



Anna-Maija Lehto – Hanna Sutela

Gender Equality in Working Life

Tilastokeskus
Tilastoarkisto

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Inquiries:

*Anna-Maija Lehto
Hanna Sutela
Tel. +358 9 17341*

*SVT Suomen virallinen tilasto
Finlands officiella statistik
Official Statistics of Finland*

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Foreword

This publication describes how gender equality manifests itself in today's working life in Finland and analyses the changes it has undergone. The publication exploits the extensive interview material collected with Statistics Finland's Quality of Work Life Surveys – especially the latest one conducted in autumn 1997 – containing data on approximately 3,000 wage and salary earners. Previous rounds of this survey, also covering the entire wage and salary earning population, were carried out by Statistics Finland in 1977, 1984 and 1990. All the surveys have been implemented as personal, face-to-face interviews.

The gender perspective has a long tradition in the reporting of the Quality of Work Life Surveys (e.g. Lehto: Women's and Men's Working Conditions, 1988 and Lehto: Quality and equality of work life, 1992). This present report covers equality in working life more extensively than has been done before. It also contains previously unpublished data concerning 1990 on reconciliation between work and family and manifestations of equality and discrimination at workplaces. Coupled with the latest related research findings, this report helps in forming an exhaustively descriptive picture of the changes that have taken place in the nineties. The findings presented in this report are significant because they are the only ones in this field which are nationally representative and are based on consistent methodology applied over an extended time period.

Findings of the latest, 1997 Quality of Work Life Survey have already been published in Statistics Finland's report entitled "Efficient, More Efficient, Exhausted". The report is an overview of the changes that have taken place in Finnish employees' working conditions over the two decades covered by the survey series. Articles on time pressure, fixed-term employment relationships, workplace intimidation, young people's working conditions and attitudes to new, experimental working hour arrangements have also been published in Statistics Finland's periodical "Hyvinvointikatsaus" (Welfare review).

Planner Anna-Maija Lehto, PhD, and Researcher Hanna Sutela were responsible for the 1997 Quality of Work Life Survey. They also compiled this present report and the publications referred to above. Assistant Statistician Kirsi Toivonen produced the lay-out of the publication.

Risto Lehtonen
Director, Social Statistics
Statistics Finland

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1 *Towards equality in working life?*

On the concept of equality

Gender equality has been given a host of meanings over the three decades in which women's movement and women's studies have gone hand in hand in Finland. In broad terms it could be said that the thinking has shifted from the idea of similarity to that of equal worth and, through woman-centredness, to an emphasis on the significance of gender. (Hirdman 1990, Silius 1992, Saarinen 1992, Kinnunen & Korvajärvi 1996, Anttonen 1997.)

In seeking similarity, there was a wish to demonstrate how the position of women was poorer than that of men in, for example, pay, career advancement, distribution of management positions, etc. The aim was to support women so that they might achieve as good a position as men. In other words, the position of men was regarded as the yardstick and worth striving for. Women's and men's strong occupational segregation was seen as the core problem in pay differentials. So a dismantling of this segregation was embarked upon in order to remove pay differentials. However, this met with considerable difficulties. The segregation grew more intense and was accelerated by a period of growth in welfare services when occupational fields typical of women attracted people into the labour force.

The woman-centred orientation in women's movement and women's studies stressing the speciality of women also produced a clear change of thought in the policy regarding pay: the demand now became for equal pay for work of equal worth. In other words, equality was no longer sought for by adapting women to a pay system that followed the male norm. The problem was, rather, seen to lie in the fact that the work which women generally do – and also like to do – was undervalued in terms of pay. Various work evaluation systems have been set up. With these, too, the difficulty has been the apportioning of the power to define the criteria by which work is evaluated, and the distribution of value to the aspects of work typically done by women.

Thinking emphasising the speciality of women accepted women's own orientation, like their readiness to work in caring occupations, per se. From this viewpoint, occupational segregation is not a problem. On the contrary: as late

as in the early 1990s, it still seemed that women's position in the labour markets would be quite secure for some time precisely thanks to this selection of typically female work. The ageing and deteriorating health of the population made it look as if the need for care work would naturally increase, thereby guaranteeing growth in the demand for female labour. In reality, things worked out differently, as the caring occupations failed to receive the necessary resources.

Today's women studies have largely abandoned the approach that stresses the speciality of women. The concepts of woman-centredness and women's speciality received a lot of criticism, particularly from feminists who had been influenced by post-modernist trends. In their opinion, no "total discourse" should be constructed about women and, particularly, not of women's experiences. Women are different from one another and in different positions. Women, too, use power, including in their relationships with other women. The latest feminist trends have also detached themselves from causal explanations and the search for structures and these have been replaced by talk about discourses and discursive practices. The objective is not to explain how things really are but how they are explained (Anttonen 1997, 50). Instead of defining the speciality of women, the studies now focus on the dismantling – or breaking into component parts – of the concepts of a woman and the female subject and gender. The interest now is centred on how gender is presented or how it is produced in different places and discourses at different times.

This has brought us quite a distance from the concepts of equality and the speciality of women. Previously, it was relatively obvious how the women's and feminist studies produced the concepts and theoretical thinking which could be applied, for example, to improve women's position in working life in, say, pay policy matters. Today, it is much more difficult to find a connection between feminist studies and equality in working life.

However, pursuing such a connection is important. Throughout the history of feminist studies each stage has always taught us something new, despite the fact that the trends in the studies have been fairly critical of each other. Although in research terms the concept of equality could today be viewed as somewhat old-fashioned, in gender policy parlance it is still highly effective and serviceable. In broad terms, the crux of the matter continues to be that the issue of female subordination in working life remains an unsolved issue. Women continue to be in a worse position than men and there is still a hierarchical difference between the genders.

In speaking of equality in working life, one should also consider how the new emphases of the feminist trends could be exploited. For example, the idea that gender is continually produced in the practices of working life has brought the study of working life closer to everyday processes in which the places of women and men, their freedom of movement and, for example, the value of their work is defined.

Equality in work could be defined as equal opportunities for women and men to realise their ambitions in working life. If, on the other hand, one considers the promotion of equality, which presupposes the studying and establishing the status quo as to how far we are today from the ideal, it is imperative that all the knowledge produced by feminism is put to full use. This being the case it is not enough to just produce conventional statistical indicators on employment, unemployment, pay differential, women's proportions in managerial positions or occupational segregation by gender. It is equally important to emphasise the kind of research data that depict different processes of change in working life and look for the manifestation and significance of gender in them. A number of methodologies and research approaches are, therefore, needed. Gendering processes can best be found locally by using qualitative research methods. From the point of equality policy, again, it is important that such knowledge can be combined with the data produced at the general level on the position of the genders.

Pressures for change in working life

In the past couple of decades, studies of working life have, to a great extent, been studies of change. Change has been described with innumerable concepts depending on branch of science and research orientation. The factors lying behind these changes and the studies into them have been, above all, economic ones. In the 1980s and 1990s, the economies of the countries in Western Europe have faced at least three types of different challenges: internationalisation of economic relations and intensification of global competition, effects of the new information technology in all areas of the economy and political attacks against the financing of the services of a welfare state. (Rantalaiho & Julkunen 1992, 2).

These challenges manifest themselves in the growing prevalence of philosophies based on efficiency and productivity and the application of methods aimed toward greater flexibility in work. The pressures for change that arise for economic reasons are usually transformed into new points of emphasis in management and labour use strategies. As far as the status of women is concerned, it is interesting to consider how these pressures for change in working life have infiltrated workplaces and individual employment relationships and how gender is bound up in this process.

The talk of productivity and flexibility has taken on problematic features for women's work, too, for many of these management and labour market strategies of the 1990s overlook the individual employee and his or her experience entirely and often mean that no importance is attached to the gender of the employee, either. The models of productivity and flexibility function as

apparently neutral instruments as far as gender is concerned while, at the same time, observing largely male ideals of competition and efficiency.

This can easily have undesirable consequences, especially where women are concerned, for it is mainly they who are expected to show flexibility, as reflected in the figures on fixed-term employment relationships, part-time work and unemployment. On the other hand, where individual productivity targets at the organisational level place emphasis on quantitative performance, typically female care, human relations and expert occupations tend to be underrated because the accent in these is on qualitative features, which are difficult to measure. Strategies of this kind also often involve pressures towards individual agreements on conditions of employment, in which women are in a weaker position on account of their subordinate status and poorer negotiating power.

Thus, Finnish women's position in working life can be viewed from many perspectives. To achieve as wide a picture as possible, it is advisable to move at different observation levels and use several information sources, like diverse statistics and studies. However, the results may be difficult to outline unless the more general factors that have a bearing on changes in working life are also taken into account. The most influential of these factors in this decade must have been the aspirations for more productivity, efficiency and flexibility. In what follows I am endeavouring to combine these different perspectives, starting from labour market level phenomena which are described by statistics

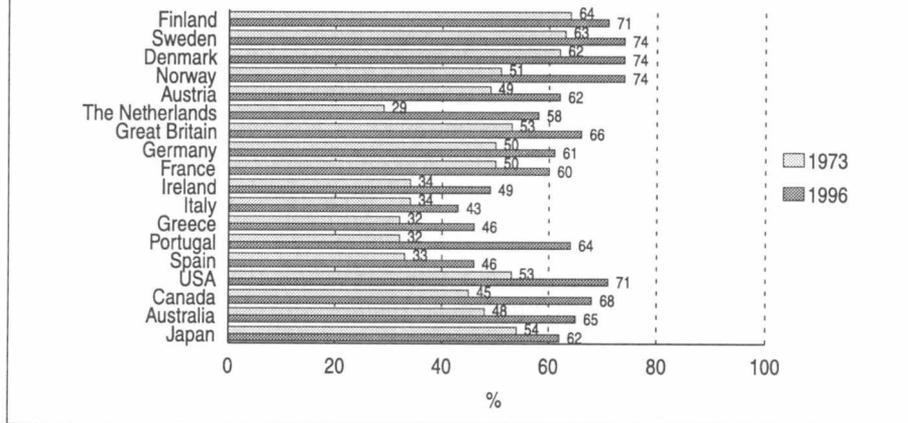
Statistical indicators of equality in working life

International labour statistics show that for some considerable time Finnish women have been in an exceptional position, in that women's participation in work outside the home has been more common in Finland than in any other OECD country since as long ago as the 1960s (from whence comparable statistics between countries have been available, Employment Outlook 1988). Among the Nordic Countries, Finland was, admittedly, overtaken later by Sweden and Denmark, but only by virtue of these countries' high proportions of part-time female employees. If the number of hours worked per person of population of working age is used as the measure of participation in gainful employment, Finland is still the leader even in the 1990s (Jonung & Persson, 1993).

The particularly high participation of Finnish women in paid work has been explained by, among other things, characteristics of the Finnish culture and economy, such as its late and rapid industrialisation and the transfer of the agricultural partnership model of working to industrial and post-industrial so-

Figure 1.1. Women's participation in the labour force 1973 and 1996

Proportion of women aged 15 to 64, OECD



ciety, or the fact that the male breadwinner model has never really taken root in Finland. (e.g. Rantalaiho 1994, Julkunen 1994.) Another important factor has been the symmetry of the educational levels of Finnish women and men. Today, the Finnish women participating in working life are more highly educated than their male counterparts.

In international terms, women's participation in paid work outside the home has increased very rapidly over the past couple of decades. The proportion of women in the total labour force, for example, has been going up in all the OECD countries. A growth of over 15 percentage points has been recorded in Norway, the Netherlands, Ireland, Portugal, the United States, Canada and Australia. (OECD 1997).

The increased proportion of women in the working population has meant, above all, a great change in the relationship between the genders in the labour market. As the proportion of women in the labour force has gone up, that of men has simultaneously gone down in many countries. The age profiles of women's and men's labour force participation are thus growing similar. Women no longer withdraw from the labour market to the same extent as before in order to look after the family and children. In the background of this trend attracting women increasingly to paid work are a number of factors, such as demographic changes, risen level of education, changed demands of young women, economic necessity, as well as changes in the structure of employment and demand for labour. These factors began to be influential as early as the 1960s and 1970s, but in the 1980s and 1990s their importance has increased even more. (ECE 1994).

This has, of course, also been the aim of the struggle for equality: women's participation in the labour force has been considered desirable, particularly be-

cause of the economic independence it brings. Various programmes concerning equality in working life, e.g. Equal opportunities 1990, have quoted the removal of obstacles to participation in working life as their primary objective. In the European Union, the raising of employment among women is at present very strongly under debate (Guidelines for Member States' Employment Policies, 1997).

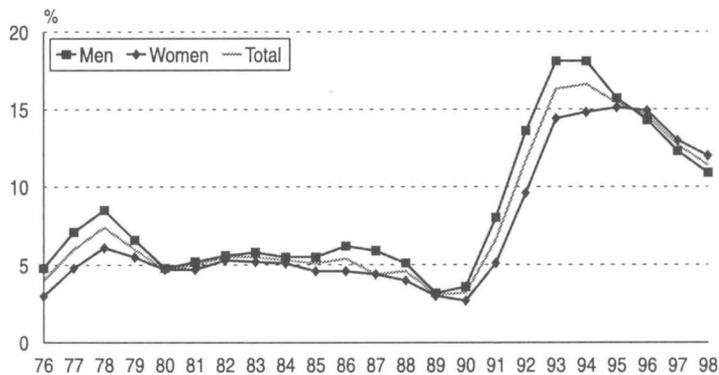
At the same time, however, many contradictory tendencies and negative influences are also visible, focussing precisely on the female labour force. The change has been toward flexible, insecure and often part-time employment relationships. Women have not, after all, integrated into working life by taking up places in the permanent labour market, but have joined an employment system in which secure, full-time employment relationships and opportunities for lifelong employment are becoming rarer.

In very recent years, the change has unexpectedly demonstrated that the proportion of women in the Finnish labour force has fallen. This downward trend can also be seen in the other Nordic Countries. On the other hand, countries such as the United States, Canada and Britain have caught up with Finland in women's labour force participation rates. The decrease in the participation rates of both women and men in the Finnish labour force during the 1990s can largely be explained by a growth in the proportion of students, and not by the fact that women would have stayed at home, for the number of women caring for their own home has remained constant at around 100,000 people.

In terms of long-term development, a peculiar feature of the Finnish labour markets has been that unemployment has been lower among women than men. In most countries, the situation has been quite the opposite. Finland has now lost this peculiarity, too. As, after the worst of the recession, unemployment

Figure 1.2. Rates of unemployment, 1976–1998

Labour Force Survey, Statistics Finland



There is a break in the series between 1988 and 1989.

has started to fall, it has done so distinctly more slowly among women. For the last three years, the female unemployment rate has been higher than the male one. According to labour force statistics, the respective rates of unemployment for women and men were 12.0 and 10.9 per cent in 1998.

One feature that illustrates the relative weakening of women's labour market position is the increase in fixed-term employment relationships. Fixed-term employment relationships are distinctly more common among women than men. During the 1990s, their proportion has gone up in respect of both genders but, according to the 1997 Quality of Work Life Survey, as many as 21 per cent of the female and 14 per cent of the male wage and salary earners were in employment relationships agreed for a fixed term only. In Finland, employment relationships of this kind are used particularly for the work of white-collar employees in the public sector. In Europe-wide comparisons, only Spain has a higher proportion of fixed-term employees than Finland.

One basic indicator that is almost always quoted in discussions about equality in working life is the pay differential between men and women. In the Nordic Countries, the differential has generally been smaller than, for example, the average among the OECD countries. The gap narrowed very rapidly in the 1970s, while in the 1980s it widened slightly and in the 1990s it has remained at around the same level of about 20 per cent. Better education generally means better pay. It does, however, seem to be a permanent trait for women to earn only about 80 per cent of men's pay, no matter how high their educational level is.

Changes in labour force structure

A central factor in the increase in women's paid work and their proportion of the labour force has been the global trend of change in the structure of economies and thus in the demand for labour. The change concerns, essentially, a shift from primary production and manufacturing to the production of services. The demand for labour in manufacturing did not increase in Finland during the 1970s and 1980s, i.e. not even in the pre-recession period. Significantly more jobs were created in the female-dominated service industry than were lost in the male-dominated primary production and manufacturing industries.

In Finland and the Nordic Countries in general, the growth of the services sector has, at the same time, meant growth of the public sector. It has also meant growth in paid employment, since growth in entrepreneurship has been negligible in the female-dominated services sector. While women make up around half of all Finnish wage and salary earners, they make less than one third of all entrepreneurs, the figures for agricultural and non-agricultural entrepreneurs being about the same.

The structural changes, i.e. the growth of the services and public sectors, have coincided with a significant rise in the educational level which, in turn, has also increased the proportion of women on the labour market. These factors have had their effect on the gendered occupational segregation, often quoted as an equality issue, which is in Finland sharper than elsewhere.

The growth trend in both women's and men's employment changed completely, however, during the recession of the 1990s. The mass unemployment that was then experienced had its own effects on relations between the genders on the Finnish labour market. These are considered in more detail in the following.

Occupational structure

The change in the occupational structure among women and men over the past two decades clearly reflects the decrease in manufacturing work. Women's paid work in Finland can hardly be said to be characterised by industrial work any more. Over the period concerned, its share has declined from 18 to 8 per cent. The amount of office work, too, has decreased. In the services sector, work has also decreased considerably in the cleaning field. Over the last two decades or so, the growth areas in women's employment have included health and social care work and teaching.

Manufacturing work has also contracted as an occupational field for men (from 40 to 26 per cent). Correspondingly, the proportion of other occupations has been growing steadily. Commercial, office and technical work have all in-

Figure 1.3. Female wage and salary earners by occupation
Quality of Work Life Surveys 1977, 1984, 1990 and 1997

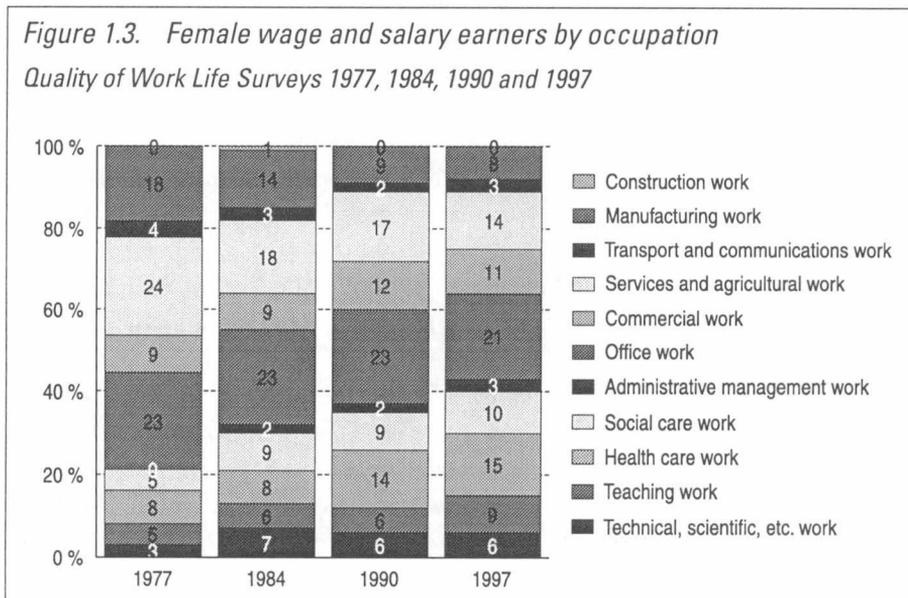
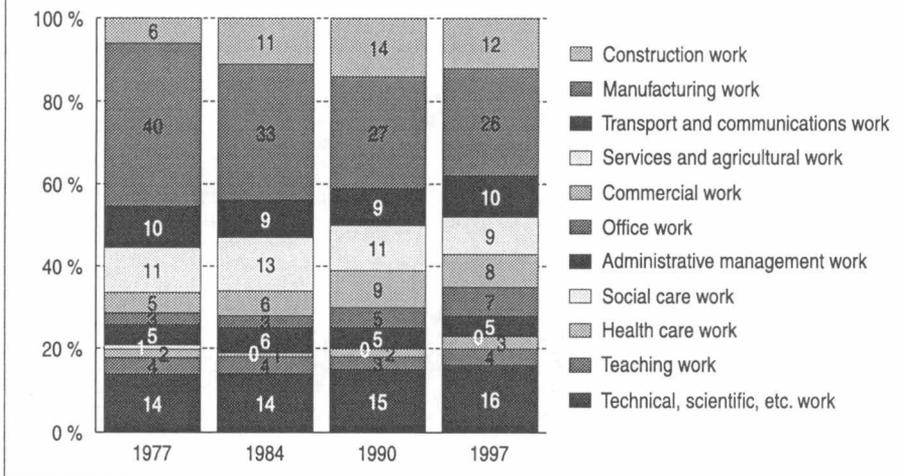


Figure 1.4. Male wage and salary earners by occupation

Quality of Work Life Surveys 1977, 1984, 1990 and 1997



creased somewhat from the 1970s. Construction work has fluctuated strongly, having reached its peak at the last turn of the decade.

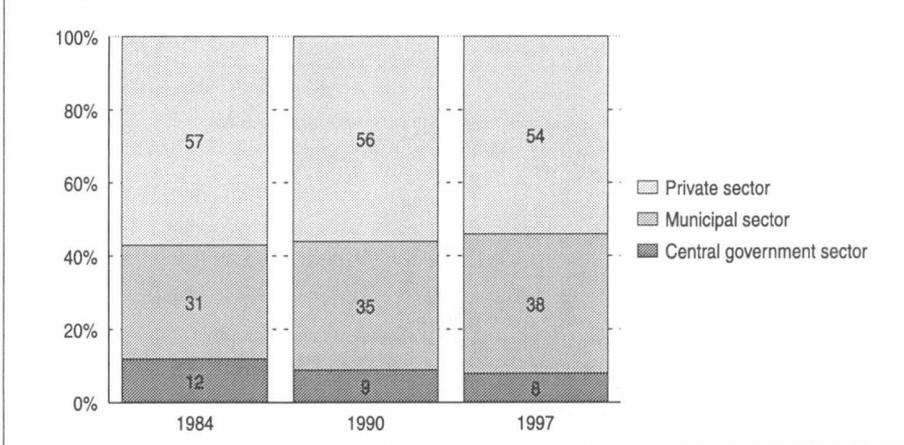
In other words, occupational structure has undergone a fairly large change in Finland. When contemporary working life and its employees are discussed, the group referred to is quite different from the one it would have been a few decades ago. This has a bearing on the evaluation of equality, too.

Employer sectors

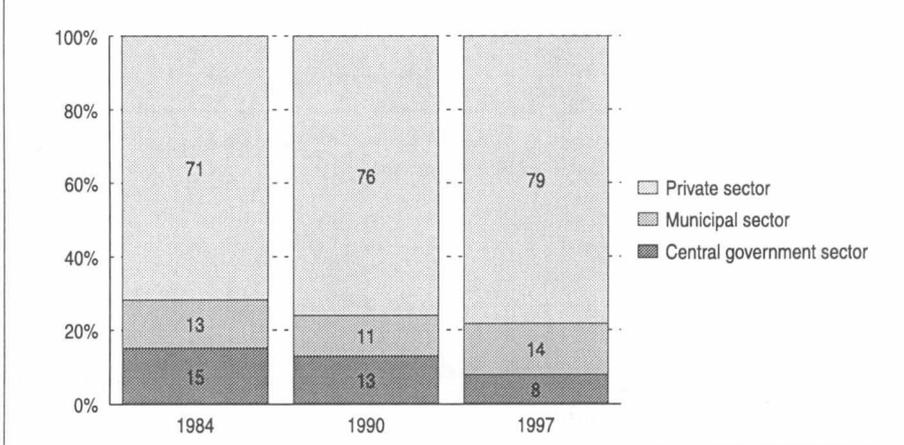
The public sector has been an extremely important employer of women, particularly in the Nordic Countries. The proportion represented by the public sector has developed furthest in Sweden, but Finland is a good second. The area of public sector services has been very wide: education, healthcare, children's day-care and social services are all almost exclusively in the control of the central and municipal governments. In the Nordic Countries the public sector is, indeed, the ally of women, since it has on the one hand offered work opportunities and, on the other, the services needed by those who go out to work.

In Finland, almost half (46 per cent) of all female wage and salary earners work in the public sector. Before the recession, it still looked as if employment for women would be well protected precisely because it was concentrated in the public sector. However, with the recession employment decreased rapidly in these fields, too, although later than in the private sector. Many of the negative features of the labour market, such as unemployment and temporary em-

*Figure 1.5. Female wage and salary earners by employer sector
Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997*



*Figure 1.6. Male wage and salary earners by employer sector
Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997*



ployment relationships, have indeed affected employees in the public services. Women working for the municipalities, in particular, have found themselves in a situation in which the former "good employer" has become very untrustworthy. The central government sector's proportion as an employer of women has contracted particularly as a result of incorporation of state-owned companies like the postal services.

Occupational segregation

The gendered segregation of occupations has often been regarded as a major obstacle to implementing equality. For this reason it is in a way paradoxical

that in countries – like the Nordic Countries – where women's equality, according to many indicators, is at its most highly developed, occupational segregation is simultaneously at its peak. This segregation also perseveres stubbornly, although a little mixing has occurred during the past 20 years.

While in the Nordic Countries about half of all working women are in purely "female" occupations (in which 80 per cent of employees are women), only one quarter of the female labour force of other industrialised countries is concentrated in the same way, according to a study carried out by Helinä Melkas and Richard Anker for the ILO (1998). It is clear that the welfare services of the Nordic Countries have produced both work opportunities for women and a record division of work to men's and women's jobs.

A study (Sirpa Kolehmainen-Lindén, 1998) of occupational segregation over an extended time period (1970-1990) found that the developments have been totally opposite in men's and women's occupations: the concentration of the labour force on men's occupations decreased, while that on women's occupations grew. The majority of the new equally divided occupations are men's occupations in which the gender make-up became feminised. Some examples of these are the occupations of veterinary surgeon and doctor, lawyer, newspaper reporter, advertising executive and advertising artist, computer operator, personnel manager and bank section manager. The feminising occupations are generally those demanding good education, or expanding occupational groups or service occupations. Masculinising occupations, on the other hand, are most often in the shrinking manufacturing and agricultural sectors, where the number of female employees, in particular, has decreased rapidly.

On the whole, it is culturally more acceptable in Finnish working life for a woman to step into a male area than vice versa. In traditional "skilled men's" work, women's opportunities have hardly grown. On the other hand, in the strongly growing service fields the instability of positions has also brought opportunities for women.

Socio-economic groups

The change in the occupational structure has also brought a change in the socio-economic groups toward an increasing proportion of white-collar wage and salary earners. In 20 years, the proportion of those classifiable as blue-collar groups has fallen in Finland from around one third to around one quarter among female wage and salary earners. The majority of men still belong to this group. The proportion of those classifiable as upper white-collar employees has risen briskly among both women and men, a little more so among women. Now women make up about 43 per cent of all upper white-collar employees, albeit only 24 per cent of those in management positions.

Figure 1.7. Female wage and salary earners by socio-economic group
Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997

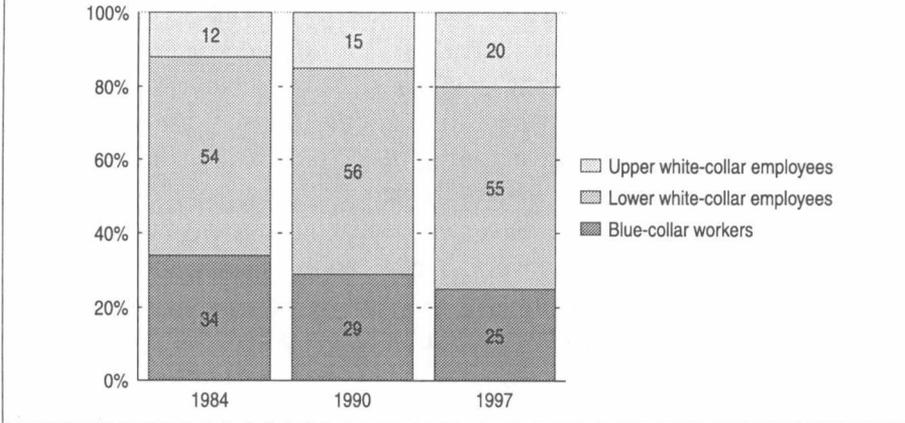
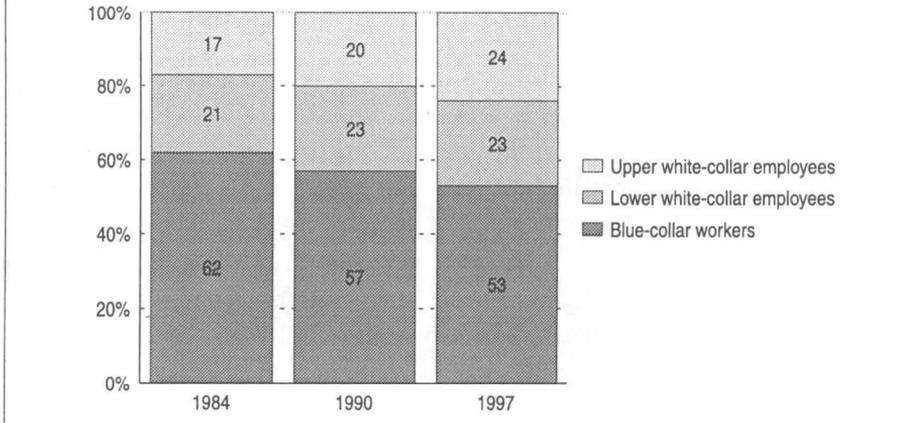


Figure 1.8. Male wage and salary earners by socio-economic group
Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997



Educational structure

The change that has taken place in the education structure of the Finnish wage and salary earning population has been phenomenal. A couple of decades ago, 43 per cent of all female wage and salary earners had attained some qualification beyond basic education. In twenty years, that figure has risen to 77 per cent. Today, 21 per cent of Finnish female wage and salary earners have a tertiary qualification, while in 1977 the proportion was only 9 per cent.

The educational level of Finnish male wage and salary earners has also risen strongly, but the growth in women's educational level has been a little faster. The proportion of men who have attained qualifications beyond basic

Figure 1.9. Female wage and salary earners by educational level
Quality of Work Life Surveys 1977, 1984, 1990 and 1997

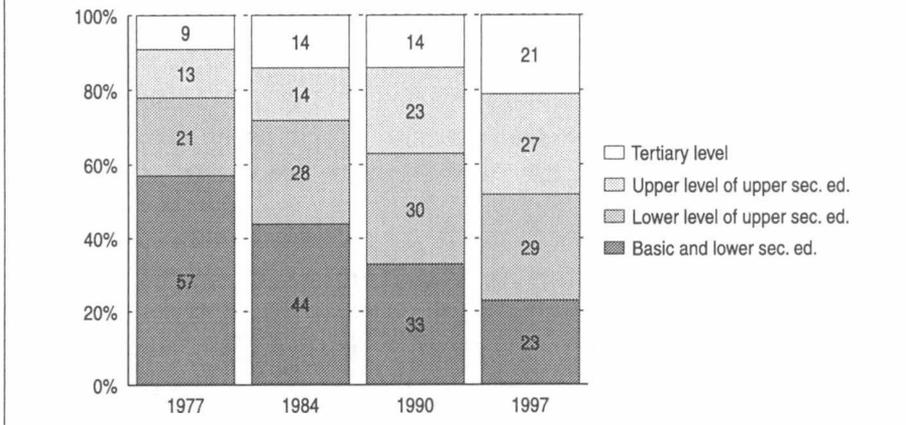
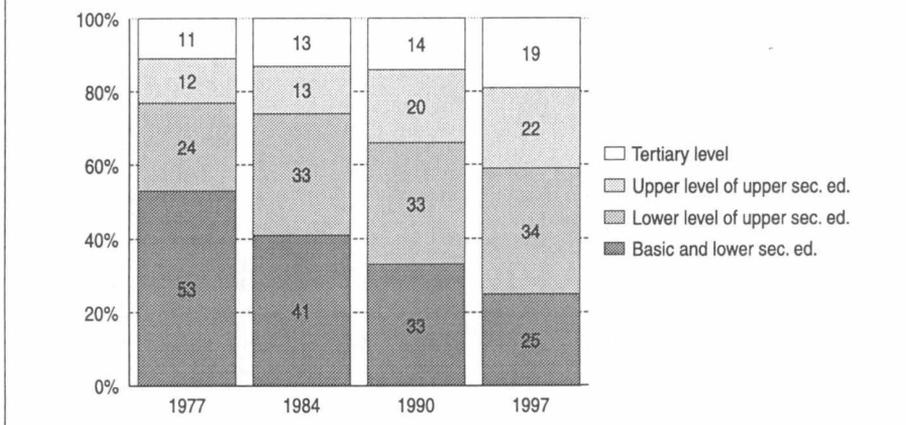


Figure 1.10. Male wage and salary earners by educational level
Quality of Work Life Surveys 1977, 1984, 1990 and 1997



education has risen from 47 to 75 per cent. The faster rise of women's educational level is also visible in the figure on tertiary qualifications, which among men has risen from 11 to 19 per cent.

A contributor to the risen educational level of the wage and salary earning population is also unemployment, which hits hardest those without educational qualifications. Occupational groups in which the educational level is lower than the average have disappeared among female wage and salary earners: manufacturing, cleaning and sales work have all contracted. With men, too, the contraction of fields like transport and construction has contributed to the rise in the educational level.

In international comparisons, Finland is distinguished by its greater proportion of educated women compared to men. Within the European Union,

Finland is one of the few countries in which the proportion of those who have completed at least upper secondary education is greater among the female than male population (aged 25-64). Other countries in this group include Ireland, Sweden and Portugal. Of these countries, Sweden and Finland are, for the time being, in a class of their own in the proportion of those with qualifications. In Finland 64 per cent, in Sweden 74 per cent, in Ireland 49 per cent and in Portugal 19 per cent of women have qualifications of at least upper secondary level. (Women and Men in Finland, 1998/Education at a Glance, 1996).

Labour market changes during the recession

The economic recession in the early 1990s and the period of growth that followed have changed the structure of the female and male wage and salary earning population in Finland. Unemployment statistics have shown that the female unemployment rate has not gone down as fast as the male one after the recession. This is also clearly visible in the employment statistics: the number of female jobs decreased by around 200,000 during the recession, but only 50,000 had returned by 1999. Contrastingly, of the 250,000 male jobs lost at around the same time, 120,000 have returned. (Labour Force Statistics, annual means for 1990, 1994 and 1998).

Appendix Tables 1. and 2. describe the changes in employment in the 1990s in the female and male wage and salary earner groups by detailed occupational classification. A clear drop has taken place in the 1990s in women's office work, which has hardly risen from the decline it went through during the recession. As recently as ten years ago, secretarial and office work still employed 132,000 women, but the number has now fallen to 105,000. Additionally, the occupational fields of banking, insurance, travel, etc. have contracted by approximately 20,000 employees and today this group only comprises 41,000 female wage and salary earners. In the female occupational fields, permanent reductions are also apparent in agricultural work (incl. entrepreneurs), in which the number of employed persons has decreased by 30,000. Commercial work has oscillated visibly with the recession. In 1990, the number of female employees in this field was 138,000, by 1995 the figure had fallen to 102,000, but in the 1998 statistics it had gone back up to 120,000.

Women's employment in transport and communications work has also declined distinctly. In 1998, the field only employed 23,000 women after a reduction of 10,000 from the time before the recession. The reduction has been biggest in postal and data communications work. A radical change has taken place during and after the recession in women's manufacturing work. A decade ago, 115,000 women were still employed in manufacturing, during the deepest recession the figure was down to 74,000 but has subsequently

only come back to 81,000. The contraction has been greatest in textile, clothing and leather work in which women's jobs have fallen from 35,000 to 15,000. Electrical and electronics industry is the only field showing fractional growth from the worst recession year of 1992 and the field now employs 11,000 women. Food industry work and packing and warehousing work have both contracted as fields of female employment in manufacturing.

The main class of service work also decreased almost permanently during the recession with regard to female employment. Ten years ago the class employed 196,000 women but in 1998 only 149,000. The most dramatic drop occurred in cleaning work: from 69,000 to 47,000, with no forecast growth in view from the bottom figure of the 1990s.

In this comparison, too, the health and social care fields demonstrate their vital importance to women's employment, for they have been the clearest areas of long-term growth. The healthcare field hit the bottom in 1993, when the number of women it employed was down to 130,000 from 141,000. After this, the number of female employees in this field rose rapidly to 143,000 but has remained unchanged since then. Considering the needs, there must still be clear labour shortage in this field. Employment in the social care field, under which children's day-care also partly comes, has not experienced a similar drop in the 1990s, but has been increasing steadily so that the field now employs 56,000 women. Another area of similar steady growth has also been teaching work which has grown to employ 83,000 women today compared to 65,000 a decade ago.

Men's employment has recovered faster than women's after the recession. Men's employment has risen to the pre-recession levels in, for example, technical fields, and administrative and office work. Work in the ADP field has increased very clearly and the field now employs 33,000 men. In this field, the recession only caused a minor dip in the figure.

Men's manufacturing work still retains its important position. At the turn of the last decade, this class employed 479,000 male wage and salary earners. In the 1990s this figure was at its lowest at 339,000, but has since risen to 391,000. The main class also comprises construction work, which has failed to recover to anywhere near its pre-recession level. In the manufacturing fields proper the visible swings were the largest in the metal and engineering workshop industry: in 1989 the figure was 150,000, by 1993 it had gone down to 110,000 but was back to 130,000 again by 1998. Chemical, pulp and paper process work is a minor employer sector, in which the figure has stayed almost unchanged from the present 18,000 male employees. In contrast, the electrical and electronics industry is among the major employers of men with its 43,000 male employees.

Agricultural and forestry work, which, as already pointed out, also includes entrepreneurs, has been declining steadily. Ten years ago the field

still had 155,000 male entrepreneurs and employees but today the figure is only 94,000. Similarly, jobs in the transport and communications field have also decreased from 112,000 to 100,000, with no detectable sign of recovery. However, men's employment in commercial work has risen to the pre-recession level of 105,000 from its bottom figure of 85,000 in 1993.

The development of the Finnish labour market in the 1990s has been most problematic for women aged over 50 with low level of education. Efficiency demands have dictated that women's manufacturing work has been abandoned or shifted to countries with lower labour costs. In other fields, female labour force has been permanently cut down due to technical rationalisation measures or generally tightened profitability targets.

Since the recession women's job opportunities have only improved in teaching, healthcare, children's day-care, administrative management and commercial occupations. The corresponding areas of growth in male employment have been technical, administrative management and ADP occupations. Commercial work has also grown as a field of employment for men. In manufacturing work, the increase in jobs has centred almost entirely on men. Men's job opportunities have also increased clearly in construction work.

Due to the segregation of occupations to women's and men's work it seems obvious that the demand for labour which at the moment is mainly directed to men actually upholds women's unemployment. What happens with demand for labour in the public sector is quite relevant from the point of female employment. A pause in its growth will bring growth in female employment to a standstill. In the private sector, too, the demand for labour has halted in fields like banking, insurance and general office work, as well as in many service fields, such as cleaning, for example. All this is especially clearly reflected in female employment.

.....

All above-mentioned factors describe in very broad terms the relative positions of women and men in Finnish working life. However, this kind of general level is insufficient for an in-depth analysis of how gender equality manifests itself in today's working life. This would require far more complex and detailed information. On the other hand, information relating to the entire labour force is also needed on issues like diverse attributes of welfare, for example, which cannot readily be described with clear indicators. Information of this kind is produced nationally with extensive surveys or barometers of working life. The EU has even collected internationally comparable data on working conditions. An alternative way of exploring the gender issues in working life would be to progress to even more detailed studies which would allow the locality and real situations and happening processes to emerge.

Findings of the European Survey on Working Conditions

The position of Finnish women in working life can be internationally compared against the findings of the European Survey on Working Conditions. The survey was implemented in 1996 in all the Member States of the European Union, from each of which 1,000 employed persons, wage and salary earners and entrepreneurs took part in it (Paoli 1997). The topics covered by the survey ranged from problems in the physical working environment to the organisation of work, social working environment and health effects. Thus, the survey makes it possible to at least partially examine the same phenomena that were studied in the Finnish Quality of Work Life Surveys.

A quick glance at the results of the European Survey on Working Conditions reveals that, in many respects, Finland is quite exceptional. For example, many factors relating to the development of work give the picture that Finland is very advanced in the development of working life.

Especially in its green paper "Partnership for a new organisation of work", the European Union has stressed the importance of new workplace ethics in conjunction with flexibility targets. This kind of development of work puts much emphasis on "training, confidential relationships and employee participation". From the point of gender equality, one could ask how the new models of work organisation, and the improvement and diversification of skills acquired through training help toward the attainment of equality.

Life-long learning is probably a principle in all management models, from human resources management to result, quality and process management. Yet,

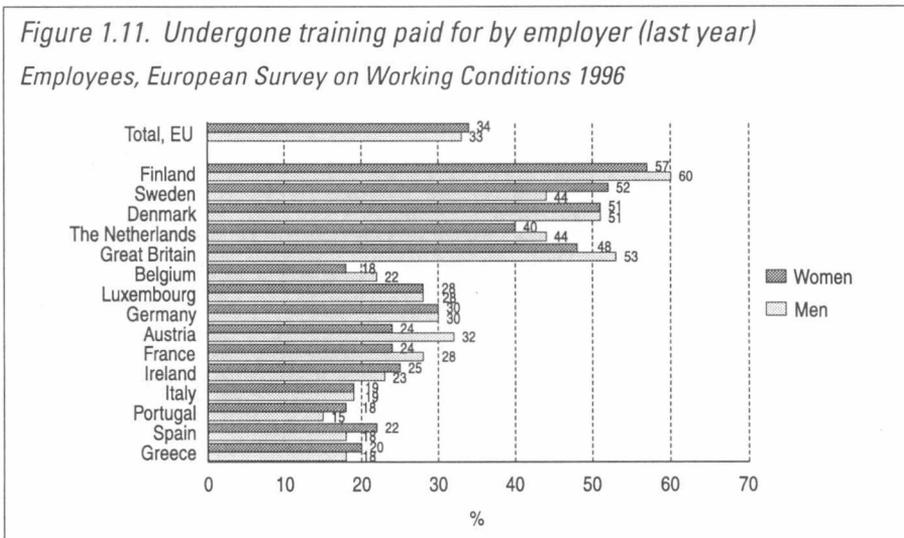
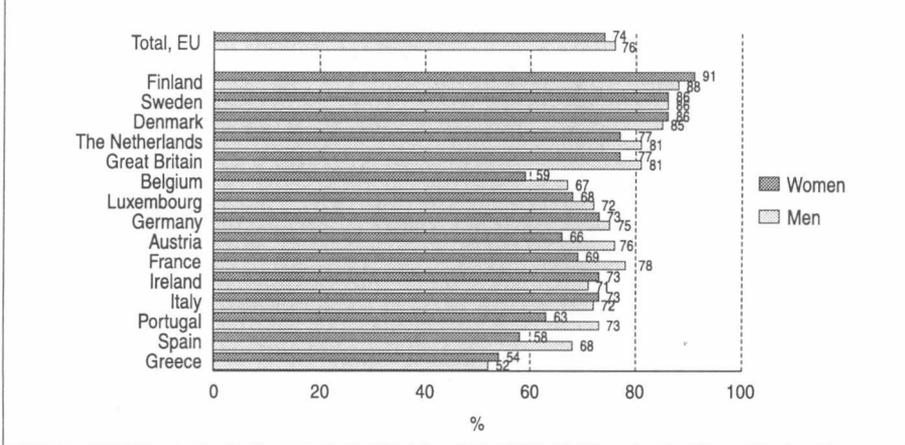


Figure 1.12. Job involves learning new things
 Employees, European Survey on Working Conditions 1996



the European Survey on Working Conditions showed that, on the whole, learning and development are at quite a low level. For example, only one in three wage and salary earners had received training paid for by the employer in the past year. Thankfully, according to the EU survey the proportion in Finland stands out in a class of its own at nearly 60 per cent. Finland's leading position applies to both women and men. In general, in-service training is more plentiful in the Nordic Countries, the Netherlands and Britain than elsewhere in Europe. (Figure 1.11.)

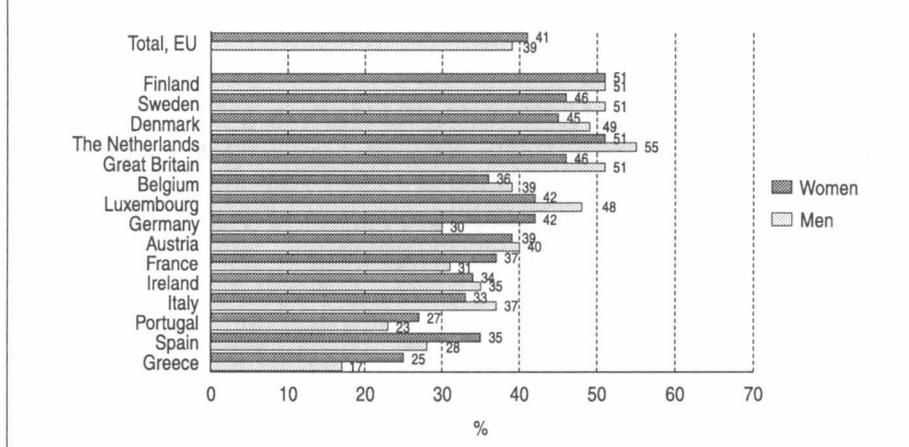
A close analysis of in-house training by age reveals the reason why these countries are the leaders: in the other countries, next to no vocational in-house training is offered to the older age groups of those over 45.

Finland also leads in respect of the question of whether work includes learning new things. In this, the attitude of Finnish women to their work appears to be particularly optimistic: 91 per cent of female wage and salary earners regarded their work developmental in this sense, while only 54 per cent of the female wage and salary earners in, for example, Greece, were of this opinion. (Figure 1.12.)

Training and skills development are necessary in today's working life particularly due to the advancing information technology. To a large extent, the distinction of Finnish employers in offering training can be explained by the fact that the new information technology is a working tool for so many Finnish employees. In this comparative survey, only the Netherlands shows a more widespread use of the computer. In terms of women's computer use, the joint leaders are Finland and the Netherlands in both of which 51 per cent of female wage and salary earners use the computer at work for at least one quarter of their working time. (Figure 1.13.)

Figure 1.13. Working with computers

At least ¼ of the time. Employees, European Survey on Working Conditions 1996



The European Survey on Working Conditions also reveals that factors relating to reorganisation of work, like task rotation in teams, participation in the quality control of one's own work and participation in the planning of one's own work through discussions with superiors and co-workers are more highly developed than average in Finnish working life. No major differences can be observed in these aspects between the genders either in Finland or elsewhere.

The European Union's green paper on the organisation of work (1997) particularly emphasises the importance of finding a balance between flexibility and job security. Less attention is paid to the negative consequences that can result from a strong drive for productivity and efficiency. In Finnish working life, such emphases have clearly also brought along negative aspects like excessive time and work-related pressure.

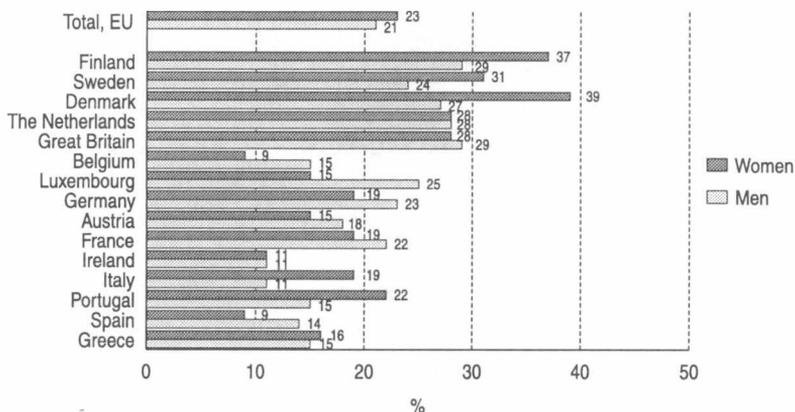
The growth of stress at work is not an exclusively Finnish phenomenon. A study of the Member States of the European Union revealed that in all the countries where development had been studied over an extended timespan, experiences of time pressure had increased in the 1980s and 1990s. (Dhondt 1998.) For Finns, however, the problem is of particular relevance: Finland leads in all measurements of time pressure in the European Survey on Working Conditions. Time pressure on Finnish women is particularly evident in international comparisons, which is no doubt linked to Finnish women's strong orientation towards work and the concentration of women's employment in public sector service occupations which, after all, were the target of particularly severe cuts during the 1990s.

The adjacent Figures describe the examined time pressure in three ways. All of them show that Finnish female wage and salary earners were working

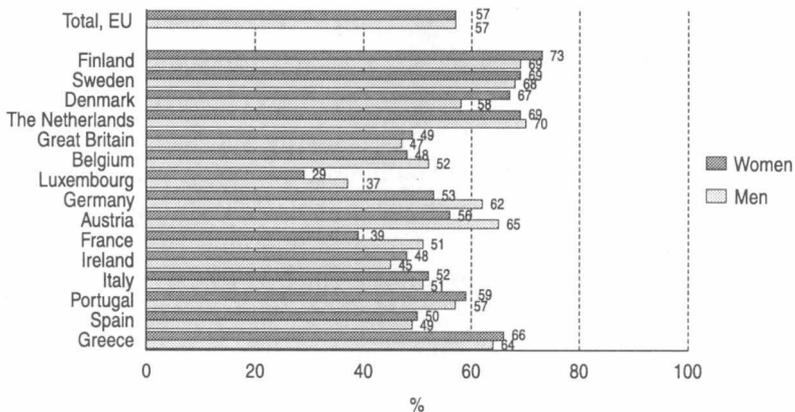
under greater pressure than their European sisters. The various background variables such as education, age or family relationships do not explain – at least not alone – such a clear-cut concentration of work-related stress to the northerly Member States. Quite obviously those countries in which the rationalisation of working life has been taken furthest with new management methods have gained a very stressful working life as a by-product.

The position of women in Europe is further characterised by the degree of women's integration in working life in management positions. Many studies have been made of women managers, and Finnish women do not stand out particularly as senior managers in the private sector. Middle management and the supervision of work itself, however, show a slightly different picture.

*Figure 1.14. Not enough time to get the job done
Employees, European Survey on Working Conditions 1996*



*Figure 1.15. Working at very high speed
At least 1/4 of the time. Employees, European Survey on Working Conditions 1996*



Here, there is a distinct trust in women in Finland. According to the most recent Finnish Quality of Work Life Survey, the immediate "superior" of one in three wage and salary earners is a woman. Exactly the same conclusion has been reached by the European Survey on Working Conditions. (Figure 1.17.)

The European Survey on Working Conditions depicts in its own way the differences between countries in the attitudes to the concept of equality and the position of women. The results – although only generally indicative – suggest that Finnish working life is on the brink of transformation. Finnish women participate more than usual in the development of working life, but at the same time find themselves in working conditions that are more tiring than average.

Figure 1.16. Tight time schedules

At least ¼ of the time. Employees, European Survey on Working Conditions 1996

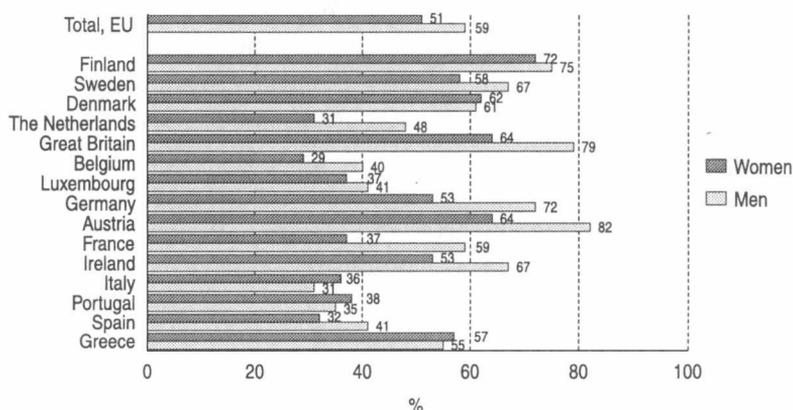
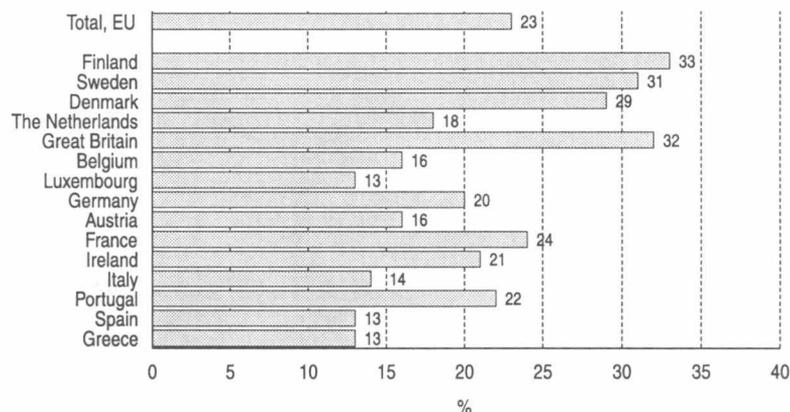


Figure 1.17. Immediate superior is a woman

Employees, European Survey on Working Conditions 1996



More learning and deeper commitment to work

The Quality of Work Life Surveys which Statistics Finland has implemented in 1977, 1984, 1990 and 1997 give a more detailed account than statistics of how working conditions are experienced, and thus sharpen the picture of the relative position of the genders in working life. Repeated over an extended period of time, the surveys also reveal changes that have taken place in working life. The results show the same simultaneity of positive and negative changes that emerges as the special Finnish characteristics from the findings of the European survey.

The long-term changes that are positive from women's viewpoint include the opportunity to develop oneself and receive further training, be given more varied tasks, participate in technical changes and, generally, the opportunity to influence the component parts of one's own work.

From the very beginning, the Quality of Work Life Surveys have included a question of how the respondents rate their *opportunities for development at work*. The topic has been studied in three Quality of Work Life Surveys and these show an upward trend in the development in this respect. This is more evident among women than men. However, most of the positive growth took place in the 1980s and the latest survey would seem to indicate that men have again passed women in this. (Figure 1.18.)

Examined by occupation, men's administrative management work seems to offer the best development opportunities. (Figure 1.19.) More than one half of the female respondents see their opportunities for development equally good in both administrative management and teaching work. There is a clear

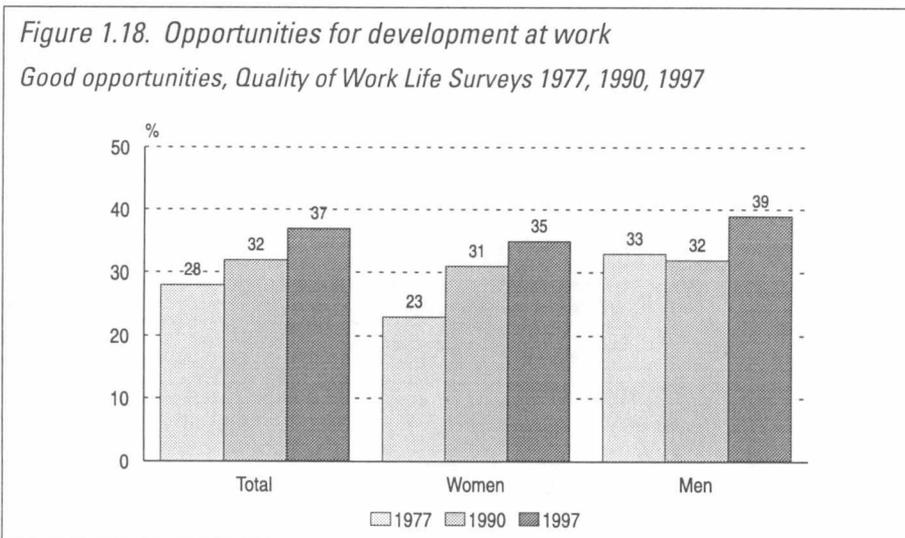
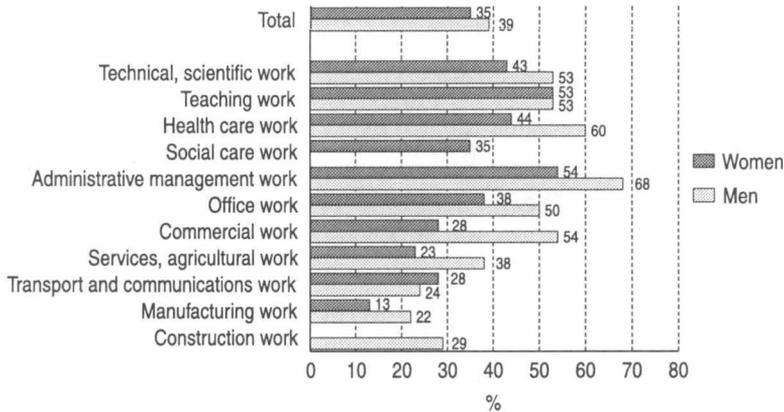


Figure 1.19. Good opportunities for development at work

By occupation and gender, Quality of Work Life Survey 1997



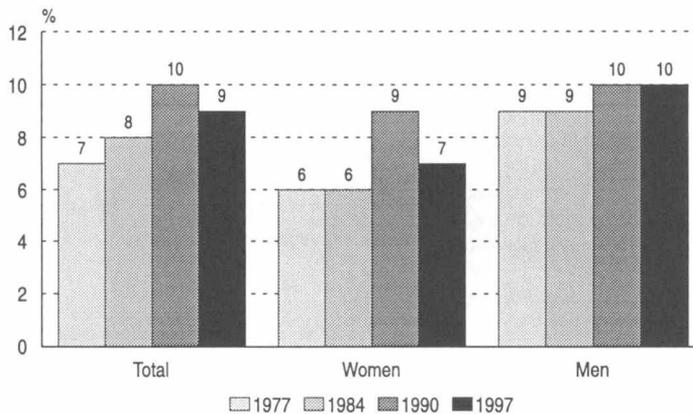
pattern of growth in this with female employees doing health care work (29% – 37% – 44%), office work (26% – 33% – 38%), and teaching (42% – 38% – 53%). Of these, at least the development in office work is probably connected with the rapid development of information technology.

Examined by employer sector, central government stands out in the developmental nature of its work, followed by municipalities. The responses indicate that the private sector offers least opportunities for development. The perception of development opportunities correlates clearly with high educational level but is not in any way dependent on age.

Development at work is clearly a different matter from *work and career advancement*. Distinctly fewer opportunities are reported for advancement than

Figure 1.20. Opportunities for advancement at work

Good opportunities, Quality of Work Life Surveys 1977, 1984, 1990, 1997



for development. Furthermore, the change in a positive direction has been very slow. On the other hand, women have always felt that their opportunities for advancement are worse than men's. The latest survey even points toward slight regression in the case of women in this respect. Admittedly, the differences in the percentages are minor and it is also not always quite clear what exactly is meant by advancement opportunities. Precisely women have questioned the meaning of the concept. For many it is more important to develop in one's own work than advance up the hierarchical ladder. (Figure 1.20.)

The only group that sees their advancement opportunities as good are men doing commercial work: 24 per cent of them regard their opportunities as good. Of women's fields, only commercial work and transport and communications (incl. data communications) work are those where advancement opportunities have gone up slightly. Figure 1.21. shows that, especially with women, both professional (scientific, healthcare, teaching work) and manufacturing occupations are fields in which there is no belief in advancement, or it may not even be considered important. The distribution in the perception of advancement opportunities is, in fact, very similar among men. Compared to the 1977 results, men's perceptions about this have declined in healthcare and administrative management work in which optimism in respect of advancement has waned. Cautiously ascending fields in this respect are commercial, office and construction work.

The numbers of those wage and salary earners who consider their advancement opportunities to be good are usually the lowest in the municipal sector. Again, the differences by age and education are only minimal. Education does not appear to clearly increase optimism about advancement. In fact, the contrary is true in respect of women: highly educated women believe only aver-

*Figure 1.21. Regards own opportunities for advancement as good
By occupation and gender, Quality of Work Life Survey 1997*

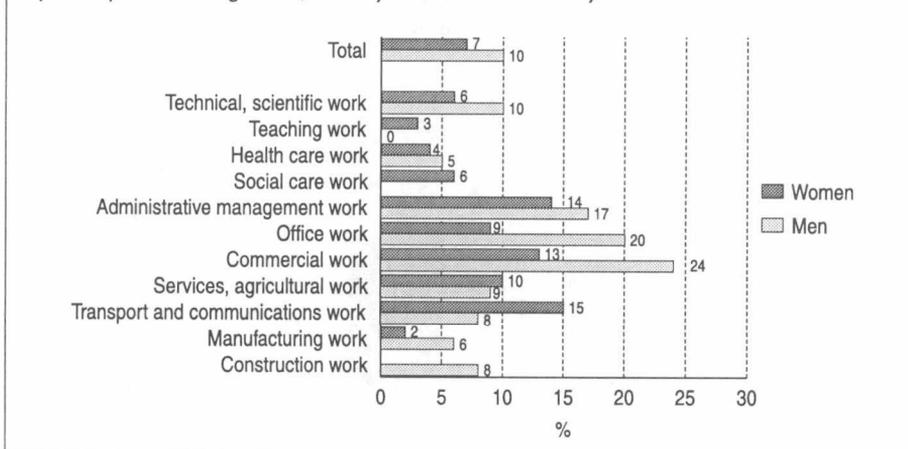
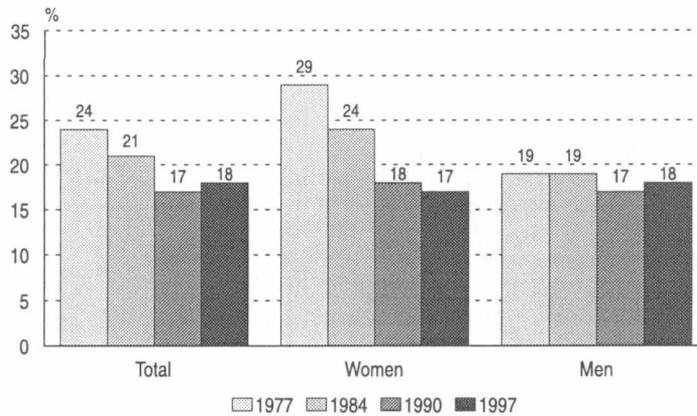


Figure 1.22. Monotony of work

Work very, or quite, monotonous, Quality of Work Life Surveys 1977, 1984, 1990, and 1997



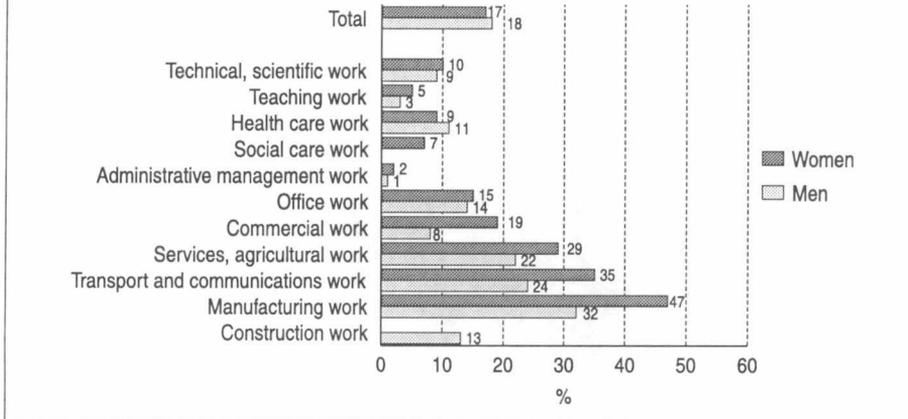
agely in their advancement opportunities. With men, advancing level of education clearly increases faith in opportunities for ascending up the hierarchical ladder.

Contrastingly, previously acquired training correlates strongly with *opportunities for receiving training paid for by the employer*. Participation in training is also strongly connected with socio-economic group. While 70 per cent of upper white-collar employees had participated in this type of training over the last 12 months, the corresponding proportion among blue-collar workers was only 28 per cent. Participation in in-house training has spread strongly – from 27 to 47 per cent – in Finland over the past two decades. It has become slightly more widespread among women than men. This despite the fact that receiving it is rarer in insecure employment relationships – e.g. those agreed for a fixed term – than in permanent ones.

The development activities and structural changes that are taking place at workplaces have brought with them an important change concerning women's work: the *monotony of work* has decreased, and variety increased. A couple of decades ago, it was still typical in Finland for women's work to be very monotonous. Almost one third of women felt their work was monotonous, while less than a fifth of men were of this opinion. The change has been rapid. Today there is no longer any difference between the genders. One explanation to the change is the spread of service type of work and, for example, the almost total disappearance of women's – highly Tayloristically organised – manufacturing work.

The differences by occupation are illustrated in Figure 1.23. Women's manufacturing work continues to be regarded as the most monotonous. Thus,

Figure 1.23. *Regards own work as monotonous*
 By occupation and gender, Quality of Work Life Survey 1997



the increased variety of women's work is primarily a consequence of the reduction in manufacturing work. On the other hand, the growth areas of women's work (over the past two decades) of health and social care work have also become more varied along with the growth. Women's office work has also grown more varied despite its contraction as a field.

Importance of gainful employment

The decrease in the *importance of gainful employment* relative to other areas of life was much talked about particularly in the 1980s. This has, indeed, been clearly visible among both women and men in the results of the Quality of Work Life Surveys. Surprisingly, however, the most recent survey shows that the importance of gainful employment is on the increase again, especially among women. It may be that the economic recession and the strong growth in unemployment in the 1990s have again raised the value of paid work.

A similar trend of development can also be seen in responses to the question of *how important or significant the respondents regard their own, current work*. The proportions of those who regard their work extremely important and significant have grown considerably. (Figure 1.24.) These proportions, too, had fallen sharply at the turn of the decade. It would seem that appreciation of one's own work has seen a distinct renaissance in the 1990s, most evidently because employment has become more difficult to find. The change in the increase of the value of work is even more distinct in the case of women.

Examining the responses by occupational groups shows clearly that the experiencing of work as important varies a good deal from one field to another. Both among women and men, the leaders in the appreciation of one's own

Figure 1.24. *Regards own work as extremely important*
Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997



work are occupations linked with welfare services in the teaching and health and social care fields. (Figure 1.25.) Admittedly the sample of men in the social care field is too small (10 persons) for the presentation of a breakdown.

The dip that can be observed in the 1990 results in comparing the surveys of different years applies to the whole wage and salary earning population inasmuch that the same development can be seen if the results are observed in respect of all the main background variables. All the occupational, educational level, employer sector, age and socio-economic groups have experienced the same change.

The relative differences among women and men in what importance is put on own work are at their greatest when examined by socio-economic group

Figure 1.25. *Regards own work as extremely important*
By occupation and gender, Quality of Work Life Survey 1997

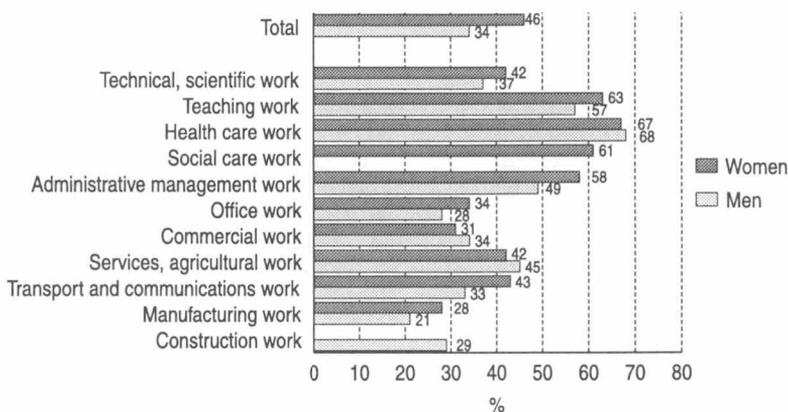
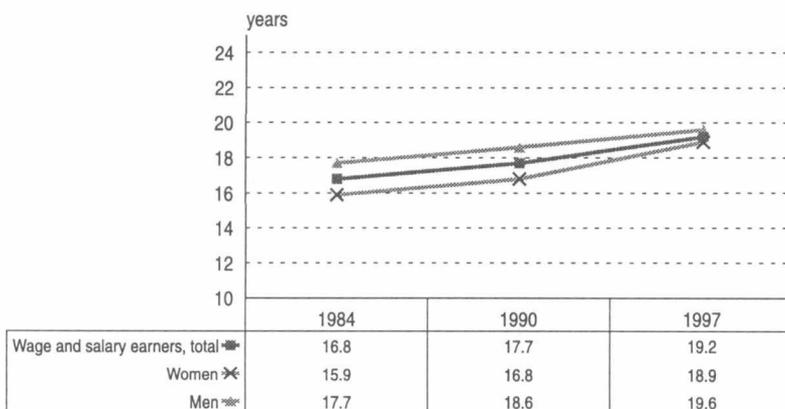


Figure 1.26. Years of work experience by gender

Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997

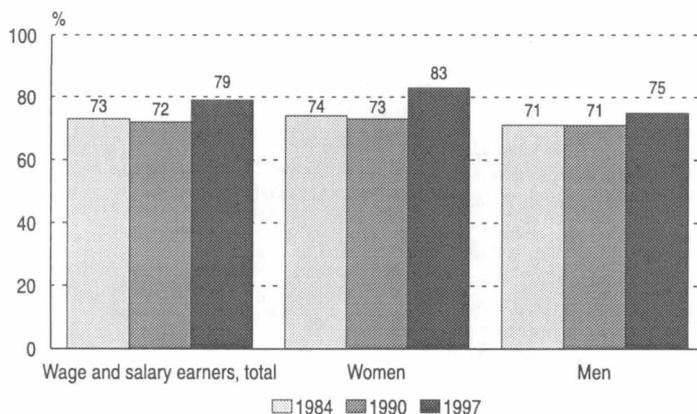


and educational level. With women, the clearly distinguishable groups are those with high level of education, on the one hand, and upper level white-collar employees, on the other. Women in these groups value their work most. Whether others value their work is an entirely different matter, for the gender pay differentials, for example, are at their biggest in precisely these groups.

Fairly clear differences by age can also be seen in the women's group in that young women attach least importance to their work (23% regard as extremely important) while the oldest age group of the over-55s attach most importance to their work (54% regard as extremely important).

Figure 1.27. Membership of trade union

Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997



According to the Quality of Work Life Surveys, *work experience measured in years* has grown steadily since the beginning of the 1980s. This phenomenon is linked with the ageing of the working population. It is, however, noteworthy that women's work experience has increased more than men's, which again is linked with women's growing work-centred disposition. An unusual feature in Finland compared to other countries is that there is no longer much difference between women and men in the average work experience: women's is 18.9 years and men's 19.6 years. Women's participation in working life has a very long tradition in Finland.

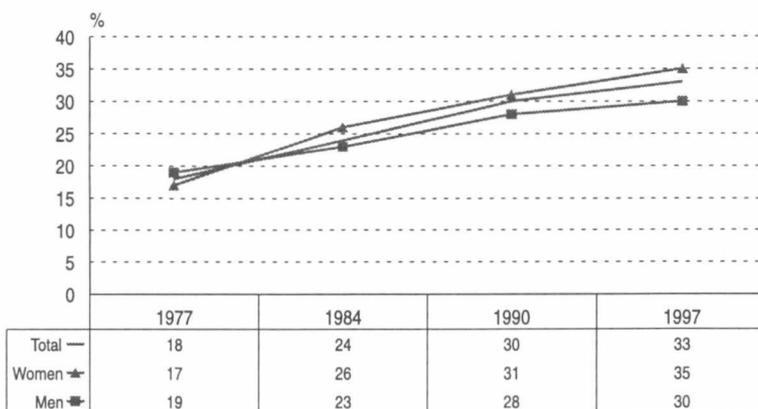
The strong commitment to working life is also depicted by the fact that *membership of trade unions* has increased. According to the most recent Quality of Work Life Survey, 83 per cent of women belong to trade unions, while the corresponding proportion for men is "only" 75 per cent. By international comparison, both proportions are very high.

Work-related pressure the worst threat to coping

The European Survey on Working Conditions demonstrates in an astonishing way the extent to which time pressure and stress are particularly Finnish problems. Asked about in various different ways, like as "Do you have enough time to do your work?" or "How much of your time do you work under time pressure?" or "to tight time schedules", Finnish employees, particularly women, complain the most about work-related pressure.

Figure 1.28. Adverse effects of time pressure

Extreme or moderate adverse effects, Quality of Work Life Surveys 1977, 1984, 1990



Increasing time pressure is the feature that has also emerged as the clearest change from the Finnish Quality of Work Life Surveys. The change concerns all occupational fields and industries, but there have also been clear shifts of focus between fields. Earlier, in the 1970s, the adverse effects of time pressure were the most typical in manufacturing, where especially women worked under excessive time pressure. Since then, healthcare work has become the most pressured in this respect. In the most recent Quality of Work Life Survey, as many as 44 per cent of employees working in this field regarded time pressure as a major contributor to stress while the corresponding proportion relative to the whole wage and salary earning population was 33 per cent. Work in the teaching field has also traditionally been among those most hampered by time pressure.

By employer sector, the change has meant that municipalities have become the leaders in statistics on time pressure at work in the 1990s. Examined by gender, women seem to suffer most from it, and by age group those in the middle age groups (25 to 45 years).

When work-related stress and time pressure have been studied by a sum variable combining a number of factors, it becomes obvious that the increase in time pressure is clearly linked with the increased application of productivity and efficiency policies. Diverse experiences of time pressure had increased most at workplaces where performance evaluation and monitoring had been increased. New ways of work organisation, such as teamwork, also produce, particularly among women, more pressure if they are applied blindly without taking into account the orientation and commitment typical of women. Excessive pressure causes conflicts, bullying, psychological and psychosomatic symptoms, mistakes and, of course, absences.

Figure 1.29 Adverse effects of time pressure by occupation

Extreme or moderate adverse effects, Quality of Work Life Surveys 1977, 1984, 1990

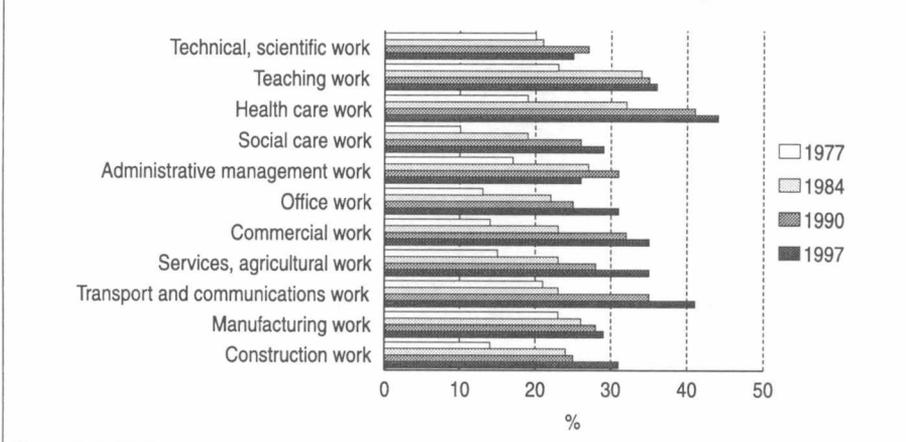
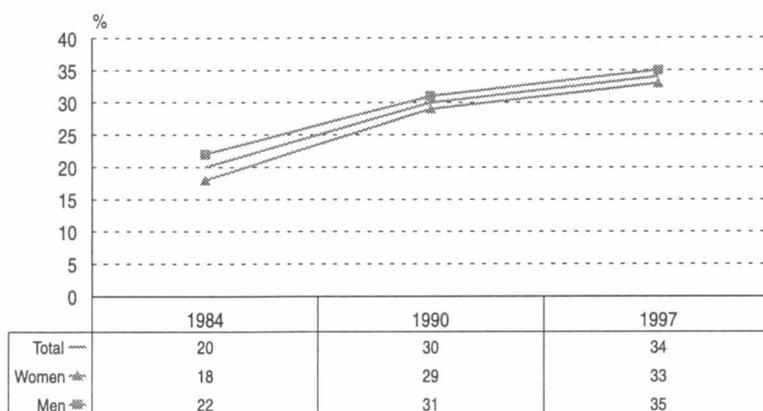


Figure 1.30. Unpaid overtime working

Works overtime for which no compensation is made, Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997



Overtime work is one of the indicators of work pressure used in the analyses of the Quality of Work Life Surveys. It has been studied in terms of overtime compensated in either money or time off, or unpaid overtime. More of both types of overtime is done now than in the early 1980s, and almost as much by women as by men. The amount of unpaid overtime, in particular, has increased. Approximately one third of all wage and salary earners say they do overtime of this kind, while the ratio in 1984 was only one in five. The increase of this kind of voluntary overtime is a clear indication of an increase in commitment to work and, at the same time, of the increasing intensity of work. At the same time, it is certainly also a factor which increases problems in reconciling work and other areas of life, especially for women, considering the greater burden of home and family responsibilities they shoulder.

Besides time pressure, the insecurity of employment relationships also adds to the problems of Finnish working women. The *decrease in the number of permanent employment relationships* can be viewed as one indicator of this. The proportions of those in temporary or fixed-term employment relationships have been going up continuously since the early 1980s. These kinds of employment relationships have always been more typical among women than men, but now as many as one female wage and salary earner in five are in employment relationships agreed for a fixed term. It is increasingly common today for a fixed-term employee to be a highly educated woman aged over 30.

The gender difference in fixed-term employment is reflected in the fact that the number of employment contracts in the current workplace is greater with women than men. In other words, rows of successive contracts, i.e. renewal of a fixed-term contract for short, successive periods, is more typical in women's employment relationships.

Uncertainty has also been increased by the fact that employment relationships are converted to, or originally planned as, only *part-time*. In Finland, too, part-time work as a form of employment for women has gone up again in the 1990s, while prior to this the proportion had declined slightly. All in all, the importance of part-time employment is, however, relatively minor in Finland (16 per cent of all female wage and salary earners) compared, for example, to the other Member States of the European Union. The leading countries in women's part-time employment are the Netherlands, Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, Germany and Belgium, where over 30 per cent of the female wage and salary earners work part-time. Overall, women's part-time employment has increased in all other EU countries apart from Sweden and Denmark, where the proportion has decreased in the 1990s. If full-time employment relationships are taken as an indicator of a good labour-market position, the position of women in Finland has remained fairly steady in this respect, despite the recession.

However, part-time employment is characterised by involuntariness to a greater extent in Finland than in other countries. According to comparative European labour force statistics for 1996, forty-four per cent of the Finnish female part-time employees would have preferred full-time work while the corresponding average percentage for the EU was 17. In other countries where part-time employment has more or less become the route of access for women to the labour markets and the male breadwinner model is stronger, the women themselves favour part-time employment. It is regarded as a positive model of flexibility in the reconciling of the demands of work and family. Nevertheless, from the perspective of equality in working life, it is negative for women to be mainly employed under such terms of employment.

The negative change in the position of women in Finland is thus essentially characterised by the fact that productivity and flexibility strategies have led to increasing time pressure and insecure employment relationships. These, in turn, have brought with them a worsening of the atmosphere at the workplace, an increase of conflicts and even mental violence. At the individual level, time pressure, work-related stress and insecurity have led to tiredness, various stress symptoms, problems in the reconciliation of work and family and the much-discussed burnout.

Working in supervisory positions

The European Survey on Working Conditions revealed that in Finland women are entrusted to a greater than average extent with supervisory tasks. Today, as many as one in three Finnish wage and salary earners have *a woman as their immediate superior*, while at the beginning of the 1980s the ratio was as low as one in four. Female superiors are distinctly more typical among women, for 56

Figure 1.31. Superior is female

Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997

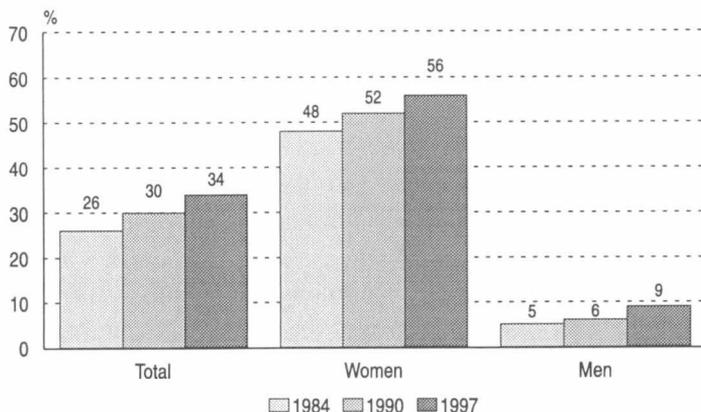
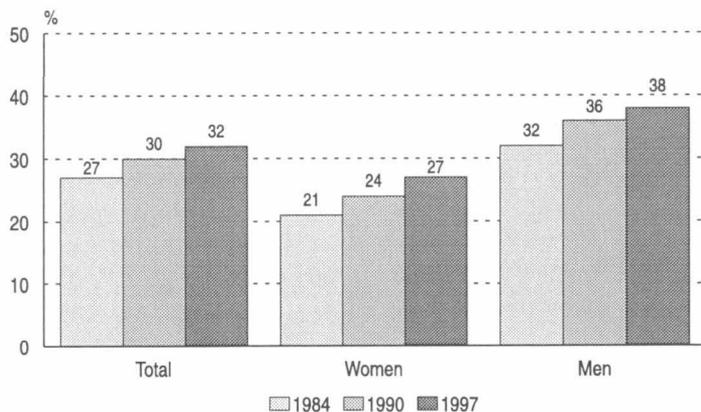


Figure 1.32. Work includes supervisory tasks

Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997



per cent said they worked under a woman, while the same was true of only 9 per cent of men.

Generally, the number of supervisory positions has kept increasing in Finland in the long term despite the talk of lowering organisational profiles. The findings by educational level and occupational group would seem to indicate that organisation of work in the group format in manufacturing and services continues to demand a work supervisor, even where hierarchical levels may otherwise have been reduced. In contrast, the number of supervisory positions has declined among the more highly educated groups. Increasingly, good education is beginning to signify working as an independent expert. Appendix Table 1.3. shows the development of employment in

supervisory positions since the beginning of the 1980s by various background variables.

Who work under female supervision?

Examined by educational level, those with lower level of upper secondary education have always been more likely than others to have a female superior (Table 1.1.). However, this only mainly applies to women. With men, high educational level increases the likelihood of ending up working under a female superior. This likelihood has also been growing so that today as many as 15 per cent of the men with tertiary education have a female as their superior.

Examined by socio-economic group, the largest concentration of female superiors can also be found among lower white-collar employees but, again, only in women's case. In the case of men, the group of upper white-collar employees is again growing increasingly likely to enjoy female supervision. The

*Table 1.1. Who work under female supervision?
Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984–1997*

Supervisor is woman	Women			Men		
	1984 %	1990 %	1997 %	1984 %	1990 %	1997 %
Total	48	52	56	5	6	9
Age group						
15 to 24-years old	56	57	63	9	8	10
25 to 34-years old	50	51	52	5	8	10
35 to 44-years old	46	53	56	4	5	8
44 to 54-years old	45	47	58	3	5	8
55 to 64-years old	45	58	50	2	7	6
Level of education						
Basic and lower secondary education	45	51	55	4	4	5
Lower level of upper secondary education	61	62	68	4	4	7
Upper level of upper secondary education	43	45	50	6	11	11
Tertiary level	38	47	48	8	11	15
Socio-economic group						
Upper white-collar employee	31	35	39	6	9	14
Lower white-collar employee	52	56	62	7	10	13
Blue-collar worker	49	54	56	4	4	5
Employer sector						
Central government	45	42	43	5	10	6
Municipality	71	74	73	13	15	28
Private	36	41	45	3	5	6

proportion of those working under a female superior is the largest – 14 per cent – in this socio-economic group.

Previously, young people have usually constituted the main group working under female supervision. Today, the distribution is far more even, although men in the very oldest age group (aged over 55) have, so far, been quite successful in evading female managers, for only 6 per cent of them have a female superior.

Characteristics of female and male managers

Women are slightly different from men as immediate superiors or work supervisors. When the respondents of the Quality of Work Life Surveys were asked about the characteristics of their immediate superior, women turned out to be distinctly better than men in matters like giving support and encouragement, being inspiring, caring about the employees' feelings and, above all, in encouraging them to study and to develop in their work. On the other hand, the gender of the superior does not seem to make any difference where, for exam-

*Table 1.2. Subordinates' opinions of their superior
Proportion in total agreement. Quality of Work Life Survey 1997*

	Superior is woman %	Superior is man %	Significance of difference
My superior:			
Supports and encourages me	37	27	0.001***
Rewards good work and performances	13	12	0.388
Is inspiring	22	15	0.001***
Discusses a lot with us	32	28	0.010**
Speaks openly about everything concerning the workplace	27	22	0.034*
Trusts his/her employees	46	43	0.006**
My superior and I have a lot of conflicts between us ¹⁾	65	63	0.631
Does not care about the employees' feelings ¹⁾	48	38	0.001***
Encourages his/her subordinates to study and develop in their work	30	20	0.001***
Knows my tasks very well	47	41	0.020*
Gives sufficient feedback about how well I have suc- ceeded in my work	21	16	0.006**
Delegates responsibility sensibly to the subordinates	26	22	0.56
Is capable of settling conflicts between employees	19	15	0.005**
Differences tested with the chi-square test			
¹⁾ Proportion of those in total disagreement.			

ple, rewarding good work performances or settling conflicts between employees and superiors are concerned. Rewarding seems to be difficult in Finnish working life in general. Nevertheless, female superiors score points in the area of development, evidenced by the strong commitment of women to their work.

Challenges of the new millennium

I return to the question I posed at the beginning: how can equality in working life be evaluated. Finnish women's position in and contribution to working life can perhaps best be understood when it is seen through the concept of equality. From the perspective of women's studies, the concept has lived through a number of phases, from the idea of similarity, through the speciality of women to the highlighting on differences. The latest trends in women's studies would like to abandon the whole idea of equality, because many perceive it as belonging too much to the similarity campaign. Nevertheless, I wanted to use the idea of equality as the basis of this presentation on working life, but in such a way that it would mainly be defined as equal opportunities for men and women to realise their aims in working life.

I wanted to emphasise the usefulness in evaluating gender equality in working life of the new perceptions which have emerged as women's studies have developed of how gender is in a way produced in various happening processes at different levels of the working life. To identify this, a diversity of knowledge is necessary. Labour force statistics alone give a very limited picture of equality. If one sets out from the definition that equality manifests itself essentially as opportunities to realise one's own aims, then subjectivity, i.e. women's and men's own experiences, constitutes a major component on which information cannot be obtained from statistics. Nevertheless, statistics constitute an important basis for my presentation.

Internationally, it seems that women's entry into the labour markets has not been without problems. Women have been subjected to many kinds of marginalisation. Atypical and insecure jobs with unsatisfactory terms of employment have predominantly fallen on women. Even theoreticians with their outlines for flexible labour markets have set out from the idea that women, above all, constitute the so-called peripheral labour force to which quantitative flexibility measures should first and foremost be applied. This kind of thinking has many blind spots, for it fails to see, among other things, the rapid rise in the educational level of women.

Statistics on labour market phenomena describe, in Finland's case, an internally paradoxical situation. On the one hand, unemployment among women is high, a lot of women work in fixed-term employment relationships, occupations are strongly segregated by gender and pay differentials remain at around 20 per cent. Yet, on the other hand, women's educational level has risen above

men's, women have as much work experience as men and statistics on working hours show that women, too, work long hours.

At the programme level, the European Union puts emphasis today on women's integration into working life. One of the central pillars of the EU's employment strategy is, after all, the "creation of equal opportunities" in employment and working life in general. Yet, the 1997 green paper on the organisation of work especially stresses the seeking of balance between flexibility and secure employment relationships. These objectives are very difficult to implement in practice if other general factors such as efficiency, competition, productivity and privatisation trends are not also taken into account. The problems that arise as by-products of increased efficiency are disregarded, and the programmes fail make a separate point about making allowances for them. A more detailed analysis than statistics demonstrates that, especially in Finland, the problems in women's employment lie precisely in the pressures and job insecurity created by accelerating economic competition.

I have selected the issue of whether women and men can realise their aims equally in working life as the core constituent in the attainment of equality. This point of view stresses the fact that orientation and commitment to working life are of great importance in the evaluation of equality. Summing up the findings of the Quality of Work Life Surveys, one can say that, in Finland, the emphasis on efficiency on the one hand, and Finnish women's strong commitment and own orientation to work, on the other, together induce strong work-related pressure. The masculine idea of competitiveness sits badly on women's responsibly rational way to work.

Preventing backlashes

At the onset of the new millennium, Finland is living through a highly paradoxical period in terms of equality in working life. On the one hand, cultural roots in this area have created a solid foundation for withstanding pressures for change. For a long time, the prevailing trend has been towards the development and training of the female labour force, in international terms, exceptionally equal participation in working life with men. Yet, even in Finland backlashes have not been avoided. Their recognition and prevention are topical right now.

The problem of how to define and evaluate occupational skills is one of these issues of eternal conflict. Now that women are educated, the value of formal education is often disparaged. Work and performance evaluation systems alone do not guarantee that correct value is apportioned to women's occupational skills. A fierce battle has to be waged about what weights should be given to, for example, quality and quantity. It is in the interests of women to

value formal training and the qualitative aspects of work, such as human relationship skills and assuming of responsibility.

Another major area of backlashes is the questioning of the welfare state. The healthcare sector, in particular, has suffered from staff cutbacks leading to employees becoming exhausted and jaded. In the long run, this reduces efficiency, although the original intention was to increase it. The segregation of occupations means that this is a problem that, first and foremost, concerns the female labour force. Guaranteeing sufficient resources would bring improvements precisely to the position of women.

In all other fields, too, it is important now to include in the debate the pursuit for continually better efficiency. There are many signs that such pursuits will turn against themselves. Efficiency declines when absences, errors and fatigue increase. This is a question of the welfare of the entire wage and salary earning population, but particularly of women, as the Quality of Work Life Surveys have demonstrated.

In Finland, women and men work almost equally long hours, to the extent that even overtime is as typical of women as it is of men. Yet, the division of labour at home is still almost as unequal as before. From the point of families, the best solution would surely be for overtime not to be used as a way of increasing efficiency at work.

Research plays an important part in preventing backlashes. Only through research can we determine what the unequalising processes are like in practice. Questions relating to local agreements are particularly topical. What will happen to women's interests, as agreements grow increasingly decentralised? Where will the new management strategies lead in practice? How will gender differences be visible in these? Will new modes of gendering develop?

In order to promote equality in working life, we need to monitor and anticipate changes at many different levels, both nationally and internationally, with statistics and through exhaustive interview surveys and local studies. The key question is how women's resources can be transformed into positive energy that increases well being in working life, families and society as a whole.

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2 Work and family

The family structure of wage and salary earners

Almost four fifths of the wage and salary earners taking part in the Quality of Work Life Surveys carried out in 1990 and 1997 had families. The most common type of family was a married or cohabiting couple with a child or children under the age of 18. Such families accounted for some 40 per cent of all wage and salary earners. Approximately one in three was married or cohabiting without children¹. Some six per cent of the interviewees were divorced or widowed and living alone and four per cent were single parents. The majority of the single parents were women. There were only a few dozen male single parents in the material and no generalisations can therefore be made about them. The majority of the male single parents in the 1997 Survey were widowers, blue-collar workers, and in most cases their youngest child had reached the age of ten.

It should be borne in mind on using family situation as a background variable that the groups differ greatly in their age structure, as is clearly evident from Tables 2.1. and 2.2. Those living in one- or two-parent families with children tend to be in the 30–49 age group, whereas the single people are generally in the younger age groups. Only few of the divorced and widowed people are under the age of thirty. The gender difference is most pronounced in the single, divorced and widowed group: more than half (54%) the single men in the 1997 Survey were under the age of 30 and only five per cent over fifty, whereas the corresponding figures for single women were 43 and 11 per cent. Over half (57%) of the widowed or divorced women were over the age of 50 as against only a third (33%) of the men.

Half the male wage and salary earners under the age of 30 were unmarried, while the women of the same age tended mostly (41%) to be without children and living with a spouse or partner. Whereas the majority of the employees

¹ "Children" here refers to children under the age of 18 living at home; some of the "couples with no children" are couples whose children have reached the age of 18.

*Table 2.1. Age structure of wage and salary earners by family situation
Quality of Work Life Survey 1997*

	Total.	15-29 years	30-49 years	50-64 years
	%	%	%	%
Total	100	20	60	20
Unmarried	100	49	43	8
Partnership with no child(ren)	100	22	39	40
Single parent	100	13	79	8
Divorced, widowed	100	3	50	47
Two carers with child(ren)	100	10	83	7

aged 30-49 had both a partner and children, most of the over-fifties were classed as having no children, their children having reached the age of 18.

Nearly half (46%) of the employees taking part in the Survey had children under the age of 18 living at home. The youngest child of half of these was under school age (7), one in six had a child aged 7-9 and just under 40 per cent a child over ten. Most of the "childless" wage and salary earners, especially in the older age groups, most probably had children over the age of 18: of all the childless women, 43 per cent had been off work on maternity or parental leave for at least some time at some point in their lives, and this applied to as many as 80 per cent of the childless women aged 50 or more.

*Table 2.2. Family situation of wage and salary earners by age group
Quality of Work Life Survey 1997*

	Total	Single	Partnership with no children	Two carers with children	Single parent	Divorced, widowed
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Women						
Total	100	13	33	41	6	7
15-29 years	100	31	41	22	4	1
30-49 years	100	10	21	57	8	4
50-64 years	100	7	62	10	3	18
Men						
Total	100	21	31	42	1	5
15-29 years	100	50	29	19	1	1
30-49 years	100	14	20	58	2	6
50-64 years	100	5	66	20	-	9

Unemployed spouse more common than before

The information on the educational background of the interviewees taking part in the 1997 Survey was obtained from the Register of Completed Education and Degrees. Persons living with a spouse were asked to state the spouse's educational background. Three fifths (59%) of these people had the same educational background as their spouse. A good fifth (23%) represented couples where the educational level of the wife or female regular partner was higher than that of the husband or regular male partner, and just under a fifth (18%) couples where the educational level of the husband or male partner was higher than that of the wife or female partner.

The Survey data also include wage and salary earners on maternity, paternity or parental leave who have a job to return to. The interviewees were also asked about the employment situation of their spouse or partner. It is thus possible to distinguish the following groups in the data:

- 1) Couples in which both are in full-time employment;
- 2) Couples in which the man is employed full-time and the woman part-time or at least temporarily away from the working life due to family leave, unemployment, study, pension, invalidity or running the home;
- 3) Couples in which the woman is employed full-time and the man part-time or away from the working life for a reason specified above;
- 4) Couples in which both are in part-time employment or temporarily away from the working life.

Because the Quality of Work Life Survey was targeted at wage and salary earners only (including persons on maternity, paternal and parental leave who have a job to return to), the percentage of couples belonging to the first cate-

*Table 2.3. Co-habiting and married couples by labour market position
Wage and salary earners, proportion of co-habiting and married couples, Quality of Work Life Surveys 1990 and 1997*

	Labour market position				
	Total.	Both employed full time or one partner studying	Man employed full time, woman employed part-time or outside working life	Woman employed full time, man employed part-time or outside working life	Both employed part-time or outside working life
	%	%	%	%	%
1990	100	75	18	6	1
1997	100	64	23	9	4

gory was naturally very high: almost two thirds of married or co-habiting couples were ones in which both the man and the woman were in full-time employment. In 1990 the corresponding proportion was, however, even greater: three quarters. In other words, there has been an increase in each of the other categories (Table 2.3.), and the lower the age group, the higher the growth. The primary reason for the structural change is unemployment, which nowadays affects more families than in former years.

The most common reason why the male partners of the female wage and salary earners in the 1997 Survey were away from the working life was unemployment (42%). Next came invalidity (35%) and retirement (25%). In 1990, only 14 per cent of this group were unemployed. At that time, the main reasons for men to be outside the labour force were invalidity (40%) and retirement (41%).

There was, likewise, a higher percentage in 1997 than before of unemployed persons (43%) among the non-employed female partners of the male wage and salary earners – the proportion of unemployed persons (43%) was approximately equal to the proportion of persons on family leave or running the home (44%). In 1990, only 15 per cent of these women had been unemployed; the majority (62%) were away from the working life because they were on family leave or looking after the household.

Adverse labour market statuses accumulate

The family situation of wage and salary earners on fixed-term employment contracts differs to some degree from that of persons in permanent employment relationships. They are, after all, also younger than average. The wage and salary earners on fixed-term contracts are twice as likely to be single as permanent employees and, correspondingly, fewer of them belong to two-carer families or are divorced or widowed. The proportions of persons living in married or co-habiting partnerships with no children and of single parents are, however, roughly the same among both fixed-term and permanent employees. Although the fixed-term employees appear to have no children more often than the permanent ones, both groups are just as likely to have children under school age. By contrast, fixed-term employees clearly have fewer children aged seven or over than permanent employees do.

Raija Julkunen & Jouko Nätti (1995) also mention that fixed-term employees tend more than permanent employees to be unmarried and to have no children, even when standardised for age, and that fixed-term employment generally correlates with a more unstable life situation. As fixed-term employment became more common in the 1990s it is, however, noticeable that the phenomenon is to an increasing degree also affecting other groups than the youngest and most unstable groups. Unmarried and childless people clearly account for

a smaller percentage of fixed-term employees than they did at the beginning of the decade: there were clearly more fixed-term employees with a family in the 1997 than in the 1990 Survey (68% vs. 57%).

Ilkka Virmasalo (1998) claims that unfavourable labour market statuses accumulate in households. According to him, all the international surveys on the subject indicate a statistically significant correlation in the labour market situation of the partners. Possible explanations for this are the choice-of-partner hypothesis (low level of education, socio-economic status and youth strongly correlate and further raise the risk of instability) and, to some extent, the mutual influence hypothesis. In practice this means that, for example, a high level of education benefits not only the person possessing it but also that his or her partner also derives some benefit from the knowledge by way of labour market skills or contacts.

Fixed-term employees are, on average, younger than permanent ones, as a result of which their partners are also youngish and have not, possibly for this reason, yet found an established place on the labour market. The accumulation of unfavourable labour market statuses in the same family does not, however, affect young wage and salary earners only. Table 2.4. shows the labour market position of the partners of fixed-term and permanent employees who have reached the age of 30. The partners of fixed-term wage and salary earners tend more often to be employed part-time than those of permanent employees and the partners of fixed-term male employees are more likely to be unemployed as those of permanent employees.

There also appears to be an obvious tendency for fixed-term employment relationships to accumulate in the same family. The employment relationship

Table 2.4. Partner's labour market position, wage and salary earners aged over 30

Quality of Work Life Surveys 1990 and 1997

	Employed full time		Employed part-time		Unemployed		On family leave, caring for own household		Incapacitated, retired, student, other	
	1990	1997	1990	1997	1990	1997	1990	1997	1990	1997
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Women										
Total	88	81	1	2	1	7	—	—	10	11
Permanent employees	88	82	1	1	1	6	—	—	10	11
Fixed-term employees	84	74	4	5	4	8	—	—	9	13
Men										
Total	75	65	7	9	2	11	9	9	7	7
Permanent employees	76	67	8	8	2	10	8	9	7	7
Fixed-term employees	68	47	4	11	—	20	14	13	14	9

of 28 per cent of the female partners of men aged 30 or more in fixed-term employment was fixed-term, as against 12 per cent of those of men in permanent employment. By comparison, the employment relationship of 13 per cent of the male partners of women aged 30 or more in fixed-term employment was fixed-term, as against 7 per cent of those of women in permanent employment. The employment relationship of partners in fixed-term employment is more often atypical (part-time and/or fixed-term) than that of partners in permanent employment in all age groups.

Fathers more often taking family leave

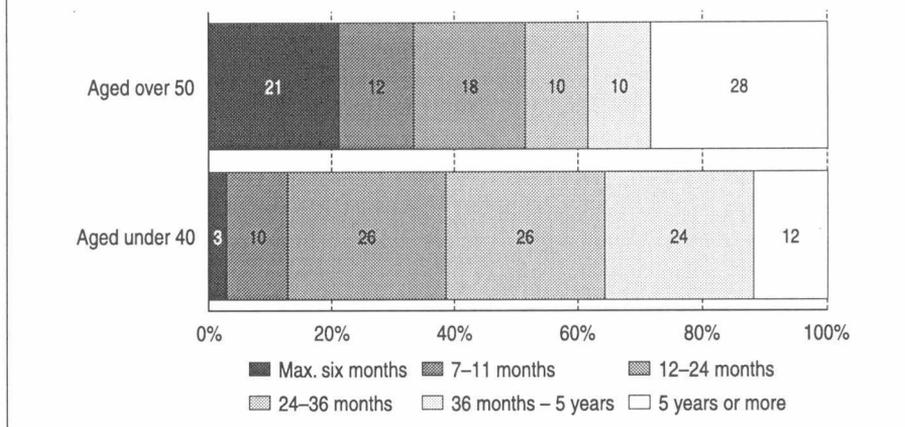
The Quality of Work Life Surveys in 1990 and 1997 asked whether the interviewees had ever spent any unbroken periods on maternity, paternity or parental leave or looking after their children. This applied specifically to periods lasting some time. If the interviewee had spent several such periods, the periods were added together. Staying at home temporarily to look after a sick child was not included; there were separate questions about this.

Finnish men have been entitled to take 12 days' paternity leave on the birth of a child since 1978. As of the beginning of 1982 they have also been entitled to parental leave and, since 1985, to childcare leave. In the early 1980s only about one man in four entitled to paternity leave actually took it but, according to the Social Insurance Institution statistics, two thirds of the fathers of children born in 1997 made use of their right.

The growing use of paternity leave is reflected in the Quality of Work Life Surveys. All the male wage and salary earners taking part in the 1990 Survey who had children aged 12 or less had in principle at least had the statutory right to take paternity leave, and the majority of them parental leave as well. One in three of them (33%) said they had used this right. By 1997 the statutory right to paternity leave had applied to all the fathers of children under the age of 18, and most of them had also been entitled to parental leave. Of these, 43 per cent said they had been away from work on paternity or parental leave or to look after their children. Periods away from work due to family leave were more common among young than among older fathers: more than half (58%) of those under 35 had stayed at home, as against one third (32%) of those aged 45 or more. In most cases (83%) the periods away from the working life had lasted less than two months. One in ten had been away from work from two months to a year, some six per cent for more than a year, because of his children.

Men with upper secondary education had taken most time off work to look after their children, while those with only basic or lower secondary education had taken the least time off of all. The men with both basic, lower or upper secondary education had most often taken time off work to look after their chil-

Figure 2.1. Absence from working life because of family leave or childcare
 Totalled up length of different periods, female wage and salary earners who have
 been absent (excl. those currently on maternity or parental leave)



dren if their female partner had a higher level of education. By contrast, fathers with tertiary education had taken childcare leave just as often, regardless of the educational level of their female partner. The fathers with tertiary level education and a female partner who also had tertiary education had, however, more often stayed at home for more than two months, presumably on parental or childcare leave, than all the other fathers. In these families the mother possibly earns enough to allow the father to stay at home for a longer period of time.

The majority (close on 70%) of the female wage and salary earners said they had at some point in their lives been away from work on parental leave or to look after their children in general. In practice this probably applies to all women who have given birth. Examination by age group of the women who have taken family leave clearly reveals the way the length of these periods has been influenced by the receding of the full-time mother model, the lengthening of the maternity leave and the home care allowance system introduced in 1985.

The length of time which women aged 50 or more have at some point in their working lives spent away from work looking after their children is clearly polarised: whereas one in five (21%) had been at home for at most six months, 28 per cent had been at home for over five years (Figure 2.1.). The blue-collar women and women with a primary education in this age group had looked after their children for longest of all: nearly 40 per cent of them had been at home for at least five years.

By contrast, very few of the younger women under the age of 40 who had taken family leave (excluding those currently on family leave) had been at home for only six months or less. On the other hand, only just over a tenth had spent more than five years at home. The majority had looked after their chil-

dren at home for from one to three years, the mothers of two or more children under the age of 18 longer than those with only one. The mothers with tertiary level education and upper white-collar mothers had had the fewest long periods of childcare leave.

Time off work to care for a sick child

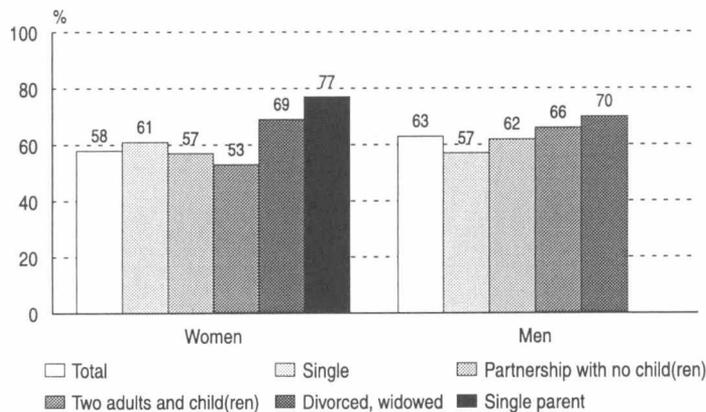
It is most often the mother who stays at home to look after a sick child. The examination of the 1997 Survey material will here be confined to the replies of the wage and salary earners living in two-carer families with children in which both carers are in full-time employment. A third (33%) of the fathers of children under ten had been off work at least once during the previous six months to look after a sick child, as against a good half (56%) of the mothers. The woman's socio-economic group made virtually no difference in this respect, but for the men it clearly correlated with staying at home: the upper white-collar fathers had stayed at home almost as often as the mothers (50%), the lower white-collar fathers (30%) and blue-collar fathers (21%) clearly less often. The men with female partners of the same educational level had stayed at home slightly more than the other men to look after a sick child.

The parents of children under school age (7) had clearly been off work more often to look after a sick child than the parents whose youngest child was aged 7–9. Half the parents of children under 7 had been at home to look after a sick child at least once in the previous six months, as against well under a third of the parents of children aged 7–9. The reason is possibly that older children are sick less often than children in day nurseries are. On the other hand, a school-age child may be left at home alone, even when ill, if the illness is not very serious.

The importance of work and family as life content

There have since 1984 been questions in the Quality of Work Life Survey about the importance of various areas of life: work, home and family life, and leisure time hobbies. There was a downward trend in the importance of work throughout the 1980s, but the trend seems to have taken an upward turn again in all employee groups in the course of the 1990s. One of the reasons for this is probably the economic recession of the early 1990s and the rise in unemployment.

Figure 2.2. Gainful employment extremely important life content
By family situation, Quality of Work Life Survey 1997



Examining wage and salary earners according to family situation, it seems that paid employment is rated highest by divorcees, widows and single parents² (Figure 2.2.). The women living in families with two adults and children and unmarried men rate gainful employment lower than the others. The lower significance of paid employment among unmarried men is not due solely to their low age on average, since the result does not change when age-adjusted.

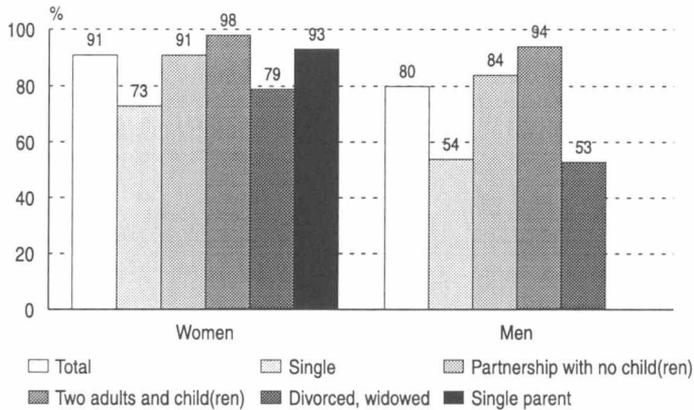
The women in two-carer families with children do not, as mentioned, rate gainful employment as highly in giving meaning to life as the other groups. The age of the youngest child is nevertheless significant here: 49 per cent of the mothers of children under three, and 57 per cent of the mothers of older children (10–17), regarded paid employment as extremely important life content. The age of the youngest child correlated with the mother's rating in the same way as it did with single mothers: more than 80 per cent of the single mothers whose youngest child was at least ten years old regarded gainful employment as extremely important life content.

Women rate home and family life as extremely important more often than men do. The importance of home and family was more marked in two-adult families with children, especially when the youngest child was under three (women 99%, men 96%). Home and family only appear to acquire significance for men when they have a partner and children, whereas the female singles, divorcees and widows regard this area of life as quite important. (Figure 2.3.)

The interviewees were also asked to place the said areas of life (gainful employment, home and family life, leisure time hobbies) in order of importance.

² Single fathers are not dealt with here as they are so few in number (1997=19).

Figure 2.3. Home and family life extremely important life content
By family situation, Quality of Work Life Survey 1997



Home and family rated highest of all for two wage and salary earners out of three, yet a higher proportion than before placed gainful employment at the top of the list. The change was particularly marked among women.

The importance of paid employment was particularly marked among divorcees and widows. The difference between men and women is astonishingly small on this score: 63 per cent of divorced and widowed women mentioned work as being most important in their lives in 1997, as against 65 per cent of the men in the same situation. About half the unmarried women and men likewise said work meant most to them in life. This sentiment was shared by a quarter of the men in two-adult families with children and the single mothers, and by a fifth of the woman in two-carer families with children.

Table 2.5. The most important area of life
Wage and salary earners, Quality of Work Life Surveys 1990 and 1997

	Total	Gainful employment	Home and family life	Leisure time hobbies
	%	%	%	%
Total				
1990	100	29	65	6
1997	100	34	63	2
Women				
1990	100	24	72	4
1997	100	31	67	2
Men				
1990	100	34	59	8
1997	100	38	59	3

The men under 45 mentioned work as the leading issue in their lives more often than the women of the same age, but from age 45 onwards there is virtually no difference between the sexes. There are most people who rate work highest of all in their lives in the 50+ age group and fewest in the 35–44 age group, among whom family life takes preference, probably because of their children. Only one woman in four and one man in three in this age group looked upon gainful employment as the most important element in their lives.

Work takes preference over family more often among the wage and salary earners with no children than among the parents of children. With mothers, it greatly depends on the age of the youngest child: 18 per cent of the mothers of children under the age of ten, but one in four of the mothers of children aged 10–17, consider work the most important area of life. With men, the age of the children makes little difference: about a quarter of all the fathers of children under the age of 18 feel that work rates higher than the other areas of life.

The percentages of those rating work highest in life have risen since 1990 among unmarried employees, persons living in a partnership with no children and two-carer families with children. The change in attitude is particularly noticeable in women from two-carer families with children, and especially mothers of children under ten: the figures in this group have doubled, from 9 to 18 per cent, and the family ranks only second more often than it did before.

Few mention leisure time hobbies as the most important area in their lives. These few are virtually all young and single, and even then this applies more and more seldom. In 1990, nineteen per cent of the single men and 17 per cent of the single women still gave leisure pursuits as the most important area of their lives but, by 1997, only 11 per cent of the single men and 5 per cent of the single women still thought along these lines.

It should, however, be remembered in interpreting the replies that the question about the importance of the different areas of life is very difficult to answer, especially as it is the first question on the form. In an interview survey the replies are, furthermore, influenced by the interview situation and whether, for example, other members of the family can hear what the interviewee is saying. Those with tertiary level education stressed the importance of work less often than the others in the survey, but it can hardly be concluded direct that they are less work-oriented than the other groups. This is probably a case of what is socially acceptable. In an interview situation people have a tendency to agree to things that are socially acceptable and deny things that are not. The norms for socially acceptable behaviour vary from one population group to another, which in turn affects the replies to questions about values. (Phillips 1971)

In addition to the quite obvious rise in the appreciation of work in the 1990s, the values in society as a whole would appear to have changed so that it is now more "acceptable" than it used to be to admit that work takes preference over family, even if the interviewee is a woman and mother. It must, how-

ever, be remembered that the overwhelming majority of the mothers in families with children still name the family as the most important area of their lives.

Fathers have long working days

According to Hannele Sauli (1998), going out to work is most common in households that have children. The number of hours worked is also highest in families with two parents and children under the age of 18. The age of the youngest child seems to correlate surprisingly little with the hours worked by parents: even the fathers of the very youngest children often work very long hours. A study entitled *Work and Family* conducted by the National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health (Stakes) revealed that having young children does not prevent women from working overtime, and that men even work longer in fact: in the Survey, the fathers of young children did more overtime than the other men (Lammi-Taskula 1997).

Young people on average work a shorter week than others and the youngest age groups are as a rule also single. The following examination of the correlation between regular working hours (including regular overtime) and family situation on the basis of the 1997 Quality of Work Life Survey applies to employees aged 25 or more.

The average number of hours worked each week was highest in families with children and, in particular, among fathers whose youngest child was under the age of three (39.6 hours). Among women the highest average was reached by the mothers of two-carer families with children in which the youngest child had reached the age of ten (37.5 hours). The working week of mothers of children under ten (36.4 hours) was slightly shorter than that of unmarried women (36.9 hours). The shortest week was, on average, worked by single parents (36.2 hours).

The divorced and widowed men and fathers of two-carer families with children did more often (12–13%) than others a regular working week of at least 41 hours, regular overtime included. On the other hand, the widows and divorcees also included the largest number (11%) of men doing a short week of less than 35 hours. The number of men doing an extra-long week was the largest (15%) among the fathers of children under three.

Of all the women, those who were not married clearly did the most often extra-long working weeks (9%), and the divorced and widowed the least (3%). The short week is most commonly worked by women in a partnership with no children and single mothers (18%). The mothers of children aged ten or more did only slightly more often extra-long hours (7%) than the mothers of younger children (6%), though there were admittedly most (19%) women doing a short working week of less than 35 hours among the mothers of children under seven.

Men reported doing weekly overtime – either with or without pay – slightly more often than women. Overtime was worked most by the men living in two-carer families with children (37%), especially the fathers of children under three (44%). The unmarried women reported doing weekly overtime slightly more often (31%) than the women in two-carer families with children and single parents (29%). The age of the children clearly influences the amount of overtime worked by mothers: one in three (32%) of the mothers of children aged ten or more and a good one in four (27%) of the mothers of children younger than this did overtime each week.

The work input in the data in the Quality of Work Life Survey is thus highest among the fathers of families with children, especially very young children aged under three. This is possibly partly explained by the fact that the wives of half these men were at home on family leave or looking after the family; in other words, the men were able to work extra-long hours because their wives were at home looking after the home, and they possibly had to compensate for the loss of income caused by the wife being at home by doing twice as much work themselves.

Women's work input seems to grow when the youngest child reaches the age of ten. The value of work as an area of life also grows with mothers of children of this age. It should, however, be noted that the mothers of children younger than this also work a very long week.

Partners' views on overworking

The growing work input and prestige of work of mothers of children aged ten or more and the long hours and overtime worked by the fathers of young children were also reflected in the partners' views on the other's working hours. The fathers of children aged ten or more and the mothers of children under ten more often expressed the view that their partner worked too hard. The tendency was also the same on the statement "my partner thinks I work too hard": it was precisely the fathers of children under ten and the mothers of children over ten who tended on average to agree with the statement. (Table 2.6.).

The women aged 30–49 and the men aged 50 or more tended more than the others to think that their partner worked too long hours. The young men reckoned slightly more than the older men that their partners thought they worked too hard. Among the women this view was clearly held more often by the over-thirties than by the under-thirties.

More than half the female upper white-collar employees felt their partners were working too long hours and half, likewise, agreed with the statement "my partner thinks I work too hard". Among the men, too, the upper white-collar employees were more inclined than the others to believe that their partners thought they worked too hard. Socio-economic group did not, however, affect

*Table 2.6. Partners' (spouses') opinions of each other's workload
Totally true or true to some extent, Quality of Work Life Survey 1997*

		My partner (spouse) works too hard	In my partner's (spouse's) opinion I work too hard
		%	%
Total	Women	45	36
	Men	42	47
Socio-economic group			
Upper white-collar employees	Women	53	52
	Men	40	58
Lower white-collar employees	Women	46	33
	Men	41	45
Blue-collar workers	Women	38	28
	Men	43	43
Age group			
15-29 years	Women	38	29
	Men	25	49
30-49 years	Women	50	37
	Men	44	47
50-64 years	Women	35	35
	Men	47	46
Family situation			
No children	Women	37	35
	Men	42	45
Children aged 0 to 9	Women	56	34
	Men	39	53
Children aged 10 to 17	Women	47	39
	Men	47	42
Partners' relative levels of education			
Woman has higher level of education	Women	45	41
	Men	49	50
Both have same level of education	Women	45	34
	Men	41	46
Man has higher level of education	Women	49	33
	Men	39	50

the men's assessments of whether their partners worked too hard. This is, on the other hand, influenced by the couple's relative educational level: if the female partner had a higher educational level than the male one, the male partner was more often worried about whether his partner was working too hard, and she had noticed this.

It is interesting to note that the men were far more often worried about their partners working too hard (45%) than the women actually realised – only 36 per cent of the women thought their partners felt they were working too hard. The message seems to have got across to the men better: 47 per cent of the men thought they were, in their partners' opinion, doing too much work, while 42 per cent of the women really did think their partners were working too hard. It may also be deduced from the figures that the women themselves underestimated their partners' impression of their work input whereas the men tended to overestimate it. The question of social acceptability may once again come into play here: it is not, perhaps, entirely acceptable for a woman to say that in her partner's opinion she is doing too much work, since this may prompt the listener to wonder whether she is neglecting her home and partner – but the image of someone toiling away at work may do a man great credit.

Household work still left to the women

The 1990 and 1997 Quality of Work Life Surveys looked into the division of domestic responsibilities in two ways: with a general question about which of the partners does more of the household chores or whether they both do equal amounts, and with a set of questions listing some of the most common types of chores and asking which of the partners is usually responsible for each or whether both share equal responsibility.

It may be interpreted from the general question that men do slightly more of the household chores than they used to. The percentage of families where the female partner does most of the household work has fallen slightly, while the percentage of families where the male partner does the lion's share of the household chores has very slightly risen. There has been a tendency to share the chores more evenly ever since the mid-1960s, as was noted by Elina Haavio-Mannila (1984) in the early 1980s already. The change has thus been going on for a long time, but it appears to be very slow: in two thirds of families the bulk of the household work is still left to the woman.

As regards individual types of household work, doing the laundry seems to be a woman's job, doing the home repairs a man's. In the case of other types of work the sharing seems to be most successful (in families with children) when it comes to looking after the children or taking them to the day nursery, school or hobbies: in three families out of four the fathers do these at least as much as the mothers. (Table 2.7.).

The various forms of household chores differ in the amount of effort and time they require and how often they need to be done: daily, or only every now and then. According to Nicky Le Feuvre (1998), men have a tendency to avoid all the most constraining chores and to privilege those which take

Table 2.7. *Sharing household chores, 1990 and 1997*

	The woman alone		Mainly the woman		Both equally		Mainly the man/ The man alone	
	1990	1997	1990	1997	1990	1997	1990	1997
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Cooking	42	36	29	33	24	23	5	7
Washing up	–	24	–	28	–	40	–	8
Food shopping	28	22	21	24	42	41	10	13
Laundry	60	53	24	28	15	16	2	3
Cleaning	29	24	27	35	41	36	4	5
Home repairs			1	2	15	12	80	84
Childcare	6	5	17	22	73	69	3	4
Taking and fetching the children	–	9	–	18	–	49	–	24

place outside the domestic sphere. An example of the latter is doing the shopping. According to the Eurobarometer (1991), the men in the 12 EU Member States examined helped most with the shopping and least with the cleaning or cooking. The Finnish male employees interviewed for the Quality of Work Life Survey also excelled at jobs outside the home such as taking and fetching the children and doing the shopping: in one family with children in four the father does most of the ferrying of the children and in half the families the men go shopping for food at least as much as the women – in fact the men do most of the food shopping in more than one family in ten. But as was stated before, Finnish fathers also help with looking after their children in exemplary fashion: three out of four care for their children at least as much as the wife does. The bulk of the other household work – apart from home repairs – inside the four walls of the home is left to the women. The results of the gender barometer for 1998 are in this respect very similar (Melkas 1998).

Slight progress has, therefore, been made in the 1990s in the sharing of household chores. This is particularly true on examining the percentage of families in which the wife alone bears the responsibility for certain things like cooking, laundry, food shopping and cleaning. On the whole, however, the only change is that whereas people used to reply "the wife does it alone", they are now more likely to reply "the wife mainly does it". The positive changes amount to only a couple of percentage points in the case of these jobs if the percentages of families in which the wife does the jobs all alone or mainly are added together. There even appears to have been a regression in the case of cleaning when calculated in this way. In 1990 the husbands did at least as much of the cleaning as their wives in 45 per cent of families, but by 1997 the figure had fallen to 41 per cent.

Washing up was not one of the items on the questionnaire in 1990, so there are no data for comparison. The question about "minor repairs" of 1990 was rephrased in 1997 as "home repairs". Possibly as a result of this, the percentage of families in which the husband does the repairs alone, or mainly, increased: minor repairs were presumably taken to mean changing fuses or light bulbs, which women do more often than "major" repairs.

The same problem, i.e. reformulation of the question, is probably encountered in the case of looking after the children. Although the "the wife does it alone" replies decreased by roughly one percentage point, the proportion of "the wife mainly does it" replies rose by five percentage points and the proportion of "both do it equally" fell. The 1990 questionnaire only asked about looking after and playing with the children, and there was no separate question about who takes the children to the day nursery, school or hobbies. Fathers are, however, relatively active when it comes to ferrying their children. It is therefore possible that the proportion of "both do it equally" replies was higher in 1990 because the respondents thought of fathers as the people who did the ferrying. By contrast, the 1997 interviewees were referring solely to who *looked after* the children; the question of ferrying was raised only later (despite the fact that the section on care of the children came before the question about ferrying. The respondent may have gone back to and modified his/her previous answer on realising there was a separate question about ferrying.)

Unemployed men share in household chores

The amount of household work each partner can reasonably be expected to do depends on the spouses' employment situation. If one is working part-time or at home while the other is working full time, it seems natural for the former to do most of the household chores. This is also true in practice to some extent.

The men clearly do more chores in families where the wife is working full time and the husband is working only part-time or is unemployed than in other families. Correspondingly, in families where the wife is at home or working part-time and the husband is working full-time, the wife tends to do more household work than in other families. The families in which both partners are employed full-time, or both are employed part-time, or away from the working life hardly differ as regards the sharing of the household work: in two out of three the wife does more of the household chores and in just under one in three both partners share them equally.

Cooking, washing up, food shopping, cleaning, playing with the children and taking and fetching the children are clearly more often the wife's responsibility if the wife is employed part-time or not at all (e.g. unemployed or on

family leave) and the husband is working full time. The spouses' labour market position hardly seems to affect the responsibility for home repairs. The women do the least cooking, food shopping, washing up and cleaning in families where the wife is working full time and the husband away from the working life or working part-time. In close on one fifth (18%) of such families the man looks also after the children mainly or alone, and in one third (31%) the man does the ferrying. Admittedly, the partners bear equal responsibility for looking after and taking and fetching the children in most of these families, too.

Examination of only those families in which both partners are employed full time reveals only a very slight change in the sharing of the household chores between 1990 and 1997, and there is in fact no difference at all in the answers given by the women. The small change is due to the fact that the men in this category now tend more often to feel that they are doing more than, or as much as, their partners.

The most obvious change has taken place in the category in which the man is at home and the female partner in full-time employment. In well over half (58%) of these families the man is now doing at least as much of the chores as his partner, and in a fifth (21%) even more. The corresponding figures in 1990 were 48 and 13 per cent. In families where both partners are employed part-time or away from the working life it is also more common now for the man to do at least as much of the household work as his partner. A similar trend can also be observed in families where the woman is at home and the man working full-time (Table 2.8.).

*Table 2.8. Which partner does more household chores
By partners' labour market position*

Labour market position	Woman does more		Both do equally		Man does more	
	1990	1997	1990	1997	1990	1997
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	70	65	26	27	5	8
Both employed full time or one partner studying	68	64	27	29	5	6
Man employed full time, woman employed part-time or outside working life	83	76	15	17	2	7
Woman employed full time, man employed part-time or outside working life	53	43	35	37	13	21
Both employed part-time or outside working life	73	63	23	30	4	7

The change has thus been most positive in the category in which the women are employed full time and their partners are employed either part-time or not at all. In this category the labour market position of the man at home has meanwhile altered radically: unemployment is now the biggest single reason (42%) why these men are at home, whereas in 1990 only 14 per cent had been at home because of unemployment. To exaggerate somewhat, unemployment seems to have taught the men to do household chores.

Since one or other, or both, partners are now working part-time or unemployed in a larger proportion of the families than in the earlier Survey (p. 49), there would appear to be a favourable increase in the sharing of the household chores at the level of all employee families. In particular the unemployed men have begun to share the household work. In the families where both partners are employed full time there has not been any great change on 1990 in the sharing of the household chores.

The young and highly educated share the household chores most evenly

The following compares the effect of socio-economic group, educational level, the relative educational levels of partners, age, overtime working and the age of the children on the sharing of household chores in 1997 only with reference to families in which both partners are in full-time employment (or one is studying full time). The related tables are given in Appendix Tables 2.1.–2.5.

Just how evenly household chores are shared depends on all these factors. Generally speaking, the highly educated and upper white-collar interviewees reported that the men shared the various domestic responsibilities more often than was the case among the interviewees from other types of families. The same applies to the youngest respondents. In the families of those with lower secondary education only and the oldest respondents the household chores tend more often to be left entirely, or mainly, to the woman. The workload of the women in the families of the respondents under the age of 45 increases with children: the mothers of children under 18 in this category do more household work than their husbands more often than the women in families with no children do. In the 45+ age group, however, the existence of children under the age of 18 does not affect the sharing of household chores. The domestic work even in the families of those aged 45 or more with no children is clearly left to the woman more often than in the families of the respondents under the age of 45 with children.

The impact of socio-economic group is fairly slight as regards cooking, but the age of the respondent has a strong influence here. In the families of the in-

interviewees under the age of 25, cooking is the responsibility of the man alone or almost alone in one family in ten (13%). The figure falls steadily with age, until by the 55+ age group it is only 4 per cent. The cooking is done nearly 70 per cent by the women regardless of the relative educational level of the partners. In families where the partners' educational level is the same, or the woman's is slightly higher than the man's, the man nevertheless more often does all the cooking, whereas men who are more highly educated than their partners tend to share the cooking equally.

Washing up (or loading up the dishwasher!) is less often the woman's responsibility in upper white-collar and highly educated families than in other families (41–41%). In one such family in ten (11%) the man does the washing up. More than half the blue-collar workers and persons with basic or lower secondary education said that the washing up got left to the woman. The woman most often bears full responsibility for the washing up in families where the man's educational level is higher than hers. The responsibility is shared most equally in families where both partners have the same educational level. The extent to which men share the washing up clearly correlates with age: the older the respondent is, the more often the woman does all or most of the washing up. In 15 per cent of the homes of the respondents under the age of 25 the man does all or most of the washing up.

The younger the respondents are, the more they tend to share the shopping. The women most often shop for food in families with basic or lower secondary level education (53%) and in blue-collar families. The men help with the food shopping most in families where the man is more highly educated than his partner. The men who do all the shopping are most often those who have tertiary education or are upper white-collar employees.

Although men do not appear to be inclined to bear sole responsibility for the laundry in any of the categories, the sharing of the responsibility again clearly correlates with age: the older the respondents, the more likely the woman is to do the laundry alone and, again, the younger the respondents are, the more likely they are to share the responsibility. In more than one family in four (28%) under the age of 25 the spouses take joint responsibility for the laundry or the man does it alone, whereas the corresponding figure among the over-45s is only 13 per cent. Socio-economic group also correlates to some extent: there are more families (25%) where the man does the laundry at least as much as his woman among the families of upper white-collar respondents than among the families of other types, and likewise among the families where the woman is more highly educated than her partner (22%).

Doing the cleaning also correlates with age. In nearly half (47%) the families of respondents under the age of 35 the men do the cleaning at least as much as their partners, but in the families of older respondents the percentage of men doing at least as much as their partners varies from 35 to 41. The clean-

ing is all or almost all done by the man in one in ten of the families under 25. Half the upper white-collar employees said the man did as much cleaning as the woman, and among the highly educated respondents the percentage of men who helped with the cleaning was clearly higher than among the respondents with lower secondary education. The woman clearly does most of the cleaning in the families where the man is more highly educated than the woman. Cleaning clearly depends on the age of the youngest child in the family: in 43 per cent of the families where the youngest child is under the age of 12, as against 34 per cent of the families with children older than this, the men do at least as much of the cleaning as their female partners.

Doing the home repairs together is most common in the youngest age group, i.e. under 25, where 15 per cent said they did the repairs together. Doing the repairs together is correspondingly most common in families with no children (15%). The influence of socio-economic group and educational level is relatively slight on this score.

The responsibility for looking after the children is shared most evenly in families where the man is more highly educated than the woman. In the case of full-time employees (where neither partner is on family leave), not even the age of the children has much effect on the extent to which the responsibility is shared. It should be pointed out at this point that children need appreciably less "looking after" after the age of ten: in the families where the youngest child was under seven none of the respondents ticked the answer "don't know/not applicable" to the question about looking after the children. But in the families where the youngest child had reached the age of 12, half (and three quarters of the parents of 17-year-olds) felt the question was no longer relevant.

Taking and fetching the children has surprisingly little to do with the socio-economic group of the family. The responsibility is shared most evenly in families where the man is more highly educated than the woman. The age of the children clearly affects this issue: if the children are under school age, the mother clearly does more of the ferrying (30%) than if the children are at school, especially if the children are aged 12 or more (13%). Correspondingly, the older the children are, the more likely the fathers are to ferry them to the school or hobbies. Only 15 per cent of the fathers were responsible for all, or most, of the ferrying of children under school age, as against 31 per cent of the fathers of children aged 7–11 and 38 per cent of the fathers of children aged 12 or more. The main responsibility for ferrying school-age children thus seems to be shouldered by the fathers.

Overtime and household chores

The men who work a lot of overtime do less household chores than other men. Nearly half (46%) the men who work overtime less often than once a month or

not at all said they did at least as much as their partners. The same can be said of a good third (35%) of the men who work overtime each week³. Overtime has virtually no effect on doing the cooking and laundry, but there is a clear correlation in the case of shopping, cleaning, and looking after the children: the men who do little or no overtime clearly do a larger share of these than the men who do overtime each week.

For women, however, overtime does little to lessen the household workload. In the case of the general question the difference is mostly revealed by the fact that 35 per cent of the women who do overtime at least once a month feel they do *much* more chores than their partners, whereas 40 per cent of the women who seldom or never do overtime feel this. Adding together the percentages for the women who do much or some more household work, there is no difference in the women's replies. It appears from individual replies that the partners of women who do overtime at least once a month are slightly more likely to help with the shopping and laundry and far more likely to help with the cleaning; the partners of women who do overtime every week also look after and ferry the children somewhat more than other men do.

Views on the sharing of chores differ

The replies given by the men and women to the general question about the sharing of household chores clearly differ. The difference is even more pronounced on examining only respondents who are themselves, and whose partners are, working full time. Of these women, 69 per cent feel they do more chores, but only 59 per cent of the men say their partners do most of the chores. Correspondingly, one man in ten (10%) says he does more household chores than his partner, whereas only 2 per cent of the women say their partners do more than they do. The difference persists in all the age groups regardless of whether there are any children in the family or the ages of the children.

The respondents in full-time employment whose partners were also employed full time were more or less agreed about the sharing of the household chores on the matter of laundry only: 80 per cent of the men said their partners did this mainly/alone, and 82 per cent of the women agreed with this. In the case of the other household chores it was evident that the percentage of women who said they did mainly/all of the household work was clearly greater than the percentage of men who said their partners did that particular chore mainly/alone. This even applied to home repairs: one per cent of the men said their

³ The percentages are here calculated from the men's replies only. 39 per cent of all the men said they did as much or more household work than their wives. See next page for further information about the difference between the men's and women's replies.

partners saw to most/all of these, as against 4 per cent of the women. The differences were particularly marked in the case of cleaning: 50 per cent of the men replied that their partners did most, or all, of the cleaning, as against 66 per cent of the women. The difference in the percentages for the other chores was 6–12 points.

Both men and women thus have a tendency to rate their share of the work higher than it appears in the eyes of their partner. Similar results have been obtained by Haavio-Mannila (1984), Tuula Melkas (1998) and others, and it appears to be a pan-European phenomenon (Eurobarometer 34, 1991). Melkas reckons the difference springs from sheer unawareness of what the partner does, at least in cases where the division of labour is highly differentiated. Iris Niemi (1984) compared data collected by means of interview questions (such as those used in the Quality of Work Life Survey) and accounts kept of the time spent doing various kinds of household chores. The differences between the various age and educational groups are, according to Niemi, greater when household work is measured by general interview questions than those revealed by the accounts of time spent. According to the accounts, the time spent by men on household chores varied very little according to age and level of education. By contrast, the older and less educated women overestimated in the interviews the amount of household work they did far more often than the young and educated women did. One of the reasons for this is, Niemi reckons, that the older and less educated women more widely accept the gender roles traditionally assigned to them than their sisters.

Do women shoulder the moral responsibility, too?

The division of labour within the home is, despite the slow trend towards greater equality, still clear: the women do most of the household chores and the men the maintenance and repairs. In urban families, there is far more of the former than of the latter, since many of the traditional men's jobs have, in urban households, been taken over by housing companies or the local authorities or become fully mechanised, as Haavio-Mannila points out (1984).

The household work does not, however, consist solely of recurring, routine chores. It is also necessary to manage for and co-ordinate the special needs and schedules of each member of the family, as Le Feuvre points out. The time spent doing concrete household chores can, it is true, be measured more or less accurately, but the "mental burden" of co-ordinating them is something that cannot be measured. Not only are the concrete household chores still not shared out equally; the mental burden still rests almost exclusively with the female partner.

Le Feuvre states that men's role in domestic labour is limited to occasionally *giving a hand* to women. This help can be offered, or denied, on a voluntary

basis. The key word here is "voluntary": the whole male identity and legitimacy does, after all, rest outside the domestic circle. Ultimately the responsibility for ensuring that the household chores get done rests with the women. In addition to doing the household work, women also have to find the time and energy to co-ordinate the helping hands which different members of family may offer from time to time. This aspect of "domestic management" applies to women in all social classes, even the privileged ones earning enough to buy such domestic services as cleaning and child minding from outsiders. Women are considered – and look upon themselves as – solely responsible for the housekeeping and childcare. Being in paid employment prevents them from meeting this obligation properly, i.e. in a way that satisfies the demands imposed by society in general and their partners, in particular. Women try to limit the consequences to their families of going out to work by spending their free time catching up on the housework themselves or making sure that some outsider can take their place while they are out at work.

Reconciling the demands of work and family

Let us now take a look at the reconciling of the demands of work and family, and at the ways in which female wage and salary earners have solved them in situations where reconciling the two has seemed particularly difficult. As regards the concept of the family itself, it should be remembered that it may mean slightly different things to different people.

According to the 1997 Family Barometer, the Finnish view of the family is weighted towards the nuclear family and marital status and children are among the basic parameters. The significance of children is further enhanced by the fact that nearly three out of four who replied to the barometer regarded children who had moved away from home and their parents as the same family. Despite the nuclear family orientation, almost one in four also considered same-sex couples as families, nearly one in five non-relatives living in the same household, one in ten people living alone and a fraction (3%) even friends not living together. Young people seem to be more flexible than their elders in accepting different family types. (Reuna 1997.)

The view of what comprises a person's own family also tended towards the nuclear family in the Family Barometer. Many of the respondents nevertheless also looked upon the children who had left home – and pets – as part of their family, and one in ten considered more distant relatives, such as uncles and aunts, as family members.

For many of those interviewed for the Quality of Work Life Survey, "family" may therefore mean something other than a married spouse or regular partner and children under 18 living at home. The replies to questions about reconciling work and family may be influenced by whether the interviewee

has, for example, declined the offer of a job or a chance to study in order to look after an ageing relative or grandchildren. On the other hand the compromises may go back years to a situation when a person without a family at the time of the interview (unmarried, divorced, widowed) had a spouse and/or children under the age of 18.

The growing pressure of work and competition in the 1990s has been reflected in the reconciling of the demands imposed by work and family. This is also evident in the choices which wage and salary earners have had to make between family and work. It appears on comparing the results of the 1990 and 1970 Quality of Work Life Surveys that more people than before have work problems on their mind while they are at home, that more feel they are neglecting their home duties because of their work, and that more women are feeling their family sometimes has to take second place to work. The percentages of people who feel like this have risen in almost all the employee groups, though such feelings are particularly familiar to upper white-collar employees, those with tertiary education, people working under great time pressure and the parents of small children. It appears on examining the ways in which women have solved the problem of reconciling work and family that work has, in the 1990s, taken preference over family more often than in earlier times. The change is particularly marked in the case of fixed-term employees and women without children, for example.

The difference between men and women in the percentage of employees who *stop totally thinking about work when they come home* is very small (Table 2.9.). More than a third of employees think about work affairs at home – the

Table 2.9. Reconciling demands of work and home life
Totally true or true to some extent

	Having come home stops totally thinking about work	Has difficulty in concentrating on work because of home matters	Feels that is neglecting home matters because of job	When at work, feels free from family and its noise	Sometimes family has to wait because of total dedication to work
	%	%	%	% ¹⁾	% ¹⁾
Total					
1990	65	5	23	61	28
1997	62	6	27	58	29
Women					
1990	66	6	24	66	25
1997	62	5	26	60	29
Men					
1990	65	4	23	57	31
1997	61	6	29	55	29

¹⁾ Excl. Don't know and Not applicable responses

Table 2.10. Reconciling demands of work and home life

Totally true or true to some extent

	Having come home stops totally thinking about work	Has difficulty in concentrating on work because of home matters	Feels that is neglecting home matters because of job	When at work, feels free from family and its noise	Sometimes family has to wait because of total dedication to work
	%	%	%	% ¹⁾	% ¹⁾
Total	62	6	27	58	29
Women	62	5	26	60	29
Men	61	6	29	55	29
Socio-economic group					
Upper white-collar employees	37	6	40	62	45
Women	36	6	40	67	47
Men	38	6	40	58	43
Lower white-collar employees	63	5	25	59	26
Women	65	5	25	60	26
Men	58	4	26	57	27
Blue-collar workers	74	6	22	54	23
Women	77	4	18	55	21
Men	73	7	24	54	24
Age group					
15–29 years	69	6	26	56	22
Women	68	6	26	59	20
Men	70	6	26	54	24
30–49 years	61	6	31	58	29
Women	62	6	30	63	29
Men	59	6	32	53	29
50–64 years	58	5	24	58	32
Women	60	4	21	58	32
Men	56	5	26	59	33
Family situation					
Single	66	5	17	55	28
Women	62	5	17	51	32
Men	68	6	17	57	24
Co-habiting/married partnership with no children	59	5	25	53	29
Women	61	4	22	53	27
Men	57	5	29	53	31
Co-habiting/married partnership with children ²⁾	62	6	34	62	29
Women	63	6	33	66	29
Men	61	6	34	56	29
Divorced, widowed	56	6	17	61	36
Women	62	6	13	56	34
Men	49	6	24	68	38
¹⁾ Excl. Don't know and Not applicable responses					
²⁾ Incl. single parents					

older the age group, the more people there are who think about work. Work occupies the minds of upper white-collar employees and persons with tertiary education, in particular. It seems to be most difficult for people employed in education, administration and management to leave their work in the office; only just under a third of these people said they stopped thinking about work the moment they got home, as against three quarters of the people employed in manufacturing, transport, construction and services. The time pressure at work is felt at home as well. Nearly three out of four of those who worked under little or no time pressure at work forgot about work when they got home, as against less than half of those working under great time pressure. Those with children under the age of three thought least about work when they got home. The reason why unmarried men think about work less than other men when they get home is not simply that the unmarried men are, on average, younger, since the tendency is the same in all the age groups.

Very few employees, on the other hand, find it *difficult to concentrate on work because of home matters*. It is, however, interesting that the figures for men and women have drawn closer together in the 1990s (Table 2.10). Educational level and socio-economic group have virtually no effect on the extent to which home matters occupy people's minds at work. On examining the situation according to family situation, it appears that single parents and, to some extent, the parents of children under seven stand out in this respect; they think about home while at work slightly more than the others do. Home matters also occupy the minds of those under extreme time pressure at work more than the minds of others.

The feeling of *neglecting home matters because of work* has become more common in the 1990s. This is especially true of men, to whom the feeling was already more familiar than women. The feeling of neglecting the home and family is most common among persons with tertiary education and upper white-collar employees. The link correlates very clearly with a sense of working under time pressure: there are twice as many people (38%) who feel guilty at neglecting their home and family among those with a sense of working under time pressure as those who have no or little time pressure (17%). Possibly it is these "neglected" home affairs that occupy the minds of the people under most time pressure. The sense of neglect because of work appears to tie in primarily with children, since it is more familiar to the parents of small children, and especially of children under seven, than it is to people with no children.

Not all find it easy to reply to the statement "*When at work I feel free from the family and its noise*". Either they have no family, or "the family is not noisy", as some of the interviewees commented. More than one in ten of the interviewees ticked "don't know/not applicable" in the 1990 and 1997 Surveys. The majority of those who replied in this way were unmarried, divorced or widowed, though here again more than half chose some reply other than "not applicable".

Next let us examine only those respondents who gave an answer other than "don't know/not applicable". All in all the percentage of those answering in the affirmative has fallen somewhat, especially among women. The sentiment is, however, still more familiar to women than to men. For women, the freedom afforded by work from the hassle of the family seems to relate to children, especially children under school age. Whereas 53 per cent of women with no children answered in the affirmative, the figure for mothers was 66 per cent, and for mothers of children under seven as much as 75 per cent. With men, by contrast, there does not appear to be any link between the age of the children or, indeed, whether or not they even have children. What is interesting is that the largest proportion of answers in the affirmative to this statement came from the divorced and widowed men without families who in other respects, too, proved to be highly work-oriented.

The highly educated and upper white-collar employees have a greater tendency than the others to feel free at work from the family noise. The tendency is far more pronounced among women than men. The percentages for both are high among teachers (68%) and health care employees (68%), and for women employed in administration and management (71%). The pressure of time at work has little effect on this.

Nor could a good tenth of the interviewees answer the statement "*Sometimes the family has to wait because of my total dedication to my work*", or else they did not consider that the statement applied to them. They were almost all unmarried, divorced or widowed. Nearly a third (29%) of the interviewees who replied something other than "don't know/not applicable" agreed with the statement. In the case of men the percentage has not changed since 1990, but there was by contrast an increase of four percentage points in the proportion of women answering in the affirmative (Table 2.9).

The feeling that work can take preference over family becomes steadily more common with age so that by the age of 55 it applies to 36 per cent of men. Among women it peaks in the 45–54 age group (34%) and from then onwards falls to 22 per cent, which is roughly the figure for the very youngest age group. It is most familiar to upper white-collar employees and persons with tertiary education, and to people who suffer from time pressure at work (36%). Interestingly, it is felt most often by divorcees (39%), both men and women.

The differences between men and women on the statements about reconciling work and family are astonishingly small. The results support the view expressed by other researchers (such as Haavio-Mannila 1984) that socio-economic group explains the overlapping of work and family more than gender and age. Haavio-Mannila (1984) found that women were even more work-oriented than men in the upper white-collar group. Among the upper white-collar employees interviewed for the 1997 Quality of Work Life Survey women also answered slightly less frequently than men that they stopped thin-

king about work once they got home, and they thought family could sometimes take second place because they were dedicated to their work more often than men did. The female upper white-collar employees in fact mentioned work as the most important area of their lives slightly more often than the men (63% vs. 59%). Part of the reason for this phenomenon, which goes against the traditional role expectations, could, Haavio-Mannila suggests, be that the women in this social group have a higher educational level than the men. In the Quality of Work Life Survey, 67 per cent of the female upper white-collar employees had tertiary education as against 62 per cent of the men. Highly educated white-collar women have, in particular, according to Haavio-Mannila, embraced the gender equality ideology by which women should be immersed in their work at least as deeply as men. On the other hand, the highly educated and upper white-collar women say that they also lay great store by their families.

Women's work orientation has in any case come closer to the male model in the 1990s in that in giving themselves up to work, women are now just as likely to place family second as their male colleagues. Women and men still think about work just as much when they are at home. Guilt at neglecting their homes and families has become more common among men, who now experience it more than women.

Conscious compromises in favour of work or family

The Quality of Work Life Survey also asked about the conscious decisions the interviewees had made in the course of life in situations where it was difficult to reconcile work and family. The percentages of "don't know/not applicable" replies were rather high: 3–9 per cent for women and as much as 5–12 per cent for men, depending on the question. The unmarried people and those under 30 found it most difficult to answer the questions in this group and the "don't know" answers were at times as high as 55 per cent.

Generally speaking, "don't know" answers were twice as common among men as among women. The questions were in fact directed primarily at women. Allowing for the high "don't know" percentages among young people, too, it is probably best to focus in the closer analysis of the results on the women aged 30 or more.

Considerable caution must then be observed in interpreting the results. The replies in the affirmative to questions about having to compromise between work and family indicate that the interviewee has at some point in life been faced with having to make such a decision and made a conscious choice. A reply in the negative may, on the other hand, mean either that the interviewee has been faced with such a situation and made a conscious choice, or that the interviewee has never been faced with such a situation, in which case there is no

*Table 2.11. Compromises in favour of work or family
Wage and salary earners aged over 30, Quality of Work Life Survey 1997*

	Limited number of children because of work	Put off having children because of work	Declined (an offered) job for family reasons	Given up own job because of move dictated by partner's work	Given up opportunities for additional, further or continuing education for family reasons	Worked only part-time for family reasons
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	10	9	23	13	20	18
Socio-economic group						
Upper white-collar employees	12	16	27	21	29	18
Lower white-collar employees	11	8	24	12	21	19
Blue-collar workers	5	6	18	9	12	14
Level of education						
Tertiary level	13	16	31	20	31	19
Upper secondary	9	9	22	11	20	19
Basic or lower secondary	9	5	21	10	11	14
Children						
No children	4	9	11	9	8	5
With children (incl. those aged over 18)	11	10	26	13	23	21
Age group						
30-39 years	10	14	16	10	21	14
40-49 years	9	8	25	12	21	21
50-64 years	11	7	30	17	19	16
Occupational group						
Technical, scientific, etc. work	17	17	28	8	18	15
Educational work	9	10	31	27	35	23
Health care work	12	9	29	15	29	26
Social care work	7	5	23	10	21	12
Administrative management work	13	28	17	3	10	8
Office work	10	9	20	14	21	18
Commercial work	15	12	27	11	17	20
Transport, agricultural and construction work	4	7	27	7	8	11
Manufacturing work	3	6	15	11	9	13
Service work	6	8	17	8	14	15

knowing how he or she *would have acted*. The highly educated and upper white-collar women replied more often than the other women that they had restricted the number of children they would have liked or had put off having children, possibly as a result of the long time spent in education and the demands of their jobs. On the other hand, these same highly educated, upper white-collar women have also more often made choices between work and family in favour of the family. This may to a great extent simply mean that these women have more often been faced with a need to compromise and/or that they were more aware than their sisters of making a compromise. The younger the respondents are, the more likely they are, of course, never to have been faced with the need to compromise. Limiting the number of children for reasons of work or employment sounds so final that the only people who can really answer the question are probably those who are past the childbearing age.

The following results of the 1997 Quality of Work Life Survey will be examined only insofar as they apply to interviewees who answered something other than "don't know/not applicable" to each of the questions. They apply, as was pointed out, only to women over the age of 30. (Table 2.11.)

One woman in ten aged 30 or more reported in the 1997 Survey that she had *limited the number of children due to reasons connected with work or employment*. This was true of the highly educated and upper white-collar women more than of the others. Only five per cent of the blue-collar women said they had limited the number of children because of work.

Similarly, almost one woman in ten aged 30 or more said she had *put off having children because of reasons connected with employment*. This was more common among the highly educated and the upper white-collar women than among the others, and more common in the 30–39 age group than among the older ones. It is interesting to note how common putting off having children was among women in administrative management occupations (28%) and among women employed in technical, scientific, etc., jobs (17%).

Nearly a quarter of the women aged 30 or more said they had *given up work or declined a job offer for family reasons*, the upper white-collar and highly educated women more often than the others. The divorcees and widows had made this decision more often than others (36%), but almost one single parent in three had also done so (30%).

Examination of the issue by gender reveals the interesting fact that the older the women were, the higher the percentage of those who had at some point given up work or declined a job offer for family reasons was. One in three (31%) of the 55+ group had done so at some point in their lives, whereas among the men it was most common in the under-40s. It appears on further examination according to whether or not the interviewee has children that as many as 14 per cent of the fathers aged 30–39 said they had given up work or declined a job offer for family reasons. This percentage is very close to that for

the mothers in the same age group (16%). It may perhaps be interpreted from the results that while the traditional, sacrificing behaviour model is beginning to lose ground among the youngest women, there is more room for a softer, more family-oriented model among the men.

Giving up a job because of a move dictated by the spouse's work is most common of all among the highly educated and upper white-collar women. This is perhaps partly explained by the strong correlation between partners' educational background and by the fact that highly educated people are most often faced with the necessity to move because of their jobs. The divorcees and widows had most frequently made such a decision (18%). The percentage for those in a partnership with no children was 14, that for single parents 13 and that for those in two-carer families 12. The figures behave as on the previous issue with relation to age group and gender. Among the women the decision is most common among the oldest age groups, but among the men in the 30–39 age group, 8 per cent of which (10 per cent of the women of the same age) have given up their jobs because of the wife's need to move to another locality. Only three per cent of the men older than this had done so.

The upper white-collar, highly educated female employees reported more often than the others that they had also *given up opportunities for additional, further and continuing education for family reasons*. The extent of this does, however, depend on how far they have been offered such opportunities; due to the accumulation of educational capital, the highly educated have had more opportunities for further education than the others – in other words, they have had the opportunity, or been forced, to give up such offers more than the other women. Examination by family situation makes the single parents stand out: more than one in three (35%) have given up opportunities. The percentage for women in two-carer families is 25, but it is also 24 for divorcees and widows.

Working only part-time for family reasons is more common among white-collar employees than among blue-collar workers. It has been practised most by single parents (26%), followed by parents in two-carer families (21%). In other words, most people work part-time because of their children.

The questions on the compromises made between work and family should also be examined according to whether or not the interviewees have children. These questions do not concern only the present moment, since the interviewee was also asked to consider decisions made at some earlier point in life. It is therefore probably not sufficient to examine the issue only according to whether the interviewee happens to have children under the age of 18 living at home at the time of the interview. Since almost all the older wage and salary earner mothers have taken at least a short maternity leave after the birth of their children, the background variable used to determine motherhood can well be whether the interviewee has children under the age of 18 at the time of the interview *or* whether she has at some point in her life been off work because of maternity or parental leave or to look after her children.

It is quite obvious on examining the answers in this way that the women who have or have had children have, if faced with the decision, far more often chosen in favour of the family than the women with no children. The generation difference is evident here again. As many as 35 per cent of the mothers aged 50 or more say they have at some point in their lives given up work or declined a job offer because of their family; 19 per cent have given up a job because their husband's job meant moving to another locality. The corresponding figures for younger mothers are 19 and 10 per cent. As regards putting off having children for reasons of work, 17 per cent of the women aged 30–39 with no children said this applied to them, as against only 3 per cent of the women aged 50 or more with no children.

*Table 2.12. Compromises in favour of work or family
Women aged 30–39, Quality of Work Life Surveys 1990 and 1997*

		Limited number of children because of work	Put off having children because of work	Declined (an offered) job for family reasons	Given up own job because of move dictated by partner's work	Given up opportunities for additional, further or continuing education for family reasons	Worked only part-time for family reasons
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	1990	12	–	23	12	25	21
	1997	10	14	16	10	21	14
Level of education							
Lower/Upper secondary	1990	13	–	20	11	26	22
	1997	9	12	13	9	19	14
Tertiary level	1990	11	–	32	15	22	18
	1997	13	19	24	12	25	15
Type of employment relationship							
Permanent	1990	12	–	19	11	23	20
	1997	10	13	13	9	20	14
Fixed-term	1990	16	–	47	17	40	32
	1997	11	17	25	14	23	13
Children							
No children	1990	7	–	12	10	12	6
	1997	6	17	5	7	5	0
With children	1990	14	–	26	12	29	26
	1997	11	13	19	10	25	18

Compromises in favour of work on the increase

Most of the questions on the compromises made between family and work were presented as such in the 1990 Survey already. In order to obtain a picture of the trend in the 1990s it is reasonable to limit the examination to, say, women in the 30–39 age group (Table 2.12.). The majority of the women under 30 have no children and one in three is unmarried; and even those who have already set up a family have only a short family history. The replies of the women older than this also reflect decisions made perhaps twenty or thirty years earlier.

Comparing the replies of the women aged 30–39 in the 1990 and 1997 Surveys, it appears that when faced with having to decide between work and family, work is increasingly taking preference (Table 2.12.). It is interesting to observe the magnitude of this change especially among wage and salary earners in fixed-term employment relationships, who have clearly less often used the family as a reason for giving up work, declining the offer of a job or training or worked part-time only. In view of the high unemployment of the 1990s, many have undoubtedly felt unable to take the risk. True, fixed-term employees have continued to give up work, decline offers of jobs and training for family reasons more often than permanent employees.

Partner alone appears less and less often to be a sufficient reason for declining a chance of a new job or further training, and it is no longer any reason for working part-time. Comparison of women with and without children shows that the mothers have been far more likely than the women with no children to favour the family when faced with the choice of work or family. Nor are the changes on 1990 as great for the mothers as they are for the women with no children.

One interesting finding is the correspondence between tertiary level of education and upper white-collar work and the frequency of compromises in favour of the family. The Work and Family survey conducted by the National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health (Stakes) also found that highly educated women had more often made compromises in favour of the family than other women. Minna Salmi and Päivi Yli-Pietilä (1998) note that a high level of education may offer a chance of progress to a responsible position and may, therefore, pose additional challenges for the reconciling of work and family. They also suggest by way of explanation that before the recession education at least still guaranteed a place on the labour market; hence, declining an offer of a particular job did not mean total exclusion from the labour market. On the other hand, they also assume that many highly educated women are maybe not interested in work opportunities as a means of creating a "career" if the family suffers as a result: once these women finally have their children (often after some delay), they want to be with them. Many do, no

doubt, really have to choose between a career and family. For it seems from the Survey that it is precisely the women who have chosen a traditional "career" in administrative management who have clearly favoured the family rather than work in fewer cases than their sisters.

Maybe the challenging, demanding work often accompanying a high level of education and upper white-collar work with its large amount of overtime forces women into making a more conscious assessment of the significance of the family: unless they are aware of what their family means to them, work will easily take over. According to the replies to both the Stakes survey (1998) and the Quality of Work Life Survey, highly educated women value family life more and gainful employment less than other women. Family rates higher more often (73%) among highly educated women than among others (66%). The women in administrative management occupations do not value home and family life less than other women, but they regard gainful employment as an extremely important area of life considerably more often than other women (77% vs. 58%).

Summary

The majority of Finnish wage and salary earners have a family: a partner and/or children. All are forced, daily, some more, some less successfully, to reconcile their work and their families. Women have traditionally borne the main responsibility for the everyday routines, so this reconciliation is still more of a problem for them than for men.

In Finland, unlike in many other European countries, women have not made very widespread use of part-time employment as a means of reconciling work and family. They have in this respect been helped by the public day-care system, long periods of parental leave and statutory right to time off work to care for a small child. These have made the task of juggling between work and family easier for the female wage and salary earners (particularly when the children are small), but they may even have weakened the labour market position of women and made their careers more fragmented. They are sometimes mentioned as one of the reasons for the high incidence of fixed-term employment relationships among Finnish women of child-bearing age: the employer takes a risk on hiring a woman of child-bearing age since she may be off work for years at a time while looking after her children.

The interruptions caused by birth and childcare in the working careers of Finnish women have varied. In their day the oldest female wage and salary earners often took only a short maternity leave of a few months, or else they may have stayed at home for many years to look after their children. The younger mothers entitled to parental leave and the home care allowance have usually been off work to look after their children for from one to three years.

Among men, time off to look after the family is gradually becoming more common, though the periods off are still rather short. A good half of the fathers under the age of 35 in the 1997 Survey had taken at least a short paternity or parental leave or otherwise stayed at home to look after their children.

Although men have, over the years, been participating more and more in the household work, the bulk of the household chores is still the women's responsibility. The sharing of the domestic work seems to have worked best on issues to do with childcare. The trend towards more even sharing of the chores in the 1990s has been most marked in families where the female partner is working full time and the man is working part-time or is outside the working life. The proportion of such families has increased in the 1990s. At the same time, the reason for the man remaining outside the working life is in these families increasingly unemployment. Indeed, it could, to exaggerate somewhat, thus be said that unemployment has taught men to do the household chores.

Going out to work is most common in the Finnish families with children under the age of 18. These families also work most hours. The fathers of small children seem to do a longer working week than others, and very much overtime. Mothers work longer as their children grow older. This is further indicated by the fact that the mothers of small children stated more than the other women that their partners worked too hard – among the men this was felt above all by the fathers of children over ten.

The growing pressure of work and competition on the labour markets in the 1990s are also in evidence when people have to choose between family and work. More wage and salary earners than earlier take work home with them, at least in their minds, and more feel that they are neglecting their families because of work. More and more women are choosing work when it is difficult or even impossible to reconcile work and family. This change is particularly marked in the case of wage and salary earners in fixed-term employment relationships. Meanwhile, being in gainful employment has become an increasingly important area of life. The change in attitude has been especially clear among women from two-carer families with children.

According to Arlie Russell Hochschild (1997), a cultural revolution is right now taking place in the status of the home and job. There is a touch of the sacred in the traditional concept of the family, and something almost profane about work: in the family love, affection, respect, social relations are values in themselves; the home is a haven providing refuge from the cruel world of work demanding efficiency where the human being is not an individual but a mere number.

For an increasing number of middle-class Americans work has, according to Hochschild, nevertheless gradually become a place embodying values traditionally associated with the home and family, such as respect, social relations, experiences of proving oneself and success. For growing numbers of people

work is no longer just an economic necessity, it is a diversiform cultural value in itself.

Correspondingly, the home is, for a growing number of people, no longer a place in which to relax and regain their strength. As work demands more and more of their time and commitment, the home has become a sort of second job waiting in the wings and carrying demands, obligations, family members begging attention, conflicts and a backlog of household work. The time concept and efficiency cult of the working life are being transferred to the home: people are trying to respond to the demands on their time made by the partner and children with "quality time": intensive time spent together in almost Tayloristic fashion. Home life nowadays takes in more and more of what were once considered the most alienating aspects of work. The reason why more people feel more "at home" while at work than with their families is, according to Hochschild, simply that they feel more respected and competent at work than at home; what is more, all kinds of support and assistance are closer at hand at work than at home. The employer provides remuneration for work done; the children do not give medals for good parenthood. Work, which can complement and at best even improve family life, has in the past few decades begun, according to Hochschild, to compete with the family, and won.

The vision put forward by Hochschild does, while rather exaggerated, describe the work-oriented American middle class. As such it is, however, an interesting precept and provides food for thought in a Finnish context, too.

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Equality, fair treatment, and social relationships of a workplace

Occupationally, the structure of the Finnish wage and salary earning population is highly segregated. More than two out of three (69%) of the female wage and salary earners do job tasks which in their workplace are only, or mostly, done by women. An equally large proportion of the male wage and salary earners do tasks which in their workplace are only, or mostly, done by men. These proportions have contracted slightly from 1984. One man in six and one woman in five do work which in their workplace is done by both men and women. However, the numbers of men doing female-dominated jobs and women doing male-dominated jobs are still quite small. (Table 3.1.)

In the following, I shall use the term female-dominated for those workplaces where the employees doing similar job tasks are all, or mostly,

*Table 3.1. Gender of co-workers doing similar tasks
Proportion of wage and salary earners, Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997*

	All women %	Mostly women %	Both men and women %	Mostly men %	All men %	No one does similar tasks %
Total						
1984	23	14	14	14	28	7
1990	22	18	14	18	22	6
1997	20	20	18	14	20	7
Women						
1984	48	25	15	3	2	7
1990	42	30	15	5	1	6
1997	37	33	20	4	1	6
Men						
1984	1	3	12	24	53	8
1990	1	5	13	31	44	7
1997	1	6	17	26	43	7

women (with the exception of a possible male interviewee), and the term male-dominated for those where the employees are "all", or mostly, men. Mixed fields are those where both women and men perform similar job tasks.

Female-dominated workplaces are commonest among those working in the fields of social care (88%), health care (77%) and hotel and restaurant services (72%), but the workplaces of 60 per cent of those working in education are also female-dominated. Mostly male-dominated workplaces are found among those working in occupations in construction (87%), manufacturing (65%) and transport (64%). Those belonging to the occupational groups of administrative management, agriculture and education mostly work in mixed fields (28–29%). In the workplaces of one in four in the technical, scientific, etc. fields, and in office work, women and men perform similar job tasks.

Comparisons of the Survey results for the different years show a strong increase in female-domination in the educational field. In 1984, forty-five per cent of the women in educational occupations worked at female-dominated workplaces, in 1990 the proportion had gone up 60 per cent and by 1997 it was as high as 71 per cent. Women's proportion has also clearly increased in administrative management occupations. In 1984, all or most of the co-workers doing similar job tasks of one in ten of the wage and salary earners in these occupations were women, while under a quarter (23%) had both male and female co-workers. In 1997, one in four (26%) of those in administrative management occupations said that the persons doing similar job tasks to theirs were only, or mostly, women, while 29 per cent stated that they had both male and female co-workers.

Contrastingly, levelling off can be observed in the occupational group of office work, for example, as the ADP field within the group employs an increasing number of wage and salary earners. Men do not do much more secretarial work than before. In 1984, both men and women performed similar job tasks at the workplaces of only one in ten (11%) of office professionals. By 1997, the proportion had gone up to one in four (24%).

Female-dominated workplaces are mostly found in the municipal sector. The workplaces of over 80 per cent of women and good 20 per cent of men in this sector are female-dominated. The situation is reversed in the private sector where the workplace of three man in four is male-dominated. The segregation is the least pronounced in the central government sector, where 26 per cent of the wage and salary earners say they do job tasks done by both men and women at their workplace.

Satisfaction with equality varies by sector

A general question about the accomplishment of equality at the workplace was included for the first time in the 1997 Quality of Work Life Survey, so compar-

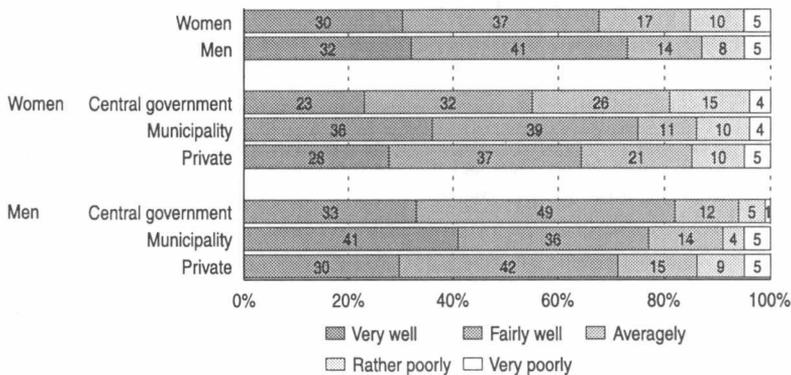
ative data with the past are, therefore, not available. One in five respondents could not answer the question or did not consider it applicable in their case. This applied mainly to the interviewees whose co-workers were all of the same gender as them. Only two per cent of those working in mixed fields chose the "don't know" alternative. The number of "don't know" replies decreased pro rata to the increase in the number of employees at a workplace and the ascending socio-economic group of the interviewee. These replies are not included in the following examination.

Men's and women's perceptions of the accomplishment of equality at workplaces are very much in line with each other, but women seem on the whole slightly more dissatisfied with the situation than men. (Figure 3.1.) Most of the wage and salary earners regarded the situation at their workplace quite, or very, good. However, one in three women and a good quarter of men stated that gender equality had been accomplished no more than averagely. To a great extent, this would agree with the results of the 1998 Gender Barometer (Melkas, 1998) if the proportions of the replies exclusive of the "don't knows" are taken into accounts.

The perceptions of the two genders of the accomplishment of gender equality differed from each other mainly in the central government sector. The women in the central government sector expressed the greatest dissatisfaction with the accomplishment of gender equality: nearly half of them said that gender equality had been achieved no more than averagely at their workplace. Contrastingly, the men in the central government sector were the most satisfied with the gender equality at their workplace: over 80 per cent of them regarded the situation as extremely, or quite, good. The women most satisfied with the situation worked in the municipal sector, while the most critical men

Figure 3.1. How well gender equality has been accomplished at the workplace

By gender and employer sector, Quality of Work Life Survey 1997*



* Excl. Don't knows

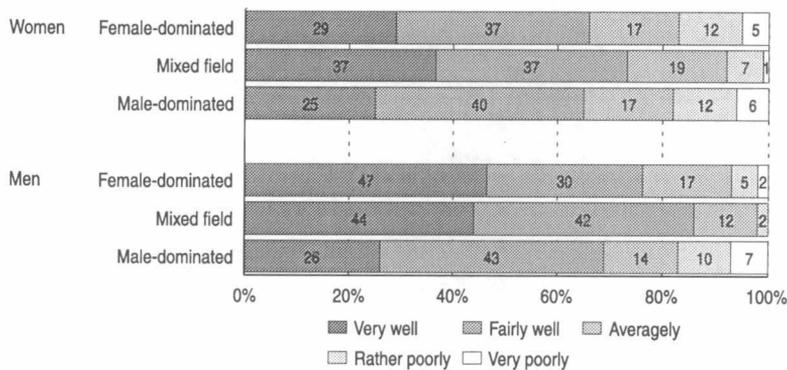
worked in the private sector. (Figure 3.1.) In the municipal and private sectors, upper white-collar and highly educated employees were the most satisfied with the realisation of equality, while blue-collar workers and those with basic or lower secondary education were the most dissatisfied. In the central government sector, those with upper secondary education, blue-collar workers and lower salaried employees regarded the situation as the most satisfactory.

Regardless of family situation, nature of employment relationship or employer sector, young women appeared to be distinctly more satisfied with the equality at their workplace than their sisters of more mature years were. Of the women, one in three under 30 (34%), one in four between 30 and 44 (25%) and one in five aged 45 or over (20%) thought that equality had been extremely well accomplished at their workplace. Criticism and negative experiences seem to increase along with age. According to Päivi Korvajärvi (1998), women have a tendency to view sexual discrimination as a distant social issue, not as something occurring at their own workplace. The more negative experiences and age the women accrue, the more difficult it must become for them to turn a blind eye to these experiences.

Equality seemed to have been best achieved at those workplaces where men and women did similar job tasks. (Figure 3.2.) Nearly three out of four of women and almost 90 per cent of men working in mixed fields regarded the equality at their workplaces as extremely, or quite, good. The men working in female-dominated workplaces saw equality at their workplaces as notably better than the women working in female-dominated fields viewed theirs. The perceptions of both men and women in male-dominated fields of the accomplishment of gender equality agreed to a large extent.

Figure 3.2. How well gender equality has been accomplished at the workplace

By female/male dominance of workplace, Quality of Work Lifer Survey 1997*



* Excl. Don't knows

Both women and men expressed the greatest satisfaction in the accomplishment of equality where their immediate superior was a woman and not a man. The size of the workplace would also seem to correlate clearly with the extent to which equality had been achieved. The smaller the number of employees at the interviewee's establishment was, the more likely the respondent was to express high satisfaction with the achievement of equality. This view was held by 37 per cent of those working at establishments with fewer than 10 employees and 23 per cent of those at establishments with over 100 employees.

Examined by occupational group, the wage and salary earners in the fields of education and health care were the most satisfied: 41 per cent of women and as many as 60 per cent of men replied that gender equality had been extremely well accomplished at their workplace. The next occupational group were hotel and restaurant employees of whom 43 per cent regarded equality as very well realised. Only just under one fifth of those in manufacturing and agricultural occupations and only 23 per cent of construction employees regarded the situation as extremely good. The number of those with an entirely opposite view, i.e. who thought equality had been extremely poorly achieved at their workplace, was the largest among those in social care occupations, of whom one in ten held this view. Seven per cent of those in manufacturing, transport and agricultural occupations also expressed a similar view.

Discrimination most widespread in the central government sector

Since 1990, two sets of questions have been used in the Quality of Work Life Surveys to find out how widespread discrimination or unequal treatment is at workplaces. Apart from establishing the spread of discrimination, the questions are also designed to give information about the bases on which discrimination takes place, as well as the situations in which it occurs.

If the reasons for discrimination are examined, it does not look as if unequal treatment has either increased or decreased much in the 1990s. This is true even in respect of age, despite today's frequent talk about age discrimination. The question used in 1990 inquired about the occurrence of age-related discrimination in general, but in 1997, the respondents were asked separately about discrimination on the basis of young age and old age. In 1997, the proportion of those at whose workplace age discrimination occurred either on the basis of young age or old age, or both, was the same as the proportion of those who in 1990 had observed age discrimination in general, which was 16 per cent. Similarly, the question in 1990 inquired about sexual discrimination in general, whereas in 1997, discrimination against women and men was asked

about separately. The proportion of those respondents at whose workplace discrimination against women or men, or both, took place was 11 per cent in 1997. This differed very little from the findings in 1990, when 12 per cent of the wage and salary earners said gender-related discrimination occurred at their workplace.

There was a slight reduction in discrimination on the basis of political views in 1997 compared to 1990 (4% vs. 6%), and also in discrimination on the basis of activity in the trade union movement (4% vs. 5%). There was no change between 1997 and 1990 in the observed discrimination based on having a family. From 1990 to 1997, the overall proportion of those who had observed discrimination based on favouritism at their workplace decreased by one percentage point. The proportion of women who had detected this type of discrimination did increase by one percentage point (22% vs. 23%), but men's corresponding proportion decreased from 21 to 18 per cent. The number of those who had noticed discrimination based on ethnic background, nationality or colour increased by around one percentage point from 1990. This may, admittedly, be explained by the fact that there was also a sharp increase in the number of foreigners in Finland in the early years of the 1990s, in other words, there are generally more employees than before who have co-workers of non-Finnish ethnic origin. In the 1990 Survey, the respondents were not asked about discrimination based on fixed-term or part-time employment relationship, so no comparison data are available on this aspect.

In the 1997 Survey, men had noticed at their workplaces more discrimination on the basis of young age, political views and activity in the trade union movement than the women had at theirs. More women than men thought that there was discrimination at their workplace on the basis of the female gender, having a family, favouritism and nature of employment relationship. Discrimination based on old age, the male gender, ethnic background, nationality or colour had been observed by men and women roughly equally frequently. Establishment size seems to correlate direct with the occurrence of almost any type of discrimination: least discrimination was detected at the smallest establishments and most in establishments with over 100 employees. It should be borne in mind, however, that there are also more observers of an isolated case of discrimination in large workplaces than in small ones.

Favouritism was the most often quoted reason for unequal treatment. (Table 3.2.) It had been observed by one in five wage and salary earners at their workplace, most frequently by far by those working in the central government sector. The wage and salary earners of male-dominated workplaces had not observed favouritism-based discrimination quite as often as those employed at female-dominated or mixed field workplaces had. What is interesting is that in women's opinion this kind of discrimination occurs more often where the superior is male, while in men's opinion it is more prevalent where the superior is female. Those employed in the educational field had made the largest num-

Table 3.2. Occurrence of discrimination or unequal treatment in work organisation

Proportion of wage and salary earners by basis of discrimination and employer sector, Quality of Work Life Survey 1997

Basis of discrimination	Total		Employer		Municipality		Private	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Age, young	8	11	6	14	8	8	8	11
Age, old	11	10	13	12	8	9	12	10
Sex, female	12	6	21	10	7	4	15	6
Sex, male	3	3	2	—	3	4	3	3
Political views	3	5	3	1	4	8	3	5
Activity in the trade union movement	4	6	4	2	3	7	5	6
Having a family, being pregnant	10	3	7	3	9	1	11	4
Favouritism	23	18	34	28	20	17	23	18
Race, nationality or colour of skin	4	4	2	—	2	3	4	5
Temporary or part-time employment relationship	16	13	22	18	20	17	12	13

ber of observations of favouritism-based discrimination at their workplaces. The phenomenon was most familiar to upper white-collar employees of whom one in four said that it was taking place.

Quite a number (15%) had also noticed at their workplace discrimination on the basis of *temporary or part-time employment relationship*. This kind of discrimination seems to be clearly more frequent in the public than in the private sector and, moreover, at female-dominated workplaces. Fixed-term employment relationships are relatively common in precisely female-dominated workplaces in the public sector. Of the men, those in upper white-collar positions had made the largest number of these observations, but women in all socio-economic groups had observed it equally frequently. Those working in health care occupations rose above all others: 28 per cent of them said there was discrimination or unequal treatment based on the nature of employment relationship at their workplaces. The phenomenon was also quite commonly noted by those working in educational occupations, of whom one in five had noticed it.

Every tenth wage and salary earner had detected unequal treatment on the basis of old age at their workplace. Those working in the municipal sector had observed it slightly less frequently than the wage and salary earners in the cen-

tral government or private sector had. Male lower white-collar workers and female blue-collar workers had observed more discrimination directed towards the aged than the other respondents had. Examined by occupational group, those in technical, scientific, etc. and service occupations had slightly more frequent observations of it than the others. Those aged over 45 reported of discrimination more often than their younger counterparts did.

Almost one tenth of the interviewees had also noticed discrimination or unequal treatment on the basis of young age at their workplace. This was most commonly reported by those concerned, i.e. wage and salary earners aged under 30. It seemed to be most widespread in manufacturing and construction occupations, as 15 per cent of those working in them expressed this opinion. Consequently, blue-collar workers and those employed at male-dominated workplaces had made more observations of this type of discrimination than the others had.

Discrimination based on the female gender had also been observed by just under one tenth of wage and salary earners, and twice as frequently by women as by men. Particularly women in the 30–44 age group (15%), upper white-collar employees and women working in male-dominated fields had noticed discrimination more often than the others. The phenomenon is even more pronounced in the central government sector: as many as one fifth of the female wage and salary earners in this sector reported of unequal treatment towards their gender. Men had observed it mostly in commercial occupations and women in manufacturing occupations (22%) as well as in administrative management and office work positions (19%).

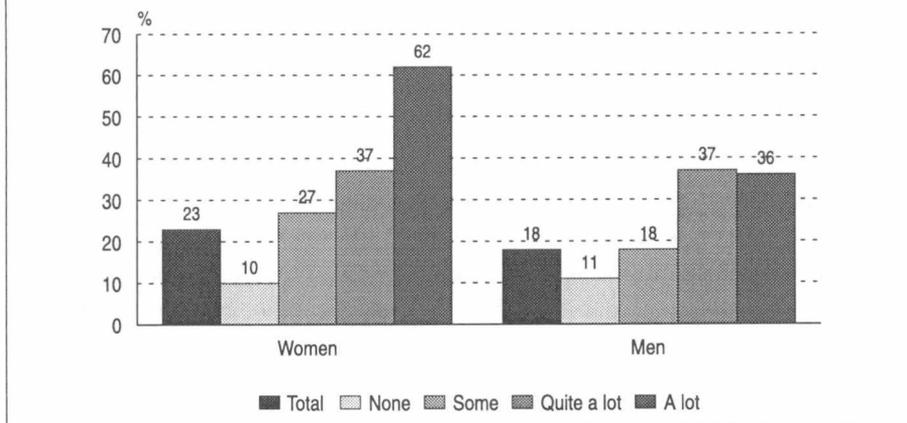
Discrimination based on *having a family or being pregnant* would seem to be most common in the private sector. The most frequent observations of this had been made by wage and salary earners aged under 45 and by women – especially those in male-dominated workplaces. Women had observed it mainly in commercial occupations and men in administrative management occupations. With women, socio-economic group had very little bearing on the matter, but with men those in upper white-collar positions had observed the most discrimination.

Five per cent of wage and salary earners, and particularly men in the municipal sector, reported of discrimination on the basis of *activity in the trade union movement*. This was most commonly reported by men in the municipal sector. It was the least pronounced in the central government sector. Four percent of employees reported of discrimination on the basis of political views. It was, again, most common in the municipal sector, especially according to male employees.

Discrimination on the basis of ethnic background, nationality or colour was most commonly reported in the private sector, the least in the central government sector.

All in all, four per cent of wage and salary earners had noticed discrimination of this kind. Even fewer, or three per cent, reported of discrimination di-

Figure 3.3. Occurrence of discrimination based on favouritism
By extent of competitive spirit at the workplace, Quality of Work Life Survey 1997



rected towards *the male gender* at their workplace. Women and men had observed this kind of discrimination equally frequently, but the men in female-dominated workplaces reported the largest number (5%) of incidents involving this kind of discrimination.

The presence of competitiveness at a workplace is clearly linked with the occurrence of all types of discrimination. At workplaces where competitiveness was high the proportion of those who had observed discrimination towards women, or on the basis of having a family, was five-fold compared to workplaces with next to no competitiveness. The connection seems to be particularly striking between the discrimination based on favouritism observed by women and the prevalence of competitiveness at a workplace. (Figure 3.3.)

Discrimination based on favouritism appears to be particularly common at workplaces where the pace of work has increased in the past few years, where major changes were due to take place, and which the interviewees regarded as financially unstable. At these workplaces, discrimination on the basis of, among other things, old age, having a family or the nature of employment relationship was more widespread than at other workplaces.

Every fifth woman has experienced discrimination

Approximately one woman in five (19%) and a good tenth (13%) of men reported that they had personally experienced discrimination at their workplace for a reason listed on the Survey questionnaire. Most of them had experienced unequal treatment on the basis of just one reason. Every third woman and every fourth man who had personally experienced discrimination said there had been more than one reason.

Personal experiences of discrimination were the most common in respect of discrimination based on *favouritism*. Eight per cent of women and 7 per cent of men felt that they had been subjected to this type of unequal treatment. The experiences were the most frequent in the central government sector, in which they were familiar to 16 per cent of the female employees and to one in ten of the male ones. Those aged 30 to 44, or employed in mixed fields, as well as upper white-collar employees, reported the largest numbers of experiences of this kind of discrimination.

Five per cent of women had experienced discrimination at their workplace on the basis of *the female gender*; upper white-collar employees and women in the central government sector more often than the others. Eight per cent of the women working under male supervision and less than 3 per cent of those working under female supervision had experienced discrimination on the grounds of their female gender. As many as 18 per cent of the female employees at male-dominated workplaces had encountered discrimination because of their female gender. The women aged between 30 and 44 reported the largest number of these experiences.

Five per cent of women and 3 per cent of men had experienced discrimination on the basis of their *temporary or part-time employment relationship*. These experiences were more common than average with the women in the municipal sector and with the men in the central government sector. More than one in ten (13%) of female fixed-term employees and as many as just under one tenth (9%) of female part-time employees felt that they had received unequal treatment on the grounds of the nature of their employment relationship. This experience was equally common among fixed-term and part-time male employees alike of whom 8% felt they had been subjected to discrimination of this kind.

Seven per cent of the wage and salary earners aged under 30, and women more often than men, said they had experienced discrimination on the basis of *young age* at their workplace. The proportion in respect of all wage and salary earners was 3 per cent. The belittling of young age seems especially to come from the same gender as one's own, for women's experiences were the most common at female-dominated and men's at male-dominated workplaces. Young blue-collar workers reported the largest number of such bitter experiences.

Experiences of discrimination on the grounds of *old age* were the most familiar to wage and salary earners aged over 55. Eight per cent of the women and 7 per cent of the men in this age group saw themselves as having been subjected to age discrimination. Even in the 45–54 age group this was familiar to 5 per cent of women and 3 per cent of men. The overall proportion in respect of all wage and salary earners was around two per cent. Socio-economic group had little or no significance in this respect, but employees in the municipal sector had gathered slightly more experiences of this kind than the others had.

Anne Kouvonen (1999) has analysed the occurrence of age discrimination in more detail using data from, among other things, the Quality of Work Life Surveys.

Only 0.5 per cent of men but 4 per cent of women had personally encountered unequal treatment on the basis of *having a family or pregnancy*. Six per cent of the women in the 30–39 age group felt they had been discriminated on the basis of having a family. These experiences were the commonest among those in lower white-collar positions, employees in female-dominated workplaces and women in the municipal and private sectors, but not to any great extent among the wage and salary earners in the central government sector.

A good one per cent of wage and salary earners said they had personally experienced discrimination on the basis of their *activity in the trade union movement* while just under one per cent had experienced it because of their *political views*. Around one per cent of men had experienced discrimination or unequal treatment directed towards the *male gender* at their workplace and even fewer than this had personal experiences of discrimination on the basis of *ethnic background, nationality or colour*.

Discrimination situations

In the 1997 Quality of Work Life Survey, situations where unequal treatment or discrimination had taken place were asked about separately in respect of current workplace on the one hand, and previous workplaces on the other. The potential situations listed on the questionnaire were: time of hiring, remuneration, advancement opportunities, access to training, receiving of information and the attitudes of co-workers or superiors.

It transpired that one woman in three (32%) and one man in four (25%) felt they had been unequally treated at their current workplace in at least one of the listed situations. In other words, their number exceeded the number of those wage and salary earners who said they had been discriminated against at their workplace for a reason listed on the questionnaire. Unequal treatment can, of course, also take place in many situations other than the ones listed on the questionnaire. One in four of those who had experienced discrimination at their workplace did not pinpoint any one of the listed situations as the one in which the discrimination occurred. In other words, they had experienced unequal treatment in other contexts.

Experiences of discrimination or unequal treatment at the current workplace were more common among women than men in respect of all other situations except remuneration and time of hiring. In these two situations discrimination was equally familiar to both genders. The wage and salary earners in

Table 3.3. Experiences of discrimination or unequal treatment at current workplace

By gender and employer sector, Quality of Work Life Survey 1997

	At the time of hiring	In remuneration	In advancement opportunities	In access to training	In receiving information	In the attitudes of others
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	3	12	6	8	14	13
Central government	5	18	14	11	17	22
Municipality	4	10	6	12	15	13
Private	2	12	6	7	14	12
Total, women	3	12	7	10	16	16
Central government	3	21	16	15	21	26
Municipality	4	9	6	13	15	15
Private	2	13	7	8	16	15
Total, men	3	12	5	6	12	10
Central government	6	14	11	6	11	17
Municipality	4	13	6	10	13	10
Private	2	12	5	6	12	9

the central government sector had amassed the largest numbers of negative experiences in almost all of the listed situations. Those at small workplaces had again experienced less unequal treatment than the wage and salary earners at large workplaces had.

The commonest discrimination situation was unequal treatment experienced in receiving information, which was familiar to 14 per cent of wage and salary earners, and up to one fifth of the women in the central government sector. Those in the 30–44 age group had the most frequent experiences of this. With women, the situation was the commonest among white-collar employees, while no great differences by socio-economic group were evident among men. All in all, one in five wage and salary earners said they had experienced discrimination in receiving information at some stage during their working career, either at the current, or previous, workplace.

One woman in six (16%) and one man in ten had experienced at their current workplace unequal treatment connected with the *attitudes of co-workers and superiors*. The proportion was by far the largest among the wage and salary earners in the central government sector. Yet again, those in the age group of 30 to 44 had amassed the largest numbers of these experiences and female white-collar employees more often than blue-collar workers. Every fifth wage and salary earner had encountered discrimination manifested in the attitudes of others at some point in their working career.

The central government sector again distinguishes itself as regards experiences of discrimination or unequal treatment on the basis of remuneration. More than one in ten of the wage and salary earners of both genders, and as many as one in five in the central government sector, had experienced discrimination in this respect at their current workplace. The experiences were the most common in the 30 to 44 age group, and at male-dominated workplaces, where every fifth female employee said she had been subject to discrimination in respect of remuneration. Male blue-collar workers said slightly less often than other men that they had experienced unequal treatment in respect of remuneration, whereas with women the situation was the most familiar to lower white-collar employees. All in all, one fifth of all wage and salary earners had experienced discrimination relating to remuneration at some point in their working career.

The women in the central government sector had also the largest number of experiences of discrimination in *access to training*, while with men this experience was commonest in the municipal sector. All in all, just under one tenth of all wage and salary earners felt that they had been subjected to this kind of unequal treatment at their current workplace. These experiences were more familiar to those aged under, rather than over, 45, and the most common among lower white-collar employees. The proportion of those discriminated against was almost double among the wage and salary earners working at female-dominated workplaces compared to the wage and salary earners working at male-dominated workplaces. Altogether 13 per cent stated that they had been subjected to unequal treatment in respect of access to training at some point during their working career.

Unequal treatment in respect of *advancement opportunities* is also particularly widespread in the central government sector. All in all, 6 per cent of wage and salary earners felt that they had been discriminated against in this respect at their current workplace. Those aged over 30 had more experiences of it than did their younger counterparts at the start of their working careers. To women the situation was the most familiar at male-dominated workplaces and among upper white-collar employees. A good one tenth (13%) of wage and salary earners had experienced discrimination in respect of advancement opportunities at their current, and/or at a previous workplace.

Three per cent of wage and salary earners had encountered discrimination *at the time of hiring* at their current workplace, and there was hardly any difference in this between the genders. Again, this kind of discrimination was experienced most in the central government sector, which may be connected with the prevailing practices in filling open posts. The situation was more familiar to white-collar employees and those employed at female-dominated workplaces. Every tenth wage and salary earner felt that he or she had been subjected to discrimination in a hiring situation.

Fixed-term wage and salary earners had twice as many experiences of unequal treatment at the time of hiring than permanent wage and salary earners did, when all the encountered situations during working career were included. The fixed-term employees also had more experiences than permanent employees of discrimination in respect of receiving information and the attitudes of others, and female fixed-term employees had experienced distinctly more frequently than female permanent employees discrimination in access to training. Contrastingly, fixed-term employees did not feel that they had received unequal treatment more frequently than permanent employees in remuneration or advancement opportunities.

Causes for discrimination and its frequency

As already explained, female wage and salary earners were asked in the Quality of Work Life Survey whether they had experienced discrimination or unequal treatment based on the female gender. They were also asked in what kinds of situations they had encountered the unequal treatment – whether on the grounds of gender or something else. In the Gender Barometer (Melkas 1998) the subject area was approached somewhat differently. The interviewees were asked whether they had experienced their gender as an encumbrance in different situations in working life.

Discrimination is a far stronger expression than the experiencing of an encumbrance is. Consequently, the proportions of those women who had experienced unequal treatment or discrimination on the grounds of their gender were considerable smaller in the Quality of Work Life Surveys than the proportions of women who had experienced their gender as an encumbrance were in the Gender Barometer. According to the Gender Barometer, over half (57%) the women had felt that their gender had posed a problem in at least one of the situations mentioned in the Barometer. The most commonly quoted situations were remuneration, advancement opportunities and distribution of pressure at work.

In the Quality of Work Life Survey, those subjected to discrimination were not asked what they themselves thought the reason was. Cross-tabulation of the reasons and situations in respect of those respondents who had experienced discrimination does, however, yield some data on the kinds of reasons that were in the background to the different situations. Or, conversely, the kinds of situations in which those who had been discriminated against had experienced the unequal treatment.

The proportions of those who had experienced discrimination at the time of hiring were the highest in respect of those wage and salary earners who felt they had been discriminated against on the grounds of the male gender, political views or activity in the trade union movement. Relatively the largest pro-

portions of those discriminated against in remuneration were found among those discriminated against because of the female gender, and ethnic background. Discrimination in advancement opportunities was experienced most by those discriminated against on the grounds of their gender (male or female) or ethnic background. Relatively the largest numbers of those discriminated against in access to training were found among those discriminated against on the grounds of old age and nature of employment contract, and of those discriminated against in receiving information among those discriminated against because of old age, the female gender and political views. Discrimination relating to the attitudes of superiors and co-workers has manifested itself most frequently among those wage and salary earners who have felt they have been discriminated against because of the female gender, political views, activity in the trade union movement and favouritism.

Thus, the women who had been discriminated against because of their gender had amassed more frequent experiences of discrimination, on average, than those who had been discriminated against for other reasons had in situations relating to remuneration, advancement opportunities, receiving information and the attitudes of others.

Intimidation at work

Besides inquiring about discrimination, the Quality of Work Life Survey included questions on the frequency and occurrence of intimidation at work. Intimidation at work, or workplace bullying, was defined to mean the isolation of a member of the work community, voiding/nullifying of the results of his/her work, using threatening behaviour, telling stories behind his/her back or exerting on him/her some other form of mental pressure. The interviewees were asked whether there was this kind of behaviour at their workplaces, and whether they themselves had been – or were presently – subjected to it at their current, or previously at another, workplace.

Workplace discrimination and intimidation would seem relate to each other quite closely. Those wage and salary earners who said there was discrimination on various grounds at their workplaces also said more often than average that intimidation was prevalent at their workplaces. The better gender equality, for example, has been accomplished at a workplace, the less there is also likely to be workplace intimidation.

Those who have experienced discrimination have also amassed far more personal experiences of intimidation than those who have escaped discrimination altogether. Intimidation is a process in which the target often becomes marked in the eyes of the whole work community: others begin to regard him or her as a difficult person, incapable of co-operation; he or she withdraws from the work community or, at worst, from the working life altogether (Vartia

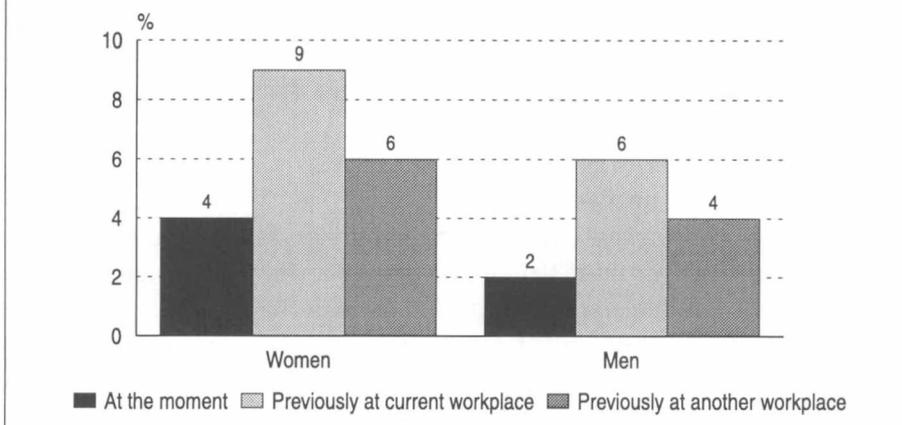
1993, 1998). Compared to those not subjected to intimidation, those who were experiencing it at their current, or had experienced it previously at another, workplace were receiving twice as much unequal treatment in, for example, hiring situation, remuneration, advancement opportunities or access to training, and even three or four times as much in situations relating to receiving information or the attitudes of co-workers or superiors.

Women seemed to encounter workplace intimidation more often than men. Forty-four per cent of female wage and salary earners and 33 of the male ones thought there was intimidation at their workplace. Five per cent of women and four per cent of men said the intimidation was continuous, and one female wage and salary earner in five (19%), but only 13 per cent of the male ones, had personal experiences of intimidation. Four per cent of women and two per cent of men were currently being intimidated at their workplace (Figure 3.4.). With regard to men, there was no link between educational level and being subjected to intimidation, but relatively the largest number of those presently subjected to intimidation (5%) were found among highly educated women. However, women with basic or lower secondary education had amassed the largest number (22%) of personal experiences, either present or previous, of being subjected to intimidation. Examined by socio-economic group, this applied to female lower white-collar employees (20%).

Of course, the differences in the way women and men define and identify this phenomenon may have a partial bearing on the gendered differences here. Men may more easily view as harmless "needling" something that women might interpret as mental intimidation. Equally, it may be easier for women to admit that they have been subjected to intimidation, while men are expected to tolerate stronger "humour".

Figure 3.4. Personally subjected to intimidation

Proportion of wage and salary earners, Quality of Work Life Survey 1997



Be it as may, there is also certain to be an abundance of such intimidation which has gone unnoticed by the respondents. The intimidating may be quite discreet and invisible to the outsiders. At least this is the feeling one gets when considering the following results: 42 per cent of the respondents who had been at their current workplace for more than 12 months said that intimidation took place at their workplace, while only 24 per cent those who had been at their current workplace for less than twelve months had observed intimidation at their workplace. The same also applies to fixed-term employees, seen as "only visiting" a workplace, of whom only 32 per cent were of the opinion that intimidation took place at their workplace, while 41 per cent of permanent employees thought it did take place

Work pressures discharged as intimidation

A closer examination of the results of the Quality of Work Life Surveys shows that workplace intimidation is not an isolated, random phenomenon. It seems to give a wider picture of the state of the whole work community – its atmosphere, work pressures, achievement of gender equality and the entire organisational culture.

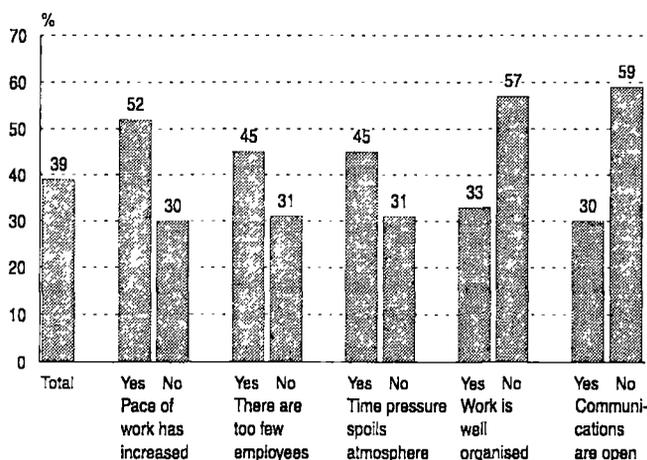
Growing work pressures, tighter efficiency demands and uncertainty of the future are easily discharged as intimidation. Intimidation is clearly more frequent at workplaces where the pace of work has increased in the last few years. It is prevalent at every other workplace where little social interaction takes place because of time pressure, and in over half of workplaces where time pressure spoils the atmosphere. More of it than usual is observed at workplaces where the employees are increasingly appraised by results, work is outsourced and performance-based pay awarding has been introduced. As with discrimination, the occurrence of intimidation is clearly linked with the extent of competitiveness at a workplace.

As a whole, intimidation was observed more frequently than average at workplaces where clear changes had been implemented in the organisation or the work in the past few years. It was more common, for example, at workplaces where personnel had been cut back in recent years. At the same time, the financial insecurity of a workplace, and the fear of unforeseen future changes – or changes in general – increase distinctly the frequency of intimidation. Those interviewees for whom transfer to other duties, temporary or permanent dismissal, disability or unforeseen changes posed a clear threat reported more frequently than the others that workplace bullying also took place at their workplaces. This connection was clearer with women than with men.

The ground seemed the most fertile for work atmosphere problems in hierarchical organisations, such as workplaces within the health care field. The wage and salary earners in teaching, health care and manufacturing occupa-

Figure 3.5. Intimidation takes place at the workplace

Proportion of wage and salary earners at whose workplace ...



tions had observed workplace intimidation more frequently than others. Intimidation was by far the commonest in the central government sector, where more than one half of all wage and salary earners reported that mental intimidation took place at their workplaces. Just a good third of the employees in the private sector had observed intimidation.

Those workplaces where matters also seemed to be in order otherwise had managed to avoid workplace bullying better than the average: work was well organised, employees' own interests coincided with those of the employer, co-workers could be trusted, communications functioned well and prevailing atmosphere was open and encouraging. The workplaces best spared from both intimidation and discrimination were the small ones with under 10 employees. Only a good one fifth of their employees said intimidation took place at their workplace.

Symptoms persist even after intimidation has stopped

The psychic and somatic symptoms that follow from having been subjected to intimidation are diverse: headaches, sleeping difficulties, tenseness, depression, apathy, etc., (Table 3.4.). Nearly half of those being subjected to intimidation at the time of the survey felt threatened by loss of mental stability, while two thirds also felt threatened by serious work exhaustion.

It is worth noting that the problem did not seem to go away even once actual intimidation had stopped. Those who were already in the clear from intimid-

*Table 3.4. Suffers from symptoms at least once a week
% of wage and salary earners*

Personally subjected to intimidation	Head-ache	Fatigue, apathy	Sleeping difficulties	Depres-sion	Tense-ness, irritabil-ity	Over-exhaus-tion	"All just too much"	Reluc-tance on leaving for work
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Never	16	27	21	3	14	10	5	13
At the moment	28	46	43	23	37	34	16	31
Previously at current workplace	23	42	33	9	23	21	8	22
Previously at another workplace	21	39	30	7	22	11	8	23
Total wage and salary earners	17	30	24	4	16	12	6	15

idation either at their current, or pervious, workplace suffered from all psychic and somatic symptoms distinctly more than those who had never been subjected to it (Table 4.). Especially striking was the high proportion of sufferers from diverse symptoms among those who had been intimidated at the current workplace at some earlier point of time. Those subjected to intimidation, as well as those previously subjected to it, at their current workplace rated their overall work capacity lower than the others and felt less often that they were appreciated in their work community. In other words, it looks as if the wounds left by intimidation are slow to heal even after the intimidation has long ceased – especially if the employee continues to work in the same work environment together with the former intimidators and the by-standing observers of it.

Another matter, too, demonstrates the link between bullying and general feeling of poor health at a workplace: workplace intimidation does not appear to be a problem that only affects those directly subjected to it. Those interviewees who had never experienced intimidation, but at whose workplace it occurred, also suffered from diverse psychic and somatic symptoms more often than those respondents who had avoided intimidation and at whose workplace the problem did not exist. Whether this was due to witnessing intimidation take place or a poor work atmosphere in general is probably not very essential here. The results seem to substantiate the assumption that those workplaces where intimidation takes places also suffer from an otherwise inflamed work atmosphere.

According to Vartia (1993), intimidation and a person's gradual withdrawal from work environment is a chain of events to which problems connected with work, phenomena of group dynamics and an individual's personal characteristics all contribute. Of course it is possible that a person subjected to intimidation possesses such personal characteristics which make him or her a more

likely target of intimidation. However, from the findings of the Quality of Work Life Survey it seems apparent that the deep-seated reasons for bullying are to be found at the workplaces themselves: prevailing work pressures, insecurities, implemented changes, personnel cutbacks, poor information flow, etc.

Social relationships are also a resource

Nearly two out of three wage and salary earners reported that the pace of their work had quickened in recent years. Over 40 per cent of all wage and salary earners stated that time pressure spoils the atmosphere at their workplace and over 40 per cent of women further said that it also lessened social interaction. On top of all this, increasing work pressures also appear to be connected with the prevalence of intimidation and an increase in conflicts and competitiveness at a workplace.

In spite of all this, to the vast majority of wage and salary earners social relationships at work also constitute a resource, and are mainly associated with positive experiences. The atmosphere at work is quoted increasingly as a factor that makes work more enjoyable. More wage and salary earners than before feel they are appreciated in their work communities and say they receive support from their superiors or co-workers whenever their work seems difficult.

The Quality of Work Life Surveys of 1984 and 1997 included questions about the factors that make work more, or less, enjoyable. The questionnaire listed twenty or so factors and the respondents were asked separately about each one of them.

In both Surveys, the spirit of the workplace was among the most frequently quoted factor to increase work enjoyment. In 1997, over half of all wage and salary earners (55% of women and 51% of men) mentioned it, which is more than in 1984, when the respective proportions were 48 per cent for women and 47 per for men. The only factors quoted more frequently than this were independence of work, interesting work, variety of work and feeling of achievement and usefulness. In 1984, certainty of the employment relationship was also among these.

Over half (54%) of women also said that pleasant customers made their work more enjoyable, and this was also stated by one man in three (34%). In 1984, the respective proportions were 35 per cent for women and 22 for men. The growth in the proportion cannot be explained simply by the expansion in customer service work, because it is also apparent when only those wage and salary earners who do customer service work for at least half of their working time are examined.

A good third of the wage and salary earners of both genders, and those working under female supervision more often than others, said that relations

with superiors made their work more enjoyable. This applied especially to the wage and salary earners working in the hotel and restaurant and services fields. Further prominent fields in this respect were technical, scientific, etc. occupations with the female wage and salary earners, and health and social care occupations with the male ones. Especially the young and those subjected to little or no time pressure in their work emphasised relations with superiors as a factor making their work more enjoyable. It is especially pointed out by men working at female-dominated workplaces, whereas the women in male-dominated fields are the ones to mention it least frequently. A female superior makes work more enjoyable especially for men: 41 per cent of the men and 36 per cent of the women working under female supervision said that relations with superiors made their work more enjoyable. One third of both women and men under male supervision were of this opinion.

Open and encouraging atmosphere

Every fourth woman and 29 per cent of men totally agreed with the statement that open atmosphere and team spirit prevailed at their workplace. Two out of three women (67%) and nearly three out of four men (72%) agreed with it either totally or to some extent. In this respect the situation has not changed at all compared to 1990 when the question was first included in the Survey. Those subjected to little or no time pressure agreed with it more often than those working under constant time pressure. There was no difference in the women's answers relative to whether they worked in female or male-dominated fields, but the men in mixed fields rated the atmosphere at their workplaces the best in this respect. There were no major differences between socio-economic groups. However, younger wage and salary earners and fixed-term employees regarded the atmosphere at their workplaces open more often than older wage and salary earners and permanent employees. This statement was most frequently either totally, or to some extent, agreed with by the female wage and salary earners in administrative management, hotel and restaurant, technical, scientific, etc., occupations and in the fields of health and social care (71–77%), and the male wage and salary earners, likewise, in administrative management and also in commercial and office occupations (76–79%). With women, those who least frequently agreed with the statement were wage and salary earners in manufacturing, construction and transport and office occupations (56–58%) and with men those in the fields of health care and education (65%).

Almost every fifth (19%) wage and salary earner, women and men equally often, regarded their work environment as encouraging. The differences between socio-economic groups are not big, either, but examined by age group this statement was most frequently totally agreed with by those in the youngest and oldest age groups. The women in administrative management, services

and social care occupations, and the men in health and social care fields, and agricultural and commercial occupations agreed with the statement most frequently. The smaller the workplace, the more often its employees regarded its atmosphere as encouraging.

A good quarter of women, that is the same proportion as in 1990, totally agreed with the statement that people could be fully trusted at their workplaces. In the same time period, the proportion of the men totally agreeing with this statement had gone up from 28 to 32 per cent. Wage and salary earners subjected to little or no time pressure and those employed at small workplaces had the greatest trust in their co-workers. The women at male-dominated workplaces had distinctly less (17%) and the men at female-dominated workplaces even slightly more trust in their co-workers than others. Those employed in the hotel and restaurant field, services, and administrative management, and also the men in the health and social care fields and agricultural occupations trusted their co-workers more frequently than others. Blue-collar workers had the most trust in their co-workers.

Atmosphere influences enjoyment

The positive influence of work atmosphere on work enjoyment has, thus, grown since 1984. Especially the women employed in the services, hotel and restaurant and health care fields (64–68%) stressed the atmosphere at work as a factor that made their work more enjoyable. This was also quite frequently agreed with by the men in the services and health and social care fields (60%). The smaller the workplace and the less time pressure there was, the more frequently the positive atmosphere of a workplace was brought up. Upper white-collar employees mentioned it less frequently than others and the youngest employees most frequently.

Roughly one man in ten (12%) and one woman in six (17%) quoted the atmosphere at work as a factor which reduced their work enjoyment. With men, the proportion had grown by about three percentage points since 1984. The atmosphere at work reduced work enjoyment particularly in the opinion of those subjected to a lot of time pressure and belonging to the middle age groups. It was especially quoted by the women in health care, office and educational occupations and the men in teaching, services, and technical, scientific, etc., occupations. Permanent wage and salary earners cited it considerably more often than fixed-term employees.

Forty per cent of women and 31 per cent of men did not quote the atmosphere at work as a factor which either increased or reduced their work enjoyment. This was commonest among upper white-collar employees, older wage and salary earners and those working in administrative management, agricultural, and technical, scientific, etc., occupations. The atmosphere seemed to be

a particularly important factor to the wage and salary earners in the health care, hotel and restaurant and services fields: only one in four in these occupational groups failed to mention it when the factors increasing or reducing work enjoyment were inquired about.

Customers, too, can increase work enjoyment – or reduce it

Work involving customer contact has increased noticeably since the mid-1980s, when less than one half of women and only one in four of men were doing work involving customer contact for at least fifty per cent of their working time. By 1997, the proportion of the women doing work involving customer contact for at least fifty per cent of their working hours had gone up two thirds and that of men to 40 per cent.

Half (52%) of the male and 69 per cent of the female wage and salary earners doing work involving customer contact said that pleasant customers increased their work enjoyment. With the men the proportion had gone up by a couple of percentage points and with the women by even more: in 1984 the corresponding proportion was 58 per cent. In 1997, pleasant customers increased the work enjoyment of employees of both genders especially in hotel and restaurant, commercial, educational and health and social care occupations.

On the other hand, about every fourth wage and salary earner doing work involving customer contact for at least fifty per cent of the working time – women slightly more often than men – said that difficult customers, or pupils, reduced their work enjoyment. This opinion was especially held by the wage and salary earners in the educational field (women 38%, men 49%), the men in service occupations (37%) and the women in health and social care occupations (30–31%).

Just under one sixth of the men and one fifth of the women doing work involving customer contact felt that, on the one hand, pleasant customers increased their work enjoyment but, on the other hand, difficult customer reduced it. The joys and troubles of work involving customer contact seem to pile up into very much the same occupational groups. The situation was the most conflicting in respect of the wage and salary earners in the field of education: 37 per cent of the men and just under one third (30%) of the women in this occupational group felt that the pupils both increased and reduced their work enjoyment. One in five of those employed in health care occupations and almost as many men in service occupations also held this view. Conflicting emotions increased in frequency pro rata to the amount of time pressure the employees were subjected to in their work. Conflicting emotions were most

frequent among upper white-collar employees and young wage and salary earners.

By far the commonest perception among those whose work involves customer contact, however, was that the customers increased, rather than reduced, work enjoyment. This opinion was held by one half of the women and 38 per cent of the men, too. With women, the clearly positive sides of work involving customer contact were the most prominent among those employed in technical, scientific, etc., hotel and restaurant, commercial, services, and social care occupations (54–58%). With men this was also the case among those in commercial and health and social care occupations, and also in administrative management. The less time pressure there was, the more frequently customers were seen as a factor increasing work enjoyment. The older age groups held this view more often than the young ones. The feeling was the most widespread in female-dominated fields and among white-collar employees.

Every tenth man (11%) and under one in ten of the women (8%) doing work which involves customer contact felt that the customers did not increase but, instead, just reduced work enjoyment. The proportions had gone down a touch compared to 1984. The feeling was by far the commonest among the men in service occupations (21%), over one third of whom do guarding and protecting work. With women, this opinion was held slightly more frequently than in other occupations by those in social care and hotel and restaurant occupations (10–11%). The negative sides of customer contact work were emphasised by those wage and salary earners working under time pressure.

Under 40 per cent of the men and less than a quarter of the women doing customer contact work did not quote the customers as a factor which either increased or reduced their work enjoyment. The matter seemed to be of the least significance to the wage and salary earners in technical, scientific, etc., agricultural, manufacturing, construction and transport occupations. In all these occupational groups nearly one half (45%) of the respondents failed to mention customers when factors increasing or reducing work enjoyment were inquired about. In contrast, in educational, social care and hotel and restaurant occupations the behaviour of customers/pupils seemed to have a strong impact: only 15–19 per cent of the respondents in these occupational groups failed to mention customers in this context.

More support and appreciation than before

The possibilities for *receiving advice and help in work* have remained more or less unchanged throughout the 1990s. Forty-eight per cent of women and 46 per cent of men report that they receive advice and help in their work whenever needed. The situation is commonest by far among blue-collar workers, of whom more than one half (53%) receive advice and help whenever needed.

while only a good third (35%) of upper white-collar employees said this to be the case. In this matter, too, those subjected to little or no time pressure are more fortunate than those working under it are. With men, the possibilities for receiving advice and help were commonest among those in hotel and restaurant, agricultural, health care and service occupations, and with women among those in transport, manufacturing, construction, hotel and restaurant and social care occupations. A further examination of those wage and salary earners who said they receive advice and help in their work reveals that men in female-dominated fields and women in male-dominated fields are the best off in this respect.

Slightly more *support from the superior* is received than previously. With women, the proportion of those who always received support from their superior had gone up from 25 to 28 per cent, and with men from 21 to 23 per cent. Those subjected to little time pressure in their work, as well as blue-collar workers, reported more frequently than white-collar employees or those working under time pressure that they received support from their superior. In respect of both genders, the largest amount of support was evident in the social care and hotel and restaurant fields and, with men, additionally also in commercial, service and agricultural occupations.

As regards women, the amount of *support and encouragement received from co-workers* has gone up notably compared to 1990: previously, 30 per cent but in 1997 as many as 39 per of women felt that they received support and encouragement from their co-workers whenever work seemed difficult. With men, the proportion had gone up just a touch: from 26 to 28 per cent. Upper white-collar employees, and those in the middle age groups (25 to 44-year-olds) as opposed to their younger and older colleagues, did not feel as often as others that they received support and encouragement from their co-workers. Co-workers' support was most widely spread in female-dominated fields, in which the most prominent occupational groups in this respect were health and social care and hotel and restaurant work. Again, those subjected to only little time pressure in their work were more fortunate in this respect than those working under much time pressure.

More respondents than before felt they were always *valued members of the work community*. With women the proportion of those feeling this way went up from 30 to 36 per cent and with men from 29 to 34 per cent. The men working in female-dominated fields felt more often than other men that they were always valued members of the work community (39%). In a way, the situation was reversed as regards women, for particularly those women who worked at male-dominated workplaces felt less often (31%) than other women that they were always valued members of the work community. With men, those in upper white-collar positions felt more often than others that they were always valued as members of the work community, while with women the feeling in this respect varied hardly at all by socio-economic group. If, however, the

group of those who always, or often, felt that they were valued as members of the work community are examined more closely, upper white-collar employees emerge as a significant socio-economic group in this respect also among women. Age discrimination cannot be referred to in this context, because the feeling of being valued grew more common in step with both the male and female respondents' age: 44 per cent of the women aged 55 and over and 38 per cent of their male counterparts felt they were valued as members of the work community. The men in agricultural, teaching and administrative management occupations felt most that they were valued as members of the work community. With women the feeling was the most widespread among those in social and health care and hotel and restaurant occupations. Male fixed-term employees felt distinctly more often than their female counterparts that they were valued as members of the work community. In fact, male fixed-term employees felt this even more often than men in permanent employment relationships.

Meeting co-workers in free time

Wage and salary earners in permanent employment relationships reported that they met their co-workers in their free time about as often as they had said in the 1990 Survey. In respect of fixed-term employees, this applied to a smaller number than before. On the whole, fixed-term employees meet their co-workers in their free time less often than those in permanent employment relationships do.

Socialising with co-workers in free time is slightly more common among men than women: of all the wage and salary earners who had co-workers, less than one fifth (19%) met their co-workers in their free time at least once a week and one in six (16%) never. With regard to the men, however, one in three (32%) said that they met their co-workers in their free time at least once a week and only one in ten (11%) never met them in their free time. More than one half (55%) of the men and 42 per cent of the women met their co-workers at least once a month.

The women and men working in male-dominated fields, and blue-collar workers, met their co-workers at least once a week more often than others. In comparison, the largest number of those who met their co-workers at least occasionally was found among upper white-collar employees. The young and single had decidedly the most time for, and interest in, meeting their co-workers: one in four of the women under 25 met her co-workers once a week. Forty-four per cent of their male counterparts, and as many as just under 40 per cent of the men aged between 25 and 34, too, met their co-workers weekly. In contrast, every third female aged under 25 never met her co-workers socially. With both genders, those employed in services and hotel

and restaurant occupations were the most frequent socialisers with their co-workers.

Summary

Employees not only work at their workplaces. Workplaces consist of individuals who try to get on with each other. Customer service work also entails daily contact with people other than co-workers: customers, pupils/students and patients. Where there are people there are inevitably also emotions: friendliness, envy, attraction, jealousy, appreciation, conflicts, sharing of the ups and downs connected with private life and work matters. There is infatuation, intimidation and even discrimination.

Strong occupational segregation is typical of the Finnish working life: women do women's and men do men's work. Just under one fifth of wage and salary earners do job tasks which are done by both men and women at their workplaces. Although there has been evening out in this respect in the past few decades, the development has been very slow.

Finnish wage and salary earners appear quite satisfied with the accomplishment of gender equality at their workplaces, with no major differences in perception between the genders. A good third say that gender equality has been extremely well accomplished. Every third woman and a good quarter of men think that gender equality has been accomplished no more than averagely. In the central government sector, however, men's and women's opinions about this differ considerably. The women in the central government sector express the most dissatisfaction and the men the most satisfaction in the achievement of gender equality. According to the Survey, gender equality is thought to have been achieved best at small workplaces and in those workplaces where women and men perform similar job tasks.

Two fifths (41%) of women and a good third (36%) of men had observed at their workplaces discrimination based on some reason – in the central government sector, more than one half of wage and salary earners had noted discrimination of some kind. Judging from the results of the Quality of Work Life Surveys, discrimination does not seem to have increased in the 1990s. The type of discrimination most frequently observed by both women and men was that based on favouritism, while discrimination on the basis of the nature of employment contract was the second most frequently noticed kind. The third most frequently observed types of discrimination were that based on the female gender observed by women and discrimination on the basis of young age observed by men. As the fourth most frequently observed type both genders quoted discrimination based on old age. Under one fifth of women and more than one in ten men had personal experiences of being discriminated against for a particular reason at their workplace.

Discrimination is closely associated with intimidation that occurs at workplaces. Women report of intimidation at their workplaces distinctly more often (44%) than men (33%). Nearly one woman in five has personal experiences of intimidation. Workplace bullying seems to tell of inflamed workplace atmosphere, work-related pressure, personnel cutbacks and uncertainty in general.

To a vast majority of Finnish wage and salary earners, however, social relationships at work seem to carry a lot of positive aspects. The positiveness is associated with, for example, team spirit, open and encouraging atmosphere, pleasant customers and co-workers, support from superiors, appreciation and reliability. The negative aspects of social relationships, in turn, manifest in conflicts, favouritism, unpleasant attitudes of co-workers and superiors, gossiping and envy, difficult customers, even intimidation – in other words inflamed work atmosphere.

Women emphasise the positive aspects of social relationships and work atmosphere mainly in the occupational groups within the educational, social care, commercial and hotel and catering fields. Women report mainly negatively in this respect in the occupational groups within the scientific, technical, etc., field, and in the traditionally male fields of construction and manufacturing. Health care professionals offer plenty of both positive and negative comments on this.

In the case of men, the importance of social relationships and work atmosphere is emphasised by those in the occupational groups within the health and social care, administrative management, commercial, services, and hotel and restaurant fields. The men in all these groups have more than the average amount, both negative and positive, to comment on this.

According to Arlie Russell Hochschild, the western society is undergoing a cultural change which means that for an increasing number of employees work involves aspects like social relationships, appreciation and support traditionally associated with the home and family life. A workplace can offer more variety than the home: on its larger-than-home stage there are more actors and maybe also greater dramas than within the family circle. According to the Quality of Work Life Surveys, the significance of work atmosphere and social relationships – especially their positive aspects – seems only to have increased in the 1990s. When wage and salary earners were asked in 1984 about the factors that made their work more or less enjoyable, 38 per cent of women and almost half (46%) of men omitted to mention the atmosphere at work completely. In 1997, the corresponding proportions were down to 31 per cent with women and 40 per cent with men. Women doing work that involves customer contact quote increasingly customers/students as a factor that influences work enjoyment. More than before, all wage and salary earners also mention relationships with superiors when asked about work enjoyment. An increasing number also say that they receive support and appreciation in their work.

It would seem that the atmosphere at work and the workplace's social relationships are a more important constituent of the working life to women than to men. Women bring up both the negative and positive aspects connected with them with more emphasis than men do.

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4 Gender pay differential

In any debate about sexual equality, pay differential has always been a central issue. In fact, many have tended to regard pay as the main issue in gender equality.

In the research on work life, however, questions of pay have not been a central topic. In the research into work organisation development or in work psychology applications, for example, pay has generally been excluded from discussions. In socio-technical work planning and "good work models" pay has been a kind of "taboo" topic. Looking after the pay has been left to the lobbyists of trade unions. Bringing the subject up in individual workplace surveys has presumably been perceived as something that causes conflicts between the parties involved. Yet, it is obvious that pay, and especially perceptions of its fairness, is an important contributor to work enjoyment and motivation. At least it is as important as the many other aspects incorporated in the "good work" ideal, like self-development, control, reasonable demands or social support.

From the point of gender equality, however, the issue of fair pay cannot be ignored. In the same way, viewing the issue from this point puts emphasis on the perception of pay as a gauge by which the appreciation of work is measured. Therefore, in this chapter I am seeking to answer the question on what the gender pay differential looks like from the point of fairness. Are education and work experience, for example, equally appreciated with regard to women and men? How do wage and salary earners themselves perceive the appreciation they receive in the form of income from work?

Although in individual workplace surveys the issue of pay has been a shunned topic, gender pay differentials have otherwise been studied fairly extensively, mostly using statistics. Economists, in particular, have developed different models for explaining them. These have been studied in Finland by, among others, Mari Kangasniemi (1997) and Rita Asplund (1993). On the other hand, a fair number of statistics-based reviews and studies of pay differentials has been produced in Finland (e.g. Hemmilä 1988, Isotalus 1989, Brunila 1990, Allén et al. 1990, Vartia & Kurjenoja 1992, Lilja 1996, Nurmi 1998, Kandolin 1998).

The solution models presented for the elimination pay differentials can roughly be divided into two types: dissolution of the occupational segregation, or evaluation of the equal value of work. In equality policy terms these two have followed each other, so that the early objective was "equal pay for equal work". Later – and especially after the dissolution of occupational segregation proved too difficult – the objective changed to "equal pay for work of equal value". Especially the work evaluation group, which was set up by the Finnish labour market organisations and operated throughout the early 1990s, were aiming for the latter. (see Heiskanen 1996).

The strategy of equal value of work, which made its breakthrough in USA and Canada in the 1980s and has, since then, also spread to other countries, is a movement seeking solutions for closing up the gender pay gap. Joan Acker, among others, has documented the implementation of the strategy of work evaluation and the "comparable worth" ideal in the USA in her publication "Doing Comparable Worth" (1988), also translated into Finnish in 1990.

Unlike in USA and Canada, where legislation has been used as the tool for implementing the strategy of work of equal value, labour market organisations have had the key role in this respect in Finland. The organisations have also exploited the incomes policy system to improve the position of women in lowly paid positions. By introducing so-called equality supplements, economic and incomes policy agreements have aimed to diminish the inferior pay development in lowly paid female-dominated fields (Yli-Pietilä 1992). As a whole, studies have shown that agreements have a decisive role in the gendered division of work appreciation, pay and employment conditions in Finland (Martikainen 1989, 1992).

In this chapter, gender pay differentials are examined against the latest data from the 1997 Quality of Work Life Survey. Similar analyses have been presented from the earlier Quality of Work Life Survey findings in reports on gender equality (Lehto 1988, Lehto 1992). The methods used are very similar: the latest results make it possible to establish how women's and men's pay is determined according to education, work experience, occupational status and nature of work organisation. The Quality of Work Life Survey also makes it possible to examine the perceptions of the fairness of pay.

In the Quality of Work Life Surveys, examinations on pay have generally been based on the information given by the respondents in the interview situation about their monthly income. This time it is also possible to compare this information with the register data provided by the tax authorities. These data relating to the year prior to the Survey (1996) have been combined with the data obtained with the Survey.

Women's and men's pay differentials

The debates on equal pay traditionally watch a figure showing the proportion of women's pay of men's pay. The observations can focus on the average hourly, monthly or annual earnings. The results have further been influenced by whether averages or medians have been used in the comparisons. Therefore, there are diverse angles from which pay differentials can be examined.

Using the data sources of Statistics Finland only can also produce variable results, depending on what data are used as the basis for comparison. Statistics Finland's Prices and Wages Statistics unit produces annual reports on pay development, inclusive of comparisons between women's and men's earnings. Similarly, Income Distribution Statistics also produce their own separate annual series. I will go into these in more detail later on in this chapter.

Compared to the above, the pay data of the Quality of Work Life Surveys are slightly different in that they are based on replies given in interviews to question about monthly pay. The adjacent table collates together the data on pay obtained with the Quality of Work Life Surveys in the different years. The results would seem to indicate towards a slight narrowing of the gender pay differential since 1990. The gap has narrowed by about four percentage points. In the 1997 Survey, women's monthly pay was 79.5 per cent of men's. Only those employed in full-time work (over 30 hours per week) were included in the comparison.

The data of the Quality of Work Life Surveys on pay have been principally produced in an identical way in the three rounds of the Survey.¹ The Survey in 1984 was the only one where the number of used pay categories was slightly smaller than in the other Surveys. In this sense, temporal comparisons can also be regarded as quite reliable. In other words, the picture given by the Quality of Work Life Surveys about the development of the pay differential would appear to encourage optimism as far as equality is concerned, because the inclination towards growth in the pay differential observed at the turn of the decade remained a temporary one and women are again approaching men's pay levels. However, it continues to be surprising that there is still a difference of about 20 per cent between women's and men's pay despite the fact that

¹ To make answering easier, the question about pay was ready classified. (See question 33 on the appended questionnaire) To calculate average earnings, each respondent was allocated the average of the income category given by him or her in the interview. The amount allocated as an average for the highest, open category in the 1997 survey was FIM 32,000. The number of cases in this category was only 18, in other words 0.6 per cent of all the data. The reliability of the data on pay is born out by the very small numbers of "Don't know" and "Unwilling to answer" replies in all the Surveys: in 1984, 1.8% of the women and 1.8% of the men. In 1990, these proportions were 1.5% for women and 2.8 per cent for men. In 1997, the proportions had gone down to 0.8% for women and 1% for men.

Table 4.1. Women's and men's average monthly earnings 1984, 1990 and 1997

Full-time employees, gross pay, incl. shift, etc. supplements but excl. overtime pay

	1984	1990	1997
	FIM	FIM	FIM
Total	5,027	8,495	10,263
Women	4,328	7,311	9,120
Men	5,642	9,686	11,458
Women's pay as proportion of men's pay, %	76.7	75.4	79.5

women's educational level now clearly exceeds that of men in the wage earning population.

In the 1997 Quality of Work Life Survey it was also possible to compare the information provided by the respondents themselves with the data in the taxation register. This is because the respondents were asked separately about the number of months they were employed during 1996 doing full-time and part-time work. It was, thus, possible to produce pay comparisons relating to annual income by including in the examination only those who had been employed full time for the whole year, i.e. as comparable groups as possible.

This calculation method produced as the annual pay differential between women and men 21.3 per cent. This relates to the average annual earnings in 1996 of those employed full time for the whole year. In terms of money, the amounts of average annual pay were FIM 122,000 for women and FIM 154,000 for men. Thus, women's pay amounted to 78.7 per cent of men's pay.

A very similar result is obtained using Income Distribution Statistics. The obtained amounts of average annual pay relating to 1996 were FIM 129,100 for women and FIM 164,500 for men. Calculations using Income Distribution Statistics give women's pay as 78.4 per cent of men's pay. The used definition is exactly the same as in the Quality of Work Life Survey, in other words the calculations only refer to those employed full time for the whole year.

For comparable data on pay, employment for the whole year is a precondition for using taxation registers, as they only contain data relating to earnings for the whole year. This tends to preclude particularly women from examinations, because employment on part-time or fixed-term basis is more typical with women. This has a bearing on the figures, for the number of wage and salary earners on which the 1996 Income Distribution Statistics were based was only 1.2 million whereas the 1996 Labour Force Statistics put the total number of wage and salary earners at 1.9 million, on average. Equally, Income Distribution Statistics put the number of female wage and salary earners at only 570,000, and that of male wage and salary earners at 640,000. In reality, the numbers were roughly the same.

Obviously this same problem of a larger number of precluded women also affects the comparisons of annual pay in the Quality of Work Life Surveys. An examination by educational level shows that a slightly larger number of highly educated women than of those in the rest of the educational groups get precluded from the annual pay comparisons. This could presumably be because fixed-term employment relationships tend to concentrate among highly educated women. At the same time, the proportion of women's pay of men's pay goes slightly down. Considering this, it can be said that the data on pay obtained with the interviews of the Quality of Work Life Surveys are quite reliable. They provided a fairly good basis on which conclusions can be drawn about the connections between pay, employee characteristics and factors affecting working conditions.

The temporal changes recorded with the Quality of Work Life Surveys in the ratio between women's and men's pay cannot be readily compared to any other statistical data. In Income Distribution Statistics, comparable data on the ratio between women's and men's pay have only been produced since the beginning of the 1990s. They display clear alignment with the results of the Quality of Work Life Surveys, i.e. that the pay gap seems to have narrowed by about three percentage points.

According to Statistics Finland's 1996 Pay Structure Statistics, women in full-time employment earned, on average, 79.5 per cent of the comparable earnings of men. Earnings for all overtime and extra work are included in this comparison. For so-called regular working hours, women's earnings amounted to 80.9 per cent of the men's. These results are very close to the findings of the Quality of Work Life Survey which, admittedly, relate to a period one year later. For regular working hours, Pay Structure Statistics arrived at the average monthly earnings of FIM 9,705 for women and FIM 11,994 for men. The respective averages obtained with the Quality of Work Life Survey data were FIM 9,120 for women and FIM 11,458 for men.

These results are surprisingly close to each other despite the fact that the calculating basis in Pay Structure Statistics differs considerably from that used in the Quality of Work Life Survey. A proportion of the private sector – especially small enterprises with fewer than five employees – are only included as estimates. Thus, the pay comparison is, in fact, based on data on a distinctly smaller wage and salary earning population of approximately 1.3 million.

Diverse summary reports have also been produced about the gender pay differentials from the perspective of international comparison. Obviously, obtaining harmonious data on pay for comparison purposes is very difficult, because exhaustive pay statistics do not exist even at the national level. Attempts in this direction have been made at the European level, for example, (Eurostat, New Chronos 1998, ref. Kouvonen 1999) and also internationally (Education at a Glance 1995, ref. Nurmi 1997) as well as in the Nordic Countries (Naisten Palkat/Women's Pay 1993). A specific problem in European pay structure

comparisons is that, in respect of many Member States of the EU, no data on the public sector are available, which would be essential especially for gender comparisons. OECD comparisons on pay and education, again, include part-time employees, which also has a major impact on comparisons concerning women.

Nordic pay comparisons and studies of related trends show that in the 1960s, 1970s and in the early 1980s the pay gap between women and men narrowed, but that something happened after the mid-1980s to change this trend in all the other Nordic Countries except Norway. The increasing shift in the late 1980s from centralised to decentralised pay bargaining has been offered as one explanation to this. (Naisten palkat 1993).

On the whole, research has shown that centralised pay solutions have tended to be better for women (e.g. Ilmakunnas & Julkunen 1997; Nurmi 1997). On the other hand, variations in pay are also directly correlated with the gender pay differentials. This is borne out by the fact that in the United States, for example, the difference between women's and men's average pay is quite large but, set against men's pay distribution, women's median pay is quite good compared with other countries. (Kangasniemi 1997, 9) Here, too, the reason may be that decentralised pay agreements generally increase pay differentials at the level of the whole society.

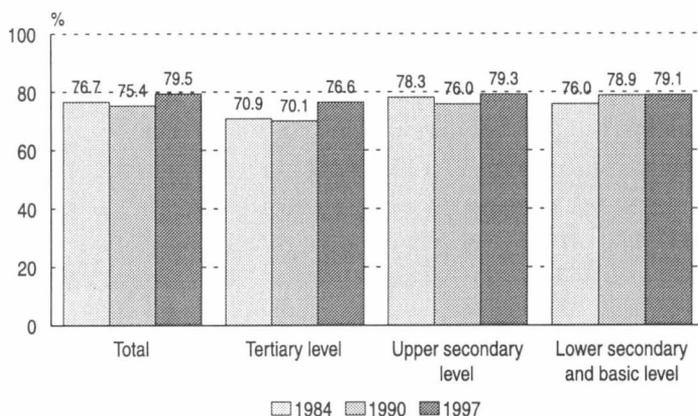
Education and pay differentials

Education has generally been regarded as a central factor influencing pay. There have also been attempts to justify gender pay differentials with differences in the educational levels of women and men. Quite clearly this explanation does not work in Finland. The point of departure for considering pay differentials is quite unusual. On the one hand, it is known that the female Finnish wage and salary earners are today better educated than their male counterparts (see Chapter 1). On the other hand, there is still a 20 per cent difference in favour of men in the average pay. Quite obviously the matter needs to be studied more closely. In this Chapter on gender pay differentials educational level has been chosen as the pivotal background variable, because at the same time it also facilitates examining the fairness of pay, at least as far as educational level is concerned.

The inferiority of women's average pay compared to that of men is evident at all educational levels (figure 4.1.). Generally, statistics and studies have found that the difference in men's and women's pay (in terms of percentages) increases as the educational level rises. In respect of tertiary level education, this still seems to apply as far as the 1997 Survey results are concerned. Compared to the earlier Surveys, however, the situation has improved, especially in respect of those with tertiary or upper secondary education.

Figure 4.1. Women's pay as proportion of men's pay

Monthly income by level of education, excluding part-time employees,
Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997



Comparing the educational levels and the wages and salaries paid according to them against a more detailed classification of education shows that for both women and men pay does go up almost systematically according to educational level (table 4.2.). The only exception to this is the group of men with lowest tertiary education, where the average pay is slightly higher than at the next level. In the same group the gender pay differential is at its largest.

Within tertiary education, the gender pay differential narrows distinctly in all other sub-categories except that of lowest tertiary education. Compared to the previous (1990) Survey, the gap has narrowed especially at the undergraduate level and quite considerably also at the graduate level of education, corresponding with today's master's degree level. Postgraduate level, i.e. degrees of licentiate or doctorate, is such a small group in the data that it is not possible

Table 4.2. Women's and men's average earnings by level of education 1997

	Women		Men		W / M %
	FIM	n	FIM	n	
Total	9,100	1,351	11,500	1,292	80
Basic and lower secondary level	7,800	292	9,900	317	79
Lower level of upper secondary education	7,900	392	10,100	452	78
Upper level of upper secondary education	9,000	368	11,600	270	78
Lowest tertiary level	9,800	116	14,800	94	66
Undergraduate level	12,300	50	14,500	54	85
Graduate level	13,900	124	17,400	84	80
Postgraduate level	..	9	17,400	21	..

to calculate a figure for the pay differential. Only 9 of the female respondents fell into this category.

Statistics Finland's Pay Structure Statistics produce a very similar pattern for 1996 for the distribution of pay by level of education. The pay differential between the genders varies in very much the same way as it does according to the findings of the Quality of Work Life Survey. (Pay Structure Statistics 1996, 14.) In Income Distribution Statistics, too, the distribution of income calculated from the 1996 annual income follows the same system. (Income Distribution Statistics 1996, 77.) The 1990s time series of Income Distribution Statistics show consistently with the Quality of Work Life Survey that the gender pay gap has narrowed more in respect of the tertiary education groups excluding, however, the lowest tertiary education, where the differential remains the largest.

Work experience and pay development

Besides education, differences in work experience have also been quoted in attempts to explain the gender pay differentials. However, a feature that is typical of Finland is that there is very little difference in the work experiences of women and men. When the respondents were asked in the latest, 1997, Quality of Work Life Survey about the number of years they had been gainfully employed in their lives, the average for women was 18.9 and for men 19.6 years. Thus, the difference in work experience today amounts to less than twelve months. The findings of the earlier Quality of Work Life Surveys show that the difference has been continuously decreasing. In the 1990 Survey, it was still nearly two years.

So this explanation does not seem to be of much help, either. What would be interesting to find out is how gender pay differentials develop as work experience increases. The adjacent table contains calculations – based on two

Table 4.3. Work experience and women's pay as proportion of men's pay By level of education, Quality of Work Life Surveys 1990 and 1997

	Work experience							
	1–9 years		10–19 years		20–29 years		over 30 years	
	1990	1997	1990	1997	1990	1997	1990	1997
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	85	87	71	80	72	75	75	78
Tertiary level	80	80	66	79	70	75	62	80
Upper secondary level	85	85	74	79	74	74	72	79
Lower secondary, basic level	86	84	77	84	73	75	83	79

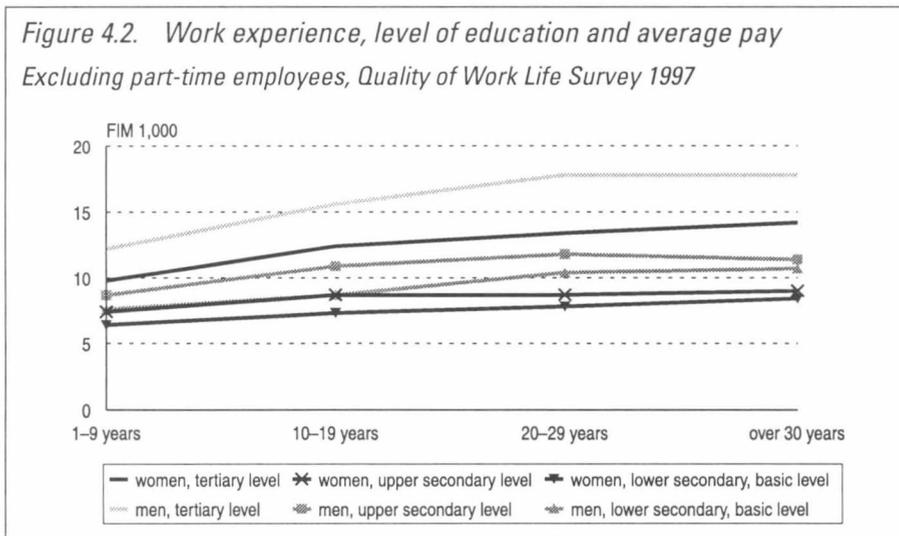
Table 4.4. Work experience, level of education and average pay, 1997

	Work experience							
	1-9 years		10-19 years		20-29 years		over 30 years	
	FIM	n	FIM	n	FIM	n	FIM	n
Women, total	8,100	253	9,400	404	9,400	423	9,400	327
Tertiary level	9,800	84	12,400	101	13,400	82	14,200	45
Upper secondary level	7,400	145	8,700	258	8,700	241	9,000	144
Lower secondary, basic level	6,400	24	7,300	45	7,800	100	8,400	138
Men, total	9,300	256	11,700	344	12,600	363	12,000	597
Tertiary level	12,200	56	15,600	51	17,800	72	17,800	77
Upper secondary level	8,700	170	10,900	208	11,800	196	11,400	259
Lower secondary, basic level	7,600	30	8,700	85	10,400	95	10,700	261

Surveys – of women’s proportional earnings when both the amount of work experience and educational level are standardised. The results show that in all the four groups formed according to work experience the gender pay gap is at least 14 per cent or more.

At all educational levels, the gendered difference in pay already becomes quite clear in the group of those with less than ten years of work experience. As work experience increases, the difference just grows systematically bigger. However, in the group of the oldest respondents with the longest work experience, the difference contracts again slightly. In the 1990 Survey, the pay gap was the deepest among those with 10 to 19 years of work experience behind them. Now the deepest gap seems to have shifted to among those with 20 to 29

Figure 4.2. Work experience, level of education and average pay
Excluding part-time employees, Quality of Work Life Survey 1997



years of work experience. Compared to the previous Survey, the biggest change seems to have taken place among those with tertiary level education and the longest work experience. In this group the gap seems to have grown distinctly shallower. Nevertheless, the reliability of this finding is marred by the fact that during the previous Survey the size of this particular group of women was still fairly small (18 respondents). The adjacent Table 4.4. shows not only the average pay by work experience and education but also the number of cases in this category in the latest Survey.

The Figure on the same subject shows that, with women, upper secondary and tertiary education produce only very scant upward development in pay as work experience increases. Having upper secondary education, especially, means for women that their pay development comes to a total halt after ten years of work experience. The observation that can be made in respect of men is that their pay rises rapidly initially but then levels off in the oldest employee group with over 30 years of work experience and even falls slightly for those with upper secondary education.

Work organisation and pay

It has frequently come to light in the earlier studies that gender pay differentials are usually at their smallest in the public sector (e.g. Brunila 1990, 24). According to the findings of the 1990 Quality of Work Life Survey, pay differentials were the smallest of all in the central government sector. This same information is contained in the adjacent table which also shows the changes standardised for education in the pay differentials by sector.

The gender pay differential continues to be the smallest in the central government sector but the differences between the sectors would seem to have narrowed in this respect. The change is particularly striking in the private sector: women are clearly catching up with men. Examined by educational level the catching up seems to centre among those with tertiary education, although

Table 4.5. *Employer sector and women's pay as proportion of men's pay by level of education, 1990 and 1997*

	Employer sector					
	Central government		Municipality		Private	
	1990	1997	1990	1997	1990	1997
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	81	83	78	81	74	80
Tertiary level	82	83	76	80	68	76
Upper secondary level	77	85	82	87	77	81
Lower secondary, basic level	89	..	81	87	79	80

*Table 4.6. Employer sector and average pay by level of education 1997
Gross pay, excluding part-time employees*

	Employer sector							
	Total		Central government		Municipality		Private	
	FIM	n	FIM	n	FIM	n	FIM	n
Women, total	9,100	1,351	10,400	115	8,900	534	9,100	712
Tertiary level	12,100	299	12,900	44	11,600	151	12,500	104
Upper secondary level	8,400	760	8,900	56	8,000	296	8,700	413
Lower secondary, basic level	7,800	292	..	15	7,100	87	8,000	195
Men, total	11,400	1,292	12,600	85	10,900	183	11,500	1,036
Tertiary level	15,800	253	15,600	37	14,500	67	16,500	153
Upper secondary level	10,600	722	10,400	39	9,100	85	10,900	602
Lower secondary, basic level	9,900	317	..	9	8,100	31	10,100	281

it is still quite obvious that private sector employees are the very group in which gender pay differentials are the largest.

Comparisons by sector are somewhat hampered by the fact that the central government sector has contracted considerably, as privatised state institutions have, in terms of statistics, moved to the private sector. Especially the groups with lower secondary education have today grown too small for reliable comparisons to be made. The table below shows what the numbers of pertinent cases were in the latest 1997 Survey. The table also facilitates comparisons of monthly pay by sector in monetary terms.

With both women and men, the highest monthly earnings are found in the central government sector. However, differences in the educational levels do have a bearing on this, for standardising education does influence the result, especially in respect of men. In respect of all educational levels, the private sector seems the most lucrative as far as men's pay is concerned. With women, the central government and private sectors are the joint leaders. According to the Survey findings, in respect of all educational levels the average earnings for both women and men are the worst in the municipal sector.

Female and male dominance

The correlation between work organisation and pay can also be assessed against how female or male dominated the pertinent work community is. This was inquired in the Quality of Work Life Survey by asking the respondents to say whether their co-workers doing roughly similar tasks were all, or mostly, women, both men and women or all, or mostly, men. The adjacent table shows

women's and men's average earnings by education by putting together the "all or mostly" replies from this question about work segregation.

The results show that women's earnings are distinctly boosted if they work in a male-dominated work environment. Even working in a mixed work community raises women's earnings level. To put it in another way, a female-dominated work environment means lower pay for women at all educational levels.

Female-domination appears to be harmful to men, too: their earnings are the lowest in female-dominated work environments. Male-domination, again, brings no significant benefits to men, except in the group of those with lower secondary and basic education. It is, generally, not very common anyway for those with lower secondary and basic education to work in an environment dominated by the opposite gender. With respect of both women and men these groups are again too small in this Survey for reliable comparisons.

The gender composition seems to correlate particularly strongly with women's pay in that it is the highest for women with tertiary education working in a male-dominated environment and the lowest for those with no higher than lower secondary education working in a female-dominated environment.

A similar result was obtained by Irja Kandolin from the Quality of Work Life Survey carried out as far back as 1984. The gender composition of a workplace is of great "explanatory" value with regard to gender pay differentials. (Kandolin 1997, 267.) Especially the pay of female upper white-collar employees was lowered, in exactly the same way as that of women with tertiary education in this latest Survey, by working in a female-dominated work community.

It is precisely observations like these of the existence of female wages and salaries in female-dominated fields that have been behind the past attempts to

Table 4.7. Male or female dominance of workplace and pay by level of education 1997

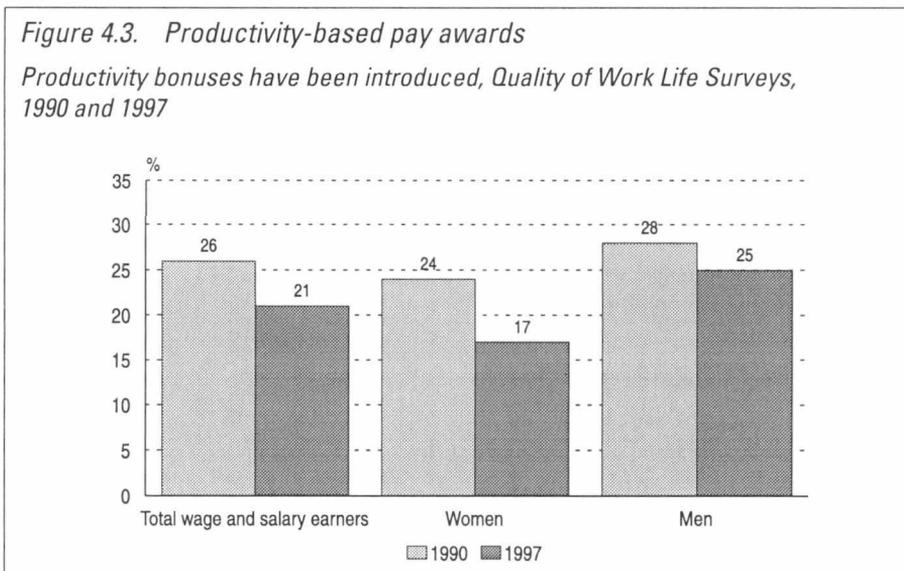
	Total		Mostly women		Both men and women		Mostly men	
	FIM	n	FIM	n	FIM	n	FIM	n
Women, total	9,100	1,351	8,600	959	10,300	268	12,100	57
Tertiary level	12,100	299	11,100	186	13,300	78	16,300	21
Upper secondary level	8,400	760	8,200	546	9,300	151	9,800	22
Lower secondary, basic level	7,800	292	7,700	227	8,100	39	..	14
Men, total	11,400	1,292	11,300	80	12,600	214	11,100	912
Tertiary level	15,800	253	14,000	34	16,300	75	15,700	121
Upper secondary level	10,600	722	9,500	33	11,000	107	10,700	537
Lower secondary, basic level	9,900	317	..	13	8,900	32	10,000	254

minimise gender pay differentials through the dissolution of occupational segregation. It is, however, unlikely that female-domination of occupations, fields and workplaces could ever fully "explain" the pay differentials. The question is more of a bias that has evolved with time and which, as such, deserves to be explained. Re-assessing the demands of the tasks in the male and female-dominated fields would, in fact, be a more appropriate way than tempting women to give up female-dominated fields in the hope of better pay.

In principle, it would be wrong to eliminate the effect of an occupational field while attempting to find the "inexplicable" proportion created by discrimination in the pay differentials. Nevertheless, in economic analyses this has often been the case (see Kangasniemi 1997). In Statistics Finland's Prices and Wages Statistics, too, gender pay differentials are calculated by eliminating the "effects" of occupations or industries (Pay Structure Statistics 1996, 1998, 14). The fact that gender pay differentials exist in fields where the educational requirements are identical, e.g. in engineering or nursing occupations, is a clear indication of discrimination. Neither the fields as such, nor their male or female domination, explain pay differentials in any way whatsoever.

Performance-based pay

The introduction of performance-based pay systems has been a subject of lively debate in recent years. The systems have been implemented even in service and public sector fields, although assessing and measuring the results in these fields is much more difficult than in manufacturing or production work. The adjacent figure would indicate, however, that pay systems based on per-



formance were less in use in autumn 1997 than in 1990. The reason may either be that the number of these extra encouragement systems had to be pruned down due to the recession or that the actual assessment of productivity proved more difficult than anticipated. The fact that the use of performance-based pay systems is less widespread in the public sector, i.e. central government (16%) and municipalities (8%), than in the private sector would certainly indicate towards the latter reason.

It is difficult to judge the reliability of the Quality of Work Life Survey data on performance-based pay systems, because the topic has generally not been extensively studied anyway. The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions has researched the introduction of performance-based pay in the context of studies into different forms of local agreements (Helin 1999). The research cannot be regarded as nationally representative but it does give an overall picture of the different forms performance-based pay awards can take. The commonest form is the payment of a one-off annual bonus if targets have been exceeded. Such bonuses are almost invariably directed to a certain group, e.g. all employees, whole departments or employee groups of an enterprise. Another main form is using personnel funds as the rewarding channel.

With regard to gender pay differentials, performance-based bonuses have obviously not played a significant role in the 1990s. As recently as in the 1990 Quality of Work Life Survey it looked as though the pay differentials were increasing at workplaces where performance-based award systems had been introduced. Highly educated men, particularly, seemed to benefit from the new forms of awarding. (Lehto 1992, 82–83.) Now that according to the 1997 Quality of Work Life Survey performance-based pay systems are rarer than at the turn of the decade, they seem to have lost their impact on the gender pay differential. The only remaining difference is that at men's workplaces performance-based awarding has remained as common as previously, at the workplace of every fourth employee. With women, this type of rewarding has grown less frequent.

Table 4.8. Form of pay by gender 1997

	Women		Men		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Fixed monthly pay	65	1,021	45	618	55	1,639
Fixed hourly pay	13	205	24	332	18	537
Basic pay plus shift supplements	12	196	8	116	11	312
Basic pay plus productivity bonus	5	71	10	142	7	213
Basic pay plus piece-work bonus	2	27	5	72	3	99
Other form of pay	3	54	8	109	6	163
Total	100	1,575	100	1,390	100	2,965

The form of pay is also otherwise descriptive of the difference in women's and men's pay. In the Quality of Work Life Survey, the proportions of pay made up of different bonuses and supplements can also be examined with the question about the respondents' personal forms of pay. The replies to this question are presented in the adjacent table.

Fixed monthly pay is clearly more typical with women (65%) than men (45%), while hourly pay is more common with men (24%) than women (13%). Hourly pay is a particularly prominent pay form with young men (under 30), of whom one in three said he is paid hourly, whereas only one in four of the women of this age group received hourly pay. Shift supplements are more common in women's (12%) than in men's (8%) pay. Different piece-work, commission or productivity bonuses, again, are more often paid to men (15%) than women (7%).

Perception of the fairness of pay

The values and expectations connected with the perception of fairness are essential to the Finns. This has come to light in Finnish studies into the values of working life (e.g. Juuti 1989). With the help of the Quality of Work Life Surveys, the perceptions concerning the fairness of pay can also be examined and compared in the light of the foregoing findings about gender pay differentials.

Table 4.9. presents the perceptions of the fairness of pay by educational level and employer sector. The table shows the results from the 1990 and 1997

*Table 4.9. Proportion of those perceiving their pay as fair, 1990 and 1997
By employer sector and level of education. Quality of Work Life Surveys. Questionnaire appendix, question no. 34.*

	Employer sector							
	Total		Central government		Municipality		Private	
	1990	1997	1990	1997	1990	1997	1990	1997
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Women, total	40	40	45	37	24	30	50	48
Tertiary level	38	35	37	33	29	27	55	48
Upper secondary level	37	40	40	42	18	29	49	49
Lower secondary, basic level	47	44	56	31	33	40	50	47
Men, total	53	46	46	37	40	32	56	50
Tertiary level	58	51	51	45	43	44	66	57
Upper secondary level	52	44	44	32	29	27	56	48
Lower secondary, basic level	52	48	46	33	53	20	52	52

Quality of Work Life Surveys next to each other. The complete question can be found on the appended Survey questionnaire (Question 34).

The difference in women's and men's replies is logical in the sense that those men whose pay is proportionally high relative to, for example, their level of education also regard their pay fair more often than women. Nearly every second man (46%), but only 40 per cent of the women are satisfied with their pay in this sense. Nevertheless, compared to the turn of the decade, the satisfaction among men has diminished quite distinctly.

The table also shows how systematically these differences in the perception of fairness correspond with the average earnings by employer sector and level of education presented earlier in this Chapter: highly educated men in the private sector are the most satisfied (57%) and also have the highest average earnings (FIM 16,500). On the other hand, men's satisfaction has declined most in precisely this group – as well as among those in the private sector with upper secondary education – since the previous Survey.

The most dissatisfied with their pay are the employees, both male and female, in the municipal sector. This applies at nearly all the educational levels and, thus, also corresponds with the findings concerning average earnings.

Of the reasons for and future of pay differentials

The findings of the Quality of Work Life Surveys show that there is still a clear difference in women's and men's pay in favour of men. Calculated from the latest Survey results, the average monthly earnings of women (FIM 9,100) amount to 80 per cent of men's average earnings (FIM 11,500). To re-iterate: part-time employees are not included in these calculations. Comparing the proportion to earlier results – calculated using an exactly identical method – the development in the 1990s does, however, seem positive from women's point: the pay differential has narrowed by about four percentage points.

This Chapter has shown that the underdevelopment in women's pay is neither due to lower educational level nor difference in work experience. The women in working life are better educated than their male counterparts and the difference in the length of work experience in favour of men amounts to less than twelve months.

In the search for an explanation to the narrowing of the gender pay differential in the 1990s, education and work experience may, nevertheless, be of major importance. Women's educational level has been going up slightly faster than men's, and level of education continues to be an important aspect in determining the size of a persons' pay.

On the other hand, all wages and salaries – including those of men – have only gone up very slightly in the 1990s. At the end of the previous decade vari-

ous sliding scales were usual, and more performance-based awards were paid. These all tended to benefit men more than women.

The 1990s has also been a decade of multilateral incomes policy agreements. It has been estimated that multilateral incomes policy agreements are more favourable to women than industry-specific agreements, not to even mention local agreements (e.g. Ilmakunnas & Julkunen 1997, Rubery & Fagan 1994). Multilateral agreements embrace the principle of inter-sectoral pay solidarity which in itself is favourable to female-dominated fields. Equally, it has been possible to include in multilateral agreements equality supplements, which are important in principle, as well as many social reforms, such as childcare leave entitlement.

From the point of the future, problems will arise if the patterns of pay tied to performance and local agreements become more widespread with the move to the Economic and Monetary Union in Europe. Measuring performance is, on average, more difficult in the typically female work, i.e. work involving human relationships and information handling, than in the typically male production work. There is a fear that gender pay differentials will grow again if such a trend gains momentum in the future.

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5 Fixed-term employment relationships and gender equality

In the early 1990s Finland was gripped by a deep economic recession which brought major changes to the labour markets. The rate of unemployment, which had remained fairly low throughout the 1980s, reached the record figure of 18.5 per cent by 1994. Changes also took place in the pattern of employment in that atypical employment relationships grew increasingly common.

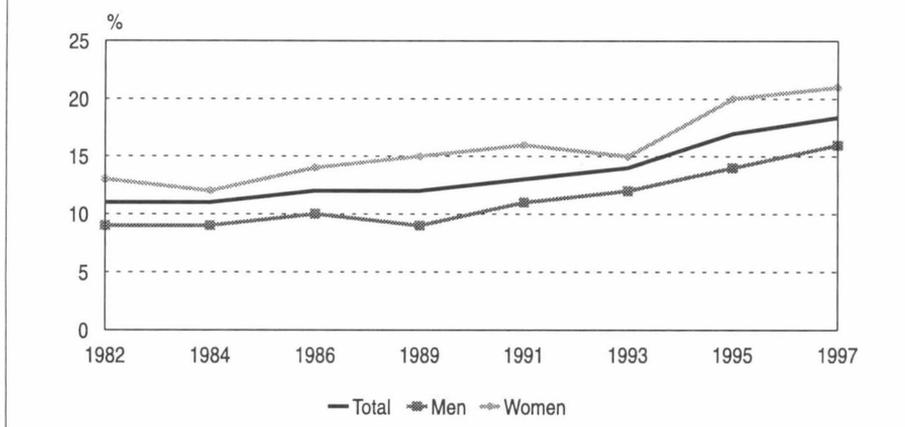
The use of fixed-term employment relationships allows enterprises to shift the responsibility from the employer to the employee in insecure circumstances by rendering a proportion of the personnel easily manoeuvrable and flexible. Thanks to this flexibility the threshold for hiring new employees is brought down and it becomes easier for enterprises to adapt to changing operating environments. In international research, atypical employment relationships are viewed as forming a part of companies' uncertainty strategies. (Parjanne 1998, Bielenski 1994.)

The managements of Finnish service enterprises also view low hiring threshold, better profitability, reduced business risk and possibilities for flexibility as major benefits from the use of fixed-term labour force. The costs incurred by an enterprise when, for example, a female employee becomes pregnant, can be minimised by exploiting fixed-term employment relationships. *"An employer has to constantly consider whether a certain employee is, or will get, pregnant (...) This is something every employer has to bear in mind".* (Laaksonen 1998)

Women's fixed-term employment relationships started to get increasingly widespread in Finland in the mid-1980s. The new home care allowance system took effect at the same time. This may have influenced the spreading popularity of fixed-term employment relationships with regard to female employees in two ways: on the one hand employers were becoming reluctant to hire women of child-bearing age to permanent employment relationships because there was a risk of her staying at home to care for her children for years. On the other hand, it became necessary to hire (fixed-term) replacements for the (permanent) employees who stayed at home by virtue of the home care allowance.

Figure 5.1. Proportion of employees in fixed-term employment relationships 1982–1997

% of wage and salary earners. Annual Labour Force Surveys 1982–1993, Labour Force Survey of the EU 1995, annual mean of 1997 Labour Force Survey



With regard to men, the growing popularity of fixed-term employment relationships seems to relate more to the general economic development: men's fixed-term employment relationships started to become widespread at the turn of the decade, as the recession was setting on.

While in the 1984 Quality of Work Life Survey just a good tenth (11%) of wage and salary earners worked in fixed-term employment relationships, by the 1997 Survey the proportion had gone up to nearly one fifth (18%). Altogether 192,000 women and 136,000 men, that is 21 per cent of all female and 15 per cent of all male wage and salary earners, worked in fixed-term employment relationships in 1997. The proportions are the highest in the Member States of the EU, topped only by Spain. With respect of women, the trend seems to have halted for the moment. It remains to be seen whether this is just a case of temporary stabilisation of the situation or whether the trend in the proportion of female fixed-term employment relationships will turn to a real decline. According to the Quality of work Life Surveys, the proportion of male fixed-term employment relationships would already seem to show a slight decline from 1997 onwards.

The voluntariness of fixed-term employment seems to be connected with labour market situations. During and after the recession fixed-term employment relationships were entered into mainly out of necessity. It does not seem to be so much a question of the "variety in employment relationships also corresponding better with the different needs of employees" as employers sometimes claim. In the 1997 Quality of Work Life Survey, at the onset of economic recovery, one in three of those in fixed-term employment relationships said they were in them voluntarily because they did not want permanent employ-

ment anyway. This was stated by 34 per cent of the women and 29 per cent of the men included in the Survey. Only just under 40 per cent of the interviewed women and men said they were doing fixed-term work because permanent jobs were not available. In the 1997 Quality of Work Life Survey, the percentage of the female "voluntary" fixed-term employees had gone down to four and that of their male counterparts to 10 per cent. In that Survey, over 90 per cent of the female and nearly 80 per cent of the male respondents gave the unavailability of other kind of work as the reason why they were in fixed-term employment.

Correspondingly, in the 1990 Quality of Work Life Survey, up to one half of those in fixed-term employment considered the likelihood of finding a new job good. There was next to no difference in the proportions between the genders in this respect. In 1997, the proportions of those considering the likelihood of finding a new job had dwindled to one out of three men and just a good fifth of women. During the 1990s, working in fixed-term employment relationships involuntarily has, thus, increased for both genders while the opportunities for finding a new job have decreased. Women's situation seems to be particularly weak in this respect.

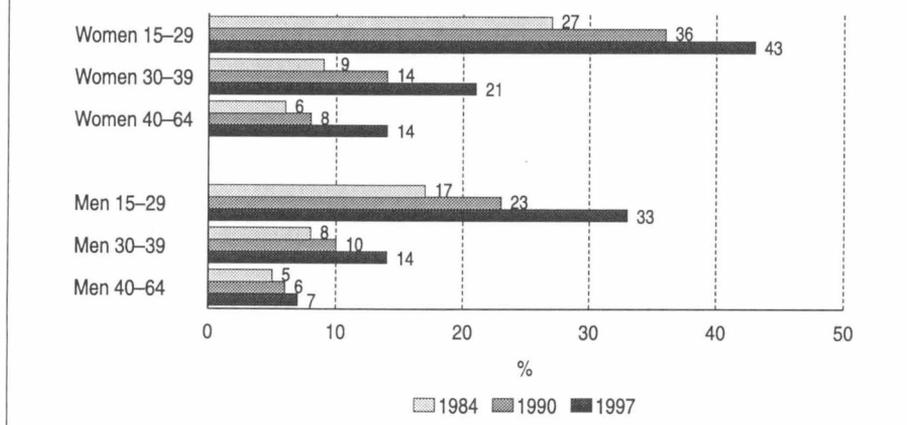
Beginning of a working career an elastic concept

Fixed-term employment relationships have been viewed as a phenomenon especially associated with young age and the beginning of a working career. It is true that fixed-term employment relationships continue to be most common among young wage and salary earners and new entrants to working life. However, as fixed-term employment relationships become increasingly widespread, they are also beginning to touch other wage and salary earner groups, particularly women. The proportion of fixed-term employees has increased most among women aged over 30, for whom it has more than doubled in good ten years. (Figure 5.2.) As late as 1990, well over one half of all fixed-term employees – both female and male – were aged under 30. By 1997, only 36 per cent of all female fixed-term employees were aged under 30. Similar development can be seen at the other end of the age spectrum, where the proportion of female fixed-term employees aged over 40 has risen to over one third while the males' corresponding proportion is "only" one quarter.

New employment relationships of under 12 months' duration are atypical more often than usual. In 1997, two thirds of them had been entered into on fixed-term basis. In the past, a fixed-term employment relationship at a new workplace was made into a permanent one fairly soon. By 1997, however, the situation had changed and this was particularly visible in the public sector: over one half of the female public sector employees who had been in their jobs for over 12 months but under four years were still employed on fixed-term ba-

Figure 5.2. Fixed-term wage and salary earners by age group

% of wage and salary earners in the age group, Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997



sis in 1997. Every fourth female public sector employee who had been in her job for over four but under seven years was also still employed on fixed-term basis.

The connection between fixed-term employment and length of working career can also be examined in the Quality of Work Life Surveys using as the criterion the overall length of the fixed-term employee's working career. In 1984, every fifth fixed-term wage and salary earner was only just starting his or her

Table 5.1. Proportions of fixed-term employees by length of time at current place of work

Time at current place of work	Proportions of fixed-term employees					
	Women			Men		
	1984	1990	1997*	1984	1990	1997*
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Public sector						
Under 12 months	66	72	82	76	63	75
1-3 years	29	35	54	25	28	38
4-7 years	12	22	26	13	5	12
Over 7 years	3	3	4	2	3	1
Private sector						
Under 12 months	33	46	51	34	37	52
1-3 years	7	11	19	5	10	9
4-7 years	2	7	3	2	7	3
Over 7 years	1	1	1	1	2	1

* Excl. those employed with policy measures

working career and had less than two years' experience of gainful employment. In the 1997 Survey, these "rookies" made up less than one tenth of the female fixed-term employees. As many as fifty per cent of the female fixed-term employees had behind them working careers of over ten years.

An examination of the same phenomenon from another perspective shows how increasing work experience has helped in finding a permanent job at different times. In 1984, a good third of the wage and salary earners with less than five years' experience of gainful employment were employed on fixed-term basis. The majority had already succeeded in becoming permanently employed. Those who in 1997 had behind them less than five years' work experience had entered the working life during, or in the aftermath, of the worst recession. Over one half of them still had an employment contract of fixed term duration. This group of over 100,000 fixed-term employees at the beginning of their working career are unlikely to take it for granted even in the future that accumulating work experience will automatically lead to a permanent employment relationship. In 1997, thirteen per cent of the women and 9 per cent of the men with over ten years' work experience were still working on fixed-term basis. In 1984, the corresponding proportion for both genders was 6 per cent.

Fixed-term employees experience unemployment considerably more often than other wage and salary earners. In 1997, over half of the female and almost half of the male fixed-term employees said they had previously at some stage been in a permanent employment relationship. A vast majority of the fixed-term employees had been unemployed in the last five years. With the male fixed-term employees aged over 30 the proportion was as high as 90 and with the female ones nearly 80 per cent. Of all the wage and salary earners in

*Figure 5.3. Proportion of fixed-term wage and salary earners
By years of work experience, Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997*

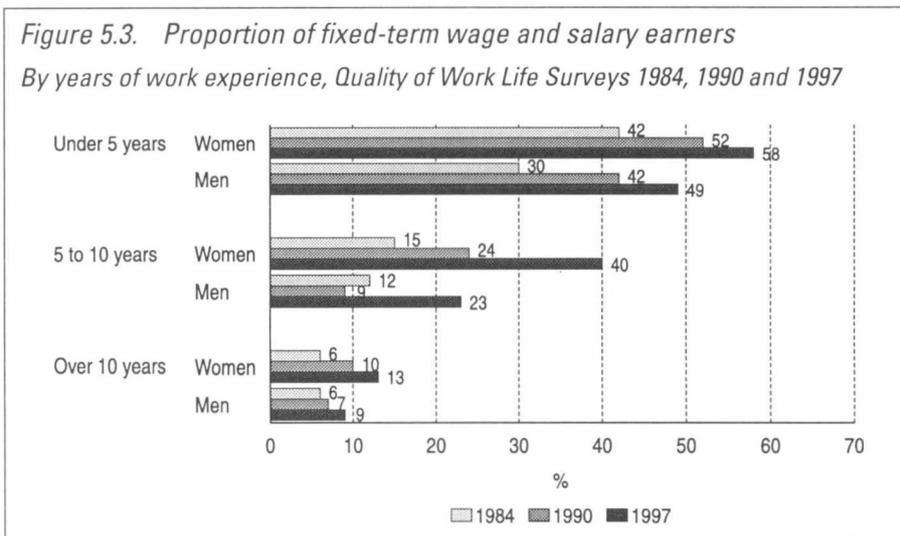
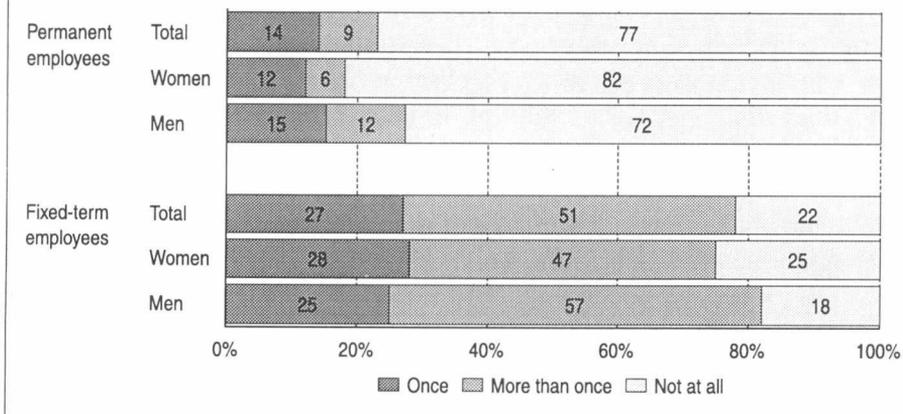


Figure 5.4. *Been unemployed in the last five years*

Quality of Work Life Survey 1997



fixed-term employment relationships one in four had been unemployed or temporarily dismissed in the last five years.

With those fixed-term employees who had been unemployed the periods of unemployment were also clearly longer than with the others who had been unemployed but were permanently employed at the time of the Survey. With both female and male fixed-term employees, the average length of the unemployment period was 16 months. With permanently employed men the average length of unemployment or temporary dismissal was 11 months and with permanently employed women 7 months. The oldest fixed-term employee group of those aged over 40 had experienced unemployment distinctly more frequently than their younger counterparts. This was also the case with those who only had lower or upper secondary level educational qualification.

Education does not improve women's position

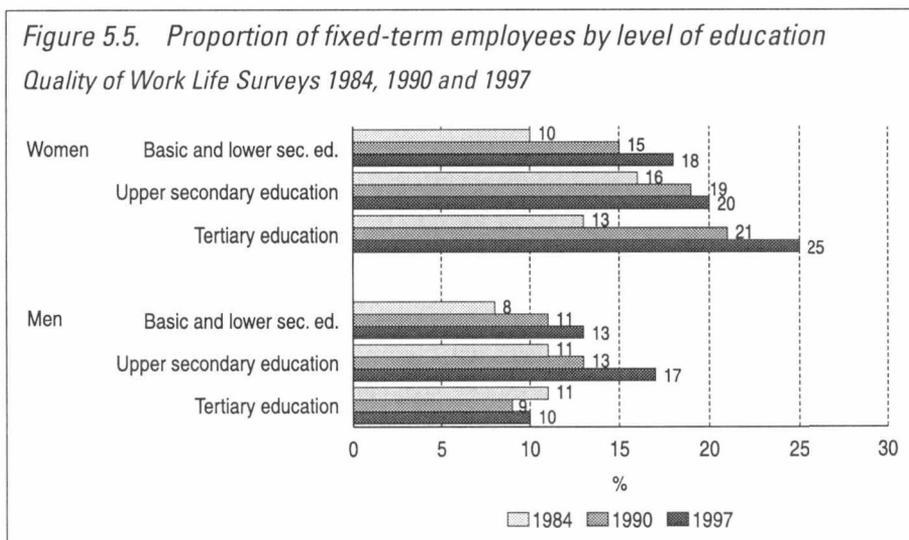
The female fixed-term wage and salary earners of today are not only older and have longer work experience, but are also better educated and more often than before in salaried positions.

The educational level of Finnish wage and salary earners has been rising steadily, and this also applies to fixed-term employees – at least women. In 1984, the educational structures of the female and male fixed-term employee groups were still roughly similar and both were better educated than the permanent employee group. By 1997 the situation had changed so that the educational level of the men employed on fixed-term basis had fallen considerably below that of the men employed on permanent basis, whereas the educational level of the women employed on fixed-term basis had risen well above that of

the women employed on permanent basis. In fact, the educational level of the female fixed-term employees surpassed not only the educational level of the female permanent employees but also that of the male permanent employees – not to even mention that of the male fixed-term employees – as far back as in the 1990 Quality of Work Life Survey. In 1997, one in four of the fixed-term employees had a tertiary level qualification, while the corresponding proportion among their male counterparts was 13 per cent. One in five of all men and women in permanent employment relationships had a tertiary qualification. (Figure 5.5.)

While tertiary education would seem the gate to a permanent employment relationship for men, it does not seem to improve women's position in this respect. In the 1997 Survey, the proportion of fixed-term employees was the smallest (10%) among highly educated men while fixed-term employment was the commonest among highly educated women of whom one in four was in this type of employment relationship.

Fixed-term employment relationships were the commonest among female upper white-collar employees, of whom one in four was in a fixed-term employment relationship. Every fifth female blue-collar worker was employed on fixed-term basis. Fixed-term employment relationships were the least common among male upper white-collar employees of whom only one in ten had entered into his employment relationship for a fixed term. The proportion of fixed-term employees of male lower white-collar employees and blue-collar workers was 16 per cent. Compared to permanent employees, there was a relatively large number of white-collar employees and small number of blue-collar workers among the female fixed-term employees. With men, the situation was totally reversed.



Fixed-term employment commonest in the public sector

Although fixed-term employment relationships have been increasing in all occupational groups since the 1984 Quality of Work Life Survey, the groups in which they are most and least common have remained unchanged. Fixed-term employment has always been commonest in the female-dominated municipal sector in the occupational groups of education, and health and social care. In the 1997 Survey, the hotel and catering, building and electrical as well as services industry and agriculture also emerged as fields using as much fixed-term labour force as the fields of health and social care. In all the Quality of Work Life Surveys the numbers of fixed-term employment relationships have been the lowest in commercial and manufacturing occupations.

Fixed-term employment is the commonest in the public sector. Even discounting those employed with policy measures, one third of the female and 15 per cent of the male wage and salary earners in the central government sector were employed on fixed-term basis in 1997. In the municipal sector, the proportion of fixed-term employees of all women employed without policy measures was 22 per cent while with men the corresponding proportion was 16 per cent. The distribution between the genders is the most even in the private sector where 13 per cent of the women and 12 per cent of the men were fixed-term employees.

In the private sector fixed-term employment touches women and men quite equally also age-wise: half of both the male and female fixed-term employees are aged under 30, one in four between 30 and 39 and one quarter over 40. The age structure is also very similar for the males employed in the public sector without policy measures, whereas only under one third (29%) of the females employed without policy measures on fixed-term basis in the public sector are under 30 years of age. Over 40 per cent of the female fixed-term employees in the municipal sector and 30 per cent of their sisters in the central government sector are aged over 40.

Rows of successive contracts common with women

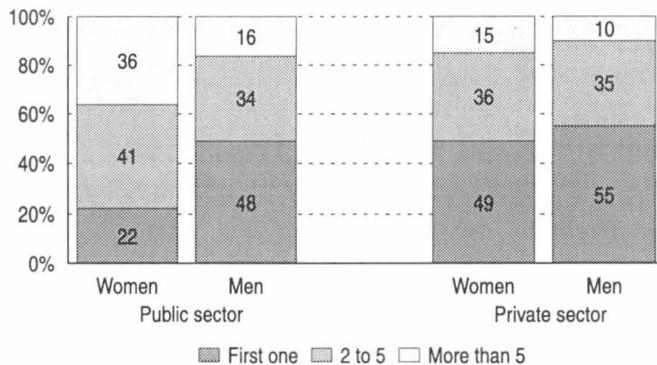
The ways in which the respondents were asked about the type of fixed-term employment relationship they were working in differed slightly in 1990 and 1997, so comparisons are here not fully reliable. It would, nevertheless, seem that there has been an increase in the proportion of those who said their work was seasonal or that they come to work as and when summoned. However, these groups only make up the minor proportion of altogether good 10 per cent of all fixed-term employees. The most frequent reply from the fixed-term em-

ployees in the 1997 Quality of Work Life Survey was that they were "in an employment relationship otherwise agreed for a fixed term." This applied to nearly one half (46%) of the men and a good third (36%) of the women. Nearly one in three (31%) of the women and one in ten of the men said they were working as replacements without a permanent position. With both genders, the proportion of those employed with labour policy measures made up approximately one sixth (16–17%) of the respondents.

The 1997 Survey goes slightly deeper into the nature of the fixed-term employees' employment relationships. For example, it shows that female fixed-term wage and salary earners had more often behind them several successive fixed-term employment contracts with their current employer than their male counterparts. This kind of "rows of successive contracts" was the most common in health care occupations in which good half (53%) of the interviewed female fixed-term employees were working under their fifth successive fixed-term contract in the job they did at the time of the interview. All in all, this kind of "rows of successive contracts" was commonest in the public sector. (Figure 5.6.)

Fixed-term employees' assessments of what might happen to them at the end of the employment relationship they were in at the time of the interview also tell about the same thing, i.e. "rows of successive contracts". Continuing to examine only those fixed-term wage and salary earners employed without labour policy measures, more than one half (59%) of the women reckoned that their employment relationship would be continued with a new fixed-term contract in their present workplace, while 42 per cent of the men thought so. As many as three out of four of the women on their fifth successive contract believed that their fixed-term employment would continue. Es-

*Figure 5.6. Number of employment relationships at current place of work
Fixed-term wage and salary earners*, Quality of Work Life Survey 1997*



* Excl. those employed with employment funds

pecially men in the older age groups feared becoming unemployed more often than their female counterparts. In all age groups, however, men thought more often than women that they would be made permanent, or already had another job lined up elsewhere. Especially men aged under 30 believed that they would be made permanent (13%). In all age groups, only about three per cent of all the interviewed women – but none in the group on their fifth successive contract – were this confident. One in six respondents could not say what might happen.

Fixed-term employment causes mental stress

Fixed-term employees form a highly heterogeneous group, which makes generalisation difficult. The way fixed-term employment is perceived can vary considerably depending, for example, on gender, age, occupational field, length of the employment relationship and own life or family situation. From the employee's point the weighing up of the advantages and disadvantages depends on whether the alternative to fixed-term employment is unemployment or a permanent position, for a fixed-term employment relationship is surely always better than nothing (Julkunen & Nätti 1995). Fixed employment relationships are useful from the employee's point when they act as a bridge to a permanent position or as a natural way to give a rhythm to one's own working career. The case is totally different when fixed-term employment turns to a trap of insecurity from which the only way out is unemployment. (Nätti 1993.)

Tiina Kalliomäki-Levanto (1998) claims that fixed-term or temporary employment is connected with new opportunities if the fixed-term employee is confident about finding (longer term or permanent) employment to please him/her in the future. Then fixed-term or temporary work is perceived as an interim stage in life, especially if the employee is "in a fixed-term or temporary stage of life", i.e. either studying or about to start studies or is freshly qualified and looking for a job. Confidence in finding a pleasant job later on in life is also in the background when a fixed-term or temporary employment relationship is seen as an interim opportunity to escape an earlier, unsatisfactory job or life situation.

The designing of the Quality of Work Life Survey questionnaire was preceded by a host of informal interviews. As fixed-term employment relationships were discussed in these interviews, the most frequently made comments were, among others, the stressfulness of the constant insecurity, difficulty in planning the future, conflicts and competition arising from the insecurity – especially at workplaces with a lot of fixed-term employees – and in general the fact that it made many ordinary everyday matters difficult, e.g. a bank could refuse a loan because of the applicant's fixed-term employment relationship. Conversely, the situation could also have positive aspects, at least for those

who valued the feeling of independence, wanted frequent change or had no family. "I think it depends on a person's character" was how some interviewees put it. It was also seen as an advantage that fixed-term employees, who are "only visiting" a workplace do not need to take a stand in any of the workplace's internal conflicts or grudges – which might stem from years back. A fixed-term employee simply does the work and then leaves.

A separate set of questions was compiled for fixed-term employees on the Quality of Work Life Survey questionnaire by making use of the most frequently experienced aspects. The questions were used to chart out, on the one hand, fixed-term employees' own attitudes and, on the other, the way they experienced their position in the work community. Sum variables were then formed to describe both.

Negative experienced to the majority

Measuring the attitude by the sum variable the majority, or two thirds, of the fixed-term employees seemed to look upon the nature of their employment relationship as a negative thing, rather than a choice that suited them personally. Women seemed to find fixed-term employment particularly difficult, because three quarters of them regarded it as a negative thing, while a good half of men held this view. The difference between men and women was statistically significant, regardless of age group.

Rows of successive employment contracts increased both genders' negative attitude towards fixed-term employment. The longer the work career a fixed-term employee had behind him or her, the more negatively he or she viewed the situation. Although in respect of both genders this negative attitude abated clearly once an employment relationship had lasted for more than 12 months, the proportion of those with negative views even after this long fixed-term employment relationship was surprisingly high.

Men's negative attitude abated as the educational level rose. With women there were no major differences in the attitude by level of education, although highly educated women appeared to take a slightly more negative view of the situation. The number of those who found the situation stressful was the largest in the health care field, but the number was also fairly high in the social care field. The number of those viewing their fixed-term employment negatively was also higher than average among women in the occupational groups of technical, scientific, etc., manufacturing, construction and transport work and among men working in service and agricultural occupations. The most positive attitudes were held on the one hand by men in technical, scientific, etc. or artistic occupations and on the other hand by those in all age groups working in commercial and hotel and catering occupations. Even standardised by age and gender, the situation was experienced as the most stressful in the public sector.

Hardest for single parents and wives of unemployed men

More fixed-term employees than permanent employees have no family. However, the proportion of those with a family has been going up among fixed-term employees in the 1990s which, for its part, speaks of the growing prevalence of fixed-term employment also in other wage and salary earner groups besides the very youngest and most unsettled ones.

The average age at which Finnish women have their first child has been continuously going up. In 1997 it was around 28 years. Fixed-term employment relationships and insecure future outlook make it difficult to decide on the best time for having a child. In the Quality of Work Life Survey, potential first-time mothers in the 25 to 34 age group living in a cohabiting or marital relationship with no children found fixed-term employment the most stressful. Their attitude to their fixed-term employment was even more negative than the one held by those women in the same age group who already had children. Depending on their family situation, the women in this age group put the emphasis in the stressfulness of fixed-term employment on slightly different aspects: women in a partnership with no children stated considerably more often than mothers or single women that fixed-term employment made planning the future difficult. By contrast, mothers of families with children put a distinctly stronger emphasis than their age-cohorts without children on the stressfulness of the financial insecurity that fixed-term employment causes. Quite understandably, nine out of ten single carers viewed their fixed-term employment as a mainly negative thing, whereas the respondents without family who, admittedly, were also, on average, younger than the others, expressed the least concern about this aspect.

Atypical labour market positions have a tendency to accumulate into the same households. The partner of a fixed-term employee is also a fixed-term employee more often than usually, even in the age groups that are not the very youngest ones. Fixed-term employee wives of unemployed men had the most negative view of their fixed-term employment. However, even where the male partner was in permanent employment, it did not make the woman assume a very carefree attitude towards her own fixed-term employment: three out of four of these women, too, regarded the situation as stressful.

Fixed-term employees' position in work community

A fixed-term wage or salary earner is a kind of a visitor to a workplace. To a certain extent, the length and quality of the visit determines how the fixed-

term employee is received by the work community and how he or she experiences his or her own position within it. It is obvious that the position of a fixed-term employee hired for expert tasks in a project lasting several years, for example, is entirely different from that of a temporary extra helper summoned up to do a couple of hours' or days' "gig".

It became clear from the informal interviews that a fixed-term employee should often keep a low profile: *"Obviously, if as a replacement you go and poke your nose into everything, you're brought down immediately. You just don't do it if you want to go on working. Replacements like that are simply not taken on."* At worst, a superior may demand from a fixed-term employee more than from a permanent employee by way of work input or flexibility in shifts, making it – directly or indirectly – quite clear that the renewal of the employment contract depends on it: *"You're sort of continually redeeming this new employment contract."*

Measured by the sum variable, approximately two out of three fixed-term employees nevertheless felt that their position in the work community was at least reasonably good, while one third were of the opinion that they were in a distinctly weaker position than permanent employees. Again, women's situation seemed more unfavourable than men's: a good quarter (27%) of men and almost two out of five women (38%) saw their position as weak. In this respect, the situation was the worst among those aged over 40.

An interesting difference between the genders emerges in how the rows of successive employment contracts affects the experiencing of own position in the work community. With men, those who were in their first fixed-term employment relationship at their current workplace regarded their position as the weakest, but with women this was the case for those who already had behind them more than five employment contracts at their current workplace. More than one half of these women regarded their position as weak. The men who had been promised permanency in their current job and the women who had another job lined up elsewhere thought their position was the strongest. Those who were threatened by unemployment or felt their chances of finding work were poor were the worst off.

The effect of the employment relationship's duration on the experiencing of own position in the work community was as expected. Those working in employment relationships lasting less than three months felt themselves to be in the weakest position, while those in employment relationships of over twelve months' duration thought they were in the strongest position. In contrast, the number of years of work experience or service at the current workplace seemed to have little or no bearing on how a fixed-term employee felt he or she was treated.

Examined by level of education, men felt that the lower their educational level, the weaker their position was. With women, too, those who had only

completed basic or lower secondary education felt they were the worst off, although the situation did not fluctuate by level of education as much as it did with men. As stated earlier, wage and salary earners in health care occupations seemed to find fixed-term employment the most stressful. The number of fixed-term employees who felt they were in a weak position in their work community was also by far the largest in the health care field.

Having a family appears to be an advantage to male fixed-term employees but a disadvantage to female ones. The largest number of those who felt they were in a strong position was found among men in a cohabiting or marital partnership with children under 18 living at home. Only 23 per cent of them felt their position was weak. Of the women in the same stage of life 43 per cent regarded their position as weak. Those who felt they were in the strongest position were single women of whom only 31 per cent considered their position weak. With respect of women, the work community may also perceive a family as an encumbrance that prevents full commitment to work, whereas a male employee having a family is more likely to be seen as portraying a person with a sense of responsibility and someone who should be taken seriously.

Summary

In the last few decades, the whole wage and salary earning population has been getting older, increasingly white-collared and better educated. Nevertheless, this is not enough to explain the fact that a growing number of fixed-term employees are white-collar women aged over 30 with at least upper secondary education. As many as one third (31%) of the female fixed-term employees employed without policy measures met these criteria in 1997, while in 1990 the corresponding proportion was 15%. The strong financial cutbacks made in the public sector in the 1990s manifest in the ever-growing number of women's fixed-term employment relationships, as the public sector is a major employer of the female labour force.

Fixed-term employment relationships continue to be more common among young wage and salary earners than those of more mature years. However, at least where women are concerned, the situation seems to have changed so that the connection between fixed-term employment and young age, on the one hand, and insufficient work experience, on the other, is no longer as obvious as it was a decade or so ago. Young people entering the labour market have traditionally formed the main group of fixed-term employees. As we approach the turn of the millennium, those employed on fixed-term basis after unemployment and such wage and salary earners – particularly women – who must wait for ever lengthening time periods for employment relationships to be made permanent emerge as the new groups of fixed-term employees. It has grown

increasingly difficult in the 1990s, especially for women, to find permanent work after unemployment. More than one half (52%) of the women who had been unemployed in the last five years preceding the Survey were in fixed-term employment relationships at the time of the Survey. The proportion of those female fixed-term employees who had not experienced unemployment at all was less than 8 per cent. The corresponding percentages for men were 34 per cent and 4 per cent. The proportions of fixed-term employees of those who had been unemployed more than once in the last five years were even higher at 65 per cent for women and 44 per cent for men.

Marja-Liisa Parjanne (1998) sees as the danger in Finland a division of the labour market and force into two circles: inner and outer. Those who retained their jobs during the recession form the core group, or inner circle, whose position on the labour market is stronger than that of the unemployed or those in atypical employment relationships. The position of the wage and salary earners in permanent employment relationships grows more secure pro rata to the increase in the number of fixed-term employees, who will usually be the first to adapt and become the labour force buffer, or outer circle.

The vast majority of fixed-term employees see their situation as a negative and mentally stressful thing, but only one in three of them feels that he or she is in a distinctly weaker position than others in his or her work community. It may be that we see here the effects of the same phenomenon that has been observed in women's attitudes towards gender discrimination at workplaces: even when friction occurs, women tend to distance themselves from it and belittle it in order to avoid open conflict. Gender discrimination is considered as a distant social issue and not something that would occur at one's own place of work (Korvajärvi, 1998). The same may apply to the whole question of fixed-term employees, too.

Nevertheless, it can be interpreted from the Survey results that fixed-term employment does not necessarily mean that a fixed-term employee and his or her work input and opinions are not appreciated in the work community; fixed-term employment may simply be dictated by the demands for flexibility and savings. From the point of the fixed-term employee, the matter has little or no significance: the insecurity of the employment relationship is stressful whatever the reasons for it are. Although those who feel themselves to be in the weakest position hold the most negative views of fixed-term employment, two out of five of those who see their position as fairly strong also regard their fixed-term employment relationship as a negative thing.

All in all, the differences in men's and women's experiences, whether relative to own attitudes or treatment in the work community, reveal the different ways in which the phenomenon of fixed-term employment manifests itself in relation to gender and how it centres on different age, educational and occupational groups and types of jobs, or even individual tasks.

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6 *Does information technology bring equality to working life?*

The arrival of information technology has been discussed from the gender perspective for some considerable time now. With its Quality of Work Life Survey in 1984 Statistics Finland was the first to study nationally the process of the introduction of information technology into the Finnish working life. It has been deemed as essential in the reports and articles subsequently produced from the Survey to contemplate the overall effects of computerisation and, separately, those from the point of men's and women's work in Finland (Kortteinen & Lehto & Ylöstalo 1986, Lehto 1988, Lehto 1989, Lehto 1992).

The notion to contemplate the position of the genders in the change emanated, above all, from forecasts in which especially women's work was seen in the early 1980s as seriously threatened by the introduction of computers. The early forecasts were especially concerned with the development of employment and at that time it was generally believed that office automation would radically reduce women's office work. Slightly later on the evaluations already covered more extensively the issue of how the situation of those employed would change in general. More defined questions were then asked of how employees in different fields and employee groups with different educational levels might cope with the change (e.g. Werneke 1983, Volst & Wagner 1988, Hartman 1986, 1987). Answers to these problems were sought with the help of the Quality of Work Life Surveys especially in the 1980s (e.g. Lehto 1989). Towards the end of the 1980s, the answer to the employment question was very clear in Finland: at that stage, at least, office automation had not reduced the number of jobs for female office employees.

In her recently published article on women's information technology work Kea Tjiedenis has also analysed the realisation of the previously presented forecasts about women's office work. She refers to such claims made in the early 1980s as men's domination in ADP work, women's computer "illiteracy", women's exclusion from decision-making processes and polarisation among women. On the basis of a study concerning salaried employees in industry she states that a) computerisation is no longer men's domain like before, b)

women are no longer computer illiterate, c) progress has taken place in women's participation in decision-making and d) polarisation does still exist, but in a sense opposite to the previous one. The last mentioned finding means that the groups involved are not users and non-users of ADP, but major (full-time) users with low educational level and minor users doing tasks demanding a high educational and professional competency level. (Tijdens 1999.)

Highly concerned views are still being expressed about women's position in the information society (e.g. *The Tasa-arvo/Equality Magazine* 3/97, *The Euroopan naiset/Women in Europe Magazine*, vol. 44/1996). Today's particular topic of concern in Finland is that the number of women doing computer studies has dropped drastically. Wendy Harcourt, for her part, sees very few positive aspects in the international IT development as far as women are concerned: "...the division of work by gender still goes on and the traditional patterns of work persist." According to her, in the technological change this inequality is strengthened by the male view according to which men are more skilled than women in technology. (Harcourt 1995.) Thus, the fear still exists both in Finland and the EU that women will become marginalised in the development of technology, or at least only be capable of performing simple, performing level tasks.

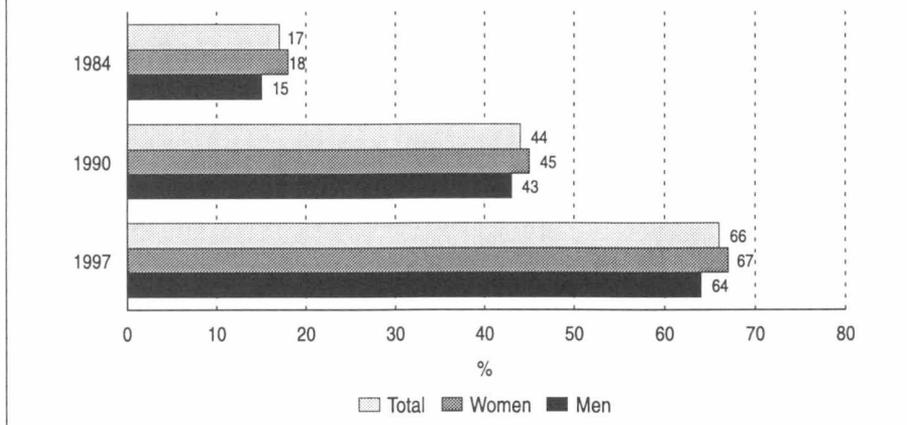
In this chapter I shall discuss with the help of the Finnish Quality of Work Life Surveys questions about the relationship between the genders in the technological change. The time for looking back at the development trends and forecasts is good right now when almost all such occupations and tasks in which ADP, on the whole, could be exploited have already been computerised. I shall discuss the topic with perhaps slightly more emphasis on women's work than men's.

It is still relevant to ask – like in the 1980s Surveys – whether computers could alter the gendered division of work towards a direction more beneficial to women, or what opportunities for change computers, in general, could offer. Or will the deepening of the division of work between women and men along with the developing information technology, as predicted in the gloomiest forecasts, become reality, leading to the marginalisation of women from information society tasks.

Entrance of information technology into working life

Statistics Finland's Quality of Work Life Survey in 1984 was the first extensive survey of all employees in which the introduction of information technology at workplaces was examined. The survey defined information technology

Figure 6.1. Proportion of those using information technology in their work
Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997



equipment as comprising PCs or their terminals, teller terminals, mainframe terminals, separate word processors, programmable machines, computer devices used to control production processes or parts of such processes, or any other computerised control, measurement or supervision devices. All employees spending at least some of their working time with these were defined as information technology users in the surveys.

The data set formed by the three surveys has succeeded in describing quite well most of the process involved in the adoption of modern information technology, for only 332,000 persons, or 17 per cent of all wage and salary earners, were using such equipment in their work in 1984. More than half of them had become its users during the previous three years. In the latest Survey carried out in 1997 their number had risen to some 1.2 million, or 66 per cent of all wage and salary earners. The period of 15 years that elapsed between these two surveys thus accommodates almost the entire process of computerisation, for all occupations and work tasks that might be computerisable are now included in the figures recorded for the various occupational groups.

From the very beginning, women have been using information technology in their work more extensively than men in Finland. The adjacent figure shows this quite clearly. The major difference compared with the spread of information technology in Sweden, where corresponding surveys have been conducted since the early 1980s, has been precisely the fact that the use of information technology in Finland has been most common among women whereas the situation has been the opposite in Sweden (see *On the Road to the Finnish Information Society* 1997, 122) The Figure in Chapter 1 of this publication from the European Survey on Working Conditions (Figure 1.13) shows that the use of information technology is most common in Finland among women and at the same level as in the Netherlands, i.e. 51 per cent of all female wage and

salary earners. The Figure shows the proportions of all wage and salary earners of those using a computer for at least a quarter of their working time. According to the European Survey, the use of computers is more common among women than men only in countries like Germany, France, Portugal, Spain and Greece, where computer use at work is in general at, or below, the average level.

Computerisation of occupational fields

It is well known that men's and women's occupations are strongly segregated even when examined as large groups, as in Figures 6.2 and 6.3. The large difference between women and men in the use of information technology in traffic and transport occupations, for example, is explained by the differences in work tasks: the former are typically engaged in telecommunications and the latter in various transport tasks. In the health care and social work sector men's work typically involves the use of information technology while women concentrate on practical care work. There are also large, typically female-dominated occupational groups, such as cleaning, in the services sector, which hardly make use of information technology at all. The men in this group are typically engaged in security and guarding duties in which technology does play a role.

Computers were first introduced into office work, a field dominated by female employees. Almost one half of the women in this occupational group were already computer users in the early 1980s. Every third wage and salary earner in administrative management occupations was also already using modern information technology at that time. Today, all the wage and salary

Figure 6.2. Use of information technology among women by occupation
Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997

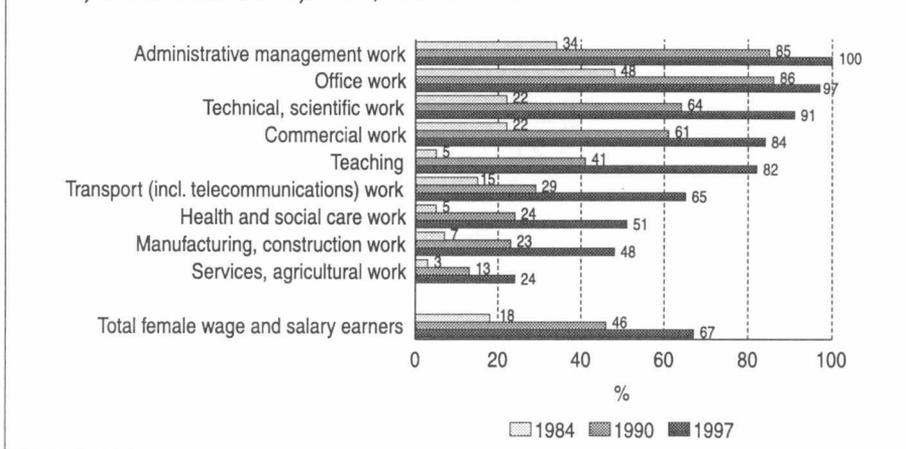
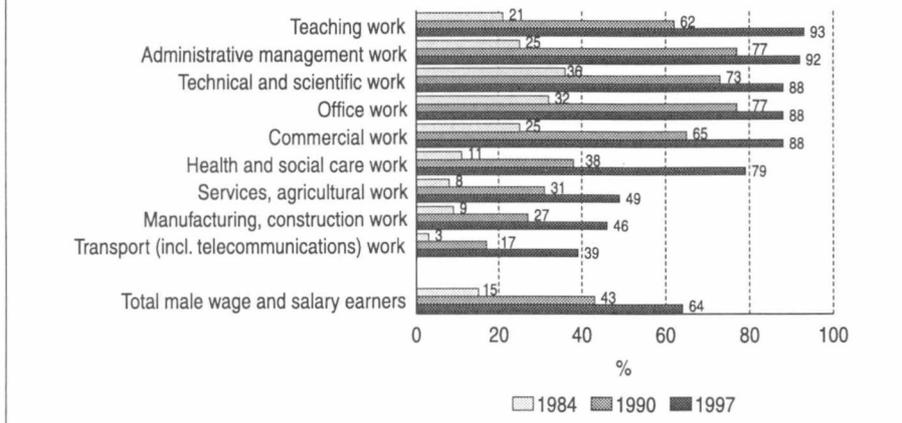


Figure 6.3. Use of information technology among men by occupation
Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997



earners in this group are computer users, and the rate among women doing office work, too, is almost 100 per cent. The increase seems to have been most prominent in teaching.

Men adopted computers in technical and scientific work at an early stage and, again, computer use seems to be spreading most rapidly among men in teaching, but also in health care, administrative management and commercial work.

Spread of information technology by wage and salary earner group

Changes in the structure of the body of information technology users are indicated in the adjacent Figures and Table 6.1., which shows their proportions by such variables as age, education, socio-economic group, employer sector and major region.

Examined by age, the results indicate that information technology first invaded the work of the younger age groups, although the very youngest group, i.e. those aged under 25, was not leading this development in the early 1980s. According to the most recent survey, conducted in 1997, the groups have more or less maintained their relations in this respect. It should be noted, however, that even the oldest age groups have not been left outside the computer world at work, for the figures for persons aged from 45 to 54 quite matched the average and even the oldest group of those aged from 55 to 64 were at the same level as the youngest one aged between 15 and 24.

Examining today's situation by gender, no differences can be observed between women and men in terms of computer use at work by age group. Never-

*Table 6.1. Use of information technology in work
Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997*

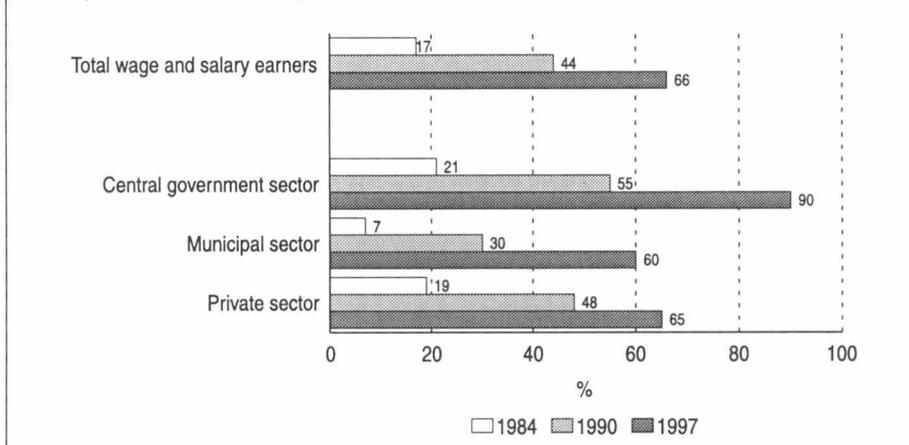
	Women			Men			Total		
	1984 %	1990 %	1997 %	1984 %	1990 %	1997 %	1984 %	1990 %	1997 %
Total	18	46	67	15	43	64	17	44	66
Age									
15-24	16	44	55	10	34	45	13	39	50
25-34	24	54	74	19	46	67	21	50	71
35-44	20	45	71	17	47	70	19	46	70
45-54	12	42	64	11	42	65	11	42	64
55-64	13	29	52	8	30	51	11	30	51
Education									
Basic and lower secondary education	17	34	49	8	27	44	12	31	47
Lower level of upper secondary education	13	34	50	12	32	53	12	33	51
Upper level of upper secondary education	35	69	84	31	60	79	33	65	82
Tertiary level	18	60	88	31	82	92	24	71	90
Socio-economic group									
Upper white-collar employees	17	60	90	29	78	92	24	70	91
Lower white-collar employees	28	57	76	27	61	82	27	58	77
Blue-collar workers	5	14	30	7	23	43	6	20	38
Employer									
Central government	21	61	94	21	50	85	21	55	90
Municipality	7	29	57	8	35	67	7	30	60
Private	25	54	70	15	43	62	19	48	65
Region									
Southern Finland	21	47	69	17	47	65	19	47	67
Mid-Finland	14	40	63	13	36	61	13	38	62
Northern Finland	17	46	64	8	35	65	12	41	65

theless, it seems to be slightly more common among the women than men in the youngest age group of the under-35s. This is quite surprising in view of the general belief that young men, in particular, are the largest group to make use of information technology. This does not, however, apply in practice in the working life, for they are more often employed in jobs and occupations in which less use is made of information technology, such as services and agriculture, transport and manufacturing and construction work. Young women are often employed in commerce, where information technology is used extensively. Even for them, cleaning and serving occupations reduce the overall figure for the use of information technology.

Information technology has spread in the different *employer sectors* quite evenly, in that the relations between the user proportions have remained un-

Figure 6.4. Use of information technology by employer sector

Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997



changed. The central government sector has the largest number of users, then comes the private sector followed by the municipal sector. This, too, can be examined with differences in the occupational structures of the sectors. Women employed in the municipal sector can be assumed to make less use of information technology simply by virtue of the nature of their occupations, although computer users already make up 57 per cent even in this category (Table 6.1.). The Finnish central government has been extremely innovative in this respect, as especially women's work in this sector is currently highly mechanised, the user rate being 94 per cent.

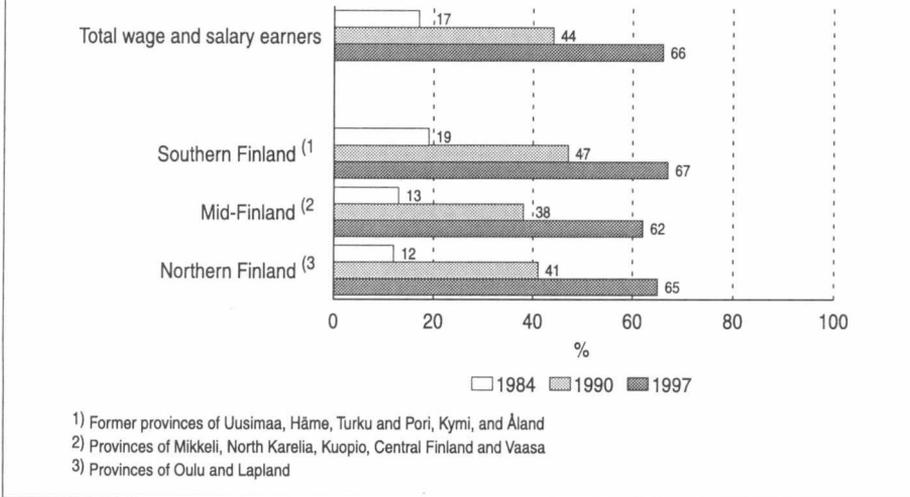
It was expected – particularly in the early days – that there would be major *regional differences* in technical development. There were fears of the information society only becoming centralised in the capital region and Southern Finland. Structural changes in companies towards decentralisation of activities lead to all "good" jobs being found in the capital region. This trend was also reflected in the results of the Quality of Work Life Survey in 1984, when computerisation was also at its peak in Southern Finland.

Systematic measures were taken to prevent this type of development. (Suomi ja tietotekniikka/*Finland and Information Technology*, Committee Report 1985.) The subsequent deliberate action towards regional equality, such as that by Technopolis Oulu, for example, has balanced out differences. The Figure 6.5 shows how the scope of the use of information technology at work in Northern Finland exceeded that in Mid-Finland at the turn of the decade. This was not attributable to differences in occupational structure, for these two regions also differed greatly within their occupational fields. (see Lehto 1989, 30)

In the early 1980s, information technology was used for more demanding tasks in male occupations than in female ones. With women it was first only

Figure 6.5. Use of information technology by major region

Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997



used for simple tasks, such as data entry and copy typing. Work of this type has decreased in quantity with time as upper white-collar employees have come to make more extensive use of the computer themselves. The adjacent Figure shows how there is hardly any difference between the genders in the educational structure of those who use information technology. This would seem to suggest that the demand levels imposed by job tasks might also be more or less the same.

A change in the educational structure of those using information technology is very clear among women: while 41 per cent of the women using the

Figure 6.6. Level of education among those using information technology

Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997



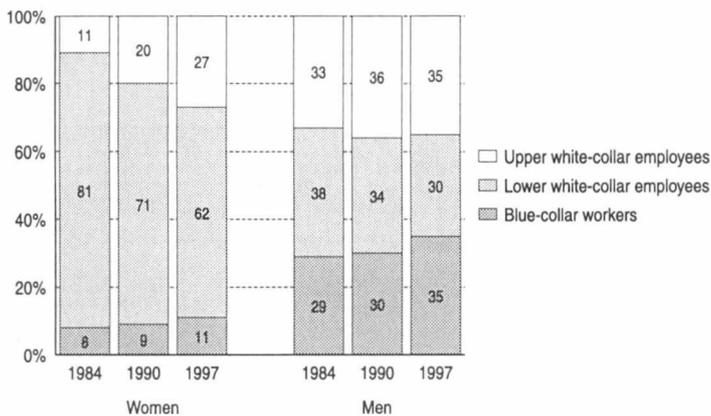
computer at work had only basic level education at the initial stage, their current proportion of the users is only 16 per cent. The corresponding figures for those with tertiary education are 14 per cent and 28 per cent, respectively. No such change can be observed among men: the educational structure of male computer users has remained very similar throughout.

This does not imply that the use of the computer is not connected with education, for the higher the level of education, the more likely a person is to use a computer at work, as indicated by Table 6.1. above. There are thus no differences between the genders in this respect, either, so that the likelihood that completing tertiary education will later mean that the person will use a computer at work is today around 90 per cent, whereas considerably lower percentages apply to those who have only completed basic education, i.e. 49 per cent for women and 44 per cent for men.

A similar change to the one in the educational structure of IT users has also taken place in the structure of socio-economic groups in the case of women. The adjacent Figure 6.7. shows how the proportion of upper white-collar employees among female computer users has grown from 11 to 27 per cent, while the proportion of lower white-collar employees has correspondingly declined. Proportionally, upper white-collar employees have, on the whole, increased in the overall structure of the wage and salary earning population, but the change has not been of the same magnitude.

The various socio-economic groups differ greatly in terms of the use of information technology, particularly in the case of women. Changes in the proportions of information technology users and estimated numbers in different occupational groups since 1984 are indicated by the adjacent Table 6.2. The greatest difference currently exists between the female upper white-collar employees (90%) and those defined as blue-collar workers (30%). The difference

Figure 6.7. Information technology and socio-economic group
Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997



*Table 6.2. Information technology users by socio-economic group
Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997*

	1984		1990		1997	
	%		%		%	
Women, total	18	178,000	46	488,000	67	618,000
Upper white-collar employees	17	20,000	60	93,000	90	157,000
Lower white-collar employees	28	143,000	57	334,000	76	391,000
Blue-collar workers	5	15,000	14	44,000	30	68,000
Men, total	15	154,000	43	454,000	64	592,000
Upper white-collar employees	29	51,000	78	171,000	92	216,000
Lower white-collar employees	27	58,000	61	143,000	82	164,000
Blue-collar workers	7	45,000	23	137,000	43	207,000

also indicates how heterogeneous the various socio-economic groups are in terms of types of occupation, particularly when examined with regard to the opportunity for using information technology.

The estimated figures were calculated using the proportions of computer users and the numbers of employees in the Labour Force Statistics. In autumn 1997 wage and salary earners using information technology at work totalled some 1.2 million, of whom just over 600,000 were men and slightly fewer women. These figures and proportions also indicate that women are far from being left aside from developments in information technology at work. On the contrary, the use of computers has constantly been more common among women in both absolute and relative terms.

Extent of the use of information technology

Information technology constitutes an integral part of women's work not only in its frequency but also in the extent to which it is used. Throughout the examination period from the 1984 survey onwards women have consistently been spending a larger proportion of their working time using the computer than men have. Changes in this by socio-economic group are indicated in the adjacent Table, which shows that both female and male upper white-collar employees have intensified their computer use most. The most active group in this respect, nevertheless, continues to be female lower white-collar employees, of whom 63 per cent spend at least half of their working time using the computer.

In 1997, there were also more women among those spending almost their entire working time using information technology. The respective proportions were 20 for women and 15 per cent for men. The group most dependent on in-

*Table 6.3. Proportion of computer use of total working time
Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984, 1990 and 1997*

	At least half of working time (% of all IT users)		
	1984 %	1990 %	1997 %
Women, total	49	48	58
Upper white-collar employees	30	31	52
Lower white-collar employees	51	54	63
Blue-collar workers	58	37	42
Men, total	31	34	46
Upper white-collar employees	23	27	56
Lower white-collar employees	34	37	50
Blue-collar workers	38	37	32

formation technology in their work were women doing office work, every third (35%) of whom spent almost all their working time using the computer.

Availability of training and instruction

The basic requirement for making effective use of information technology is that the equipment should not just be installed at a workstation but proper instruction should also be given in its use. Studies indicate that one of the typical mistakes, especially during the introduction phase of the 1980s, was that insufficient time and resources were reserved for learning how to use the equipment. White-collar employees, particularly, often complained that training was insufficient or that they had to use their free time for it. (E.g. Rantalaiho & Korvajärvi 1985, Kallioniemi 1985, Torkko 1989)

By international comparison, however, employees in Finland receive more than average in-house training in general, as the results of the European Survey on Working Conditions presented in Chapter 1 indicate. In respect of participation in in-house training paid for by the employer, Finland stands out especially as regards the older age groups. Finnish employers tend to provide more in-house training for the older age groups than is the average in the Member States. This difference is most probably partly attributable to learning to use information technology, as computer work is relatively common in Finland among the older age groups, who also receive training in ADP skills, as shown by the adjacent Table 6.4.

The table indicates the number of persons who said they had received computer training in the last two years as a proportion of all users of information technology. The training seems to have been most common among persons aged over 45. Educational background, occupational group and position had a

*Table 6.4. Received ADP training paid for by employer in the last two years
Proportion of all IT users, Quality of Work Life Survey 1997.*

	Women %	Men %	Total %
Total	49	45	47
Age			
15-24	22	20	21
25-34	46	39	43
35-44	52	47	50
45-54	54	52	53
55-64	57	58	57
Education			
Basic and lower secondary education	41	40	41
Lower level of upper secondary education	42	37	39
Upper level of upper secondary education	56	46	52
Tertiary level	51	56	53
Socio-economic group			
Upper white-collar employees	58	56	57
Lower white-collar employees	48	53	50
Blue-collar workers	34	28	30
Employer			
Central government	57	58	58
Municipality	48	38	45
Private	48	45	47
Occupation			
Technical, scientific work	59	56	57
Teaching	50	38	47
Health and social care	38	33	37
Administrative management	67	61	63
Office work	60	66	61
Commercial work	36	51	42
Services, agriculture	42	39	40
Transport (incl. telecommunications)	58	32	41
Manufacturing and construction work	35	31	32

certain impact, in that less computer training was given to blue-collar workers, persons in manufacturing jobs and those with basic qualifications, both men and women. The sectors of the economy also differed slightly, in that training was provided most frequently for central government employees. On average, there were no differences between men's and women's proportions in this respect, although women had received such training slightly more frequently (45%) than men (49%) had.

The results on information technology training could, of course, also be interpreted to prove that only less than half (47%) had, in fact, received any

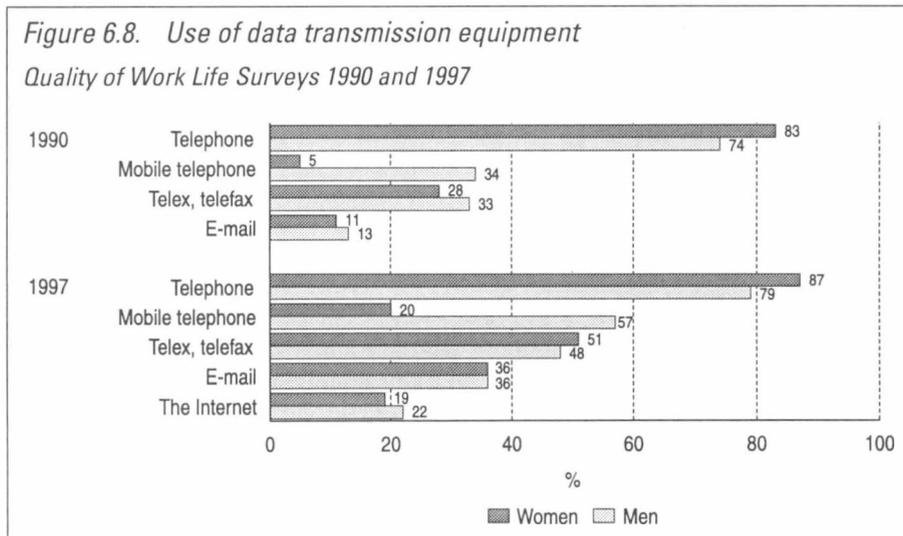
training at all. The numbers of those who felt that they received insufficient guidance in information technology in new or difficult situations also point towards shortage of training and guidance. Those who felt they received too little guidance constituted one third of all information technology users, with no appreciable difference between the men's and women's responses. (See Appendix Table 6.1.) Even examined by background variable, there are no great differences in this among the wage and salary earners. However, the very youngest age group of the under-25s are more satisfied than others with the amount of guidance they receive. Admittedly, by virtue of their education alone they are, of course, also best equipped to cope with these problems.

The fact that fewest complaints about lack of guidance came from the occupational groups of technical, scientific, etc., administrative management, office, and telecommunications work would also seem to point to the significance of this educational factor. Women's and men's responses were very much in line in this respect.

Use of data transmission equipment

Developments in information technology at work have not been confined to computers alone but have also involved various electronic data transfer systems. These have been inquired about in the Quality of Work Life Surveys as a factor accounting for changes in working conditions. These systems include the telephone, mobile telephone, telex, e-mail and Internet, even though the use of some of these overlaps with that of the computer.

The frequency of the use of this equipment has been inquired about only from the 1990 survey onwards, with the exception of the telephone, which was



already included in the 1984 survey. The Internet was introduced in the 1997 survey.

Use of the telephone at work has increased steadily throughout the examination period, but especially sharp increases have taken place in the use of the mobile telephone, telefax and e-mail during the 1990s, as indicated in Figure 6.8. Over the 1990 to 1997 period the use of e-mail has tripled and that of the car, mobile or radio telephone doubled. By 1997, every second Finnish wage and salary earner was using telefax, two out of five mobile telephone and well over one third e-mail at work. The number of Internet users has also increased rapidly, so that in 1997 one wage and salary earner in five reported using it at work, men slightly more (22%) than women (19%).

Women were more likely (87%) to use the conventional wired telephone at work than men (79%). Of the new communication media, the mobile telephone was used predominantly by men, at least in 1997, when more than a half of all male wage and salary earners, but only one in five of the female ones, were using a car, mobile or radio telephone at work. The gap was even bigger than this in 1990, so women have been catching up fast.

The use of telefax was slightly more common among women (51%) than men (48%) in 1997. In 1990, the difference between the genders was exactly the opposite. The genders make equal use of e-mail, however, the figure being 36 per cent for both. A closer examination does show differences in the purposes of its use, for while women and men used it equally often for communication within their place of work (88% and 85% of all e-mail users, respectively), the men used it more for communication elsewhere in Finland (71% vs. 63%) and, especially, for international communication (40% vs. 25%).

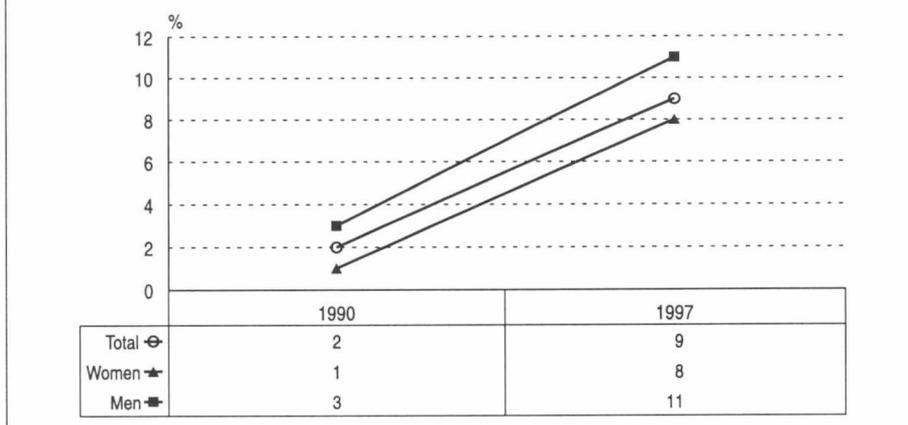
Taking into account all the data transmission equipment used at work, women and men participate in communication with the tools of the modern information society to very much the same extent. The only substantial difference was that, at least in autumn 1997, the company mobile telephone was still a very typically male tool. The talk and fears of women being left behind in the rapid development of information technology have not materialised in Finland in this respect, either.

Teleworking

The spread of information technology and telecommunications facilities has generated increasing discussion about teleworking, which is a problematical phenomenon in that it is difficult to find any unambiguous definition for it. The results of the 1997 Quality of Work Life Survey allow teleworking to be measured, and its extent assessed, in two ways. On the one hand, it allows for proportions to be calculated for those wage and salary earners who have agreed with their employers to do at least some of their work by computer at

Figure 6.9. *Teleworking*

Agreed with employer to work at least some working hours from home and utilise information technology in the work, Quality of Work Life Surveys 1990 and 1997



home. Any extra "work brought home" is, therefore, not regarded as teleworking.

Defined like this, teleworking has increased in Finland almost five-fold during the 1990s, with almost one employee in every ten saying that they did this at least occasionally in autumn 1997. Converted into figures, the number of teleworking wage and salary earners would have gone up to as many as 165,000 from 37,000 at the turn of the decade. Figure 6.9. depicts this development as proportions of all wage and salary earners and as separate proportions in respect of women and men. Defined this way, teleworking is slightly more common among the men than women.

One question in the 1997 survey was whether the respondents regarded themselves as doing telework. The survey question defined teleworking as being "Paid work done away from the workplace. In principle, this work can also be done on the employer's premises. The essential characteristics of teleworking are working arrangements which are independent of time and place". Given this definition, four per cent of employees themselves (some 85,000 in all) reckoned they did teleworking, men twice as often as women. One per cent of employees said they had tried teleworking previously.

Table 6.5. shows that the largest group of people doing teleworking according to their own reporting were male upper white-collar employees with a high level of education and working in management, research and planning jobs. Of the employer sectors, the central government has so far been the fastest to act in this respect, for the proportions of teleworkers are the highest both for women and men in this sector. There are no appreciable regional differences, though this type of work seems to be slightly more common among male wage and salary earners in Northern Finland.

*Table 6.5. Interest in teleworking and own reporting of teleworking
Quality of Work Life Survey 1997*

	Teleworking, own report			Interested in teleworking		
	Total	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	4	3	6	35	35	35
Age						
15–24	4	2	7	47	54	42
25–34	5	3	7	43	45	40
35–44	5	3	7	36	35	38
45–54	4	2	6	29	28	30
55–64	3	3	4	14	15	12
Education						
Basic and lower secondary education	2	2	3	26	28	25
Lower level of upper secondary education	3	2	3	29	27	31
Upper level of upper secondary education	4	2	8	44	44	45
Tertiary level	10	7	14	43	43	43
Socio-economic group						
Management, upper white-collar employees	14	4	19	39	49	35
Research and planning	13	4	17	50	55	47
Teaching	8	8	8	42	42	43
Other upper white-collar employees	10	6	15	38	35	40
Management, lower white-collar employees	3	3	3	37	32	39
Office work	3	2	11	45	45	43
Other lower white-collar employees	5	4	11	30	27	41
Manufacturing workers	2	1	2	31	32	31
Other production workers	1	1	1	25	23	27
Distribution and service workers	1	0	1	26	23	29
Employer						
Central government	8	7	10	43	46	39
Municipality	3	2	6	32	30	40
Private	5	3	6	35	37	34
Region						
Southern Finland	4	3	6	35	35	34
Mid-Finland	4	3	5	36	35	37
Northern Finland	5	2	8	34	35	33

Although the volume of teleworking is for the time being quite small, it is interesting that the popularity of the idea of teleworking is quite high. More than one in three (35%) of the respondents reported being interested in it. There were no differences between the genders in this respect when the whole wage and salary earning population was taken into account.

The greatest interest in teleworking was expressed by persons aged under 25, of whom 47 per cent, and as many as 54 per cent of women, said they were

interested in teleworking. However, the proportion then falls steadily with age, being only 14 per cent among persons aged 55 to 64.

The degree of interest is currently largely dependent on level of education and the nature of the tasks involved. Half of the respondents doing research and planning work, including as many as 55 per cent of the women, regarded this form of working as desirable. An educational background of at least upper secondary level also raises the interest. An interesting aspect is the gendered difference in the interest of upper white-collar employees in management positions: the women in these positions considered teleworking an interesting prospect more often than the men did (49% vs. 35%).

Information technology and its employment effects

The nature of forecasts regarding the impact of modern technology on employment changed radically already in the course of the 1980s. Extremely bleak views were painted at first, especially regarding trends in women's office work. However, these views changed later on. It was no longer feared in the late 1980s that the introduction of office automation would undermine the demand for labour. Even so, women's work was still seen as highly vulnerable to the effects of technological changes. (Greve 1987, Tjildens et al. 1988)

More specific questions arose in the 1980s as to what would happen to the actual work and division of labour if existing employment trends were to continue. There was a desire to abandon the technological determinism, which claimed that the effects on employment and work content were inevitable and dictated by technology per se. It was realised that the effects of technical changes cannot be isolated from other factors, like the general reorganisation of work, e.g. different management strategies. (Tremblay 1988, Webster 1995.) As far as employment was concerned, the technological changes were perceived as merely one part of the general change, alongside with economic development and fluctuations.

Bearing in mind the above provisos, it has been possible to use the Quality of Work Life Surveys and Labour Force Statistics as a rough means of assessing the connection between the spread of information technology and employment trends. Measured in terms of statistics and research data at the turn of the decade, modern technology had not reduced the number of jobs among white-collar employees, but had clearly done so among blue-collar workers in manufacturing. At workplaces where new information technology had been adopted, the numbers of white-collar employees had increased and those of blue-collar workers decreased more than at other workplaces. (Lehto 1989, 36–41.)

However, at the onset of the 1990s the favourable wind for white-collar employees changed. The increased degree of automation in the banking sector

in particular has shown that technological progress can also endanger employment among women. The number of female bank employees has fallen by more than 20,000 in the current decade.

It should be noted, however, that the economic recession of the early 1990s reduced the numbers employed in all sectors of the economy to such an extent that it is again difficult to see what part technical rationalisation played in this. It is also impossible to make use of information gained from the Quality of Work Life Surveys about the use of ADP equipment and whether the numbers of employees have increased or decreased at the same time. The utilisation of computers is at its maximum in many sectors, so that the questions now involve a more delicate issue relating to the type and nature of the technology concerned, as in the transition to a self-service concept in the Finnish banks.

However, it is still possible to assess the connection between technology and employment trends with the help of statistics. The figures in the adjacent Table show separately for women and men the quantitative changes in the 1990s in the numbers of persons employed by occupational group. (The same change by individual year can be seen in Appendix Tables 1. and 2.)

The figures presented in the Table for the 1990–1998 period describe a more permanent change which is no longer predominantly a result of the economic recession. This facilitates assessment of the connections between technical development and employment. However, it is obvious that the demand for labour also reacts to other sets of circumstances. This is reflected in employment in agriculture, for example, and its strong decline in the 1990s, in which information technology can hardly be said to have played any role whatsoever.

In the 1990s, employment among women has fallen most in agriculture, administrative and office work, manufacturing, and services. Of these, the decline in secretarial and office work and banking and insurance work is quite obviously connected with the development of information technology. Admittedly, much office work also takes place in the manufacturing sector which, on the long term, has been a declining industry.

Of women's manufacturing work, the numbers of jobs in the manufacture of textiles and clothing and in commercial sales and cleaning work have decreased mainly for non-technological reasons. The most prominent contributing factor in the case of sales work was the economic recession, so that this is now almost the only sector in which the number of jobs has increased. Women's employment has also increased slightly in assembly work in the electronics industry, but not to the extent that it would show in these statistics

As for men, the most significant fall has taken place in agriculture, manufacturing and construction. The role of information technology as an element increasing the number of jobs among men is evident in the computer sector in particular, and employment has also been promoted by the electronics indus-

Table 6.6. Employed men and women by occupation (2-3 digit level) in 1990 and 1998

Occupation	Women			Men		
	1990	1998	Change	1990	1998	Change
Total	1,196	1,048	-148	1,308	1,174	-134
Technical, scientific, teaching, etc. work	133	152	19	203	201	-2
Health and social care	240	249	9	28	33	5
Administrative and office work	267	223	-44	150	161	11
Public administration, corporate and organisational management	27	32	5	87	90	3
Planning and accounting in financial administration	35	33	-2	7	8	1
Secretarial and office work	131	105	-26	12	10	-2
Computer work	13	12	-1	21	33	12
Banking, insurance, travel, etc. office work	60	41	-19	24	21	-3
Commercial work	138	120	-18	107	105	-2
Agriculture and forestry, fishing	81	48	-33	145	94	-51
Transport and communications	33	23	-10	113	100	-13
Manufacturing, construction, quarrying	110	81	-29	475	391	-84
Construction	2	2	0	105	66	-39
Machine and stationary plant operating work	1	1	0	35	27	-8
Textile, sewing and leather work	31	15	-16	6	5	-1
Metal and engineering workshop work	8	7	-1	148	130	-18
Electrical, radio, tv, video, etc. work	9	11	2	48	43	-5
Wood work	7	3	-4	30	26	-4
Graphics industry work	8	6	-2	10	10	0
Food industry work	11	10	-1	11	9	-2
Chemical, pulp and paper work	5	4	-1	21	18	-3
Packing, warehousing and freight handling work	17	14	-3	31	29	-2
Other manufacturing work	9	8	-1	31	29	-2
Services, etc.	193	149	-44	87	84	-3

try. In these occupational statistics, however, its impact is distributed between different types of administrative, technical and manufacturing occupations. The computer sector is not shown here in its entirety either, as some of it is split between manufacturing and commercial occupations.

By way of conclusion it can be stated that the forecasts of the early 1980s expressing fears of a decline in the number of jobs in female-dominated fields, such as office work, have started to materialise because of automation. At the same time, the jobs generated by information technology itself, for example in the computer and electrical industries, are typically more male-oriented, increasing male employment.

Summary

Information technology has found its way into Finnish working life in a variety of forms. This chapter discusses mainly its spread, changes in the structure of its body of users and to some extent also the connection between information technology and trends in employment. The main standpoint of this review is to find out how the division of labour functions between the genders in the rapidly computerising working life and what role technological development has played in this change.

Computers and modern technological data transmission equipment have rapidly invaded places of work in Finland. In autumn 1997, as many as two out of three Finnish employees reported that they worked with the computer. In 1984, when this aspect was first examined, the proportion was only 17 per cent. By international comparison, too, Finland ranks among the leaders in the development of computer tools: within the EU, only the Netherlands is ahead of Finland in the spread of information technology use among employees.

When information technology first appeared on the scene, people were worried about it replacing human labour, particularly the work of women as office automation increased. However, the data from Finnish Quality of Work Life Surveys and statistics indicate that, at least in the 1980s, the forecast losses in women's jobs were exaggerated. It is only in the present decade that evident signs have emerged of manual work being reduced through technological rationalisation. This is particularly evident in the banking sector. Computerisation has increased the number of jobs for men far more than for women. Practically the whole growth of the computer business has gone to increase the number of male experts.

In the 1990s, professional studies in the ADP field has largely been a male domain. In this respect worries about women's marginalisation are justified. Yet, female employees in Finland still use information technology at work more often than their male counterparts. In this respect Finland differs from other hi-tech countries in Europe. Women are also diligent users of modern data transmission equipment: there is no appreciable difference between the genders in the use of telefax, e-mail and the Internet, despite frequent claims to that effect. In the 1997 Survey, only the mobile telephone was clearly used more by men than women.

However, there have been clear changes in women's and men's computer usage during the time period in which computerisation has taken place at Finnish workplaces. In women's work, computers were at first only used for routine tasks, such as copy typing or data entry, while men used them for more demanding tasks. Today, there is hardly any difference in the educational structure between the women and men using the computer, which suggests equality in its use.

The data on teleworking and its new possibilities also indicate towards equality. At the moment men still form the majority of teleworkers if the concept is measured by personally reported agreements with employer to do at least some work away from the actual place of work. However, there was no difference between the genders in the amount of interest in teleworking and more than one in three employees were keen to try it in their work.

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Appendix Tables

Appendix table 1.1. Employed women by occupation (2-3 digit level) between 1989 and 1998
Quality of Work Life Survey

Occupation	1989	1990	1991	1992	1983	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
	Employed women, 1,000									
Total	1,196	1,196	1,151	1,077	1,008	995	1,003	1,011	1,027	1,048
Technical, scientific, teaching, etc., work	0	130	136	130	129	132	135	134	143	152
Technology, chemistry, physics, biology	00-02	30	30	27	26	25	25	27	26	25
Education	03	65	66	67	66	71	74	72	77	83
Writing, creative or performing arts, library, religion, law, etc.	04-09	36	37	38	36	36	36	36	39	44
Health care and social work	1	242	240	238	231	220	238	244	249	249
Healthcare	10-14, 19	141	139	136	135	130	143	142	144	143
Social care	15, 17, 18	47	46	49	48	49	55	56	57	56
Children's day care excl. pre-primary education	16	54	54	48	41	39	40	46	49	50
Administrative and office work	2	261	267	246	227	214	218	213	217	223
Public administration, corporate and organisational management	20-21	22	27	28	24	23	24	26	29	32
Financial management planning and accounting	23	33	35	31	30	29	31	32	32	33
Secretarial and office work	24	132	131	127	112	107	109	105	104	105
ADP work	25	13	13	11	9	9	10	10	11	12
Banking, insurance, travel, etc. office work	22, 26-29	61	60	58	52	47	43	39	42	41
Commercial work	3	135	138	131	120	112	102	109	115	120
Advertising and marketing	30, 39	7	7	8	7	7	7	8	9	10
Buying, office sales, sales of real estate and services, etc sales	31-33	25	26	25	26	25	22	25	28	29
Wholesale and retail trade	341	14	14	14	12	11	12	11	10	10
Shop sales, shop management	342-349	89	91	84	74	68	65	66	67	70
Agricultural and forestry work, fishing	4	81	81	77	68	61	58	55	51	48
Management of agricultural, forestry, etc. enterprises	400-404, 410, 411, 441	56	56	52	45	41	41	37	36	33
Supervisors of agricultural, livestock, garden, etc. enterprises	405-409, 412-419	24	24	24	21	18	17	17	14	14
Fishery and related work	42, 43	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Forestry and related work	442-449, 49	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix table 1.1. (continued)

Occupation	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
	Employed women, 1,000									
Transport and communications work	5	33	28	26	24	25	24	22	21	23
Water, air and railway transport	50.53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Road transport	54	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Transport management and services	55.59	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	2	3
Postal and data communications, postal delivery work	56.57	27	27	23	21	19	19	17	15	17
Manufacturing, construction and quarrying work	6, 7, 8	115	110	95	82	75	74	75	76	77
Construction	62, 63, 781, 789	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	2
Processing and stationary plant operating	64, 87	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Textile, sewing and leather machine operating	70-72	35	31	25	19	15	15	15	16	15
Metal and engineering workshop work	73, 75	8	8	7	6	6	5	7	7	7
Electrical work, radio, tv, video, etc technical work	76, 79	9	9	9	7	8	10	11	10	11
Wood work	77	6	7	5	5	4	3	4	4	3
Graphics industry work	80	8	8	7	7	6	5	6	5	6
Food industry work	87	13	11	11	10	9	10	9	9	10
Chemical process, pulp and paper work	83, 84	5	5	4	3	4	4	3	3	4
Packing, warehousing and freight handling work	88	17	17	18	16	14	14	12	13	14
Other manufacturing work	60, 61, 74, 782, 81, 85, 86, 89	9	9	7	6	6	7	7	9	8
Services, etc. work	9	196	185	171	156	151	148	153	150	149
Guarding and protecting work, armed forces	90, 98	3	3	4	3	2	2	4	2	3
Hotel, housekeeping and restaurant work	91	60	61	60	54	49	49	50	49	50
Waitering, bartending work	92	29	28	26	24	22	21	22	22	21
Building maintenance	941, 949	6	6	6	6	5	5	4	5	5
Cleaners	942	69	66	63	60	54	48	48	48	47
Hygiene work and beauticians	95	18	18	16	15	17	17	16	15	15
Other service work	93, 96, 97, 991, 992, 995	11	10	10	10	8	8	8	9	9
Unknown	990	1	2	1	2	4	4	5	4	4

Appendix table 1.2. Employed men by occupation (2-3 digit level) between 1989 and 1998
Quality of Work Life Survey

Occupation	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
	Employed men, 1,000									
Total	1,311	1,308	1,224	1,130	1,063	1,059	1,096	1,116	1,142	1,174
Technical, scientific, teaching, etc., work	0	201	195	186	178	179	188	199	198	201
Technology, chemistry, physics, biology	00-02	125	126	121	113	107	115	122	120	123
Education	03	41	39	37	37	38	40	39	40	40
Writing, creative or performing arts, library, religion, law, etc.	04-09	36	38	37	36	34	34	37	39	39
Health care and social work	1	27	28	27	28	30	32	33	32	33
Healthcare	10-14, 19	21	22	21	20	21	24	24	23	24
Social care	15, 17, 18	5	6	6	7	6	7	8	8	8
Children's day care excl. pre-primary education	16	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
Administrative and office work	2	143	150	144	133	123	126	134	145	161
Public administration, corporate and organisational management	20-21	78	87	84	75	68	73	75	80	90
Financial management planning and accounting	23	7	7	6	5	5	7	7	7	8
Secretarial and office work	24	12	12	11	11	10	9	8	9	10
ADP work	25	21	21	19	20	20	18	22	29	33
Banking, insurance, travel, etc. office work	22, 26-29	24	24	23	23	20	19	21	20	21
Commercial work	3	105	107	104	96	85	88	94	102	105
Advertising and marketing	30, 39	9	9	7	7	6	6	8	9	10
Buying, office sales, sales of real estate and services, etc. sales	31-33	43	45	47	44	36	40	44	46	50
Wholesale and retail trade	341	14	15	14	14	14	13	15	13	11
Shop sales, shop management	342-349	39	38	35	31	29	29	28	33	34
Agricultural and forestry work, fishing	4	155	145	138	132	123	118	112	106	94
Management of agricultural, forestry, etc. enterprises	400-404, 410, 411, 441	97	92	88	87	80	76	70	68	65
Supervisors of agricultural, livestock, garden, etc. enterprises	405-409, 412-419	33	30	31	28	28	27	25	23	17
Fishery and related work	42, 43	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	1	2
Forestry and related work	442-449, 49	23	20	16	14	13	13	15	14	12

Appendix table 1.2. (continued)

Occupation	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
	Employed men, 1,000									
Transport and communications work	5	112	113	108	104	100	101	99	96	100
Water, air and railway transport	50 53	9	9	8	9	8	9	8	7	9
Road transport	54	74	77	75	70	67	66	66	66	68
Transport management and services	55, 59	12	10	11	11	10	12	11	11	10
Postal and data communications, postal delivery work	56, 57	17	16	14	14	15	14	14	12	13
Manufacturing, construction and quarrying work	6, 7, 8	479	475	422	370	342	339	362	362	379
Construction	62, 63, 781, 789	101	105	86	69	57	53	54	52	61
Processing and stationary plant operating	64, 87	37	35	32	29	26	25	25	25	27
Textile, sewing and leather machine operating	70 72	6	6	4	4	4	4	4	5	4
Metal and engineering workshop work	73, 75	150	148	129	119	110	115	127	130	130
Electrical work, radio, tv, video, etc technical work	76, 79	50	48	46	40	39	39	41	44	43
Wood work	77	33	30	25	22	22	24	25	24	26
Graphics industry work	80	11	10	12	12	10	10	10	9	10
Food industry work	82	13	11	13	11	11	9	9	9	9
Chemical process, pulp and paper work	83, 84	19	21	19	17	17	18	19	17	18
Packing, warehousing and freight handling work	88	30	31	29	25	24	23	24	23	29
Other manufacturing work	60, 61, 74, 782, 81, 85, 86, 89	30	31	28	22	22	21	23	24	27
Services, etc. work	9	87	87	83	79	77	76	77	82	84
Guarding and protecting work, armed forces	90, 99	38	36	33	32	32	31	31	34	33
Hotel, housekeeping and restaurant work	91	10	11	10	9	10	10	11	12	14
Waitering, bartending work	92	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	5
Building maintenance	941, 949	25	25	26	23	24	23	22	23	21
Cleaners	942	4	5	6	5	4	4	5	5	5
Hygiene work and beauticians	95	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
Other service work	93, 96, 97, 991, 992, 999	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	6
Unknown	950	2	2	2	3	6	7	6	8	7

*Appendix table 1.3. Work includes supervisory tasks
Quality of Work Life Surveys 1984–1997*

	Women			Men		
	1984 %	1990 %	1997 %	1984 %	1990 %	1997 %
Total	21	24	27	32	36	38
Age						
15–24	10	15	10	8	17	19
25–34	24	28	31	32	33	35
35–44	24	27	30	41	44	43
44–54	21	21	25	36	41	40
55–64	15	22	22	37	41	40
Education						
Basic and lower secondary education	11	14	16	23	24	26
Lower level of upper secondary education	18	18	21	24	27	30
Upper level of upper secondary education	34	28	27	51	48	44
Tertiary level	42	54	46	63	69	59
Socio-economic group						
Upper white-collar employee	43	45	44	66	67	63
Lower white-collar employee	23	26	25	55	52	51
Blue-collar employee	9	9	15	15	18	20
Occupation						
Technical, scientific, etc. work	30	38	36	58	60	59
Teaching	30	29	27	39	44	37
Healthcare	43	39	36	50	62	60
Social care	14	24	19
Administrative management	68	62	65	92	94	93
Office work	21	19	24	60	43	39
Commercial work	20	24	29	35	47	52
Service, agricultural work	16	20	26	30	43	32
Transport work	5	19	10	20	21	18
Manufacturing work	9	5	13	14	16	21
Construction work	25	21	26
Employer sector						
Central government	24	30	28	41	42	48
Municipality	22	28	25	34	42	38
Private	19	21	28	30	34	37

**Appendix table 2.1. Sharing the chores in families with both partners employed full time/
one partner studying**

By socio-economic group

	Mainly the woman/ The woman alone	Both equally	Mainly the man/ The man alone
	%	%	%
Cooking			
Upper white-collar employees	67	26	8
Lower white-collar employees	69	24	7
Blue-collar workers	69	24	7
Washing up			
Upper white-collar employees	41	47	11
Lower white-collar employees	49	41	9
Blue-collar workers	52	44	4
Food shopping			
Upper white-collar employees	41	44	15
Lower white-collar employees	47	42	12
Blue-collar workers	47	42	11
Laundry			
Upper white-collar employees	75	21	4
Lower white-collar employees	83	15	2
Blue-collar workers	82	17	2
Cleaning			
Upper white-collar employees	51	43	6
Lower white-collar employees	62	35	3
Blue-collar workers	58	37	5
Home repairs			
Upper white-collar employees	4	13	81
Lower white-collar employees	3	13	84
Blue-collar workers	2	12	85
Childcare and playing with children			
Upper white-collar employees	23	74	3
Lower white-collar employees	19	78	3
Blue-collar workers	26	71	3
Taking and fetching the children			
Upper white-collar employees	24	51	24
Lower white-collar employees	25	53	23
Blue-collar workers	23	52	26

Appendix table 2.2. *Sharing the chores in families with both partners employed full time/
one partner studying*

By age group

	Mainly the woman/ The woman alone	Both equally	Mainly the man/ The man alone
	%	%	%
Cooking			
15-29 years	62	30	8
30-44 years	67	26	7
45-64 years	74	21	5
Washing up			
15-29 years	35	54	11
30-44 years	47	44	9
45-64 years	54	40	6
Food shopping			
15-29 years	38	52	10
30-44 years	44	44	13
45-64 years	52	37	12
Laundry			
15-29 years	72	24	3
30-44 years	79	18	3
45-64 years	86	13	1
Cleaning			
15-29 years	55	37	8
30-44 years	57	39	4
45-64 years	62	35	3
Home repairs			
15-29 years	1	14	82
30-44 years	3	13	82
45-64 years	2	11	85
Childcare and playing with children			
15-29 years	22	72	6
30-44 years	20	78	2
45-64 years	31	64	6
Taking and fetching the children			
15-29 years	38	48	15
30-44 years	25	52	23
45-64 years	18	51	32

**Appendix table 2.3. Sharing the chores in families with both partners working full time/
one partner studying**

By level of education

	Mainly the woman/ The woman alone	Both equally	Mainly the man/ The man alone
	%	%	%
Cooking			
Basic or lower secondary level	70	23	7
Upper secondary level	71	23	6
Tertiary level	65	29	7
Washing up			
Basic or lower secondary level	56	38	6
Upper secondary level	48	45	7
Tertiary level	42	47	11
Food shopping			
Basic or lower secondary level	53	36	11
Upper secondary level	46	44	11
Tertiary level	41	44	16
Laundry			
Basic or lower secondary level	84	14	2
Upper secondary level	81	17	2
Tertiary level	78	18	4
Cleaning			
Basic or lower secondary level	63	34	3
Upper secondary level	60	36	4
Tertiary level	53	42	5
Home repairs			
Basic or lower secondary level	4	13	83
Upper secondary level	2	12	85
Tertiary level	3	14	80
Childcare and playing with children			
Basic or lower secondary level	24	75	1
Upper secondary level	21	75	4
Tertiary level	21	76	3
Taking and fetching the children			
Basic or lower secondary level	24	48	29
Upper secondary level	23	53	24
Tertiary level	29	51	21

*Appendix table 2.4. Sharing the chores in families with both partners employed full time/
one partner studying*

By family situation

	Mainly the woman/ The woman alone	Both equally	Mainly the man/ The man alone
	%	%	%
Cooking			
No children	68	25	8
With children, total	70	24	6
Youngest child aged 0 to 11	70	23	7
Youngest child aged 12 to 17	72	25	4
Washing up			
No children	50	41	9
With children, total	47	46	7
Youngest child aged 0 to 11	46	46	7
Youngest child aged 12 to 17	50	43	7
Food shopping			
No children	45	45	10
With children, total	47	39	13
Youngest child aged 0 to 11	47	40	14
Youngest child aged 12 to 17	49	38	13
Laundry			
No children	79	18	3
With children, total	82	16	2
Youngest child aged 0 to 11	82	17	2
Youngest child aged 12 to 17	84	14	2
Cleaning			
No children	58	37	5
With children, total	59	37	4
Youngest child aged 0 to 11	57	39	4
Youngest child aged 12 to 17	65	31	3
Home repairs			
No children	2	15	81
With children, total	3	11	85
Youngest child aged 0 to 11	3	11	85
Youngest child aged 12 to 17	3	11	85
Childcare and playing with children			
Youngest child aged 0 to 6	21	76	3
Youngest child aged 7 to 11	21	78	2
Youngest child aged 12 to 17	26	70	4
Taking and fetching the children			
Youngest child aged 0 to 6 v.	30	55	15
Youngest child aged 7 to 11	23	47	31
Youngest child aged 12 to 17	13	50	38

*Appendix table 2.5. Sharing the chores in families with both partners employed full time/
one partner studying by family situation*

By relative level of education of partners

	Mainly the woman/ The woman alone	Both equally	Mainly the man/ The man alone
	%	%	%
Cooking			
Woman has higher level of education	68	24	8
Both have same level of education	69	23	8
Man has higher level of education	67	30	4
Washing up			
Woman has higher level of education	50	41	9
Both have same level of education	47	46	7
Man has higher level of education	55	36	9
Food shopping			
Woman has higher level of education	48	38	14
Both have same level of education	46	43	12
Man has higher level of education	41	48	11
Laundry			
Woman has higher level of education	78	18	4
Both have same level of education	81	17	2
Man has higher level of education	81	17	2
Cleaning			
Woman has higher level of education	58	38	5
Both have same level of education	57	38	4
Man has higher level of education	61	36	3
Home repairs			
Woman has higher level of education	3	14	81
Both have same level of education	2	12	85
Man has higher level of education	3	14	83
Childcare and playing with children			
Woman has higher level of education	26	72	3
Both have same level of education	24	73	3
Man has higher level of education	19	78	3
Taking and fetching the children			
Woman has higher level of education	28	45	27
Both have same level of education	25	53	22
Man has higher level of education	19	61	21

Appendix table 6.1. Availability of guidance in the use of information technology in new or difficult work situations

Insufficient guidance, proportion of IT users, Quality of Work Life Survey 1997

	Women %	Men %	Total %
Total	32	34	33
Age			
15-24	23	20	22
25-34	33	32	33
35-44	33	40	37
45-54	31	31	31
55-64	32	38	35
Education:			
Basic and lower secondary education	31	34	33
Lower level of upper secondary education	32	39	35
Upper level of upper secondary education	31	31	31
Tertiary level	34	32	33
Socio-economic group			
Upper white-collar employee	30	30	30
Lower white-collar employee	32	31	32
Blue-collar employee	35	40	39
Employer sector			
Central government	36	26	32
Municipality	31	43	34
Private	32	33	33
Occupation			
Technical, scientific, etc. work	25	29	28
Teaching	34	43	37
Health and social care	35	46	37
Administrative management	29	21	24
Office work	27	28	27
Commercial work	41	26	35
Service, agricultural work	42	37	39
Transport (incl. data communications) work	23	30	28
Manufacturing, construction work	32	43	40

Quality of Work Life Surveys

The Finnish Quality of Work Life Surveys are extensive studies, which involve between 3,000 to 6,000 persons and cover the entire wage and salary earning population in Finland. Up to now, Statistics Finland has carried out four of them, in 1977, 1984, 1990 and 1997. The surveys have been implemented as personal, face-to-face interviews. The interview which, on average, lasts a little over an hour, includes questions on the physical, mental and social work environment and the employees' experiences relating to it, as well as questions on work experience, position in the labour market, conditions of employment, incidence of physical and psychological symptoms, work motivation, job contentment, work orientation, and experiences relating to gender equality and fair treatment. Identical questions have been used in inquiring about these issues so that findings spanning two decades are now available on the main subject areas.

The complete survey series comprises the following:

- Working Conditions Survey 1977. Personal face-to-face interview, sample size 7,500 employed persons, 5,778 wage and salary earners in data.
- Working Conditions Survey 1984. Personal face-to-face interview, sample size 5,000 wage and salary earners, 4,502 persons in data.
- Quality of Work Life Survey 1990. Personal face-to-face interview, sample size 5,000 employed persons, 3,502 wage and salary earners in data.
- Quality of Work Life Survey 1997. Personal face-to-face interview, sample size 3,800 wage and salary earners, 2,979 persons in data.

In the 1997 survey, qualitative and quantitative research approaches were combined in the questionnaire design for the first time. In other words, the compilation of the questionnaire was preceded by a host of informal interviews with representatives from various occupations, and these were exploited in the designing and formulating of the questions. Anna-Maija Lehto considers more thoroughly the foundations of the adopted method in her 1996 doctoral dissertation "Working Conditions as a Research Subject" (Statistics Finland, Studies 222, 1996).

Quality of Work Life Survey 1997, Response and Non-response

The 1997 quality of work life survey was implemented as personal face-to-face interviews in connection with the September and October rounds of the monthly Labour Force Survey. At the end of the telephone interviews of the Labour Force Survey, those respondents who proved to be wage and salary earners were invited to participate in the Quality of Work Life Survey and appointments were made with them for separate face-to-face interviews. The average duration of an interview was 74 minutes. The interviews were carried out from September to December in 1997.

The target population was selected from respondents in the second and fifth rotation groups of the September Labour Force Survey and in the second and fourth rotation groups of the October Labour Force Survey. The sample consisted of 15 to 64-years-old wage and salary earners whose normal weekly working hours comprised at least five hours of paid work. This way it was possible to interview 2,978 persons out of the 3,795 selected into the quality of work life survey sample. The survey response rate, therefore, was 79 per cent, while non-response remained at 21 per cent. The growing reluctance in general to participate in surveys may have been the reason for the risen non-response rate in this survey, as well as in many other surveys.

Women responded more actively than men to this survey, as they generally also do to other surveys. The very youngest age group of 15 to 24-years-old respondents is the least active. This age group is also the most difficult to reach due to its high mobility.

Response and non-response by gender and age

	Responded	Refused	Indisposed	Not reached	Other reason	Total	Number
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	78.5	11.7	0.5	9.0	0.3	100	3,795
Gender							
Female	82.3	10.5	0.6	6.4	0.2	100	1,923
Male	74.6	13.0	0.3	11.6	0.5	100	1,872
Age group							
15 to 24-years-old	71.3	13.5	0.6	14.4	0.3	100	355
25 to 34-years-old	78.6	12.2	0.3	8.4	0.5	100	946
35 to 44-years-old	79.9	10.6	0.2	8.9	0.4	100	1,132
45 to 54-years-old	80.0	11.6	0.6	7.6	0.3	100	1,063
55 to 64-years-old	75.6	12.7	1.7	10.0	0.0	100	299

Appendix 2

Interview questionnaire

1.	<p>To begin with, I shall list some core aspects of life which are of varying importance to different people.</p> <p>A. How important are these aspects of life to you personally:</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="661 190 1130 291"> <thead> <tr> <th>Very important</th> <th>Quite important</th> <th>Not very important</th> <th>Don't know</th> <th>The most important</th> <th>The second most important</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>3</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> <td>9</td> <td>1</td> <td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> <td>9</td> <td>2</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> <td>9</td> <td>3</td> <td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>9</td> <td>9</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>Is gainful employment very important, quite important or not very important to you?</p> <p>What about home and family life?</p> <p>And leisure time hobbies?</p> <p>B. Can you say which one of these is the most important to you at the moment: gainful employment, family, leisure time hobbies? (NOTE THE REPLY IN THE RIGHT HAND COLUMN)</p> <p>C. And the second most important?</p>	Very important	Quite important	Not very important	Don't know	The most important	The second most important	3	2	1	9	1	1	3	2	1	9	2	2	3	2	1	9	3	3					9	9	
Very important	Quite important	Not very important	Don't know	The most important	The second most important																											
3	2	1	9	1	1																											
3	2	1	9	2	2																											
3	2	1	9	3	3																											
				9	9																											
2.	<p>How many years altogether have you been gainfully employed during your life? (Work experience to be included since the age of 15)</p> <p>Number of years</p> <p>Under one year</p> <p>Don't know</p>	<p> </p> <p>00</p> <p>99</p>																														
3.	<p>During your life, have you been temporarily absent from working life for continuous periods on maternity, paternity or parental leave, or otherwise because of childcare?</p> <p>IF MORE THAN ONCE, PERIODS TO BE TOTALLED UP</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>No</p> <p>For how long?</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p> </p> <p> </p> <p>00 less than one month</p>																														
4.	<p>During your life, have you:</p> <p>always worked in roughly the same occupation,</p> <p>had 2 to 3 clearly different occupations,</p> <p>worked in several distinctly different occupations?</p> <p>Don't know</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>9</p>																														
5.	<p>Have you changed your job in the last five years?</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>No</p> <p>IF YES: How many times?</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p> </p>																														

6.	<p>How many months (incl. paid holidays) did you work in 1996, in other words, last year</p> <p>PAID SUMMER HOLIDAYS TO BE INCLUDED</p> <p>in full-time employment?</p> <p>in part-time employment?</p>	<p> <u> </u> <u> </u> months</p> <p> <u> </u> <u> </u> months</p>																												
7.	<p>Have you been unemployed or temporarily dismissed over the last 5 years?</p> <p>(Unemployed = out of work, looking for work and available to start work)</p> <p>Once,</p> <p>more than once,</p> <p>or not at all?</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3 → Q 12</p>																												
8.	<p>IF BEEN UNEMPLOYED OR TEMPORARILY DISMISSED:</p> <p>How many months altogether have you been unemployed in the last 5 years?</p> <p>Number of months</p>	<p> <u> </u> <u> </u></p>																												
9.	<p>What was your unemployment security like during your latest unemployment period?</p> <p>Received no unemployment support.</p> <p>Received basic daily unemployment allowance.</p> <p>Received labour market support.</p> <p>Received earnings-related daily unemployment allowance.</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p>																												
10.	<p>How did you become re-employed at the end of your latest unemployment period?</p> <p>Received a job offer from the labour exchange office.</p> <p>Found a job advertisement myself at the labour exchange office.</p> <p>Applied for a job advertised in a paper.</p> <p>Approached my employer without an "official" job advertisement.</p> <p>Heard about a job through a friend or acquaintance.</p> <p>Returned to my old job.</p> <p>Through some other means?</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p> <p>5</p> <p>6</p> <p>7</p>																												
11.	<p>If you compare your current job with the previous one you had before you became unemployed or were temporarily dismissed, how would you rate your current job in respect of the following:</p> <p>CARD 1</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="665 1360 1132 1428"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>Clearly worse</th> <th>Slightly worse</th> <th>About the same</th> <th>Slightly better</th> <th>Clearly better</th> <th>Don't know</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Pay level,</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>5</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Correspondence with your training,</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>5</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Continuity of employment relationship?,</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>5</td> <td>9</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Clearly worse	Slightly worse	About the same	Slightly better	Clearly better	Don't know	Pay level,	1	2	3	4	5	9	Correspondence with your training,	1	2	3	4	5	9	Continuity of employment relationship?,	1	2	3	4	5	9	
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Continuity of employment relationship?,	1	2	3	4	5	9																								

12.	ALL RESPONDENTS: How satisfied are you with your current job? Very satisfied, 1 Quite satisfied, 2 Rather dissatisfied, 3 Very dissatisfied? 4 Don't know. 9	
13.	How many years have you been in your current workplace? (refers to continuous employment relationships incl. maternity leaves, temporary dismissals and the like) Number of years <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Less than a year 00 Don't know 99	
14.	Is your current employer: IF OBVIOUS, ENTER WITHOUT ASKING the state, 1 → Q 18 a municipality, or a municipal association? 2 → Q 18 Private sector employer? 3 Don't know. 9 → Q 18	
15.	IF PRIVATE SECTOR EMPLOYER: Is the enterprise, or similar, in which you work mainly foreign or Finnish owned? Foreign owned 1 Finnish owned. 2 Don't know. 9	
16.	Does your employer have other establishments in addition to the one in which you work? No 1 → Q 18 Yes: How many establishments does your employer have altogether? Less than 5 2 5 to 10. 3 More than 10. 4 Don't know. 9	

17.	<p>CARD 2</p> <p>Approximately how many persons altogether work for this employer in all its establishments?</p> <p>DETERMINE EXACT CATEGORY AS NECESSARY</p> <p>1 – 4 persons 01</p> <p>5 – 9 persons 02</p> <p>10 – 19 persons 03</p> <p>20 – 29 persons 04</p> <p>30 – 49 persons 05</p> <p>50 – 99 persons 06</p> <p>100 – 199 persons 07</p> <p>200 – 499 persons 08</p> <p>500 – 999 persons 09</p> <p>1,000 persons or more 10</p> <p>Don't know 99</p>	
18.	<p>CARD 2</p> <p>ALL RESPONDENTS:</p> <p>How many persons work at the same establishment as you?</p> <p>DETERMINE EXACT CATEGORY AS NECESSARY</p> <p>1 – 4 persons 01</p> <p>5 – 9 persons 02</p> <p>10 – 19 persons 03</p> <p>20 – 29 persons 04</p> <p>30 – 49 persons 05</p> <p>50 – 99 persons 06</p> <p>100 – 199 persons 07</p> <p>200 – 499 persons 08</p> <p>500 – 999 persons 09</p> <p>1,000 persons or more 10</p> <p>Don't know 99</p>	
19.	<p>In the last three years, has the number of employees at your establishment:</p> <p>Increased clearly 1 → Q 21</p> <p>Increased somewhat 2 → Q 21</p> <p>Remained unchanged 3 → Q 21</p> <p>Decreased somewhat 4</p> <p>Decreased clearly 5</p> <p>Don't know 9 → Q 21</p>	

20.	IF DECREASED: Has personnel been: Made redundant, 1 or cut back by not hiring replacements for those who have left? 2 Both. 3 Don't know. 9																					
21.	ALL RESPONDENTS: Over the past few years, have any of the following changes taken place at your workplace?	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>Yes</th> <th>No</th> <th>Don't know</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Increased assessment or monitoring based on the productivity and results of work?</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Are new supplement or bonuses based on the productivity of work being paid at your workplace?</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Is work previously done in-house increasingly being outsourced?</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Is so-called teamworking applied at least to some extent at your workplace?</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>9</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Yes	No	Don't know	Increased assessment or monitoring based on the productivity and results of work?	1	2	9	Are new supplement or bonuses based on the productivity of work being paid at your workplace?	1	2	9	Is work previously done in-house increasingly being outsourced?	1	2	9	Is so-called teamworking applied at least to some extent at your workplace?	1	2	9
	Yes	No	Don't know																			
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22.	Is your current employment relationship permanent or fixed-term? Permanent Fixed-term	1 → Q 31 2																				
23.	IF EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP/POSITION FIXED-TERM: Are you: A substitute without a permanent post 01 Working for a staff hire company 02 A free lancer. 03 On a trial period 04 Hired with employment subsidies. 05 Doing seasonal work. 06 Come to work only when summoned 07 In an apprenticeship relationship 08 In an employment relationship otherwise agreed as fixed-term? 09 Don't know. 99																					
24.	RESPONDENTS IN FIXED-TERM EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIPS: When did your current employment relationship/contract start?	<table border="1"> <tr> <td> </td> <td> </td> <td> </td> <td> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>d</td> <td>m</td> <td>y</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>					d	m	y													
d	m	y																				
25.	When will your current employment relationship/contract finish?	<table border="1"> <tr> <td> </td> <td> </td> <td> </td> <td> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>d</td> <td>m</td> <td>y</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>					d	m	y													
d	m	y																				

26.	<p>Counting in your current employment relationship, how many fixed-term employment relationships have you had at this workplace?</p> <p>This is the first one 1</p> <p>2 to 5. 2</p> <p>More than 5. 3</p>	
27.	<p>Once your current fixed-term employment relationship finishes, do you think that:</p> <p>Your fixed-term employment relationship will probably be continued at your current workplace, 1</p> <p>You will probably enter into a permanent employment relationship at your current workplace, 2</p> <p>You will probably start a new job somewhere else, 3</p> <p>You will probably become unemployed, 4</p> <p>You would not even want a new job because of e.g. family reasons or studies, 5</p> <p>or you do not know as yet what will happen?. 6</p>	
28.	<p>Have you at some time previously been in a permanent employment relationship?</p> <p>Yes 1</p> <p>No 3</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
29.	<p>Can you estimate how many fixed-term employees there are at your workplace?</p> <p>Only me, as far as I know. 1</p> <p>Clearly less than half of the employees. 2</p> <p>About half of the employees 3</p> <p>More than half of the employees..... 4</p>	

ONLY FIXED-TERM EMPLOYEES:

30. To what extent do the following statements describe your situation?

CARD 3

	Totally true	True to some extent	Untrue to some extent	Totally untrue	Don't know/ Not applicable
A. The insecurity of my employment relationship puts me under mental strain.	1	2	3	4	9
B. The insecurity of my employment relationship makes it difficult to make future plans.	1	2	3	4	9
C. I find fixed-term employment strenuous especially because of the associated financial insecurity.	1	2	3	4	9
D. I am sure my opinions would be heeded better if I were a permanent employee.	1	2	3	4	9
E. If it were possible, I would like to change jobs or tasks every few years.	1	2	3	4	9
F. I would take a longer-term approach to my work if I were a permanent employee.	1	2	3	4	9
G. I feel that I have to do my work especially well in order to secure the continuity of my employment relationship.	1	2	3	4	9
H. I miss the sense of security that comes with a permanent employment relationship.	1	2	3	4	9
I. I would not even want to have a permanent employment relationship for my current job.	1	2	3	4	9
J. Despite being a fixed-term employee, I feel I belong to the work community as much as its permanent employees.	1	2	3	4	9
K. I would have more courage to intervene in drawbacks in my work environment if I was a permanent employee.	1	2	3	4	9
L. My opportunities for taking part in the training offered by my employer are as good as those of permanent employees.	1	2	3	4	9
M. I am informed in good time about whether my employment relationship will be continued.	1	2	3	4	9
N. I must be more flexible in my work (in respect of shifts, for example) than permanent employees to ensure that my employment relationship will continue.	1	2	3	4	9
O. Uncertainty about the continuity of employment relationships causes competitiveness/conflicts at my workplace.	1	2	3	4	9
P. I personally associate a fixed-term employment relationship with a positive feeling of non-committal.	1	2	3	4	9

<p>31.</p>	<p>CARD 4 ALL RESPONDENTS: Next, I will ask a few questions about your pay.</p> <p>Which of the following forms of pay corresponds with your own?</p> <p>READ OUT IF REQUIRED</p>	<p>01 } 02 } → Q 33 03 } 04 } 05 } 06 } 07 } 08 } 09 → Q 33 99 → Q 33</p>
<p>32.</p>	<p>Is your (productivity) bonus/commission or piece-work bonus determined by your own personal work performance only or does your co-workers' performance also influence the size of the bonus you receive?</p> <p>Influenced by own performance only</p> <p>Also influenced by co-workers' performance</p>	<p>1 2</p>

ALL RESPONDENTS:		
CARD 5		
33.	What is your monthly gross pay in your main job before tax?	
	Inclusive of shift, seniority and other corresponding bonuses, but exclusive of overtime pay.	
	FIM 3,000 or less	01
	FIM 3,001 to 4,000	02
	FIM 4,001 to 5,000	03
	FIM 5,001 to 6,000	04
	FIM 6,001 to 7,000	05
	FIM 7,001 to 8,000	06
	FIM 8,001 to 9,000	07
	FIM 9,001 to 10,000	08
	FIM 10,001 to 11,000	09
	FIM 11,001 to 12,000	10
	FIM 12,001 to 13,000	11
	FIM 13,001 to 14,000	12
	FIM 14,001 to 15,000	13
	FIM 15,001 to 16,000	14
	FIM 16,001 to 18,000	15
	FIM 18,001 to 20,000	16
	FIM 20,001 to 25,000	17
	FIM 25,001 to 30,000	18
	Over FIM 30,000	19
	Unwilling to answer	98
	Don't know	99
34.	In your opinion, is your pay fair in comparison with the remuneration paid in other occupations?	
	Is your pay:	
	Clearly higher than it should be,	1
	Somewhat higher than it should be,	2
	About right,	3
	Somewhat lower than it should be,	4
	or clearly lower than it should be?	5

35.	<p>How much time, on average, does your journey to/from work take in one direction excluding running errands and taking and fetching children?</p> <p>REFERS TO MAIN JOB</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Minutes</p> <p style="text-align: right;">No journey to/from work</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px;"> <tr> <td style="width: 25%;"></td> <td style="width: 25%;"></td> <td style="width: 25%;"></td> <td style="width: 25%;"></td> </tr> </table> <p>000</p>																																										
36.	<p>I will list different forms of working hours. What kind of hours do you work:</p> <p>regular daywork (between 6 am and 6 pm),</p> <p>regular evening work,</p> <p>regular nightwork,</p> <p>two-shift work,</p> <p>interrupted three-shift work,</p> <p>uninterrupted three-shift work,</p> <p>periodical work,</p> <p>or week-end work?</p> <p>Other form of working hours.</p> <p>Don't know</p>	<p>0</p> <p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p> <p>5</p> <p>6</p> <p>7</p> <p>8</p> <p>9</p>																																										
CARD 6																																												
37.	<p>Are you currently participating in a working hours experiment or would you be interested in participating in the following "new" working hour formats?</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 50%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%;">Participating currently</th> <th style="width: 10%;">Would be interested in participating</th> <th style="width: 10%;">Not interested in participating</th> <th style="width: 10%;">Have tried previously</th> <th style="width: 10%;">Don't know</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>A. 6+6 hours' morning and evening shifts at full-time pay.</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>B. 6+6 hours' morning and evening shifts with corresponding reduction in pay</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>C. Compacted working week (10 or 12-hour working days followed by extended free periods)</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>D. Subsidised part-time work, sharing the job with an unemployed person</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>E. Job sharing leave or sabbatical leave.</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>F. Working time bank (extra hours can be worked in advance and saved to be used later as time off)</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Participating currently	Would be interested in participating	Not interested in participating	Have tried previously	Don't know	A. 6+6 hours' morning and evening shifts at full-time pay.	1	2	3	4	9	B. 6+6 hours' morning and evening shifts with corresponding reduction in pay	1	2	3	4	9	C. Compacted working week (10 or 12-hour working days followed by extended free periods)	1	2	3	4	9	D. Subsidised part-time work, sharing the job with an unemployed person	1	2	3	4	9	E. Job sharing leave or sabbatical leave.	1	2	3	4	9	F. Working time bank (extra hours can be worked in advance and saved to be used later as time off)	1	2	3	4	9
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38.	<p>Do you have strictly set starting and finishing times for your work, or can you personally influence them by at least 30 minutes either way?</p> <p>Set starting and finishing times</p> <p>Able to influence starting and finishing times (e.g. flexitime)</p> <p>Don't know</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>9</p>																																										

39.	<p>Do you sometimes do overtime for which you receive compensation:</p> <p>In money 1</p> <p>or time off? 2</p> <p>In both 3</p> <p>In neither 4 → Q 41</p>	
40.	<p>IF YES:</p> <p>How often do you do such overtime:</p> <p>Almost daily, 1</p> <p>every week, 2</p> <p>every second week, 3</p> <p>at least once a month, 4</p> <p>or less frequently? 5</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
41.	<p>Do you sometimes do overtime for which you receive no compensation?</p> <p>Yes 1</p> <p>No 2 → Q 43</p>	
42.	<p>IF YES:</p> <p>How often do you do such overtime:</p> <p>Almost daily, 1</p> <p>every week, 2</p> <p>every second week, 3</p> <p>at least once a month, 4</p> <p>or less frequently? 5</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
43.	<p>To what extent can you personally decide when you take your summer holiday:</p> <p>completely, 1</p> <p>somewhat, 2</p> <p>not at all 3</p> <p>Holiday is compensated in money 4</p> <p>Don't know/not applicable 9</p>	

44.	In your work, can you generally take breaks or rest periods: sufficiently often, 1 not quite often enough, 2 or far too seldom? 3 Don't know 9	
45.	Do you principally do indoor or outdoor work? Indoor work 1 Outdoor work 2 Equal amounts of both 3 Don't know 9	
46.	Do you principally do: sedentary sitting work, 1 or sedentary standing work? 2 Equal amounts of both 3 Don't know 9	

CARD 7

47. This card contains a list of adverse factors in a work environment. Which ones are present in your work environment?

ALTERNATIVES ARE NOT READ OUT LOUD.

DO NOT ASK THE SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION UNTIL YOU HAVE MADE A NOTE OF ALL THE ADVERSE FACTORS MENTIONED BY THE RESPONDENT

	Yes	Not present	SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION: Is (THE ADVERSE FACTOR) a burden which affects your work: CARD 8					
			Very much	Quite a lot	To some extent	Quite little	Not at all	Don't know
1. Heat	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9
2. Cold	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9
3. Vibration	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9
4. Draught	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9
5. Noise	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9
6. Smoke, gases and fumes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9
7. Humidity	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9
8. Dry indoor air	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9
9. Dusts	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9
10. Dirtiness of work environment	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9
11. Poor or glaring lighting	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9
12. Irritant or corrosive substances	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9
13. Restlessness work environment	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9
14. Repetitive, monotonous movements	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9
15. Difficult or uncomfortable working positions	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9
16. Time pressure and tight time schedules	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9
17. Heavy lifting	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9
18. Lack of space	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9
19. Mildew in buildings	<input type="checkbox"/>	0	5	4	3	2	1	9

CHECK TO ENSURE THERE IS A MARK ON EVERY LINE

CARD 9

48. In your working environment, how prevalent is:

	Almost all the time	About three quarters of the time	Half of the time	About one quarter of the time	Less often	Never
A. So loud noise that normal speech cannot be heard?	1	2	3	4	5	6
B. Heat which makes you perspire even without moving (approx. +28° C)?	1	2	3	4	5	6
C. Cold (outdoor work in winter time, work in cold spaces or other similar circumstances)?	1	2	3	4	5	6
D. Cleansing or disinfecting agents (in constant contact with skin)?	1	2	3	4	5	6
E. Cigarette smoke due to the smoking of others ("passive smoking")?	1	2	3	4	5	6

CARD 10

49. In your work, do your experience as a distinct hazard, think about occasionally or experience as no hazard at all the following:

	Experiences as a distinct hazard	Thinks about occasionally	Experiences as no hazard at all	Don't know
A. Accident risk?	3	2	1	9
B. Becoming subjected to physical violence?	3	2	1	9
C. Hazards caused by chemical substances?	3	2	1	9
D. Radiation hazard?	3	2	1	9
E. Major catastrophe hazard?	3	2	1	9
F. Hazard of infectious diseases?	3	2	1	9
G. Hazard of skin diseases?	3	2	1	9
H. Cancer risk?	3	2	1	9
I. Risk of strain injuries?	3	2	1	9
J. Risk of succumbing to mental disturbance?	3	2	1	9
K. Risk of grave work exhaustion?	3	2	1	9
L. What about the risk of causing serious injury to someone else?	3	2	1	9
M. Or causing serious damage to a valuable piece of equipment or end product?	3	2	1	9

50.	Does your work carry any of the following insecurity factors:		Yes	No	Don't know	
		A. Transfer to other duties?	1	2	9	
		B. Threat of a temporary dismissal?	1	2	9	
		C. Threat of dismissal?	1	2	9	
		D. Threat of unemployment?	1	2	9	
		E. Threat of becoming incapable of work?	1	2	9	
		F. Unforeseen changes?	1	2	9	
51.	Which of the following information transfer equipment do you use in your work?		Yes	No		
		A. Telephone?	1	2		
		B. Car, mobile or radio telephone?	1	2		
		C. Telex, telefax?	1	2		
		D. The Internet?	1	2		
		E. E-mail, electronic mail (via computer)?	1	2		
		IF ANSWER IS "YES" FOR "E":				
		Do you use computer e-mail for:				
		A. Internal contacts within your place of work?	1	2		
		B. Domestic contacts?	1	2		
		C. Foreign contacts?	1	2		
		52.	In your work, do you use following computer-based equipment?		Yes	No
A. Computer-linked teller or teller terminal?	1			2		
B. PC or computer terminal?	1			2		
C. Programmable machine tool?	1			2		
D. ADP monitoring equipment to control a production process or part of one?	1			2		
E. Some other monitoring, measuring or controlling equipment based of ADP technology?	1			2		
No ADP equipment				<input type="checkbox"/> → Q 57		

53.	<p>For what proportion of your working time do you use computer-based equipment?</p> <p>approximately all of the working time, 5</p> <p>three quarters of the working time, 4</p> <p>half of the working time, 3</p> <p>one quarter of the working time, 2</p> <p>or less? 1</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
54.	<p>For how many years have you been working with this type of equipment?</p> <p>..... years</p> <p>Under one year 00</p> <p>Don't know 99</p>	
55.	<p>How many days of ADP training paid for by your employer have you received in the last two years:</p> <p>(CONVERT TO FULL WORKING DAYS)</p> <p>.....</p>	
56.	<p>Do you receive guidance in the use of information technology in new and difficult work situations</p> <p>quite enough, 1</p> <p>almost enough, 2</p> <p>slightly too little, 3</p> <p>or far too little? 4</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
57.	<p>ALL RESPONDENTS:</p> <p>Do you sometimes do work connected with your principal job at home?</p> <p>Works occasionally or partially at home 1</p> <p>Works at home only 2 → Q 60</p> <p>Does not work at home at all 3 → Q 60</p>	
58.	<p>Is this work mainly:</p> <p>overtime work, 1</p> <p>or has it been agreed that you work some of your normal working hours at home, 2</p> <p>or both? 3</p>	
59.	<p>Do you use a computer to perform your work at home?</p> <p>Yes 1</p> <p>No 2</p>	

	<p>CARD 11</p> <p>Teleworking refers to paid work done away from the actual work-place. In principle this work can also be done on the employer's premises. The essential characteristics of teleworking are working arrangements which are independent of time and place.</p>	
60.	<p>Do you do telework or would you be interested in telework?</p> <p>Am doing at the moment..... 1</p> <p>Would be interested 2</p> <p>Am not interested 3</p> <p>Have tried previously 4</p> <p>Don't know..... 9</p>	

	<p>CARD 12</p>																																																	
61.	<p>Are you able to influence a lot, quite a lot, a little, or not at all:</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>A lot</th> <th>Quite a lot</th> <th>A little</th> <th>Not at all</th> <th>Don't know</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>A. The contents of your tasks?</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>B. The order in which you do tasks?</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>C. The pace of your work?</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>D. Your working methods?</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>E. The division of tasks between employees?.....</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>F. Choice of your working partners?</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>G. Equipment purchases?</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>9</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		A lot	Quite a lot	A little	Not at all	Don't know	A. The contents of your tasks?	1	2	3	4	9	B. The order in which you do tasks?	1	2	3	4	9	C. The pace of your work?	1	2	3	4	9	D. Your working methods?	1	2	3	4	9	E. The division of tasks between employees?.....	1	2	3	4	9	F. Choice of your working partners?	1	2	3	4	9	G. Equipment purchases?	1	2	3	4	9	
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G. Equipment purchases?	1	2	3	4	9																																													

62.	<p>Are you usually informed about changes relating to your work:</p> <p>at the planning stage..... 1</p> <p>shortly before the change 2</p> <p>or at the implementation stage?..... 3</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
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63.	<p>If you leave your work for a short period (e.g. 5 min.), do you have to find someone to replace you?</p> <p>Yes 1</p> <p>No 2</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
-----	---	--

64.	<p>Do have the possibility for brief absences from work in the middle of the working day to run personal errands, such as banking, dealing with authorities, etc.:</p> <p>always when necessary,</p> <p>occasionally,</p> <p>very seldom,</p> <p>or never?</p> <p>Don't know</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p> <p>9</p>
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CARD 13

65. With the help of Card 13, could you estimate what proportion of your working hours:

	Almost all of the time	About three quarters of the time	About one half of the time	About one quarter of the time	Less	Never	Don't know
--	------------------------	----------------------------------	----------------------------	-------------------------------	------	-------	------------

A. You work under such pressure that you have no time to talk or think about anything else except your work?	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
B. Your work contains idle time when you just wait and keep yourself ready in case something happens?	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
C. You have to deal with people other than your co-workers (e.g. customers, patients, passengers, pupils, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
D. You have to repeat the same workphase over and over again?	1	2	3	4	5	6	9

CARD 14

66. Work and time-related pressure can be connected with many aspects of work and the pressure of time can cause many problems.

How well do the following statements describe your own work?

	Totally true	About true	Not very true	Totally untrue	Don't know/ Not applicable
A. I must rush to get my work done	1	2	3	4	9
B. My workload is unevenly distributed so that logjams form	1	2	3	4	9
C. I often have a pile of tasks waiting to be done	1	2	3	4	9
D. My work contains tight time schedules	1	2	3	4	9
E. I must stretch when others fail to meet deadlines	1	2	3	4	9
F. I have to divide myself between too many different kinds of tasks	1	2	3	4	9
G. Time pressure spoils the atmosphere at work	1	2	3	4	9
H. Time pressure increases sickness absences (at work)	1	2	3	4	9
I. It is difficult for me to detach myself from my work even during time off	1	2	3	4	9
J. It is difficult for me to focus on customers' problems because of time pressure	1	2	3	4	9
K. I often have to interrupt my work because of queries, telephone calls, etc.	1	2	3	4	9
L. Ill-functioning division of work increases time pressure	1	2	3	4	9
M. I do not have time to do my work as well and conscientiously as I would like to	1	2	3	4	9
N. Because of time pressure there is very little social interaction	1	2	3	4	9
O. There is burnout at our workplace	1	2	3	4	9
P. Time pressure causes mistakes	1	2	3	4	9
Q. Time pressure increases accident risk	1	2	3	4	9

67.		Always	Often	Some-times	Never	Don't know/NA			
	A.	In your work, do you have the possibility to get advice or help always, often, sometimes or never? .	1	2	3	4	9		
	B.	When your work seems difficult, do you receive support and encouragement from your <u>superiors</u> always, often, sometimes or never?	1	2	3	4	9		
	C.	When work seems difficult, do you receive support and encouragement from your <u>co-workers</u> ?	1	2	3	4	9		
	D.	Do you feel that you are a valued member of the work community?	1	2	3	4	9		
	E.	Do you yourself take part in the planning of your work (e.g. what should be done, how, and with whom)?	1	2	3	4	9		
	F.	Are you able to apply your own ideas in your work?	1	2	3	4	9		
	G.	Do you see your own work as productive and useful?	1	2	3	4	9		
68.	CARD 15		Daily or almost daily	A couple of times a week	About once a week	A couple of times a month	Seldom	Never	
		A.	In your work, have you faced a conflict or argument either with other members of your work community or a customer?	1	2	3	4	5	6
		B.	When at work, have you been subjected to, or threatened by, physical violence (incl. from customers)?	1	2	3	4	5	6
		C.	Do your superiors or co-workers use unfriendly words or gestures towards you?	1	2	3	4	5	6
		D.	Do you receive praise for your work from other members of the work community or customers?	1	2	3	4	5	6
		E.	Does your work give you opportunities for learning new things and developing in your occupation?	1	2	3	4	5	6
69.	In your current workplace, do you have good, fair or poor opportunities for receiving training to improve your professional skills?								
		Good				1			
		Fair				2			
		Poor				3			
		Don't know				9			

70.	<p>The next question concerns training paid for by the employer.</p> <p>Over the last 12 months, have you attended courses while being paid by your employer?</p> <p>Yes 1</p> <p>No 2 → Q 72</p> <p>Don't know 9 → Q 72</p>	
71.	<p>IF ATTENDED COURSES:</p> <p>What is the total number of days (in full days) you have attended such courses in the last 12 months?</p> <p>(Convert to full days) Number of days <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/></p> <p>Don't know 99</p>	
72.	<p>In your current workplace, are your advancement opportunities good, fair or poor?</p> <p>Good 1</p> <p>Fair 2</p> <p>Poor 3</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
73.	<p>In your current workplace, are your opportunities for self-development good, fair or poor?</p> <p>Good 1</p> <p>Fair 2</p> <p>Poor 3</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
74.	<p>Some jobs can be learned instantly while others need longer familiarisation periods. In your own estimation, how long would it take for a new employee with the necessary basic training to learn your work?</p> <p>A few hours 1</p> <p>A few days 2</p> <p>A few weeks 3</p> <p>A few months 4</p> <p>1 to 2 years 5</p> <p>or more than 2 years? 6</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	

75.	<p>Which of the following alternatives would best describe your competence in your own work:</p> <p>I need further training to cope well with my duties... 1</p> <p>My duties correspond very well with my present skills... 2</p> <p>I have the competence to cope with even more demanding duties... 3</p> <p>Don't know... 9</p>	
76.	<p>Have any changes taken place in the organisation or working methods at your workplace over the last two years?</p> <p>No changes have taken place... 1</p> <p>Minor changes have taken place... 2</p> <p>Clear changes have taken place... 3</p> <p>Very clear changes have taken place?... 4</p> <p>Don't know... 9</p>	
77.	<p>Do you expect that changes will take place in the organisation or working methods at your workplace in the next two years?</p> <p>No changes will take place... 1</p> <p>Minor changes will take place... 2</p> <p>Clear changes will take place... 3</p> <p>Very clear changes will take place?... 4</p> <p>Don't know... 9</p>	
78.	<p>In your opinion, is the financial position of your workplace at the moment</p> <p>Completely stable and secure... 1</p> <p>Fairly stable and secure... 2</p> <p>Slightly insecure... 3</p> <p>Very insecure?... 4</p> <p>Don't know... 9</p>	
79.	<p>Have you noticed differences in the work performances of different age groups at your workplace?</p> <p>Younger (under 45) employees cope better with their tasks... 1</p> <p>Old and young employees cope equally well... 2</p> <p>Older (over 45) employees cope better?... 3</p> <p>Don't know/Not applicable... 9</p>	

80.	<p>Moving ageing labour force into the so-called "unemployment chute", in other words putting them first on daily unemployment allowance and, through that, on to retirement, is one means of propelling people to retirement. Has this happened at your workplace?</p> <p>Yes 1</p> <p>No 2</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
81.	<p>In your opinion, is this procedure</p> <p>very good 1</p> <p>fairly good 2</p> <p>difficult to say either way 3</p> <p>rather bad 4</p> <p>very bad 5</p>	
82.	<p>Is keeping ageing work force employed longer than today promoted at your workplace?</p> <p>Yes, very strongly 1</p> <p>Yes, to some extent 2</p> <p>Not particularly 3</p> <p>Not at all 4</p> <p>Don't know/Not applicable 9</p>	
83.	<p>CARD 16</p> <p>Does your work unit (e.g. department, work group, etc.) encourage initiative and development of new working methods?</p> <p>Continuously / very frequently 1</p> <p>Quite often 2</p> <p>Occasionally 3</p> <p>Rather seldom 4</p> <p>Never 5</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
84.	<p>CARD 16</p> <p>Do you yourself experiment with new things in your work?</p> <p>Continuously / very frequently 1</p> <p>Quite often 2</p> <p>Occasionally 3</p> <p>Rather seldom 4</p> <p>Never 5</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	

85.	<p>CARD 16</p> <p>Do you feel that you have to learn an unreasonable amount of new things in order to manage your tasks or improve your skills in them?</p> <p>Continuously / very frequently 1</p> <p>Quite often 2</p> <p>Occasionally 3</p> <p>Rather seldom 4</p> <p>Never 5</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
86.	<p>CARD 16</p> <p>During a normal working week, do you receive enough information to manage your work?</p> <p>Continuously / very frequently 1</p> <p>Quite often 2</p> <p>Occasionally 3</p> <p>Rather seldom 4</p> <p>Never 5</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
87.	<p>CARD 16</p> <p>During a normal working week, do you receive so much information that you have to work hard to select the essential information from it?</p> <p>Continuously / very frequently 1</p> <p>Quite often 2</p> <p>Occasionally 3</p> <p>Rather seldom 4</p> <p>Never 5</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
88.	<p>Do you do so-called teamwork or work in groups?</p> <p>Yes 1</p> <p>No 2</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	<p>} → Q 92</p>
89.	<p>What proportion of your working hours do you work in teams?</p> <p>Almost all the time 1</p> <p>About three quarters of the time 2</p> <p>Half of the time 3</p> <p>About one quarter of the time 4</p> <p>Less 5</p> <p>None 6</p>	

90.	Do you always work in the same group or are you a member of several groups?	Always in the same group	1
		In several groups	2

CARD 17						
91.	How well do the following statements describe your group work?					
		Totally true	True to some extent	Only slightly true	Totally untrue	Don't know
	The group selects its own leader	1	2	3	4	9
	The group decides about its internal division of responsibilities	1	2	3	4	9
	The productiveness of work improves in group work	1	2	3	4	9
	Group work causes conflicts	1	2	3	4	9
	Work pressure becomes evenly distributed in a group	1	2	3	4	9

92.	The next question concerns trade union membership.	
	Are you a member of a trade union, employee organisation or similar professional association?	
	Yes	1
	No	2 → Q 95
	Which of these central organisations do you belong to:	
	Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	1
	Finnish Central Association of Salaried Employees in Industry	2
	Central Organisation of Professional Associations in Finland	3
	Other	4
	Don't know	9
IF THE RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW THE CENTRAL ORGANISATION, NOTE HERE THE NAME OF THE TRADE UNION:		

93.	<p>CARD 18</p> <p>For what main reason do you belong to a trade union?</p> <p>SELECT ONE ALTERNATIVE ONLY FROM THE FOLLOWING.</p> <p>The trade union movement offers opportunities for leisure activities and hobbies. 1</p> <p>The environment pressurises me to belong to a union. 2</p> <p>Also the fellow workers belong to the union. 3</p> <p>It is customary to belong to a union. 4</p> <p>Employees must appear united against the employer. 5</p> <p>Union memberships gives better unemployment security. 6</p> <p>Trade union movement is part of the labour movement. 7</p> <p>A well-organised union is better equipped to fight for better pay and employment conditions. 8</p> <p>Some other reason. 9</p>																																																													
94.	<p>Have you participated in events organised by a trade union or professional association in the last 12 months?</p> <p>Not at all. 1</p> <p>Once. 2</p> <p>2 to 5 times. 3</p> <p>More often. 4</p> <p>Don't know. 9</p>																																																													
95.	<p>At your workplace, do you currently act in</p> <p>A. Occupational safety duties.</p> <p>B. Other positions of trust?</p>	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Yes</th> <th>No</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Yes	No	1	2	1	2																																																						
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96.	<p>Considering occupational safety in general, to what extent do you think it should embrace</p> <p>A. Prevention of work-related illnesses.</p> <p>B. Prevention of accidents.</p> <p>C. Activities to maintain the capacity to work.</p> <p>D. Development of the working atmosphere.</p> <p>E. Development of management methods.</p> <p>F. Development of the contents of work.</p> <p>G. Development of working methods.</p> <p>H. Development of working tools.</p> <p>I. Promotion of equality between the sexes.</p>	<p>CARD 19</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>To a major extent</th> <th>To quite a large extent</th> <th>To some extent</th> <th>Not at all</th> <th>Don't know</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>A. Prevention of work-related illnesses.</td> <td>4</td> <td>3</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>B. Prevention of accidents.</td> <td>4</td> <td>3</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>C. Activities to maintain the capacity to work.</td> <td>4</td> <td>3</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>D. Development of the working atmosphere.</td> <td>4</td> <td>3</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>E. Development of management methods.</td> <td>4</td> <td>3</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>F. Development of the contents of work.</td> <td>4</td> <td>3</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>G. Development of working methods.</td> <td>4</td> <td>3</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>H. Development of working tools.</td> <td>4</td> <td>3</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>I. Promotion of equality between the sexes.</td> <td>4</td> <td>3</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> <td>9</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		To a major extent	To quite a large extent	To some extent	Not at all	Don't know	A. Prevention of work-related illnesses.	4	3	2	1	9	B. Prevention of accidents.	4	3	2	1	9	C. Activities to maintain the capacity to work.	4	3	2	1	9	D. Development of the working atmosphere.	4	3	2	1	9	E. Development of management methods.	4	3	2	1	9	F. Development of the contents of work.	4	3	2	1	9	G. Development of working methods.	4	3	2	1	9	H. Development of working tools.	4	3	2	1	9	I. Promotion of equality between the sexes.	4	3	2	1	9
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97.	<p>Considering the tasks in your work, are your co-workers doing roughly similar tasks to yours:</p> <p>All women 1</p> <p>Mostly women 2</p> <p>Both men and women 3</p> <p>Mostly men 4</p> <p>All men 5</p> <p>Nobody else does work similar to yours? 6</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>																																		
98.	<p>Has equality between the sexes been accomplished at your work-place?</p> <p>Very well 1</p> <p>Fairly well 2</p> <p>Averagely 3</p> <p>Rather poorly 4</p> <p>Very poorly? 5</p> <p>Don't know/Not applicable 9</p>																																		
99.	<p>Do your tasks involve supervision of the work of others or delegation of tasks to other employees?</p> <p>Yes 1</p> <p>No 2</p> <p>IF YES:</p> <p>How many persons work under your supervision at the moment? <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> persons</p>																																		
100.	<p>Is your immediate superior</p> <p>Male 1</p> <p>Female 2</p> <p>No immediate superior 3</p>																																		
101.	<p>CARD 20</p> <p>In your work unit, do you have a lot, quite a lot, some, or none of the following:</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="728 1197 1137 1437"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>A lot</th> <th>Quite a lot</th> <th>Some</th> <th>None</th> <th>Don't know</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>A. Competitive spirit?</td> <td>4</td> <td>3</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>B. Conflicts between superiors and subordinates? ...</td> <td>4</td> <td>3</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>C. Conflicts between employees?</td> <td>4</td> <td>3</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>D. Conflicts between employee groups at your work-place?</td> <td>4</td> <td>3</td> <td>2</td> <td>1</td> <td>9</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>						A lot	Quite a lot	Some	None	Don't know	A. Competitive spirit?	4	3	2	1	9	B. Conflicts between superiors and subordinates? ...	4	3	2	1	9	C. Conflicts between employees?	4	3	2	1	9	D. Conflicts between employee groups at your work-place?	4	3	2	1	9
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IF NO IMMEDIATE SUPERIOR (Q 100 = 3) → Q 104

CARD 21

102. Below are listed some statements concerning your immediate superior. Please reply by indicating the extent to which you agree or disagree with each one.

	Totally agree	Agree to some extent	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree to some extent	Totally disagree	Don't know
A. My superior supports and encourages me	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. My superior rewards good work performances	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. My superior is inspiring	1	2	3	4	5	9
D. My superior discusses a lot with us	1	2	3	4	5	9
E. My superior speaks openly about everything concerning the workplace	1	2	3	4	5	9
F. My superior trusts his/her employees	1	2	3	4	5	9
G. There are a lot of conflicts between me and my superior	1	2	3	4	5	9
H. My superior does not care about the employees' feelings	1	2	3	4	5	9
I. My superior encourages his/her subordinates to study and develop in their work	1	2	3	4	5	9
J. My superior knows my tasks very well	1	2	3	4	5	9
K. My superior gives sufficient feedback about how well I have succeeded in my work	1	2	3	4	5	9
L. My superior delegates responsibility sensibly to the subordinates	1	2	3	4	5	9
M. My superior is capable to settling conflicts between employees	1	2	3	4	5	9

103. In general, how satisfied are you with your superior's leadership?

Very satisfied	1
Quite satisfied	2
Difficult to say	3
Rather dissatisfied	4
Very dissatisfied	5

CARD 21

104. Next are some statements concerning your own workplace.

	Totally agree	Agree to some extent	Neither agree nor disagree	Dis-agree to some extent	Totally dis-agree	Don't know
A. Work is well organised at my workplace.	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. There are too few employees compared to the workload at my workplace	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. My own interest coincide with those of employer's.	1	2	3	4	5	9
D. People can really be trusted at my workplace	1	2	3	4	5	9
E. Open atmosphere and team spirit prevail at my workplace	1	2	3	4	5	9
F. There is an inspiring atmosphere at my workplace	1	2	3	4	5	9
G. There is gossiping and envy at my workplace	1	2	3	4	5	9
H. Communications are open at my workplace	1	2	3	4	5	9
I. Amounts of wages and salaries and personal bonuses are public knowledge at my workplace	1	2	3	4	5	9

105. In working life, unequal treatment and discrimination can occur in pay, hiring, opportunities for career advancement or access to further training.

Do you reckon that unequal treatment or discrimination occurs at your own workplace on the basis of:

	Occurs at own workplace			Has experienced self		
	No	Yes	Don't know	No	Yes	Don't know
1. Age, especially the young?	1	2	9	1	2	9
2. Age, especially the old?	1	2	9	1	2	9
3. Sex, especially women?	1	2	9	1	2	9
4. Sex, especially men?	1	2	9	1	2	9
5. Political views?	1	2	9	1	2	9
6. Activity in the trade union movement?	1	2	9	1	2	9
7. Having a family or being pregnant?	1	2	9	1	2	9
8. Favouritism?	1	2	9	1	2	9
9. Race, nationality or colour?	1	2	9	1	2	9
10. Temporary or part-time employment relationship?	1	2	9	1	2	9

ASK THIS SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION IN RESPECT OF ALL POSITIVE REPLIES:

Have you personally been discriminated against at your current workplace on the basis of (REASON)?

106.	<p>Have you fallen subject to unequal treatment or discrimination in working life in the following situations?</p> <p>IN RESPECT OF EACH LISTED ITEM, ASK SEPARATE QUESTIONS ABOUT "AT THIS WORKPLACE" AND "AT ANOTHER WORKPLACE"</p>	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th colspan="2">At this workplace</th> </tr> <tr> <th>Yes</th> <th>No</th> </tr> </thead> </table>		At this workplace		Yes	No	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th colspan="2">At another workplace</th> </tr> <tr> <th>Yes</th> <th>No</th> </tr> </thead> </table>		At another workplace		Yes	No
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Yes	No												
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	<p>A At the time of hiring?</p> <p>B In remuneration?</p> <p>C In career advancement opportunities?</p> <p>D In access to training arranged by the employer?</p> <p>E In receiving information?</p> <p>F In the attitudes of co-workers or superiors?</p>	<p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p>	<p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p>										
107.	<p>Intimidation at work, or workplace bullying, means the isolation of a member of the work community by voiding/nullifying the results of his/her work, using threatening behaviour, telling stories behind his/her back or exerting on him/her some other form of mental pressure. Do you reckon that there is this type of behaviour at your workplace?</p> <p>Not at all</p> <p>Occasionally</p> <p>Continuously</p> <p>Don't know</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>9</p>											
108.	<p>Have you personally been subjected to this kind of intimidation?</p> <p>No</p> <p>Yes, at the moment</p> <p>Yes, previously at my current workplace, not anymore</p> <p>Yes, previously, at another workplace</p> <p>Don't know</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p> <p>9</p>											
109.	<p>The next question is about you at the age of 15.</p> <p>In what kind of locality did you live at the age of 15:</p> <p>The Capital Region</p> <p>In Turku or Tampere</p> <p>In another city or town</p> <p>In a rural urban settlement</p> <p>In a scattered settlement area</p> <p>Don't know</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p> <p>5</p> <p>9</p>											

110.	<p>Next, I will ask a couple of questions about your family situation</p> <p>Are you:</p>	<p>Unmarried</p> <p>Married or cohabiting</p> <p>Separated</p> <p>Divorced</p> <p>Widowed</p>	<p>1 → Q 117</p> <p>2</p> <p>3 → Q 117</p> <p>4 → Q 117</p> <p>5 → Q 117</p>
111.	<p>IF MARRIED OR CO-COHABITING:</p> <p>Is your spouse (cohabiting partner) currently:</p> <p>READ ALTERNATIVES ONE BY ONE UNTIL A SUITABLE ONE IS FOUND</p>	<p>Working (for an employer, on family farm or business, as self-employed)</p> <p>Unemployed, temporarily dismissed or on unemployment pension</p> <p>On paternity or maternity leave or on leave to nurse an infant</p> <p>A student / at school</p> <p>Disabled / on disability pension/ chronically ill</p> <p>On some other pension</p> <p>Looking after own household</p> <p>Doing something else</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2 → Q 113</p> <p>3 → Q 113</p> <p>4 → Q 113</p> <p>5 → Q 113</p> <p>6 → Q 113</p> <p>7 → Q 113</p> <p>8 → Q 113</p>
112.	<p>IF SPOUSE (PARTNER) WORKING</p> <p>Does your spouse (partner):</p> <p>And is he/she in a:</p>	<p>Work full-time</p> <p>Work part-time</p> <p>Don't know</p> <p>Permanent employment relationship</p> <p>Fixed-term employment relationship</p> <p>Don't know</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>9</p> <p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>9</p>
113.	<p>What is your spouse's (partner's) education. Has he/she completed:</p> <p>CIRCLE THE HIGHEST LEVEL COMPLETED</p>	<p>Primary education or less</p> <p>Lower secondary or comprehensive school education</p> <p>Vocational school education</p> <p>Upper secondary school education</p> <p>Vocational college education</p> <p>Tertiary level education</p> <p>Don't know</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p> <p>5</p> <p>6</p> <p>9</p>

114.	<p>How well do the following statements apply to you personally? CARD 22</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="padding: 2px;">Totally true</th> <th style="padding: 2px;">True to some extent</th> <th style="padding: 2px;">Untrue to some extent</th> <th style="padding: 2px;">Totally untrue</th> <th style="padding: 2px;">Don't know/ Not applicable</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">1</td> <td style="padding: 2px;">2</td> <td style="padding: 2px;">3</td> <td style="padding: 2px;">4</td> <td style="padding: 2px;">9</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">1</td> <td style="padding: 2px;">2</td> <td style="padding: 2px;">3</td> <td style="padding: 2px;">4</td> <td style="padding: 2px;">9</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>In my opinion my spouse (partner) works too hard.</p> <p>In my spouse's (partner's) opinion I work too hard.</p>	Totally true	True to some extent	Untrue to some extent	Totally untrue	Don't know/ Not applicable	1	2	3	4	9	1	2	3	4	9																																								
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115.	<p>Which one of you does more housework or do you both do the same amount</p> <table style="margin-left: 40px;"> <tr><td>You do much more</td><td style="text-align: right;">1</td></tr> <tr><td>You do slightly more</td><td style="text-align: right;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>You both do about the same amount</td><td style="text-align: right;">3</td></tr> <tr><td>Your spouse does slightly more</td><td style="text-align: right;">4</td></tr> <tr><td>Your spouse does much more</td><td style="text-align: right;">5</td></tr> <tr><td>Don't know.</td><td style="text-align: right;">9</td></tr> </table>	You do much more	1	You do slightly more	2	You both do about the same amount	3	Your spouse does slightly more	4	Your spouse does much more	5	Don't know.	9																																											
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116.	<p>Which one in your family usually does the following chores? CARD 23</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="padding: 2px;">The wife alone</th> <th style="padding: 2px;">Mainly the wife</th> <th style="padding: 2px;">Husband and wife both equally</th> <th style="padding: 2px;">Mainly the husband</th> <th style="padding: 2px;">The husband alone</th> <th style="padding: 2px;">Don't know/</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">1</td><td style="padding: 2px;">2</td><td style="padding: 2px;">3</td><td style="padding: 2px;">4</td><td style="padding: 2px;">5</td><td style="padding: 2px;">9</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">1</td><td style="padding: 2px;">2</td><td style="padding: 2px;">3</td><td style="padding: 2px;">4</td><td style="padding: 2px;">5</td><td style="padding: 2px;">9</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">1</td><td style="padding: 2px;">2</td><td style="padding: 2px;">3</td><td style="padding: 2px;">4</td><td style="padding: 2px;">5</td><td style="padding: 2px;">9</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">1</td><td style="padding: 2px;">2</td><td style="padding: 2px;">3</td><td style="padding: 2px;">4</td><td style="padding: 2px;">5</td><td style="padding: 2px;">9</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">1</td><td style="padding: 2px;">2</td><td style="padding: 2px;">3</td><td style="padding: 2px;">4</td><td style="padding: 2px;">5</td><td style="padding: 2px;">9</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">1</td><td style="padding: 2px;">2</td><td style="padding: 2px;">3</td><td style="padding: 2px;">4</td><td style="padding: 2px;">5</td><td style="padding: 2px;">9</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">1</td><td style="padding: 2px;">2</td><td style="padding: 2px;">3</td><td style="padding: 2px;">4</td><td style="padding: 2px;">5</td><td style="padding: 2px;">9</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">1</td><td style="padding: 2px;">2</td><td style="padding: 2px;">3</td><td style="padding: 2px;">4</td><td style="padding: 2px;">5</td><td style="padding: 2px;">9</td></tr> </tbody> </table> <p>A. Cooking</p> <p>B. Washing up.</p> <p>C. Food shopping</p> <p>D. Laundry</p> <p>E. Cleaning</p> <p>F. Home repairs</p> <p>G. Childcare and playing with the children</p> <p>H. Taking and fetching the children to and from day care, school or hobbies</p>	The wife alone	Mainly the wife	Husband and wife both equally	Mainly the husband	The husband alone	Don't know/	1	2	3	4	5	9	1	2	3	4	5	9	1	2	3	4	5	9	1	2	3	4	5	9	1	2	3	4	5	9	1	2	3	4	5	9	1	2	3	4	5	9	1	2	3	4	5	9	
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117.	<p>ALL RESPONDENTS: Do you have children under 18 living at home?</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">Yes: how many? <input style="width: 40px;" type="text"/></p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">No <input style="width: 40px;" type="text"/></p>	00 → Q 120																																																						
118.	<p>RESPONDENTS WITH CHILDREN AGED 0 TO 17: What age are your children? (starting from the youngest)</p> <p>NOTE AGES, NOT YEARS OF BIRTH</p> <table style="margin-left: 40px;"> <tr> <td>1.</td><td>2.</td><td>3.</td><td>4.</td><td>5.</td><td>6.</td><td>7.</td><td>8.</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input style="width: 30px;" type="text"/></td> </tr> </table>	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	<input style="width: 30px;" type="text"/>																																														
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119.	RESPONDENTS WITH CHILDREN UNDER 10 YEARS OF AGE:	
	In the last 6 months, how many different times have you been absent from work because of a child's sickness?	
	Number of absences.....	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> times
	No absences.....	00

CARD 24							
ALL RESPONDENTS:							
120.	At home and work people often face conflicting demands. Here are some statements regarding such problems. How do they apply in your case?						
		Totally true	True to some extent	Untrue to some extent	Totally untrue	Don't know/ Not applicable	
	A.	When I come home, I stop totally thinking about my work.....	1	2	3	4	9
	B.	I find it difficult to concentrate on my work because of home matters.....	1	2	3	4	9
	C.	I feel that I am neglecting home matters because of my job.....	1	2	3	4	9
	D.	When at work, I feel free from the family and its noise.....	1	2	3	4	9
	E.	Sometimes the family has to wait because of my total dedication to my work.....	1	2	3	4	9

121.	If you think back on your life, have you made conscious compromises in favour of either your work or your family in situations where the two have been difficult to fit together?				
		Yes	No	Don't know/ Not applicable	
	Have you:				
	A.	Limited the number of children you would have liked to have due to reasons connected with work or employment?.....	1	2	9
	B.	Put off having children because of reasons connected with your employment?.....	1	2	9
	C.	Given up work or declined a job offer for family reasons?.....	1	2	9
	D.	Given up your job because of a move dictated by your spouse's work? ..	1	2	9
	E.	Given up opportunities for additional, further or continuing education for family reasons?.....	1	2	9
F.	Worked only part-time for family reasons?.....	1	2	9	

122.	In the last 6 months, how many times have you been absent from work due to your own illness?	
	Number of absences.....	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> times
	No absences.....	00

123.	<p>If you have to suddenly leave work because of, e.g., your own or your child's illness, how is your work generally looked after in your absence?</p> <p>A replacement is hired..... 1</p> <p>The work is distributed among my co-workers..... 2</p> <p>My work piles up and I continue from where I left off when I return..... 3</p> <p>The work is left totally undone..... 4</p> <p>I have never suddenly left work..... 5</p> <p>Don't know..... 9</p>																									
124.	<p>Next, I will ask a few questions concerning your working capacity and state of health.</p> <p>CARD 25</p> <p>Assuming that your top working capacity would score 10 points while your total inability to work would score zero, how many points would you give to your working capacity at the moment?</p> <p>00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 points</p>																									
125.	<p>Do you suffer from any medically diagnosed chronic illness, such as cardio-vascular, pulmonary or muscular-skeletal disease, disease of the digestive system, or some other long-term illness?</p> <p>Yes..... 1</p> <p>No..... 2</p> <p>Don't know..... 9</p>																									
126.	<p>Do you suffer from recurrent ache or pain in:</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="888 924 1127 979"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>Yes</th> <th>No</th> <th>Don't know</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>A. Neck, cervical spine or shoulders?.....</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>B. Hands or arms?.....</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>C. Pelvic/lumbar region?.....</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>D. Legs, including hips?.....</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>E. Eyes?.....</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>9</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Yes	No	Don't know	A. Neck, cervical spine or shoulders?.....	1	2	9	B. Hands or arms?.....	1	2	9	C. Pelvic/lumbar region?.....	1	2	9	D. Legs, including hips?.....	1	2	9	E. Eyes?.....	1	2	9	
	Yes	No	Don't know																							
A. Neck, cervical spine or shoulders?.....	1	2	9																							
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C. Pelvic/lumbar region?.....	1	2	9																							
D. Legs, including hips?.....	1	2	9																							
E. Eyes?.....	1	2	9																							

CARD 26

127. With the help of this card, please state how frequently you have recently suffered from:

ASK ONE AT A TIME

	Daily or almost daily	A couple of times a week	About once a week	Once or twice a month	Less frequently	Never	Don't know
A. Headache?	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
B. Fatigue, apathy or lack of energy?	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
C. Difficulties in falling asleep or recurrent awakenings at night?	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
D. Palpitations or irregular heartbeat?	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
E. Feeling of dizziness?	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
F. Depression?	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
G. Heartburn, acidity, stomach pains or diarrhoea?	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
H. Over-exhaustion?	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
I. Tenseness, nervousness or irritability?	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
J. Feeling that it is "all just too much"	1	2	3	4	5	6	9

RESPONDENTS WHO SUFFER LESS THAN AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK

→ Q 129

RESPONDENTS WHO SUFFER AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK:

128. In your opinion, do work and working conditions contribute to these symptoms:

Considerably	1
Somewhat	2
Not at all	3
Don't know	9

CARD 26

129. How often do you feel reluctant or mentally tired on leaving for work:

Daily or almost daily	1
A couple of times a week	2
About once a week	3
Once or twice a month	4
Less frequently	5
Never	6
Don't know	9

130.	<p>In the last 12 months, have you had an accident at work which has resulted in your absence from work?</p> <p>Yes 1</p> <p>No 2</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
131.	<p>Finally, a couple of questions about your work. Is your work:</p> <p>Highly monotonous 1</p> <p>Rather monotonous 2</p> <p>Quite varied 3</p> <p>Highly varied 4</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
132.	<p>Do you regard your current tasks physically:</p> <p>Very undemanding 1</p> <p>Quite undemanding 2</p> <p>Rather demanding 3</p> <p>Very demanding 4</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
133.	<p>Do regard your current tasks mentally:</p> <p>Very undemanding 1</p> <p>Quite undemanding 2</p> <p>Rather demanding 3</p> <p>Very demanding 4</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
134.	<p>Over the past few years, has your pace of work:</p> <p>Increased considerable 1</p> <p>Increased slightly 2</p> <p>Remained unchanged 3</p> <p>Decreased slightly 4</p> <p>Decreased considerably 5</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	<p>} → Q 136</p>

FOR RESPONDENTS WHOSE PACE OF WORK HAS INCREASED:

135. Why do you think the pace of work has increased?

Agree	Dis-agree	Don't know/ Not applicable
-------	-----------	-------------------------------

A. Tasks (e.g. customers) have increased.	1	2	9
B. Tasks have expanded	1	2	9
C. Tasks have grown more difficult.	1	2	9
D. Targets have tightened.	1	2	9
E. Monitoring has intensified.	1	2	9
F. Demands for learning new things have increased.	1	2	9
G. There is less personnel compared to the workload.	1	2	9
H. Computers have increased the pace of work. ...	1	2	9
I. The recession has caused the pace of work to increase	1	2	9
J. Unforeseen changes have increased the pace of work	1	2	9
K. Replacements are not hired to cover temporary absences	1	2	9
L. Competition for customers and jobs increases work pressure.	1	2	9

136. Do you yourself regard your current work as:

Very important and significant.	1
Quite significant	2
Rather insignificant	3
Totally insignificant	4
Don't know	9

CARD 27

137. Which of the factors mentioned on this card make your current job less enjoyable?

		Yes	No	Don't know
ALTERNATIVES ARE NOT READ OUT LOUD	1. Monotony of work	1	2	9
	2. Lack of appreciation	1	2	9
	3. Lack of opportunities to influence work	1	2	9
	4. Working hours	1	2	9
	5. Enforced pace of work	1	2	9
	6. Journey to and from work	1	2	9
	7. Uncertainty about continuity of the work	1	2	9
	8. Relations with superiors	1	2	9
	9. Difficult customers / students	1	2	9
	10. Loneliness	1	2	9
	11. Time pressure and tight time schedules	1	2	9
	12. Pay	1	2	9
	13. Working conditions	1	2	9
	14. Poor work organisation, leadership	1	2	9
	15. Workplace atmosphere	1	2	9
	16. Lack of advancement opportunities	1	2	9
	17. Lack of development opportunities	1	2	9
	18. Continuous need to learn new things	1	2	9

CARD 28

138. Which of the factors mentioned on this card make your current job more enjoyable?

		Yes	No	Don't know
ALTERNATIVES ARE NOT READ OUT LOUD	1. Interesting work	1	2	9
	2. Unhurried pace of work	1	2	9
	3. Independence of work	1	2	9
	4. Appreciation of work	1	2	9
	5. Working hours	1	2	9
	6. Journey to and from work	1	2	9
	7. Relations with superiors	1	2	9
	8. Variety of work	1	2	9
	9. Pleasant customers / students	1	2	9
	10. Learning of new things	1	2	9
	11. Career advancement / promotion opportunities	1	2	9
	12. Pay	1	2	9
	13. Working conditions	1	2	9
	14. Opportunities for influencing the work	1	2	9
	15. Spirit of the workplace	1	2	9
	16. Certainty of the employment relationship	1	2	9
	17. Feeling of achievement and usefulness	1	2	9

139. In your free time, do you meet your co-workers:

Almost daily	1
At least once a week	2
At least once a month	3
Less frequently	4
Never	5
No co-workers	6
Don't know	9

140. If you could change jobs at the same pay, would you change to:

The same occupational field	1
A different occupational field	2
Would not change at all	3
Don't know	9

141.	<p>What do you think would be the likelihood of you finding a new job?</p> <p>Good 1</p> <p>Reasonable 2</p> <p>Poor 3</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
142.	<p>Have you been looking for another job in the last 6 months?</p> <p>(While in current employment) Yes 1</p> <p>No 2</p>	
143.	<p>Have you thought about starting your own business or becoming self-employed?</p> <p>Not thought about 1</p> <p>Thought about occasionally 2</p> <p>Thought about often 3</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
144.	<p>Have you considered retiring before retirement age?</p> <p>Not considered 1</p> <p>Considered occasionally 2</p> <p>Considered often 3</p> <p>Or have you started saving for a private pension 4</p> <p>Has already submitted pension application 5</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
145.	<p>CARD 29</p> <p>Which of the alternatives on this card correspond best with your opinions about work:</p> <p>READ OUT THE ALTERNATIVES IF REQUIRED</p> <p>Pay is definitely the most important 1</p> <p>Pay is slightly more important than contents 2</p> <p>Contents are slightly more important than pay 3</p> <p>Contents are definitely the most important 4</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	
146.	<p>If you received so much money from, e.g., a lottery win or inheritance that you could live comfortably without having to work, would you:</p> <p>Stop working completely 1</p> <p>Only do some work every now and then 2</p> <p>Work considerably shorter hours 3</p> <p>Continue working as now 4</p> <p>Don't know 9</p>	

147.	<p>It has been said that working is so important for humans that it is worth continuing to work for as long as possible. What is your opinion about this statement?</p> <p>Totally agree 1</p> <p>Agree to some extent 2</p> <p>Hard to say 3</p> <p>Disagree to some extent 4</p> <p>Totally disagree 5</p>
------	--

CARD 30						
148.	<p>Finally, I will list a few things which maintain work ability. Which of them would do you consider as beneficial to you personally?</p>					
		Very benefi- cial	Quite benefi- cial	Hard to say	Rather futile	Totally futile
	A. Training arranged by a company in order to improve employees' professional skills	1	2	3	4	9
	B. Rehabilitation promoting work ability	1	2	3	4	9
	C. Improving workspace and positions	1	2	3	4	9
	D. Changes in work organisation, e.g. teamworking, job rotation, etc.	1	2	3	4	9
	E. Flexible working hours in accordance with employees' wishes	1	2	3	4	9
	F. Part-time work	1	2	3	4	9
	G. Part-time pension	1	2	3	4	9
	H. Sabbatical leave	1	2	3	4	9
	I. Development of occupational health care	1	2	3	4	9
	J. Development of management	1	2	3	4	9
	K. Slackening of the pace of work	1	2	3	4	9

Interview of respondents aged under 45 ends here. See page 42.

RESPONDENTS AGED 45 AND OVER:	
149.	<p>If you could choose at the moment between continuing to work or retiring, would you:</p> <p>Continue to work 1</p> <p>Retire 2</p> <p>Don't know 3</p>

What exactly is equality in working life? This report, based on the findings of Statistics Finland's Quality of Work Life Surveys, pursues new kinds of questions and answers concerning the progress of equality in working life. It looks beyond the traditional ways of thinking and conventional indicators of equality by studying the manifestations of gender that are particularly typical of Finnish working life. The core issue is women's participation in the development of working life, which has not only meant new challenges but has also created new problems, insecurity, time pressure and conflicts, both at places of work and in reconciling the demands of work and family.

As the only nationally representative data collection of its kind, the Quality of Work Life Surveys from 1977 to 1997 outline the long-term changes in Finnish women's and men's working conditions and experiences of equality.



Tilastokeskus, myyntipalvelu
00022 TILASTOKESKUS
puh. (09) 1734 2011
faksi (09) 1734 2500
myynti.tilastokeskus@tilastokeskus.fi
www.tilastokeskus.fi

Statistikcentralen, försäljningstjänsten
00022 STATISTIKCENTRALEN
tfn (09) 1734 2011
fax (09) 1734 2500
myynti.tilastokeskus@stat.fi
www.stat.fi

Statistics Finland, Sales Services
FIN-00022 STATISTICS FINLAND
Tel. +358 9 1734 2011
Fax +358 9 1734 2500
myynti.tilastokeskus@stat.fi
www.stat.fi

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