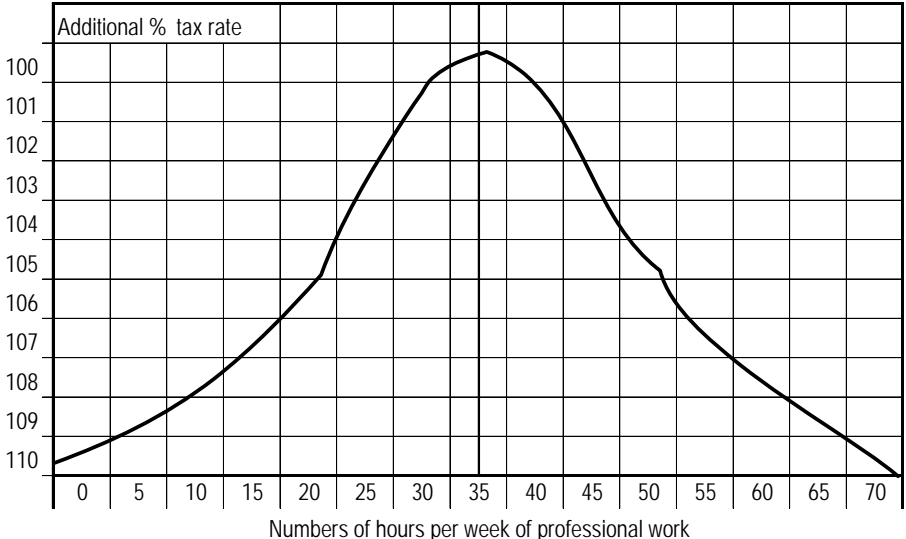
Since in most European countries both the total fiscal pressure and the fiscal pressure on human labour is very high, any policy to be effective and efficient in the long run has to create a *new balance with respect to the relative tax on human and non-human labour*. In that way, more means can be invested on all levels of society in the number and the quality of (low skilled) jobs. Especially jobs in the 'human intensive' organisations that offer all kinds of human services for individuals, families and companies, such as child care, education, elderly care, cultural activities, social consulting. At the same time, it is one of the foundations of an effective environmental policy, i.e. to minimize the waste of natural sources and material goods. Additionally, the collective human and material damage of the different activities must be correctly included in the fiscal tariffs, both preventively and correctively. In that way, a number of hidden inefficiencies can be avoided or corrected and all market actors are much more confronted with the real societal costs and benefits of their activities.

The *policy concerning income tax and social security contributions* is in most countries still fairly supportive for breadwinner families, largely at the cost of the combination families, encouraging and continuing the (temporary) withdrawal of mostly low skilled women from the labour market. The main policy has therefore missed its goal and has become counterproductive to a large extent. If European countries democratically choose to realise the CCM (or a similar model) in the long run, this choice must be consequently translated into the tariff structure of the fiscal system (including both the tax and social security system; OECD, 2003). This means that, period after period, the tariff structure of the income tax and social security system has to be adjusted, in order to support the

process towards the CCM. This policy has to serve several goals: a more equal division of labour among men and women as expressed by the clock curve, a balance between professional, family and social labour, an adequate division of all forms of human care between families, social and professional organisations, a flexible entry of young people in the labour market and a flexible withdrawal for elderly people and the improvement of the quality of the activities within families and companies. We present the main characteristics of a *possible new tariff system* based on the combined use of three central criteria: the total professional income, the average real number of paid working hours a week and the professional income per working hour.

The *total professional income* of men and women remains the basis for the calculation of the total fiscal contribution. Condition is that the real professional income is known by the fiscal administration. An additional criterion is *the average real number of working hours a week*. Within the gradual distribution of the CCM, the official 35 hours jobs is used as the new norm for a 'normal full-time job'. Around this new norm, a gradual tariff system is possible with gradually increasing tariffs (in percentages) to the extent that the real number of working hours a week of men and women becomes smaller or larger than this norm. The new tariffs should be determined in several steps, depending on the actual effect of the new tariff structure on the process to the CCM. Figure 13 shows this principle, setting the basic tariff for the 35-hours job on 100% and gradually increasing (downwards) the tariff for jobs with less hours a week (left side) or with more hours (right side). In that way, the fiscal system permanently encourages the development of the gradual division of professional labour in the CCM.

Figure 13. Basic principle of the new tariff system for the income tax and social security, according to the number of working hours



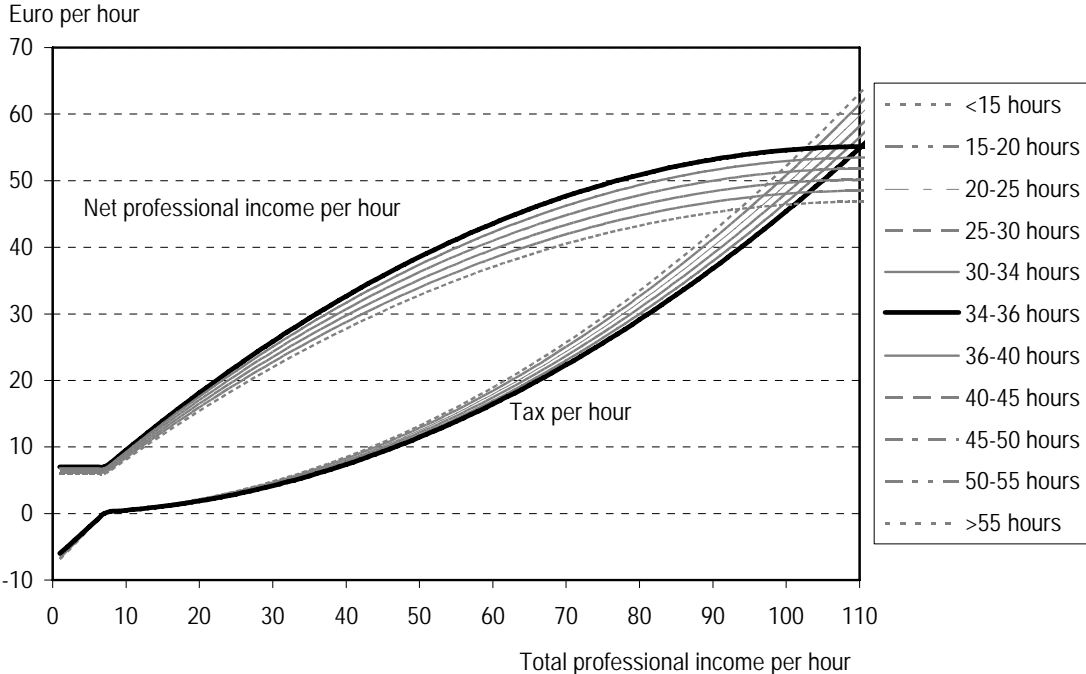
The third criterion is the *professional income per working hour*, as the expression of the real earning capacity of men and women. This criterion is essential for a (more) correct relation between the progressive tariffs and the real earning capacity. The fiscal tariffs (percentages of the total income) then gradually increase with the professional income per working hour. In that way, persons (and families) with a low earning capacity will pay less taxes for a certain number of working hours. For instance, a person earning 2.000 euro a month with 40 hours a week will pay less taxes per hourly wage than a person earning that amount with only 30 hours a week.

Based on these principles, figure 14 shows a simple version of a new integrated progressive tariff system for the income tax and social security contributions. For each category of working hours (legend) a curve of the net professional income per hour is given (upper curves, with scores on the Y axis, related to the number of working hours). These curves are the result of the difference between the diverse levels of the total professional income per hour (X-axis) and the progressive tax rate per hour (lower curves, with scores on the Y axis) for each category of working hours (legend). The progressive tax rates (percentages) that are the basis of the tax curves are not given in the figure.

The curves of the total net professional income per week (per month, per year) can be calculated by multiplying all values of the professional income per hour with the corresponding number of working hours per week (per month, per year). These curves are neither presented. The professional income per hour (X-axis) varies here from 0 to 110 euro. A very small group of people has still a (much) higher income per hour. If necessary, the scale on the X-axis can be adjusted.

In this figure, the jobs of 34 to 36 hours a week are taken as the normative basis for men and women who live as a single or in a couple family, without other dependent persons in the household. These jobs have the lowest tax rate per working hour for the different possibilities of total professional income per hour (X axis): the bold tax curve is the lowest of all. Consequently, this reference job results in the highest net income per working hour for every possible total professional income per hour for these men and women: the bold net income curve is the highest of all. Logically, the tax curve lies higher for smaller en larger jobs, according to the difference in hours with the reference job. In the same way, the net income curve lies lower for smaller en larger jobs, according to the difference in hours with the standard job.

Figure 14. New tariff system for the income tax and social security: the net professional income per hour as a result of the tax per hour and the total professional income per hour, for different numbers of working hours per week



The tariff system shows a gradual increase of the tax rate, based on the total professional income per working hour, expressing the real total productivity of employees, i.e. the capacity to produce their total wage cost (for the employer) by their professional labour. In that way, this tariff system aims at a correct location of every employee on the income and tax curve, according to the real total productivity in the actual production process.

On the curve of the net professional income per hour, one can determine the net minimum income per hour that is necessary to earn a sufficient total net income, when working a certain minimum hours a week. In this example the net minimum income per hour is 7,00 euro. In that case, a zero tax rate counts for a total income per hour of 7,00 euro. For higher values of the total income per hour, a progressive positive tax rate is counted, starting from a very low rate. For all lower levels of total income per hour, a progressive negative tax rate is used, resulting in a gradual net income subsidy for people with a (gradually) insufficiently high productivity level.

The basic aim of this system is that all men and women are correctly located on the gradual productivity ladder in the production system, based on their real productivity or earning capacity, expressed by the total professional income per hour. All men and women are then stimulated to increase their productivity and to climb on that ladder to a certain extent, leading to a higher personal and societal gain. Yet, this incentive is stronger for men and

women with a low to very low productivity, in order to increase their personal gain and to minimize the wage subsidies (or increase the fiscal revenues).

With this fiscal tariff system all organisations/employers are stimulated to employ the right person (with a certain qualification) on the right place (on the productivity ladder) in the production process. In that way, they can employ people in an efficient and maximal way, according to their need for (demand) and the availability (supply) of certain labour qualifications. At the same time, the policy permanently stimulates the employability of all people with a relatively low or very low productivity, increasing the benefit for the employees involved, but also for the organisations and the government. As such, it is an integrated and efficient policy for both the demand and the supply side, that can replace in most countries the actual complicated package of ad hoc fiscal employment measures for different vulnerable social groups with a low employability.

This tariff structure can be adjusted for other family types (couple family with dependent children and/or other dependent people, lone parent family, one person family etc.). The presence of dependent children demands more time for education/care within the family, in combination with external education/care. The same counts for other dependent persons (elderly people) or extra forms of dependency (long illness or handicap). To answer this need in the fiscal tariff system, these families (one or two partners) can be given a *fiscal time credit*. The fiscal time credit implies that the gradual tariff system starts from a reference job with a lower number of hours. The objective of the fiscal time credit is that adult partners with dependent children or other dependent persons still have enough working hours a week, but at the same time, that they are more available for the dependent persons, according to the total needs, and that they still have enough time for other activities. Persons with one healthy child, for instance, could receive a time credit of three or four hours a week, resulting in a reference job of 32 to 34 hours a week with the lowest fiscal tariff curve (for different hourly wages). The tariff system stimulates them to work 32 to 34 hours a week, but they remain free to choose otherwise, be it with a somewhat higher tariff curve. For a second and third healthy child and another healthy dependent person, one could give an additional time credit of for instance one or two hours a week. In this line, an additional time credit can be offered for the presence of persons with an extra need for family care, due to a handicap or long illness. A specific time credit is also possible for being a 'single parent', with the same goal, i.e. that the single parent maintain enough working hours a week, but is also more available for the child(ren) and has enough time left for other activities.

An additional time credit can be granted for 'being a single parent', in the strict sense of the word, when one parent is (almost) fully responsible for the actual education/care of the children. This time credit gives extra support to the single parent in order to be more available for the child(ren), but at the same time maintaining enough working hours a week and enough time for personal and social activities. An additional time credit can also be offered for the presence of a dependent elderly person or a person with an extra need for family care (child or adult), for instance due to a long lasting illness or handicap. This fiscal time credit can be combined with that for the presence of healthy children.

For specific professional groups with intrinsic long working hours, such as self-employed people or top managers, a negative tax credit could be used, leading to a reference job of for instance 44-46 hours a week.

One can discuss the feasibility of such a gradual fiscal tariff system. However, in one way or another, the application of such criteria is necessary to realise a fiscal system that is an effective lever for the development of the CCM. Let us notice here that all (real and possible) fiscal systems are based on a number of criteria, expressing a certain normative view on society and the division of labour. Until now, most fiscal systems were based on criteria that support the breadwinner model, i.e. the unequal division of labour between men and women, with all its negative aspects on the micro and macro level. One cannot beat about the bush, the realisation of the CCM requires a consequent and consistent fiscal system correctly and efficiently applying such normative criteria.

It is clear that such a reform must be realised in several stages. In the first stage, the remaining breadwinner facilities can be converted into new instruments that support the process to the CCM. In Belgium, f.i. the marriage quotient and the indirect social security rights are typical examples. In a period of five to ten years these facilities (and the financial means) can be converted to new facilities that support the realisation of the CCM. At the same time, the quality of low qualified jobs must be improved, preventing it from being a threshold for people with a weak professional position to take up a job. These people also must be able to experience that a job not only offers a (low) income, but also sufficient personal and social benefits.

It needs no further explanation that such an integrated tariff system is the opposite of the so called 'flat tax' (with some variants), which again gains more attention and support in certain political and business circles. According to our approach, the flat tax system is both unfair and inefficient for a strongly democratic market system and society.

#### *5.4. Adequate leave arrangements as a bridge between the professional life and the personal/ family life*

The goal of the new fiscal system in the CCM is that all men and women can plan their career in an efficient way, both individually and on the family level. It is essential that the basic working time is sufficiently in line with the family needs during the different family stages. Introducing and developing the new system will increasingly diminish the problems with the daily combination of professional and family work. The CCM wants to respect and further improve the existing leave arrangements to answer specific personal and family needs: free weekends, yearly paid holiday period, short leaves, leave for illness, leave for illness of a family member, leave for marriage, leave for pregnancy, birth giving and breastfeeding, parental leave, leave for palliative care and leave for the death of a family member.

Next to these leave arrangements, some families need additional leave opportunities for specific or urgent family circumstances. To the extent that families can realise their most preferred basic working time (number of hours and days a week, overtime, shift system), they need less additional leave arrangements. In that way, the CCM wants to minimize the long and complete interruption of the paid job, preserving it as the last possible solution of the combination problems of a family. The long and complete interruption should therefore maximally be replaced by a flexible family leave arrangement, especially to meet the urgent needs of families that cannot be answered by the basic working time arrangement and the existing leave arrangements. Every person/family can be granted a certain family leave credit, especially for short term and acute family needs. The government has to develop a decent financial compensation that also encourages companies to support the arrangement. According to the basic idea, the level of the financial compensation then decreases when the size (reduced working hours) and the duration of the family leave increases. In that way, much more people can be granted the family leave and a decent compensation, at the same time preserving the professional position in a maximal way.

#### *5.5. External day time education/care as a basic service for all children and parents*

Following the CCM, families and society as a whole need to be aware of the positive value of external education/care for children in all age groups, as a complement to the education within the family. This requires a general child-oriented policy, mainly based on the right of all children to enjoy a complete education, both within and outside the family, starting some weeks after birth. A well-balanced combination of good education and care within the family and in external living arrangements (minder family, day care centre, school, clubs, etc.) offers a strong basis for the development of children and for the daily combination of family and professional work of parents. Being young after all is a major factor of dependency, for which society bears a large collective responsibility. The government therefore has the responsibility to invest in sufficient decent external education/care facilities for all children (Van Dongen, 2004c, 2004d).

This means that the external education/care for children younger than three or four years is also conceived as a basic provision to complement and support the education within the family. To realise the CCM, it is necessary to develop a general basic package of external education/care for the youngest children. One could call it 'day time education/care for babies and toddlers', in the broad pedagogical sense of the word and adjusted to the needs of that age group, integrating all aspects. Organisationally and financially, such education for babies and toddlers should be maximally streamlined with the existing schools for older children. When, as f.i. in Flanders, the basic school is (almost) costless for parents, financed with fiscal means, the day time education/care for the youngest children should also be (almost) costless. After all, on a societal level, external day time education/care for the youngest children is more efficient, pedagogically and financially, than day time education/care by a parent staying at home for (mostly) one young child (Van Dongen, 2004c, 2004d). At the same time, one can ensure the necessary availability of the parent(s) for the children by restricting the number of hours of the basic (costless) package provided. Such a new system will also help to diminish the pedagogical and organisational gap between 'nursery/care' and 'education'. The existing services of day care centres, minder families and grandparents can be integrated in such a broad system of external education/care.

Moreover, sufficient additional external care (especially before and after education hours, during holidays and weekends or in periods of illness) must be available for all children, maximally streamlined with the basic provisions for education/care. These provisions have to facilitate parents to harmonize their family and professional life. Consequently, parents should pay a certain contribution for this additional care facilities, as an incentive to restrict the additional external care to an acceptable level. This contribution should be income related to support people in a weak financial situation. For people with special working hours who need a lot of additional care, (financial) support by the employers is both desirable and feasible, in that way efficiently sustaining the system.

### *5.6. Investing in an adequate mobility infrastructure*

Mobility is permanently a central element of the daily combination of family and professional life. The increasing problems with the daily mobility of many men and women have to be dealt with systematically. The central policy challenge here is to decrease the daily cost of mobility in terms of money and time, for families, firms and the government. This is related to the availability of the different travelling means, and the mechanism that regulates quantity, quality and the relative prices for the different actors. In the near future, a number of effective adjustments are necessary in order to improve the situation. Since we cannot go into detail here, a few central aspects are mentioned (De Borger & Proost, 2001; De Borger, 2005, De Ceuster, 2004; Van Dongen & Danau, 2003).

A major challenge is the control and reduction of private travelling by car. A sufficiently large number of people daily using their car must be encouraged to use other transport means. One way of dealing with it, is increasing strongly the variable cost of car use, which is related to a number of factors, such as the number of kilometres, the kind and age of the car, the region, the level and frequency of congestion. At the same time, the supply of decent, fast and frequent public transport must be strongly increased (train, tram, subway, busses), especially during rush hours, between and within the urban centres, sufficiently connected with the large motorways. The right prices have to be charged in order to have a good balance between demand and supply. Furthermore, systems of carpooling, collective school and business transport etc. can be stimulated. Complementary, also the use of bicycle and motorbike –in combination with public transport- should be encouraged, especially for short distances, both by means of a better and safer infrastructure and by effective financial incentives. Finally, more attention can go to the possibility to work at home partially, to save time for certain daily family tasks (f.i. bringing the children to school, preparing meals and shopping) and to diminish the transport burden for other people.

### *5.7. Investing in an efficient combination policy in organisations*

The CCM also aims at an efficient combination policy in professional organisations. Companies must be encouraged to fit their internal work organisation to the needs of the family life of their employees. A gender and family friendly work organisation implies that companies invest more in their employees, the social organisation, the equal position of men and women in the daily combination of their professional and family life. In the first place, the government can activate and support the scientific research on this domain in order to evaluate the new approach and strategies for their relevance and feasibility.

An efficient combination policy in and by companies wants to develop and apply the right mix of combination facilities for the different groups of employees, starting from the needs and possibilities of both the employees and the organisation. The main goal is to find sufficient win-win situations as the basis for effective action plans. These facilities refer to working time arrangements, leave arrangements, work place options and work organisation, different provisions (child care, commuter traffic, personal and family services and financial arrangements) and aspects of the quality of the job and the organisational culture. With such a 'family & business management' each organisation can compose 'package deals' for different (groups of) employees, maximally meeting the needs of the employees and the organisational conditions of the company.

To realise such a 'combination management', organisations can make use of professional counselling by the application of specialised audit instruments which have been developed during the past years. We can mention the German Work & Family Audit ('Audit Beruf und Familie', Leist, 2005), the European Work & Family Audit (Leist, 2005), the instrument 'When work works' that is being applied in the USA (Gallinsky, 2005) and the Flemish 'Family & Business Audit' (FBA) (Danau & Van Dongen, 2002; Van Dongen et al., 2002; Van Dongen, 2005b). Governments can encourage and support companies to apply such 'Family & Business Audit' as the basis for a new and effective combination policy.

The Flemish 'Family & Business Audit' (FBA) was developed during the period 2000-2005 by means of several case studies in Flemish companies. The FBA can be used in all sorts of professional organisations and deals with the different aspects of the work organisation. The main goal is to improve the daily combination of professional and family work, both for the employees and the organisation. The process and result of the FBA are integrated in the general management process of the organisation. The FBA instrument consists of a diagnostic instrument and a management plan. The diagnostic instrument firstly describes the internal organisation and the family and business policy of the company, as seen by the main stakeholders. Experiences, preferences, conditions, barriers and motives are compared. At the same time, essential data are gathered about the daily life of the employees. The results of the diagnosis are the basis for a discussion about the combination policy to be followed, leading to a specific management proposal. In a second stage, also a 'Family & Business Quick Scan' (FBQ) was con-

structured for organisations to get acquainted with the broad issue and to stimulate them to apply the FBA, with the guidance of a specialised external audit office. At the end of 2006, two commercial consultancy organisations received a licence from the Flemish government to implement the FBA in Flemish organisations during the coming years.

Complementary to the company oriented instruments, it is desirable that from the start of their professional career, all employees/families get sufficient individual support or guidance for the planning of their life course and professional career. Different sort of organisations can offer this kind of guidance.

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