



Working Paper

Who follows whom?

**Female employment patterns in West
Germany, East Germany and Poland**

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Editorial Note:

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The study was conducted when Anna Matysiak was staying as a fellow at the European Doctoral School of Demography at the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research.

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Abstract

The objective of this paper is to answer the question of how far and to what extent women in post-socialist countries adopted employment patterns of countries belonging to a conservative welfare regime. This topic is important, taking into account changes in labour market and family policies experienced by post-socialist countries that resulted in an increased conflict between family and work and consequently a severe drop in fertility. The issue is addressed by implementing two binomial logit models on labour force data, comparing Poland, East Germany and West Germany. Special attention is paid to the development of part-time employment.

Our results reveal only minor indications of the adoption of West German female employment patterns in Poland and East Germany. In the former GDR they are expressed in an increase in the prevalence of part-time work among mothers. In Poland a polarisation between full-time employment and non-employment among mothers of youngest children is observed. Contrary to the child effect the effect of marriage and husband's labour market status do not affect female employment in a way that would indicate an adoption of West German female employment patterns. This all may suggest that women in post-socialist countries are rather going their 'own' way, and only partly adjusting their behaviour to the changing structural conditions.

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Introduction¹

The development of atypical employment forms, particularly part-time employment, is closely related to various processes of social change. In Western Europe, these changes have taken place during the last forty years, whereas in its Eastern part, they occurred with some delay, substantially gaining momentum at the beginning of the 1990s. The most appealing symptoms of these processes are the shift of demographic structures and the structural change of work. They can be seen as a result of globalisation and rising competitiveness that lead to increased uncertainty in markets and, consequently, to a change in the structure of labour demand, destabilisation of employment and development of more flexible employment forms (e.g. Kotowska 2004; Mills, Blossfeld 2005).

In this context, the development of atypical employment in Western Europe is closely related to the growth of the service sector that contributed to an increase in the demand for female labour (e.g. Blossfeld, Hakim 1997; Eichhorst, Thode 2002; OECD 1999, 2004a). Women, who since the 1960s had been entering the labour market in large numbers, took mainly part-time jobs facilitating reconciliation of work and family life. This trend could be observed mainly in those countries that have not adjusted their welfare states to rising female labour force participation through, for example, the development of sufficient childcare facilities. Countries which support the traditional share of household duties are generally classified as 'conservative welfare states' (e.g. Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, Belgium) (Esping-Andersen 1990, 1999).² Due to taxation and social benefits as well as a low supply of child care facilities, these countries create disincentives for female full-time employment. As a consequence, in these countries the so-called 'modernised male breadwinner model' has been developed where woman are perceived as a carer and a 'supplementary' earner providing the household with an additional income (Leira 2002).

Against this background, Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries (including East Germany) present a completely different picture. Due to the communist ideology, forcing maximum utilization of the labour force potential, female full-time employment was nearly at the same level as compared to men. Moreover, the high integration of women into paid employment was institutionally supported through well developed childcare facilities and

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² Feminist scholars have criticised Esping-Andersen's typology for the little attention it pays to the role of the family in welfare states and its neglect of the importance of non-paid activities (Langan, Ostner 1991; Lewis 1993; Sainsbury 1994, 1996). As a consequence some scholars, including Esping-Andersen et al. (2002), have recently create typologies pertaining to gender stratification and family more specifically (see also Lewis 1992; Gardiner 1997; Sainsbury 1997, 1999).

generous social programs offered by public enterprises (e.g. Kotowska 2002, Lobodzinska 1995). Together with an uncompetitive labour market, such policies allowed fertility to be held on a relatively high level, particularly in Poland. Nevertheless, female labour potential was primarily regarded as a means to fulfil needs of the production system in a period of rapid industrialisation. Hence, the apparent gender equality observed in the labour market did not translate into equality in household-related tasks. Women, in spite of their professional duties, were expected to perform housework and to provide care (e.g. Geisler, Kreyenfeld 2005; Pascall, Manning 2000; Siemieńska 1997). Virtually, a 'dual earner model' was adopted in CEE countries, placing a double burden on women.

The described patterns have changed considerably after the breakdown of the communist system. Economic transition and a rapid development of the service sector caused a significant change in the structure of labour demand that shifted towards high-skilled and mobile workers. Although the situation of men worsened substantially, it was much more difficult for women to compete successfully in the labour market (Pollert 2003 p.337; Kowalska 1999). Furthermore, in many CEE countries the declining role of the state in the economy resulted in reduced public support for families, both in terms of income and provision of services (Kotowska 1999; Stropnik 2003). As a consequence, the reconciliation of work and family has become more difficult, which has ultimately led to a tremendous drop in female employment and fertility.

In spite of the described difficulties in the labour market, the gender employment gap in post-socialist countries is also currently much lower than in the majority of the 'old' 15 EU member states, particularly if measured in full-time equivalent (European Commission 2004). Although women in CEE countries adopted some female employment patterns of conservative welfare regimes (spread of fixed-term contracts, career breaks due to childcare responsibilities), part-time employment has not become very common (e.g. Drobnic 1997; Matysiak 2005). Furthermore, with the exception of East Germany, the existing part-time employment disparities between men and women are much lower in CEE countries than in the West.

Taking these developments into account, the objective of this paper is twofold. First we examine determinants of full-time and part-time employment in West Germany, East Germany and Poland. Second, we assess the extent of convergence between female employment patterns (expansion of part-time jobs and child-related career breaks) in these two post-socialist countries and those observed in West Germany, representing a conservative welfare regime.

The paper is structured as follows: In the first part we give an overview of theories describing relations between family formation and female labour force participation. Here, we mainly focus on the effect of children, marriage and husband's labour market status. This part is

followed by a description of employment patterns in Poland and Germany after the breakdown of the communist regime. The developments are presented against the evolution of family policies in the selected countries, paying special attention to changes Poland and East Germany experienced during the first decade of economic transition. We complete this part by a describing the social values and attitudes toward female employment. Finally, the empirical part focuses on supply-side determinants of full-time and part-time employment. For this purpose we estimate two binomial-logit models using the German Mikrozensus and the Polish Labour Force Survey. The analytical results are mainly discussed for the year 2001. However, where it is possible, we also refer to results for 1996, which allows us to capture changes in full-time and part-time determinants over time.

1. Theoretical considerations

1.1. Supply side determinants of female employment

On the theoretical side, several approaches have been developed to explain women's employment and working time patterns. Although there has been a general increase in female educational and labour market attainment, different 'types' of female employment preferences exist depending on the central priority of family or employment (Bielby, Bielby 1984; Hakim 2000). As a consequence, some women are more committed to work and career, while others prefer to stay at home and still others have it as their priority to combine these two spheres (Desai, Waite 1991).

Nevertheless, it can be expected that women's decisions whether to participate in employment and to what extent is closely related to family formation processes, like marriage and childbearing. In this context, neo-classical theory predicts that individuals' choice between family and work is based on the comparison between 'full wage' and 'reservation wage' (Becker 1965; Mincer 1969). The 'full wage', or in other words opportunity costs of staying at home, is the present value of wages offered in the market and the present value of the future earning losses caused by non-accumulation and depreciation of human capital due to non-participation (Even 1987). Hence, it is highly dependant on factors like education level, accumulated work experience and length of career breaks. In contrast, the 'reservation wage' is the minimum wage at which a person is willing to enter employment, or simply the value of time spent at home (opportunity costs of working). It depends on the taste for market versus home production, the presence of young children and the level of structural and cultural incompatibilities between family and work (e.g. childcare opportunities, attitudes toward working mothers). In this framework, individuals, as 'rational actors', maximize their utility and choose the market work only if the 'full wage' exceeds the 'reservation wage'.

As a result, it can be expected that women's 'reservation wages' are closely related to their family status (marital status, number and age of children). Thus, following the classical female supply model, it can be assumed that the younger the child is the more likely the mother is to be in part-time employment or out of employment entirely. A variety of empirical studies confirm this theory, showing that an increase in women's childrearing responsibilities is accompanied by a lower participation rate in paid employment (e.g. Adam 1996; Connelly 1991; Drobnic 1997; Giannelli 1996; Grimm, Bonneuil 2001; Gornick 1994; Kurz 1998). At the same time, cross-national research points out that the influence of children shows country specific patterns (Bardassi, Gornick 2003; Gornick et al. 1998; Jaumotte 2003; Kotowska, Matysiak forthcoming; Gustaffson et al. 1996; Muszyńska 2004a; Ronsen, Sundstrom 1999). In this respect, some of the cross-national variation in the child effect can be explained by the different support of working mothers by public policies such as parental leave schemes (e.g. Joesch 1995; Hofferth, Curtin 2003; Ruhm 1998; Pylkaenen, Smith 2003), social benefit and tax systems (e.g. OECD 1996, 2002, 2003, 2004b) and/or public childcare (e.g. Cleveland et al. 1996; Connelly 1991, 1992; Hofferth, Wissoker 1992; Powell 1998).

Besides the strong expected 'negative' influence of children on women's working time patterns, the existence and the economic background of a husband or a partner should also play an important role, especially when children are present. The theory of household allocation of time (Becker 1965; Leibowitz 1974) posits that an increase in husband's income may prompt women to consume additional non-market time. As a consequence, husband's income should also have a negative effect on wife's labour market participation. This implies that, given the number and age of children, the higher the husband's income the lower the economic necessity of the family, and the lower the propensity of the wife to enter paid employment or extend the number of working hours.

On the other hand, the unemployment status of men can also have an ambiguous influence on female labour supply. There are studies, showing that women with an unemployed spouse are more likely to be out of employment as well (Dex et al. 1995; Doris 1999; Davies et al. 1992; Elias 1997). Other studies, instead, show that a husband's unemployment has no clear impact on the labour status of the wife (Giannelli, Micklewright 1995) or even increases the possibility of being in employment (Lundberg 1985). Moreover, recent research suggests that the expected negative correlation between husband's income and wife's employment has fallen in recent years. One reason is the rising education level of women and the highly positive assortative mating by education on the marriage market (Becker 1973; Schwartz, Mare 2005; Mare 1991). Another explanation is that the labour supply of married women has become more elastic due to their own potential wage rates over time, which in turn reduces the sensitivity to their husband's income (Blau et al. 1998). Finally, researchers underline that

the direction and magnitude of the effect of husband's income on wife's working hours varies across countries. Here also, some of the variation can be explained by differences in the tax and social benefit schemes (e.g. Althammer 2002; Dingeldey 2002; Jaumotte 2003).

1.2. Institutional determinants of female employment

The patterns of combining family and work in Europe are very diverse. The cross-country variations have frequently been related to differences in economic structures, institutional arrangements and socio-cultural norms. This has generally been done by referring to the type of welfare state and more specifically by pointing to the role of specific labour market, social, tax and education policies (e.g. Fagan, O'Reilly 1997; Hofäcker 2003; Kotowska, Matysiak, forthcoming; Meulders, Gustaffson 2002; Muszyńska 2005). The effect of socio-cultural norms on maternal employment has been mainly studied on survey data on opinions and attitudes (e.g. Lück, Hofäcker 2003; Muszyńska 2004b, 2005).

Among the variety of policies some are more and some are less in favour of enabling women to combine work and family. One of the most crucial is the availability and quality of public childcare. In this respect childcare costs incurred by parents are of particularly high importance, because they increase the female reservation wage and thus lower female labour supply (e.g. Anderson, Levine 1999; Conelly 1991, 1992; Hofferth, Wissoker 1992; Kimmel 1995; Powell 1998).

Another issue is the system of parental leaves. Generally, parental leaves are considered to support female employment by strengthening the labour market attachment of mothers and facilitating their return into employment (Hofferth, Curtin 2003; Joesch 1995; Ruhm 1998). Nevertheless, the return intensity depends highly on the leave duration: extended career breaks lead to deterioration in skills, lower expected earnings and the probability of mothers to (re-)enter employment (Beblo, Wolf 2002; Jaumotte 2003; Pylkkänen, Smith 2003). Also tax and social benefit systems influence female labour force participation. In particular, means-tested benefits, joint taxation and tax reductions on the dependent spouse create work disincentives and inactivity traps on the secondary earner (Althammer 2002; Carone et al. 2004; Dingeldey 2002).

A further important subject influencing female working time patterns is related to the economic development and, in particular, the availability of part-time jobs. Here, it can be expected that in countries with very small part-time labour markets, women's preferences for choosing part-time work may be more constrained, forcing them either into full-time work or non-employment. Consequently, in these countries the association between motherhood and participation in part-time work might be weakened (Bardasi, Gornick 2003).

Finally, socio-cultural norms also affect female employment behaviour. Studies in this area mainly focus on levels of family versus work orientation, attitudes toward gender roles, and

the social acceptance of a working mother. Thereby results showed that countries with more liberal attitudes toward gender roles, a higher work orientation of women, and a higher acceptance of female labour in the presence of young children have generally higher female employment rates. Contrary, countries with more traditional gender attitudes, a higher family orientation of women and a low acceptance of working women, in particular when children are young, reveal lower female employment rates and a higher participation in part-time jobs (e.g. Lück, Hofäcker 2003; Muszyńska 2004b, 2005). In this context, the post-socialist countries are interesting cases. Here, a high family orientation and a relatively low acceptance of working mothers with young children coexists with a high labour market attachment of women.³

To sum up, even though a lot of studies have been conducted in this field, none of the analysed influencing factors alone can explain the differences in female working time and employment patterns within and across countries (Maier 1991; Pfau-Effinger 2000). Although empirical results confirm a correlation between women's part-time commitment and types of policies, the causal order is particularly ambiguous (Pfau-Effinger 1999, 2000; Uunk, Kalmijn, Muffels 2003).

1.3. Adaptation or deviation?

Finally, the question arises which path of family and work reconciliation women have chosen in former communist countries. Have they followed any of the Western female employment patterns, or have they challenged the existing patterns and found their "own" way? Moreover it is interesting to look at the role of a changing welfare state and formerly adopted social norms in this process.

In this respect, the common expectation is that after the collapse of the communist regime the combined impact of economic restructuring and withdrawal of state support for work and family reconciliation will push women out of the labour market (Rudd 2000). Moreover, the rejection of the communist ideology on gender equality in the labour market gave women the right to decide 'freely' whether to withdraw from employment, reduce working hours or to remain active in the market. The time showed that women in CEE countries, and in particular mothers of small children, indeed faced large difficulties in the labour market and adopted some employment patterns typical for women in conservative welfare regimes. Nevertheless, part-time employment has not become very common and the existing part-time employment disparities between men and women are much lower than in the West. The only exception is East Germany, where an increase in female part-time employment has been observed

³ Lück and Hofäcker (2003) explained this phenomenon with the high economic necessity of households.

during the period of economic transition. Although it is still lower than in West Germany (contrary to full-time employment) there is a lively discussion in academic literature whether East German women have adopted or rejected the West German employment patterns. In this respect, the reunification process of Germany attracted a lot of attention among scholars, because it created conditions of a natural experiment, relatively unique in socio-economic studies. Thus, trends in female labour force participation were widely studied (e.g. Adler 1997, 2002, 2004; Beckmann, Kempf 1996; Dölling 1998, 2003; Engelbrech, Reinberg 1998; Geisler, Kreyenfeld 2005; Hunt 2004; Kreckel 1995; Trappe, Rosenfeld 2000; Trappe, Rosenfeld 2004). It has been expected that the replacement of East German policies supportive for work and family reconciliation with the West German conservative and traditional institutional framework will result in a convergence toward West German employment patterns. Nevertheless, wide empirical evidence indicates that East German women are still highly work-oriented and, despite unfavourable conditions for combining family and work, exhibit the so-called 'stubbornness' in employment patterns adopted in the past (Adler 2004; Dölling 1998, 2003).

In our study we further investigate the issue of convergence comparing West and East Germany. What is distinctive about our study, however, is that we also add Poland into this framework. We chose this approach for four reasons: First, Poland has a similar experience of communism as the former GDR, including communist ideology toward female labour force participation and the non-existence of labour market competitiveness. The second reason is that in spite of these similarities both countries were also characterised by many differences. Female employment in Poland, although relatively high at that time by European standards, was never as high as in East Germany. Neither was the social support for working mothers in terms of childcare provision in Poland as strong as in the former GDR. Third, contrary to the former GDR, in Poland there have been no signs of an increase in part-time employment so far. Finally, in spite of the similar experience of forced female labour market participation the attitudes toward working mothers in Poland are as traditional as in West Germany, which is not the case in East Germany.

Against this background the following section provides a brief overview of labour market trends, family and employment policies, and socio-cultural norms in the analysed countries.

2. Development of female employment after the breakdown of the communist regime

Since the end of the Second World War, West Germany has experienced a slow but stable rise in female employment. This increase was to a large extent caused by the development of the service sector and an increasing labour market participation of mothers.

Also in the studied period (1989-2001) a gradual increase in female employment was observed. The employment rate of women aged 15-64 increased by 7%, from 52% to 59%. In contrast, for men a downward trend is to be noticed (from 77% to 74%). However, it has to be underlined that the relatively high female employment rate in West Germany, in relation to other EU countries, is mainly due to the development of part-time employment. The share of female part-timers in the overall female employment is still rising - while at the beginning of the 1990s it amounted to 34%, it reached 43% in 2001.

Table 1: Labour force participation by sex (age 15-64) and country for the years 1989 and 2001

	1988-1989			2001		
	LFP rate (%)	EMPR (%) ^{a)}	PT (% in total empl.) ^{b)}	LFP rate (%)	EMPR (%)	PT (% in total empl.)
Women						
West Germany	55.5	51.9 ^{b)}	30.2	63.2	59.0	43.0
East Germany	89.0	89.0	17.5	72.5	57.9	24.4
Poland	64.1	64.1	12.0	60.8	48.4	10.9
Men						
West Germany	82.5	77.2	1.7	80.1	74.4	5.3
East Germany	91.7	91.7	1.2	79.7	65.7	4.5
Poland ^{a)}	79.1	79.1	7.6	71.6	59.2	6.8

Source: ILO LABORSTA Database; Polish Labour Force Survey, 2001; Statistisches Bundesamt 2002; Klammer 2002.

Notes: ^{a)} Labour force participation rate and employment rate for Poland refers to 1988 and for Germany to 1989. For the years before 1990 only data on labour force participation rates are available in case of Poland and East Germany. Due to a lack of unemployment at that time these rates are equal to employment rates.

^{b)} The share of part-timers in total employment for Poland and East Germany refers respectively to 1993 and 1991 (data from earlier years was not available to us).

On the contrary, Poland and East Germany have a long history of high female labour force participation. Intensive industrialisation and an extensive use of the labour force potential during the communist regime resulted in a high demand for female labour. Additionally, it was possible to maintain high levels of female employment due to low competition in the labour market, strong job guarantees and strong institutional support for working mothers. As a result, before the breakdown of the communist regime, female employment in CEE countries was much higher than in the majority of the European countries.

Particularly in East Germany female employment was high: in 1989 it amounted to 89%, which was only 2% below the male employment rate, while the female employment rate in Poland amounted to 64% in 1988, which was around 12% more than in West Germany. Also with respect to the gender employment gap Poland showed lower values than West Germany. Although we did not have access to data on female part-time employment during the communist regime, the figures for the beginning of the 1990s suggest that this employment form was relatively scarce. Only 12% of Polish and 18% of East German employed women had part-time jobs.

As mentioned at the beginning, these patterns have changed considerably after 1989. In the short period from 1988/1989 to 2001 female employment rates dropped by 35% in East Germany and by 24% in Poland to a level which was lower than in West Germany (58% in

East Germany and 48% in Poland). In spite of this common downward trend in female employment in post-socialist countries, one major difference between these countries has emerged. In contrast to Poland, part-time employment has risen among East German women. While in 1991 the percentage of female part-timers was about 18%, it rose to 24% over the 1990s (see Table 1, p.8).⁴ In Poland the level of female part time employment was oscillating around 10-12% in this period.

However, it has to be noticed that part-time employment in Germany, and particularly in West Germany, is strongly related to motherhood. The following table (Table 2) shows that in the beginning of the 2000s the share of mothers working part-time was about 65% in West Germany, which was nearly three times higher than for childless women aged 25-44. In East Germany, the percentage of part-timers among mothers was much lower, 31%, but still higher than among childless women.

Table 2: Female labour force participation by age of the youngest child for the years 2000/2001

	employment rate (%)	2000-2001 part-time (% in total empl.)	unemployment rate (%)
West Germany			
childless women aged 25-44	84.8	22.8	5.1
women with children	60.8	64.6	6.6
aged: 0-2	47.7	40.6	5.2
aged: 3-5	55.7	77.7	10.7
aged: 6-14	67.6	73.8	6.9
East Germany			
childless women aged 25-44	76.5	20.1	15.7
women with children	71.0	30.9	20.1
aged: 0-2	52.2	29.1	19.6
aged: 3-5	63.7	42.4	30.9
aged: 6-14	76.5	32.8	20.0
Poland			
childless women aged 25-44	73.1	9.3	15.6
women with children	50.8	10.8	20.9
aged: 0-2	37.9	15.8	24.0
aged: 3-5	48.1	14.5	25.8
aged: 6-14	52.1	10.4	19.7

Source: Polish Labour Force Survey 2001; Engstler, Menning 2003

Note: It was decided that it is more informative to compare mothers with childless women aged 25-44 than 15-64.

It is interesting that mostly mothers with older children are engaged in part-time employment, whereas those with children aged two or less are more likely to withdraw from the labour market for the care period. On the contrary, the lowest part-time employment prevalence among mothers was observed in Poland. Here, raising a young child seems rather to result in a labour market withdrawal than a reduction in working hours.

⁴ At the same time there was no increase in part-time employment among men.

3. Policy regulations and the socio-cultural context

As discussed in section one, work patterns of women are also strongly influenced by national policies, and socio-cultural norms. In this section we therefore give an overview of policy regulations in West Germany, followed by a description of policies in Poland and East Germany both before and after the collapse of the communist regime. Finally, the section is completed with a description of the socio-cultural context in the selected countries.

3.1. Family policy in West Germany

In international welfare typologies, West Germany is often classified as conservative and family oriented, particularly in the field of employment and family policies (e.g. Esping-Andersen 1990, 1999; Letablier 1998; Stier et al. 2001). Indeed, these regulations do not aim at integrating women into the labour market, but rather create conditions for a withdrawal into inactivity for the care period. One of the main disadvantages of West Germany has always been the low supply of public childcare facilities. Among all types of childcare institutions only the number of places in kindergartens meets nearly the potential demand. Nevertheless, short and inflexible opening hours, allowing only for part-time care, are a serious drawback of this system (e.g. Spieß 2002; Büchel, Spieß 2002; Kreyenfeld 2004). For example, in 2001 only 24,0% of all childcare institutions for children aged 3-5 provided full-time care (Henry-Huthmacher 2005). Moreover, childcare facilities for youngest children (aged 0-2) as well as for children in school age are nearly nonexistent.

Table 3: Public childcare (number of places in child care institutions per 100 children) for the years before 1990 and 2002

	West Germany		East Germany		Poland	
	1990	2002	1989	2002	1988	2002
youngest children^{a)}	2.0	2.7	80.2	37.0	4.5	2.5
pre-school age^{b)}	78.0	88.0	74.7	105.0	50.1	51.0
school age	5.0	3.1	76.1	22.4	NA	NA

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 2004; own calculations on the data of the Central Statistical Office of Poland

Note: ^{a)} 0-2 years, for East Germany in 1989 1-3 years;

^{b)} 3-5 years for West Germany and East Germany in 2002, 4-6 years for East Germany in 1989, 3-6 years for Poland

The lack of public childcare opportunities is compensated by special family policy regulations, like the extensive parental leave and the taxation system. Parental leave⁵ is granted for 3 years, and for the first 2 years it can be accompanied by a means-tested benefit. Between 1989 and late 2000, a mother or a father could work up to 19 hours per week. Since 2001, individuals on parental leave can work up to 30 hours per week in the

⁵ In 1986, a so-called period of "Erziehungsurlaub" was introduced of 10 months. In 1991 it was extended to 24 months, and in 1992 again to 36 months. Moreover, in 2000/2001 the possibilities for women to use the parental leave were extended by making the paid period more flexible (from 2000 it is called Elternzeit).

labour market (Bauer 2001).⁶ Although since 1992 fathers can make use of the parental leave, it is rarely done. One of the reasons is the low parental benefit coverage that, taking into account on average higher male earnings, makes a family better off if the male partner remains in employment.

The joint taxation system granting additional tax reductions on a dependant spouse provides further disincentives for female work (e.g. Althammer 2002; Dingeldey 2002). This effect is presented in the following table (Table 4).

Table 4: Relative earnings for 2 earner couples

	full-time employed/non-employed (100/0)	full-time employed/part-time employed (100/40)	full-time employed/full-time employed (100/100)
Germany	100	124	157
Poland	100	136	189

Source: OECD 2002

Note: Wage level 100 refers to the wage earned by an average production worker

The first column presents the income of a two-person household with one partner working full-time at 100% of the wage of an average production worker (APW) and another being not employed. The second column shows the income of the same household with one difference - the second partner works part-time at 40% of the APW. In the third column the income refers to a household with both partners working full-time at 100% of APW. If the tax system would be neutral for the secondary earner, the income of the household would increase by 40% in the case of part-time employment, and by 100% in the case of full-time employment of the partner. It is, however, not the case in any of the countries, and particularly not in Germany. In the latter, the obvious negative effect of the tax system on work incentives of the secondary earner is further reinforced by the health care and pension systems. Here, the dependant spouse is covered by the insurance of the working man without paying additional contributions (e.g. Eichhorst, Thode 2002; Geisler, Kreyenfeld 2005). Consequently, as aforementioned, the West German social and family related policies encourage the 'traditional' or at least the 'modernised' male breadwinner model.

The increasing demand for female labour as well as the wish of women to participate in the labour market is accommodated by an increase of part-time employment opportunities and an improvement of the legal framework of part-time labour market. The importance of part-time employment is also reflected in, for example, the regulation of a 'new law on part-time and temporary employment (Teilzeit- und Befristungsgesetz)' implemented in 2001.⁷ Against

⁶ Introduced with the modification of the BerzGG which became effective in January 2001.

⁷ The central goal of the reform is to make it possible for part-time workers to go back to their former working hours. This should help them to make the decision in favour of part-time work without being worried about future income losses, which in consequence should encourage part-time work, particularly among men. With the introduction of the law, employees have the legal right to ask their employer to reduce the number of their working hours as stated in their job contract. The employees must state their request at least four months

this background, it is not surprising that, at least in West Germany, part-time employment is becoming the most popular employment form for mothers.

3.2. Family policies in Poland and East Germany during the communist system

Even though Poland and East Germany shared the experiences of a socialist system, interesting similarities as well as country differences can be observed with respect to family policies. The institutional support for working mothers during the communist regime was particularly strong in East Germany. One of its important elements was the relatively well-developed public day care. Data from the period just before the breakdown of the Berlin Wall shows that in East Germany 80% of children aged 1-3 could attend a nursery school, and three out of four children aged 4-6 could get a place in kindergarten (see Table 3, p.10). Also the supply of care for school age children nearly met the potential demand. The corresponding numbers for Poland were much lower, contrary to West Germany, although still offering care on full-time basis. Moreover, apart from the public day care system, in Poland and in the former GDR childcare services were also provided by institutions established at public enterprises.

Leave system regulations, however, differed between Poland and East Germany. In both countries women were entitled to maternal leave, lasting 16-18 weeks in Poland (with 100% wage compensation) and 20-22 weeks in East Germany (with a benefit equal to the average wage in national economy). In Poland maternal leave was followed by an extended 3 year long parental leave. Although such long parental leaves are usually related to depreciation of human capital which lowers the probability of labour market return, this effect was possibly not so strong during the communist regime, where many women (re-)entered employment. In East Germany the organisation of the parental leave system was much more directed at a quick integration of women into the labour market. The so-called 'Babyjahr', introduced in the mid 1970s, was granted to women after the second childbirth. Ten years later it was extended to women who gave birth to their first child as well. In contrast to Polish and West German parental leave regulations, the 'Babyjahr' offered a relatively high-income replacement (Kreyenfeld 2004).

Part-time employment was supported in none of the countries. This was not in line with the communist ideology. Therefore, part-time jobs were held on a marginal scale, mainly by those in pre-retirement age or the disabled, who were not able to participate in the labour market on a full-time basis (Drobnic 1997).

before the desired starting date, and must have been working for the employer for at least six months. The employer and the employee have to discuss the exact wishes of the employee (how many hours, which hours). The employers should come to an agreement with the employees unless they have compelling business reasons against it ('organisational interference', 'disproportional costs for the employer').

3.3. Family policies in Poland and East Germany after the breakdown of the communist system

After the breakdown of the communist regime, family policies were the subject to substantial changes. East Germany adopted the West German welfare state regulations, including the taxation rules, income splitting, parental leave regulations and labour market law; Poland started to develop its 'own' welfare state. However, the diminishing financial resources led rather to cuts in family policy expenditures than to planned system reforms. Moreover, as a result of the political and economic change, provision of public day care has considerably worsened. This was particularly reflected in a drop in the number of places in nursery schools, especially in East Germany (see Table 3, p.10). The number of places in kindergartens has slightly increased, but this was caused by a drop in the number of children at that age. In both countries, the reason for these changes was the transmission of responsibility for childcare institutions to local authorities (Balcerzak-Paradowska et al. 2003; Geisler, Kreyenfeld 2005). Furthermore, a lack of financial resources led to a gradual introduction of some payments for public childcare provision. In spite of these changes, East German women are still provided with better public childcare facilities than their Polish or West German counterparts.

Cuts in family expenditures in Poland echoed also in the construction of family and benefits. The majority of them have become means-tested, the income threshold has been gradually decreased and so have been the benefit levels. No significant reforms concerning the length and flexibility of the parental leave have been undertaken⁸. Generally, these changes in family policies are assessed to be short-term and resulting from the need to adjust to the state budget constraints, rather than to the changing economic, labour market and demographic conditions (Balcerzak-Paradowska et al. 2003).

3.4. The importance of the socio-cultural context

Apart from the economic and legal framework, employment decisions of women may also be strongly influenced by socio-cultural norms prevailing in the society. These norms define responsibilities of women and men towards family and work or, in other words, determine the socially accepted worker-carer arrangements.

According to Adler (2002), in the former GDR women's integration into society occurred simultaneously via both family and employment. Non-participation in any of them was perceived as evading the duty toward state and society (Rudd 2000). Thus, East German and Polish women pursued work and family goals simultaneously, with only short

employment breaks around childbirth. This situation is very well reflected in a statement of an East German woman, quoted in Adler (1997, pp.45):

'In the GDR, women did not have to choose between having children and work. We had both and we never questioned having both [...]. These patterns of life were imprinted on us...'

In this context, the question arises to what extent the picture of a 'working mom' was internalised by East German and Polish women, and if it also currently influences female employment decisions.

Available studies on this topic provide evidence for a still strong labour market orientation of East German women (Adler 2002, 2004; Kreyenfeld 1999; Geisler, Kreyenfeld 2005; Beckmann, Kempf 1996; Engelbrech, Reinberg 1998; Kreckel 1995). It seems, that they exhibit the so-called 'stubbornness' in employment patterns adopted in the past (Dölling 1998, 2003) and definitely reject the traditional male breadwinner model. Their attitude is reflected in the following statement of an East German woman (Adler 2004, p.1177):

'I never want to become a housewife. I want to continue earning my money, as I always have done. In this way I have my independence. I do not want to have to thank someone or have to be a burden or have to ask [for things] all the time...'

A comparative study, by Muszyńska (2005) for the mid 1990s, shows that the East Germans, similarly to the Swedes and Norwegians, developed relatively little objections to female employment, even in the presence of young children. On the contrary, the Poles and West Germans were found to be on the other end of the scale. Moreover, employment, although perceived as an important source of additional income (particularly in the former GDR) for East and West Germans is also a source of self-fulfilment and independence. The latter reason for entering employment is, however, less often mentioned in Poland.

The high acceptance of female employment in East Germany and the high family orientation of Polish women were confirmed a few years later by the Population Policy Acceptance Study⁹ (see Table A1 in the Appendix). In some aspects, these results point out an even more positive attitude toward female employment in West Germany than in Poland. Similar to the study by Muszyńska (2005), economic incentives for female labour are again most strongly underlined by East Germans.

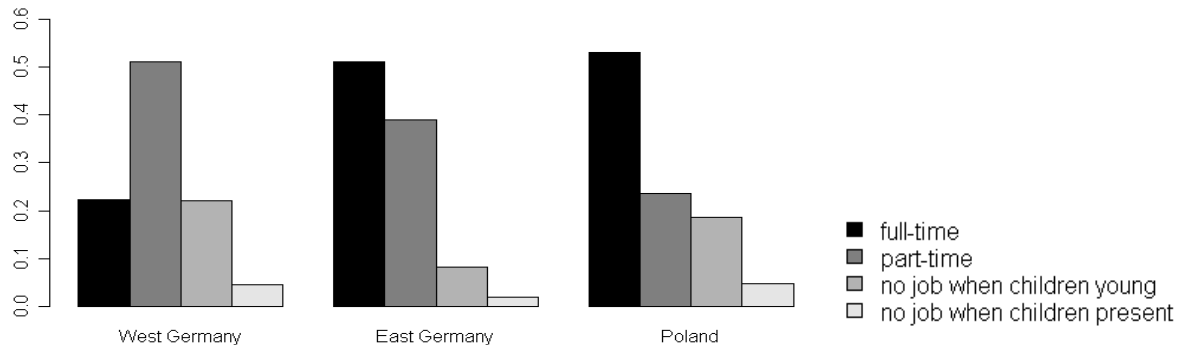
The described differences in the attitudes are, to some extent reflected in female preferences towards work-family arrangements (see Figure 1). When asked how they would like to

⁸ There were some temporary changes in the length of maternity leave. It was prolonged to 20 weeks in 2000 and to 26 weeks in 2001. In 2002 the maternity leave was again shortened to the length from 1999 (i.e.16 weeks for the first birth and 18 weeks for each successive birth).

⁹ The Population Policy Acceptance Study was conducted in Poland in 2001 and in Germany in 2003 under the 5th European Framework Program 'Population Policy Acceptance Study - The Viewpoint of Citizens and Policy Actors regarding the Management of Population Related Change'.

reconcile family and work, Polish and West German women more often choose the option of no job when a child is young than their East German counterparts.

Figure 1: “How would you like to combine family and work?”, women aged 20-50, for the years 2001/2003



Source: own calculations on the PPAS

Nevertheless, Polish and East German women are comparable with respect to their still relatively high preference for full-time employment. This result may be astonishing in the case of Poland, given the attitudes toward female employment and female roles. It is not clear, however, how much the expressed preferences are already influenced by economic necessities and structural incompatibilities between family and work (e.g. availability of part-time jobs).

4. Research hypotheses

Based on the theoretical considerations and descriptions of developments in the selected countries, several hypotheses can be formulated concerning the effects of family formation on female labour force participation.

First, according to the neo-classical economic theory, we expect that the presence of children, especially in the youngest age group, will have a negative influence on female labour force participation. This effect should be reduced with an increase in the age of the child. Moreover, the magnitude of the child-related effects should vary across countries. It should be weakest in countries with the lowest female reservation wages, i.e. with the lowest cultural and structural incompatibilities between family and work. For example, the better the access to childcare, and the more liberal attitudes toward working mothers, the higher the female employment. Similarly, a large part-time labour market should facilitate female employment on a part-time basis, instead of withdrawing from the labour market. These expectations imply that East German mothers, due to still quite well developed public childcare, should be most likely to be employed full-time. West German mothers should follow East German mothers. Nevertheless, due to lower public childcare opportunities, more traditional attitudes toward female labour and higher access to the part-time labour market,

they should reduce the number of working hours or even withdraw from employment temporarily. The lowest labour market participation is expected among Polish mothers. They face high cultural and structural incompatibilities between family and work due to not only poor childcare and an underdeveloped part-time sector, but also high family orientation and relatively traditional attitudes towards working mothers.

Second, in accordance with the theory of the household's allocation of time we expect that married women will be less likely to work full-time and more likely to be in non- or part-time employment. This effect should differ across countries, being most pronounced in Germany, where strong work disincentives are created on the secondary earner. Since tax and social security privileges are granted only to married couples, it should be closely related to marriage. However, this effect might be slightly weaker in East Germany, where, at the moment of the study, West German policy regulations were in power for only 10 years. In Poland, a country with traditional attitudes on female roles, the marriage effect should also be also present.

A third determinant of female employment according to the theory of household allocation of time is husband's income. Thus, it is expected that a high income of the husband will have a negative effect on female labour force participation, pushing women either into non-employment or part-time employment. On the contrary, low income will increase female employment. The described effect should be strongest in countries with most traditional attitudes toward female labour, i.e. West Germany and Poland. In the former, however, it may be reinforced by the regulations of the tax system. These regulations may also affect female employment in East Germany.

These hypotheses on cross-country variation, as formulated above, presuppose that East German and Polish women have adjusted their employment patterns to the changed reality (adaptation hypothesis). Nevertheless, it is assumed that they reduced their labour force participation (per se or via the number of the working hours) as a response to the changes in the provision of public childcare and the availability of part-time jobs (child effect), the taxation and social security system and the possibility to decide freely about their labour market involvement given the household budget constraints (marriage effect and husband's income effect).

On the other hand, both countries share an experience of forced full-time employment, particularly strong in East Germany, and women in the former GDR reveal high labour market orientation. Moreover, the Poles and East Germans face strong work incentives arising from financial necessities of the household. Consequently, it is also possible that they have rejected the employment patterns of discontinuity and reduced working hours typical for the conservative welfare regime.

5. Data and method

For our analyses we use the Labour Force Survey LFS for Poland and the Mikrozensus for Germany. The Polish LFS is designed for collecting information on labour force participation according to Eurostat's recommendations. It is conducted every quarter on a continuous basis on a sample of about 18,000-22,000 households (around 48,000-52,000 respondents aged 15+). The German Mikrozensus is a more general survey, collecting data on living conditions of the households, including labour force participation of its members. The part of the questionnaire on the labour force participation is designed according to the rules set by Eurostat and fully corresponds to the Polish LFS. The German Mikrozensus is conducted in April each year on a sample of about 370,000 households (roughly 820,000 persons).

Using these data we estimate two binary logit models: first describing women's participation in employment and non-employment, and second in full-time and part-time employment. Therefore, the odds of an individual i being in non-employment (part-time employment) as opposed to being in employment (full-time employment) are modelled through:

$$\frac{P(Y = 1)}{1 - P(Y = 1)} = e^{\alpha + \sum_{i=1}^n \beta_i X_i}$$

where n is the number of covariates, X_i is a set of covariates and β_i is a set of estimated coefficients. Although we focus mainly on supply-side determinants of full-time and part-time employment, the model captures also some demand-side effects. This refers mainly to Poland, a country with a small part-time labour market, where women may often be limited to full-time and non-employment. Our main model is built for the year 2001. We also estimate a similar model for Germany for the year 1996 and refer to its results for comparative purposes. Due to the lack of necessary information in the Polish LFS for 1996 or any other year before 2001, Poland was not included in the analysis. Our analysis is restricted to women aged 20-50 of Polish and German nationality, who completed their education at the moment of the survey. For 1996 it gives us a sample size of 83,541 women (67,679 for West Germany, 15,682 for East Germany). The analogous sample size for 2001 is 91,545 (66,985 - West Germany, 14,996 - East Germany, 9,564 - Poland).

5.1. Definition of part-time employment

An issue that requires further explanation is the applied definition of part-time employment. In international studies two concepts of part-time employment are most often used. The first one, recommended by Eurostat, is based on the respondent's self-classification. The interviewed respondents are asked whether *'their employment arrangement implies normal weekly working hours below the collectively bargained standard in the industry or at the workplace, or*

if, because of highly irregular schedules, no normal weekly working time could be declared' (Blossfeld, Rohwer 1997). The second concept refers to ILO's Convention No 175 where a part-time worker is defined as 'an employed person whose normal hours of work are less than those of comparable full-time workers' (ILO 1992).

As the number of hours worked by a full-time worker varies from industry to industry and country to country, the ILO definition creates some problems. For instance, while in Poland a full-time worker is expected to work 40 hours per week, in Germany high variability is observed from industry to industry due to trade union agreements (so called Tarifverträge). Nevertheless, we apply the ILO definition, because we are more interested in comparing the number of hours worked by women in the analysed countries, irrespective of the type of contract, which is highly dependent on country and sector specific regulations.

In order to apply the ILO concept of part-time work, we decided to set the threshold for full-time employment at the level of 35 hours worked during a week. The following tables show that this definition does not seriously change the percentage of female part-timers among employed persons in Germany (see Table 5a), nor causes serious misclassification problems (see Table 5b). However, it doubles the percentage of female part-timers in Poland, which results mainly from the fact that a relatively large proportion of women, even having full-time contracts, work less than 35 hours. These are mainly women employed in two economic sections: Education (73%) and Health and Social Work (13%). We refer to this phenomenon in more detail while interpreting the estimation results.

Table 5a: Share of female part-timers among employed persons (in %) according to the self-classification and the ILO concept in the studied countries, for the year 2001

	self-classification concept	ILO concept (with 35 hour threshold)
West Germany	41.0	43.8
East Germany	24.1	23.2
Poland	8.2	18.2

Source: authors' calculations on Mikrozensus 2001 and Polish Labour Force Survey 2nd quarter 2001

Note: The figures were calculated on the sample of 20-50 year old women, who completed their education.

Table 5b: Part-time employment (in %) according to the self-classification and the ILO concept in the studied countries, for the year 2001

According to the self-classification concept	According to the ILO concept		
	full-time job (≥35 hours a week)	part-time job (< 35 hours a week)	total
West Germany			
full-time job	98.0	2.0	100.0
part-time job	0.0	100.0	100.0
East Germany			
full-time job	98.1	1.9	100.0
part-time job	0.0	100.0	100.0
Poland			
full-time job	93.6	6.4	100.0
part-time job	14.3	85.7	100.0

Source: authors' calculations on Mikrozensus 2001 and Polish Labour Force Survey 2nd quarter 2001

Note: The figures were calculated on the sample of 20-50 year old women, who completed their education.

Unfortunately, as already mentioned our definition of part-time employment can only be applied to Poland in the data from 2001.¹⁰

5.2. Choice of the predictors

The main focus of our study is the influence of family formation on female labour force participation in the selected countries. In particular, we are interested in the effects of children, marriage and husband's income. We operationalise the child effect through five binary variables, describing the fact of having a child in any of the following age groups: 0-2, 3-5, 6-9, 10-15 and having no children aged 0-15¹¹. The marriage effect is captured through the marital status. Since we are interested in work disincentives built into the tax, pension and health care system, we distinguish between two marital states: married or not married.¹² Unfortunately, the only information on husband's income is his net wage. Including this variable in the model would, however, cause endogeneity problems since in Germany a wife's reduction in working hours or withdrawal from employment increases her husband's net income. As a result, we decided to use husband's education as a proxy for his earning opportunities. Thus, husband's income is operationalised by husband's labour market status, grouped into four categories: not employed, employed - low education, employed - medium education, and employed - high education. This variable enters the model in interaction with woman's marital status.

Apart from the variables describing the family situation, we also control for age and education level and, while modelling the participation in full-time or part-time work, also for employment sector and public/private type of establishment. In order to compare education levels between Poland and Germany we apply the CASMIN classification (Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, Wolf 2003). For the selected countries this means that basic vocational, primary or lower education are classified as a low educational level, secondary vocational, general secondary and post secondary represent a medium educational level, and tertiary and post-tertiary education are the highest educational level. The list of our covariates is presented in Table A2 in the Appendix.

¹⁰ For all other periods before 2001 respondents in the Polish LFS were neither asked to self-classify themselves as part-timers nor to give the usual number of weekly working hours. The question on the usual number of weekly working hours was asked, but only two categories 'at least 40' and 'less than 40' were distinguished. The threshold of 40 for part-time work wouldn't be, in our opinion, appropriate for West Germany

¹¹ Since it was not possible to extract the information if a woman has children, who already left the parental house, we were not able to build the category 'no children at all'. Thus, we created a category 'no children aged 0-15'. The upper age limit was set at the level around the obligatory education is completed and an individual can enter employment.

¹² Widowed and divorced as well as singles (including living in cohabitation) are treated as not married. Married

5.3. Fitting the model

The variables described in section 5.2. are introduced into the models on a stepwise basis. Age and country enter the model first, followed by the education level, the child variables, the combined variable describing the marital status and husband's labour market status and, where applicable, employment sector and public/private type of establishment. All covariates are introduced in interaction with country. The fit of the models is assessed using the Bayesian Information Criteria. Due to the large sample size the Pearson Chi-square, LR statistic and the conditional LR test, known from a high sensitivity to the sample size, are not used for this purpose. In Table 6 we present the BIC and BIC' values for our main models for 2001. Since the lower the BIC/BIC' value the better the fit, we can see that the fit of the model improves as new variables are introduced. Therefore, Model 8 for modelling non-employment and employment and Model 12 for being in part-time or full-time employment are accepted as our final models.

Table 6: Model fits for various logit models

Main/interaction effects	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M 6	M7	M8	M9	M10	M11	M12
Country	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Age	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Education		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Children			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Employment sector				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Public/private type of establishment					X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
M-status*H's lab. market status						X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Country* Age							X	X	X	X	X	X
Country*Education								X	X	X	X	X
Country*Children									X	X	X	X
Country*M-status*H's lab. market status										X	X	X
Country*Employment sector										X	X	X
Country*Public/private type of establishment												X
a) BIC values	914673	98698	923050	923967	924203	924360	924530	924929				
BIC' values	1391	3761	9769	10685	10921	11077	11249	11647				
b) BIC values	647533	647938	657254	659189	660216	660325	660714	661548	62283	662454	662598	662632
BIC' values	6455	6859	16176	18110	19138	19247	19636	20470	212056	21376	21520	21554

Source: authors' calculations

Note: All models were estimated at the same sample size (N=91 545). The BIC/ BIC' values are all negative.

The BIC/BIC' values for the model for 1996 are presented in the Appendix (Table A3). They show that the model for part-time and full-time employment has the best fit when we do not

not living together with the husband are excluded from the analysis.

include the employment sector and a public/private type of establishment. Nevertheless, we decided to do it to ensure the full comparability of the 1996 and 2001 estimates.

6. Findings

6.1. Estimation results

In this section the estimation results of our two final models (see Model 8 and Model 12) are discussed. Here, we only focus on the effects of children, marriage and husband's labour market status on the odds of not being employed vs. employed and part-time vs. full time employment. Additionally, we also discuss the effect of education since it yields some interesting conclusions. The full results are presented in the Appendix (see Tables A4 and A5).

First we turn to determinants of non-employment vs. employment. The relevant odds are presented in Table 7¹³. As expected, women with lower education are on average more likely to be out of employment, while the opposite holds for women with high education. This effect is particularly strong in Poland and East Germany, which may result from higher labour market difficulties in these two countries.

With respect to the child effect, the expectation that women without children aged 0-15 are on average least likely to be out of employment is confirmed. However, this effect varies between countries: it is lowest in Poland (with odds of non-employment vs. employment of 0.56) followed by East Germany (0.50), and finally West Germany (0.37). Contrary to women with no children aged 0-15, mothers of children aged 0-2 are in all countries on average most likely to withdraw from employment. This effect is strongest in West Germany (with odds of 2.55), followed by East Germany (2.17) and Poland (2.15). As a child grows up, the odd of its mother's of non-employment vs. employment drop in all countries to a similar level. This indicates a return into employment when the child is in the age between 3 and 15. The process seems to be more intensive in Poland, followed by East Germany.

Besides the child effect, we are also interested in the effect of marriage and husband's labour market status. Unmarried women in West Germany are on average less likely to be out of employment. Exactly the opposite can be noticed in East Germany and Poland. Although having a husband affects female employment, the scale and direction of this effect depends on his labour market status. Interestingly, in all countries women with a non-working husband are on average more likely to be out of employment. This could be explained by the

¹³ Values below one indicate that women with given characteristics are less likely to be out of employment (in part-time employment) than in employment (full-time employment) than they would be were there no association between the given covariate and female employment (working hours). Values above one show that that women are relatively more likely to be out of employment (to be in part-time employment) than in

strong positive assortative mating by educational and occupational skills in the marriage market. In West Germany relatively high odds of being out of employment vs. being employed are also observed for women married to a husband with low education. This cannot be confirmed for East Germany and Poland. While in the former a working husband with low education does not affect female employment, in the latter these women are on average more likely to be in employment. Being married to a working husband with medium or high education affects female employment in all countries positively. This is particularly true for East German women with high educated husbands.

Table 7: Effects of education, age of the youngest child and husband's labour market status on the odds of being out of employment vs. being employed, for the year 2001

	West Germany	East Germany	Poland
	exp(β)	exp(β)	exp(β)
Education			
	1.56***	2.66***	2.69***
low	(26.95)	(18.83)	(23.94)
	0.97*	1.03	1.13***
Medium	(-1.82)	(0.96)	(3.19)
	0.66***	0.36***	0.33***
high	(17.64)	(-17.77)	(-17.17)
Age of the youngest child			
	2.55***	2.17***	2.15***
0-2	(41.45)	(14.92)	(11.13)
	1.66***	1.46***	1.37***
3-5	(21.01)	(6.51)	(5.23)
	1.01	1.07	0.88**
6-9	(0.35)	(1.11)	(-2.36)
	0.63***	0.59***	0.69***
10-15	(-19.95)	(-11.45)	(-7.05)
	0.37***	0.50***	0.56***
no children aged 0-15	(54.02)	(-17.77)	(-13.02)
Husband's labour market status			
	0.70***	1.49***	1.22***
not married	(-15.48)	(6.51)	(3.90)
	1.37***	1.81***	1.32***
husband - no job	(10.81)	(8.82)	(5.85)
	1.48***	0.96	0.88***
husband employed: low	(12.95)	(-0.25)	(-2.69)
	0.96**	0.99	0.80***
husband employed: medium	(-2.52)	(-0.01)	(-4.22)
	0.73***	0.39***	0.88
husband employed: high	(7.05)	(-11.07)	(-1.31)

Source: authors' calculations

Notes: We control also for age.

In the parentheses we present the t-statistics.

The stars stand for significance at the level of: *** - 0.01, ** - 0.05, * - 0.1

employment (full-time employment) than they would be were there no association between the given covariate and female employment (working hours)

After discussing the determinants of women's participation in employment or non-employment, we turn now to determinants of the number of working hours. Starting with the effect of education, the following table (Table 8) shows that the odds of working part-time decrease with education. The only exception is Poland, where highly educated women are more likely to be in part-time than full-time jobs. This effect can be explained with our definition of part-time employment, which is working usually less than 35 hours. The result for Poland shows that although highly educated women are much more likely to be employed than their less educated peers, they often choose occupations that allow them to work a reduced number of hours, while holding full-time contracts. These privileges can be found particularly in Education and Health and Social Services, sections of economic activity highly dominated by women. This result shows that part-time employment in Poland, although negligible in official statistics, may be an important way of combining family with work. It is, however, available mainly to those with higher skills and seems to be strongly tied to occupational choice.

Turning now to the age of the youngest child, interesting results come to the fore. Contrary to theoretical expectations, East German mothers of children aged 0-2, in comparison to their West-German counterparts, tend to be on average more often in part-time than in full-time employment (with odds of 1.28 for East Germany vs. 0.70 for West Germany). This result may be explained by the fact that having a child in this age group in West Germany pushes women more strongly out of employment (see Table 7) than in East Germany. In Poland, having a child aged 0-2 does not affect the number of working hours for the mother. As a child gets older, West German mothers strongly increase their part-time participation. Together with the results described in table 7, this implies that West German women withdraw from the labour market after childbirth and return to employment mostly on a part-time basis when the child is old enough. In East Germany and Poland similar patterns, although on a smaller scale, can be observed indicating that East German and Polish women also combine work and childcare on a part-time basis. This effect is particularly weak in Poland where part-time employment seems to play a reconciliation role only for mothers with children aged 3-5.

Marriage and husband's labour market status determine the choice between full-time and part-time employment most strongly in West Germany, whereas they do not play any role in Poland. Generally, in both parts of Germany non-married women are less likely to be in part-time employment. However, this effect is stronger in West Germany. The number of working hours among married women depends on the husband's labour market status. Women are on average most likely to be in part-time employment if they are married to a low educated working husband. This effect is reduced with the rise in their husband's labour market status. This result suggests that the tax and social benefit regulations mostly affect employment of

women married to men with low and medium earnings potential. Due to a high observed education homogamy between partners¹⁴ these are also likely to be the low and medium educated women. In East Germany, married women are rather indifferent towards working full-time and part-time. Only those married to a working man with medium education are on average slightly more likely to be in part-time employment.¹⁵

Table 8: Effects of education, age of the youngest child and husband's labour market status on the odds of being in part-time vs. full-time employment, for the year 2001

	West Germany	East Germany	Poland
	exp(β)	exp(β)	exp(β)
Education			
low	1.39*** (17.86)	1.54*** (6.06)	0.63*** (-6.67)
medium	0.95*** (-3.04)	1.12*** (2.65)	0.46*** (-13.49)
high	0.76*** (-11.83)	0.58*** (9.28)	3.49*** (17.96)
Age of the youngest child			
0-2	0.70*** (-12.05)	1.28*** (3.68)	1.02 (0.17)
3-5	2.89*** (28.33)	1.56*** (6.41)	1.30** (2.38)
6-9	2.28*** (25.10)	1.42*** (5.26)	1.12 (1.22)
10-15	0.98 (-0.83)	0.68*** (-7.91)	0.93 (-0.75)
no children aged 0-15	0.22*** (-72.96)	0.52*** (-14.36)	0.72*** (-4.09)
Husband's labour market status			
not married	0.48*** (-31.32)	0.78*** (-3.07)	1.12 (1.35)
husband - no job	0.72*** (-9.26)	1.07 (0.74)	0.89 (1.40)
husband employed: low	1.62*** (11.84)	0.96 (-0.16)	1.08 (0.95)
husband employed: medium	1.53*** (20.47)	1.18*** (2.17)	1.02 (0.29)
husband employed: high	1.17*** (3.46)	1.06 (-0.97)	0.91 (-0.93)

Source: authors' calculations

Notes: We control also for age, employment sector and public/private ownership.

In the parentheses we present t-statistics.

The stars stand for significance at the level of: ***- 0.01, ** - 0.05, * - 0.1

In order to compare changes in the studied effects, we finally estimated a similar model for 1996. As previously mentioned this model was calculated only for Germany. The results are presented in the Appendix (Table A6 and A7).

¹⁴ The assumption of educational homogamy was tested on our research sample for all analysed countries.

¹⁵ In our study we also tested the effect of partner's instead of husband's labour market status on female employment. However, the results showed nearly no differences between the estimated coefficients (see Tables A4 and A5 in the Appendix).

In general, over the studied period no large changes occurred with respect to female employment patterns. Some of the changes should be, however, highlighted. First of all, there was a slight decrease in the odds of being out of employment vs. being in employment for East German mothers with children aged 0-2. At the same time, we observed an increase in these odds among mothers with children aged 6-9. This group of women also increased their labour market participation on a part-time basis. In West Germany there have been no changes in the odds of being out of employment vs. being in employment over the studied period. However, similar to East German mothers with children aged 6-9, West German mothers in that age group also increased their part-time participation.

There were also some significant changes in the effect of husband's labour market status on female employment. In East Germany, the negative effect of not being married or having a non-working husband on female employment was stronger. On the other hand, women married to a working man with high education became much more likely to be in employment. In West Germany, a strong increase in the odds of being out of employment vs. being in employment could be observed among the women married to working, but low educated men.

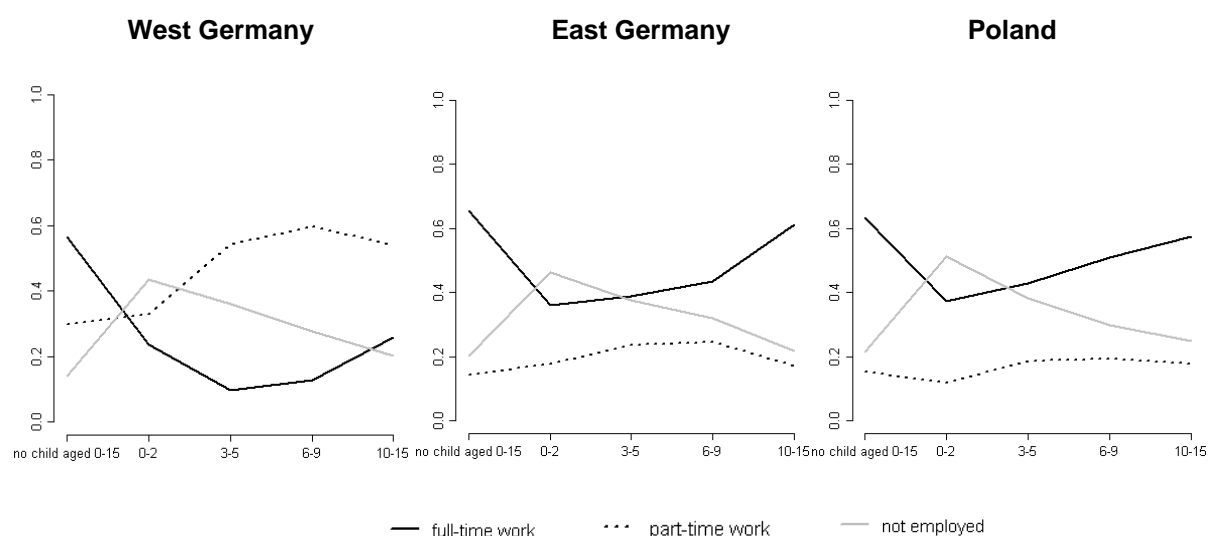
6.2. Typical profiles of women in the analysed countries

In order to make the interpretation of the modelling results easier this section presents the predicted probabilities of being in different labour market states for selected typical profiles of women. The calculations are based on the estimation of our final models 8 and 12. The first three figures (2a/b/c) show the predicted probabilities for women with a medium education level and a working husband who also has a medium level of education with respect to the age of the youngest child (x-axis), while all other variables are set to the mean. The three lines represent different labour market states of women: being out of employment (light grey line), being in full-time employment (dark black line) and being in part-time employment (black-dotted line).

In West Germany women under these conditions are mostly likely to be employed part-time, particularly when the child is between 3 and 15. In the youngest age group, part-time employment is also common, but due to a lack of childcare facilities for children of that age, non-employment of women is very high. In East Germany a different picture can be observed. Generally, irrespective of the age of the youngest child, typical women are most likely to work full-time, even to a greater extent than in West Germany. Nevertheless, there is a clear influence of children on women's employment. This is marked by a U-shape of the full-time employment line, the reversed U-shape of the part-time employment line, and a peak in the non-employment line for mothers of children aged 0-2. Typical East German mothers tend to withdraw from employment to a similar extent as West German mothers

when the child is very young, and they reduce their working hours as the child grows up. This reduction is however not as common as in West Germany. Poland is to some extent comparable to East Germany. Nevertheless, an important but expected, difference is the distribution of part-time employment among mothers. As expected, this form of employment is not really an option for typical Polish mothers. Here, the low part-time opportunities and high unemployment lead more to a polarisation between non-employment and full-time employment. This effect is particularly strong for mothers with the youngest children. With an increase in child's age women in Poland tend to return to full-time employment more intensively than their East German counterparts.

Figures 2a/b/c: Predicted probabilities of female labour force participation with respect to the age of the youngest child, for the year 2001:



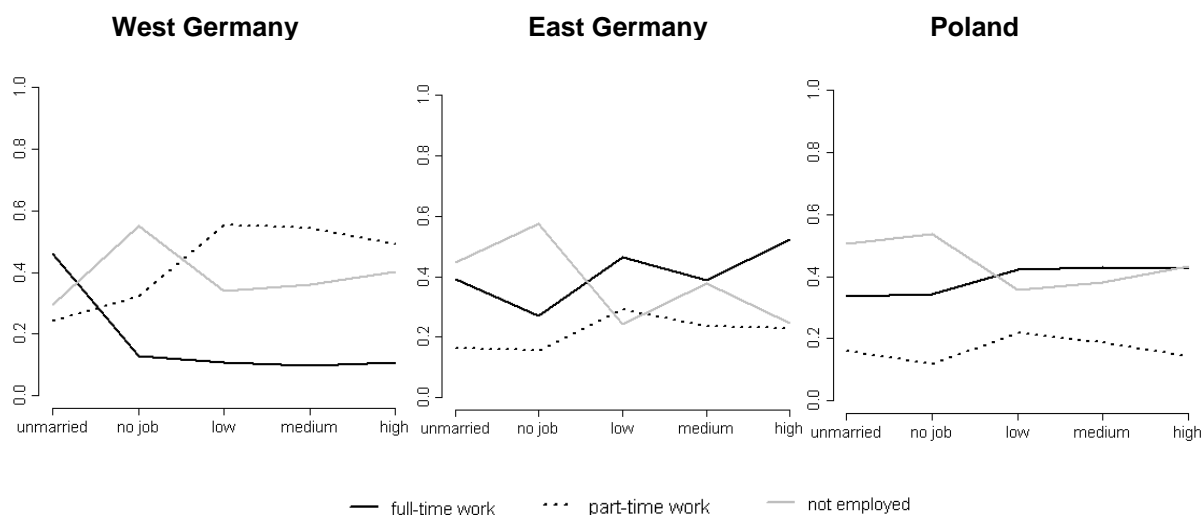
Source: authors' calculations

We also calculated the predicted probabilities of being in a given labour market state with respect to the husband's labour market status. These probabilities were computed for women with medium education and a child aged 3-5, while all other variables were set to the mean. As before, the different lines represent the different labour market states and the x-axis stands for the marital status and husband's labour market status.

The following figures 3a/b/c show that typical non-married women in West Germany are most likely to be employed full-time. On the contrary, in Poland and East Germany they are more often out of employment. Typical women with a non-working husband have a high probability of being out of employment in both parts of Germany as well as in Poland. However, if they are employed, in West Germany they are very likely to work part-time, while in East Germany and particularly in Poland full-time work is more common. There are strong inter-country differences regarding employment of typical married women. In West Germany, although they are more likely to be employed than not employed, they most often work part-time. Full-

time employment is even more seldom than non-employment. In East Germany and Poland a typical married woman is more often full-time employed than to be out of employment. The probability to be out of employment is highest in East Germany when the husband has a medium educational level and in Poland when he is highly educated.

Figures 3a/b/c: Predicted probabilities of women's working status with respect to husband's labour market status, for the year 2001



Source: authors' calculations

7. Discussion

The purpose of this paper is twofold. On the one side we examined how different family formation processes affect women's work patterns. On the other side, we analysed how female employment patterns in East Germany and Poland have converged to mirror employment patterns in West Germany, representing a conservative welfare regime. This welfare regime was chosen for comparison because a lot of changes in Polish and East German family policies have developed in this direction, with the effect being much stronger in East Germany due to the reunification. Several hypotheses were formulated focusing on three main effects which influence female labour force participation: the child effect, the marriage effect and the effect of husband's labour market status.

Regarding the child effect, our results fully confirm the hypotheses of neoclassical economic theory. In all countries studied, having a child increased the propensity of women to withdraw from employment or to take a part-time job. Nevertheless, a variation in the strength of the effect was observed across countries. As expected, mothers of young children in West Germany do withdraw from employment on a large scale. This can result from poor childcare provision, particularly for young children. Moreover, it can be related to traditional attitudes toward working mothers, increasing the female reservation wage, and consequently the incentives for staying at home. As the child grows up and the value of time spent at home

decreases, women return to the labour market. In West Germany, however, this return is mainly to part-time employment. This can be explained by better access to public childcare for children aged 3-5 than younger children, short opening hours of childcare institutions, and wide part-time employment opportunities.

Compared to West Germany, mothers in the former GDR were indeed less likely to withdraw from employment and returned to full-time jobs more quickly. This result is in line with our expectations and can be explained by the still well developed childcare, high labour market orientation of women and a long tradition of high female full-time employment. Moreover, in East Germany part-time employment plays a significant role for combining family and motherhood, particularly for women with children in pre-school and early school age. Even though this effect was not as strong as in West Germany, there is evidence for its increase over time. This result supports the hypothesis that East German mothers have adopted some West German employment patterns. Furthermore, it is evident that full-time participation started to compete with part-time work, although East German mothers of children in pre-school and school age are still most likely to be in full-time employment.

The third country that we analyse here is Poland, which is characterised by poor childcare provision, relatively traditional attitudes toward working mothers, but, similarly to East Germany, a long tradition of quite high female full-time employment. Our study confirmed a relatively high propensity of Polish mothers to withdraw from employment when their child is young. Nevertheless, we also show that, similarly to the East Germans, they return quite quickly to full-time employment. The only distinction is the very low participation of Polish mothers in part-time employment. This employment form is used slightly more often only by women with children of pre-school age. In this respect, the study showed that a small part-time labour market might affect the employment of women with youngest children (aged 0-2). The typical Polish woman with children at this age is much more likely to withdraw from employment than the typical German mother, who, particularly in the West, often combines motherhood with part-time work. Also this development speaks for the adoption of some new employment patterns in the case of Poland. High full-time employment was replaced by discontinuity and a polarisation between full-time and non-employment. The demand for part-time employment is, however, expressed in the fact that large numbers of highly educated women, although very likely to be employed, choose occupations that allow them to work reduced number of hours while holding full-time contracts.

The theory of household allocation of time was confirmed by our analysis only partly and only for West Germany. Being married to an employed man in West Germany reduced the propensity of women to work full-time, but did not push them out of employment. Only women married to non-working men and to working but low educated men were, on average, more likely to be out of employment than in employment. We explained this effect by noting a

strong educational and occupational homogamy between spouses. It became evident that having an income source in the form of a working husband led to a reduction in a wife's working hours. This effect was, however, strongest for women married to men with low and medium earnings opportunities and not, as could be expected, to men with high education. This effect may result from the fact that highly educated men are usually married to highly educated women, who are more attached to the labour market. In East Germany and Poland the effect of marriage and husband's labour market status was not as strong as in West Germany. Often it also worked in the opposite direction. Unmarried women in these two countries were, on average, more likely to be out of employment, while women married to a working man, dependent on his earning opportunities, were on average, more likely to be employed or either indifferent to employment and non-employment. In East Germany the odds of being in employment versus being out of employment for women with a highly educated working husband even increased. In Poland and the former GDR marital status and husband's labour market status are also less important for being in full-time versus part-time employment, a finding which contradicts our expectations. Although the attitudes toward female labour in Poland are relatively traditional, and East Germany adopted the West German legislation framework imposing strong disincentives on female employment, being married and having access to an alternative income does not seem to make women either withdraw from employment or reduce the number of working hours. This means that neither Polish nor East German women have adopted the behaviour of West German women in that respect. This phenomenon could have different explanations: on the one hand, it is possible that women in these two post-socialist countries internalised the picture of the working mom and reveal high labour market attachment. On the other hand, it might also be that the relatively low earnings of the husband when compared to West German husbands push Polish and East German wives into the labour market.

Finally, our research revealed only minor indications of the adoption of West German female employment patterns in Poland and East Germany. In the former GDR such patterns are expressed in an increase in the prevalence of part-time work among mothers, while in Poland a polarisation between full-time and non-employment among mothers of youngest children can be observed. Apart from the child effect, none of the other examined effects impacts female employment in a way that would indicate an adoption of West German female employment patterns. Hence, our study suggests that women in post-socialist countries are going their 'own' way, and only slightly adjust their behaviour to changing structural conditions.

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Appendix

Table A1: Attitudes toward female employment in Poland, West and East Germany, women aged 20-50(%), for the years 2001-2003

	East Germany	West Germany	Poland
RELATION WITH A CHILD AND FAMILY			
Working mother cannot establish so warm and secure relationship with her children as a non-working mother			
<i>strongly agree</i>	0.1	1.5	3.2
<i>agree</i>	2.9	6.5	25.3
<i>neither agree nor disagree</i>	2.0	4.8	14.8
<i>disagree</i>	19.9	27.4	35.3
<i>strongly disagree</i>	75.0	59.8	21.5
A pre-school child is likely to suffer if mother works			
<i>strongly agree</i>	3.3	13.4	16.0
<i>agree</i>	21.5	32.5	37.4
<i>neither agree nor disagree</i>	21.8	19.8	20.9
<i>disagree</i>	34.4	27.3	23.8
<i>strongly disagree</i>	18.9	6.9	1.9
What most women really want is a home and children			
<i>strongly agree</i>	3.1	6.9	12.0
<i>agree</i>	12.5	19.2	30.7
<i>neither agree nor disagree</i>	18.7	25.2	27.9
<i>disagree</i>	33.1	27.0	27.0
<i>strongly disagree</i>	32.7	21.6	2.5
SELF-FULFILLMENT AND INDEPENDENCY			
Having a job is the best way for a woman to be independent			
<i>strongly agree</i>	42.4	31.5	22.6
<i>agree</i>	40.5	47.2	49.5
<i>neither agree nor disagree</i>	11.1	14.7	15.4
<i>disagree</i>	5.0	5.7	10.5
<i>strongly disagree</i>	1.0	0.9	2.0
Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay			
<i>strongly agree</i>	8.7	14.3	9.5
<i>agree</i>	14.4	20.4	33.3
<i>neither agree nor disagree</i>	17.0	26.2	28.1
<i>disagree</i>	28.2	24.6	24.5
<i>strongly disagree</i>	31.6	14.6	4.5
ECONOMIC REASONS			
Most women have to work to support their families			
<i>strongly agree</i>	49.3	33.9	41.7
<i>agree</i>	43.4	52.1	47.4
<i>neither agree nor disagree</i>	4.4	10.3	7.6
<i>disagree</i>	2.6	3.6	2.3
<i>strongly disagree</i>	0.3	0.1	1.0

Source: own calculations on the PPAS

Table A2: List of independent variables

<i>Variable name</i>	<i>Variable Description</i>
Control Variables	
Age at time of the interview	20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39,40-50
Education level	low, medium, high
Sector *	agriculture, industry, service
Public/private type of establishment *	private, public
Main Variables	
Children	child aged 0-2
	child aged 3-5
	child aged 6-9
	child aged 10-15
	no children aged 15 or less
Marital status * Husband's labour market status	not married
	married - husband does not work
	married – husband works and has low education
	married – husband works and has medium education
	married – husband works and has high education

* These variables are used when w model being in part-time versus full-time employment

Table A3 Models fit for various logit models, for the year 1996

Main/interaction effects	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M 6	M7	M8	M9	M10	M11	M12
Country	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Age	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Education		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Children			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Employment sector				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Public/private type of establishment.					X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
M_status*H's lab. market status						X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Country* age							X	X	X	X	X	X
Country*Education								X	X	X	X	X
Country*Children									X	X	X	X
Country*M_status*H's lab. market status										X	X	X
Country*Employment sector											X	X
Country*Public/private type of establishment												X
a) BIC values	829244	831194	838515	839196	839207	839271	839445	839722				
BIC' values	476	2426	9747	10427	10439	10503	10677	10954				
b) BIC values	569334	569916	577406	579370	580045	580255	580477	580470	580920	580971	580963	580959
BIC' values	5864	6445	13935	15899	16574	16784	17006	16999	17449	17500	17492	17489

Source: authors' calculations

Note: All models were estimated at the same sample size (N=83 541). The BIC/ BIC' values are all negative.

Table A4: Logit model estimates, being out of employment vs. being in employment, women aged 20-50, for the year 2001

	West Germany		East Germany		Poland	
	exp(β)	exp(β)	exp(β)	exp(β)	exp(β)	exp(β)
Age						
20-24	1.08** (2.21)	0.99 (-0.42)	0.91* (-1.70)	0.88** (-2.19)	1.57*** (7.35)	1.63*** (7.72)
25-29	0.75*** (-10.28)	0.74*** (-10.73)	0.73*** (-5.73)	0.76*** (-4.96)	1.05 (0.83)	1.05 (0.93)
30-34	0.83*** (-8.37)	0.85*** (-7.26)	0.92* (-1.85)	0.94 (-1.37)	0.79*** (-4.33)	0.81*** (-3.67)
35-39	0.97 (-1.27)	1.01 (0.56)	1.09* (1.89)	1.11** (2.23)	0.82*** (-3.57)	0.79*** (-4.08)
40-50	1.52*** (21.10)	1.59*** (23.68)	1.51*** (10.30)	1.45*** (9.31)	0.94 (-1.41)	0.92** (-2.00)
Education						
low	1.56*** (26.95)	1.53*** (25.05)	2.66*** (18.83)	2.49*** (16.95)	2.69*** (23.94)	2.71*** (22.27)
medium	0.97* (-1.82)	0.98 (-1.18)	1.03 (0.96)	1.07 (1.69)	1.13*** (3.19)	1.17*** (3.59)
high	0.66*** (17.64)	0.67*** (-16.72)	0.36*** (-17.77)	0.38*** (-16.63)	0.33*** (-17.17)	0.32*** (-16.15)
Age of the youngest child						
0-2	2.55*** (41.45)	2.63*** (42.12)	2.17*** (14.92)	2.30*** (15.28)	2.15*** (11.13)	2.21*** (10.74)
3-5	1.66*** (21.01)	1.74*** (22.66)	1.46*** (6.51)	1.48*** (6.51)	1.37*** (5.23)	1.32*** (4.38)
6-9	1.01 (0.35)	1.03 (1.20)	1.07 (1.11)	1.06 (1.01)	0.88** (-2.36)	0.89** (-2.07)
10-15	0.63*** (-19.95)	0.62*** (-20.10)	0.59*** (-11.45)	0.58*** (-11.75)	0.69*** (-7.05)	0.70*** (-6.47)
no children aged 0-15	0.37*** (54.02)	0.34*** (-59.19)	0.50*** (-17.77)	0.48*** (-18.15)	0.56*** (-13.02)	0.55*** (-12.67)
Husband's labour market status						
not married	0.70*** (-15.48)		1.49*** (6.51)		1.22*** (3.90)	
husband - no job	1.37*** (10.81)		1.81*** (8.82)		1.32*** (5.85)	
husband employed: low	1.48*** (12.95)		0.96 (-0.25)		0.88*** (-2.69)	
husband employed: medium	0.96** (-2.52)		0.99 (-0.01)		0.80*** (-4.22)	
husband employed: high	0.73*** (7.05)		0.39*** (-11.07)		0.88 (-1.31)	
Partner's labour market status						
no partner		0.73*** (-13.39)		1.62*** (7.99)		1.15*** (2.67)
partner - no job		2.25*** (26.39)		2.99*** (17.33)		1.39*** (6.11)
partner employed: low		1.29*** (8.54)		0.75 (-1.53)		0.85*** (-3.39)
partner employed: medium		0.80*** (-12.67)		0.84*** (-2.97)		0.77*** (-4.67)
partner employed: high		0.59*** (-11.94)		0.33*** (-13.35)		0.96 (-0.44)

Notes: t-statistics are presented in parentheses. The stars stand for significance at the level of: ***- 0.01, ** - 0.05, * - 0.1

TableA5: Logit model estimates, part-time vs. full-time employment, women aged 20-50, for the year 2001

	West Germany		East Germany		Poland	
	exp(β)	exp(β)	exp(β)	exp(β)	exp(β)	exp(β)
Age						
20-24	0.54*** (-14.38)	0.45*** (-17.96)	0.88* (-1.65)	0.74*** (-3.73)	1.50*** (3.25)	1.58*** (3.49)
25-29	0.64*** (-14.13)	0.58*** (-16.74)	0.73*** (-4.92)	0.66*** (-5.96)	0.84* (-1.81)	0.87 (-1.37)
30-34	0.89*** (-4.44)	0.90*** (-4.28)	0.90** (-1.95)	0.92 (-1.42)	0.96 (-0.42)	0.97 (-0.30)
35-39	1.33*** (11.67)	1.44*** (14.57)	1.22*** (3.91)	1.33*** (5.64)	0.98 (-0.23)	0.91 (-0.94)
40-50	2.43*** (40.86)	2.99*** (50.17)	1.43*** (7.80)	1.66*** (11.04)	0.84** (-2.30)	0.83** (-2.38)
Education						
Low	1.39*** (17.86)	1.43*** (19.03)	1.54*** (6.06)	1.50*** (5.53)	0.63*** (-6.67)	0.61*** (-6.445)
medium	0.95*** (-3.04)	0.96** (-2.38)	1.12*** (2.65)	1.12*** (2.48)	0.46*** (-13.49)	0.46*** (-12.57)
high	0.76*** (-11.83)	0.73*** (-13.08)	0.58*** (9.28)	0.60*** (-8.56)	3.49*** (17.96)	3.56*** (16.93)
Age of the youngest child						
0-2	0.70*** (-12.05)	0.74*** (-9.65)	1.28*** (3.68)	1.18** (2.32)	1.02 (0.17)	1.00 (-0.002)
3-5	2.89*** (28.33)	3.22*** (30.52)	1.56*** (6.41)	1.58*** (6.34)	1.30** (2.38)	1.37*** (2.69)
6-9	2.28*** (25.10)	2.33*** (25.39)	1.42*** (5.26)	1.47*** (5.58)	1.12 (1.22)	1.14 (1.26)
10-15	0.98 (-0.83)	0.94** (-2.05)	0.68*** (-7.91)	0.70*** (-6.95)	0.93 (-0.75)	0.93 (-0.72)
no children aged 0-15	0.22*** (-72.96)	0.19*** (-79.71)	0.52*** (-14.36)	0.52*** (-13.88)	0.72*** (-4.09)	0.69*** (-4.29)
Husband's labour market status						
Not married	0.48*** (-31.32)		0.78*** (-3.07)		1.12 (1.35)	
husband - no job	0.72*** (-9.26)		1.07 (0.74)		0.89 (1.40)	
husband employed: low	1.62*** (11.84)		0.96 (-0.16)		1.08 (0.95)	
husband employed: medium	1.53*** (20.47)		1.18*** (2.17)		1.02 (0.29)	
husband employed: high	1.17*** (3.46)		1.06 (-0.97)		0.91 (-0.93)	
Partner's labour market status						
no partner		0.55*** (-23.73)		0.85** (-2.21)		1.21*** (2.12)
partner - no job		0.77*** (-6.16)		1.16* (1.79)		0.98 (-0.21)
partner employed: low		1.49*** (10.14)		0.96 (-0.16)		1.07 (0.77)
partner employed: medium		1.42*** (16.77)		1.06 (0.88)		0.97 (-0.33)
partner employed: high		1.11*** (2.37)		0.99 (-0.07)		0.81* (-1.77)

	exp(β)	exp(β)	exp(β)	exp(β)	exp(β)	exp(β)
Employment sector						
Agriculture	0.89*	0.90	0.82**	0.83	4.31***	4.25***
	(-1.76)	(-1.45)	(-2.00)	(-1.86)	(15.64)	(13.91)
Industry	0.70***	0.70***	0.68***	0.68***	0.26***	0.26***
	(-9.45)	(-9.12)	(-6.00)	(-5.73)	(-13.42)	(-12.41)
Services	1.62***	1.57***	1.80***	1.76***	0.91	0.91
	(13.22)	(12.30)	(10.60)	(10.02)	(-1.25)	(-1.13)
Public/private type of establishment						
private	1.12***	1.11***	1.25***	1.24***	0.83***	0.81***
	(8.39)	(8.39)	(8.63)	(7.93)	(-3.74)	(-3.96)
public	0.89***	0.90***	0.80***	0.81***	1.20***	1.23***
	(-8.39)	(-7.80)	(-8.63)	(-7.93)	(3.74)	(3.96)

Notes: *t*-statistics are presented in parentheses. The stars stand for significance at the level of: *** - 0.01, ** - 0.05, * - 0.1

Table A6: Logit model estimates, being out of employment vs. being in employment, women aged 20-50, for the year 1996

	West Germany	East Germany
Age	0.97	0.86***
20-24	(-0.86)	(-2.66)
	0.74***	0.81***
25-29	(-13.08)	(-4.66)
	0.84***	0.94
30-34	(-8.61)	(-1.54)
	1.03	1.12***
35-39	(1.26)	(2.62)
	1.61***	1.38***
40-50	(-25.06)	(8.13)
Education		
	1.78***	2.62***
low	(22.19)	(13.26)
	0.87***	1.16**
medium	(-5.17)	(2.65)
	0.65***	0.33***
high	(11.10)	(11.81)
Age of the youngest child		
	2.45***	2.62***
0-2	(40.27)	(17.61)
	1.87***	1.42***
3-5	(27.60)	(6.90)
	1.06**	0.79***
6-9	(2.49)	(-5.77)
	0.58***	0.62***
10-15	(-23.68)	(-10.93)
	0.36***	0.55***
no children aged 0-15	(58.68)	(15.50)
Husband's labour market status		
	0.67***	1.22***
not married	(-17.99)	(4.00)
	1.38***	1.39***
husband - no job	(10.98)	(5.49)
	0.98	0.72***
husband employed: low	(-0.75)	(-3.21)
	1.19***	0.80***
husband employed: medium	(5.74)	(-4.19)
	0.93	1.03
husband employed: high	(1.25)	(-0.20)

Notes: *t*-statistics are presented in parentheses. The stars stand for significance at the level of: *** - 0.01, ** - 0.05, * - 0.1

Table A7: Logit model estimates, part-time vs. full-time employment, women aged 20-50, for the year 1996

	West Germany	East Germany
Age		
	0.48***	0.86*
20-24	(-16.46)	(-1.88)
	0.59***	0.86**
25-29	(-17.91)	(-2.49)
	0.95**	1.00
30-34	(-1.98)	(0.02)
	1.54***	1.15***
35-39	(16.72)	(2.68)
	2.43***	1.18***
40-50	(38.87)	(3.33)
Education		
	1.22***	1.59***
low	(6.92)	(4.49)
	0.88***	0.87**
medium	(-4.75)	(-1.99)
	0.94*	0.72***
high	(-1.77)	(-3.19)
Age of the youngest child		
	0.75***	1.24***
0-2	(-9.14)	(2.60)
	2.96***	1.47***
3-5	(29.52)	(5.80)
	1.87***	1.04
6-9	(19.97)	(0.70)
	0.95*	0.83***
10-15	(-1.78)	(-3.47)
	0.26***	0.64***
no children aged 0-15	(-64.31)	(-9.18)
Husband's labour market status		
	0.48***	0.73***
not married	(-30.97)	(-5.02)
	0.80***	1.12
husband - no job	(-5.93)	(1.46)
	1.76***	1.04
husband employed: low	(16.94)	(0.29)
	1.55***	1.31***
husband employed: medium	(13.20)	(4.06)
	0.96	0.90
husband employed: high	(-0.81)	(-0.79)
Employment sector		
	0.88**	0.65***
agriculture	(-2.09)	(-4.24)
	0.73***	0.76***
industry	(-8.92)	(-4.11)
	1.55***	2.03***
services	(13.25)	(12.26)
Public/private type of establishment		
	1.18***	1.09***
private	(12.04)	(9.64)
	0.85***	0.92***
public	(-12.04)	(-9.64)

Notes: *t*-statistics are presented in parentheses. The stars stand for significance at the level of: ***- 0.01, ** - 0.05, * - 0.1