Work time and social position in France and the UK

Laurent Lesnard Observatoire sociologique du changement (Sciences-po & CNRS) Laboratoire de sociologie quantitative (Crest - Insee)

Towards an homogenization of daily life?

- Robinson and Godbey (1997), Gershuny (2000), Sullivan and Gershuny (2001):
 - Decrease in paid work hours for both genders
 - Decrease in unpaid work time for women; slight increase for men
 - Growth in leisure time
- Cross-national, class, and gender convergence of time use patterns
- But cross-national variations

Public policy regimes and daily life

Gershuny and Sullivan (2003)

- Clear link between social change and time-use patterns: is there a link with public policy regimes?
- UK vs. Sweden:
 - Work days are longer in the UK
 - No difference with respect to leisure and unpaid work
- Pacholok and Gauthier (2004)
 - Four countries with very different systems of state support for families are compared: Canada, Germany, Sweden and Italy
 - Results that can be attributed to differences of Welfare regimes are modest and contradictory
 - But Sweden is the country with the most double-earner couples

Research questions

- Institutional arrangements have indirect effect on daily life
- What about the regulation of paid work time:
 - Direct temporal regulation
 - Paid work is still a central temporal institution
- UK vs. France
 - Opposed in most typologies: liberalism vs. conservatism
 - Opposed economic results
 - Opposed in terms of representation: flexibility vs. rigidity
- Any differences between the UK and France in paid work time? Not only the duration of paid work time but also its scheduling within the day?

Outline of the presentation

- Work time regulations
- Data and method
- Work days in France and the UK
- Work days and social position
- Work days and choice
- Conclusion

Regulation of working hours

EU Working Time Directives (1993 and 2000, 2003)

- Weekly working hours limits: 48 hours on average
- Weekly rest period: one day off each week
- Night-time working: limit of an average of eight hours in each 24-hour period
- Scheduling of work: no restriction

UK: transposed in 1998

- Opt-out: individuals can voluntarily agree to disapply the weekly working hours limit
- Night work: no restriction

France: transposed in 1996

- Daily work hour limit: 10 hours (12 hours if special dispensation or for *cadres*, i.e. executives and managers)
- Night work:
 - considered as exceptional
 - agreement required

Sunday work

UK: since the 1994 Sunday Trading Act

- Small shops: (under 280 sq m/3,000 sq ft) - no restrictions on opening
- Large shops:
 - Sunday Opening for 6 continual hours only, between 10am and 6pm
 - Easter Sunday closed

- France: Sunday is the usual rest day of the week-> no paid work on Sunday. But:
- Permanent special dispensation when strong economic constraints (e.g. shops in touristic locations)
- Temporary special dispensation: shops can open at most 5 Sundays a year

Data

- UK Time Use survey (ONS, 2000-01)
 - June 2000 to August 2001
 - 6414 households, 11664 individuals
 - 2 time diaries: one weekday and one weekend
 - Time diaries day coverage: 4:00 4:10 am
 - Response rate: 45%
- France Time Use survey (INSEE, 1998-99)
 - February 1998 to February 1999
 - 8186 households, 15441 individuals
 - 1 time diary
 - Time diary coverage: midnight to midnight
 - Response rate: 88%

Time use methodology

	What were you doing? Please record your main activity for each 10-minute period.	What else were you doing? Write in the most importantactivity you were doingat the same time	Where were you?	Were you with anybody? Please mark the boxes. See example on page 3.		
Morning Time, am	Enter one main activity oneach line.	e.g. Looking after children, listening to the radio or having a drink	e.g. At home, at friends, in car, onbus, train, cycling, walking	Children Children Alone or up to 9 aged 10 to Other persons with living in 14 living Other persons people you your in your household members know		
7:00 - 7:10	Sleeping					
7:10 - 7:20	+					
7:20 - 7:30	Had a shower		At home			
7:30 - 7:40	Made breakfast					
7:40 - 7:50	Ate breakfast	Read newspaper				
7:50 - 8:00	Did washing up					
8:00 - 8:10	Got my son dressed	Talked with my son	+			
8:10 - 8:20	Walked to school with son		Walking			
8:20 - 8:30	Dropped son off at school	+	1			
8:30 - 8:40	Walked to bus stop		+			
8:40 - 8:50	Travel by bus to work	Read newspaper	On the bus			
8:50 - 9:00	ľ					
9:00 - 9:10	•	+	+			
9:10 - 9:20	Walked from bus stop to main job		Walking			
9:20 - 9:30						
9:30 - 9:40	ŧ		↓			
9:40 - 9:50	Main job					
9:50 - 10:00	↓ ↓					

Method

Taxonomy of work sequences

- Variant of Optimal Matching Analysis
 - Schedules as sequences
 - Two states: work and no work
- Cluster analysis (beta-flexible)

Results

- Sunday work
 - UK: 23%
 - France: 13%
- Four types of week work days
 - 9 to 5 or standard work day
 - Shifted schedules
 - Long work day
 - Other: short work days often combined with fragmented schedules

French and British work days (week)

Work day		Size (%)	Mid- workday	Work time	
Standard	9 to 5	48	12:37	9:08	
	Shifted	17	-	6:46	
	- in the morning	8	10:08	6:29	
F	- in the afternoon/evening	5	16:50	8:10	
Atypical	- in the night	4		5:35	
vtyp	Long work day	23	14:04	11:06	
4	Irregular	12	13:11	4:46	
	- short work day	4	14:07	2:19	
	- scattered	8	12:43	5:59	
Total		100	-	8:40	

French and British work days (week)

Work day		Size (%) Mid- workday		Work time	Size (%)	
				WORK time	France	UK
Standard	9 to 5	48	12:37	9:08	43	53
	Shifted	17	-	6:46	17	17
	- in the morning	8	10:08	6:29	8	8
	- in the afternoon/evening	5	16:50	8:10	5	5
Atypical	- in the night	4		5:35	3	5
typ	Long work day	23	14:04	11:06	27	19
•	Irregular	12	13:11	4:46	13	11
	- short work day	4	14:07	2:19	4	4
	- scattered	8	12:43	5:59	10	6
Total		100	-	8:40	100	100

First conclusions

- Wide range of work schedules
- The distribution of work schedules is quite similar in France and UK
- Why are work days so similar in UK and France despite different regulations?
- Hypothesis:
 - As the scheduling of work is a crucial economic parameter for firms, work schedules echo position in the economic organization
 - National economic organizations are more and more alike because of the spread of liberalism and their growing unification (globalization)



Who decides?

Decided by firms	61
List of work schedules offered by firms	7
Employees can adapt their schedule	9
Decided by employees	16
Other	7
Total	100

100

Choice, constraint, and work schedules

	Who determines the work schedules of employees					
Type of work schedule	Decided by firms	List of work schedules offered by firms	Employees can adapt their schedule	Decided by employees	Other	
9 to 5	46,4	47,6	69,3	37,3	28,8	
Shifted	22,5	18,9	6,7	6,7	18,2	
- in the morning	9,8	7,3	1,9	0,4	3,3	
- in the afternoon/evening	9,9	11,2	4,8	5,7	13,5	
- in the night	2,7	0,5	0,0	0,6	1,4	
Long work day	16,0	17,0	15,2	38,1	30,7	
Irregular	15,2	16,5	8,9	17,9	22,3	
- short work day	9,9	12,6	3,3	11,7	14,9	
- scattered	5,3	3,9	5,6	6,3	7,4	
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	

France, 1998

Conclusion (1)

- More Sunday work in the UK
- Less 9 to 5 work days in France
- Great variety of work days in France and the UK
- Position in the economic field explain this diversity in France and the UK
 - The higher the social position the higher the probability of working a 9 to 5 but also long work days
 - The lower the social position the higher the probability of having shifted, fragmented and short work days
 - The nature of atypicality depends on the nature of work

Conclusion (2)

- Atypical work schedules are
 - imposed to employees located low down the social space
 - chosen by employees located high up the social space.
- But atypical work schedules
 - imposed are often shifted schedules
 - chosen are often long work days

Conclusion (3)

- Homogenizing effects of EU regulation/deregulation
 directives on European countries
- Homogenizing effects of liberalism on national economic fields
- Strong work time inequalities
 - That increased in France (Lesnard 2004)
 - That increased in the US (Hamermesh 2002)
 - That certainly increased in the UK
- Consequences for dual-earner couples: growing desynchronization
- Law passed in 2003 in the UK to force firms to consider (but not to agree) employees' request for more family friendly work schedules

Appendix

OMA Part time work

Sequence analysis

- Optimal Matching Analysis (OMA)
 - Measure of dissimilarity between sequences
 - Similarity of two sequences based on the difficulty to transform one sequence into the other (matching)
 - Three kind of operations allowed:
 - Insertion and deletion
 - Substitution
 - Costs affected to these operations
 - Minimum cost to match two sequences
- Variant used here
 - Only substitution operations are used
 - Costs are dynamic and defined as a function of the series of transition matrices between the two states

Part-time work: who decides?

Imposed by firm when hired	45
Conversion from full-time imposed by firm	2
Decided by employees to take care of children	35
Decided by employees for other reasons	16
Do not know	2
Total	100

Part time work decision and work schedules

Type of work schedule		Part-time work: who decides?					
		Imposed by firm when hired	Conversion from full-time imposed by firm	Decided by employees to take care of children	Decided by employees for other reasons	Do not know	
9 to 5		23,3	44,4	50,6	30,7	42,9	
Shifted		20,5	33,3	9,9	16,0	0,0	
- in the mor	ning	2,9	11,1	2,5	5,3	0,0	
- in the afte	rnoon/evening	16,7	22,2	7,4	10,7	0,0	
- in the nigh	nt	1,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	
Long work	day	14,3	11,1	6,8	10,7	42,9	
Irregular		41,9	11,1	32,7	42,7	14,3	
- short work	k day	26,7	11,1	23,5	30,7	14,3	
- scattered		15,2	0,0	9,3	12,0	0,0	
Total		100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	

France, 1998