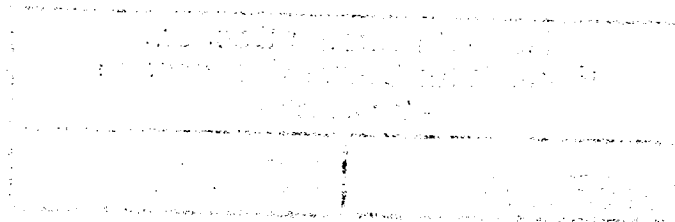


Stefan Immerfall · Göran Therborn  
Editors

# Handbook of European Societies

Social Transformations in the 21st Century



*Editors*

Stefan Immerfall  
Pädagogische Hochschule Schwäbisch Gmünd  
University of Education  
Institut für Humanwissenschaften - Soziologie  
Oberbettringerstr. 200  
73525 Schwäbisch Gmünd  
Germany  
stefan.immerfall@ph-gmuend.de

Göran Therborn  
Department of Sociology  
University of Cambridge  
Free School Lane  
Cambridge  
United Kingdom CB2 3RQ  
gt274@cam.ac.uk

Ruhr-Universität Bochum Fakultät für Sozialwissenschaft - Bibliothek -	
AG-124	2021/138 ✓

HT016571173

ISBN 978-0-387-88198-0 (hardcover)

e-ISBN 978-0-387-88199-7

ISBN 978-1-4419-8128-8 (softcover)

DOI 10.1007/978-0-387-88199-7

Springer New York Dordrecht Heidelberg London

Library of Congress Control Number: 2009939454

© Springer Science+Business Media, LLC 2010, First softcover printing 2011

All rights reserved. This work may not be translated or copied in whole or in part without the written permission of the publisher (Springer Science+Business Media, LLC, 233 Spring Street, New York, NY 10013, USA), except for brief excerpts in connection with reviews or scholarly analysis. Use in connection with any form of information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed is forbidden.

The use in this publication of trade names, trademarks, service marks, and similar terms, even if they are not identified as such, is not to be taken as an expression of opinion as to whether or not they are subject to proprietary rights.

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer is part of Springer Science+Business Media (www.springer.com)

# Acknowledgement

Support of the Wissenschaftszentrum/Social Science Center Berlin (WZB) for this handbook is gratefully acknowledged.

# Contents

<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
Stefan Immerfall and Göran Therborn	
References	5
<b>2 Association and Community</b>	<b>7</b>
Stefan Immerfall, Eckhard Priller, and Jan Delhey	
2.1 Introduction	7
2.2 The (Re-)discovery of Civic Engagement	8
2.3 Social Participation, Individual Characteristics and Social Ties	9
2.4 Patterns, Types and Scope of European Volunteerism	13
2.5 Explanation of Country-Specific Similarities and Differences	23
2.6 Trust – Bonding Europeans Together	25
2.7 Conclusion	33
References	35
<b>3 Bureaucracy and the State</b>	<b>39</b>
B. Guy Peters	
3.1 The Logic of Bureaucracy	40
3.2 Explaining Bureaucratic Patterns	41
3.3 State Traditions and Bureaucracy	42
3.4 A European Bureaucracy?	48
3.5 Administrative Reform and Convergence	50
3.6 Market Reforms	51
3.7 Reform as Participation	52
3.8 Convergence Through Reform?	53
3.9 The End of Bureaucracy?	54
3.10 Conclusion	55
References	56
<b>4 Cities</b>	<b>59</b>
Patrick Le Galès and Göran Therborn	
4.1 The City Continent	59
4.2 The Pattern of European Urbanization	61
4.3 Economic Development	64
4.4 Urban Form	66
4.5 The Current “State of European Cities”	70
4.6 The Urban and the Rural	71
4.7 Four Dimensions of a New Urban Salience	74

4.8	Cities as Actors . . . . .	79
4.9	The Impact of the EU . . . . .	82
4.10	Conclusion: The European City and Its Sustainability in a Globalized World . . . . .	84
	References . . . . .	86
<b>5</b>	<b>Cleavages and Political Transformations . . . . .</b>	<b>91</b>
	Sten Berglund and Joakim Ekman	
5.1	Introduction . . . . .	91
5.2	Political Cleavages and Divides: Conceptual Points of Departure . . . . .	91
5.3	Lessons from Post-communist Central and Eastern Europe . . . . .	94
5.4	Political Cleavages in Contemporary Europe . . . . .	104
5.5	Concluding Remarks . . . . .	107
	References . . . . .	107
<b>6</b>	<b>Collective Action . . . . .</b>	<b>111</b>
	Dieter Rucht	
6.1	Collective Action as an Analytical Concept . . . . .	111
6.2	Determinants of Collective Action . . . . .	112
6.3	Collective Action in Europe . . . . .	115
6.4	Summary and Conclusion . . . . .	132
	References . . . . .	134
<b>7</b>	<b>Crime and Justice . . . . .</b>	<b>139</b>
	Rosemary Barberet and Matti Joutsen	
7.1	Introduction . . . . .	139
7.2	Historical Antecedents of European Criminology . . . . .	139
7.3	Current Developments in European Criminology . . . . .	140
7.4	Development of European Data Sources . . . . .	141
7.5	Current Crime Situation in Europe . . . . .	142
7.6	Explanations . . . . .	146
7.7	Criminal Justice in the European Union . . . . .	147
	References . . . . .	155
<b>8</b>	<b>Culture . . . . .</b>	<b>157</b>
	Jürgen Gerhards	
8.1	Terminological Clarifications and Research Questions . . . . .	159
8.2	Religion in a Wider Europe . . . . .	162
8.3	Family Values and Gender Roles . . . . .	176
8.4	Political Culture in a Wider Europe . . . . .	184
8.5	Concepts of the Welfare State in the European Union . . . . .	195
8.6	Summary . . . . .	206
	References . . . . .	209
<b>9</b>	<b>Education . . . . .</b>	<b>217</b>
	Walter Müller and Irena Kogan	
9.1	Introduction . . . . .	217
9.2	Educational Systems and Institutional Variation . . . . .	219
9.3	Educational Expansion and the Future Dynamics of Human Capital Growth . . . . .	246

9.4	Social Inequalities in the Distribution of Education . . . . .	252
9.5	Educational Outcomes . . . . .	262
9.6	Conclusions . . . . .	279
	References . . . . .	282
<b>10</b>	<b>Elites and Power Structure . . . . .</b>	<b>291</b>
	Michael Hartmann	
10.1	Introduction . . . . .	291
10.2	The Basic Types of Elite Formation in Europe . . . . .	292
10.3	The Special Development of the New EU Members in Eastern Europe . . . . .	313
10.4	Trans-national Elites? European Integration Process, Economic Internationalization, and Their Effects . . . . .	315
10.5	Conclusion . . . . .	318
	References . . . . .	320
<b>11</b>	<b>Identity . . . . .</b>	<b>325</b>
	Stefan Immerfall, Klaus Boehnke, and Dirk Baier	
11.1	Introduction . . . . .	325
11.2	Self-Definition and Self-Concepts . . . . .	326
11.3	Support for European Integration . . . . .	331
11.4	European Identity and Its Components . . . . .	335
11.5	European Identity and Individual Support for the European Union . . . . .	342
11.6	Constructing a European Union Identity? . . . . .	345
11.7	A European Sense of Community? . . . . .	348
	References . . . . .	349
<b>12</b>	<b>Leisure and Consumption in Europe . . . . .</b>	<b>355</b>
	Jukka Gronow and Dale Southerton	
12.1	Introduction . . . . .	355
12.2	Homogenisation or Diversification of Consumption and Leisure in Europe . . . . .	356
12.3	The Overall Structure of Household Expenditure on Consumption and Leisure-Related Consumption . . . . .	358
12.4	The Overall Structure of Time Allocated to Consumption and Leisure in 2000 . . . . .	362
12.5	Europe: Media, Cultural Activities and Tourism . . . . .	371
12.6	Conclusions . . . . .	380
	References . . . . .	382
<b>13</b>	<b>Life Course . . . . .</b>	<b>385</b>
	Heather Hofmeister	
13.1	The Life Course Perspective as an Orienting Strategy . . . . .	385
13.2	Components of the Life Course Perspective . . . . .	387
13.3	Life Course Studies in Contemporary Europe . . . . .	398
13.4	Conclusions: Can We Speak of a European Life Course, Now or in the Future? . . . . .	406
	References . . . . .	407

<b>14</b>	<b>Population</b>	413
	Tony Fahey	
14.1	Introduction	413
14.2	What Is Europe?	416
14.3	Population Size and Increase/Decrease	418
14.4	Age Structure	423
14.5	Low Fertility	426
14.6	Mortality and Life Expectancy	430
14.7	Migration	432
14.8	Conclusion	434
	References	435
<b>15</b>	<b>Religion and Churches</b>	439
	Roberto Cipriani	
15.1	From Polytheism to Monotheism	439
15.2	The Religious Pattern in Contemporary Europe	442
15.3	The Decline of Religious Practice	445
15.4	The Religious Communities	446
15.5	The State and Religion	452
15.6	Religious Pluralism	454
15.7	Religions and/in Europe: A Conclusion	456
	References	461
<b>16</b>	<b>Sexuality and Family Formation</b>	465
	Elina Haavio-Mannila and Anna Rotkirch	
16.1	Introduction	465
16.2	European Dividing Lines	466
16.3	Sexuality and Couple Formation	468
16.4	Household Composition and Fertility	475
16.5	Paid and Unpaid Work	479
16.6	Intergenerational Help	482
16.7	Sexual Attitudes	484
16.8	Family Values	486
16.9	Conclusion: Tradition, Equality, or Autonomy?	486
	References	494
<b>17</b>	<b>Stratification and Social Mobility</b>	499
	Péter Róbert	
17.1	Introduction	499
17.2	Conceptual and Historical Background	500
17.3	Class Structure and Status Hierarchy	503
17.4	Intergenerational Social (Class) Mobility	523
17.5	Concluding Assessment on the Empirical Evidence	532
	References	534
<b>18</b>	<b>Transnationality</b>	537
	Steffen Mau and Sebastian Büttner	
18.1	Introduction	537
18.2	The Infrastructure of Transnationalisation: Transport and Communication Networks	541
18.3	Transnational Migration in Europe	546

18.4	Tourism in Europe . . . . .	551
18.5	Student Mobility, Student Networks and Youth Exchanges . . . . .	555
18.6	Town Twinning and Cross-border Cooperation . . . . .	564
18.7	Final Remarks . . . . .	565
	References . . . . .	567
<b>19</b>	<b>Welfare State . . . . .</b>	<b>571</b>
	Thomas Bahle, Jürgen Kohl, and Claus Wendt	
19.1	Introduction . . . . .	571
19.2	Historical Developments . . . . .	572
19.3	Welfare Regime Types . . . . .	580
19.4	Social Expenditures . . . . .	583
19.5	Pensions . . . . .	590
19.6	Healthcare . . . . .	603
19.7	Family Policy . . . . .	613
19.8	Conclusion . . . . .	620
	References . . . . .	623
<b>20</b>	<b>Well-Being and Inequality . . . . .</b>	<b>629</b>
	Petra Böhnke and Ulrich Kohler	
20.1	Introduction . . . . .	629
20.2	An Understanding of Well-Being . . . . .	630
20.3	Well-Being in Europe . . . . .	635
20.4	Well-Being and Dimensions of Social Inequality . . . . .	643
20.5	Country Differences in the Production of Well-Being . . . . .	653
20.6	Summary . . . . .	662
	References . . . . .	662
<b>21</b>	<b>Conclusion: European Integration and the Elusive European Dream . .</b>	<b>667</b>
	Stefan Immerfall and Göran Therborn	
21.1	Faces of a European Society . . . . .	667
21.2	Nested Societies, Multiple Sociability . . . . .	668
21.3	Societal Diversity as Barriers to the Construction of a European Polity . . . . .	675
	References . . . . .	677
	<b>Index . . . . .</b>	<b>681</b>



## Country Codes

A	Albania
AT	Austria
BE	Belgium
BH	Bosnia-Herzegovina
BG	Bulgaria
C	Croatia
CZ	Czech Republic
CY	Cyprus
DK	Denmark
EE	Estonia
FI	Finland
FR	France
G	Gibraltar
DE	Germany
EL	Greece
HU	Hungary
IE	Ireland
IS	Iceland
IT	Italy
LV	Latvia
LT	Lithuania
LU	Luxembourg
MC	Macedonia
MT	Malta
M	Moldova
NL	Netherlands
PL	Poland
PT	Portugal
RO	Romania
R	Russia
S	Serbia
SK	Slovakia
SI	Slovenia
ES	Spain
SE	Sweden
SW	Switzerland
TR	Turkey
U	Ukraine
UK	United Kingdom

## Editors

**Stefan Immerfall** is a Professor of Sociology at the University of Education at Schwäbisch Gmünd, Germany. He graduated from Ruhr University in Germany and received his doctorate and his second doctorate from the University of Passau, Germany. Among his publications are *Safeguarding German-American Relations in the New Century: Understanding and Accepting Mutual Differences* (with Hermann Kurthen and Antonio Menendez), *Europa – politisches Einigungswerk und gesellschaftliche Entwicklung* (2006), *The New Politics of the Right: Neo-Populist Parties and Movements in Established Democracies* (with Hans-Georg Betz, 1988), *Territoriality in the Globalizing Society* (1998), and *Die westeuropäischen Gesellschaften im Vergleich* (with Stefan Hradil, 1997). Besides European integration, his research topics include political economy and political sociology.

**Göran Therborn** is the Director of Research and Professor and Chair Emeritus of Sociology at the University of Cambridge. Prior to that, he was the co-Director of the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences for 10 years, Professor of Sociology at Göteborg University in Sweden, and Professor of Political Science at the Catholic University in The Netherlands. His writings include the following books: *Science Class and Society* (1976), *What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules?* (1978), *The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology* (1980), *Why Some Peoples Are More Unemployed than Others* (1986), *European Modernity and Beyond* (1995), *Between Sex and Power. Family in the World, 1900–2000* (2004), *Inequalities of the World* (2006), and *From Marxism to Postmarxism?* (2009). His works have been translated into more than 20 languages. Currently, he is pursuing comparative global studies, and in particular, a project on the capital cities of the world.

# Contributors

**Thomas Bahle** Mannheim Center for European Social Research, University of Mannheim, Germany, [thomas.bahle@mzes.uni-mannheim.de](mailto:thomas.bahle@mzes.uni-mannheim.de)

**Dirk Baier** Criminological Research Institute of Lower Saxony, Hannover, Germany, [baier@kfn.uni-hannover.de](mailto:baier@kfn.uni-hannover.de)

**Rosemary Barberet** John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York, USA, [rbarberet@jjay.cuny.edu](mailto:rbarberet@jjay.cuny.edu)

**Sten Berglund** Department of Social and Political Sciences, Örebro University, Sweden, [sten.berglund@oru.se](mailto:sten.berglund@oru.se)

**Klaus Boehnke** Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences (BIGSSS), Jacobs University Bremen, Germany, [k.boehnke@jacobs-university.de](mailto:k.boehnke@jacobs-university.de)

**Petra Böhnke** Inequality and Social Integration, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, Germany, [boehnke@wzb.eu](mailto:boehnke@wzb.eu)

**Sebastian Büttner** Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences, University of Bremen, Germany, [buettner@bigsss.uni-bremen.de](mailto:buettner@bigsss.uni-bremen.de)

**Roberto Cipriani** Department of Sciences of Education, University of Roma Tre, Roma, Italy, [rciprian@uniroma3.it](mailto:rciprian@uniroma3.it)

**Jan Delhey** School of Humanities and Social Science, Jacobs University, Bremen, Germany, [j.delhey@jacobs-university.de](mailto:j.delhey@jacobs-university.de)

**Joakim Ekman** Department of Political Sciences, Södertörn University, Stockholm, Sweden, [joakim.ekman@sh.se](mailto:joakim.ekman@sh.se)

**Tony Fahey** Professor of Social Policy, University College Dublin, Ireland, [tony.fahey@ucd.ie](mailto:tony.fahey@ucd.ie)

**Jürgen Gerhards** Department of Sociology, Free University Berlin, Germany, [j.gerhards@fu-berlin.de](mailto:j.gerhards@fu-berlin.de)

**Jukka Gronow** Department of Sociology, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden, [jukka.gronow@soc.uu.se](mailto:jukka.gronow@soc.uu.se)

**Elina Haavio-Mannila** Department of Sociology, University of Helsinki, Finland, [elina.haavio-mannila@helsinki.fi](mailto:elina.haavio-mannila@helsinki.fi)

**Michael Hartmann** Institute of Sociology, Technical University Darmstadt, Germany, [hartmann@ifs.tu-darmstadt.de](mailto:hartmann@ifs.tu-darmstadt.de)

**Heather Hofmeister** Institute of Sociology with the specialty Gender Studies, RWTH Aachen University, Aachen, Germany, heather.hofmeister@rwth-aachen.de

**Stefan Immerfall** Humanities Department, University of Education at Schwäbisch Gmünd, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Germany, stefan.immerfall@ph-gmuend.de

**Matti Joutsen** Director of International Affairs, Ministry of Justice of Finland, Helsinki, Finland, matti.joutsen@om.fi

**Irena Kogan** Mannheim Center for European Social Research, University of Mannheim, Mannheim, Germany, ikogan@mail.uni-mannheim.de

**Jürgen Kohl** Institute of Sociology, University of Heidelberg, Heidelberg, Germany, juergen.kohl@soziologie.uni-heidelberg.de

**Ulrich Kohler** Inequality and Social Integration, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, Germany, Reichpietschufer 50, D-10785 Berlin, Germany, kohler@wzb.eu

**Patrick Le Galès** Centre d'Etudes Européennes, Sciences Po and King's College London, UK, patrick.legales@sciences-po.fr

**Steffen Mau** Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences, University of Bremen, Germany, smau@bigsss.uni-bremen.de

**Walter Müller** Mannheim Center for European Social Research, University of Mannheim, Germany, wmueller@sowi.uni-mannheim.de

**B. Guy Peters** Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA, USA, bgpeters@pitt.edu

**Eckhard Priller** WZB, Social Science Research Center Berlin, Germany, priller@wzb.eu

**Péter Róbert** Marie Curie Excellence Senior Research Fellow, UCD Geary Institute, Associate Professor, Social Science Faculty of the Eötvös Lóránd University (ELTE), Hungary and Senior Researcher, TÁRKI Social Research Institute, Hungary, peter.robert@ucd.ie; robert@tarki.hu

**Anna Rotkirch** The Population Research Institute, The Family Federation of Finland, anna.rotkirch@vaestoliitto.fi

**Dieter Rucht** WZB, Social Science Research Center Berlin, Germany, rucht@wzb.eu

**Dale Southerton** Sociology, Manchester University, UK, dale.southerton@man.ac.uk

**Goran Therborn** Department of Sociology, University of Cambridge, UK, gt274@cam.ac.uk

**Claus Wendt** Mannheim Center for European Social Research, University of Mannheim, Germany, claus.wendt@mzes.uni-mannheim.de (currently: CES, Harvard University at wendt@fas.harvard.edu)

# List of Figures

2.1	Important things in life. How important is each of these things in your life? (From 0 to 10) Source: <i>ESS 2002/2003</i> , <sup>2</sup> country weighting was applied . . . . .	10
2.2	Could take an active role in a group involved with political issues Source: <i>ESS 2002/2003</i> . . . . .	11
2.3	Membership rates in European comparison . . . . .	15
2.4	Participation rates in civil society organisations . . . . .	15
2.5	Donation rates in European comparison . . . . .	17
2.6	Donations overall and donation to International Affairs (United States 1987 to 2003) . . . . .	17
2.7	Activity rates in European comparison . . . . .	18
2.8	National and transnational trust of Europeans . . . . .	28
2.9	Sympathy of Poles towards various nationalities . . . . .	32
2.10	Trust in co-Europeans and self-identification as EU citizen . . . . .	34
5.1	Three-level model of cleavages and partial cleavages Source: Deegan-Krause (2004). . . . .	93
5.2	Cleavage typologies and their origins . . . . .	97
6.1	Party membership 1990 and 2000 in selected European countries (percentages) Source: World Values Survey 1990 and European Values Survey 2000 (Weßels 2003). . . . .	118
6.2	Changes of involvement in political groups and social movement organisations in selected European countries (percentages) Source: World Values Survey, second (1989/1990) and fourth wave (1999–2004). . . . .	121
6.3	Participation in four kinds of “unconventional” action in selected European countries, 1999–2004 Source: World/European Social Survey, fourth wave (1999–2004). . . . .	122
6.4	Changes in participation in four forms of “unconventional” actions, 1988/1989 and around 2002 (percentages) Source: World Values Survey, second (1989/1990) and fourth wave (1999–2004). . . . .	124
6.5	Number of protest events and protest participants in Germany*, 1950–1997 *including East Germany since 1999. Source: Prodat/Rucht. . . . .	128

6.6	Geographical scope of protest mobilisation in Germany, 1950–1997 (percentages) Source: Prodat/Rucht. . . . .	130
7.1	Source: Aebi & Delgrande, 2008, p. 31. Reprinted with permission. . . .	147
8.1	Intolerance against other religious denominations (in %) . . . . .	170
8.2	Attitude toward being a housewife: “A job is alright but what most women really want is a home and children” (%) *The question was not asked in Turkey. . . . .	179
8.3	Support for the elderly, sick, handicapped, and unemployed (mean index) . . . . .	199
9.1	Percent lower secondary education or less by cohort in 2004 Source: EULFS (2004); calculations by authors. Country abbreviations as in Table 9.1, page 222. . . . .	248
9.2	Percent tertiary education by cohort in 2004 Source: EULFS (2004); calculations by authors. Country abbreviations as in Table 9.1, page 222. . . . .	248
9.3	Higher education enrolments (gross population ratios, percent of population aged 19–24) Source: UNICEF (2007). Note: For Czech Republic the data for 1989–1995 refer to those aged 18–22; 1996–2005 to those aged 19–23; for Hungary data refer to those aged 18–23; for Slovakia - data refer to those aged 18–22, 1989–1995 for full-time courses only; for Slovenia data refer to those aged 19–23; data includes all students enrolled at ISCED 5 level (also enrolled on post-graduate master’s programs); for Estonia data refer to those aged 19–22; for Latvia and Lithuania data refer to those aged 19–23. Country abbreviations as in Table 9.1, page 222. . . . .	250
9.4	Variance of PISA-reading scores explained by highest parental ISEI and average reading scores in 29 countries* Source: Baumert et al. (2001: 391), Prenzel et al. (2004: 99); Prenzel et al. (2007: 229, 323). *Variances explained and average reading scores are shown as the arithmetic mean of the respective measures found in the PISA-studies of 2000, 2003 and 2006. <b>Country abbreviations:</b> AT – Austria; AUS – Australia; BE – Belgium; CAN – Canada; CH – Switzerland; CO – Korea; CZ – Czech Republic; DE – Germany; DK – Denmark; ES – Spain; FI – Finland; FR – France; EL – Greece; HU – Hungary; IR – Ireland; IS – Iceland; IT – Italy; JA – Japan; LU – Luxembourg (Grand-Duchè); MEX – Mexico; NL – Netherlands; NZL – New Zealand; NO – Norway; PL – Poland; PT – Portugal; SE – Sweden; SK – Slovakia; TU – Turkey; UK – United Kingdom. . . . .	254
9.5	Gender inequality (odds ratios of women relative to men) in attainment of lower secondary education or less by cohort Source: EULFS (2004). Country abbreviations as in Table 9.1, page 222. . . . .	260

9.6	Gender inequality (odds ratios of women relative to men) in attainment of tertiary education by cohort Source: EULFS (2004). Country abbreviations as in Table 9.1, page 222. . . . .	260
9.7	Number of foreign languages spoken well by level of education and cohort Source: Eurobarometer (1990, 1994, 1995, 1999). Note: Non-national population included Finland, Sweden, Austria only 1995+1999, Luxembourg not 1990, UK not 1999. <b>Country abbreviations:</b> DE-West – Former West-Germany; DE-East – Former East-Germany; other country abbreviations as in Table 9.1, page 222. . . . .	265
9.8	Proportion of individuals, aged 25–64, enrolled in any type of VET in the last 12 months Source: EULFS (2003) ad hoc module of lifelong learning (LLL), own calculations. Labour market integration and first job outcome by initial level of education in Europe. Country abbreviations as in Table 9.1, page 222. . . . .	267
9.9	Labour market integration and first job outcome by initial level of education in Europe Source: EULFS (2000) ad hoc module on school-to-work transitions. Note: Includes Austria, the Netherlands, Finland, Denmark, Sweden, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, United Kingdom, Ireland, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. . . . .	271
9.10	Precarious employment and unemployment rates by initial level of education and months since leaving continuous education for the first time in Europe Source: EULFS (2000) ad hoc module on school-to-work transitions. Note: Includes Austria, the Netherlands, Finland, Denmark, Sweden, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, United Kingdom, Ireland, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. . . . .	271
9.11	Unemployment Rates by Country and Years of Labour Force Experience, ISCED 3 leavers Source: Gangl (2003b). . . . .	273
9.12	Occupational status (ISEI) of recent school leavers by country groups and level of education Source: EULFS (2000) ad hoc module on school-to-work transitions. Country abbreviations as in Table 9.1, page 222. . . . .	274
9.13	Political participation and educational attainment in Europe (%) Source: ESS (2002, 2004), own calculations. Note: Unweighted data. Country abbreviations as in Table 9.1, page 222. . . . .	277
9.14	Benefits of EU membership for one owns country by education and cohort (%) Source: Eurobarometer, 66.1 (September–October 2006). Country abbreviations: IE-N – Northern Ireland; DE-E – Former	

	East-Germany; DE-W – Former West-Germany; other country abbreviations as in Table 9.1, page 222. . . . .	278
9.15	Image of the EU (mean score), by education Source: Eurobarometer, 66.1 (September–October 2006). Note: The values range from 1 (very negative image) to 5 (very positive image). Country abbreviations: IE-N – Northern Ireland; DE-E – Former East-Germany; DE-W – Former West-Germany; other country abbreviations as in Table 9.1, page 222. . . . .	278
9.16	Trust in the European Parliament (%), by education Source: Eurobarometer, 66.1 (September–October 2006). Country abbreviations: IE-N – Northern Ireland; DE-E – Former East-Germany; DE-W – Former West-Germany; other country abbreviations as in Table 9.1, page 222. . . . .	279
11.1	Distribution of interpersonal trust in relation to GNP . . . . .	330
11.2	Membership in EU: A good thing? “Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)’s membership of the European Union is ...? – a good thing – a bad thing – neither good nor bad good – bad?”; shown is percentage difference of respondents saying it is “a good thing” minus “a bad thing” across all EU member states at the particular time. Note: Membership changed from 6 to 25, see discussion in text. Source: Eurobarometer EB 1 to EB 66. . . . .	332
11.3	EU enthusiasts and EU skeptics by country Note: The vertical lines indicate the extension of the surveys of the Eurobarometer to the then acceding new members. Greece was added in 1983. (Northern Ireland and Luxembourg are excluded). Source and Question as in Fig.11.2; given is the two highest and the two lowest country averages of people saying the membership of their country in the European Union is a good thing. . . . .	332
11.4	Which three values citizens think best represent their countries, the EU, and the USA? Source: CCE 2003.5 and EB 60.1 – Fall 2003 [*=own country; ●=USA; —=EU] Question: Which three values [out of a list of 12] best represent our country/the EU/the USA? [EU15: EU member states before extension May 2004; 2004 Members: accession countries of May 2004; CC3: candidate countries Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey]; other values offered in questionnaire are “Equality; Solidarity, Support for others; Tolerance; Self-Fulfillment; Respect of other cultures.” (Not shown in the graph because not among the top three chosen). . . . .	334
11.5	Feeling as European “In the near future do you see yourself as ...? 1. (NATIONALITY) only, 2. [firstly] (NATIONALITY) and [then] European, 3. European and (NATIONALITY), 4. European only. Note: Membership changed in 1992 from 12 to 15. On new member states see footnote **. . . . . Source: Eurobarometer EB 37.0 to EB 61. . . . .	336



11.6	Emotional attachment to EU Question: "If you were told tomorrow that the European Union had been scrapped, would you be very sorry, indifferent or relieved?" In previous Eurobarometer, "Common Market" and "EEC" had been used as synonyms for EU. Remainder percentages are missing values or don't know. <i>Source: Selected Eurobarometer from EB 1 to EB 55.1.</i> . . . . .	338
11.7	Feeling as European and experiences abroad Question: "Have you ever. . . (1) Lived in another member state, (2) Worked and/or set up a business in another member state, (3) Studied in another member state, (4) Bought goods in a member state to bring them into another member state without border formalities." <i>Source: Eurobarometer 45.1 [= European Unions Rights, Sun Exposure, Work Safety, and Privacy Issues] (April/May 1996).</i> Question for EU Citizenship same as above in Table 11.2; shown is proportion of respondents per country claiming European citizenship as first preference. . . . .	341
11.8	A summary model explaining individual support for European integration Note: SES = socioeconomic status of the respondent; for other variables see text. . . . .	344
13.1	The reciprocal influence of the individual on his or her historical time and place . . . . .	386
13.2	Average age of European men at first marriage, 1990–2003, by country Eurostat, online database, <a href="http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu">http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu</a> , extraction: 25.04.2007; UNICEF: TransMONEE database 2006, UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre (IRC), Florence. Accessed on 18 August 2008. Missing datapoints are inferred as the average of the data on either side of the missing data. . . . .	388
13.3	Source: Eurostat, online database, <a href="http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu">http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu</a> , extraction: 25.04.2007; UNICEF: TransMONEE database 2006, UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre (IRC), Florence. Accessed on 18. August 2008. Missing datapoints are inferred as the average of the data from the years on either side of the missing year. . . . .	389
13.4	Percentage of employed women and men in part-time (at least 1 hour per week) in 2007 in Europe, as percent of total employed, divided by country. No data available for Ireland Source: Eurostat, online database: <a href="http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu">http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu</a> , extraction: 26.03.2009 . . . . .	393
14.1	Population of the states and major regions of Europe* (millions), 2005 Source: Council of Europe (2005). *Council of Europe definition. . . . .	418
14.2	Growth and decline of European population, 1950–2050 Source: UN population database (2006 Revision, medium variant projections). Author's calculations for EU15, NMS12 and EU27 *UN definition. . . . .	420

14.3	Population index, selected states, 1950–2050 (2000=100) Source: UN population database (2006 Revision, medium variant projections). . . . .	421
14.4	Population change in Europe at NUTS3 regional level Source: Reproduced with permission from Bucher and Mai (2005: 64). Map 3. Regional data not available for Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro. . . . .	422
14.5	Components of population increase/decrease, 2004 Source: Author's calculations from Council of Europe population database (Council of Europe 2005). . . . .	423
14.6	Age pyramids, Europe* 1950, 2000 and 2050 Source: UN 2006 (medium variant projections for 2050). *UN definition. . . . .	424
14.7	Percentage of population aged 65+ in European countries, 1950 and 2000 Source: UN Population database, 2006 Revision. No data for Serbia and Montenegro. . . . .	425
14.8	Total fertility rates in Europe, USA and Japan, 1950–2005 Source: UN Population database, 2006 Revision. . . . .	427
14.9	Total fertility rates in indicative European countries, 1950–2005 Source: UN Population database, 2006 Revision. . . . .	427
14.10	Total fertility rates for European countries, 2005 or nearest available year Sources: Albania, Armenia, Belarus, Belgium, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine, Turkey – WHO European Health for all database; all others – Eurostat New Cronos database. . . . .	429
14.11	Trends in life expectancy at birth in Europe Source: WHO European Health for All database (downloaded November 2007). . . . .	431
14.12	The mortality crisis in the former Soviet Union Source: World Bank (2005). . . . .	432
16.1	Median age at first sexual intercourse among women. Cohort born around 1970 (20–24 years of age in the 1990s) Source: Bozon (2003) and own calculations on people born during 1968–1972 in Sweden, Finland, Estonia, and St. Petersburg, data; see Haavio-Mannila & Kontula (2003). Labels with grids: 19 years and over. . . . .	469
16.2	Family and fertility <sup>1</sup> Eurostat 6.3.2008, National sources; TransMONEE database; New Cronos database. <sup>2</sup> Eurostat 6.3.2008, UNECE 2005. The figure for Italy is from the year 2000. <sup>3</sup> Eurostat 26.8.2008; Belgium in 2005: UN Common Database. <sup>4</sup> UNECE 2005. . . . .	471
16.3	Contraceptive prevalence: Use of modern methods, percent Source: United Nations Statistical Division – Demographic and Social Statistics. Social Indicators. Latest available figures from 1990s and 2000s. Labels with grids: over 60%. . . . .	472

16.4	Proportion of ever-married women aged 45–49, percent Source: United Nations Population Division – World Marriage Patterns 2000, 2006. Labels with grids: over 95%. . . . .	473
16.5	Average household size. Latest available year 1995–2004 Source: UNECE Statistical Yearbook of the Economic Commission for Europe. Eurostat NewCronos. Labels with grids: three people and over. . . . .	476
16.6	Mean age of women at the birth of the first child in 2005 Source: Eurostat 2008, UNECE Statistical Yearbook of the Economic Commission for Europe. Labels with grids: over 27.5 years. . . . .	478
16.7	Percentage of families (with children <18 years in the household) having at least three children Source: Eurostat, Census 2001, Households and families. Labels with grids: over 10%. . . . .	479
16.8	(continued) . . . . .	480
16.9	(continued) Facts and attitudes related to maternal employment, percentages <sup>1</sup> United Nations Statistics Division – Demographic and Social Statistics. Last update 2008. <sup>2</sup> Part-time employment (<30 h a week) of total employment of women aged 15–64 in 2003. OECD 2005. Quoted from EQLS (2007, Table 2, p. 15). For countries without official data on part-time work, information on subjective part time in parantheses is presented on the basis of an Eurostat survey. <sup>3</sup> EQLS (2007, Table 3, p. 18). <sup>4</sup> Agrees with the statement “A preschool child suffers when his or her mother is working”. European Values Survey 1999/2000; European and World Values Surveys Four-wave Integrated Data File, 1981–2004. . . . .	481
16.10	Time used in domestic work by men and women in some European countries Source: European Time Use Survey 2004. . . . .	482
16.11	Expects financial help from grandparents and has given financial gifts to adult children. Parents born in 1945–1950 in some European countries Expectations: Agrees with the statement that it is grandparents’ duty to support grandchildren and their families economically, percent. Practice: Has given financial gifts >250 euro to at least one of his or her four first-born children in the last 12 months, percent. Sources: SHARE Wave 2 and GENTRANS. . . . .	483
16.12	Attitudes towards some sexual issues, <sup>1</sup> percentages <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> Source: World Values Surveys 1996–2002. <sup>2</sup> Values 5–10 on a scale of 1 to 10. . . . .	485
16.13	Traditional parenthood, means <sup>1</sup> Source: World Values Surveys 1999–2002. <sup>2</sup> Range 0–1. <sup>3</sup> Range 1–4. . . . .	487

16.14	Anti-institutional family conception and economically independent woman, means (range 1–4) . . . . .	488
16.15	(continued) . . . . .	489
16.16	Summary of the characteristics of the six areas . . . . .	490
17.1	Distribution of persons by labour market entry class, labour market entry cohort and welfare regime type (%) <b>A</b> Service class. <b>B</b> Routine non-manual class. <b>C</b> Routine service class. <b>D</b> Skilled labourer class. <b>E</b> Unskilled labourer class Source: Bukodi and Róbert (2007). . . . .	520
17.2	The rank order of 25 countries by occupational prestige (SIOPS) based on the mean value <sup>27</sup> . . . . .	522
17.3	The rank order of 25 countries by the socio-economic status (ISEI) based on the mean value <sup>28</sup> . . . . .	522
18.1	Daily accessibility by air between major European urban areas (2003)* *Source: Espon Atlas (2006: 39), own reproduction. *Thin black lines: daily return trips possible in both directions (2003); black spots: main airports in Europe . . . . .	544
18.2	Most important targets of outbound tourism in Europe (EU-25) by country* Source: Bovagnet (2006b, 5); own reproduction. *The arrows mark the most important targets of intra-EU outbound tourism for each of the EU member state (EU25). . . . .	554
18.3	Outgoing students in Germany, France and UK: ERASMUS versus US stay* Source: European Commission <sup>1</sup> ; Institute of International Education (USA). <sup>2</sup> *This figure displays a time series of annual amounts of students going abroad within the framework of the ERASMUS programme on the one hand, and to the United States on the other, in France (F), Germany (D) and the United Kingdom (UK), the three most important countries of Europe as regards international student mobility. Thin black lines: students going abroad to the United States from France, Germany and the UK since 1993/1994; thick black lines: students going abroad on the basis of ERASMUS exchange from France, Germany and the UK since 1990/1991. <sup>1</sup> <a href="http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/socrates/erasmus/statisti/table8.pdf">http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/socrates/erasmus/statisti/table8.pdf</a> , cited 02 Feb 2007. <sup>2</sup> <a href="http://opendoors.iienetwork.org/page/113181/">http://opendoors.iienetwork.org/page/113181/</a> , cited 24 Nov 2007. . . . .	562
19.1	Public social expenditures, 1980–2003 . . . . .	585
19.2	Total social expenditure, OECD . . . . .	587
19.3	Structure of social expenditure, Europe 2004 . . . . .	588
19.4	Pension policy trajectories in the long run: convergence towards a mixed system of income security for the aged in OECD countries Source: Adapted from Wilensky (2002: 219, Figure 5.1) and Alber (1982: 232ff., Table A2). . . . .	592

19.5	Classification of OECD countries according to models of old-age pensions Source: Palme (1990: 90, Table 4.2). Note: Year of entry indicated in parentheses. . . . .	594
19.6	The structure of pension systems in OECD countries Source: OECD (2007: 23, Table 1.1). Notes: DB = defined benefit, DC = defined contribution, NDC = notional defined contribution. Mandatory private schemes include quasi-mandatory schemes with broad coverage. . . . .	595
19.7	GDP per capita and THE in % of GDP (without CEE region) Source: OECD Health Data (2006). . . . .	607
19.8	GDP per capita and THE in % of GDP, 2004 (CEE region included) Source: OECD Health Data (2006). . . . .	607
19.9	Public financing in % of THE and level of THE in % of GDP Source: OECD Health Data (2006). . . . .	609
19.10	Monetary resources for healthcare sectors, 2004 Source: OECD Health Data (2006). . . . .	610
19.11	THE in US\$ per capita (ppp) and total health employment per 1,000 persons, 2004 Source: OECD Health Data (2006). . . . .	611
19.12	Social expenditure on the family, Europe 1990 and 2004 . . . . .	615
19.13	Average child benefits, Europe 2004 . . . . .	617
19.14	Childcare enrolment rates, Europe 1990–2004 . . . . .	617
19.15	Index of family policy, Europe 2004 . . . . .	619
19.16	Family policy profile, Europe 2004 . . . . .	620
20.1	Two approaches to the study well-being . . . . .	631
20.2	Components of well-being by country . . . . .	636
20.3	Biplot of the components of well-being . . . . .	640
20.4	Subjective well-being by ranked order of the Human Development Index for EQLS and ISSP . . . . .	641
20.5	Subjective well-being by GDP based on Eurobarometer data from 1970 to 2002 . . . . .	642
20.6	Country-specific effects of domain satisfactions on well-being by GDP per capita . . . . .	654
20.7	Country-specific effects of dimensions of inequality on well-being by GDP per capita . . . . .	656
20.8	Country-specific influence of relative income and absolute deprivation on life satisfaction by GDP per capita . . . . .	658
20.9	Average subjective evaluation of the quality of society by country . . . . .	660
20.10	Country-specific effects of perceived quality of society by GDP per capita . . . . .	661

# List of Tables

2.1	Social ties and inclination to political action: model summary . . . . .	12
2.6	Civic engagement correlation matrix . . . . .	23
4.1	The urban percentage of the population, 1500–1800 . . . . .	61
4.2	Percentage of total population in cities with fewer than 500,000 inhabitants, 2000 . . . . .	63
4.3	The 10 cities in the world with the best quality of life in 2007 . . . . .	85
5.1	<i>Cleavages in Western Europe according to Lipset and Rokkan</i> . . . . .	92
5.2	Patterns of cleavage types in Central and Eastern Europe based on parties represented in national parliaments after 1989 . . . . .	100
5.3	Perceptions of cleavages (%) . . . . .	103
6.1	Trade union density in European countries, 1970–2000 (percentages) . . . . .	119
6.2	Involvement in political groups and social movement organisations in selected European countries . . . . .	120
6.3	Participation in four forms of “unconventional” action in selected European countries. 2004 and difference to 2002 (percentages) . . . . .	125
6.4	Participation in four forms of “unconventional” action. West and East/Central Europe, 1999–2004 . . . . .	126
6.5	Volume of participation in unconventional events by movements (1975–1989), in 1,000s per million inhabitants . . . . .	134
7.1	Victimization in the year preceding the survey (percentage victimized once or more) . . . . .	143
7.2	Situation of penal institutions on 1 September 2006 by decreasing prison population rates (adjusted figures) . . . . .	145
8.1	Membership in religious denominations (in %) . . . . .	164
8.2	Attendance at religious services (in %) . . . . .	165
8.3	Percentage of people describing themselves as religious . . . . .	166
8.4	Separation of religion and society (in %) . . . . .	168
8.5	Separation of religion and politics . . . . .	169
8.6	Explaining attitudes toward separation of religion and personal conduct of life, religion and society, religion and politics, and tolerance toward other religious denominations: linear regressions . . . . .	175
8.7	Attitudes toward equality of men and women in the labor market (%): “When jobs are scarce, men have more right to a job than women.” . . . . .	178
8.8	Explaining attitudes toward gender equality: linear regressions . . . . .	183
8.9	Support of democratic values (%) . . . . .	186

8.10	Support of authoritarian values (%)	187
8.11	Membership in civil society organizations	188
8.12	Doing voluntary work in civil society organizations and social capital	189
8.13	Explaining support of authoritarian values	191
8.14	Explaining membership and activity in civil society organizations: linear regressions	194
8.15	Support of the EU welfare state blueprint (percentage and mean of support of different groups in need)	198
8.16	"The state should take responsibility for..." (%)	200
8.17	Support of different welfare state models (%)	201
8.18	Explanation of support of the elderly, sick, handicapped, and unemployed people: linear regressions	205
9.1	Participation of children in pre-school education, % of population in 2005	222
9.2	Characteristics of secondary education	225
9.3	Proportions of public expenditures on educational institutions and proportions of total public expenditures used for public institutions in 2004	243
9.4	Foreign language competencies across Europe	263
9.5	(continued)	264
10.1	Internationality of top managers of the 100 biggest British, German, and French companies between 1995 and 2005 (share of foreigners and managers with foreign experience) (in per cent)	315
11.1	Three perspectives on European Identity	335
11.2	Feelings toward different kinds of citizenship	338
12.1	The share (in percentages) of total household expenditure on recreation and culture and cafés and restaurants in the total household expenditure in eight European countries in 1979/1980/1981 and 2005	359
12.2	The share of total household expenditure on food and non-alcoholic beverages and recreation and culture in 11 new member or candidate member countries of the EU, 1005	360
12.3	Percentage share of all 'free time' by categories of activity for men and women aged 20–74, 2000, in 'old' EU member states	363
12.4	Percentage share of all 'free time' by categories of activity for men and women aged 20–74, 2000, in 'new' EU member states	364
12.5	Percentage of populations participating in categories of 'free time' activity, men and women aged 20–74, 2000, in 'old' EU member states	366
12.6	Percentage of populations participating in categories of 'free time' activity, men and women aged 20–74, 2000, in 'new' EU member states	368
12.7	Mean minutes allocated to, and rates of participation (in brackets) in, selected leisure activities in France, Netherlands, Norway and the UK, 1970s to 2000, respondents aged 20–59	369
12.8	Sales by musical genre in eight European countries in 2004	373
12.9	Holiday trips of 4 nights or more by destination, 2004 (%)	378

12.10	Holiday trips abroad of +4 nights by main destination for selected countries . . . . .	379
12.11	Break down of trips by mode of transport, 2004 (%) . . . . .	379
15.1	Religious membership in the European Union . . . . .	452
15.2	Countries and religious teaching in state schools . . . . .	456
15.3	Religious membership in European countries. Per cent distribution . . . . .	458
15.4	Religion of immigrants to Europe by 2000 . . . . .	461
16.1	Categories of people living in the household, percent and means. People born in 1945–1950 <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	477
16.2	Expectations related to support given and received by elderly in the family. Means, range 1–5. People born in 1945–50 <sup>1)</sup> . . . . .	493
17.1	The distribution of the EGP schema in 25 nations <sup>6</sup> . . . . .	505
17.2	The distribution of Wright's exploitation class model in 25 nations <sup>10</sup> . . . . .	507
17.3	The distribution of Esping-Andersen's Fordist and post-industrial schema in 25 nations <sup>12</sup> . . . . .	509
17.4	The distribution of the European socio-economic classification in 25 nations <sup>14</sup> . . . . .	511
17.5	The distribution of the EGP schema in 25 nations by regime types <sup>19</sup> . . . . .	515
17.6	Aggregate class structures in ten countries by decade and gender (%) . . . . .	517
17.7	The distribution of the EGP schema in 25 nations by age cohorts . . . . .	518
17.8	Proportions of total, upward and downward mobility in selected European countries in three points in time (men) . . . . .	526
17.9	Proportions of total, upward and downward mobility in selected European countries in three points in time (women in labour force) . . . . .	526
17.10	Proportions of total, upward and downward mobility in Europe, USA, Japan and Russia . . . . .	529
17.11	Trends in social fluidity in selected European countries . . . . .	532
18.1	Holiday trips of 4 nights or more in Europe by destination, 2004 . . . . .	553
18.2	International student mobility by world regions (2004)* . . . . .	557
18.3	International student mobility in selected EU member states (2004)* . . . . .	559
19.1	Introduction of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance . . . . .	573
19.2	Completion of social insurance and introduction of family allowances . . . . .	575
19.3	Social insurance coverage rates <sup>1</sup> in selected countries, <sup>2</sup> 1915–1975 . . . . .	577
19.4	Total social security expenditures in selected countries, 1965–1990 . . . . .	579
19.5	Welfare state regimes and welfare policy indicators . . . . .	581
19.6	Degrees of decommodification, 1980 and 1998/1999 . . . . .	583
19.7	Spending and financing patterns: social services and social contributions, Europe 1990 and 2004 . . . . .	589
19.8	The composition of total pension expenditures (as % of GDP) in 2003 . . . . .	597
19.9	Net replacement rates by earnings level, mandatory pensions, men (percent of individual pre-retirement earnings) . . . . .	599
19.10	Poverty rates and risks among the elderly 1998 . . . . .	601
19.11	(Ideal) Types of healthcare systems . . . . .	606
19.12	"Real" types of healthcare systems . . . . .	607
20.1	Multiple linear regression models of well-being on dimensions of inequality . . . . .	646



## Chapter 16

# Sexuality and Family Formation

Elina Haavio-Mannila and Anna Rotkirch

*When I met Matti I was in my late 20s. I skipped all my sexual adventures, because after I had seen him only a few times I knew he was my other half... We dated for a number of years, lived together and were married a couple of years ago; we have an almost one year-old baby and there will definitely be more to come. (A Finnish woman in her early thirties)*

*I married very early, when I was about twenty years old. He was my first great love. Our son was born the same year. First we lived with his parents, it was a very small apartment... I know my husband has had side-affairs and I have also had my share of infatuations. But I'm not going to divorce him, we have a lot in common - and we are raising our wonderful boy. (A Russian woman in her early thirties)<sup>1</sup>*

### 16.1 Introduction

Biological and social reproduction situate themselves at the heart of social life and of power structures. When is it suitable to begin having intercourse? Who may marry whom and at what stage of the life course? And who takes care of the children – the parents, public day care, relatives, or private nannies? In any society, the regulations of child making and childbearing provide a shortcut into how resources and power are divided between the sexes and between generations, as well as between social and ethnic groups.

In traditional societies, sexuality and family formation are strictly linked, especially for women but also for men. Kissing the wrong person at the wrong time can literally destroy a young adult's life. Traditional patriarchy characterised pre-industrial Europe and still prevails in some European regions, e.g. in agrarian parts of the Balkan countries. During the 20th century, all European countries witnessed gradual secularisation, liberalisation, and pluralisation of acceptable sexual and marital behaviours. Northern and Western Europe spearheaded this trend of de-patriarchalisation that would affect much of global development.

As a consequence of the Western sexual revolution we now tend to think of sexuality and family life as separate spheres, at least in some academic research. But it is analytically

---

E. Haavio-Mannila (✉)  
Department of Sociology, University of Helsinki, Finland  
e-mail: elina.haavio-mannila@helsinki.fi

<sup>1</sup>These quotes are from solicited autobiographies about sexuality and love written by ordinary people and analysed in Haavio-Mannila et al. (2002).

more helpful to think about a sex-marriage complex and "locating marriage within a larger space of pre-marital and extra-marital sex, including homosexuality" (Therborn 2004, 132). In people's life stories sexual and marital choices may also often be closely linked, as the two introductory quotes clearly illustrate.

In this chapter, we first focus on the main "horizontal" tie of families, the pair bond, in its more or less stable forms. We then look at families "vertically", comparing fertility and family household structure, including generational interaction. Finally, we discuss European values concerning sexuality and family life.

We compare behaviour and values between European countries. Because many formerly socialist countries are not in the European Union, statistics and scholars still often ignore them. We will here include all European countries whenever data are available. For each topic we pay special attention to gender relations and differences. The gender differences in sexual behaviour and attitudes in several areas have been diminishing, but nowhere do the sexes behave and think identically (Kontula & Haavio-Mannila 1995; Schmitt 2005).

Many aspects of family and sexuality are not dealt with here, such as sexual fantasies and techniques, symbolic and media images of sex and gender, and specific social policy measures. Cross-national comparisons also overlook the huge and interesting intra-country variations that exist with regard to class, ethnicity, and cultural and regional specificities.

## 16.2 European Dividing Lines

European family patterns have historically divided into a Western and an Eastern part, following the so-called Trieste–St. Petersburg line. Extended and patriarchal households prevailed in Eastern Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries. They typically had early marriage, high marriage rates, early childbearing, and high numbers of both children and infant mortality. Western Europe was characterised by later age of marriage with a corresponding higher degree of autonomy for the couple, later entry into parenthood, higher numbers of unmarried adults and unwed mothers, and lower infant mortality (Hajnal 1965; Therborn 2004, 144). The first radical fall in fertility also took place in continental Western Europe (Goode 1963; Therborn 2004).

The Western European patterns of family and sexuality are historically unique. Their support for individual autonomy and women's rights has had a huge global impact, for instance, in how human, sexual, and reproductive rights are defined. In the latter part of the 20th century, it looked as if liberal and secular values in the sphere of family morality would eventually triumph everywhere. This trend appears less uniform today after the increase of religious fundamentalism, especially in some Muslim countries and the United States but also in formerly socialist European countries such as Poland and Russia.

Classifications of European family and social policy discern three to five main regional types or regimes (e.g. Titmuss 1974; Lewis 1992; Orloff 1993; Giele 1997; Mahon 2002; Duncan & Edwards 2003; Geist 2005; Anttonen & Sipilä 2005; Drobic & Treas 2006). The criteria are often female employment and the extent to which social policy measures transfer informal care work to communal employees. In social and gender policy, Gösta Esping-Andersen's (1990) classification into *conservative*, *social democratic*, and *liberal* welfare state regimes is still widely used. The First European Quality of Life Survey (EQLS 2007, 9) expands that classification into five types: *Nordic Regimes*, *Liberal Regimes*, *Continental Regimes*, *Mediterranean Regimes*, and *New European Union member states*.

Finnish family sociologist Riitta Jallinoja (1989) showed how family and work have been combined in Europe in three ways: *the housewife pattern* (in 1980 The Netherlands,

Italy and in 1960 also Norway, Sweden, France, Great Britain and The Federal Republic of Germany), *the moderate sex role pattern* (in 1980 France, The Federal Republic of Germany, Sweden, Norway, Great Britain), and *the pattern of employed women* (in 1980 Soviet Union, Poland, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Finland). She later found that among the politico-economically peripheral countries, the four Nordic countries form the most modernised territory as to gender equality and the family, whereas the Southern Europe periphery forms the least modernised territory (Jallinoja 1995).

Göran Therborn has in his outstanding work "*Between Sex and Power*" (2004) and in an outline of current variants of the European family (2007) divided Europe into four main areas with different family patterns: *the Nordic family*, *the Central Western European family*, *the Southern European family*, and *the Eastern European family*. A similar divide has been applied for European fertility patterns (Sánchez-Barricarte & Fernández-Carro 2007). Therborn (2004) stresses the unique traits of the Nordic and Western European family, while Eastern Europe is presented as part of the Eurasian family system. Therborn detects signs of a gradual convergence as other European countries grow closer to Western European practices, although clear differences remain. Some countries also appear to "switch sides", notably, Greece is today more aligned with Western patterns while Portugal and Italy are in some respects approaching the Eastern European family pattern.

Except for the Trieste–St. Petersburg line, stemming from agricultural and social traditions, intra-European family variations mainly appear to stem from two major influences: the dominant form of religion and the legacy of state socialism. Most Protestant churches are today liberal. They allow gender equality within the church, including female priests, and rarely condemn specific sexual or contraceptive practices. For instance, when a Finnish transsexual priest in 2007 was about to lose her job in connection with a sex change from male to female, the church was widely criticised for intolerance and discrimination. Religion does not strongly influence lay sexual morality in today's Protestant countries; it is rather the other way around.

The population of most European Catholic countries is also secularised. However, the Vatican's continued opposition to abortion, contraceptive use, and divorces has influenced especially Ireland and Poland. The inhabitants of Catholic countries also often display greater formality and stability in family formations (Therborn 2007).

The Eastern Orthodox church is the majority religion in Greece and Cyprus and in most of the countries that belonged to the Soviet Union or its sphere of influence. During state socialism, the church's social influence diminished and it could rarely intervene directly in sexual and marital behaviours. Today, fundamentalist Orthodox family values are being revived in several countries where the local Orthodox Church is aspiring to a more visible role as nation builder. In Russia, for instance, the church has successfully campaigned against sex education and acceptance of homosexuals. A minority of Russian Orthodox believers follow strict religious norms, including rejection of abortion and sometimes also contraception. Still, the overall influence of religion in Eastern European Orthodox countries is better compared to that of Catholic but secular France than Catholic and more religious Ireland.

Kosovo, Albania, and Turkey are European countries with a Muslim majority. Many European countries also have growing Muslim populations. European Muslims are today characterised by higher marriage rates and somewhat higher fertility. The differences between Muslim and non-Muslim Europeans are largely explained by marriage rates and level of religiosity. The differences between these groups also appear to be diminishing (Westoff & Frejka 2007).

In addition to religious impact, European families are shaped by the legacy of social democracy and state socialism, which promoted gender equality and women's full-time

employment (Björnberg & Eydal 1995). From the 1930s onward social democratic governments created the so-called Nordic welfare state model in Scandinavia and Finland, combining generous state family policies with female wage work. At the same time, state socialism transformed the Eastern European family pattern towards a dual breadwinner, nuclear family. In sexual matters state socialism was, after the exceptional sexual freedom of the Soviet 1920s, restrictive and puritan. Sexual education and use of modern contraceptives were limited, while abortions became a common means of birth regulation. Therefore Eastern European countries often resemble the Nordic countries in issues such as female labour markets, but the Southern European ones in, e.g. contraceptive use (Haavio-Mannila & Rotkirch 1997; Rotkirch 2000).

With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the social uniformity imposed by state socialism melted. Former Soviet republics such as Armenia have witnessed a revival of patriarchal norms, such as virgin marriages and bride theft (Temkina 2008), while Estonia has approached Central Western European patterns in fertility postponement and contraceptive use, as we shall see below.

We will in our analyses divide Europe into six regional blocks:

1. The Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden)
2. Western Central Europe (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, Monaco, the Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom)
3. The Western Mediterranean area (Gibraltar, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal, Spain, and Turkey<sup>2</sup>)
4. The Eastern Mediterranean area (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro, and Slovenia)
5. Eastern Central Europe (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia)
6. The former Soviet Union countries in Europe (Russia, Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russia, and the Ukraine)

The data are collected from official statistics of United Nations, European Community, World Bank, the World Health Organization, and World Values Surveys. We also use survey data from research projects in Finland and Russia (Gronow et al. 1996; Kesseli et al. 2005), a large survey from 12 Western European countries collected in the beginning of this century (Börsch-Supan et al. 2005). Similar data are also available from our own recent survey of baby boomers and their children in Finland (Gentrens 2007).

### 16.3 Sexuality and Couple Formation

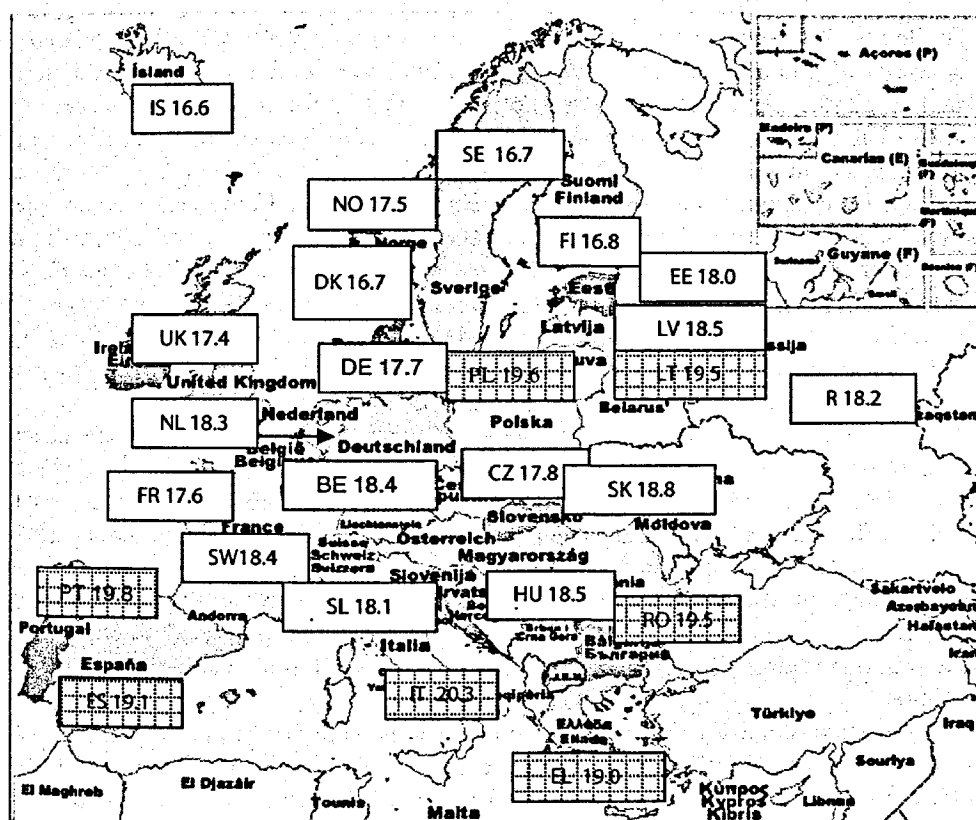
We first analyse sexual initiation, use of modern contraception, rates of marriage and divorce, and numbers of sexual partners. In most indicators Europe has witnessed a century-long linear change, often further accelerated by the so-called sexual revolution in the 1960s and 1970s, which brought a change in attitudes and values discarding previous social and religious norms. Pre- and extra-marital sex, the number of sexual partners, and the type of techniques used have all increased. The gender gap is diminishing as women and men also behave in more similar ways. Tolerance towards sexual minorities, especially homosexuality, has grown (Kontula & Haavio-Mannila 1995).

<sup>2</sup>In spite of its geographical location Turkey is placed in this group mainly because it lacks the state socialist legacy of the Eastern Mediterranean group.

### 16.3.1 First Sexual Intercourse

The first experience of intercourse is a central rite of initiation into adulthood. One measure of the event's importance is that almost without exception, people recall their first intercourse in detail. People of different generations also remember their first intercourse in very similar ways (Haavio-Mannila & Kontula 2003, 28).

Here we present survey findings on women's age at sexual initiation in the age cohort born around 1970.<sup>3</sup> With urbanisation, an earlier advent of sexual maturation and a loosening of social norms, the age of first intercourse has decreased in the last decades (Bozon & Kontula 1998). Map 16.1 shows that the lowest ages for women, under 18 years, are mainly found in the Protestant cultures of the Nordic countries and Western Central Europe, with the addition of the Czech Republic. In the Nordic countries, the age at first



Map 16.1 Median age at first sexual intercourse among women. Cohort born around 1970 (20–24 years of age in the 1990s)

Source: Bozon (2003) and own calculations on people born during 1968–1972 in Sweden, Finland, Estonia, and St. Petersburg, data; see Haavio-Mannila & Kontula (2003). Labels with grids: 19 years and over.

<sup>3</sup>This cohort was 20–24 years old in the late 1990s when the Fertility and Family Survey (FFS) and sexual behaviour surveys were conducted in 22 European countries (Bozon 2003). Ages at first intercourse in Sweden, Finland, Estonia, and St. Petersburg (here representing Russia) of people born in 1967–1972 are calculated on the basis of original data from surveys conducted in these countries in 1996–2000 (see Haavio-Mannila & Kontula 2003). We have found no statistics on the age of first intercourse from international institutions.

intercourse is lowest in Europe, on average 16.9 years. Of the Western Central European countries, people in the United Kingdom, Germany, and France have also started intercourse fairly early, making the average of this region 18.0. High ages, over 19 for women, are found in the Western Mediterranean area and in Poland, Romania, and Lithuania, three Catholic countries. The gender gap in the Mediterranean countries is over 1 year: women are in Portugal 2.4, Romania 2.2, Italy 1.9, and Greece 1.6 years older than men when first having intercourse. Elsewhere in Europe the gender gap is less than 1 year.

### ***16.3.2 Use of Modern Contraception***

In Europe, use of contraception at first intercourse has been steadily increasing (Bajos & Guillaume 2003) and the same trend applies to contraceptive use in later intercourse. Availability of and attitudes to contraception influence reproductive health and are also related to gender equality. The contraceptive prevalence for modern methods refers to the use of the following methods: female and male sterilisation, the contraceptive pill, the intrauterine device (IUD), injectables, implants, female and male condom, cervical cap, diaphragm, spermicidal foams, jelly, cream, sponges and emergency contraception and excludes the lactational amenorrhoea method (LAM), abortions, periodic abstinence, and withdrawal. Modern contraceptive devices such as hormonal pills and condoms were hard to obtain in the countries of the Soviet block. In the late 1990s, the line between frequent and rare use of modern methods followed the Trieste–St. Petersburg line (Map 16.2). Contraceptive prevalence refers to the percentage of women of reproductive age (usually aged 15–49 years), married or in union, currently using contraception.

In the Nordic countries and in the Western Central European countries about three-fourths of people currently use modern contraceptive methods. The use is quite common in some Eastern Central European countries, such as Czech Republic and Hungary, but rare in Poland, Romania, and Slovakia. The Eastern Mediterranean area shows great variation: in Albania only 8% of women reported use of modern contraception, in Serbia, Bosnia Herzegovina, and Montenegro less than 20% but in Slovenia 59%. In the former Soviet Union countries, on the average, 41% of the study subjects report modern contraceptive use at first intercourse. However, the use of contraceptives has also risen in this part since the 1990s.

In most state socialist countries, induced abortions were used as an alternative to contraception devices. Abortions remain more common in Eastern than Western Europe. In 2003, the highest rates of abortions per 1000 live births were found in Russia (1156), Romania (1058), Belarus (905), and Estonia (815). The lowest rates were in Croatia (139), the Netherlands (144), Sweden (146), Germany (181), and Finland (190) (WHO Regional Office for Europe 2007).

Our comparison between Finland, Estonia and St. Petersburg, Russia, shows that women having induced abortions have a different social and sexual background. In the high abortion rate countries Russia and Estonia, older women who have many children, have been married many times, and have not used contraception are overrepresented. They appear to continue the Soviet tradition and use abortion as the method of contraception. In Finland, where abortion rates are low, women having abortions tend to be less educated and to engage in risk behaviour (early intercourse, many sexual partners, high rates of sexually transmitted infections, and alcohol use).

Country	16.1. Mean age at first marriage for women 2006 1)	16.2. Mean age of women at the birth of the first child 2005 2)	16.3. Total fertility rate of women 2007 <sup>3)</sup>	16.4. Divorces per 1000 population 1998-2003 <sup>4)</sup>
<b>Nordic countries</b>				
• Denmark	30,7	28,4	1,83	2,9
• Finland	29,3	27,9	1,84	2,6
• Iceland	30,3	26,1	2,08	1,8
• Norway	29,3	27,2	1,90	2,3
• Sweden	31,3	28,7	1,85	2,4
<i>Average</i>	30,2	27,7	1,9,0	2,4
<b>Western Central Europe</b>				
• Austria	28,9	27,2	1,40	2,3
• Belgium	27,3	—	1,66	3,0
• France	29,5	28,6	2,00	2,1
• Germany	28,9	29,1	1,32	2,5
• Ireland	28,2	27,6	1,90	0,7
• Luxembourg	29,2	29,0	1,65	2,3
• Netherlands	29,2	28,9	1,70	2,0
• Switzerland	31,3	28,9	1,43	2,3
• United Kingdom	28,3	30,0	1,84	2,7
<i>Average</i>	29,0	28,7	1,6,6	2,2
<b>Western Mediterranean</b>				
• Cyprus	26,7	27,5	1,47	1,9
• Greece	28,3	28,5	1,39	1,0
• Italy	28,6	28,7	1,32	0,7
• Malta	26,5	29,2	1,41	2,6
• Portugal	26,9	27,4	1,35	2,1
• Spain	29,2	29,3	1,38	1,0
• Turkey	—	—	—	0,5
<i>Average</i>	27,7	28,4	1,3,9	1,4
<b>Eastern Mediterranean</b>				
• Albania	—	23,9	—	0,8
• Bulgaria	25,7	24,7	1,37	1,5
• Croatia	25,4	27,2	1,38	1,0
• Macedonia	23,5	25,4	1,46	0,7
• Serbia and Montenegro	24,6	—	—	1,0
• Slovenia	28,3	27,7	1,31	1,1
<i>Average</i>	25,5	25,8	1,3,8	1,0
<b>Eastern Central Europe</b>				
1. Czech Republic	26,7	26,6	1,33	3,2
2. Hungary	25,9	26,7	1,34	2,5
3. Poland	25,4	25,8	1,27	1,3
4. Romania	25,2	24,8	1,31	1,5
5. Slovakia	26,2	25,7	1,24	2,0
<i>Average</i>	25,9	25,9	1,3,0	2,1
<b>Former Soviet Union</b>				
• Belarus	22,9	—	—	4,1
• Estonia	26,5	25,2	1,55	3,0
• Latvia	25,9	25,0	1,35	2,1
• Lithuania	25,0	24,9	1,31	3,1
• Moldova	22	21,9	—	3,0
• Russia	—	22,7	—	5,3
• Ukraine	22,8	22,4	—	3,7
<i>Average</i>	24,2	23,7	1,4,0	3,5

Figs. 16.1–16.4 Family and fertility

1) Eurostat 6.3.2008, National sources; TransMONEE database; New Cronos database.

2) Eurostat 6.3.2008, UNECE 2005. The figure for Italy is from the year 2000.

3) Eurostat 26.8.2008; Belgium in 2005: UN Common Database.

4) UNECE 2005.

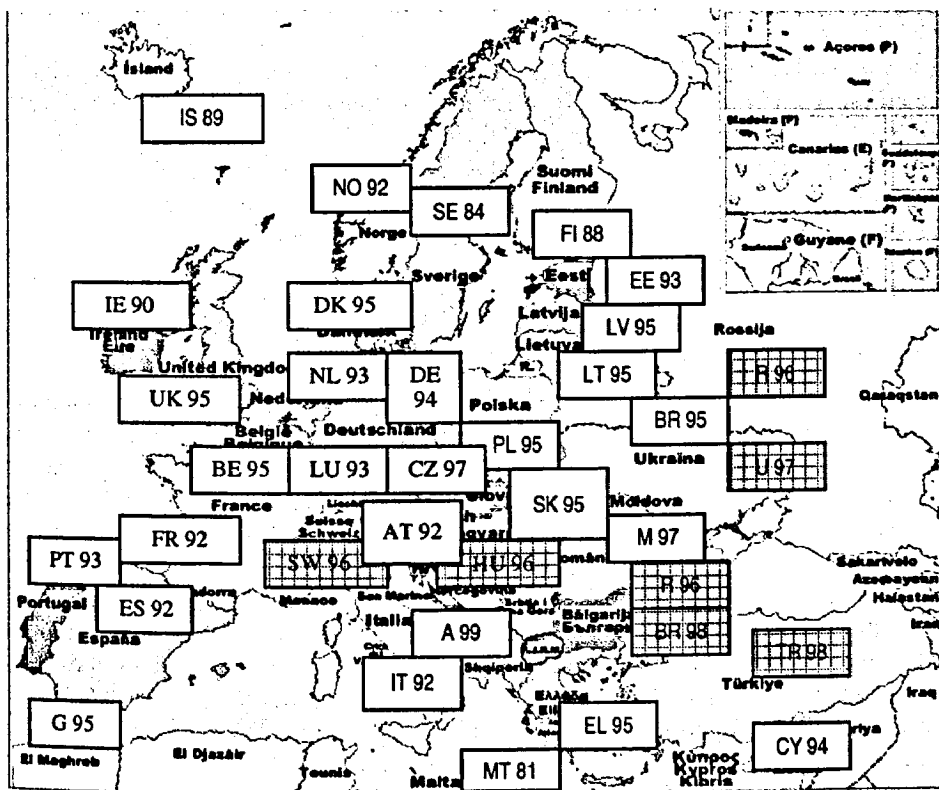




and lowest in the East. In all countries men marry at a later age than do women. In the Nordic countries and Western Central Europe, mean age at first marriage is on the average 31–32 years for men and 28–30 for women (Fig. 16.2). The highest ages are found in Switzerland, 35 years for men and 31 for women. In these areas cohabitation without marriage is common which partly accounts for the late marriage age.

In both Mediterranean areas men marry for the first time when they are 28–29 years old and women at the age of 25–26 years. In the Mediterranean area, the highest age at first marriage is in Spain where men marry at 31 and women at 29 years – approximately the same as in Nordic and Western Central Europe, although there formal marriage is more often preceded by cohabitation. In Eastern Central Europe and the former Soviet republics, the respective ages are very low, 26–27 years for men and 24–25 years for women. Gender differences are largest (3.4) in the Eastern Mediterranean area, whereas in the other regions they are about 2.5 years.

Early age of marriage is associated with higher marriage rate. When we look at the proportion of ever-married women among 45- to 49-year-old women, we notice a distinct St. Petersburg–Trieste line (Map 16.3). Southeast of the line, there are plenty of countries where the proportion of ever-married women in this age group is at least 96%, on the Northwestern side scarcely any countries have such a high marriage rate (except Switzerland). The highest rate of ever-married women is in Albania, 99% (!), and the



lowest in Sweden, 84%. In Sweden this is related to the high prevalence of cohabiting couples.

People very frequently enter legal marriage in Southeastern Europe, even after the ideological pressure to marry under state socialism has disappeared. The highest marriage rates (more than 7 marriages per 1000 people a year) are from Cyprus, Albania, Macedonia, and Turkey, i.e. in the Eastern Mediterranean area (European Union 2002; table not shown here). In several former Soviet countries – Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine – marriage rates are between 6 and 7. They have fallen as the marital age has somewhat risen and as both cosmopolitan youth and impoverished people often prefer cohabitation. Marriage rates are lowest in Western Central Europe and the Western Mediterranean area.

Cohabitation, which is becoming increasingly popular, can take two distinct forms. Often it serves as a prelude to legal marriage or as a form chosen for subsequent unions after a divorce. In these cases, the birth of a child often makes the couple decide to formalise the relation by marrying. For instance, a Finnish couple's child is more often than not born outside wedlock today, while less than one-third of parents with two children are not married. In Russia, by contrast, legal marriage remains highly favoured, especially for the first union, and it is much more common to cohabit in a second or third union than in the first (Vishnevskij 2006).

Second, cohabitation may be a life-long alternative to legal marriage. In the Western European countries studied in SHARE, cohabiting at advanced age (50+ years) is most common in Sweden, Denmark, and Spain and least so in Italy and Greece. Divorce rates have grown in most parts of Europe. They remain low in the Mediterranean areas and in some Catholic countries (Ireland and Poland) (Fig. 16.4). The divorce rate is lowest in Bosnia and Herzegovina and highest in Russia. In Russia, the socially unstable 1990s affected especially marriages over 10 years old (Vishnevskij 2006). In other former Soviet republics (the Baltic countries, Belarus, Ukraine, and Moldova) divorce is also very common, 3 or 4 per 1000. There the "universal early marriage" model was thus combined with high divorce rate. Again, if the dissolution of young cohabiting couples was counted in these statistics, the discrepancies between East and West would diminish.

### ***16.3.4 Number of Sexual Partners***

Part of the legacy of the sexual revolution is increased numbers of sexual partners during a person's lifetime. The number of lifetime sexual partners reported in Europe varies from 12 in Denmark to 5 in Poland according to Durex Global sex survey in 2005. The number of partners is highest in the Nordic countries (mean 12) and lower (7–9) in the other areas in Europe.

More scientifically collected, but older, data are available from surveys conducted in 1989–1992 in seven Western European countries (Leridon et al. 1998). Among men aged 18–49 years, the highest mean numbers of partners are from the Netherlands (20) and Finland (15). Then come France, Norway, Great Britain, and Switzerland (12), and the lowest number was found in Spain (10). Women reported half as many partners: 10 in the Netherlands, Finland, and Norway, 5 among Spanish and Swiss women and the lowest numbers, 4, for women in France and Great Britain.

The huge gender gap in reported numbers of sex partners has constantly bothered researchers. Clearly men have a tendency to overreport and/or women to underreport their sexual partners. Haavio-Mannila & Roos (2007) analysed the reported number of partners by gender in the Finnish sex survey data from 1999. They found that people with fewer

than 20 partners, both men and women, reported about 5 partners. There was no significant over- or underreporting. Those who report having at least 20 partners (15% of all study subjects) accounted for all the difference: men reported having on average 40 partners whereas women reported only 30 partners. The question of who is "cheating" researchers remains, but only for sexually very active people.

In sum, we can discern three major, distinct paths of sexual and couple formation in Europe. In the North, people have early sex, many partners, and late and often informal coupling. The many years of living as single, young adults raise the number of sexual partners for Northern Europeans. As the Finnish woman in the introductory quote remembered, it is when deciding to "settle down" that most people stop having sexual adventures. In Southern Europe, active sex life starts later and the number of total sexual partners is lower. Coupling also starts later. In the East, sexual life starts relatively late, the number of sexual partners is not as high as in the North, but coupling is formal and very early (cf. also Therborn 2004, 145). These patterns of love and desire are intertwined with childbearing and the division of work in everyday life, to which we now turn.

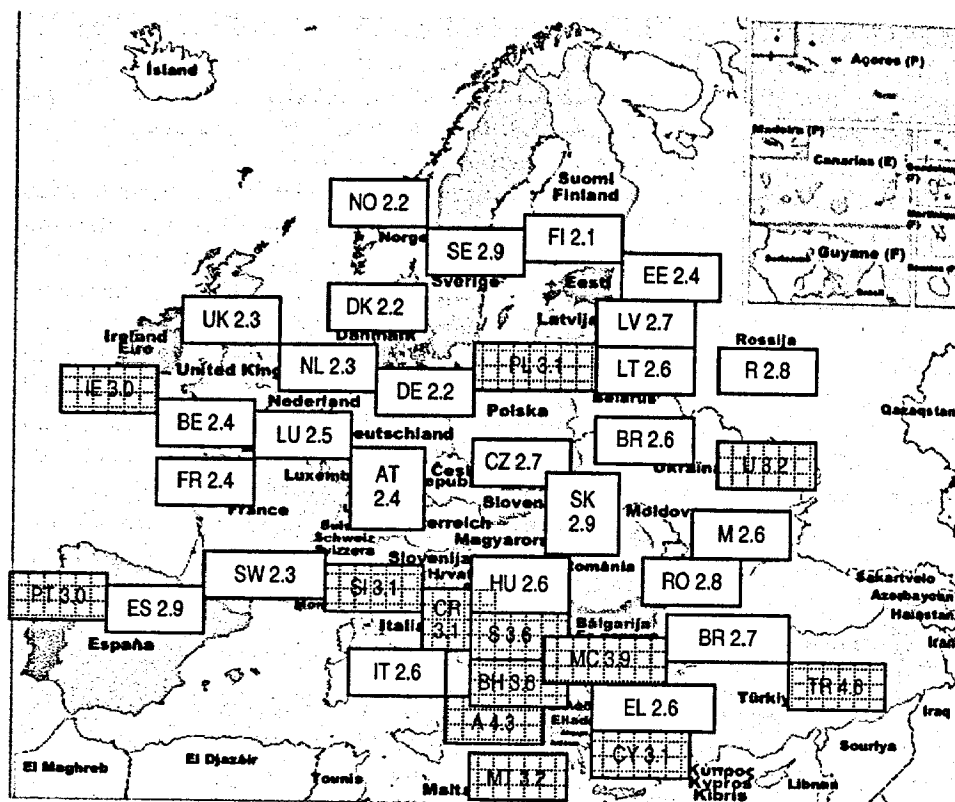
## 16.4 Household Composition and Fertility

Twentieth century Europe witnessed a decrease in the size of family households. The number of children was no longer directly related to its social class, and the growing middle classes often had least children, namely one or two (Tumin 1974, 108–109). Urbanisation, the decrease in infant mortality, and women's growing independence continue to make families smaller around the world (Sanderson & Dubrov 2000). With the parallel increase in individualism and longevity, Europeans spend a bigger time of our lives living alone.

### 16.4.1 Household Size

Household size reflects both the practices of neo-locality (whether the young couple will live independently or not) and the number of children. The number of people living together varies greatly in today's Europe. It is largest in Southern Europe: in Turkey (on the average 4.6 people), Albania, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and additionally in the West Coast periphery, Ireland, and Portugal (Map 16.4). Household size is smallest in Finland, Denmark, Norway, and Germany.

The European household is a nuclear family consisting of parents and their children. As an example we present the members in the households of baby boomers, who are now 50–62 years old (Table 16.1, unfortunately no data from Eastern Europe). In this phase of life people have not yet widowed and as many as three-fourths of the study subjects live with a spouse. More than one-third has children at home. Only 2% house their parents, and 1% their parents-in-law or grandchildren. Siblings living at this stage of life with their sisters or brothers are rare, only 0.6%, and other relatives and other people are even less frequent. One in five of the study subjects lives alone. Having other kin than children living in the household (extended family) is more common with Italy leading (8%) followed by Spain (4%), Germany (3%), and Austria (2%). These are mostly parents or parents-in-law.



Map 16.4 Average household size. Latest available year 1995–2004

Source: UNECE Statistical Yearbook of the Economic Commission for Europe. Eurostat NewCronos. Labels with grids: three people and over.

### 16.4.2 Fertility

Childbearing has been postponed to a later stage of life in today's Europe (Billari et al. 2006; Chapter 14). This is related to modern contraceptive methods and to the social pressure to avoid childbearing before securing one's educational and social position. Contrary to what one would perhaps expect, increase in economic wealth lowers fertility, especially if that increase happens rapidly (Mace 1998; Hill & Reeve 2004). This appears to happen both on a country level and within countries in relation to social class and has made the length of time between first intercourse and first child longer and longer.

The connection between women's education and higher age for parenthood is often seen as a quasi-natural law. However, Eastern Europe and especially Russia display an interesting pattern, where very low fertility levels coexist with early age of coupling and first child. Even today, it is not uncommon for educated women to behave like the Russian woman in the introductory quote: to marry one's first great love and then have a child in the heat of the moment. The first child is described as a "fruit of love", whereas family planning and economic considerations enter the picture only with regard to possible additional children (Rotkirch & Kesseli 2008).

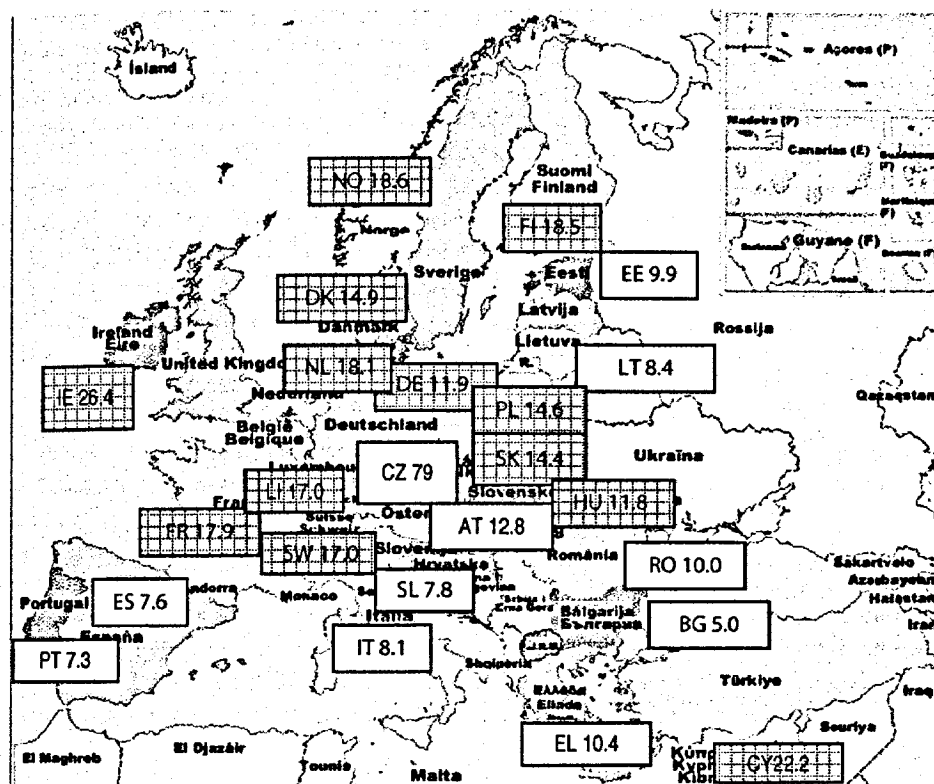
The Trieste–St. Petersburg line holds its historic position as the strongest marker of distinction for the mean age of women at the birth of their first child (Map 16.5). The age span reaches from 22 years in the Ukraine to 29 years in Spain. In the Nordic countries, Western

Table 16.1 Categories of people living in the household, percent and means. People born in 1945-1950<sup>1</sup>

	Spouse	Children	Parents	Siblings	Grandchildren	Other relatives	Others	Household size	N
Sweden	75.2	15.7	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	451
Denmark	72.5	10.2	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.5	1.9	382
Finland	73.4	10.8	1.3	No inf.	No inf.	No inf.	No inf.	2.1	1103
Ireland	69.5	35.5	3.4	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.5	2.3	203
The Netherlands	80.3	15.6	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.2	2.0	467
Germany	80.8	18.6	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.3	2.1	334
Austria	64.6	22.3	1.1	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.6	2.0	175
Switzerland	69.9	19.0	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5	2.0	216
Belgium	74.1	24.0	1.1	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.0	2.1	467
France	69.4	22.3	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	2.1	431
Italy	81.1	47.9	3.9	0.7	0.0	0.5	0.0	2.7	407
Spain	81.1	43.0	8.6	2.9	0.4	2.9	0.4	2.8	244
Greece	73.5	53.4	1.1	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	2.6	442
Czechia	66.4	23.4	3.1	0.7	0.0	0.9	0.0	2.1	453
Poland	77.3	50.6	5.8	0.5	0.0	1.5	0.5	3.1	397
Total	74.4	28.6	2.1	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.2	2.3	5069

<sup>1</sup>Source: SHARE CV and GENTRANS question 4.





Map 16.6 Percentage of families (with children <18 years in the household) having at least three children  
Source: Eurostat, Census 2001, Households and families. Labels with grids: over 10%.

every fifth household in the Nordic countries. The high levels of Nordic fertility does not mean that all Nordic women have children, but that quite many women have three or four or even more children.

In sum, European fertility rates are today lowest in countries where women have entered the labour market fully but social policy supports are unstable or lacking. Although postponement of parenthood contributes to lower number of children, the European countries with highest fertility are not the ones where women and men become parents very young, but where also people with higher education can “recover” higher fertility levels in their thirties (Sánchez-Barricarte & Fernández-Carro 2007). Fertility is also influenced by the availability of kin help and the amounts of paid and unpaid work, which we present below.

## 16.5 Paid and Unpaid Work

Women represent almost half of the labour force in the Nordic countries and in the countries which belonged to the former Soviet Union (Fig. 16.5). In the other post-socialist countries, this proportion is closer to that of Western Central Europe and in the Mediterranean region, where it is 41–46% except for being even lower in Malta (31%) and Turkey (26%).

Children’s day care crucially affects women’s possibilities to participate in paid work (see Chapter 13). Most of the very young children seem, however, to be taken care of at home. Less than half of Europe’s children aged 0–3 years attend institutionalised day-care

Country	16.5. Share of women in adult labour force 2006 <sup>1)</sup>	16.6. Part-time employment of women <sup>2)</sup>	16.7. Proportion of 0–3 years old children in daycare facilities <sup>3)</sup>	16.8. Preschool child suffers of maternal employment <sup>4)</sup>
<b>Nordic countries</b>				
• Denmark	47	22	64	18
• Finland	48	15	22	41
• Iceland	47	-	-	33
• Norway	47	-	-	-
• Sweden	47	20	48	38
<i>Average</i>	47	13	45	32
<b>Western Central Europe</b>				
• Austria	45	26	4	74
• Belgium	44	33	30	51
• France	46	23	29	56
• Germany	45	36	East 16 West 2	East 37 West 73
• Ireland	43	34	-	35
• Luxemburg	42	-	-	-
• Netherlands	45	60	6	46
• Switzerland	45	-	-	-
• United Kingdom	46	40	-	46
<i>Average</i>	45	36	6	46
<b>Western Mediterranean area</b>				
• Cyprus	46	-	-	-
• Gibraltar	-	-	-	-
• Greece	41	10	3	47
• Italy	40	24	6	81
• Malta	35	-	-	-
• Portugal	47	15	12	72
• Spain	41	16	5	46
• Turkey	26	12	-	-
<i>Average</i>	39	15	6	61
<b>Eastern Mediterranean area</b>				
• Bulgaria	46	(3)	10	61
• Croatia	45	-	-	-
• Macedonia	-	-	-	-
• Serbia	43	-	-	-
• Slovenia	46	8	29	47
• <i>Average</i>	45	5	20	54
<b>Eastern Central Europe</b>				
• Czech Republic	45	5	1	47
• Hungary	45	-	-	-
• Poland	46	17	5	63
• Romania	46	(13)	1	47
• Slovakia	45	4	46	77
<i>Average</i>	45	9	13	62
<b>Former Soviet Union area</b>				
• Belarus	49	-	-	-
• Estonia	49	(11)	19	65
• Latvia	48	(14)	13	63
• Lithuania	49	(11)	10	75
• Moldova	47	-	-	-
• Russia	49	-	-	-
• Ukraine	48	-	-	-
<i>Average</i>	48	12	14	68

Figs. 16.5–16.8 (continued)



facilities (Fig. 16.7). These proportions are highest in Denmark, Sweden, Slovakia, Belgium, France, and Slovenia.

Attitudes towards maternal employment are more positive in the West than in the East but the line is not as straight as in the case of part-time work. This was studied by asking whether respondents agreed with the statement "A preschool child suffers when his or her mother is working". Answers correspond quite well to the enrolment of children in public day care (Fig. 16.8). The statement received less support in the Nordic countries and in Western Central Europe (except Austria, Western Germany, and Portugal). There is also a small group of Balkan countries – Greece, Slovenia, and Romania – where maternal employment is not so much condemned. The generally unfavourable views towards maternal employment in the East may be a reaction against the compulsory paid work of women in the socialist time and the patriarchal renaissance in this area since the 1990s.

The gender gap in unpaid domestic work is wide (Szalai et al. 1972) and is only slowly diminishing (Niemi & Pääkkönen 2002). Makiko Fuwa (2004) studied the effect of macro-level economic and political gender inequality on individual-level factors – relative income, time availability, and gender ideology – in determining the division of housework in 22 industrialised countries. She found that the equalising effects of time availability and gender ideology were stronger for women in more egalitarian countries; women in less egalitarian countries benefitted less from their individual-level assets. A later study of 33 countries showed that social policies affect not only the overall gender division of housework but also the dynamics of micro-level negotiations (Fuwa & Cohen 2007).

In the 11 European countries which are included in the Harmonized European Time Use Survey (2007), the amount of domestic work conducted by men is largest in Bulgaria, Estonia, and Sweden and lowest in Italy and Spain (Chart 16.1). Women spend about 5 h in domestic work in Italy, Bulgaria, Spain, and Estonia.

Part-time work, i.e. less than 30 h of wage work a week, is a typical solution for working mothers combining in some regions (Fig. 16.6). Among women, Europe is split on an East–West axis: in the East most women work full-time while part-time work is quite common in the West (except in Spain and Portugal, where full-time housewives are also more common than elsewhere). In the Netherlands three and in the United Kingdom two out of every five women are in part-time work. In Germany, Ireland, Belgium, Austria, Denmark, and Italy the proportion ranges from 20 to 36%. In the other Nordic and Mediterranean countries and in all Eastern European countries less than one of five women works part-time.<sup>4</sup>

Figs. 16.5–16.8 (continued) Facts and attitudes related to maternal employment, percentages

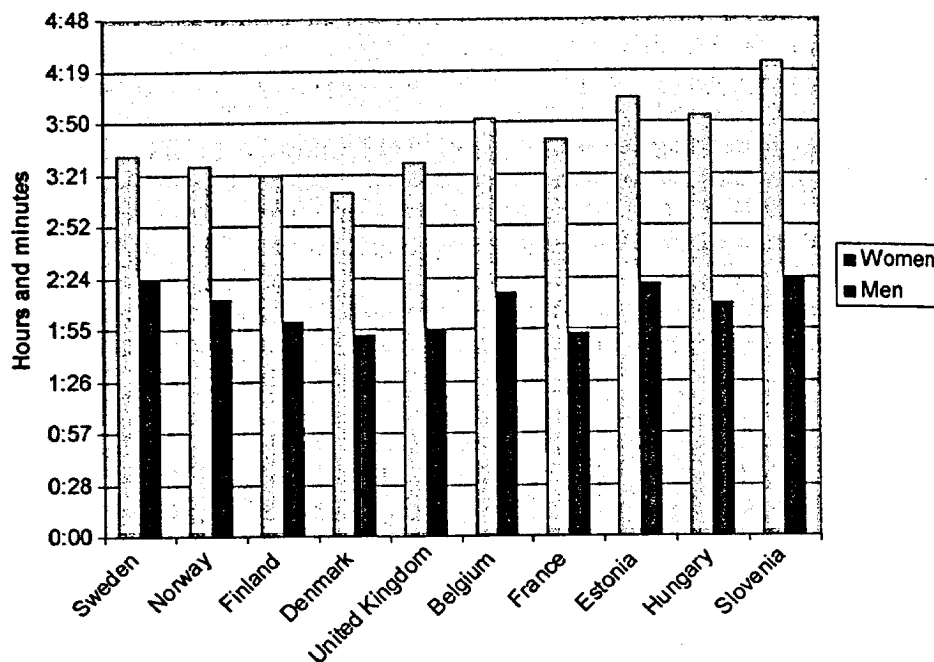
<sup>1</sup>United Nations Statistics Division – Demographic and Social Statistics. Last update 2008.

<sup>2</sup>Part-time employment (<30 h a week) of total employment of women aged 15–64 in 2003. OECD 2005. Quoted from EQLS (2007, Table 2, p. 15). For countries without official data on part-time work, information on subjective part time in parentheses is presented on the basis of an Eurostat survey.

<sup>3</sup>EQLS (2007, Table 3, p. 18).

<sup>4</sup>Agrees with the statement "A preschool child suffers when his or her mother is working". European Values Survey 1999/2000; European and World Values Surveys Four-wave Integrated Data File, 1981–2004.

<sup>4</sup>In some of the Eastern European countries there is no official data on working hours. Eurostat subjective survey data come very close to the objective official data. In Appendix Table 5 subjective data are marked in parentheses.



**Chart 16.1** Time used in domestic work by men and women in some European countries  
Source: European Time Use Survey 2004.

In Italy and Spain, two of the countries where women spend a lot of time in domestic work, the female share of the labour force is low, part-time work fairly common, and men do not spend much time in domestic work. In two others, Bulgaria and Estonia, on the contrary, the percentage of women in the labour force is high, part-time work is rare, and men conduct quite a lot of domestic tasks. These countries have a tradition of women's paid full-time work while ready-made foods and home technology have been expensive or hard to obtain.

## 16.6 Intergenerational Help

The predominance of the nuclear family type in Europe does not imply an absence of strong familial bonds between generations. Several studies have shown close ties including practical and financial transfers between parents, their adult children, and grandchildren (e.g. Attias-Donfut & Rozenkier 1995; Walker 1996; Millar & Warman 1996; Kohli 1999; Arber & Attias-Donfut 1999; Attias-Donfut 2000; Björnberg 2007). The results from the SHARE and the GENTRANS projects show that adults both expect and receive much economic and emotional support from parents and grandparents (Chart 16.2). Thus most so-called baby boomers, people born in 1945–1950, think that a grandparent's duty is to be there for grandchildren "in case of difficulties". The view that it is grandparents' duty to "look after grandchildren" is also widespread and almost as many agree that it is grandparents' duty to "support grandchildren economically".

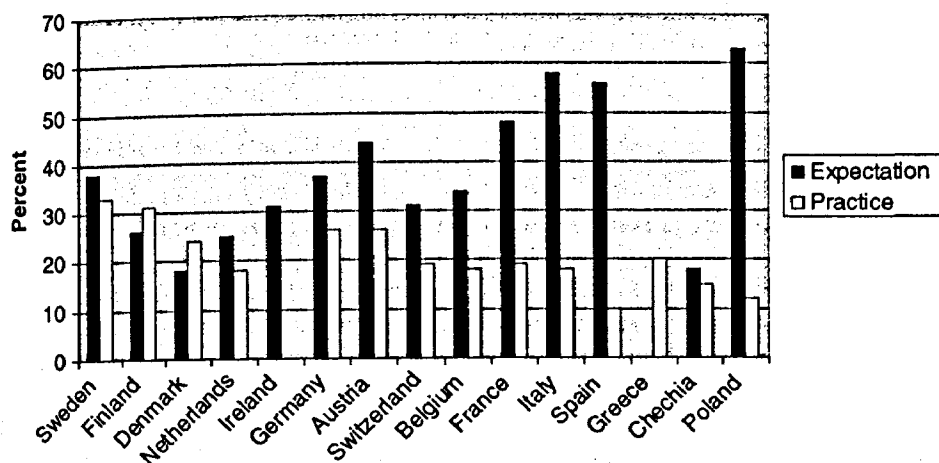


Chart 16.2 Expects financial help from grandparents and has given financial gifts to adult children. Parents born in 1945–1950 in some European countries

Expectations: Agrees with the statement that it is grandparents' duty to support grandchildren and their families economically, percent.

Practice: Has given financial gifts >250 euro to at least one of his or her four first-born children in the last 12 months, percent.

Sources: SHARE Wave 2 and GENTRANS.

Expectations towards grandparents are more demanding in the Mediterranean area and France than in the other Western Central European countries and the Nordic countries. The exception is that also in Austria and Germany grandparents are expected to look after grandchildren. This was measured with reactions to the statement "Parents duty is to do their best for their children even at the expense of their own well-being". Intergenerational solidarity in attitudes towards grandparents' role is least popular in the Netherlands, Denmark, and Finland. Expectations towards parents are most demanding in the Mediterranean countries Greece, Italy, Spain but also in Sweden. In the Mediterranean area and at the core of Western Central Europe (Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Belgium) people more often think that "the family instead of the state" should bear the responsibility of giving financial support, help with household chores, and personal care to older people.

How do these attitudes translate into practice? We studied baby-boomers' (who were about 60 years old) monetary gift-giving to their children and other kin and friends and found that it is, a bit surprisingly, most common in Finland and Sweden (see Chart 16.2). Then come the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Spain.

One explanation to this result is that the amount of provided financial assistance decreases if the adult children live at home. This is today rare in the North and much more frequent in Central and Mediterranean Europe. About 60% of baby boomers, now in their sixties, have children living at home in Spain, Italy, and Greece.<sup>5</sup> In the North, in

<sup>5</sup>The high proportion of adult children living at parents' home has become a public concern and popular research topic.

Finland, Sweden, and Denmark but also in Switzerland and Austria, only 11–20% of baby boomers house their children in their homes.<sup>6</sup>

## 16.7 Sexual Attitudes

We conclude by looking at some attitudes to sexuality and family life. First, we measure attitudes to abortion, sexual freedom, homosexuality, and prostitution.<sup>7</sup> They indicate liberalism and gender equality, as well as how the unavoidable tension between these two is culturally solved. A highly liberal attitude to sexuality is not necessarily in favour of gender equality, and vice versa. The data are derived from the World Values Surveys conducted in 1981–2002; the average year is 1994.

Finding *abortion justifiable* is most common in the Nordic countries, where this is the view of almost three out of four persons (scores 5–10 on the scale ranging from 1 to 10, Fig. 16.9). Western Central Europe does not form a coherent region in this respect and the attitudes vary widely. The most negative attitudes are found in the Catholic Western Mediterranean countries. In Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Greece the percentages vary between 42 and 60 so half the population is opposed to abortions. Also in Eastern Mediterranean, Central European, and the ex-Soviet countries only every second person finds abortion justifiable. It is astonishing that the socialist legacy, with high numbers of performed abortions, should have left such a low support today. However, other studies indicate higher tolerance of abortions in, e.g. Russia and Estonia (Haavio-Mannila & Kontula 2003).

Agreeing with complete *sexual freedom* was studied by using the following question: “If someone said that individuals should have the chance to enjoy complete sexual freedom without being restricted, would you tend to agree or disagree?” Here, least support came from Nordic countries and Eastern Central Europe (Fig. 16.10). The most liberal country is Spain and the most conservative ones are Malta, Denmark, and Norway.

*Homosexuality* is most accepted in the Western regions (Fig. 16.11). Finding it justifiable stretches from 4% in Albania and 9% in Turkey to 87% in the Netherlands! These values correlate with the legal and social status of homosexuals and the attitude to homosexuality of the dominant religion. In many Western European countries, homosexuality was classified as a disease until the 1970s or 1980s. Only during the last decade have homosexuals begun to receive marital and parental rights comparable to those of heterosexual couples. In Eastern Europe, by contrast, the legacy of state socialism is still visible. In Soviet Union, for instance, male homosexuality was criminalised for being an asocial way of living, and lesbianism was regarded as a mental disease. Today, homosexuality is decriminalised in all European Union countries including Turkey and other countries applying for membership, but homosexuals lack full human and marital rights especially in Eastern Europe. Both the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox churches condemn homosexuality.

<sup>6</sup>We calculated these percentages from the data of the SHARE project conducted in the beginning of the 2000s in 12 Western European countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland. The bulk of the 31,115 study subjects consists of people aged 50–74 years (Börsch-Supan et al. 2005; [www.share-project.org](http://www.share-project.org)).

<sup>7</sup>The attitudes correlate significantly with each other; complete sexual freedom least so.

	16.9. Abortion justifiable	16.10. Agrees with complete sexual freedom	16.11. Homo- sexuality justifiable	16.12. Prostitution justifiable
<b>Nordic countries</b>				
• Denmark	78	11	73	40
• Finland	65	28	57	31
• Iceland	65	23	81	27
• Norway	67	11	63	29
• Sweden	86	17	84	39
<i>Average</i>	72	18	72	27
<b>Western Central Europe</b>				
• Austria	52	39	56	41
• Belgium	55	27	62	34
• France	74	32	66	36
• Germany	56	24	60	41
• Germany West	45	25	65	48
• Ireland	25	17	49	24
• Luxembourg	63	-	68	32
• Netherlands	66	33	87	65
• Northern Ireland	30	22	-	-
• Switzerland	60	31	71	59
• United Kingdom	57	30	61	38
<i>Average</i>	53	26	70	42
<b>Western Mediterranean</b>				
• Cyprus	-	-	-	-
• Greece	60	-	57	26
• Italy	48	42	56	19
• Malta	4	7	24	4
• Portugal	42	23	36	12
• Spain	58	56	72	56
• Turkey	22	24	9	9
<i>Average</i>	39	30	42	21
<b>Eastern Mediterranean</b>				
• Albania	42	16	4	3
• Bosnia and Herzegovina	44	30	14	10
• Bulgaria	60	20	23	23
• Croatia	46	34	26	27
• Macedonia	44	-	13	8
• Serbia and Montenegro	60	27	16	11
• Slovenia	71	27	48	32
<i>Average</i>	52	26	24	15
<b>Eastern Central Europe</b>				
• Czech Republic	67	14	60	23
• Hungary	46	16	37	22
• Poland	39	20	25	18
• Romania	42	28	13	17
• Slovakia	53	13	55	33
<i>Average</i>	49	16	38	16
<b>Former Soviet Union</b>				
• Belarus	63	27	26	25
• Estonia	54	24	30	22
• Latvia	44	29	13	32
• Lithuania	47	25	13	20
• Moldova	38	25	17	21
• Russia	62	22	18	17
• Ukraine	46	23	21	13
<i>Average</i>	51	25	20	21

Figs. 16.9–16.12 Attitudes towards some sexual issues,<sup>1</sup> percentages<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>Source: World Values Surveys 1996–2002.<sup>2</sup>Values 5–10 on a scale of 1 to 10.

Acceptance of *prostitution* varies from Malta (4%) and Turkey (9%) to majority support in the famously liberal Netherlands (65%). Western Central Europeans accept prostitution more than the others, as more than two of five people consider it justifiable (Fig. 16.12).

## 16.8 Family Values

Do Europeans share the same family values? Far from it. On the basis of World Value Survey data we conducted a factor analysis of seven available variables measuring attitudes towards family issues. Three dimensions emerged. *Support of nuclear family and traditional femininity* (or traditional parenthood) was related to agreeing with the statements "a woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled", "women want a home and children", "a child needs a home with both a father and a mother to grow up happily" and to disapproval of single woman as parents.<sup>8</sup> An *anti-institutional conception of family and marriage* was found among those thinking that family is not important in life, marriage is an out-dated institution and approving of single women as parents. Those supporting *women's economic provider role* thought that husband and wife should both contribute to family income and also approved of single women as parents.

The counter-poles in traditional family values are on the one hand, the former Soviet Union countries, and on the other hand, the Nordic countries (Figs. 16.13–16.15). The other countries fall in between these extremes. The ideal of traditional parenthood is most common in the ex-Soviet Union and Eastern Central European countries and least common in the Nordic countries and in Western Central Europe.

Family and marriage as institutions are not important in the former Soviet Union countries and in the Western Central Europe (Figs. 16.16–16.17). Shared economic provision by husband and wife and single women as parents are rejected in Eastern Central European and Eastern Mediterranean countries (Figs. 16.18–16.19). It is most often accepted in the Nordic and Western Central European countries.

To summarise, the West–East dimension is a very important but not the only dividing line in European sexual patterns. Countries with long experiences of state socialist or social democratic rule are more prone to favour women's rights. This is reflected in higher support for abortion and less support for prostitution and complete sexual freedom. A traditionally harsh rejection of homosexuality diminishes when legislation and public ideology changes. As we have seen this is not the case with all indicators – for instance, although female employment has long been a fact of life, many still oppose it.

## 16.9 Conclusion: Tradition, Equality, or Autonomy?

In the 1930s, the founder of comparative sociology Edward Westermarck (1936/1970) predicted two long-term trends in family and sexual life: marriage would preserve its popularity and cultural tolerance would increase. By marriage, he referred to any durable union

<sup>8</sup> Measured by the statement: "A woman wants to have a child as a single parent but she doesn't want to have a stable relationship with a man." In Europe, there is a growing scientific interest in single parents' economic and employment situation, also from an international perspective (Duncan & Edwards 1999; Millar & Evans 2003).

Country	Traditional parenthood			N
	16.13. Child needs a home with father and mother <sup>1</sup>	16.14. A woman has to have children to be fulfilled <sup>2</sup>	16.15. Women want a home and children <sup>3</sup>	
<b>Nordic countries</b>				
• Denmark	0.7	0.8	1.9	970
• Finland	0.6	0.1	2.5	991
• Iceland	0.7	0.3	2.6	936
• Sweden	0.6	-	2.2	951
<i>Average</i>	0.6	0.4	2.3	
<b>Western Central Europe</b>				
• Austria	0.9	0.3		1511
• Belgium	0.8		2.6	1873
• France	0.9	0.7	2.8	1578
• Germany	0.9	0.6	2.3	1982
• Ireland	0.7	0.2	-	968
• Luxembourg	0.8	0.4	2.6	1149
• Netherlands	0.7	0.1	2.2	994
• Northern Ireland	0.7	0.2	-	944
• United Kingdom	0.6	0.2	2.4	913
<i>Average</i>	0.8	0.3	2.5	
<b>Western Mediterranean</b>				
• Greece	1.0	0.7	2.8	1121
• Italy	0.9	0.6	2.8	1948
• Malta	0.9	0.4	2.8	991
• Portugal	0.7	0.7	2.5	971
• Spain	0.9	0.5	2.4	2331
• Turkey	1.0	0.7	-	4518
<i>Average</i>	0.9	0.6	2.7	
<b>Eastern Mediterranean</b>				
• Albania	1.0	0.9	0.6	985
• Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.9	0.9	-	1191
• Bulgaria	1.0	0.7	3.0	991
• Croatia	0.8	0.5	2.6	973
• Macedonia	1.0	0.7	2.7	1049
• Serbia and Montenegro	0.9	0.7	-	2187
• Slovenia	0.9	0.4	2.8	994
<i>Average</i>	1.0	0.7	0.9	
<b>Eastern Central Europe</b>				
• Czech Republic	0.9	0.5	2.8	1870
• Poland	1.0	0.7	3.0	1086
• Hungary	1.0	0.9	2.9	991
• Romania	0.9	0.8	3.1	1119
• Slovakia	0.9	0.4	2.7	1312
<i>Average</i>	0.9	0.7	2.9	
<b>Former Soviet Union</b>				
• Estonia	1.0	0.7	2.8	973
• Latvia	0.9	0.9	2.8	989
• Lithuania	0.8	0.7	3.1	943
• Russia	0.9	0.8	3.1	2451
• Belarus	0.9	0.8	2.9	976
• Ukraine	1.0	0.9	3.1	1170
• Moldova	0.97	0.8	-	999
<i>Average</i>	0.93	0.8	3.0	
<b>Total</b>	0.9	0.6	2.7	50889

Figs. 16.13–16.15 Traditional parenthood, means

<sup>1</sup>Source: World Values Surveys 1999–2002.<sup>2</sup>Range 0–1.<sup>3</sup>Range 1–4.

Country	Anti-institutional family conception		Economically independent woman		N
	16.16. Family not important in life	16.17. Marriage is an out-dated institution	16.18. Husband and wife should both contribute to income	16.19. Approves woman as a single parent	
<b>Nordic countries</b>					
• Denmark	1.1	1.3	2.1	2.2	970
• Finland	1.2	1.4	2.1	2.3	991
• Iceland	1.1	1.2	2.3	2.7	936
• Sweden	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.9	951
<i>Average</i>	<i>1.1</i>	<i>1.3</i>	<i>2.0</i>	<i>2.3</i>	
<b>Western Central Europe</b>					
• Austria	1.1	1.4	-	2.1	1511
• Belgium	1.1	1.6	1.9	2.1	1873
• France	1.1	1.7	1.8	2.2	1578
• Germany	1.3	1.4	2.0	2.0	1982
• Ireland	1.1	1.4	-	1.9	968
• Luxemburg	1.1	1.7	2.3	2.1	1149
• Netherlands	1.3	1.5	2.6	2.2	994
• Northern Ireland	1.1	1.5	-	1.9	944
• United Kingdom	1.1	1.5	2.2	2.00	913
<i>Average</i>	<i>1.1</i>	<i>1.5</i>	<i>2.1</i>	<i>2.1</i>	
<b>Western Mediterranean</b>					
• Greece	1.2	1.3	1.7	1.9	1121
• Italy	1.1	1.31	2.0	1.9	1948
• Malta	1.0	1.1	2.2	1.4	991
• Portugal	1.2	1.5	1.8	1.9	971
• Spain	1.1	1.4	1.8	2.6	2331
• Turkey	1.0	1.2	1.8	1.2	4518
<i>Average</i>	<i>1.1</i>	<i>1.3</i>	<i>1.9</i>	<i>1.8</i>	
<b>Eastern Mediterranean</b>					
• Albania	1.0	1.2	1.4	1.5	985
• Bosnia and Herzegovina	1.0	1.3	1.6	2.1	1191
• Bulgaria	1.2	1.3	1.6	2.2	991
• Croatia	1.2	1.2	1.7	2.5	973
• Macedonia	1.0	1.4	1.5	2.1	1049
• Serbia and Montenegro	1.1	1.3	1.6	2.1	2187
• Slovenia	1.2	1.5	1.6	2.4	994
<i>Average</i>	<i>1.1</i>	<i>1.3</i>	<i>1.6</i>	<i>2.1</i>	

Figs. 16.16–16.19 Anti-institutional family conception and economically independent woman, means (range 1–4)



Eastern Central Europe					
• Czech Republic	1.2	1.2	1.6	2.1	1870
• Poland	1.1	1.2	1.7	2.2	1086
• Hungary	1.1	1.3	1.6	2.0	991
• Romania	1.2	1.2	1.7	2.2	1119
• Slovakia	1.1	1.2	1.6	1.9	1312
<i>Average</i>	<i>1.1</i>	<i>1.2</i>	<i>1.7</i>	<i>2.1</i>	
Former Soviet Union					
• Estonia	1.4	1.3	1.9	2.1	973
• Latvia	1.3	1.3	1.8	2.3	989
• Lithuania	1.4	1.4	1.9	2.4	943
• Russia	1.3	1.4	1.9	2.3	2451
• Belarus	1.3	1.3	1.7	2.4	976
• Ukraine					
	1.2	1.3	1.8	2.0	1170
• Moldova	1.2	1.6	1.7	1.9	999
<i>Average</i>	<i>1.3</i>	<i>1.4</i>	<i>1.8</i>	<i>2.2</i>	
Total	1.2	1.4	1.8	2.0	50889

Figs. 16.16–16.19 (continued)

between two adults of the opposite sex, thus including both institutionalised marriage and cohabitation.

As we know today, Westermarck's predictions proved right. Alternatives to the traditional institutionalised heterosexual marriage have spread and sexual behaviour has become increasingly separated from marriage. Cohabitation, either before entering legal marriage or as a life-long form of living, is common in most European countries. Single motherhood is much less stigmatised than before. Homosexual couples and their children are increasingly recognised and approved of. At the same time, the most common family formation, the heterosexual nuclear family, is still dominant.

Within these general trends of change and stability, our division into six European regions presents distinct behavioural patterns of sexual, couple, and family formation (a list of the specific features of the six areas is presented in Chart 16.3). We have attempted to retain internal divisions especially in Eastern Europe, which are often overlooked. Nevertheless, our results point to the continuing relevance of the East–West division.

A visualisation of Europe's couples and families may thus begin with that historical line, running vertically on the map, and then add more or less horizontal lines from East to West tracing religion versus secularism, or traditional family values versus gender equality, to the picture. Below, we sum up the findings for each region and then sketch three major dividing lines that emerged from our review and relate to gender equality, traditional family values, and individual autonomy.

The *Nordic countries* are characterised by gender equality, dual breadwinners, sexual permissiveness, and relatively high fertility. Young people have early sexual initiation, often use modern contraception, start to live independently early, have late coupling and late transition to parenthood and formal marriage. Cohabitation is common and the proportion of ever-married women is the lowest in Europe. About one in five parents have three or more children. Household size is, nevertheless, small. People receive little informal practical help from kin but get relatively generous monetary assistance. The share of women in the labour force is high, part-time work uncommon, and small children are often

Characteristics	The Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden)	Western Central Europe (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Luxemburg, Monaco, The Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Switzerland, United Kingdom)	The Western Mediterranean area (Gibraltar, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal, Spain, Turkey)	The Eastern Mediterranean countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro, Slovenia)	Eastern Central European countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia)	The former Soviet Union countries in Europe (Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine).
Sexuality and couple formation						
Age at first intercourse for women	low	fairly low	high	(fairly low)	high	high
Age at first marriage for women	high	high	lower	low	low	very low
Mean age of women at the birth of the first child	high	high	high	low	low	very low
Total fertility rate	high	high	fairly high	low	low	low
Use of modern contraceptives	yes	yes	some	no	no	no
Ever married women	low	fairly low	fairly low	high	high	high
Divorces	fairly low	fairly low	low	low	fairly low	high
Household composition						
Household size	small	small	large	large	small	large
Children living at home (people born 1945-50)	no	no	yes	Not studied	Not studied	Not studied
Families with 3+ children	yes	yes	no	no	yes	no
Maternal employment						
Share of women in adult labour force	high	low	low	high	high	high
Part-time employment	low	high	low	low	low	low
Proportion of 0-3 yrs of children in daycare	high	low	low	low	low	low
Preschool child suffers of maternal employment	low	fairly low	high	fairly high	high	high
Women use plenty of time in household work	no	no	yes	yes	Not studied	yes
Intergenerational help: gives more than expected	yes	no	no	Not studied	Not studied	Not studied
Sexual values						
Abortion	strong yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes
Sexual freedom	no	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
Prostitution	yes	strong yes	no	no	no	no
Homosexuality	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
Family values						
Traditional parenthood	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
Anti-institutional conception of marriage	no	yes	no	no	no	yes
Economically independent woman	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes

Chart 16.3 Summary of the characteristics of the six areas

enrolled in public day care. Attitudes towards employment of mothers are positive. Women do not use plenty of time for household chores, the gender gap in which is also comparatively small. Attitudes towards abortion and homosexuality are liberal but total sexual freedom is rejected. Family values favour dual breadwinners and also approve of single parenthood.

Compared to the North, *Western Central Europe* has lower overall fertility, less gender equality, and a greater emphasis on individual freedom in sexual and family matters. People start sexual intercourse and marry fairly early but get their first child at an advanced age. Use of modern contraception is widespread. Households are small, adult children do not live with parents, and there are many families with three or more children. The share of women in paid work is low and women's part-time work is common. Women spend more time in domestic work than do Nordic women but less than women in Southern and Eastern Europe. Western Central European men do housework as much as Nordic men. Sexually liberal attitudes prevail, particularly towards prostitution but also towards homosexuality and unlimited sexual freedom. However, abortion is not considered as justifiable as in the Nordic countries. Traditional family values are not very strong; people favour what we have named an anti-institutional conception of marriage and the family. Female breadwinners and single mothers are accepted.

In the *Western Mediterranean* area, we discern less gender equality and also less signs of liberal individualism. Young people stay longer in the parental home. They have later sexual initiation, coupling, and transition to parenthood. Modern contraception methods are not used very often. Fertility levels are relatively low and families with many children are rare, despite the higher presence of kin and relatives in daily life. Households are large and divorces relatively uncommon. Women are more seldom working for pay but use much time in unpaid domestic work. People often believe that a preschool child suffers if the mother is working. Attitudes towards sexual issues are conservative, with the notable exception of strong support for unlimited sexual freedom. Family values favour traditional parenthood, here measured as the view that a child needs both parents and a woman needs children.

Compared with the Western Mediterranean area, the *Eastern Mediterranean* area also favours traditional family values. In contrast to it, Eastern Mediterraneans experience earlier fertility and more gender equality in employment. Sexual initiation takes place fairly early and people marry and get children at a young age. Modern contraception is rare. The proportion of ever-married women is high and divorce is rare, but few children are born. Households are large, but there are few families with at least three children under 18 at home. Women work for pay relatively often and full-time. Much time is spent on household chores. Attitudes towards abortion and sexual freedom are liberal but homosexuality and prostitution are not considered justifiable. Family values emphasise traditional parenthood.

In *Eastern Central Europe*, sexual initiation is late, but formal marriage and transition to parenthood arrive early in the life course. Fertility levels are low and few women report modern contraception use. Average household size is small, but there are many families with at least three children under 18. As in the Eastern Mediterranean area, women's involvement in full-time wage work is high but children are not in day-care facilities outside the home. Abortion and homosexuality are considered justifiable but unlimited sexual freedom and prostitution are condemned. Traditional parenthood is valued.

Finally, in the region encompassing the *former Soviet Union*, sexual initiation occurs late but people marry and get children early. Fertility rates are low. Modern contraception is seldom used, although this is slowly changing. The proportion of ever-married women

is high and divorce common. Households are large but there are few families with at least three under-age children. Women often work for pay although people believe the children suffer from it. People approve of abortion and unlimited sexual freedom but not of homosexuality and prostitution. Family values favour traditional parenthood but also anti-institutional conception of marriage, indicating polarisation of opinions within the populations.

Depending on which indicator we study, the six European regions – a Northern, Central, and Southern region on each side of the Trieste–St. Petersburg line – align themselves somewhat differently. Generalising, we may look at these three horizontal “belts” of family formations as emphasising *gender equality in the North, individual autonomy in Central Europe*, and *traditional family values in the South*.

We grouped the family values of traditional parenthood, anti-institutional conception of family, and woman's economic independence. Their counterpoles are the former Soviet Union countries vs. Nordic countries. In between these poles are Western Central Europe and both Mediterranean areas, where people support, e.g. large individual sexual freedom. In the Nordic and also in the Western Central European countries homosexuality is accepted more than elsewhere.

In Northern Europe, the spheres of sexuality and family life are less overlapping than in the South. Young adults in Nordic countries have a longer period of sexually active single life, before marriage and parenthood, while the age at first intercourse and first marriage is higher in Southern Europe. The gender differences are also higher in the South, reflecting the stronger presence and control of kin and husbands. Women spend a lot of time in domestic work in the Mediterranean area (and in France and Estonia) while in the Western Mediterranean area the proportion of women in the labour force is low.

Children also live in the parental home longer in the Mediterranean area than in the North. Expectations towards intergenerational support differ on the South–North dimension. Finally, in some behavioural patterns, we see alignments between South and East, making the North stand alone. Thus extended families (having other kin than children in the household) are usual in the Western Mediterranean countries and in Eastern Europe. Fear of negative consequences of maternal employment is rare in the Nordic and most of the Western Central European countries, but fairly common in the Mediterranean and Eastern European countries.

How will European families evolve? While signs of convergence are clear, there is also no doubt that century-old historical divisions continue and new regional variations appear (Therborn 2007). Family and sexual attitudes also change with different logic and pace. For instance, we have seen the enormous intra-European variation that currently exists regarding homosexuality. Negative attitudes to homosexuality build on stereotypes, fears, and revulsion. Fortunately, fast progress is possible and social attitudes may change rapidly, e.g. as legislation extends marital and parental rights to sexual minorities.

With regard to gender roles, the question of the pace of change appears more complex. Despite several decades of high female participation in paid work in all of Europe, attitudes to maternal employment were nowhere unequivocal. Even in the Nordic countries, with their uniformly supportive policies for gender equality, substantial amounts of people ascribe traditional domestic roles to women and do not approve of single motherhood.

There are crucial tensions between each pair of the three concepts freedom, tradition, and gender equality. In the minds of Europeans, complete sexual freedom may be opposed to gender equality, and great marital and reproductive choice does not always lead to stable and traditional families. As stressed in the beginning of this chapter, all sex–marriage patterns have their pros and cons. Remembering the women quoted in the introduction,

Table 16.2 Expectations related to support given and received by elderly in the family. Means, range 1-5. People born in 1945-50<sup>1)</sup>

	Expectations towards support from grandparents and parents				Expectations related to the role of family and the state in helping the elderly			
	Grandparents' duty is to be there for grandchildren	Grandparents' duty is to support grandchildren economically	Grandparents' duty is to look after grandchildren	Parents duty is to do their best for their children	Financial support for elderly should be given by family	Help in household chores for elderly should be given by family	Personal care of elderly should be given by family	N
Greece	4.3	3.4	3.9	4.4	2.4	3.5	3.7	342
Italy	4.2	3.6	3.9	4.3	2.7	3.3	3.1	313
Spain	4.1	3.4	3.6	4.1	2.9'	3.2	3.2	221
France	4.3	3.5	3.9	3.9	2.4	2.6	2.5	263
Belgium	3.9	3.0	3.3	3.6	2.5	2.9	2.7	543
Switzerland	3.6	2.5	2.9	3.6	2.5	3.1	2.9	121
Austria	3.8	2.8	3.3	3.8	2.6	3.2	3.0	286
Germany	4.0	2.9	3.6	3.2	2.7	3.4	3.1	335
Netherlands	3.7	2.6	2.6	3.5	2.2	2.6	2.3	470
Denmark	4.0	2.4	2.9	3.7	1.8	2.0	1.7	246
Sweden	4.0	2.8	3.0	4.3	2.1	2.4	2.2	411
Finland	3.8	2.6	2.6		2.3	2.6	2.4	1115

<sup>1)</sup>Sources: SHARE dropoff and GENTRANS question 102.

it may be an advantage to become a mother very early and raise your child with great help from your own parents, as in the East, but it may also be desirable to live an independent, adventurous prolonged Nordic youth – or a socially and economically protected, less adventurous single life of the Southern European young.

The choice between individual autonomy, gender equality, and traditional family ties is sometimes a real choice: not even in the best of all Europes could one probably ever select only the best parts of these family variations.

## References

- Anttonen Anneli & Jorma Sipilä (2005) 'Comparative approaches to social care: Diversity in care production modes', in Birgit Pfau-Effinger & Birgit Geissler (eds) *Care and Social Integration in European Societies*, Bristol: The Policy Press, pp. 115–134.
- Arber, Sara & Claudine Attias-Donfut (eds) (1999) *The Myth of Generational Conflict. The Family and State in Ageing Societies*. London: Routledge/ESA Studies in European Societies.
- Attias-Donfut, Claudine (2000) 'Rapports de générations. Transferts intrafamiliaux macrosocial'. *Revue Française de Sociologie* 41, 643–684.
- Attias-Donfut, Claudine & Alain Rozenkier (eds) (1997) *Les Solidarités Entre Générations. Vieillesse, Familles, État*. Nathan.
- Bajos, Nathalie & Agnès Guillaume (2003) 'Contraceptive practices and use of abortion among adolescents and young adults in Europe', in Bajos, Nathalie & Agnès Guillaume (eds) *Reproductive Health Behaviour of Young Europeans*, Vol. 1. Directorate General III – Social Cohesion, Council of Europe Publishing.
- Billari, F.C., A.C. Liefbroer & D. Philipov (2006) The Postponement of Childbearing in Europe: Driving Forces and Implications. *Vienna Yearbook of Population Research* 2006, pp. 1–18. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences.
- Bjornberg, Ulla (2007) *Family ties between generations – Transfers of material and social support among individuals in different family forms*. <http://www.sociology.gu.se/>
- Björnberg, Ulla & Guðný Björk Eydal (1995). 'Family obligations in Sweden', in Jane Millar & Andrea Warman (eds), *Defining Family Obligations in Europe*, pp. 359–378. Bath: University of Bath.
- Börsch-Supan, Axel, Agar Brugiavini, Hendrik Jürges, Johan Mackenbach, Johannes Siegrist & Guglielmo Weber (2005), *Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe – First Results from SHARE*, Mannheim: MEA.
- Bozon, Michel (2003) 'At what age do women and men have their first sexual intercourse? World comparisons and recent trends', *Population & Societies* 391, 1–4.
- Bozon, Michel & Osmo Kontula (1998) 'Sexual initiation and gender in Europe: A cross-cultural analysis of trends in the twentieth century', in Michel Hubert, Nathalie Bajos & Theo Sandfort (eds), *Sexual Behaviour and HIV/AIDS in Europe. Comparisons of National Surveys*, London: University College London (UCL) Press.
- Drobnic, Sonja & Judith Treas (2006) 'Household arrangements under welfare state regimes: Employment and the division of household labor in USA, Germany, and Finland'. Paper presented at the 101st Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, August 11–14.
- Duncan, Simon & Rosalind Edwards (1999) *Lone Mothers, Paid Work and Gendered Moral Rationalities*. London: MacMillan Press.
- Duncan, Simon & Rosalind Edwards (2003) 'State welfare regimes, mothers' agencies and gendered moral rationalities', in Anna-Karin Kollind & Abby Peterson (eds) *Thoughts on Family, Gender, Generation and Class. A Festschrift to Ulla Björnberg*. Research Report 133 from the Department of Sociology, Göteborg University.
- Durex Global Sex Survey (2005) [www.durex.com](http://www.durex.com)
- Esping-Andersen, Gösta (1990) *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- European Union (2002) *Social Trends* 34.
- European and World Values Surveys Four-wave Integrated Data File, 1981–2004. <http://www.icprs.umich.edu/cocoon/ICPSR/STUDY/04531.xml>

- Eurostat (2007) Harmonised European Time Use Survey. [http://www.testh2.scb.se/tus/tus/Table\\_0 M.html](http://www.testh2.scb.se/tus/tus/Table_0 M.html). Extension of publication How Europeans spend their time. Everyday life of women and men. Data 1998–2002 (2004), Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Eurostat, Census (2001) *Households and Families*.
- EQLS (2007) European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions: *First European Quality of Life Survey: Time Use and Work-Life Options over the Life Course*, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities. <http://epp.eurostat.cec.eu.int>.
- Fuwa, Makiko (2004) Macro-Level Gender Inequality and the Division of Household Labour in 22 Countries, *American Sociological Review* 69 (9), 751–767.
- Fuwa, Makiko & Philp N. Cohen (2007) Housework and social policy. *Social Science Research*, 36 (2), 512–530.
- Geist, Claudia (2005) 'The welfare state and the home: Regime differences in the domestic division of labour', *European Sociological Review* 21, 23–41.
- GENTRANS (2006–2009) Research Project financed by The Academy of Finland: *Baby Boomers' Generational Transmissions in Finland*, <http://blogs.helsinki.fi/gentrans>
- Giele, Janet Zollinger (1997) 'Women's changing lives and the emergence of family policy', in Kaisa Kauppinen & Tuula Gordon (eds) *Unsolved Dilemmas – Women, Work and the Family in the United States, Europe and the Former Soviet Union*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 153–168.
- Goode, William J. (1963) *World Revolution and Family Patterns*, London: The Free Press of Glencow.
- Gronow, Jukka et al. (eds) (1996) *Cultural Inertia and Social Change in Russia. Distributions by Gender and Age Group*. Report of a research project at the Department of Sociology, University of Helsinki.
- Haavio-Mannila, Elina & Osmo Kontula (2003) *Sexual Trends in the Baltic Sea Area*, Helsinki: The Population Research Institute, The Family Federation of Finland.
- Haavio-Mannila, Elina, Osmo Kontula & Anna Rotkirch (2002) *Sexual Lifestyles in the Twentieth Century. A Research Study*. London: Palgrave.
- Haavio-Mannila, Elina & J.P. Roos (2007) Why are men reporting more sexual partners than women? In Kathleen B. Jones & Gunnel Karlsson (eds) *Gender and the Interests of Love*. Festschrift for Anna Jonasdottir, Örebro: Gender Studies at Örebro University.
- Haavio-Mannila, Elina & Anna Rotkirch (1997) 'Generational and gender differences in sexual life in St. Petersburg and urban Finland', *Yearbook of Population Research in Finland XXXIV*. The Population Research Institute, The Family Federation in Finland, pp. 133–160.
- Hajnal, John (1965) 'European marriage patterns in perspective', in D. V. Glass & D. E. C. Eversley (eds) *Population in History, Essays in Historical Demography*, 101–143. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.
- Hill, Sarah E. & H. Kern Reeve (2004) 'Mating games: the evolution of human mating transactions', *Behavioral Ecology* 15, 748–756.
- Hill, Sarah E. & H. Kern Reeve (2005) 'Low fertility in humans as the evolutionary outcome of snowballing resource games', *Behavioral Ecology* 16: 398–402.
- Jallinoja, Riitta (1989) 'Women between the Family and employment', in Boh, Katja, Maren Bak, Cristine Clason, Maja Pankratova, Jens Qvortrop, Giovanni B. Sgritta & Kari Waerness (eds) (1989) *Changing Patterns of European Family life, A Comparative Analysis of 14 European Countries*, pp. 95–122. London and New York: Routledge.
- Jallinoja, Riitta (1995) 'Centrality and peripherality upside down? Gender equality and the family in Western Europe', *Historical Social Research* 20 (2), 244–265.
- Kesseli, Katja (2007) 'First birth in Russia: Everyone does it – young', *Finnish Yearbook of Population Research XLII*, 41–62. Helsinki: The Population Research Institute.
- Kesseli, Katja et al. (2005) 'Reproductive health and fertility in St. Petersburg: Report on a survey of 18–44 year old women in 2004', *Department of Sociology, University of Helsinki, Working Papers* 60.
- Kohli, Martin (1999) 'Private and public transfers between generations: Linking the family and the state'. *European Societies* 1, 81–104.
- Kontula, Osmo & Elina Haavio-Mannila (1995) *Sexual Pleasures – Enhancement of Sex Life in Finland, 1971–1992*. Aldershot: Dartmouth.
- Leridon, Henri, Gerritjan van Zessen & Michel Hubert (1998) 'The Europeans and their sexual partners', in Michel Hubert, Nathalie Bajos & Theo Sandfort (eds) *Sexual Behaviour and HIV/AIDS in Europe*. University College London (UCL) Press.
- Lewis, Jane (1992) Gender and the Development of Welfare Regimes. *Journal of European Social Policy* 2 (3), 159–173.

- Mace, Ruth (1998) 'The coevolution of human fertility and wealth inheritance strategies'. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London B*, 353: 389–397.
- Mahon, Rianne (2002) 'Child care: Toward what kind of "Social Europe"'. *Social Politics* Fall, 343–379.
- Malin, Maili & Mika Gissler (2007) 'Induced abortions among women of migrant origin in Finland'. Abstract book for the 18th Meeting in Social Medicine and Public Health, 31. Helsinki: STAKES Discussion Papers 5/2007.
- Millar, Jane & Andrea Warman (1996) *Family Obligations in Europe: The Family, the State and Social Policy*. Policy Press: Bristol.
- Millar, Jane & Martin Evans (eds) (2003) *Lone Parents and Employment: International Comparison of What Works*. <http://opensingle.inist.fr/handle/10068/41437>
- Niemi, Iiris & Hannu Pääkkönen (2002) *Time Use Changes in Finland Through the 1990s*. Helsinki: Statistics Finland.
- Orloff, Ann Shola (1993) 'Gender and the social rights of citizenship: The comparative analysis of gender relations and welfare states'. *American Sociological Review* 58: 303–328.
- REFER (2004) *Reproductive health and fertility patterns – A comparative approach*. REFER group is a research consortium conducting this project in Finland, Estonia and St. Petersburg. [www.valt.helsinki.fi/staff/rotkirch/](http://www.valt.helsinki.fi/staff/rotkirch/)
- Ronsen, Marit & Kari Skrede (2006) Nordic fertility patterns: Compatible with gender equality, in Ellingsaeter, Anne Lise & Arnlaug Leira (eds) *Politicising Parenthood in Scandinavia. Gender Relations in Welfare States*, Bristol: The Policy Press, pp. 53–76.
- Rotkirch, Anna (2000) The man question. Loves and lives in late 20th century Russia'. *University of Helsinki, Department of Social Policy, Research Reports 1*.
- Rotkirch, Anna & Katja Kesseli (2008) Chislo detej i ih mesto v zhiznennoi tsikle (Timing and number of children in St Petersburg). In E. Zdravomyslova et al. (eds) *Novyj byt*. St Petersburg: European University of St Petersburg.
- Sánchez-Barricarte, Jesús J. & Remo Fernández-Carro (2007) Patterns in the delay and recovery of fertility in Europe. *European Journal of Population* 23, 145–170.
- Sanderson, Stephen K. & Joshua Dubrow (2000) 'Fertility decline in the modern world and in the original demographic transition. Testing three theories with cross-national data', *Population and Environment* (21), 511–537.
- Santow, Gigi & Michael Bracher (2001) Deferment of the first birth and fluctuating fertility in Sweden. *European Journal of Population* 17, 344–363
- Schmitt, David P. (2005) Sociosexuality from Argentina to Zimbabwe: A 48-nation study of sex, culture, and strategies of human mating. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 28, 247–311
- SHARE – Survey of Health, Aging and Retirement in Europe (2004–). [HTTP://www.share-project.org](http://www.share-project.org). This paper uses data from SHARE release 2.2.0, as of August 19th 2009. SHARE data collection in 2004–2007 was primarily funded by the European Commission through its 5th and 6th framework programmes (project numbers QLK6-CT-2001- 00360; RII-CT- 2006-062193; CIT5-CT-2005-028857). Additional funding by the US National Institute on Aging (grant numbers U01 AG09740-13S2; P01 AG005842; P01 AG08291; P30 AG12815; Y1-AG-4553-01; OGHA 04-064; R21 AG025169) as well as by various national sources is gratefully acknowledged (see <http://www.share-project.org> for a full list of funding institutions).
- Szalai, Alexander (ed) (1972) *The Use of Time: Daily Activities of Urban and Suburban Populations in Twelve Countries*. The Hague/Berlin: Mouton/Walter de Gruyter Inc.
- Temkina, Anna (2008) *Sexualnaia zhizn zhenshchiny: mezhdru podchineniem i svobodoi* (The sexual life of women: between subordination and liberation), St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg University Press.
- Therborn, Göran (2004) *Between Sex and Power. Family in the World, 1900–2000*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Therborn, Göran (2007) *World Family Systems*. Informal Power Point presentation.
- Titmuss, Richard (1974) *Social Policy*, London: Allen & Unwin.
- Tumin, Melvin (1974) *Sosiaalinen kerrostuneisuus* (Social Stratification), Gummerus, Jyväskylä.
- UNECE The Statistical Yearbook of the Economic Commission for Europe.
- United Nations Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2006) *World Marriage Patterns 2000*.
- United Nations Statistics Division, Demographic and Social Statistics (2006) *Statistics and Indicators on Women and Men*.



- United Nations Statistics Division, Demographic and Social Statistics (2006) *Social Indicators*.
- Vishnevskij, Anatolij et al. (2006) *Demograficheskaia modernizatsiia Rossii: 1900–2000*. Moscow: Novoe izdatelstvo.
- Walker, Allan (1996) 'Intergenerational relations and the provision of welfare' in Allan Walker (ed.) *The New Generational Contract. Intergenerational Relations, Old Age and Welfare*, University College London (UCL) Press.
- Westermarck, Edward (1970/1936) *The Future of Marriage in Western Civilisation*. Freeport, New York: Books For Libraries Press.
- Westoff, Charles F. & Thomas Frejka (2007) Religiousness and fertility among European Muslims. *Population and Development Review* 33 (4), 785–809.
- WHO Regional Office for Europe (2007).
- World Values Surveys [www.worldvaluessurvey.org](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org).