



European Foundation
for the Improvement of
Living and Working Conditions

New Forms of Work and Activity

COLLOQUIUM
Brussels, 25.4.1986

Documentation

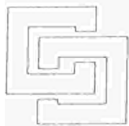
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edited by

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European Foundation
for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

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PREFACE

This volume contains the documentation of the Colloquium on New Forms of Work and Activity, held by the European Foundation on 25 April 1986 in Brussels under the chairmanship of Professor Ralf Dahrendorf.

This subject is of fundamental importance to the work of the Foundation on issues of living and working conditions. But it is a broad subject, so the Foundation, including its Administrative Board, saw the need for some preliminary work to make clear the issues on which we can most usefully work and develop our understanding through research in a practical way.

For this purpose, the Foundation has established an Advisory Committee, consisting of representatives of the social partners and the governments of the Member states of the European Community, augmented by experts from various scientific disciplines. The Foundation is grateful to Professor Dahrendorf for making his expertise and knowledge in this field available to the Advisory Committee by agreeing to act as its honorary chairman.

In order to structure and assist the deliberations of this Advisory Committee, the Foundation had commissioned a number of issue papers relating to this project which served as a vehicle for a first broad debate in the course of the Colloquium on 25 April 1986. These issue papers are presented in this volume together with a summary of the contributions to the colloquium by the participants. The Foundation had thought it important that from the outset we should have the guidance of those who are concerned with effecting policy in this area. Therefore, it was of great significance that **Mr. Michael Welsh**, Chairman of the European Parliament's Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, **Mr. Jean Degimbe**, Director-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Education of the Commission of the European Communities, who is at the same time chairman of the Administrative Board of the European Foundation, and **Dr. Enrico Kirschen**, chairman of the Section for Social Questions of the Economic and Social Committee of the European Communities were able to attend and to contribute formally to the debate of the Colloquium. Their main points are also contained in the introductory chapter of this volume.

As an indication of the degree of political agreement or controversy in the assessment of the problems and issues at hand, the introductory contributions of the social partners - Mr. François Staedelin's statement on behalf of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) and Dr. Fritz-Jürgen Kador's statement on behalf of the Union of Industries of the European Community (UNICE) - are reproduced in their entirety. At the end of this documentation, first tentative conclusions emanating from the second meeting of the Foundation's Advisory Committee, held on 27 June 1986, are recorded which point a way forward towards a constructive transformation of this first phase of the project into concrete and useful research avenues in the coming years.

Finally, the European Foundation acknowledges the important contributions to the Colloquium from all participants, among them several Members of the European Parliament, experts and researchers from many organisations with a common concern for the issues and problems under investigation.

Clive Purkiss
Director of the European Foundation

July 1986

INTRODUCTION

The field of study

by

Eberhard Köhler, Project Manager, European Foundation

To adjust the new forms of work organization to the changes in demand for products and services, different forms of behaviour and continuous technological development, together with the frighteningly high unemployment rates, force us to take a new look at the labour market and to redefine work. For many people, the term "work" has lost its original meaning of full-time gainful employment.

In 1985 the European Foundation set up a research programme on new forms of work and activity in order to gain a better understanding of these changes. The programme investigates the ways in which the labour market reacts to these changed conditions and the new forms of work which are attracting growing attention and it evaluates their social and economic implications. Some of these new forms of work make the spatial aspect of workers' working and/or living conditions more flexible, for example home work or telework and work based on different time schedules such as weekend work, 12-hour shiftwork, work "on call" and, again, telework.

Fundamental changes are also occurring outside the formal labour market. The more difficult it is to find paid work, the more people turn to other forms of activity which do not normally have the same status, such as community work, family welfare work or "own-initiative" environmental work, to name only a few. In a society in which the type of work has for a long time determined social status, we must re-evaluate these types of activity.

The Foundation has proposed looking at this subject from different angles in an attempt to gain a more comprehensive view of the individual factors that characterize this trend. The research done to date covers the following areas:

- a. external and internal labour markets and employment flexibility;
- b. development of job-sharing;
- c. development of telework;
- d. impact on families and social organization;
- e. psychological impact of new forms of work and activity;
- f. legal and contractual provisions relating to working time;
- g. issues in labour law and social security legislation;
- h. work organization in co-operative undertakings;
- i. changing patterns of time use.

The papers on these subjects are reproduced below. The colloquium was preceded by brier statements giving the point of view of the Commission of the European Communities, the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee, the employers and the workers and, last but not least, the view of the political specialist and sociologist, Ralf Dahrendorf, in order to put the discussion on a broader political and social basis.

Jean Degimbe, Director-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Education and Chairman of the European Foundation's Administrative Board, emphasized the Commission's great interest in the questions raised. Jacques Delors, President of the Commission, and Manuel Marin Gonzales, Vice-President responsible for this specific policy area, both attach the utmost importance to the problem of unemployment. A concerted effort must be made by all concerned to work out generally acceptable solutions to the apparent contradiction between economic reality and social needs, wishes and expectations. That is why attempts are being made to revive and intensify the "social dialogue" between unions and employers at all

levels, in order to make it even clearer that only through joint action can the labour market gradually be adjusted to the changed framework conditions. In this context, it becomes very important to aim at sound scientific information and insight; by virtue of its constitution and nature the European Foundation can and must make a major contribution to achieving that goal.

Michael Welsh, Chairman of the European Parliament's Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, discussed the close thematic links between the Foundation's field of study and his committee's concerns. While we in the EEC Member States are enjoying the highest ever level of absolute material and social well-being, large sections of the population, such as the unemployed, are barred from direct access to this well-being. In Welsh's view, the phenomenon of unemployment is not a temporary evil of our social and economic systems but a structural labour-market problem that can be tackled only if the peoples of the European Community make massive changes to their values and expectations. That is why different types and forms of work should no longer be classified and defined on a hierarchical basis, but should be regarded as an absolute value, as being continuous, to prevent the emergence or spread of social discrimination against "atypical" work forms. We must fight against any tendencies towards the formation of a new class structure, particularly the danger of the formation of a new lower class consisting of poorly or inadequately trained workers who would remain on the outside and not have a chance in a more competitive labour market. One of the great political tasks today is to identify and fight against this danger, possibly by adjustments and more flexibility on all sides, for according to Welsh a society which cannot integrate its weaker members properly into the overall structure of its social system is a society without a future. So Welsh hopes that close co-operation between the European Foundation and the parliamentary committee he chairs will produce sound ideas on political ways of resolving the problem of how to revive and reorientate the labour market. Outside the framework of the colloquium documented here, this co-operation is also being fostered intensively and to the benefit of both sides.

Enrico Kirschen, on behalf of the Economic and Social Committee of the European Community, also pointed to the interdependence and interaction of social and economic trends. We must not casually put the general level of social security achieved in the EEC Member States at risk. If technology-based innovations in production lead to expensive investment - which, in turn, leads to a reorganization of work, including working hours, for operational and cost reasons so that new plant can be utilized more intensively - this should not lead to a decline in the working conditions of those who make this extensive utilization possible. That means no discrimination against part-time or temporary work; it also means that safety-and-health provisions at work may have to be reviewed again. In other words, the social aspect of the electronic and technological developments now taking place must not be relegated to second place by comparison with the macro-economic aspects of world-wide competition. The same view is expressed in major studies carried out by the Economic and Social Committee, such as the report on "Europe and the new technologies: research, industry, society" published in June 1986. Within this scenario, the European Foundation is entrusted with the important role of helping to clarify the social implications of technical developments. In the Foundation's view, the field of study documented here is a good approach to this challenge and this task, thus making a contribution towards ensuring that technical innovations and developments are acceptable to society as a whole.

Ralf Dahrendorf, Chairman of this colloquium and Chairman of a high-ranking group of experts convened by the OECD, gave a survey ranging from the world-wide problems to possible, specifically-EEC solutions which need to be discussed on a broad basis. In view of the concern about the continuing high unemployment rate, we must look at the future of work in the widest possible context. The structural labour-market problems are supplementary to the global, macro-economic situation. According to Dahrendorf - who also referred to his work with the group of experts convened by the OECD, the findings of which were published in May 1986 under the title "Labour Market Flexibility" - the question of labour-market flexibility, ie the reorientation and reorganization of the labour

market, touches on four interlinked areas which can, however, be defined separately:

1. The need for adaptability to global competition, whether on the financial, the goods or the services markets.
2. The need for constant technological innovation, taking account of the potential of new work organization and new forms of social organization.
3. The need to look at and tackle the emergent social problems, such as the complex aspects of the emergence of a "lower class" as a result of long-term unemployment.
4. The need to improve the quality of life in general as a result of the changed expectations of the people who live in our societies.

Dahrendorf sees no panacea solution to these problems, even if they are looked at individually and certainly not as a whole. However, it must be possible to discern the outlines of some strategies for change that could lead to a solution even if they are not the panacea longed for by many. These include realizing and accepting that we do not need a panacea that works everywhere and for everything, but that there is also an attraction in having a wide variety of possible and at times divergent solutions; that we need not necessarily overcome our differences but should perhaps even foster them; that we should not yearn for a US or Japanese solution but must succeed in finding a specifically European solution, which could perhaps combine flexibility with protection of the social human rights that are typical and good for Europe, a European solution which maintains or even strengthens our competitiveness on global markets, without destroying the historical, cultural, economic, political and institutional framework.

It will certainly be difficult and also painful to find a balance of this kind, but it is surely not impossible to seek it.

By searching for and making available substantiated information, the European Foundation aims to help the appropriate decision-makers, at whatever level, to discover, in the quest for balanced solutions, what is socially and economically desirable, worthwhile and feasible, so that they can make use of this to introduce, accompany and carry through the necessary upheavals and changes without incurring any serious rejection within the European Economic Community and within the Member States.

The initial aim, however, in the first phase of the project was to define and assess the problem. The position papers commissioned by the Foundation and reproduced in the following pages aim to give a preliminary idea of the variety of questions involved. This is supplemented by the views of the employers and workers. The final section discusses possible future practical research by the Foundation and also presents the findings of a second meeting of the Foundation's Committee of Experts on 27 June 1986.

NEW FORMS OF WORK ORGANISATION

Statement by

F. Staedelin on behalf of the European Trade Union Confederation

The trade-union representatives on the Foundation's Administrative Board have worked hard to ensure that this study project was included in the work programme. The traditional ways in which work is timetabled (two periods per day, a 5-day week and an 8-hour day) are in fact becoming less and less common. Work organization, particularly since the introduction of new production methods, has undergone considerable changes, in many cases dictated by technological design and concern about productivity and competitiveness.

In this account of the situation we should not forget the pressure from workers who are increasingly anxious not to travel twice a day or more to go to work. They prefer to make only one journey from their homes to their places of work. This is due in large part to the lengthening of travelling time, but also because in many undertakings and establishments meals are available on the spot, thanks to the provision of staff canteens and restaurants.

It is important that the Foundation should carry out case-studies in order to take stock of the present situation, not just to look at the negative or positive aspects within undertakings but also the repercussions which work organization has on society and family life as a whole.

We do not seek to deny that the problems raised by work organization cause conflict, and that it is for the two sides of industry to seek compromises through negotiations, and for legislation to prevent abuses which are harmful to the quality of life.

We are, of course, aware that investment in undertakings costs more and more, and of course we know that maximum use must be made of plant in order to become, or stay, profitable and competitive. Nevertheless, we cannot endorse forms of work organization which are directed only towards production to the detriment of the quality of life and human aspirations.

This is why the new forms of work organization, some of which are not in fact new but merely a return to the past, need to be examined with regard to all their consequences and aspects.

What in trade-union language are known as atypical forms of work - temporary work, part-time work, sub-contracting, definite-duration work contracts, homework, week-end work, nightwork, "on-call" work, job sharing, and so on - can be tolerated and accepted only provided they comply with several conditions, some of which are:

- a. they must not be harmful to health;
- b. they must be subject to collective negotiations;
- c. they must have a positive effect on employment;
- d. they must benefit from social-security protection;
- e. they must respect the basic rights of social and family life;
- f. wages and salaries must be guaranteed;
- g. they must provide entitlement to annual holidays and weekly rest;
- h. there must be restrictions on working hours;
- i. jobs must be defined in such a way as to enable workers to achieve their potential.

We cannot conceal the fact that all these problems hinge on the fundamental issue of how a democratic society should be organized. We need to find a balance between a manufacturing and services society and the right of people to continued improvements in the quality of collective and individual life. What would the most competitive, best-performing society be if at the same time the quality of life was neglected?

The study which the Foundation has just undertaken must enable the two sides of industry to make the right choices. Those taking decisions - whether businessmen, unions or governments - must obtain the maximum information available on the impact of their decisions. If the work undertaken by the Foundation could be used for that purpose, if on the basis of results a genuine debate within the Community could be instigated, and if decisions could then be taken, our commitment to this study will not have been in vain.

NEW FORMS OF WORK AND ACTIVITY
FROM THE MANAGEMENT POINT OF VIEW

by

Dr. Fritz-Jürgen Kador, Executive Secretary of the Federal German Union
of Employers' Associations

The following is a first look at the subject and will no doubt raise questions rather than establishing clear positions. In very abstract terms, the findings appear fairly clear.

Technical, economic and social developments are changing working content, time and space. There are many familiar examples of this: activities formerly performed for remuneration have now shifted to the leisure sector; new and flexible forms of work organization have been introduced; jobs have been transferred from central workplaces to decentralized units or even to the worker's home. The causes and effects of these new forms of work and activity are very varied. The new work forms involve opportunities and risks for both worker and employer. In fact, it is impossible to discuss the current labour-market problems realistically or accurately without looking into the complex question of the new forms of work.

The Employers' Group on the Administrative Board of the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions has given thorough consideration to the wide-ranging subject-matter which is to be discussed in this colloquium. It endorses the aim of the research project, which is to bring more clarity into what is at times the rather confusing field of new forms of work and activity and thus make it easier for the two sides of industry to hold a dialogue and to ensure that the structural changes are acceptable from the economic and human standpoints.

The new forms of work which have appeared are so varied and differentiated that it is difficult to form an overall view of them, let alone classify them according to any system. They have naturally aroused a wide variety of different responses and interests, which can certainly not be reduced to the classical pattern of employer-worker relationships.

From the economic point of view, the following aspects take priority:

- a. lower production costs and therefore higher competitiveness and protection of jobs;
- b. rational use of increasingly capital-intensive plant;
- c. dissociation of working hours from operating times;
- d. flexible and low-cost adjustment of employment to supply and demand changes and to the variations in the workload dictated by the nature of the operation;
- e. workers are motivated to co-operate because their job expectations are taken into account in the worker-oriented organization of the work.

The new forms of work and activity also have positive aspects for the workers, for example:

- a. protection of jobs thanks to higher competitiveness;
- b. more scope for the individual planning of working hours and therefore more co-ordination between work and private interests;
- c. sensible use of increasing leisure time.

Of course, the new forms of work and activity also raise problems. From the management point of view they are as follows:

- a. cost and organization problems;
- b. high administrative expenditure;
- c. problems of staff supervision;
- d. new forms of competition.

The workers often fear:

- a. lower wages or social benefits;
- b. less social security;
- c. social isolation.

The employers take the workers' and unions' fears seriously. They are waiting for the European Foundation's project to give them a better idea of whether the fears and hopes of all concerned are justified. Above all they are waiting for practical advice on how to organize the introduction and practice of the new forms of work and activity, for new developments must not be blocked or strangled at birth for fear of possible risks or adverse effects; instead they must be implemented in such a way as to ensure the greatest possible benefit and the least possible risk to all concerned. That there will be practical difficulties hardly needs saying. Basically, the point is not to block potential developments but to give them the right form.

It is not really feasible to evaluate the position papers submitted for today's colloquium in detail, so I will confine myself to a few general remarks:

- a. The papers vary widely in terms of structure and content. It will therefore be important to formulate a list of questions from which comparable research findings can be obtained.
- b. That means first compiling a list of the new forms of work and activity.
- c. It seems essential for the two sides of industry to discuss and co-ordinate these research questions, hypotheses, methods and fields. Consensus on the basic research aims is important in principle and for practical reasons. In principle, it is the precondition for obtaining usable research findings, and in practice it paves the way for the successful execution of the research project.

I should like to endorse the Chairman's views as regards the hopes pinned on the research project. The field we are entering is largely new territory. It features national, regional and industry-based differences. It would therefore be too much to expect transferable models; instead we are likely to see a large number of different proposals advanced.

I should also like to ask you to remain realistic about another aspect. Despite all attempts to reduce any friction or disagreement that might arise in the course of changes in the forms of work, we must remember that structural changes are never free from problems and conflict.

EMPLOYMENT
FLEXIBILITY IN
INTERNAL AND
EXTERNAL LABOUR
MARKETS

John Atkinson

Institute of Manpower Studies
University of Sussex

Brighton,
MARCH 1986

Preface

This report is a contribution to the Colloquium on 'New Forms of Work and Activity' organised by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. It sets out the issues raised for public, corporate and individual actors in European labour markets by the current concentration on the theme of flexibility. The term itself is extremely flexible, and is widely used to denote a very broad range of labour market policy, at several different levels in the labour market, and with various anticipated outcomes.

This report concentrates on several aspects of flexibility; emerging contractual relationships, new working time patterns, changing job content, changing pay systems, new spatial patterns, precarious forms of employment, labour mobility and flexibility of pay levels. Its aim is not to describe or document these aspects of flexibility, nor to identify particular national or trans-national trends. Rather the aim is to establish how these separate aspects combine to enhance labour market flexibility, and to identify the issues so raised.

The research was conducted through a review of secondary sources and through a series of interviews with researchers, academics and labour market actors, between December 1985 and March 1986.

Chapter 1 : Changing Perspectives on Flexibility

Introduction

For some years now flexibility in the labour market has been a central theme in corporate and government approaches to employment policy throughout Europe. The origins of this concern can be traced to the impact of the oil price shocks of 1973 and 1978, the resulting downturn in economic activity, and the widespread failure of the traditional instruments of economic fine-tuning to accommodate them. The current preoccupation with flexibility may well contain an element of over-reaction, to the extent that it derives from the particularly unstable and (since 1945) unprecedented market conditions experienced in recent years. As yet there is little evidence to suggest that all of this turbulence is likely to become a permanent feature of economic life. Nevertheless, if the last decade can be characterised as a period of transition for European economies, then it was surely a transition to economic and social configurations that will permanently embody many of the features of that transition; for example, greater competitiveness in product markets, an increased rate of technological change embodied in both product and process innovation, and greater immediacy between the recognition of market opportunities (or pressures) and the need to respond to them. Thus, while we may not know the nature of the changes with which we will be faced in coming years, it seems certain that the pace of such change has permanently increased. As a result, the current concern with flexibility, and the responsiveness of the labour market to change, is not just a flash in the pan.

Flexibility is not a very precise term. There are several reasons for this; firstly, the range of subjects which might be drawn within its ambit is substantial; secondly, it means vastly different things to different constituencies; and thirdly, its use is often blatantly ideological, reflecting our cultural disposition to value flexibility (in the abstract) over inflexibility. Thus the term should be used with some care. In particular, we should take care to distinguish between static and dynamic aspects of flexibility. By dynamic aspects of flexibility we mean changes to institutional, cultural and other social or economic regulations or practices which permanently increase the capacity to respond to change; by the static aspects we mean one-off accommodations to particular pressures. The reduction

of retirement age to (say) 55 as a response to unemployment would be an example of the latter, while the introduction of a five-year age band from 55 to 60 during which workers could retire at any time would be an example of the former. In this paper we will be concerned with the dynamic aspects of flexibility.

Perspectives of the Social Partners

It is important to note at the outset that there are major differences between the perspectives of European governments, employers and workers on the question of labour market flexibility. By and large these tend to be more marked than differences within each of these constituencies, and more marked (in general terms) than differences between member states. therefore, we will begin by briefly delineating these different orientations between social partners in terms of goals, subjects and means of implementation.

1) Government Perspectives

The principal goal for European governments in seeking greater labour market flexibility is the reduction of unemployment. This is pursued through a policy of simultaneously reducing the financial costs of job creation at a given level of output, while reducing administrative or legal impediments to such job creation. The means of implementation are to reform wage bargaining in such a way as to permit market forces to influence the outcome more directly, and deregulation of legally and administratively established conditions of employment. The extent of such initiatives, and the balance between the two policy thrusts clearly varies greatly from state to state, according to the ideological position of the government and the institutional and legislative framework of the labour market.

2) Employer Perspectives

The principal goal for European employers in seeking greater labour market flexibility is to promote optimal cost-effectiveness in the deployment of their workforces. This is pursued through the reorganisation of their internal labour markets, and in particular the contractual, working time, job content and payment system aspects of those internal labour markets. The means of implementation is the division of the internal labour market into fixed and variable components, the former being the source of functional flexibility (the reorganisation of competences so that workers can deploy them over a wider range of tasks), and the latter being the source of numerical flexibility (the ability to adjust the volume of labour inputs in line with changes in output). There is considerable variation in the extent, novelty and conscious articulation of such a reorganisation according to sector, size of firm and the labour market context in which it is placed.

3) Trade Union Perspectives

The principal goal for European trade unions is to secure the terms and conditions of their members where public or corporate flexibility initiatives threaten them. This is pursued at the level of the enterprise (and in some cases nationally) through collective bargaining, and nationally through the promotion of protective legislation. The only area where unions have taken widespread initiatives is on the flexibility of working time. Apart from this their role has been defensive.

From this brief overview it is evident that the social partners have substantially different priorities within the general ambit of flexibility, and that the prospects for change through consensus on this matter are restricted. In effect we can observe two radically opposed views of flexibility.

The Social Solidarity View

This approach to labour market flexibility has been dominant in most sectors of the economy throughout Europe until recently. It holds that productivity advance is best secured through co-operation between the social partners. Government's role is to steer the economy and control economic aggregates to provide a context in which labour can actively participate in such advance. The rewards of productivity growth are distributed by a combination of collective bargaining and welfare provision. Priority is given to the establishment of social and labour market conditions which permit and encourage mutuality in the labour process, through improved pay and working conditions, training provision, compensation for redundancy, unemployment benefit, job placement etc. The full use of the productive potential of the workforce is encouraged through high employment, no underemployment and high participation rates.

In effect the versatility and adaptability of the workforce is seen as central to the positive acceptance of change. Flexibility in the face of change is secured through a combination of social and corporate schemes to protect workers from the costs of accepting change, and the provision of the skills and aptitudes needed to operate effectively in a changing environment. A secure, skilled and committed workforce is seen as of equal or greater importance to growth and adaptability than managerial dynamism or entrepreneurial vigour.

The Market Adjustment View

This approach has eclipsed the social solidarity view to a greater or lesser extent in most of Europe since the mid 1970s. In this view the unrestrained market mechanism is seen as the principal guarantor of efficiency and adaptability in both product and labour markets. Thus impediments to such forces (whether public, trade union or employer derived) are seen as potential or actual constraints on adaptability rather than instrumental in securing it. As a result, they are relegated to the provision of minimum standards and conditions of employment. Risk-bearing is seen as a matter for individual firms and workers rather than for collective action. A two-fold process is

envisaged; first, a cathartic shock to attitudes schooled in the social solidarity approach, and secondly, an energised response to change guided by market efficiency and the unencumbered flow of economic resources.

In effect this model gives priority to supply-side adjustments. Removing constraints here both provides for static improvements in productivity and dynamic adjustment to change. Managerial and entrepreneurial initiatives are held to embody such adjustments; the role of labour is to follow.

From Social Solidarity to Market Adjustment

Broadly speaking the trade union movement in Europe adheres strongly to the social solidarity perspective, primarily because it conceives such a model to provide the best immediate and longer term provision for workers, but also because it can see no role for itself in the market adjustment model. From a variety of different starting points, European governments have shifted towards the market adjustment model - in some cases energetically and wholeheartedly (UK), and in others reluctantly and tentatively (France).

In contrast to both these developments, it appears that the emerging pattern among employers is to embrace both models, applying each to different components of their workforces. This is the basis of the segmentation of the labour market which is now evident in Europe, and it is this duality which appears to be increasingly the source of internal labour market flexibility for European firms. We go on to consider the nature of such segmentation in the next chapter.

Chapter 2 : Flexibility in Internal Labour Markets

We have already noted that, with the exception of working time arrangements, trade unions have tended not to initiate flexibility moves, and that public policy has on balance shifted away from direct intervention within employing organisations. Thus, as might anyway be expected, the main agents of change within employing organisations have been the employers. Changes in the composition of internal labour markets intended to secure flexibility have therefore tended to be originated by, and implemented in the interests of, the employers. This chapter will therefore be largely concerned with their perspectives, and we need to begin by asking 'what do the employers mean by flexibility?', and thereby to question 'and how are they achieving it?'. We can then go on to identify the issues which arise as a result of these internal labour market changes, not only for the employers, but also for workers, their unions and government.

Employers' Flexibility Priorities

So far as European employers are concerned there appear to be four broad approaches to internal labour market flexibility. These are described below.

1) **Numerical Flexibility:** numerical flexibility is defined as the ability of firms to adjust the number of workers, or the level of worked hours, in line with changes in the level of demand for them. It is therefore concerned with employers' ability to adjust employment levels to workload, period by period. As that workload fluctuates, employers respond to it either by changing the number of workers deployed (ie the use of additional workers) or by changing the distribution of worked time (ie the use of existing workers). The main determinants of how they do this appear to be (a) the scale, frequency and predictability of these workload fluctuations, and (b) the legal and administrative possibilities for securing additional workers who will not enjoy continuity of employment. Of course, firms have always required numerical flexibility to some extent, to deal with workload fluctuations during the worked day, week or year, and to adapt to the changing relationship between output produced and labour required as technology changes.

It would appear, however, that the pressures on employers to be flexible in this sense have intensified recently, for one or more of the following reasons:

- * output fluctuations have become larger, more frequent and/or more unpredictable;
- * under increasing competitive pressure companies have become less able to bear the short term costs of not being numerically flexible; and
- * the costs of becoming numerically flexible have themselves reduced.

We might also add that the opportunities to pursue numerical flexibility have also increased. Legal and administrative deregulation in some European states have increased the potential for using additional short term and/or part time and/or contract workers, while at the same time legal and collective bargaining initiatives have opened up wider possibilities for variation in working time of permanent workers. Thus, both forms of numerical flexibility have become more accessible to employers.

2) **Functional Flexibility:** just as numerical flexibility is concerned with how employers adjust the numbers of people employed or the hours they work to changing workload levels, so functional flexibility is concerned with how they adjust the deployment of those people and the contents of their jobs to meet the changing tasks generated by that workload. Functional flexibility is defined as the ability of firms to reorganise the competences associated with jobs, so that the job holder can deploy such competences across a broader range of tasks. Such a redeployment may be sequential (eg redeployment out of redundant skills) or involve the simultaneous use of old and new skills; it may be permanent or temporary; it may involve working up into a higher skilled job, working down into a less skilled job or shifting between functions.

The need for greater functional flexibility can be attributed to one or more of the following factors:

- * skill boundaries are being blurred by technological change and this is accelerating;
- * cost pressures on headcount may lead to an increasing pressure to spread the available workforce over a larger number of tasks; and

- * growing uncertainty in product markets and process may require a workforce which is capable of responding to as yet unknown changes in these dimensions.

The dominant pressures leading employers towards increasing their workforces' functional flexibility seem therefore to be technological and organisational. If jobs can be regarded, crudely, as collections of tasks, then new technology may render existing job boundaries obsolete, in the sense that the most efficient grouping of tasks into jobs are changed. The cost pressures on headcount, and the increasing volatility and uncertainty in workloads, are also important contributors to the perceived need for functional flexibility. Companies having demanned, and simultaneously facing fluctuating, uncertain workloads, need to be able to deploy their remaining employees across a wider range of tasks than previously.

3) Distancing: distancing is defined as the displacement of employment contracts by commercial contracts, as exemplified by sub-contracting. It is an alternative to flexibility, rather than another form of flexibility. Thus companies, faced with an apparent need for greater numerical or functional flexibility, may decide that it is easier in management terms, or more cost-effective, to make the achievement of that flexibility 'somebody else's problem'. What this generally involves is the displacement of an employment contract by a commercial contract as a means of getting a job done. Thus, rather than organise its own workforce flexibly to meet peaks in workload, a company may simply contract out those peaks to another individual or organisation. Similarly, if it finds that a particular in-house activity can be made cost-effective only by increasing the functional flexibility of the workforce in that activity, it may decide that the costs (financial, administrative, and industrial relations) to the organisation of achieving that flexibility exceed the costs of paying another organisation to provide the service in question. These are 'distancing strategies', and all organisations pursue them to some extent.

Distancing strategies appear to be increasingly prevalent for any or all of the following reasons:

- * a desire to concentrate the organisation's resources on its areas of comparative advantage, leaving the other areas to those whose comparative advantage they are;

- * a consideration of the relative costs of undertaking an activity in-house and putting it out, when outsiders may be able to achieve economies of scale, exert monopsony buying power, achieve greater workforce flexibility, pay lower wages etc;
- * a desire to shift elsewhere the burden of risk and uncertainty, and the associated costs; and
- * a desire to reduce the organisation's total headcount and wage bill.

4) Pay Flexibility: pay flexibility is defined as the ability of firms to adjust pay structures to encourage functional flexibility, match market rates for scarce skills, and/or reward individual performance. It appears that, for the most part, changes to pay systems are intended to reinforce or pay for greater functional flexibility, and therefore the pressures for change coincide with those underlying the drive for greater functional flexibility described above. In so far as there are other pressures they appear to be threefold:

- * the traditional management desire to motivate and retain individual 'high performers', perhaps sharpened by smaller headcount and the drive for greater overall productivity;
- * the persistence of skill shortages in a few occupations, coinciding with oversupply of labour in others, may have increased companies' desire to distinguish between the two in pay terms; and
- * the displacement of wages by fees, as employment contracts are displaced by commercial contracts under a regime of distancing.

Shifts in the Structure of Internal Labour Markets

So broad and far-reaching are these overall aims that their potential impact on internal labour markets is at once massive and complex. The main effect is one of segmentation into different labour market regimes within individual firms, and the main reason for this is that employers have tended to seek numerical and functional flexibility from different groups of worker inside

the firm, while simultaneously pursuing distancing, which pushes other workers outside the internal labour market altogether. The result is a growing actual and potential differentiation between groups of worker.

There appear to be three main segments emerging, as follows:

1) **Core Workers:** these are employees conducting what the firm regards as its most important and most unique activities. They tend to be male, full time, permanent, with long job tenures, and deploying skills which the firm cannot readily recruit outside. Their employment regime is still structured by the social solidarity model discussed in Chapter 1; this is because it is from these workers that the company seeks functional flexibility, and it requires their active compliance in achieving that end.

2) **Peripheral Workers:** these also are employees, but they conduct what the firm regards as its routine and mechanical activities. They are more likely to be female, part time, possibly temporary, with shorter job tenures, and deploying skills which are readily available on the external labour market. Their employment regime is increasingly structured by the market adjustment model discussed in Chapter 1; this is because the company seeks numerical flexibility from them; it requires only more or less of them at any given time and it needs only minimal compliance on their part to achieve this, provided that there is an excess supply in the external labour market.

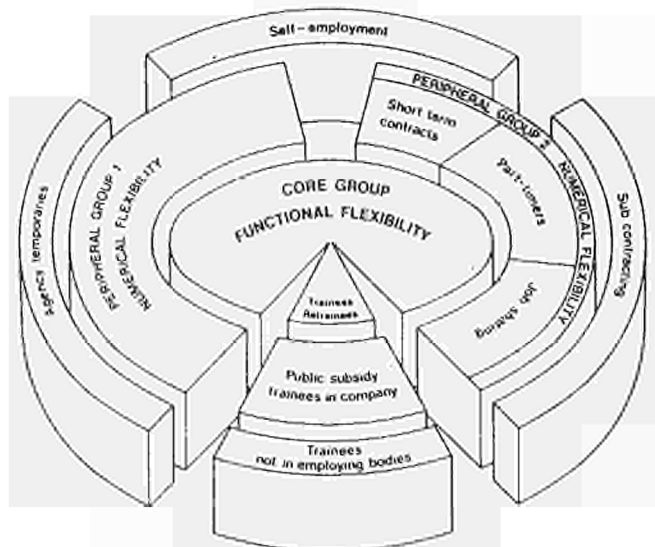
3) **External Workers:** these are not employees at all (though they may be employed by other firms, employment agencies, sub-contractors, or be self-employed). They conduct those activities from which the firm has chosen to distance itself. These tend to be either highly specialist or very mundane activities, and these workers are likely therefore to demonstrate the greatest diversity of employment characteristics. They tend to be regarded by the firm itself as a second group of numerically flexible workers, but in some cases their actual employer might regard them as core workers. Thus again their experience is likely to be more varied than either of the other two groups.

A Model of Internal Labour Market Flexibility

It is useful here to consider the model of the 'flexible firm' developed at the Institute of Manpower Studies. The model is helpful, not because it describes

the situation of any actual organisation, but because it contains all the main parameters of change observed in the research work to date. It draws into a simple framework the new elements in employers' manpower practices, bringing out the relationships between the various practices, and their appropriateness for different companies and groups of workers.

The 'flexible firm', then, has geared itself up to achieve the four types of flexibility identified earlier. Its essentials are summarised in the diagram below. It consists of a 'core' group of employees, surrounded by peripheral and external groups of workers who may or may not be employees. The peripheral groups, with appropriate contracts and conditions of service, provide numerical flexibility. Functional flexibility is achieved in the core, supported by appropriate incentives and rewards, possibly including enhanced employment security. In theory, this is possible because the peripheral groups soak up numerical fluctuations in demand. The core is the centre of the diagram; the surrounding ring is the periphery, whose ready expansion and contraction achieves numerical flexibility; and the outer ring (of commercial sub-contractors, specialist self-employed workers on project or fee-based contracts etc) represents the adoption of distancing strategies.



Source: IMS

Finally, we emphasise that the flexible firm is an analytical construct, which brings together into a common framework the changes which are occurring (often on a fragmented basis) and reveals their commonalities and the relations between them. It is presented neither as an example of a type of organisation which already exists, nor as an ideal for organisations to aim at. Indeed, we know that the segmentation of the internal labour market conforms to no set pattern between firms, within and between sectors, and across the different social and economic context of the community states. Given the impetus of increasingly competitive and uncertain product markets, the differing permissive factors, in particular variations in labour supply, protective legislation, and technology, combine to produce wide variations in the extent, the form and the composition of this new form of work organisation. Yet whatever form such developments take there appear to be common tendencies dividing Europe's workforce into core groups whose employment experience is structured by the long term logic of mutual commitment between worker and employer, and a variety of peripheral and external groups whose experience is structured by the short term logic of the market.

Internal Flexibility : What are the Issues?

It is around this division of the workforce that the issues for the social partners may conveniently be discussed. They fall into four distinct groups.

1) The Extent and Dynamics of Segmentation

Virtually all the evidence of the emergence of this segmentation springs from two sources; one-off nationally based case study research focussed on particular sectors, or relatively small numbers of firms; and macro-economic labour market analysis using aggregate data which proxy, but do not always accurately fit, the emerging forms of employment. Neither gives a reliable picture of the extent of change, nor the manner in which the two groups interact. The division into core and periphery is rarely overt; there is a multiplicity of different forms of peripheral employment; there may be movement of workers from one group to another over time; some forms of peripheral employment are certainly covert either because they are within the

black economy or because they contravene collective agreements and/or legal provision. For these and other reasons it is quite simply not known how far this segmentation exists. This is a critical point, not only because it inhibits assessment of the importance of such developments for policy formulation, but also because it constrains prediction about how far, and under what circumstances, the segmentation may deepen and/or spread. However, it is also largely a methodological issue for researchers and thus we will not dwell on it here.

A second issue surrounds the permanency of observed changes. Are they simply a function of the combination of over-supply of labour with acute economic uncertainty? or are they rather derived from technological change which provides for such systematisation of some jobs that they increasingly do not require versatility and judgement from workers and thus can be manned up on a peripheral basis? It might be suggested that the widely observed growth of sub-contracting represents only a desire to export risk at a time of economic uncertainty, or alternatively that it represents a permanent re-division of labour intended to exploit specialisation.

A third issue is the motivation of employers in producing these divisions within the workforce. If their main motivation is to use peripheral labour because it is relatively cheap labour (almost always in terms of non-pay benefits and social costs, but often also in terms of hourly pay rates) then we might expect to see a consistent push towards increasing the proportion of such workers. If, on the other hand, they are primarily viewed as forming a buffer to protect core group workers from the uncertainty of the market, then we would expect employers themselves to limit and regulate their deployment of peripheral groups.

The motives of workers in entering peripheral jobs are also uncertain. There are any number of hypotheses, ranging from those which stress the positive attraction of such employment (eg part time jobs for workers with domestic, educational or other commitments; self-employment for the frustrated entrepreneur), through those which allude to an instrumental orientation (eg people who will take a temporary job in the hope of being transferred to permanent status) to those which stress the pressure of unemployment (eg a job on any terms is preferable to idleness). All are intrinsically logical explanations of behaviour over job-choice, but they are none the less only hypotheses; we simply do not know what motivates recruits to these types of job, and the answer is important if the supply of workers to them is affected

by changes in the level of unemployment.

Thus the issues which we need to consider are how extensive has the segmented internal labour market become, how do we expect it to develop in the future, why have employers acted to create it, and how far does it enhance or inhibit worker choice?

2) Segmentation and Conditions of Employment

Differentiation between groups of worker on the internal labour market occurs around five main axes, contractual relations, working time patterns, job content, pay systems and spatial patterns, any or all of which may distinguish core from peripheral workers. Such widespread differentiation has major implications for conditions of employment, as follows:

Employment Security and Continuity: There are several issues to consider here; firstly, how far in practice does peripheral employment also imply precarious employment? There are clear cases, such as the use of temporary workers, where employment is explicitly insecure, and likely to result in relatively short job tenure. Is this true for part time workers, however? Clearly they are often less well protected by legislative and collectively bargained provision, and they also tend to have higher voluntary labour turnover rates than full timers, but it is not clear that such jobs need to be precarious, since they can provide the day to day numerical flexibility which employers seek without recourse to termination of employment. It may not be true for agency employees either, where their employment tenure (with the agency) might be long despite any number of short job tenures (with the agency's clients). There are two issues here then; how precarious are these jobs in practice, and how necessary is such precariousness to their function of providing numerical flexibility?

Secondly, and at the other end of the spectrum, we need to consider how far employment security might be a facet of core employment. Certainly such workers tend to have longer job tenures than peripheral workers, but it is unclear how far this simply reflects residual immobility combined with collectively bargained and legislative provision which fixes such workers in place, or on the contrary, how far it represents a deliberate provision by employers to trade off security of employment for acceptance of, and commitment to, functional flexibility at the core. To the extent that it is

the former, security of employment could represent a constraint on flexibility, but to the extent that it is the latter, it can be the means to enhanced flexibility. The issue here is to assess how the balance between residual and explicit employment security might be changing for core workers, and how far this enhances their flexibility.

This raises a third issue; how far is the security of core workers conditional on the insecurity of peripheral workers? There are two ways of considering this issue; the first is to present peripheral workers as buffer groups of workers whose function is to soak up fluctuations in the level of output and thus create conditions which allow security for core workers. The second viewpoint is to stress the difficulties which employers face in securing numerical flexibility from core workers, and to present peripheral employment as an alternative way of achieving it. There appears to be no evidence whatever to provide an answer here as to which school of thought most accurately reflects the reality, but it does lead on to a fourth issue.

If employers were able to secure greater numerical flexibility from workers with stable levels of employment, then they ought to be less attracted to peripheral forms of employment which are less stable. Thus greater flexibility in the distribution of worked hours over time from core workers might be a means of minimising precarious forms of employment and the emergence of a secondary workforce. For example, the development of an obvious peripheral workforce appears to be most advanced in the UK, where there is relatively little flexibility in the distribution of normal working time. In both France and Germany there is now significantly more scope for variations in the pattern of working time; it may be that such possibilities will preclude, or at least inhibit, so extensive a shift to peripheral workers as is evident in the UK. The issue here therefore is to what extent can such changes in working time regimes be secured, and how far might they reduce the need for peripheral employment?

Job Content and Polarisation: One important area of differentiation between core and periphery is the content of the jobs of workers in each segment. Peripheral working tends to be associated with a restricted and precisely defined job content, capable of being met with the sort of skills that are readily available on the external labour market, and requiring little discretion or autonomy from the worker. When company-specific, or product-specific skills are required, then these are usually subsumed into technological or supervisory control systems to permit recruitment of

peripheral staff. On the other hand, core jobs appear to be increasingly associated with the broad and relatively unconstrained definition of jobs which permit and encourage these workers to deploy their skills over a wide range of tasks and to perform them relatively autonomously. There appear to be two issues of importance here; the first is to question how the commitment of peripheral workers to the aims of the employer can be secured, since neither job nor working environment is likely to promote it. The second issue is to suggest that in view of this divergence of job content, the movement of workers from peripheral to core status may be constrained, and thus new rigidities created that may not have existed before. Both these issues turn on the possibility that in creating peripheral workforces, employers may be limiting the versatility, adaptability and commitment of part of their workforces.

Training Issues: Given their long job tenures, and requirement to provide functional flexibility, core group workers are increasingly at the centre of firms' training strategies. Peripheral workers are not. Thus, the first issue to arise concerns the extent of training and the source of provision. While it seems that firms are increasingly likely to treat training of their core workforces as an investment and to seek to increase the level of that investment, the opposite may be the case for peripherals. If peripheral workers are not a training priority for employers, then who is to be responsible for their training? The 'market adjustment' school of thought would suggest that the workers themselves should be responsible; the social solidarity school would look to the state.

Beyond the extent and provision of training, there is the issue of the type of training to be provided. For core workers it is clear that a new rationale for training is emerging and this provides for a new conception of training. Core worker training would therefore aim for a workforce with the knowledge, understanding and skill to perform their current jobs efficiently, and to perform efficiently the next jobs in the company to which they might move. At the same time, this would be a workforce which constantly seeks and implements new ways to improve efficiency and the quality of its products and services, and which takes the initiative in identifying and solving problems in day-to-day work. This should provide a workforce which stays with the company because of the stimulation and opportunities to develop which it is offered and which handles change well because it has the habit of learning, the skills of learning and the desire to learn.

Few of these aims are likely to attend the training of peripheral workers, and there is a serious contradiction between their employers' aim, which is likely to be the identification of quick, cheap and single skill training, and the workers' needs for skills that are transferable, either to other employers, or to other jobs within the existing employer.

Representation at Work: It is by no means clear that the traditional organisation and methods of trade unionism are appropriate for the effective representation of either core or peripheral workers. For the latter group this is immediately obvious; they are likely to be more difficult to recruit and retain as members, their interests are likely to be more diverse, their experience and commitment to unions may be less strong than core workers. But for core workers also the relevance of trade unions may be questioned; certainly unions will find themselves in great competition with employers for influence over this key group; certainly, where it exists, the old craft basis for union membership is increasingly questioned; certainly decentralisation and local autonomy within corporate structures may undermine national and sectoral level bargaining conventions. Further, core workers are less likely to be subject to authoritarian and hierarchical work disciplines, are more likely to enjoy staff conditions of employment, and are more likely to have some form of individual merit pay than in the past; all of these may make it more difficult for unions to represent them effectively.

The issue here is therefore to what extent, and how, might the representation of both groups of worker best be secured? An orientation towards protective legislation could be one means by which unions could defend the conditions of peripheral workers, but at the same time a more decentralised and localised approach to collective bargaining across a broader range of issues is likely to be needed to appeal to core workers.

Pay Levels and Segmentation: There is some evidence to suggest that segmentation is leading to greater variation in pay levels between core and peripheral workers. In part this results from legal deregulation, in part from differences in union strength among the two groups, and in part from varying employers' strategies for productivity advance from the two groups. There appear to be three questions at stake here. Firstly, if substantial pay differentials exist alongside non-pay differentials, then this could encourage the displacement of core status workers by peripheral groups as employers seek to reduce costs in the short term. This may result in configurations of core and peripheral workers which are sub-optimal in the longer term, with the

functional flexibility of the workforce impaired. Secondly, this effect would be to increase competition between groups of workers, with the result that core workers could come to regard peripheral workers as a threat to their established pay rates and other conditions of employment, rather than as a buffer against insecurity. Finally, to add pay disadvantage to less than comparable non-pay benefits, and to a greater exposure to job loss, would be to multiply the disadvantages faced by peripheral workers in the labour market. In the long run, greater diversity in contracts and job tenures might be both economically more efficient and socially more acceptable if differences in contract terms were offset and evened out by differences in pay. In reality, they are not often so offset; they are accentuated. The issue, therefore, is how far do such differentials exist, and where they do exist, what are their effects on labour flexibility?

3) The Peripheral Worker and Segmentation

So far, the issues which we have identified have related to the extent and nature of segmented internal labour markets and thus have involved both core and peripheral workers. However, there are also a number of issues which are relevant to peripheral workers alone. Most atypical forms of employment involve some form of peripheral status, and so these partial issues are particularly worthy of note.

Who are the Peripheral Workforce? Comparable with our lack of data on the extent of peripheral employment is a related shortcoming on the composition of the peripheral workforce. Essentially the issue here is how far is peripheral status randomly distributed throughout the workforce, or how far does it comprise certain social groups? There is some evidence to suggest that peripheral working is indeed socially concentrated firstly among certain categories of person - mostly women and young people; and secondly, among certain skill and educational levels - mostly among relatively unskilled and under-educated groups. It may also be geographically influenced, firstly towards labour markets that are the least effectively regulated by law, and secondly towards the regions with the highest levels of unemployment, but there are quite clearly sectoral factors which also influence the distribution, as well as the type, of peripheral working. If these forms of employment are so distributed, then it would seem that new rigidities may be appearing in the labour market, and that these might effectively inhibit the

free flow of labour in line with changing economic pressures, in addition to limiting the life-chances of workers in those groups disproportionately represented among peripheral workers.

Mobility and the Peripheral Worker: In addition to an uneven static distribution of peripheral workers it seems evident that their distribution over time is also constrained. The emergence of segmentation appears to have the effect of reducing access to core status jobs for peripheral workers. By virtue of their training, their working time profiles, and their experience within any particular firm, these workers may be prevented from moving up the internal labour market into core jobs. This cannot of course apply to all peripheral labour, as some employers may choose to retain, say, temporary staff and make them permanent; similarly, in theory, jobsharers are held to enjoy access to core jobs often denied more orthodox part time labour; and of course an agency employee may be peripheral at the place of work, but core for his employer. Nevertheless, on balance, the effect of segmentation is to reduce mobility between these groups; for the core worker, then, mobility tends to mean mobility between jobs within a firm, while for the peripheral worker, it is more likely to mean mobility between firms, and while the core worker enjoys some form of career progression, the peripheral is locked in peripheral status work.

Not enough is known about the bridges in firms between these two segments of the internal labour market. The issue is, to what extent do they exist, how effective are they and are they susceptible to influence, from collective bargaining, legislation or human resource management within the firms themselves?

Non-Pay Benefits and Peripheral Workers: Most studies testify to the inferiority of the non-pay benefits of peripheral workers compared with core workers in similar enterprises, particularly in those states where legal provision of such conditions is inadequate. This differential provision is most often seen in terms of paid time off (sick, holiday, meal breaks etc), accumulated benefits, whether contributory or non-contributory (pensions, unemployment and lay off provision) and notice periods (call in, lay off or termination). Only in smaller enterprises does this differential sometimes extend to actual hourly pay rates, but differences over pay administration (particularly regarding overtime and shift premia) are common. The issue here is how necessary is such discrimination and how far does it contribute to flexibility? Clearly many of these inferior conditions simply make peripheral

labour cheaper to employ and contribute nothing to internal flexibility. Others do appear to have a genuine contribution to flexibility. A related issue is how might protection of such conditions of employment be pursued without reducing the numerical flexibility of such workers; for example, can legislated provision be sufficiently subtle to distinguish between them? Can any such legislation operate effectively in any case without local union activities to police implementation? And finally, should this establishment of minimum conditions and benefits anyway be the proper role of legislation, or might it not be equally effective simply to limit either the extent of peripheral working or the duration of individuals in it?

Social Security and Other Public Benefits: Clearly the assumption which underpins much of Europe's social security provision is one of permanent employment, with the possibility of accumulating benefits and a clear cut distinction between employment and unemployment. With growing levels of peripheral working - particularly in casual work, self-employment, and the black economy - such assumptions become less tenable and such systems tend to be less well suited to the support of those who are likely to rely on it. The issue here is therefore on what central assumptions should benefit accumulation and payment be based if they are adequately to meet the needs of the peripheral worker.

Chapter 3 : Flexibility in External Labour Markets

Just as the employer is seen as the main agent of change in so far as the internal labour market is concerned, so governments have tended to make the running for external labour market flexibility. This means that changes which have been introduced are much more evident than those affecting the internal labour market, being usually national in scope, publically implemented and often subject to political debate. Less is known about the impact and the effects of such changes, however.

This chapter will therefore be largely concerned with two aspects of change, labour mobility (including regulations affecting job protection) and pay bargaining, as these seem to be the principal mechanisms through which external labour market flexibility is promoted.

Flexibility and Mobility

Mobility in the external labour market may involve any or all of the following; geographical mobility (which we will take as mobility requiring a change of residence), job mobility (involving a change of employer) and occupational mobility (involving a change of skill undertaken outside the employing organisation). There is some evidence of a decline in both job and geographical mobility in a number of European states, but such falls are in some cases marginal in extent and are heavily overshadowed by the substantial variation between countries and between different groups of worker within and between countries. This reflects the enormous range of influences on these form of mobility, which appear almost literally to be 'affected by everything'. The main influences, however, appear to be (a) institutional factors, like housing tenure, job protection legislation etc, (b) the overall level of economic activity and its regional and sectoral distribution, (c) the ease with which social and economic stimuli (mainly regional and job pay differentials) are generated and recognised by workers, and (d) the cultural readiness of the workers to respond to them. We might also add constraints on their readiness to respond, but we will discuss this later.

Geographical Mobility

There can be little doubt that the physical movement of Europe's labour force has declined in recent years. In Germany, for example, the proportion of population changing residence between Lander fell from 1.8 per cent in 1970 to 1.3 per cent in 1981, despite an emergent regional disparity between an expanding south and a declining north over this period. A similar fall occurred in the UK over the same period. This stagnation of the workforce is often compared with those of other states (USA, Canada, Japan, Australia), who tend to demonstrate both higher and constant levels of inter-regional mobility (though differences in data make this problematic to confirm) and a better economic performance than in Europe.

The critical issue here is to what extent low and/or falling mobility rates cause or contribute to a relatively sluggish economic performance, and to what extent they are themselves a by-product of that performance. A subsidiary issue is to question how important is the link between observed mobility trends and labour market efficiency in any case.

We have been unable to find research outputs which explicitly and conclusively address these issues. While a number of American studies are available which appear to demonstrate a clear and positive link between economic growth rates and mobility flows, there is no comparable European corpus of work. We may hypothesise that the positive attractions of job opportunities, expanding industry and higher wages may act as a more important 'pull' effect than a 'push' effect of long term and/or structural unemployment, but it is simply not known how far the availability of jobs, or their relatively higher pay, is the main determinant, or how far it is the contraction of local job opportunities.

This is obviously important from a policy point of view, as it critically influences who is most likely to be so influenced, those in employment or those who are unemployed. Given the orientation of public policy towards unemployment, it would seem that job availability in other regions, the information available to the unemployed about such jobs, and their practical opportunities to move are important factors. Therefore, even if we were to conclude that declining mobility is more a consequence of economic stagnation than a cause, it would still be important to question how far such constraints on mobility exist, and might be lowered by public policy.

Certainly a combination of regional house price differentials and a shift to home ownership is widely recognised in the UK to be an important constraint. Differences in tax rates and welfare provision between regions do not appear to be common in Europe and therefore they will be less important constraints. Educational provision may be important where either the level or the type of provision differs between regions. As far as the unemployed are concerned, access to jobs through mobility appears to be most constrained simply through the high cost of mobility relative to their low incomes, although public subsidy initiatives to offset such disadvantage do not appear to have been markedly successful. The unemployed are in any case only a small proportion of potential migrants.

Occupational Mobility

This kind of mobility is by far the hardest to assess or to compare between states because of differences in the definition of occupations between them. At the same time it is clearly the least socially disruptive approach to mobility. We are concerned here with occupational mobility outside the firm, and so the main vehicles for effecting such mobility are (a) initial vocational and educational provision in so far as it provides for transferable skills and aptitudes, and (b) adult retraining provision. The issue of occupational mobility is riven with a clear contradiction: most movement between occupations occurs relatively early in workers' lives, but most of the job displacement which enforces such mobility is likely to affect adults.

The issues which arise here are, therefore, is subsequent occupational mobility affected by an initial education and vocational preparation which is oriented to particular specialisms, trades or sectors, or is it enhanced by a more generally based training; and secondly, how can adult retraining most effectively be conducted?

There does not seem to be any clear evidence on the former issue. The tendency of young people to demonstrate this type of mobility appears to be equally marked whatever the basis of their education and training. Retaining the readiness to change direction in adults seems to be largely a question of public provision. In no European economy is there a high level of self-provision of such occupational retraining among adults. A further

question that arises here is the loss of extrinsic benefits (status, incremental pay etc) that adults may stand to invoke should they opt for a change of occupation in later life. While this loss can be somewhat accommodated within firms, it is difficult to see how it could be between them. Thus adults are faced not only with a cultural bias against self-provision of retraining, but the need to bear also the other costs associated with such a reorientation. A shift towards a 'market forces' approach to flexibility would surely accentuate these costs for individuals, as both firms and public authorities reduce the scope of their activities here. It is not at all clear that this could produce any tangible improvement in occupational mobility.

Job Mobility

It cannot be assumed that the higher is the level of job mobility through the external labour market, the more efficient is the labour market. Frequent job changes necessarily entail transitional costs which may lower total productivity, and produce employee resistance to accepting changes. Optimum performance clearly requires a balance between job tenures. In view of the (high) American level of job mobility and the (low) Japanese level, it is not prima facie clear whether Europe requires more or less.

What is clear is that the dominant thrust of public intervention has been to stimulate job mobility to remove legal and administrative support to long job tenures - essentially a strategy of letting the market decide the appropriate combination of individual short and long tenures. For example, the 1985 Employment Promotion Act in Germany opens up the possibility of shorter job tenures, as does the 1980 Italian legislation on fixed term contracts, and UK legislation of 1979, 1980, 1982 and 1985. In the Netherlands the more extended use of fixed term employees as a possibility. In France, on the other hand, there have been attempts to improve the position of temporary and short term employees.

Alongside such initiatives to alter the balance between short and long individual job tenures, there have been initiatives to reduce constraints on collective layoffs - once again in Germany, for example, the Works Constitution Act has been relaxed to permit higher levels of layoff without the need for extended consultation, while in Italy the hiring system has been

liberalised in the case of takeovers to give employers greater discretion in such cases. Similarly, in the Netherlands dismissal procedures have been relaxed.

On balance, it appears that the impact of either the imposition of protective legislation designed to extend job tenures, or its removal to reduce them, is slow to take effect and marginal in impact, although the effects may be greater among small and non-union firms, who do not have the same recourse to the internal labour market as bigger ones.

The issues arising here are, therefore, where is the most appropriate balance between long and short job tenures, and how is this best to be achieved? In so far as employers are shifted from their perceived optimum position by social policy, are they to be compensated? If workers are similarly disadvantaged for economic reasons, are they too to be compensated? Should all firms be treated alike, or is there a case for treating small firms separately and differently?

Finally, we should note that the effect of reducing average tenures may hide a polarisation of tenures and encourage the tendencies towards segmentation which we described in the previous chapter. The available evidence is far from conclusive here; both opponents and proponents of greater job mobility lack hard empirical data to support their case. If governments are to base their intervention here less on intuitions and more on solid evidence, then we need answers to the following questions:

- * what is the net cost of greater job security through longer job tenures to the employer?
- * are these costs sufficient to inhibit recruitment?
- * can such costs be offset through segmentation of the labour market?
- * how far, if at all, can job security provision be relaxed without disadvantaging particular groups of worker?

Flexibility and Pay Bargaining

Many commentators have argued that a key factor underpinning labour market differences between Europe and the USA is the behaviour of real and nominal wages in the face of market shock. It is suggested that the failure of real wages to accommodate to oil price shocks is at the root of Europe's slow job generation since the mid 1970s; and conversely that the growth of employment in the USA has resulted from the fact of wage flexibility. In other words, the level of employment is critically influenced by whether the labour market response to such a shock is in terms of volume or price, in terms of rising unemployment or falling real pay.

This contention is a controversial one, about which little consensus exists, but there can be no doubt that the issues raised here are of great importance to the flexibility debate. It is important to establish at the outset that to consider the level of real wages to be an influence on the level of employment is not necessarily to consider it to be either the dominant influence, or one readily susceptible to external manipulation. There appears to be some consensus behind the view that the acceleration of employment costs during the 1970s did indeed play a part in pushing up unemployment in most parts of Europe. After 1978/79, and the subsequent downturn in activity nominal, wage growth levelled off while unemployment continued to climb. This indicates either a lagged effect of the wage inflation, or, more likely, the impact of other factors, most obviously stagnant, and in some cases falling, output, and a collapse of business confidence. Certainly, after 1979, any consensus on the role of wage costs disappears.

The issue arising here is the extent to which real wage behaviour influences employment levels, compared with other factors, and whether this changes over time.

There does seem to be some positive correlation between the growth of unemployment and the rigidity of real wages particularly when comparisons are made between economies that in other respects are quite differently structured. There is less evidence matching similar economies, or indeed similar regions. In addition, it is one thing to cite pay rigidity as causing unemployment to rise; it is quite another to go on to assert pay flexibility as therefore causing unemployment to fall. In particular, it could

be that different elasticities of demand for labour would require substantial cuts in pay levels to produce modest job gains.

The issue arising here, therefore, is the extent to which extrinsic downward pressure on real pay is likely to produce an increase in employment; and how much do real pay levels have to fall for a given increase in employment? On this issue there is no conclusive empirical evidence, despite the centrality of the question to current labour market policy formulation.

In addition to this empirical question, there is the entire subject of how such extrinsic pressure might best be applied to achieve such an end; what operational tools are available to effect this influence? Incomes policies have been widely applied at the national level in the past to achieve it, though the consensus seems now to be that such aggregate national approaches themselves tend to inflexibility and rigidity when they are applied, and that they are problematic to maintain in place for more than short periods. An alternative approach is one that stresses the role of labour market flexibility itself in reducing undue pay pressure; at one end of the political spectrum this involves the implicit undermining of union bargaining strength, at the other it asserts that changing the structure of pay systems (towards merit pay, productivity incentives and fees) will reduce, or at least dissipate, across-the-board upwards pressure. A third approach (Italy) focusses on marginal reductions in pay indexation in order to moderate upward pressures. It is evident that the appropriate vehicle to implement such a policy is likely to differ from state to state, and that there is no uniform blueprint.

Nor can it be assumed that such pressures are best directed at wage bargaining. Taxes and other forms of non-pay cost are high in Europe; there is every reason to propose that cost reductions in these areas might have precisely the same effect as downwards pay pressure. They are furthermore widely regarded as a less socially divisive mechanism, and in theory ought to be more susceptible to control and implementation. It is also suggested that such an approach could have a positive multiplier effect on demand provided other taxes were not raised to compensate, whereas pay reductions would have a reverse multiplier effect in the absence of expansion elsewhere.

The issues here, then, are what form of intervention might be most appropriate to achieve the desired end of reduced real pay levels, and how far similar effects might be more readily generated by cuts in payroll taxes rather than

real pay costs?

An alternative view of pay flexibility is that of adjustments in relative pay levels. By changing the relative employment costs of particular groups of worker - most often young workers - it is often argued that (a) their employment can be increased at the expense of other workers, and, less often, that (b) it can be increased without affecting other workers. Action on pay structures to increase differentials is one approach here; others would be displacing wages altogether by (lower) training allowances, introducing wage subsidies or recruitment subsidies, selectively reducing non-pay overheads. All of these might have the effect of locking such workers into low pay, insecure and low productivity jobs, however.

Looked at in theory, the proponents of pay flexibility have not demonstrably proven the case. There appears to exist a number of likely leakages between pay restraint and job creation, and in practice these are almost impossible to seal up. In practice, a sensitive and consensual form of introducing such pay restraint is not immediately evident. There thus exist serious question marks, both in theory and practice. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to conclude that the issue of pay flexibility should not be pursued. It clearly deserves more effort to analyse and articulate its dynamics and potential. Whether it is wise to allow practice to forge ahead of such analysis is another matter.

Chapter 4 : Social and Economic Divergence

The realisation that greater flexibility in the labour market is a necessary component of competitiveness and economic growth for the future is widespread across Europe. Only the most extreme proponents regard it as a sufficient component to achieve this end, however, and many are concerned that the social costs of achieving such flexibility will outweigh the economic benefits. For this reason, it is worthwhile raising as relevant issues the tension between these social and economic aspects of flexibility.

Flexibility for Whom?

The model of internal flexibility which we have described in Chapter 2, and the institutional and legal changes which we have identified in Chapter 3, point to the same end - to make the workforce more flexible so that it can better meet the needs of industry and commerce. That the workforce may itself have different and distinct requirements for flexibility from industry and commerce is not an issue which has been much discussed. Indeed, if this is the case, then these distinctive flexibilities are not well articulated, and we can only impute them from the thrust of collective bargaining and from social survey work. Greater autonomy over working time is probably among the most important here - not just in terms of attendance patterns and start and finish times, nor yet just in terms of atypical shift schedules, but also including working time profiles over the course of a lifetime, involving such flexibilities as the right to move between part and full time work and back without detriment, partial early retirement and flexibility over retirement date. The balance between productive output and education, training and retraining is another area in which it is likely that workers would have their own demands, in terms of greater access to, and choice over, training, time off for education, sabbaticals etc. Greater autonomy and responsibility on the job without being subject to hierarchical control systems is another field in which workers are likely to have flexibility needs.

The issue here is not to impute what such needs and priorities might be, but to identify how such needs can most effectively be articulated, and to assess how far they are compatible with the flexibilities sought by the employers.

Strategic Choice between Flexibilities

We have argued that employers are seeking to increase flexibility in several directions at the same time - most clearly numerical flexibility and functional flexibility. For many reasons it seems likely that the more firms advance in one direction (eg increasing the numerical flexibility of the workforce through using more part timers), the less are they able to advance in the other (eg additional training costs and increased labour turnover preclude greater functional flexibility). This is why segmentation occurs, as different flexibilities are sought from different groups. It is not at all clear that the short term pressures to adjust to recent acute recession and market uncertainty would push firms towards the same balance between flexibilities as would the longer term pressures flowing from technological change, for example.

Thus, to a significant extent employers have a choice over what balance they decide to achieve between core and peripheral employment. It is not a free choice, of course; it is conditioned by a host of factors in product markets, labour markets, work organisation and legislated regulation, but it remains a choice.

The issues are how far do employers explicitly recognise this choice, and what factors most strongly influence the outcome? In particular, how far are they driven by short term cost cutting rationales, and how far do the labour formations which result represent the most appropriate long term structure?

Transitional Costs

The adjustment to change necessarily implies a cost burden, but where it falls is largely a matter of choice, and this raises issues of economic efficiency and social justice. The model which we have described sees the employer as increasingly willing to bear the cost of adjustment for core group workers; in terms of continuity of employment and income, in terms of retraining and redeployment etc. The employer is increasingly unwilling to bear the costs of adjustment for peripheral workers, however; these are increasingly passed to the state, to other employers, or to the individuals themselves. Quite apart

from issues of social equity here, there are issues of economic efficiency; what, for example, is the most cost effective means of providing transferable pensions? Is it to fall back on a state scheme for all, to encourage individual provision, or to impose free transferability between all corporate schemes? Similar questions arise over the provision of income support during layoffs, and the retraining costs of the unemployed or peripheral worker. The issue is how far is the burden of transitional costs to fall according to chance, and how far is it a legitimate area for cost-benefit analysis to identify alternative outcomes which may draw together economic efficiency and social equity.

Protective Legislation

As we have argued above, the trend towards deregulation of labour market protective measures clearly places economic efficiency above social equity (to a greater or lesser extent according to state). In attempting to achieve a new balance between these two ends it may be necessary to reconsider the manner in which protective legislation is conceived. For example, in the case of temporary employees, protective legislation could take several forms - for example, to impose comparable pay rates and conditions of employment between temporary and permanent workers; or to limit the duration of temporary contracts before such workers should transfer to permanent status; or to limit the proportion of temporary workers in the workforce; or to impose minimum conditions on agencies supplying such temporaries; or to ensure that temporaries were given priority access to permanent vacancies. The issue is how far can a balance between employers' needs and workers' interests be achieved through amending the thrust of protective legislation towards those provisions which least inhibit employers, while providing some form of protection for workers?

A second issue here concerns the operation of thresholds. Should such legislation apply to all firms equally - of different sizes, in different markets etc? Conventionally it is believed that small firms are less able to conform to the minimum standards of protective legislation, or are more inhibited by the prospect of having to, than are larger firms. The issues arising here are what are the appropriate criteria and levels for such thresholds and what are the effects of changing them?

Status

The creation of a peripheral workforce often has the effect of creating atypical patterns of employment which may demonstrate some undesirable characteristics; they may be precarious, they may be low paid, they may offer little training or career progression. In short they are likely to demonstrate disadvantage on both the internal and the external labour market. But, in so far as such workers do not share some of the norms associated with more typical groups, they may face disadvantage in other areas outside the labour market altogether. For example, how readily can a worker on a temporary contract take out a bank loan or mortgage? How far can part time workers join social insurance schemes? How far can tele-workers join in social activities at the place of work? It is evident that most of our social and economic mores, both outside and inside the labour market, are based on the conception of a worker which no longer applies to many people. The issues are, how far does this add up to real discrimination against such workers, what forms does this take and what initiatives are appropriate to address it?

Implementation of Change

The social and economic consequences of labour market flexibility are likely to be affected as much by the manner of implementation as by the extent of change and the new forms of work which are thereby created. As we have already pointed out, the degree of consensus on external labour market flexibility, particularly in respect of pay determination, is limited; on internal flexibility there is greater consensus, particularly on the benefits associated with functional flexibility, but less so on the forms of peripheral labour associated with distancing and numerical flexibility. The shift to greater flexibility can, therefore, be characterised by unilateralism or bi-lateralism on the part of employers and/or government, with the trade unions usually relegated to a position of reluctant acquiescence. This is most obviously the case in the UK, but elements of unilateralism can be observed in most European states. It is not yet clear how far such initiatives can be driven by unilateralism; nor yet how permanently can such changes be maintained. The issue here is, to what extent do the intrinsic demands of labour market flexibility imply conflict, or are these conflicts largely about

the extrinsic aspects, such as less favourable conditions of employment for peripherals. If they are principally about the latter, and on balance, and in the internal labour market, it would seem that they are, then the prospects for consensus would seem to depend substantially on the manner of implementation - that it should be by mutual agreement and that it should focus on the intrinsic aspects of flexibility, rather than on the extrinsic ones.

Preface

The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions has commissioned an analysis of job sharing as part of a larger study to investigate new forms of work. Job sharing is envisaged as one of the many recent developments in alternative patterns of work/non-work relationships. The Commission of the European Community are particularly interested in job sharing as a means of changing attitudes to work and the nature of the workplace - in the form of the steadily rising participation rate of women in the labour market throughout the post-war period in most European countries. They have stimulated a new wave of research on job sharing and individual responsibility. Job sharing is one of

ISSUES IN JOB SHARING

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Preface

The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions has commissioned an analysis of job sharing as part of a larger investigation into new forms of work. Job sharing is envisaged as one among many recent developments in alternative patterns of work/non-work relationships with which countries in the European Community are experimenting. Changes in economic conditions, in attitudes to work and family life, and in the very nature of the workforce -- in the form of the steadily rising participation rate of women in the labour market throughout the post-war period in most European countries -- have stimulated a new range of organisational and individual responses. Job sharing is one of them.

What is job sharing

Job sharing is the arrangement whereby two (or more) people voluntarily share a single full-time job, with the salary and employment benefits divided pro-rata.

It has to be noted from the outset, however, that behind this simple definition lies a welter of ambiguities and inconsistencies, and a number of differing practices with differing motives go by the name of 'job sharing'. The purpose of this paper is to examine the issues involved in job sharing, if not to impose clarity, then at least to be clear about the areas of confusion.

Job sharing is a term that first came into general usage in the US in the late 1960's. Workers, and in particular those with significant non-work commitments and interests, were feeling dissatisfied with the choice of either conforming to the existing rigid schedules of full-time work, or taking part-time jobs that were typically low-level, badly paid and held out poor career prospects. An organisation which started in California, called New Ways to Work, was suggesting an alternative: if two workers share the responsibility of an ordinary, existing full-time job, then the rights, benefits and prospects normally associated with full-time work should be conferred upon part-time workers. Thus they could have good jobs and free time.

Job sharing, then, was conceived primarily as a means of improving the quality of work for people unable or unwilling to work full-time. The practice had developed -- even before the term 'job sharing' came into general usage -- directly out of the dissatisfaction of trying to fit non-work needs around the demands of traditionally-structured full-time work. It "...was pioneered by people...long before labour force analysts and policy makers began to question the appropriateness of a standardised forty-hour week" (78). The job sharing idea represents a way of fitting work to the worker, rather than the other way round. As such, job sharing

has been described, by personnel experts in Germany, as "the humanisation of work" (35), a way of looking at employment that relates to the whole of one's life, not just to work.

Job sharing development in Europe

Before we look at trends in Europe, we should note that the idea caught on in the US, especially among 'professional' women who wanted to find a way of combining work and family interests. Job sharing is now, some fifteen years later, firmly established in the US. As of 1982, 25 states, plus the federal government, had official policies to enable or promote job sharing. Over half the health care organisations in the US offer job-shared positions. Some 11-12% of banks and insurance companies offer job sharing. And hundreds of schools in California alone have job-shared teaching positions.

In the UK job sharing has been the subject of considerable interest and, more recently, of rapidly growing implementation, particularly in the public sector. New Ways to Work, in London (no connection to the organisation of the same name in California) was established in 1977, originally under the name of the Job Share Project, and has been instrumental in the growth of job sharing in the UK. It has succeeded in getting job sharing onto the public agenda, and in the past two years a number of major national organisations have conducted seminars to inform their members, and others, about job sharing, including the Royal Institute for Public Administration, the Institute for Personnel Management, the National Council of Voluntary Organisations, and the Industrial Society. As a result, job sharing now seems to have got a firm foothold in the UK:

The national government Cabinet Office, together with the Council of Civil Service Unions, recently (1985) announced a Programme of Action to encourage all departments of the civil service to offer job sharing. Even before this, job sharing was taking place in six departments of the civil

service, though mostly on a small scale, with the exception of the Department of Health and Social Security where over 500 staff are currently job sharing, and 1000 applications for job sharing are pending.

The London metropolitan government, more than half the London boroughs, and several other metropolitan, district and county authorities, as well as education and health authorities, have policies to offer job sharing positions (or allow job sharing with no formal policy being adopted). Some local authorities in the UK now routinely advertise vacancies with an added note such as: "Job sharing applications will be welcomed with or without a partner".¹ There are at least 50 other commercial, voluntary and other public organisations that are known to have job sharing policies or practices, including the Stock Exchange, Fox's Biscuits, the Royal National Institute for the Blind, BBC Schools TV, International Voluntary Service, National Westminster Bank, Adams Foods, the British Council, and others.

However, job sharing being a new and still very marginal practice, no official statistics are collected by the Department of Employment in the UK (or by departments of employment or labour anywhere else in Europe) on job sharing.² Job sharers are classed as part-time workers. The Civil Service is currently in the process of collecting data on the number of job sharers (in national government offices only), but these were not yet ready at the time of writing. There are therefore no figures available at all on the exact extent of job sharing. Depending on how job sharing is defined, the number of posts actually being share in the UK could be estimated at 2,500.

¹ Selected at random from among the Public Appointments vacancies appearing in the Guardian newspaper, January 15, 1986. (This particular job share referred to a management position in a Housing Department, salary £19,000.)

² In the course of preparing this paper, contact was made with every department of employment in Europe, plus research institutes with work-time interests, equal opportunities agencies, unions and union research groups, and employer groups. No comprehensive statistics on job sharing are, as far as could be established, available.

At any given time, New Ways to Work has about 200 people on their computerised register seeking job share partners, and there are equivalent though smaller organisations in a number of other British cities including Sheffield and Manchester, and in several London boroughs, that maintain registers and promote job sharing.

In Germany there has also been interest and discussion of job sharing. Between 1980 and 1985 a great deal of debate was focussed on job sharing 'models', starting with the model devised by the Chemical Industry, through to variants put forward by CDU/CSU, the International Institute of Management, and the Randstad Organisation. Each proposed different terms and conditions for job sharing that were much discussed, especially the provision in the first (Chemical Industry) model that if one partner leaves the other is automatically sacked. This, rather severe, condition seems to have been unique to German job sharing, and might be presumed to have had a negative impact on job sharing's development in Germany. (In the UK if one partner leaves the terms may specify that the remaining partner is either offered the job full-time and/or the other half of the job is re-advertised. Perhaps more usually the terms are left vague, which leads to a different set of problems. See page 34ff for further discussion). At any rate, in Germany very recently (1985) the government adopted legislation protecting job sharers from such harsh practices and defining some of the terms and conditions for job sharing in the national statutes. These new statutes were themselves the result of pressure brought to bear by 10 of the 11 'lander' in Germany who wished to clarify the conditions for job sharing. At least 3 of the lander -- Lower Saxony, Baden-Wurttemberg, and Saarlandes -- have actually implemented some job sharing posts in government offices.

Surveys in Germany have indicated that 1-5% of firms in the private sector employ job sharers (7, 36). Because of problems of terminology, it has been suggested that there is "latent" job sharing taking place (38). That is, many more firms offer job sharing than use or accept the term for it and are therefore not reflected in such surveys. The German literature and other sources specifically identify over two dozen firms and

organisations that employ job sharers, including the Federal Press Office, Hoechst, Berlin Hospital, Ikea (several branches), Walther Chemical Factory, Beck am Rathauseck, North German and West German radio, Otto-Versand, Siemens and others.

In Ireland there is interest in job sharing but implementation appears to be at what can only be described as an embryonic stage. The Irish Civil Service introduced a job sharing policy in 1984 and, as of October 1985, 225 civil servants were sharing a job (although 405 had applied to do so). The Department of Public Service in Ireland has been promoting job sharing vigorously in the past year, putting out leaflets and posters advertising the scheme, as well as offering to find partners within the civil service for those having difficulty, through a central list.

The literature identifies several other organisations in Ireland with job sharing, including Aer Rianta, Radio Telefis Eireann, the Industrial Development Authority, Gardner Merchant Ltd. and AnCo. Irish teachers' groups are also interested.

As for the rest of Europe, there are known instances of firms employing job sharers in France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Denmark, but they seem (in the absence of hard information) to be isolated cases. The phenomenon is certainly not much in evidence outside of the UK, Germany and Ireland. One French study (87) in 1985 identified 50 job sharers in five private firms, although the study made no claims that this was exhaustive. The authors state that there may be more job sharing in France than is apparent, again because of a terminology issue: employers think of it as part-time, but it has all the attributes of job sharing. The authors state, as well, that because of the questionable way that job sharing fits, or rather does not fit, French labour laws, employers may be reluctant to report or publicise instances of job sharing.

There are no statistics anywhere on the degree to which job sharing is taking place in Europe. Sharing has been, as we shall see, predominantly an individual work arrangement negotiated between the sharers and the

employer, so its extent is difficult to define. There are strong suggestions (see p.19ff) that more people want to share than are currently sharing. There is certainly a general conviction in the literature that job sharing interest is growing, eg:

"... 'partage de post' ou 'job sharing' applique d'abord aux Etats Unis... puis en Angleterre... suscite aujourd'hui un interet de plus en plus grand dans d'autres pay europeens" (84)

But it is not possible to document this trend, if there is one, in the absence of comprehensive worksite surveys. It should also be noted that there are those who feel job sharing is not taking off, and certainly many who feel it should not take off. The paper will deal with attitudes to job sharing further down.

* * * * *

The very widespread development of job sharing in the US has meant that more job sharing research has been able to take place there than in any other country. Therefore what follows in this paper necessarily relies heavily on American research, but draws also on research in the UK, Germany, France, Belgium and Ireland.

Let us now take a closer look at the motivational issues which underlie the job sharing concept.

Why job sharing

It is important to note that job sharing, wherever it is taking place, in the US and Europe, has in almost every case been introduced originally at the initiative of workers - not organised workers, but rather individual workers who have perceived in job sharing the solution to their various

needs and problems. Typically, existing employees approach the manager or personnel director with a request to job share. It is very often they -- the employees rather than the employers -- who have worked out a preliminary plan for a method of sharing the tasks, whether the job will be split into two more or less independent modules or 'truly' shared, who will do what, how intercommunication and 'hand-over' will take place, and so on. The impetus and motivation, in other words, arises from the employees, who then 'sell' the idea to the boss. The organisation may then evolve a formal policy about it, and the initiative shifts somewhat back to the organisation.

But organisations are essentially responding to the needs of individuals. It is this individual, ad-hoc nature of the phenomenon that not only has made job sharing difficult to document, but has also led to the adoption of rather differing practices all called 'job sharing', and has created confusion and uncertainty over rights and conditions. These will be dealt with later.

Job sharing has become strongly identified with the child care needs of working mothers, and in fact the desire to make time for family interests is the motivation for the overwhelming majority of sharers.

But the constituency for job sharing is not just housewives. The whole nature of work and work needs is changing. An OECD study (104) identified a variety of population groups that form the (potential) constituency for sharing, and in one US survey (64) nearly one-third of the people job sharing were doing so because they neither need nor want full-time jobs, not because they had to look after children. This survey showed that for 18% of job sharers, non-work time is spent on leisure activities, and 11% of sharers spend their non-work time in further education or training. A small UK study of sharers (59) too revealed a variety of reasons, all showing the decreasing centrality of a paid job to these workers -- "Wanted...to have a useful amount of leisure time" (male, age 35); "having more spare time, can pursue painting" (male, age 32); "work...unrewarding and unstimulating" (male, age 25); "Leisure...to pursue photography" (female, age 27).

British and French studies of sharers have reported that, although child care was the main non-work activity, not all non-work time was devoted to it; job sharers use their free time for leisure as well, and in a later section of this paper, the changed outlook of job sharers toward their whole quality of life will be discussed.

In some cases, job sharing has been introduced to ease the pressure of particularly high-stress jobs. In the US there are now numerous examples of two doctors sharing one internship, a position which has classically placed extreme demands on the post-holder's time and energy. Research has also documented the enormous toll that job stress takes in industry. One study, which notes that 30 million days are lost annually due to stress-related illness in the UK, urges employers to adopt a more imaginative approach to work time, to relieve stress (19).

Job demands do not have to be as extreme as those imposed on interns or chief executives in order to seek relief and a better balance between work and family life. A German study of technical and administrative job sharers in a factory (35) showed that the major worker objective was to gain greater control over time. The split does not have to be half-and-half; job sharers can divide up a post in any way that suits them -- eg it could involve a 3/4 - 1/4 sharing agreement, it could involve alternate weeks, split weeks, a.m./p.m. share -- but more important than that, follow-up interviews with sharers show that within the agreed overall framework, sharers swap times amongst themselves as the need arises.

Job sharing has also been used as a way of easing into retirement for older workers who find the strain of a full-time job too great, or simply to get used to the idea of retirement. This practice has been largely confined to the US where it is used to treat what the Americans call 'burn-out'; implementation in Europe has until now been severely hampered by penalties imposed on pension rights.

Job sharing can be motivated by health problems of workers of any age, not only retirement age. It has been strongly recommended by, for example, the

chairman of a working party in the UK that studied job opportunities for those with multiple sclerosis (20). Job sharing was seen as a way of providing equal opportunities for a variety of disabled people who find a full-time job too tiring. But there have been few known instances of job sharing taking place to meet the needs of the disabled. Attitudes of employers toward disabled workers has always been a serious problem. Not untypical is one Irish company that offers job sharing, but that specifically rules out job sharing to help out with "...problems of ill health" (47). The public sector may be taking a lead in this. One English city council is currently considering a policy of job sharing to actively promote equal opportunities for the disabled, and a survey of job sharers in UK central government showed that "poor health" was cited by some as their reason for switching to sharing (88).

Why not part-time

The deficiencies of part-time work have been well documented and it is not intended to devote a great deal of space covering that ground again here. But it is perhaps appropriate to review briefly the status of part-time work, so that the need felt by workers for an alternative -- job sharing -- can be more clearly understood.

A recent review of part-time work in 15 countries (80) identifies the specific problems for part-time workers in each country, in terms of rights to equal pay, dismissal protection, social security and representation. But even where such rights are ostensibly 'guaranteed', in practice they may be found to be absent. For example a UK study documented cases of discrimination against part-timers in respect of basic hourly rates of pay (85).

In addition to these basic deficiencies, part-timers are usually ineligible for other employment benefits such as extra training. An interesting 'catch 22' situation described in one English city council vividly

illustrates the problem: part-time staff in the library were ruled ineligible for council-sponsored further training, on the grounds that the training was not relevant to their current, low-level jobs, because the increased assets were not seen by the council to be usable in part-time posts. Part-timers were thus ineligible to apply for more responsible posts because they were not trained and therefore continued to remain at a disadvantage for extra training. There was no way out. Or rather up.

But not only are the terms and conditions of part-time workers disadvantageous by comparison to their full-time colleagues, a major additional problem is that part-time jobs themselves are confined to those at the lower end of the labour market. The higher level, good quality jobs are simply not made available by employers on a part-time basis. Again, the concentration of part-time jobs at the lower end of the market has been well documented. For example, a study of part-time jobs in France, Germany and the UK found them to be concentrated among low-skilled occupations (6). The UK study cited earlier identified company policies in banks, retail shops and public sector organisations which specifically excluded part-time employees from the higher graded positions. A Europe-wide study concluded that "...of all the forms of discrimination liable to be encountered by part-time workers, those relating to promotion and career are the most difficult to tackle" (50).

It needs to be noted that these disadvantageous conditions of part-time work amount to discrimination against women, because the overwhelming majority of part-timers throughout Europe are female. Concern over the need to improve the conditions of part-timers has been growing slowly, but a greater sense of urgency may soon develop: several recent studies have identified the increasing importance of part-time work for men. In the UK, for example, during the 1970's the number of part-time jobs done by men increased by 23%, during a period when total male employment actually dropped by 9% (89).

Nature of job sharers and jobs shared

Job sharers

The majority of job sharers are women. Surveys have found the size of this majority varies -- from 70% to 100% -- in different times and places. The US seems to have more male job sharers, but the information from other countries is much sparser and therefore less reliable.

Whether male or female, job sharers are usually married and have a working spouse. Without a second income, many people could not consider job sharing. Average age of job sharers is about 35 years. Most, but not all, have young children. In one survey, it was found that 11% of sharers were married to each other.

Men who are job sharing feel (or fear) they are attracting the image of a 'drop-out'. Giving up half a job is not considered masculine. Although interviews with some women sharers reveal concern that they may not be taken seriously, professionally, there are evidently much stronger sanctions against sharing felt by men than by women. Hostile attitudes toward men sharing seem to be the reason for failure of a scheme in the Netherlands; the sharers' co-workers at a car plant felt it was not appropriate for men to share, and refused to support or co-operate with the experiment.¹ One American male sharer acknowledged: "...it's hard putting yourself outside social expectations, social role models, though I don't think I'm particularly hung up on it now" (67).

¹ This experiment has been referred to briefly in the literature (International Management, August 1982) but no detailed information is available.

Most analysts close to job sharing in the US and UK agree with the German personnel consultant who predicts rising interest among men as "...increasingly management staff, mostly young people renounce higher career goals and no longer regard their jobs as the sole centre of their interest in life. In this connection job sharing will...open up new perspectives" (36). Others (see page 37) feel job sharing will never appeal to men on a significant scale.

Jobs shared

The job sharing literature is rich with anecdotal material on job sharing posts, everything from frozen food sales rep to sheriff. The few surveys that have been done show that job sharing is concentrated in the white collar services sector, with very little sharing taking place in the manufacturing industries. A survey of German firms suggests little future for job sharing in industrial production: only 10% of firms thought it could be used in manufacturing, while 47% of firms thought job sharing could be introduced in administration. (36)

The surveys indicate that in fact half or more of the job sharing takes place in administrative posts. The rest are mostly in teaching; social, health and community services; or similar professional and technical posts.

Impact of job sharing

We come here to the main question: does job sharing work? This section summarises the findings of research studies (1, 18, 28, 36, 59, 60, 63, 64, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 87, 88, 92) that have examined the success or failure of introducing job sharing, by looking at the effects primarily on the sharers' colleagues, assistants, and supervisors. Most of the studies are small-scale, but the results are consistent so they are of considerable interest and value.

The results are overwhelmingly positive. The research literature is dominated by accounts of the advantages and satisfactions found in job sharing both for employees and employers who have tried it.

For employees, various surveys of job sharers have shown that

- they are convinced sharing has created better part-time work opportunities for themselves in higher level jobs, permitting them to find jobs reflecting their skills;
- they enjoy their work more; they have more energy and patience for the job, feel relief of tension and stress; they are less fatigued; have higher morale; return to work after their "off" time feeling refreshed.
- they derive comfort and social support from knowing that their partner has the same stake in the job that they do; it leads to relief of stress to know that their partner is worrying about the same things;
- the job tasks themselves become more interesting and exciting; sharers use partners to "bounce" ideas off, and for mutual support and stimulation, in a way that never happened with ordinary work colleagues;
- time is more at their disposal; they use their partner in an active and positive way to manipulate their time in order to meet their non-work interests and obligations;
- life in general, both work and non-work, takes on a calmer rhythm; there is an improvement in the quality of life; they enjoy their new flexible lifestyle, as one said "I feel I am a changed woman, more balanced (60).

For employers of job sharers the results show

- greater productivity and efficiency, eg one study found that output was 33% higher per man day for job sharers than for full-timers (72); another, a survey of American firms employing job sharers, found that 60% reported increased productivity (75);

- decrease in absenteeism; one firm, eg reported a drop from 7.6% to 0.4% after job sharing was introduced (72);
- increased flexibility, peak period coverage, continuity during holidays;
- availability of a wider range of job skills; ability to tap a wider labour market; higher quality of work because of such skill diversity;
- lower turnover; ability to retain experienced, trained staff, especially after maternity leave; reduced wastage of valuable skills;
- improved workplace atmosphere and better morale;
- improved image in the community; firms employing job sharers receive favourable media attention; one such firm was named "Employer of the Year".

Published reports of job sharing research thus show the arrangement to be highly successful.

However, there are two possible problems with the job sharing research that must be noted. One is that research is usually done at an early -- pilot or experimental -- stage of the arrangement. People who are job sharing are trying extra hard to make it work. The 'right' to job share is often won only after long struggle with management (see p.33) and job sharers may feel a strong investment in making it succeed, so much so that one researcher described their attitude as positively "evangelical" (59). How the effects would change, should job sharing acquire an every-day status, is not known.

The other problem is the researchers. A considerable number of the research projects are carried out by (or reported by) people who are themselves job sharers. They are distinctly sympathetic to the job sharing concept and this may colour their treatment of the subject. Reports of failed job sharing arrangements are few and isolated, with little detail

provided. Unfavourable job sharing effects -- which will be dealt with immediately following -- particularly those that amount to disadvantages for the employer, are usually downplayed in some way:

- there was x problem at first, but it was gradually overcome
- there was x problem, but it was negligible
- there was x problem, but it was far outweighed by advantages

But most seriously of all, there may be an unwarranted emphasis in the research on higher-level, more 'interesting' job sharing, but the report will discuss this particular issue further down (see p.23-24).

There is, in short, a certain lack of rigour in the job sharing research reports due, it would seem, to an interest in 'selling' the idea. The fact that experience with job sharing has generated a group of highly committed enthusiasts is in itself significant. As far as one can tell, no other alternative working arrangement -- reduced hours, telework, part-time, flexi-year, etc. -- had gathered around it such a group of devotees. That alone says a great deal about how satisfying and successful an arrangement job sharing in fact is. But devotion may mean flaws are not treated carefully. In perhaps typical fashion, one report (90) lists "Advantages" of job sharing, but only "Potential drawbacks". Here, then are the "Potential drawbacks":

For employees, there is the fully-realised disadvantage in job sharing, as opposed to full-time, that salary is cut in half. This has been found to be the major reason why job sharing offers may not be taken up and, as well, the reason why people revert to full-time after trying to job share. In one 2-year follow-up of a job sharing project (72), almost 20% of sharers had been found to have switched back to full-time mainly because they could not manage on a half salary. It has been proposed (38) that people who job share should get tax relief but this may be viewed as a fairly remote possibility for now.

The financial disadvantage of job sharing does not of course apply to those job sharers for whom a complete absence of work, or part-time work, is the alternative. In fact, one study (72) found that former part-timers preferred job sharing because it paid more in the higher level jobs they were enabled to obtain).

But there are other financial drawbacks. In some workplaces where increments are dependent on work time accrued, job sharers receive rises only half as frequently as full-timers, though of course the cost of living increases at the same rate for job sharers as for full-timers. Most state social security systems in Europe and the US are not set up to accommodate job sharing and there is often a penalty, in terms of loss of coverage of some sort. Job sharing does not always carry with it all the workplace benefits of full-time jobs, especially pensions¹, but sometimes even pro-rata sick and holiday pay are not included in the share terms. Although job sharing might be making higher level jobs accessible to part-time workers, promotion opportunities, once a job share is obtained, appear so far to be virtually negligible. There have been few known cases of sharers being promoted as a team, and the higher level entry jobs remain just that: entry jobs. Job sharers in the researched projects are acutely aware of and concerned over this problem. But even worse, financially, than not being promoted, is not having a job at all, and there are worries that people who switch from full-time to job sharing may be risking the security of their job. Because it is so new, however, and because the research has not addressed this question, no evidence has accumulated to show job sharers are more at risk than full-timers.

There may be interpersonal problems between sharers and other workers. Jealousy or hostility from full-time colleagues has been mentioned as a factor which could lead to problems, as in the Netherlands example (see p.11).

¹ Recent (1986) legislation in the UK will protect some job-sharers' pension rights.

But it is difficult to assess how serious a problem this is because of the tendency to gloss over difficulties by those sympathetic to job sharing (and the tendency to magnify them by those opposed). Most studies have reported that hostility has not materialised (eg 18): "Regarding relationship with other employees, there was only mild 'humorous' resentment in one case" (out of ten).

There may be more serious problems in the nature of sharing itself. Job sharing self-evidently requires a partner. Jobs open to sharing usually require that people find their own partner (the example on page 3 notwithstanding). One survey showed that two-thirds of sharers knew their partner before, so what happens if a would-be sharer knows no one to share with? There are reports in the research that inability to find a partner, or a compatible partner, is a major problem.

The question of compatibility is much discussed in the research interviews with sharers, unfortunately with no very clear outcome. See the following two opposing conclusions:

"The vital prerequisite in any job sharing arrangement is that both sharers should be... genuinely compatible" (91)

"...the partner relationship...does not hold the...key to success" (64)

The belief that personal affinity between sharers is important to its success has led many employers to stipulate that sharers must find/choose each other, and that partnerships must not be imposed by employers. However, some employers, eg the metropolitan government in London, feel that relying on established personal relationships means that job sharing operates as a sort of 'closed shop' with entree to the good jobs limited to those who know the right person. They fear that job sharing can run counter to their Equal Opportunities policy, because personal compatibility may reflect discriminatory views about people's race, sex and age. This particular employer is thus no longer allowing job sharers whose partners leave to have any say in the selection of their new partners.

As we have already seen, one of the advantages found for job sharing is the 'special' working relationship that develops between sharers. Whether this advantage would disappear in employer-created teams is not known. In the US employers have long used job sharing specifically as a means of promoting equal racial opportunities, especially in teaching, by bringing in young ethnic minority graduates to job share with existing tenured (white) teachers. Studies of job sharing in the schools yield the usual positive results, and in particular the mix of experience and ability levels¹ in teaching pairs, with each sharer taking his/her 'strong' subjects, showed that the quality of teaching improved, although no mention is made of the quality of the relationship.

Whether job sharers are friends or not, there is at least a need to co-operate professionally, both with each other and with colleagues, supervisors and assistants, in co-ordinating the job tasks, and there are frequent references in the research literature to difficulties based on failures of communication. Job sharing introduced into an organisation has sometimes been found to have negative impact because information does not flow efficiently and effectively. But, again, in research interviews with job sharers there is almost always a "happy ending" to these difficulties. Perhaps this should be accepted at face value; sharers may in fact absorb and resolve difficulties because on balance they feel the advantages of sharing far outweigh the problems. Communication problems are usually solved by the sharers' taking it upon themselves to sort things out in their own free time, which amounts to unpaid work. There are a few reports that sharers may feel underpaid because they cannot manage to keep to the reduced hours of work.

¹ Surveys in the US show that job sharers, particularly in teaching, frequently do not get paid at the same rate. This is often used as a device to reduce education authority costs: experienced (expensive) teachers who wish to job share are paired with new graduates who are paid at a lower rate.

In the US, where job sharing has been going much longer, research has shown that such problems of sharing -- communication, compatibility, coordination -- are really learning problems: second job share pairings have been found to work better than first efforts as a result of what has been learned.

Disadvantages for employers focus mainly on increased cost, but results are mixed and inconclusive. No comprehensive cost/benefit research has been done. Research usually reports small increases in administrative and training costs and sometimes increased employer contribution to social insurance (usually no increase in capital or equipment costs), offset by higher productivity and efficiency, lower absenteeism, and greater continuity and improved scheduling. One employer -- an education authority -- responding to a research question about costs of job sharing, said "That's not the point. We allow job sharing because the teachers like it. And since they like it, they're happier and they teach better." (73)

That statement would seem to apply to job sharing in general: despite the existence of problems, job sharing has been found to be highly advantageous for the majority of people -- workers and employers -- who have tried it. The best 'proof' that it is a successful arrangement is the recurring number of cases in the literature where job sharing is introduced initially on a very small scale and is then allowed to expand.

Potential demand for job sharing

After enumerating the many and varied ways in which part-timers are exploited, a recent European review of part-time labour noted that such treatment "...apparently does nothing to slow down the demand for part-time jobs" (6). If job sharing is viewed as a more attractive alternative to part-time, then the potential for job sharing could be the 13 million Europeans now working part-time. Only one survey specifically to assess part-timers' interest in job sharing could be found, (90) and it revealed

great interest in job sharing among those currently working part-time. It is significant that about half the part-timers in this study had previously (in their full-time incarnations) held higher level, supervisory positions, and were acutely aware they were being exploited and their talents wasted.

But the evidence suggests that most people currently working as job sharers come from the full-time labour force, not the part-time force. And we know from surveys of full-time workers (38), half of married women would rather be working part-time.

Thus there is 'latent' demand for job sharing among full-time workers. Given the choice, how many full-timers would job share ?

One survey in Germany (46) showed that 31% of female workers and 25% of male workers were "interested". "Interested" is a long way from actually sharing, though. Perhaps a better gauge are surveys undertaken by public sector employers in the US announcing their intention to offer job sharing and asking employees how many of them would wish to apply. In these somewhat more realistic circumstances, responses show between 6% and 12% of the workforce is interested in job sharing (72). A UK survey in Scotland (unpublished) was somewhat more specialised - it focussed on female solicitors and found that 29% might elect to job share after a maternity break.

It might seem logical to look at the number of people actually job sharing to assess demand. But the number of people job sharing cannot be used as evidence of demand, partly because we do not know how many people are job sharing, but mainly because workers wishing to job share are frequently prevented from doing so by management policy. In a regional authority in Scotland, to name just one example, 38 employees have applied to job share during the past 4 years, but all have been turned down on the grounds that the council did not have a job sharing policy; these failures no doubt deterred others from applying. This example is particularly interesting, though, because very recently (in January 1986) two of the rejected

applicants took their case to an Industrial Tribunal. The Tribunal ruled that the council's position amounted to employment discrimination against women, because "...it was inevitable that the proportion of women who could comply with a requirement to work full-time would be substantially smaller than the proportion of men". (Glasgow Herald, 31.1.86).

But in the absence of a job sharing policy, it may not even occur to workers to ask to job share. In relation to any new practice or concept, we may not reliably know if there is demand until the opportunity is actually made available. Surveys of employers (eg 44) show that they believe there is no demand for job sharing. As we shall see in a later section, employers themselves do not like the idea of job sharing (if they have not tried it), and their belief that their employees do not want it may reflect a certain amount of wishful thinking. At one large enterprise in Germany, the author of the present study was told they do not offer job sharing and they confidently asserted there is no demand for job sharing and never will be. At this same enterprise, though, there is a work pattern with the (unfortunate) title of 'housewives' half-shift' which looks and sounds very like job sharing, where two workers split one full shift. While it is not entirely clear why the firm does not regard this as job sharing, it would appear to be because the firm believes that if each worker's hours are fixed (as they are in this case) rather than left flexible between the two, it does not qualify as job sharing. Be that as it may, the firm had so many applicants for each half-post available in 'housewives' half-shift' that there is now a waiting list, but the firm continues in the fantasy that there is no demand for job sharing.

But even take-up figures within workplaces having acknowledged job share policies are unreliable guides. In many instances demand for job share posts exceeds supply; management usually places a ceiling on the proportion of posts that can be shared. But, in other cases, there are virtually no 'takers'. A good example is to be found in the education field. One of the most widespread and successful applications of job sharing in the US has been in teaching jobs. But an offer by the Belgian authorities to allow job sharing in the schools in 1982 was hardly taken up

at all. Research at the University of Liege is soon to begin on why teachers did not come forward to job share in Belgium.

There is as yet insufficient systematic research on the circumstances under which job sharing policy offers will be taken up. Sometimes what happens is that, faced with demand initiated by employees, senior management will institute a job sharing policy but it is still left to middle level supervisors to approve individual job share applications, and their approval is not forthcoming. Sometimes just the opposite occurs: faced with demand from some employees, management offers job sharing, and employees (particularly working mothers) then feel pressured to "volunteer". However this latter circumstance is complicated by other management motives as well which will be discussed on page 26ff.

Thus we return to surveys of attitudes, to detect demand for job sharing. Although what people say they would like may have only remote relation to what they actually would do, a unique set of surveys in Germany, (43) conducted in 1981 and 1983, is especially interesting: it showed rapidly increasing proportions of people favourable to the idea of job sharing. Conducted on a random sample of 1000 adults in Germany and West Berlin, the surveys show that 38% liked the idea in 1981, rising to 55% by 1983. Amongst women, the 1983 figure was 62%; for men 47%. The younger the respondent, the more favourable to job sharing. There was little consistent difference across occupational level or schooling, but strong political differences: among SPD supporters, 60% were in favour of job sharing; for CDU/CSU supporters, 44%. When asked specifically would you yourself like to job share, the proportion in favour dropped, but still remained in the same relationship to other variables. Among the total population, 35% said in 1983 they themselves would like to job share; for women this was 47%, for men 28%.

Is job sharing different from part-time

"There is very little difference in essence between job sharing and part-time work" (5).

Many would agree with that statement. Job sharing has been dismissed as 'upmarket' part-time or glorified part-time. Those who are supporters of job sharing would probably be pleased if it were indeed 'glorified'. The problem is that glory may in practice be distinctly lacking.

Job sharing is supposed to make accessible the kinds of well-protected jobs with good career prospects that traditional part-time does not. But the reality may be different. We have already seen that job sharing does not always succeed in conferring all the employment benefits of full-time work -- pensions, promotions, etc. This is a very serious challenge to the concept of job sharing. If some employers are continuing to regard sharers as two part-timers for the purposes of work benefits, calling it 'job sharing' is pointless.

Apart from fringe benefits, the question of whether job sharing is succeeding in making available the more senior, better level jobs, unavailable on a part-time basis, is a crucial test of the job share concept, but is still far from settled. Proponents of job sharing seem to feel this is the case - that job sharing is taking place mainly in the better jobs. The research that has been done reports sharers' own beliefs that they are in posts they would never have been able to get part-time (see page 13). We also have a plethora of published (and highly publicised) case histories of particularly impressive job shares that would have been inconceivable on a part-time basis. One that is constantly cited in the UK is the executive position that is shared in the Stock Exchange.

But there is a serious question as to whether this is representative. For example, of the 500 job sharing posts newly created in the Department of Health and Social Security in the UK, virtually all are limited to the

lowest level clerical posts. A somewhat better result was yielded in a recent (November 1985) survey of 75 shared posts in a local authority, but still only 40% were found to be in senior positions (71). A survey 5 years ago found that only one-third of job sharers held supervisory posts.

It is well established that employers take a very conservative view of job sharing -- eg they feel job shares must not involve client contact, tasks must have high predictability, etc -- and most especially there is a pervasive conviction amongst employers that "higher level jobs cannot be shared" (87). Informal conversations between the author of the present paper and a number of governmental managers whose departments have job sharing confirm that sharing is often limited to lower-level, clerical, repetitive jobs, in the public sector. This has in fact been recognised as a problem in the latest civil service announcement on job sharing, which has particularly called attention to the need to extend job sharing to more senior level jobs.

The conviction amongst management that higher level jobs cannot be shared runs counter to the intended ethos of job sharing, but seems very firmly entrenched indeed. In one workplace in France, for example, (60) where management refused to extend its job sharing policy to higher-level jobs despite demand for it from women junior managers, even private secretaries were not allowed to job share. Management maintained that the only true, permissible partnership for a private secretary was between the secretary and her boss.

It is hard to reconcile attitudes like this with the belief held by job share proponents that sharing is generally taking place in better level jobs.

Here we are severely hampered by the absence of systematic research comparing job-shared and ordinary part-time posts. We simply do not know how powerful a tool job sharing could be in raising the quality of part-time work, or whether job sharing is in practice consistently different from part-time work. A group of researchers in Belgium (84) feel that the

further removed from America, the more diluted the job sharing concept has become. Although the original US concept saw it as clearly differentiated from part-time, the European version (which the Belgians blame on "la reforme anglaise") looks less and less different from part-time.

In the absence of research, the field is open to critics from both sides -- those who feel, like the Belgian researchers, that job sharing is no better than part-time and is not succeeding in making available good quality jobs; and those who feel that job sharing is too elite: a middle-class phenomenon solely for the benefit of a few female high-fliers, which is how some unions see job sharing. It is probable that in some professional (ie "elite") fields, job sharing is successful in creating access to jobs not available part-time. But it is also certainly the case that job sharing is being applied to low-level, monotonous jobs.

It should be pointed out that even in monotonous, dead-end jobs, sharing may be conferring advantages over part-time working. Interviews with job sharers in a factory in France showed that the presence of a partner made possible a degree of time flexibility and control that is usually not possible in ordinary part-time, and that the workers in this factory highly valued such flexibility. In research at the same site, interviews suggested another possible advantage of job sharing, compared to part-time, even in low level jobs. Job sharers said they liked the "security of sharing a full-time job" (60). Other sources as well have suggested that job sharing is a way of providing greater job security than part-time, and not only at the factory level. For example in the UK the NUT (a teachers' union) prepared an advisory note for its members saying that job sharing may be a way for part-time teachers to "consolidate" their positions. But it has to be noted that so far there has been no evidence available to either support or refute the claim of greater security for job sharing a full-time position than holding an ordinary part-time position.

Clearly, though, despite the possibility of advantages in security and flexibility, the existence of job sharing in low level jobs with poor employment benefits has served to blur the concept of job sharing as

distinct from part-time. There are already moves to up-grade part-time work, and many observers feel this is a preferable strategy to job sharing. There is at present an EEC draft directive which would confer all the employment rights and benefits of full-time work on part-timers. Even the main organisation in the UK for promoting and developing job sharing, New Ways to Work, acknowledges that "...if those who worked less than full-time had the same benefits and access to reasonable jobs, there might not be the need to create such a pattern of employment as job sharing" (69). But part-time work is very far now from equalling the rights and opportunities of full-time work, and the EEC directive is far from being enacted. Job sharing may be a quicker way in. Or, at least, another way in.

Though there are areas of doubt as to the distinction between part-time and job sharing, job sharers themselves seem to be able to distinguish between the two. Over and over the literature reports studies that it "feels" different. This should not be dismissed; it concerns the elusive quality-of-work factor that can make the difference between good working conditions and bad working conditions. It may be described by sharers as a "sense of legitimacy" on the job market (64), of "achievement" (1), or a "feeling of continuity and belonging" (77) but however it is described, the research has frequently found some sort of positive feeling among job sharers that contributes to the quality of their working lives in a way that ordinary part-time does not.

Job sharing, worksharing and flexibility

This paper has focussed on job sharing as a quality-of-life measure. Job sharing was originally conceived primarily to meet the needs of workers, and it has largely been introduced in workplaces at the initiative of workers who voluntarily sought to share their job in order to make time for non-work activities and interests.

However, long before the job sharing idea of the 1960's, the practice of having two people share one job existed. It began in the 1930's when various programmes were put in place to combat the Depression. Worksharing, as it was (and is) usually known, was introduced to avoid redundancies. It was initiated by management as a temporary measure, it involved government subsidies and usually also placed various operating restrictions on the firm during the interim period, eg firms could not hire new workers.

The economic pressures which began in the 1970's have revived the worksharing idea.¹ In 1977 the European Commission proposed that worksharing be introduced to redistribute the total volume of work in the economy, in response to rising unemployment. Worksharing can include a number of measures, besides converting a full-time job into two part-time jobs. It can also mean lowering the retirement age, restricting the use of overtime, reducing working hours, and so on.

In several European countries, such as Britain and the Netherlands, governments have introduced worksharing in the form of the division of one full-time job into two part-time jobs. In the UK, for example, the government pays employers £840 for every job so converted, provided the 'extra' part-time job created is filled by a registered unemployed person.²

Proponents of job sharing take great pains to distinguish job sharing from worksharing. Their task is made enormously more difficult by the fact that writers in the field often use the terms interchangeably.

¹ In some countries it was never abandoned. Germany has had a worksharing programme since the 1930's.

² There are other eligibility rules, but being unemployed is the main focus.

The basic difference lies in the voluntary/compulsory dimension: job sharing is seen as a wholly voluntary agreement between two workers to share a job in order to suit their own needs. Worksharing is introduced by management, and is a measure to reduce work time on a percentage basis for all, as an alternative to unemployment of a corresponding percentage of the work force. As such it has a strong compulsory element. Both the EEC and the OECD recommend worksharing, but have emphasised that worksharing should be offered on a 'voluntary basis'. But as one researcher said, "Exactly what 'voluntary' means, given the state of the labour market, is rather unclear. None of the instances (of worksharing) which we have examined have had a voluntary component, beyond that of 'take it or leave it' " (12).

Worksharing is now being promoted in the public and the private sector as a means of reducing unemployment, particularly youth unemployment, whether or not conditions conform to governmental schemes. Job sharing has rarely made claims for impacting unemployment. The two 'strains' -- the 'quality-of-lifers' and those whose aim is to lower the unemployment figures, do not sit well together. One supporter of worksharing (or as he calls it, job sharing) as a means of cutting unemployment pokes fun at the quality-of-life image of New Ways to Work: "...the office...nestles among the antique boutiques of Islington...bowls of macrobiotic cress on the windowsills and posters advertising old CND rallies on the wall...an aura of simmering nut cutlets about the whole idea" (31).

But there is not necessarily a distinct difference between job sharing and worksharing, and to some extent the edges are being blurred. Job sharing was originally conceived in an era of economic expansion. It is now taking place in an entirely different context: the economic outlook is not so good, and employers are perceiving that greater efficiency can be the result of relying on flexible working arrangements. This is coinciding with the aspirations of some workers who need/want work patterns compatible with other activities. So that in many cases voluntary job sharing demanded by staff is appearing in worksites where employers welcome the opportunity to have existing employees 'double up' and share a single job. Not only does it avoid the necesssity of having to make redundancies, it also gives the

employer greater workforce flexibility and increases the productivity per job post.

Thus job sharing is now being presented, in literature aimed at the commercial sector, as a means of maximising flexibility by maintaining some workers on the periphery of the organisation, and of "...minimising commitment to the worker" (4). This is an interesting new twist to the job sharing concept. It represents the exact opposite of the motives of job sharers, themselves, who share in order to reduce their hours but at the same time get beneficial terms and conditions and be well integrated into the mainstream workforce. It makes their statements about sense of "belonging" and "legitimacy" on the workforce (see page 26) seem foolish and naive.

This is the crux of the criticism that has been levelled at job sharing by some analysts. If job sharing for the 'right' reasons has the effect of increasing productivity in a post, it will inevitably be subject to manipulation and abuse by those who 'merely' want to improve company profits. So far job sharing has been taken up mainly by the public sector. If taken up by the private sector, it may become an altogether different phenomenon, although it should be noted that even the public sector is not exempt from wanting to reduce overheads. The author of the present paper was told by one manager in the public sector that when two employees approached him with a request to job share, he readily agreed because it coincided with his department's "cuts" policy. The UK Civil Service job sharing policy stresses that "...job sharing should not be used as a means to reduce overall complements" but the temptation is evidently strong, and there is a suspicion amongst some job share "purists" that government/political motives in offering job sharing are unrelated to worker quality-of-life.

Union attitudes

This situation can be summed up by saying that unions in Europe are generally opposed to job sharing but there are signs that union attitudes are changing, at least in the UK.

Unions object to job sharing on essentially four grounds:

1. Job sharing will slow or halt the hard-won trend toward the shorter working week.

Since it is a relatively easy burden, on each worker, for two workers to fill a 40-hour job, there would be less pressure to reduce the work week, should job sharing become widespread.

Job sharing is not widespread, so we do not know yet what the effect would be. Some labour analysts do not regard the two moves -- toward reduction of the work week and introduction of job sharing -- as mutually exclusive. And there are signs of a change in union attitudes. One union research group feels "...Job sharing is not an alternative to a shorter working week for all without loss of pay. These are both demands which can be fought for at the same time and are complementary to each other" (94).

2. Job sharing is a threat to full-time jobs.

Or, as one union put it, job sharing is a threat to "real" jobs, because anything less than full-time work has not really had legitimacy with unions. Union activity has been geared toward the protection of full-time jobs.

But does job sharing threaten full-time jobs? Here the situation may be complicated by the job sharing/worksharing confusion. Worksharing may be seen to represent a clear threat to the existence of full-time work; a full-time job is compulsorily converted into two part-time jobs. Job

sharing, on the other hand, may be seen as a voluntary agreement between two workers who want to share an existing full-time job. The status of the job, in theory, does not change. Indeed that is the purpose of job sharing -- to have access to legitimate full-time jobs. But as we have seen theory may be far removed from practice and employers, at least, may regard job sharing as a way of weakening the full-time structure of work.

3. Job sharing creates conditions for the abuse of workers.

Job sharing can result in loss of benefits and reduced protection for the worker, compared to full-time work. There are risks to pension, overtime pay and to other benefits and, if hours worked per worker falls below a certain threshold, in most countries there is loss of social security and other employment protection.

It is precisely for this reason that proponents of job sharing are urging unions to take a more positive role -- to assist their members in negotiating job share agreements in order to avoid such conditions of abuse.

4. Job sharing will weaken union power and influence in the workplace.

It is an accepted view that union strength is undermined by fragmentation of the workforce. Job sharers, with only a part-time presence, are seen as more difficult to organise and, even if unionised, "there will be difficulties in them playing a part in trade union activities at the plant" (40).

But the question of union influence and power has another side to it as well. Job sharing can lead to a new locus of decision-making among the workforce, one which could marginalise the unions more seriously if they elect not to promote job sharing, than if they do. A case study in France (60) illustrates this well.

At this site, women workers essentially mobilised themselves to press for, and ultimately win, the right to job share. The union, opposed as it was to the idea, abstained during this campaign. When job sharing finally came, new regular meetings were instituted to plan and co-ordinate the sharers' schedules -- meetings between the sharers and their supervisors. These meetings became an important focus at the workplace for discussion of work issues involving sharers and, later, drew in other women in the firm, non-sharers who wished to share but whose applications were being blocked by management. Introducing job sharing had the effect of creating a new special interest group, who began to think of themselves as a separate force.

The author of that study asserts that the union, mostly men, could conceive only of the needs of an abstract worker class, when they spoke of how job sharing exploits workers. They placed general interests before individual -- ie female -- interests. The result was that management was seen by (female) workers to be more sensitive to their needs than was the union, and the union became even more marginalised in their work lives. The author of the study reports that it was the evident mobilisation of an interest group that opened the union eyes to the potential for intervention, and the union eventually came round to supporting various specific demands of job sharers, after sharing had started.

This in fact represents what may be seen as a newly-developing pattern in the UK. Unions begin by ignoring or actively opposing job sharing, but as one union document said, are put in the position of having to consider job sharing "because requests for information and guidance about job sharing are being received in increasing numbers...from members" (67).

Individual union members, almost always women, are spearheading change. There is now an increasing number of unions that have either passed pro-job sharing resolutions or have issued official guidelines or otherwise become involved in defining members' interests in job sharing. The list of unions so involved includes, in the UK, NALGO, EEPTU, CSU, NUT, APEX, NATFHE, and in Ireland, FWI. The TUC, in the UK, drew up guidelines in 1984 in draft form but these have not been agreed.

Management attitudes

The situation here can best be summarised by a CBI survey in 1985. In-depth interviews with senior executives found widespread opposition to the idea of job sharing. "However in the few cases where job sharing has been used...managers were generally extremely enthusiastic about its potential" (17).

The "potential" the CBI had in mind may have more to do with company profitability than worker quality-of-life. However, in the public sector, too, the introduction of job sharing is blocked "...by raising almost every conceivable objection " (31) but once implemented, it is found that "...the anticipated problems simply did not arise" (73).

The "anticipated problems" -- blurred lines of responsibility, communication failures, poorer output, decreased worker commitment, etc -- so clearly envisaged in advance by management are less readily apparent to workers. A study of managers and staff in the same public sector workplace (a library), neither of which group had any actual experience of job sharing, found that managers could name more problems than advantages, but just the reverse was true for staff (90).

It is this attitudinal resistance among management, which one analyst ascribes to culture and tradition, that has often been found to keep job sharing out. Even where a high level policy decision has been made to offer job sharing to meet worker interests, the evaluation literature documents a number of instances where middle management has been slow to comply and line supervisors have been reluctant to approve individual applications.

Another major area of difficulty with management attitude, already mentioned, is the pervasive conviction that job sharing, if it can work at all, must be confined to lower level jobs. Interviews with Belgian bank managers for example showed that they could not conceive of managerial jobs being shared (84). A form of job sharing has existed in banks for many

years in the UK, on a very large scale (one bank alone employs thousands of job sharers) but the conditions so stretch the concept of 'job sharing' that it is not certain that it can be called job sharing.¹ Sharing is confined to the lowest level clerical jobs; sharers are not entitled to the 'perks' other employees are (eg low-cost home loans); and since most of the arrangements are alternate-week schedules, sharers rarely communicate and never even see each other except at the annual Christmas party. Although the concept of sharing is well established in banks, most bank managers cannot conceive of good jobs being shared.

Some organisations with a job sharing policy are beginning to recognise, because of such attitudinal resistance, the need to do more than merely announce a policy, but rather to encourage it. For example, one state civil service found, two years after they announced a goal of converting 2% of all jobs to job sharing, the "major factor impeding forward progress has been the existence of a pervasive adverse attitude...it is difficult to convince managers and supervisors that it is to their advantage " (72). The authority then launched an information campaign to change minds, the effects of which were unfortunately not known at the time the report which referred to it was written.

Is it legal

UK:

"Job sharing arguably presents a serious challenge to the whole legal concept of the contract of employment" (59)

Ireland:

"...it is important to address the predicament that workers find themselves in in relation to employment legislation in Ireland and how this impinges on job sharers" (28)

¹ Job sharing in UK banks is not reflected in the estimate on page 3.

France:

"Considering the ambiguous context of the relevant legislation, heads of companies prefer an anonymous protection rather than publicity (about their job sharing) which might leave them open to accusations of the perhaps imperfect way in which their job sharing scheme conforms to labour law" (87)

Germany:

"Job sharing is not at all compatible with German employment law " (101)

"German employment law can be applied to job sharing" (32)

This selection of views illustrates a major area of difficulty in job sharing. To some extent job sharers everywhere are operating in a twilight world of confused, inconsistent and untested legal rights. Individual job share contracts are devised on an improvised basis by employers and employees together, in an area where few have any experience, and terms and conditions may be left vague or badly worded.

Even where terms are spelled out clearly, there are problems. A major example is the German "obligation to cover" clause, in the first job share model to be introduced there, with its attendant requirement that one partner's absence means the automatic sacking of the other. This was an important cause of strong union opposition, since it implies a permanent work availability, with sharers always on stand-by. This absolute obligation to cover for each other's absences, whether for sickness or for any other reason, was in fact found never to have been applied in practice, but more important, a court case three years after the model was introduced established that "partner-dependent dismissal" was illegal anyway in German law. Regent legislation has specifically entered this protection for job sharers in German labour law.

In the UK, the question of whether employment protection legislation, with its emphasis on continuity and minimum weekly hours, does or does not protect job sharers has been the subject of uncertainty. It was the contention of one firm that an employee who worked alternate weeks was not in continuous employment and thus fell outside protective legislation. An

Employment Appeals Tribunal ruled that although the employee was indeed regularly away from work during the "off-week", she was " 'absent...in circumstances such that by arrangement or custom' she was regarded as continuing in employment" (IR-RR no.225). More recently the House of Lords ruled that alternate week working could not be averaged to give the necessary minimum continuous hours.

In France, job sharers sometimes sign a 3-way contract (the two sharers plus the employer) even though French law recognises contracts only between two people. The 3-party contract is said to have "symbolic value" (60) though absolutely no judicial validity in case of litigation.

Difficult legal matters remain unsettled for many sharers -- the rights to benefits and promotion, the right to revert to full-time work in the organisation, what happens when one partner leaves, security of tenure, flexibility of job content, and so on. Research is currently underway in the UK to examine whether job share contracts can be squeezed into slightly re-modelled regular contracts, as is the case now, or whether a new legal framework is required.

All flexible work patterns carry with them disadvantageous treatment in legal terms, because the law was set up to protect 'normal' workers. It is an especially difficult situation with job sharers, though, because the desire to be seen to be succeeding has inhibited discussion and resolution of the problems. People who are permitted to job share are so grateful that even patently unfair and possibly illegal conditions are willingly accepted in return for the right to share. The obligation to be on call all the time, to cover for a partner, was seen by sharers "...as a justifiable and fair price to pay to be allowed such freedom to organise one's time" (87).

Legislation to protect job sharers is possible. It has been introduced on a very wide scale in the US, but it is a matter of public will. When enough people want it, it will happen. Even "...if a multiplicity of regulations, requirements or even laws stand in the way of job sharing, one

must...consider whether that is really appropriate or whether...put forward in order to spare the sacred cow of traditional working hours " (25).

Conclusion

Job sharing may be seen as a true 'grass-roots' movement, with little support and sometimes active opposition from unions and management alike. Although conceived in large part to provide equality of opportunity for working women, job sharing has also been the object of scorn from certain feminist groups in Europe, who see job sharing as merely creating another women's ghetto in the labour market, and reinforcing the role of women in the home. For example the Ligestillingsradet (The Danish equal opportunities agency) does not feel that arrangements like job sharing "...are doing much for equality...as it is not realistic to believe that to any extent men will take that opportunity".¹ So job sharing even has the feminist groups against it.

Despite conceptual and practical problems, however, wherever job sharing has managed to make an appearance it turns out to be a remarkably positive work/life solution for those involved. And that is the point to stress in conclusion -- it is a solution. It cannot meet the needs of everyone, or even of everyone who wants to work shorter hours, but it is one option that should at least be studied, to see if it should be made available for those who want it, because it can be highly successful and is evidently strongly desired by some -- "evidently", because they have had to overcome such odds to achieve it.

¹ Personal communication with the author, 3 December 1985

Job sharing may be an attractive alternative when the other options are bad part-time work or, since part-time is unavailable in many positions, no work at all. Job sharing as an alternative to full-time is perhaps a different matter. Job sharing may have associated disadvantages compared to full-time work -- fewer benefits, greater risk to job security, poorer advancement prospects -- but these are by no means inevitable and established with certainty and, in any case, must be weighed against the problems, in some cases the utter impossibility, of full-time work for people with significant non-work obligations.

The research studies that have been done of job sharing have been so unambiguous in terms of job sharing's ability to impact on people's quality of life that it would seem extremely perverse to ignore or minimise it. Apart from job sharers' practical time problems being eased by the presence of a partner, "...more fundamentally these workers recognize having learned, after two years of job sharing, that it is possible to live another way" (60) (emphasis added). Far more appropriate than dismissing it as a practice with (current) numerical insignificance, policy makers should seriously examine how job sharing can reasonably be fitted into trends to diversify working patterns, for those whose non-work needs cannot be met in other ways.

Time and space limitations of the present analysis have meant that the issues involved in job sharing -- employer attitudes, trade union positions, legal problems, etc -- have only been briefly outlined in summary form. But apart from the requirement for brevity, fuller treatment of job sharing issues is severely limited by the absence of comprehensive research in the area. Three problems stand out in particular:

1. There needs to be European research to establish the extent of job sharing. We simply do not know enough about what is happening. In the course of preparing the present analysis, one correspondent from France noted that the job sharing phenomenon in France may be "...unknown because not studied

and not because without reality".¹ Equally, correspondents from Denmark, Greece, the Netherlands and Belgium reported that, yes, we know there is job sharing here but we do not know how much. And some added, by implication, we do not care how much. It is worth finding out more about job sharing if for no other reason than that it is arising out of worker need and is, curiously, surviving even in the face of such hostility from management, unions and feminists.

2. There needs to be comparative research to establish the nature of job sharing as opposed to ordinary part-time. Job sharing was conceived in order to achieve work benefits and status that are not available part-time. We do not know to what degree job sharing has succeeded in creating good high level opportunities for part-time workers, or to what degree it has succeeded in conferring upon part-time workers (of any level) better terms and conditions. These are important, interesting and achievable research questions that have so far not been tackled in a systematic way. The intention is not, it should be stressed, to promote job sharing at the expense of part-time (or any other arrangement) but simply to be clear about what job sharing can contribute to working life.
3. Finally, there needs to be research to establish the nature of the place that job sharing has in relation to traditional (full-time) work, and to people's working lives. Do people move in and out of job sharing? Is job sharing a permanent work style? Are job sharing positions precarious? What about job sharers themselves -- ie the positions might be secure, but not the post holders. Does job sharing minimise employer commitment to the employee? How do contractual terms fit in to this picture? It is nearly ten years since job sharing was first introduced to Europe and, with several thousands of sharers, it ought to be possible to begin finding the answers to such questions.

* * * * *

¹ Letter from Seminaire d'Economie du Travail, Paris, 8 January 1986

Job sharing, although it is perhaps the easiest of all developments to slot into the existing overall pattern of work, can be viewed as a highly radical development. It is the only one of the many new work patterns discussed that shifts the locus of decision-making, as to working hours, from the employer to the employee. The job requires x time, but it is to some degree the individual worker-pairs who decide how to fill that time. It is perhaps this slight shift in power that both excites and threatens, but as a matter of interest should be looked at more carefully.

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TELEWORK

**Attitudes of the Social Partners
and the Labour Force and the
Potential for Decentralized
Electronic Work in Europe**

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Telework - Attitudes of the Social Partners, the Labour Force and Potential for Decentralized Electronic Work in Europe

1. Introduction

New information technologies allow for decentralization or relocation of office work independent of time and space. Many office functions have become internal to computers; computers are increasingly linked by communication networks. Thus it becomes less and less necessary for office workers to be located in the same room, or in the same building.

Some futurists have predicted that the availability of low-cost computing power and telecommunications will increase the number of people working at home. The dawn of the information age will find millions of people "telecommuting" from their "electronic cottages", that is, using computers and telecommunications to do office work remotely. At present, there are only a few thousand people for whom working from the home from so-called satellite or neighbourhood offices is a fulltime substitute for working in traditional office environments, but this number is growing and many more might be so employed by the mid-1990s.

This development goes along with profoundly changing company structures, tasks and skills requirements, and organizational forms of office work. Only very recently, however, are these changes the subject of research activities endeavouring to design options for reorganization of office work and for social innovation.

Moreover, the social partners are often in disagreement with regard to desirable new forms of work organization in connection with decentralized electronic work. To allow for the development of innovative and socially acceptable forms of telework, it is essential to put this discussion on more solid grounds.

The prime objective of the research project is to analyze the potential for telework (in kind and in volume), to clarify the positions of the social partners and to point out socially innovative and acceptable options for the use of advanced information and communication systems.

2. Definition and Organizational Concepts of Telework

In discussing telework politicians or scientists usually debate the most decentralized form "electronic home work" which has received most attention in the mass media because it is expected to have profound implications on the execution of work as well as on our daily lives.

2.1 Origin and Definition of Telework

The origin of telework can be traced back to 1969 when Alan Kiron coined the term "dominetics" in an article published in The Washington Post. Some years later, around 1971 Frank Schiff began talking about "flexiplace".¹⁾ It was Jack M. Nilles and his colleagues who 1974 created the label of "telecommuting".²⁾ This expression has to be seen against the general background of the oil crisis in 1973/74 when people all over the world started to think about possibilities of energy conservation. Especially in the substitution of "transportation" through "telecommuting" which was made possible by the advances in telecommunications and computer technology a large potential for saving energy was seen.³⁾

In the meantime various terms have been invented which are used to circumscribe the phenomenon of telework, or at least selected facets—particularly 'electronic home-work'. The following list contains the terms most frequently applied in literature and among experts:

- Work-at-Home
- The Electronic Cottage
- Telecommuting
- Flexiplace
- Remote Work
- Telework
- Telesubstitution

1) Olson, M.H.: Introduction. In: Office Workstations in the Home. Washington 1985, p. 1

2) Nilles, J.M./Carlson, F.R./Gray, P./Hanneman, G.J.: The Telecommunications-Transportation Trade Off., New York, London, Sydney, Toronto 1976; Nilles, J.M.: Teleworking: Working Closer to Home. In: Technology Review, April 1982, P. 56-62

3. See e.g. Kraemer, K.L.: Telecommunications/transportation substitution and energy conservation. In: Telecommunications Policy, March 1982, p. 39-59 and June 1982, p. 87-99 (together with J.L. King)

- Independent Work Location
- Geographically Independent Work
- Teletravail
- Telearbeit
- Fernarbeit
- Elektronische Heimarbeit
- Teleheimarbeit
- Informationstechnisch gestützte Heimarbeit

It is against this background that the following definition of telework is presented to put the ongoing debate on common ground. According to this definition telework is characterized by 3 basic elements:

1. Location

The location of the work site is determined by the needs of the teleworkers and is relocateable as desired or needed. This implies that the geographical site at which work is completed is independent of the location of the employer and/or contractor.

2. Use of Electronic Equipment

Telework relies primarily or to large extent on the use of electronic equipment (PC, storage typewriter etc.).

3. Communication Link to Employer/Contractor

3.1 Distance Working - Narrow Conception

A communication link exists between/among the teleworker and the employer/contractor which is used for electronic communication and transmission of work results.

3.2 Distance Working - Broad Conception

The teleworker works at a distance (spatially separate) from his employer and/or contractor whereby work results are stored on a disc, cassette etc. There is no electronic communication link used for data transmission. The work results are delivered by traditional media, such as mail, courier or else.

2.2 Organizational Concepts of Telework

Diebold Group Inc. and M.H. Olson first identified and described feasible and alternative remote work arrangements where the locational and temporal flexibility of work organization are differ-

entiating criteria from traditional forms of work.¹⁾ This concept closely relates to the decentralization concept developed by J.M. Nilles et al.²⁾ There, the various organizational forms of telework are

- Satellite Work Centres
- Neighbourhood Work Centres
- Flexible Work Arrangements
- Work at Home.

Their work can be seen as the first extensive and successful attempt to cover all the various organizational forms that could occur in the framework of telework. Their category system proved to be sensible and was later adopted by experts all over the world.

Remote information technology based work options according to Diebold and Olson are as follows:

Satellite Work Centres are relatively self-contained organizational divisions in one firm physically relocated and separated from the parent firms. The emphasis is on locating these centres within a convenient commuting distance of the greatest number of employees utilizing the site. The number of employees working in a satellite work centre is determined by:

- "economies of scale", of equipment and services,
- the maintenance of a sufficient hierarchical structure for adequate management on site and
- sufficient social interaction among employees.

In order to benefit from economies of scale it may be optimal to relocate an entire function such as accounting or data processing. The supervision of work is generally by management staff on site.

Neighbourhood Work Centres: Neighbourhood work centres are offices equipped and financially supported by different companies or organizations. In these offices, employees of the founding organizations share space and equipment in a location close to

1) For the following see: Olson, M.H.: New Information Technology and Organizational Culture. In: MIS Quarterly Special Issue 1982; Olson, M.H.: Remote Office Work. Changing Work Patterns in Space and Time. In: Communications of the ACM, March 1983. Vol. 26, No. 3, P. 182-187; Diebold Groups Inc.: Office Work in the Home: Scenarios and Prospects for the 80's. New York 1981

2) See Nilles, J.M. et al., op cit, 1976

their homes. While the number of employees is sufficient to provide necessary social interaction, hierarchical structures are generally lacking and supervision of work is carried out remotely.

One of the principal motivations behind this concept is to reduce employees' time and expense of commuting. In addition, they enable firms to make use of lower office rent outside central cities. These centres, however, are often difficult to implement - particularly on a large scale - as they require extensive cooperation among different organizations.

Flexible Work Arrangements provide employees with flexibility in the scheduling and location of work. This option recognizes the need for occasional alternative work arrangements, especially for professional and managerial employees and provides mechanisms to accommodate staff/family as well as work responsibilities. Furthermore it enables, for instance, DP professionals to accomplish critical work at "non-peak" computer hours or just for convenience. Within this context work forms like "job sharing" and "flexitime" are relevant, too.

Work at Home also labelled "electronic homework" is the most decentralized form of remote work where employees work at home on a regular basis. Under this option, an employee's work week may range anywhere from a few hours to full-time. While homework depends virtually completely on remote supervision and does not provide a field for work related social interaction, it does offer employees maximum flexibility in scheduling working time. In this way, employees may work when and where is most convenient to them.

For many people with primary child care responsibility, work at home offers an employment option.

Generally work at home can be utilized as an option on an individual basis to accommodate a particular situation or need, either temporarily or permanently.

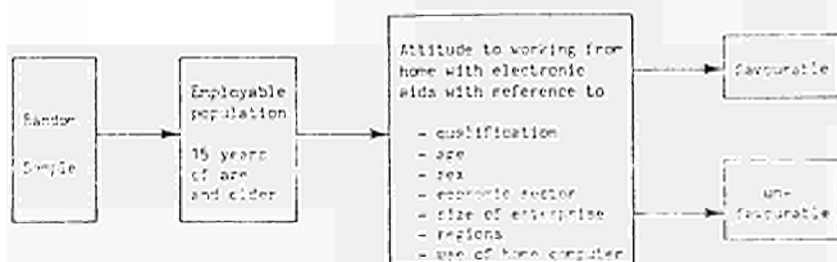
Electronic Service Offices: These are independent firms which either carry out a wide range of data-processing and computer-related services (word-processing, data-processing, book-keeping, administration of stock or highly specialized work such as secretarial offices which only offer text processing). These firms offer their services primarily to small and medium-sized firms for whom the purchase of a computer appears too expensive. Larger companies may also make use of such services during times when they are experiencing internal bottlenecks or peaks.

3. Empirical Basis

In the main, the project is based upon representative surveys among decision makers in manufacturing and service industries - subsequently referred to as DMS - in the major European countries (Federal Republic of Germany, France, United Kingdom, Italy). Moreover, survey data on attitudes towards decentralized electronic work which are available at empirica (EPS) will be evaluated in the framework of this project¹⁾.

Figure 1 illustrates the structure of the Employed People Survey (EPS):

Figure 1:
Structure of the Employed People Survey (EPS)



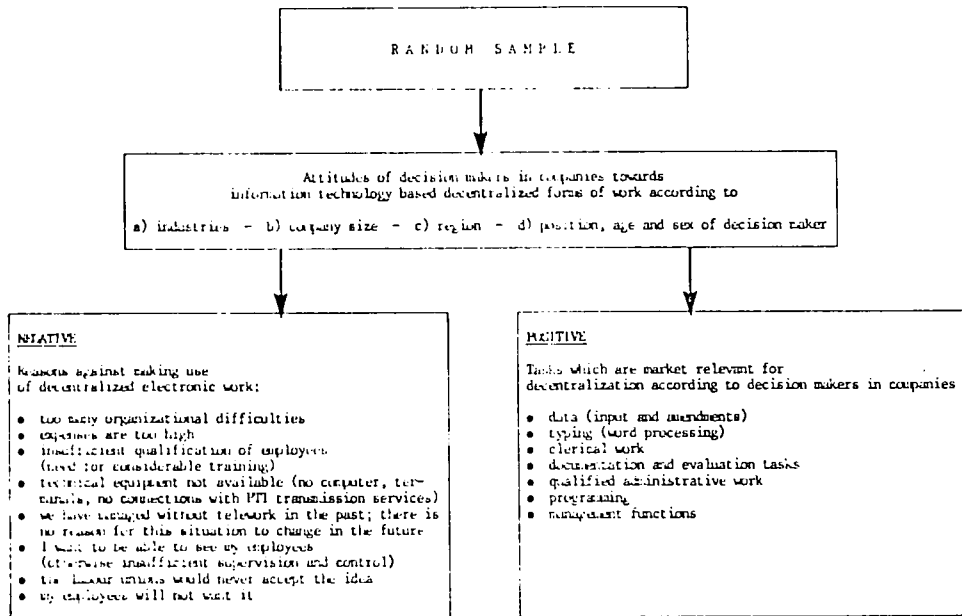
The Decision Maker Survey (DMS) will provide the following information:

- interest in information technology based decentralized forms of work by industries, company size, regional characteristics, age and sex of decision makers;
- tasks which are market relevant for decentralization by type;
- reasons against making use of decentralized electronic work.

Figure 2 illustrates the structure of the Decision Maker Survey (DMS):

1) Representative survey in the four major EEC countries. Part of this survey was used in the framework of the FAST programme.

Figure 2:
Structure of the Decision Maker Survey (DMS)*)



*) The survey covers the following countries: Federal Republic of Germany, United Kingdom, Italy, France; the survey includes about 1600 decision makers in companies in each country.

4. Evaluation of Positions of the Social Partners

The political discussion about decentralized forms of electronic work is both emotional and highly polarized. The positions of unions, political parties, employer organizations etc. are often characterized by fears or aspirations which prevent the formulation of positive and socially acceptable forms of application of new information and communication technology.

In the ongoing research project, the various positions of the social partners towards decentralized electronic work in the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the United Kingdom and Italy and to some extent in Sweden and the USA will be analyzed. The following aspects will be investigated in depth:

- general position,
- organizational forms,
- work content, qualification requirements, skills, target groups,
- legal aspects,

- main advantages/disadvantages,
- position towards the future diffusion.

The analysis of the positions of the social partners draws mainly on the available literature, expert consultations, working documents and papers. Moreover, in-depth interviews with selected representatives of unions and employer organizations will be carried out.

The results of the evaluation of positions of the social partners are then confronted with the results of the above mentioned quantitative surveys.

It is expected that on this basis, it will be possible to put the discussion on decentralized forms of electronic work on more solid grounds.

5. Workshops

In June 1986 empirica will hold workshops with representatives and employers in

- banking,
- insurance and
- software development

entitled "The Potential of Decentralized Electronic Work in Banking, Insurance and Software Development", because first results of our DMS reveal that the biggest potential for decentralized electronic work could be in these industries.

Following short presentations where representatives of these branches will present their general expectations towards decentralized electronic work applications, existing schemes will be reviewed. Finally the potential, likely diffusion and instruments of stimulation of decentralized electronic work for these industries will be discussed.¹⁾

1) For details, see P. 249

The Potential of Decentralized Electronic Work in Banking,
Insurance and Software Development

empirica
Kaiserstr. 29-31
D-5300 Bonn 1
Tel.: (0228) 21 00 70/79

Workshop Programme

9.30 - 11.00 h

General Expectations of Representatives and Employers in

- Banking
- Insurance and
- Software Development

Towards Decentralized Information and Communication Technology
Based Applications

(Presentations by Decision Makers in Companies)

11.00 - 12.30 h

Decentralized Information and Communication Technology Based
Applications - A Review of Existing Projects/Schemes in

- Banking (e.g. Electronic Home Banking)
- Insurance (e.g. Data Entry)
- Software Development (e.g. Various Forms of Telework)

(Presentations by Company Representatives and Employers)

12.30 - 13.30 h Break

13.30 - 15.30 h

Discussion in Workshops

The Potential and Likely Diffusion of Decentralized Electronic
Work in

- Banking (Workshop 1)
- Insurance (Workshop 2)
- Software Development (Workshop 3)

15.30 - 16.00 h Coffee Break

16.00 - 18.00 h Plenary Session

Potential, Likely Diffusion and Factors Likely to Stimulate/In-
hibit the Diffusion of Decentralized Electronic Work

INTRODUCTION

TELEWORK

Women and Environment

Jean Tansey
Rosalyn Moran

Irish Foundation for Human Development
1 James Street
Dublin 8

APRIL 1986

TELETRAVAIL, WOMEN AND ENVIRONMENT**INTRODUCTION**

For the purposes of the study, telework is being construed as one of many possible types of flexible or atypical work arrangements. Greater flexibility in working arrangements is seen as an important element in considering work/living scenarios for the future. Within this context, telework offers the potential for radical reorganisation of work place and work time and for re-evaluation of work and domestic roles of men and women. Our living and working environments can facilitate or hinder this process.

The present research project which will be carried out within a European context combines two perspectives in the exploration of telework:

- the women's studies perspective which will focus on the potential of telework to release the creative energy of women in the workforce in the context of their changing roles and status in society
- the environment/architectural psychology perspective where the implications of telework for environmental design and management will be explored. Particular attention will be given to the potential of different environments to support teletravail.

At present we propose to look at four types of telework and if possible look at two examples of each, selected from the EEC member states (see Appendix 1 for working definitions of telework).

METHODOLOGY

A multimethod approach is being used and a flexible methodological framework adopted. The research will be based on case studies and will be largely "qualitative" in approach. Flexibility of approach is necessary as the research project depends upon a number of external considerations, e.g., existence of appropriate telework examples, availability of key personnel, and practical and financial considerations.

An important initial requirement of the project is the identification and selection of key individuals and agencies in Europe. A number of these have been selected and contract arrangements will be established where appropriate.

The areas of interest are being explored in the following manner:

1. Survey of extant literature
2. Case studies will be carried out in selected European countries amongst certain groups, e.g., teleworkers, traditional workers, etc. It is envisaged that discussions will be held with these groups. These discussions will be carried out in the context of the different types of telework identified in the literature and will focus on the women and environment themes. A questionnaire is being designed and used as a back-up
3. A network of experts is being established with whom specialist interviews will be conducted
4. Interviews and discussions will be held with specialist groups, e.g., women's organisations, women's trade union groups, architects, town planners, etc.
5. Sub-contracting arrangements will be entered into with personnel in selected European countries. Those sub-contracted will be expected to:

- (i) liaise with the project leaders regarding the cultural adaptation of research instruments
- (ii) set up and administer fieldwork in the relevant countries.

ISSUES TO BE EXPLORED

The following specific issues will be explored in relation to telework:

- the potential for women's employment at different stages of the lifecycle
- the implications for domestic roles of women and men
- the implications of telework for environmental planning and design, e.g., land use planning, commuting, etc.
- the implications of telework for the architectural design of joint work/living spaces in the home
- the psychological and health implications of teletravail.

In addition, a range of recommendations will be made in respect of teletravail with particular regard to the following:

- the relative roles and status of men and women in the workforce
- physical environmental context in which the social and human development advantages of teletravail can be exploited
- architectural design of joint living/work spaces.

A P P E N D I X 1

WORKING DEFINITIONS OF FOUR TYPES OF TELEWORK

The four types of telework being considered at present are tentatively defined as follows:

1. Telework at Home

The worker is located at home; IT is used by the worker who may work for an employer or contract his/her labour.

2. Neighbourhood Work Centre

Workers are located in a centre, close to their homes, which has IT facilities. Workers can be self-employed or employed by employers who are located at a distance.

3. Satellite Offices/Branch Office

A satellite or branch office is located at a distance from the head or main office and is usually organisationally autonomous. The work carried out in satellite offices frequently involves the use of IT and electronic communication with head office or fellow satellites is the norm. Workers in satellite offices are usually drawn from the surrounding area and work for the same company.

4. Shared Facilities

These are centres which are highly serviced with electronic facilities. Clients rent space, facilities or services (e.g., data processing, tele-conferencing, office suites, meeting rooms, etc.) for varying lengths of time. The centres are frequently located in urban areas. Those who use "shared facilities" are usually employees of different companies or self-employed professionals.

**THE REPERCUSSIONS
OF NEW FORMS OF WORK
ON FAMILY LIFE
AND THE SOCIAL SYSTEM**

Francoise Piotet

Institut de Sociologie
Paris

March 1986

To make an outline study of the problems of the repercussions which the new forms of work already have, or are likely to have, on family life and the social system is a project which may be regarded as beyond our reach for several reasons.

I The context: transition and crisis

New forms of work, family life and the social system constitute three poles, each of which is marked by changes which in some cases may represent radical transformations. With regard to some points, eg demographic questions, women's work, the growth in tertiary employment and many others, we see developments taking shape which are sufficiently strongly rooted to indicate a certain permanence. But conversely, in regard to other points, excessively contradictory tendencies make possible interpretations and, a fortiori, projections, particularly hazardous. All these changes are in fact taking place in a general context of profound transformations whose effects are being felt by all the elements which go to make up society. The period in which we are living is regarded by the most watchful observers as transitional, and described by those who live in it, ie all of us, as a period of crisis, with all that this word implies: difficulty in giving it any meaning, difficulty in interpreting it and in disentangling from the plethora of significant facts those which carry in them the seeds of a more stable future. Certain Utopian views at the end of the 1960s, arising in the middle of a remarkable economic boom, have rapidly been swept away by unemployment. Work has become valuable again because it has become rare. The new technology which was to liberate man from work is again often perceived as a partly necessary evil, but also as a creator of unemployment; its cost, like man's resistance to it, is making its widespread establishment much slower than was expected by the futurologists of the middle of the decade. The place of women has become established on the labour market, but the equality of treatment with men to which they aspired is still in its infancy.

On the other hand, since the beginning of the 1970s the family has undoubtedly undergone a profound change because of the very fact that the status of marriage has evolved. Social legislation, labour law and social achievements are nowadays regarded as partial obstacles to the adaptation of the production process. Throughout the European countries, de-regulation is seen by many as a way to flexibility for undertakings, even the means for overcoming the crisis. This ambition of a certain concept of the flexibility and adaptability of undertakings is also based on a relative decline in the strength of the unions, which naturally have difficulties in mobilizing support at a time when a very strong tear of unemployment leads everyone to fend for himself, with the secret hope that this will enable him or her, at least, to avoid unemployment.

For its part, unemployment, because of its magnitude and its duration and because of the categories of the population which it affects (in particular young people) may affect attitudes and behaviour for a very long time to come, with regard to work as well as the family or the social system, to an even greater extent than the sudden tragedies it causes.

Paradoxically, at the same time, even in the countries of the Community where assumption of responsibility by the State for a certain number of public functions is most marked, the development is evident of a major associative movement which broadly encompasses all the domains of civil life, in particular everything to do with the quality of life.

This context, which we have barely touched on, but which is sufficiently well known not to be further dwelt upon beyond its common major features, obviously varies from one country to another because the cultural interpretation of a period of transition and crisis is absolutely essential. These cultural variations will need to be taken into account in the research which will have to be carried out on the new forms of employment, on family life and the social system.

II Problems of methods: breadth of concepts: analysis of causes

This brief reminder of the 'environment' of our subject stresses the difficulties regarding methods to which care will have to be paid both for the definition of research projects and the interpretation of data. In fact, as has been mentioned, the three poles of our subject are at present susceptible to strong turbulence, which, either radically or superficially, disturbs their own tendencies and their inertia. The field itself of each of these poles is relatively difficult to define. When we speak of new forms of work, obviously we speak of very dissimilar forms which concern both salaried or waged work and self-employment. Moreover, some of these forms, eg part-time work or temporary work, are long established, whereas others are the result of technological progress and others again are perhaps simply a result of the present situation. The concept of the family is expanding and altering. The increase in unmarried couples or divorces alters the division or the equilibrium of roles and status within couples. Finally, what must we understand by the social system? The concept can be understood in a very broad sense encompassing the entire social field, or conversely in a more restricted way as it is understood for example when the term 'social' is in contrast to the term 'economic'. It then means social legislation and working relationships, but also everything which contributes to the quality of life: accommodation, transport, urban development, etc.

It is necessary to specify properly the concepts which will be used. It is equally important to define clearly the field assigned to our study of the problem.

This involves examining the repercussions of the new forms of work on family life and the social system, while pondering on how these jobs may develop in the short or medium term.

Despite the way it is formulated, the subject implies that it should not be dealt with in a mechanical way. It would be better to say 'mechanistic' for two reasons at least:

- i. The first is because of what was said earlier. Although each of the fields which we are asked to observe has close links with the others, each one also has its own area of autonomy and the changes which occur within them should not be systematically ascribed to external actions (thus, for example, it would be rash to ascribe the growth in the number of divorces to shiftwork alone). However, what makes the task particularly difficult is the very significant changes undergone by each of the poles. It is always easier to hit a fixed target than a moving one!

- ii. The second reason stems from what might be called the effect of the system in the broadest sense of the term. The new forms of work are not developing in a totally porous environment which would absorb the constraints imposed on it without reacting. Here again, the analysis is very complex. Fear of unemployment leads to far greater readiness to accept new forms of work than obtains at a time of full employment. By way of example, and to take the case of France which, in this instance, is not an isolated case, most trade unions reject the annualization of the period of work. On the other hand, in undertakings, both sides of industry show no hesitation in signing a considerable number of dispensatory agreements.

We are witnessing the acceptance of certain changes in response to environmental constraints, but also without doubt strong resistance on certain points (for example, weekend work) which hinder the foreseeable development of some forms of employment.

It will therefore be necessary to explain as clearly as possible both the immediate and future repercussions of these new forms of work on family life and the social system, and also the limits imposed on this development by individual and collective labour requirements.

III New forms of work: what are we discussing?

The indicative list of the types of work proposed for examination shows that what is involved is in fact observing all work which does not correspond to the dominant model, which has become traditional, of work with specific characteristics as regards its status and the way it is carried out.

3.1 Definition of so-called 'normal' work

As regards status: this involves an indefinite-duration work contract and, in the specific case of the civil service, a job guaranteed for the active working life of the individual.

As regards the way it is carried out: this is waged or salaried work which is carried out at a workplace away from home, during a period of time and in a collective pattern governed by legislation or very similar group agreements.

This model, the origins of which go back a fairly long way in the history of our societies, became widespread under the industrial revolution before becoming a really dominant model around which the patterns of family life, and also the whole social system, progressively became organized.

It is therefore in comparison with this model that all the divergent forms need to be identified, some of which are themselves fairly old, with others constituting a resurgence of pre-industrial forms of work, newly adapted perhaps to the evolutions of a society which is supposedly becoming post-industrial, to which must be added the specific innovations of our time - innovations which are largely due to the new technology.

Divergence in relation to traditional work may involve all the elements which go to make up this traditional work or some of these elements:

- a. It may concern the nature of the work contract, for example a definite-duration as opposed to an indefinite-duration contract, or again temporary work.
- b. It may concern the duration and pattern of work, part-time, weekend work, 'on-call' work, and so on. Finally, it may involve the place where the work is done, home work, isolated work, etc.

The first task to be carried out should therefore consist in attempting to identify all these new forms of work with reference to traditional waged/salaried work.

3.2 A very varied supply

These new forms of work, which it would perhaps be better to describe temporarily as 'atypical' work, since some types described as new are, in fact, relatively old, are far from being all equally important.

Since they have not been properly identified, a not insignificant number of these types of work is not covered by means of censuses by national statistical systems. Apart from part-time work, temporary work and definite-duration contracts, for which we have fairly reliable statistical knowledge over a long enough period to be able to assess trends, the other forms of work are largely unknown, both as regards their volume and their development.

The considerable technological innovations of the last few years have led many observers to put forward hypotheses concerning the development of certain forms of employment linked to this technology. These have too often been taken as gospel.

Because information technology potentially enables work to be delocalized, the conclusion is drawn that not only would this delocalization be certain, but that it would follow and be in proportion to the penetration level of this technology. Despite the lack of reliable data, we are reasonably

familiar with, for example, experiments with telework. Assessments of these experiments in the United States, for example, nowadays stress their limits and call for the greatest caution with regard to their future development, at least in the short term. The number of workers involved in these jobs is still very low and has probably not yet reached a level high enough to become observable.

On the other hand, we are apparently nowadays witnessing a growth in skilled work at home linked to the externalization of a certain number of specific manufactures. Undertakings provide some of their skilled workers with suitable equipment, or help them to buy it, for the manufacture of a product and enter into sub-contracting agreements. This new form of work, the extent of which is as yet impossible to assess, is a very traditional form of work in some branches and some countries. Work in the textile industry in the Prato region south of Florence is identical to that which has just been described and yet is of very long standing indeed.

These few signs of a growth in home work are not enough for us to be able to see in them a trend towards significant growth in this type of work in the years to come. Apart from the regions or the few branches where there is a strong tradition of home work, it appears necessary, in addition to merely recording the figures, to analyse the reasons which lead undertakings to this type of practice. If the reasons are only to do with the present situation, this type of employment will not necessarily last and grow. If, on the other hand, these are genuinely strategic choices, such types of work should undoubtedly undergo relatively significant development in the years to come.

Weekend work is becoming more widespread and it would seem that this will probably continue since it is based on a wish to make profitable use of equipment as well as on increased demand for access to certain services - in particular, distribution. However, this weekend work can take very different forms. It can be rotas of work in teams over seven days, in which case the workers concerned work only on a sporadic and regularly repetitive basis at weekends. The repercussions on family life and the

social system are not then the same type as for workers working only at weekends. But here again, how many are involved?

The most widely known 'atypical' forms of work, such as part-time or temporary work, are on the whole experiencing a certain stabilization of volume. These forms of work are growing strongly today in countries which up to now have used them least. In those countries, they will probably stabilize at the level achieved by the other nations. Conversely, it would appear that the form itself of these kinds of work is altering. Traditionally, part-time work was conceived as half-time work, divided evenly throughout the working week.

Progressively, this part-time work, which covers a minimum number of hours recognized by the law or an agreement, is taking on very different forms: full-time half the week, half-time brought forward or moved back in accordance with service constraints and, in some cases, part-time over the year.

The statistical data available on temporary work appear to indicate a stabilization of the volume of these types of employment, the development of which appears to have been slowed down in part by more restrictive legislation in this regard, and also by wider use of definite duration contracts which, it appears, are now in competition with the temporary labour market.

Finally, various articles mention the emergence of practices in undertakings which, for specific tasks and for a determined period, call on a freelance worker to do the job. This type of work is similar to that of a babysitter or a fireman and means that the people involved have to be readily available. It is, however, difficult to know how many participate and for what type of work.

Undertakings are not the only ones responsible for the creation of atypical jobs. State authorities, in their action to combat unemployment, also encourage or support the creation of jobs which can also be described as

atypical, such as, for example, the contracts for socially useful work restricted in France to the young unemployed, and contracts which are restricted to certain categories of employer, ie local groups, associations, undertakings or the Civil Service. These jobs are aimed at both a specific sector or the population for the indefinite future and specific employers, but also at particular kinds of work. Since unemployment seems to have become a constant factor in the world of work, it may be thought that these specific forms of employment will not only be maintained but will also undergo significant growth.

3.3 Very variable numbers per category of atypical work

National or European statistical data hardly enable us to understand the importance of the phenomena which we are asked to observe, except, as we have already said, with respect to the more traditional forms of atypical work. Various interpretations may be given for the shortage of statistics.

The first is applicable to what can actually be seen of the phenomena observed. Each of these particular forms of work represents numbers which may be too small for them to be covered by the various surveys. If this is the case, it is not perhaps necessarily relevant to concern ourselves with a few marginal phenomena and to extend research on minor problems when we have very little knowledge of the major contemporary evolutions in work.

The second possible interpretation, probably the more correct, refers to the poor descriptive capacity of national statistical systems. This is serious in so far as it places a considerable burden on the forecasting possibilities of these systems. It stems mainly from information-retrieval methods, ie difficulties in cross-checking surveys made of employers by means of population censuses, or surveys on households. But above all the questions asked do not enable the new facts which appear in the management of labour to be updated. The descriptive framework of work in these statistical instruments is a relatively traditional framework

with stereotyped categories; these are very well adapted to the traditional forms of work in the secondary production sector.

If the first interpretation were right, it would perhaps be useless to instigate research on all these atypical types of work; it would undoubtedly be enough to restrict ourselves to studying the repercussions on family life and the social system of the main, clearly identified, types of atypical work. On the other hand, if the second interpretation is the better-grounded of the two, as we think, priority then has to be given to comparative national research aimed initially at identifying these atypical types of work in all their dimensions.

But it is probably necessary to go further and not to conclude too hastily that research on these new types of work be irrelevant if it appeared that each one, taken on its own, were to represent only a very low number of jobs. The hypotheses based on the first highly empirical observations show their development and more clearly still the quest for alternative forms to traditional work. Discussion on flexibility strengthens this hypothesis. The long series of research projects carried out on shiftwork described relatively traditional and stable forms of team rotas even though, here and there, by virtue of production constraints, more atypical forms could be discerned. The economic crisis and technological transformations lead to a new approach to making productive investments profitable; these are also penetrating the tertiary sector. Shiftwork is developing in new forms and is now affecting sectors hitherto untouched.

The reduction in labour costs, making equipment profitable, together with the growth in productivity both lead to the search for new types of work, using (in different ways) non-permanent labour for particular jobs, externalizing certain tasks, and making very diversified adaptations to working time. These elements are a significant index of the profound change in the traditional ways of carrying out jobs. The French sociologist Georges Friedman already saw in the 1960s in the first types of automation, and in the first experiments to reorganize work, the beginning of the end of Taylorism as the orthodox model for organizing

work. The proliferation of these new forms of work may also mark the end of a certain work orthodoxy. In this regard, it is essential for them to be explored and known, even if not all the branches of this new tree grow at the same rate. It is a system which is destabilized.

This categorical affirmation does perhaps deserve some qualification. The discussion on flexibility in the very broad sense is a discussion which, in some of its aspects, is a more political than realistic discussion. It cannot be denied that changed patterns of working time are going to become much more widespread in the years to come. Legislation or branch or undertaking agreements already ratify these practices. On the other hand, it is not certain that the same will be true of other types of work. In fact, in parallel with this discussion on flexibility the idea is also developing that an undertaking's performance is not only a result of the modernity of its equipment or any other factor, but depends also on the quality of the labour force and how it is mobilized. Undertakings are starting to think that labour can no longer be considered merely as a variable to be adjusted but instead as the basic element around which the other factors must be organized. (If this idea does not just spread but is really implemented, it will toll the knell of Taylorism.)

Quality circles, knowledge of the undertaking, project groups and so on are all attempts to put this idea of personnel mobilization into concrete form, an idea which can be constructed only on the basis of a very strong feeling of belonging. This feeling can be developed only if a durable link exists between the worker and his undertaking. This cannot be the case for temporary workers on definite-duration contracts or even, as some American studies point out, telework or home work. In fact, undertakings are discovering that, allowing for exceptions, although all forms of work present immediate advantages, the medium-term disadvantages may be very considerable. The hypothesis can then be put forward that these new forms are only very temporary and represent means of adjustment to the present situation in a phase of profound transformation.

IV Need for a classification of the types of atypical work

In the period of very high unemployment which all the European countries are experiencing, the employment supply prevails over and dominates demand. The current situation in a way favours the room for manoeuvre of undertakings in this regard. They can at present either impose or obtain through agreements with their workers changes in work organization which would undoubtedly have been rejected in a period of strong growth. But these atypical forms of work are far from being all the same kind, either for the undertakings or for their workers. This classification of types ought to enable us to formulate the first hypothesis on the repercussions that these new forms of work are likely to have on family life and the social system.

To prepare this classification of types, the workplace was adopted as an independent variable, but this is of course open to discussion, with the nature of the work contract, and the social status in the broad sense of waged or salaried workers representing, to continue to use the vocabulary of the sociologists, the dependent or explanatory variables of the repercussions of these atypical forms of work.

Some remarks need to be made on Table 1 which shows the main features of this classification of types (cf. Table on page 14).

The first classification criterion is in fact the place where the work is carried out, according to whether it is done at home or in an undertaking. In the latter category, a distinction must be made between activities which come under a single undertaking or a number of undertakings, because the two types do not have similar repercussions either for the undertaking or for the workers.

Some types of atypical work can be found in various categories. The new technology can be utilized in very different ways because of its flexibility in use. Thus, telework can be carried out either at home or

in outlying branches a long way from the undertaking where a few employees are brought together to carry out the work required of them at a distance.

Home work is in the main free from all the constraints of fixed work. It represents a volume of work demanded of a person who does it when it best suits him, eg at the weekend.

The nature of the work contract cuts across several types of atypical work, regardless of where the work is carried out. Telework at home may be with an indefinite-duration contract or on a freelance basis. Conversely, some types of jobs require a specific status: a definite-duration contract or freelance work.

This summary study of types would seem to allow us to make an initial classification of all atypical jobs, but also enables us to outline the main problem areas of the repercussions of these forms of work on family life and the social system, provided that this study of the problems is not devised in a mechanical way but is at least linked by the type of job to the social status of the persons concerned.

Table 1. Classification of types of atypical work

Workplace	Types of work	Nature of work contract
Single undertaking	part-time (in all its forms)	definite-duration contract
	weekend work	
	shiftwork (12 hours)	indefinite-duration contract
	reduced fulltime	
	telework	
etc		
More than one undertaking	temporary work	definite-duration contract
	contract work	
	work grouping	freelance worker
	'on-call' work	
	etc	
Home work	telework	indefinite/definite-duration contract
	contract work	
	'on-call' work	freelance worker

V A study of the problems of the repercussions

A study of the problems of the repercussions of atypical forms of work and their possible growth on family life and the social system cannot disregard their volume and the people involved in this type of work.

Several varied problems have to be taken into account in preparing this study. If it is not to be totally abstract and intellectual, it must be based on far more precise knowledge of the realities than we have at the moment.

5.1 The population sectors concerned

The first problem and probably the main one is to identify the population sectors involved in these atypical forms of work. The most traditional forms of this are carried out by specific sectors of the population: part-time work in all countries is women's work, involving few or only middle-level skills. Temporary work, allowing for exceptions, involves a labour force which is more mixed but is also characterized by a low level of skills. Work done entirely at weekends and socially useful work tend to be restricted to young people. From what we know of them, it would therefore appear that the atypical jobs on offer are as a general rule jobs demanding little skill done by a labour force which has difficulty for various reasons in entering the labour market in the ordinary way. In addition, the information we have on these jobs gives us the 'stock totals' at a given time. The masses of people who go through these jobs would have to be followed in order for us to find out if these jobs correspond to a specific period in the working life of workers, or if, on the other hand, they are permanent jobs for an entire working life.

Temporary work seems to be a means of access to permanent employment both for young people with a specific technical qualification and for the not-so-young with no skills.

The same goes for definite-duration contracts. Freelance work, which seems to be growing, appears to involve much more widely diversified sectors of the population with a much higher level of skills. Self-employment is extending in sectors such as road haulage and building, which rely on jobs carried out by skilled workers or craftsmen. This brief description clearly shows that the repercussions of these atypical forms of work on family life and the social system are necessarily different according to the population sectors concerned, and above all according to whether these population sectors carry out this type of work on a lasting basis or otherwise.

5.2 The effect of the system

The second aspect to be taken into account in a study of the repercussions is that of the system formed by the three elements we are required to observe. The central hypothesis underlying the question we are asked to examine is that the imbalances (using the term here neutrally) which may occur in one of its elements have effects on the others and vice versa. The question is to know whether the reciprocal relations and strengths of these various elements are identical.

To a certain extent, the discussion being developed today on the necessary flexibility of undertakings, understood primarily as work flexibility, endeavours to base its rationale on the reciprocal relations of these elements. The supporters of theories of flexibility justify it by the need for undertakings to adapt to market constraints, but also as a response to a strong demand from the working population. By way of example, reference is made to flexitime which, in contrast to the original position of many trade union organizations opposed to it, met a demand from the working population as well as the needs of undertakings (although this was not really atypical work). Another justification for this analysis is the great difficulty encountered by undertakings when they endeavour to alter the rota system of shiftwork or even to reduce it, thus endeavouring to show that it is the employees who want this type of

organization. In fact, numerous studies show that although work time is restricted time, so are family time and time for social life. The latter adjusts to work time, but once balance has been achieved, any significant disturbance in it is regarded as undesirable by the people concerned.

In the analysis of the repercussions of atypical forms of work, it is then highly important to construct a classification of these types of work by observing them from the viewpoint of the workers doing these jobs and according to their duration and pattern. Family life, for example, ends up by getting organized and finding a certain regularity, even if the parents work in a team or part-time. Conversely, interruptions to traditional patterns of work, even if they are atypical, are in general very unpopular if they involve sudden adjustments. This rigidity, this limited social time outside the life of work may perhaps explain why these atypical jobs are done by specific sectors of the population which do not have the resources to cope easily with all the ups and downs that this type of work inflicts on family and social life.

As Herbert Simon has shown so masterfully, undertakings show little capacity for real innovation in the field or organization. When they envisage developing atypical work, implicitly or explicitly, they refer to experiments which have been successful here and there, sometimes a long time ago. Thus in the Italian textile industry, home work, whose origins go back a very long way, does not appear to pose any major problem either for family life or the social system, both of which have long since adjusted to the reality of the situation.

Another example of the same type is the cutting work in the Maurienne valley.

These experiences are conclusive only to a very small extent because of their duration. In both these cases, the social and family system and the work system have found a suitable means of regulation, precisely because the experience goes so far back, and therefore because of the 'culture', the term here being used in the anthropological sense, which they have

allowed to develop. What would be disturbing here would be a return to a traditional form of work.

5.3 The existence of links between traditional work and atypical work

In this study of the problems, it is just as important to take into account the links which exist between these atypical forms of work and more traditional forms, according to the events likely to occur in the lives of the people concerned. Is half-time work for life or does it correspond to the flexibility granted, for example, to young mothers who want more freedom at a given time? Is it a constraint regarded by workers as a handicap or is it seen as additional liberty? The same question could be put for temporary work, definite-duration contracts, some types of home work and even freelance work.

A study of the problems in the research which should be carried out would enable the over-simplistic or deterministic visions often associated with these atypical forms of work to be avoided. If the latter proved to affect only certain categories of the population, and they represented risky constraints forced on people, which is likely, they would confirm the views of researchers who for many years now have been denouncing a growing dualization of the labour market. But perhaps we should also avoid throwing the baby out with the bathwater. Subject to a certain number of conditions of which traditional forms of atypical work provide examples, they may be a force of balance and freedom. It is now for us to identify these conditions clearly.

VI The social system and family life

Atypical forms of work have specific repercussions on both these domains. However, the relations which exist between these two domains and the world of work are such that it seems essential to examine how these relations are likely to attenuate or accentuate the positive and negative effects of particular forms of work on each of them.

6.1 A rigid equilibrium

One characteristic of industrialization, among others, was that it subjected the social system and family life to its own constraints. This did not happen without strong resistance, even revolts being encountered which led to developments of the work system. Trade unionism stemmed from these reactions.

After a period of intense transformation, a kind of relatively stable equilibrium was built up between these three domains, though it did not exclude inflexibility and strong areas of dysfunction which were mitigated or made less visible by the period of exceptional growth experienced by the developed industrial societies, described by some economists as the "glorious thirty years". The remarkable rise in standards of living, the raising of training levels and the aspiration for sexual equality amongst other things, led to the emergence of new demands concerning the quality of life, first outside work but also inside it. To repeat a trade-union slogan which was very successful in Europe in or around the 1970s, "We didn't want to waste our lives any more just earning our living".

This investment in the world outside work was accompanied by, or resulted in, a real work crisis. From the latter half of the 1960s until the first oil crisis, research work grew on this crisis which was ceasing to be a value. At the time there was even talk of a real work allergy on the part of the young and perhaps even their seniors.

Undertakings reacted to this crisis in different ways. The movement to improve the quality of life at work grew rapidly in all the industrialized countries. While not altering the organization of work radically, undertakings tried to meet their workers' demands for more autonomy and responsibility and made major efforts to reduce the causes of nuisances in the workplace.

Without going into the details of this movement, the achievements which it led to, or the analyses made of it, it appears today as a radical reversal of the trend compared with that which preceded it. To go a stage further, it could be said that it was the revenge upon work of the environment, the social system and the family. It was for work and the way it was organized to fit in with the constraints of family life and the social system.

As an illustration of this, the example may be taken of flexitime, the introduction of which demonstrated both the equilibrium the system had found and the dysfunctions it had engendered.

The main reason put forward by undertakings for introducing this system was based on the wish to reduce absenteeism, in particular female absenteeism. An analysis of this absenteeism revealed that it was due to inflexibilities existing in the social system and undertakings' own environments: the problem of having children looked after during the school holidays, or when ill, and the problem of access to some services with working hours similar to those of the undertaking. On the whole, the chance to do flexitime was warmly welcomed by workers. Conversely, despite this welcome, it initially attracted the hostility of trade-union organizations, who saw in it a direct attack on the exercise of trade-union rights. Flexitime was the beginning of the dismantling of work collectives. In a more pragmatic way, it made it more difficult for trade-union activists to stay in touch with the workers and keep them informed. This trade-union opposition did not last, due to lack of support from the workers concerned.

The economic crisis, in particular unemployment, is again reversing the trends which had begun to appear at the end of the period of growth, though without a return to the previous situation. Today several factors are in fact working together and will perhaps bring about a new equilibrium between these various subsystems.

Work is becoming valued again, not only because it has become scarce but also because its nature is changing. Even though undertakings are not yet implementing this new philosophy on a wide scale, it appears that they have become aware that the labour force could no longer be regarded as the variable to be adjusted, but that instead it was at the core of output performance. The new technology can produce beneficial effects only if it is used by a skilled and motivated labour force. To quote the felicitous expression used in a very recent report from the General Commission for the Plan in France, "we are moving, with the new technology, from a civilization of toil to one of breakdowns". The stakes thus become the rapid repair of the breakdown, which can be done only through intelligence and not through brute force.

At the same time, the social system is endeavouring to become less rigid. The various working hours are gradually beginning to complement one another and this is inevitably leading to new forms of work. Two-team work is expanding, as is weekend work and annualizing working hours. Even public authorities are now considering greater flexibility in their operations.

This more flexible work system and these new forms of work do however imply adaptations to the social system as a whole and to family life in particular.

Today the demand for flexibility is a result of the economic crisis, and this demand is based on strong collective pressure. The benefits achieved at work by the 'non-work' sphere in the period of rapid growth are presented as inflexibilities which hinder adaptability. We are in fact witnessing a complete reversal of the problems which developed at the end

of the 1960s. Earning one's living is again at stake. The risk lies in seeing this adhered to at any price, ie completely ignoring the constraints of worlds external to the undertaking, with each undertaking taking only its own constraints into account when organizing itself. The very uniform system of organization which we had in previous years may be replaced, if the pendulum swings too far in the opposite direction, by an extraordinarily varied system, in particular for adjusting working time, which may lead to the introduction of a free-for-all system.

Paradoxically, this free-for-all system could lead to the same results as the system it is intended to replace. If the regulation of the adjustment of working time and particular types of work depends only on the level of the undertaking or even the establishment, we may end up with as many specific systems as there are enterprises. Again, the world of work will demand total submission to its constraints from the social environment and family life. Taken to extremes, such a system could seriously alter all forms of social life.

Without claiming to be exhaustive, and without putting the questions raised in order of importance, we therefore need to raise a certain number of points.

6.2 Insertion in work areas

In and around the 1970s, labour economists and sociologists in response to the start of the introduction of the new technology and also the growth of various forms of work (temporary work, definite duration contracts, part-time), put forward a twofold thesis, some elements of which tied up with one another to a certain extent: that of the dualization of the labour market and the polarization of skills. Current research is now calling into question these analyses, particularly those concerning skills. Rather than downgrading skills, researchers see new forms of skills developing which are moving further and further away from a certain technical determinism and requiring a more social content. In addition,

European researchers nowadays prefer to use the concepts 'professionalism', 'professional space' or 'professionalization' rather than the concept of skills. Marc Maurice goes so far as to write: "Work skills tend nowadays to be more conceptualized with reference to the social relationships which they fall within and which they can equally well help to develop". In comparison with the traditional concept of skills, better defined in terms of levels corresponding to an ordered classification of work posts, that of professionalism refers more to the process of professional socialization through which workers acquire and develop all the knowledge and know-how (which constitute their productive capacity) within the work areas which they aim to master during their careers, in co-operation or in competition with others. In this case, initial academic training only determines the potential which the undertaking endeavours to develop through managing internal mobility and careers; in this sense, diplomas will determine the nature of a specific skill less than in the past. They will instead be associated with a process of socialization through successive moves within or between undertakings.

If this analysis of skills is correct, it raises a number of questions with regard to the development of atypical forms of work. As far as they are concerned, the question is then to know how these new forms of work fit into these work areas which enable knowledge and know-how to develop. The list of types of these forms of work shows that they do not all offer the same possibilities in this connection. Here again everything depends on the categories concerned and the possibilities of mobility they offer, but also on the social system to which they give rise.

6.3 Individual and collective rights

In this regard, the evolution of temporary work in France has been exemplary. For many years this type of work was regarded as one of the most sophisticated forms of exploitation of the labour force. These jobs were restricted to the least skilled work and, at best, would gradually

enable people to enter a more stable work system, unless they resulted in deliberate alienation from work, considered as a necessary evil. In most cases they were used to manage the ups and downs of an undertaking's operations and were sustained rather than desired by the labour force which carried out these jobs. More restrictive legislation governing the use of this kind of work, also a growth in the organization of workers, led to an agreement being negotiated and signed which guaranteed the collective and individual rights (the exercise of the right to join a union and access to training) of workers in temporary-work undertakings. The results are now significant: the level of skills of temporary workers has risen considerably. These organizational possibilities are not identical for all forms of atypical work and it is easy to see the differences which may exist, eg between temporary work and definite-duration contracts which offer far fewer opportunities for workers to get themselves organized.

These remarks are even more true of home work which can detach a worker from the process of vocational skills for good and also considerably restrict checks connected with the effect of work on a worker's health.

These new forms of work can undoubtedly contribute to broader professional experience since they help to develop workers' ability to adapt. The predominant work system has yet to recognize this. Part-time work restricted to the least skilled jobs where there is no desire for further development may deprive workers of chances of subsequent mobility, even if, in the short term, it corresponds to an economic constraint or demand from a labour force temporarily in need of more free time to cope with requirements outside the world of work.

If the consequence for workers of these new forms of work are not to be negative, it must be possible for a certain number of conditions to be complied with concerning individual and collective rights. This also involves a change in the attitude of professional organizations, which in turn have to devise new practices in order to adapt to evolution in work.

With consequences for training, skills, mobility and the exercise of collective rights, these new forms of work affect many other aspects of the social system having direct or indirect repercussions on family life.

6.4 Constraints on space development

Industrialization was accompanied everywhere by large-scale urban development, with advantages and disadvantages for all. As a general rule, regarding the subject with which we are concerned, it resulted in a lengthening of the time spent commuting and in a policy in which housing was conceived as a place reserved exclusively to family life.

Urban transport has adapted to normal working hours. As a general rule this has resulted in the networks being overloaded in the rush hours at the start and end of work, these being the same for the whole population. Undertakings which are heavily dependent on shiftwork have often had to set up their own transport systems. Flexible working hours, in addition to the advantages already mentioned, have enabled workers to use this transport at less busy times thus reducing the daily stress caused by travelling. In all cases the statistics available show that a considerable amount of time may be spent commuting every working day. The fact that this time cannot be reduced makes part-time work much less attractive. For atypical work to be expanded it is vital for transport to be improved; much remains to be done in this field.

Transport needs to be improved, but so does housing. Some countries have implemented specific policies for the quality of housing for shiftworkers and, in particular, the standard of soundproofing in such housing. The fact remains, however, that the patterns of family life are disturbed by shiftwork. On this subject, at least, there is plenty of research enabling us to define clearly all the problems connected with it, and some of the solutions which can be provided.

6.5 Risk sharing

Apart from these specific and relatively clearly defined problems, atypical forms of work still appear to be unfavourably regarded by the social system in general, and make the worker alone (and possibly his family) responsible for all the risks which in other circumstances are borne by the community as a whole. The problems vary from one country to another, and are more or less acute, but in any event they exist.

A member of the permanent staff of an undertaking has access to various forms of credit. He has access to a certain number of facilities offered directly or indirectly to workers in these undertakings by means of compulsory deductions from wages or salaries. In addition to access to ongoing training already mentioned, there exist, in different forms and on a scale which varies according to the size of the undertaking, possible opportunities for complementary loans to buy property and bulk-purchase arrangements for ordinary consumer goods. Workers and their families can use group holiday and leisure centres. These indirect advantages (the list not being exhaustive) are not available with some forms of atypical work.

This exclusion is not without repercussions on family life, nor is it without repercussions for those sectors of the population which do this kind of work. If it is shown that some of these jobs are done by specific sectors of the population, then it may be necessary to seek the reasons for this segregation in the indirect repercussions which have just been mentioned. Young people who can find only definite-duration or temporary contracts cannot easily fit into a social system which can only reluctantly tolerate all the forms of uncertainty which this type of work imposes on those involved. This is all the more true when these jobs are lowly-skilled. These atypical jobs thus present a risk of job alienation for some people and this is all the greater when it is accompanied by a risk of social alienation.

6.6 The possible development of a black economy

The development of these atypical jobs, in whatever form, is nowadays undoubtedly leading at last to a not insignificant growth in what the economists call the black economy. The results of research on shiftwork, and in particular on the disturbances caused by some types of shift, have led enterprises, whether spontaneously or in response to pressure from public authorities and trade union organizations, to modify shift hours. As a general rule, these modifications have encountered strong resistance on the part of the workers concerned, not only because they altered the balance of time off work and that of family life, but also because it posed a threat to a second job, which was not only lucrative but often also regarded as autonomous and fulfilling work.

Part-time work, if changes are made, can also lead to such development. An agreement has just been signed in France in an undertaking which offers half-time work over the year, instead of half the week, with six months on full time, corresponding to the undertaking's seasonal activities, and six months of free time. Can it reasonably be hoped that these six months will result in six months' holiday for workers who will be receiving a salary for only six months of the year? But part-time work itself is not free from this type of repercussion, particularly when travelling time does not alter the advantages of this type of work.

Temporary work, definite-duration contracts, work done only at weekends and also home work will encourage the development of moonlighting, which can also take very different forms.

The social system takes exception to this black economy which eludes all controls and, particularly, the tax which it owes. This form of work is supposed to be characteristic of some southern European countries, Italy in particular. Recent reports suggest that it is growing rapidly in France as well as Germany and the United Kingdom. Although some measures might possibly limit its harmful effects, any attempt to control it completely

would run the risk of provoking very strong resistance on the part of all those for whom this kind of work is also a means of self-fulfilment.

6.7 Repercussions on family life

The main effects of these new forms of work on the social system suggest a certain number of likely repercussions on family life.

The work already carried out by the Foundation on shiftwork and the very many comments made in the various European countries show that the main element, the key point to be taken into account, is the fact that family-life time is every bit as binding as work time. The rhythm of children's lives, leisure time and time for personal matters is all subjected to biological and social patterns which cannot be altered without endangering them. All the specific forms of work which involve specific adjustments to working time must not ignore these restrictions. It would be very dangerous to restrict them to particular sectors of the population, eg the single young or older workers. But it appears equally important to ensure that the patterns chosen are not frequently disturbed. The regularity of patterns of work, even atypical work, results in family life being organized in a way which does not react favourably to frequent changes.

In this regard, it is striking to see the extent to which workers, when they are offered flexible working hours, choose fixed working hours for themselves within this flexible system. The same example is provided concerning the difficulties in altering the rotas for teams on shiftwork.

Family life is also evolving. Constraints vary according to the age of the children. The balances between family life and working life lead to adjustments which it should be possible to regulate with collective contracts, perhaps through legislation.

Home work, for its part, whatever activity is pursued, requires arrangement of internal space at home so that the activity can be

followed. Urban housing is not usually suitable for this. An academic with a study at home can undoubtedly use a micro-computer without difficulty, whereas a secretary may not easily find enough room at home to install a word processor.

In addition to all the constraints, ie the physical constraints which these particular forms of work may impose on family life, there are others more subtle. These are probably cultural and psychological. The industrial revolution separated the world of work from family life; this split was itself a real revolution as far as family life and the socialization of children were concerned. We have gone from a unified world to two worlds which know so little about each other that today's children know very little about their parents' work. This split has inevitably had lasting repercussions on the shaping of collective mentalities and the psychology of individuals. What consequences would a new growth in home work therefore have? The response from psychologists on this point of research is absolutely vital.

Some types of atypical work carried out mainly by young people, ie definite-duration contracts and weekend work, raise specific problems for this sector of the population with respect to their achieving independence and setting up home. The irregular income associated with these precarious jobs and the difficulty in developing a real plan of work combine to alienate this group. This is not without risks for the future.

When dealing with the functioning of a human system, studies made of the problems which are centred on an analysis of the consequences have often turned out to be dangerous, because they have considerably underestimated the realities. Without referring specifically to the major explanatory theories of change, the present-day example of research on the repercussions of the new technology on employment or skills ought to encourage us to be extremely cautious. Too much research has attributed to technology qualities or virtues which it does not itself possess, thus helping to create a mythology, fears and hopes which have become lost in the moving sands of social reality.

The same goes for the analysis of atypical forms of work. In comparison with the reference to so-called 'normal' work, these atypical forms of work grew up on the basis of a deviation from one or more of the elements constituting this 'normal' contract, ie the status of an indefinite-duration contract, the workplace and the duration and pattern of work. Retrospective statistical observation would appear to indicate that there has been a lull in atypical jobs as regards their status or workplace, while atypical work associated with particular durations of work or work patterns seems to be expanding very rapidly.

Three factors are coming together today to reinforce this tendency: the demand for adaptability on the part of undertakings which want to be able to make better or longer use of their equipment, claims by trade-union organizations who see a way of reducing unemployment in adjustments to working time, and, finally, the working population for whom time, rather than space, is regarded as the main constraint.

However, this evolution in patterns of work, this deregulation of time, is strongly reflected in the social system and family life. Flexibility in one area induces flexibility in others. How can we organize a society which, potentially, can work twenty-four hours out of twenty-four? How can we prevent this society from becoming completely anomic? How can the full and complete exercise of citizenship be safeguarded? Finally, how can the patterns of family life, whose requirements are so binding, be protected?

We may wish, on the grounds of safeguarding and expanding employment in particular, to ignore completely the constraints of family life and the social system and attach ourselves exclusively to the world of work, freeing it from all the real or apparent constraints which appear to hinder its dynamism and expansion. We may then see a number of perverse effects of this deregulation on the social system in the broad sense. Because we have too often paid little heed to, or even ignored, the work system into which we introduced new technology, we have often been prevented from achieving the results expected as regards the system's

overall efficiency; in some cases it has even proved to be counter-productive. The same is true for the subject we are discussing here. The manner and the method chosen for introducing or developing these types of atypical work are undoubtedly more important than the actual nature of the jobs. Change imposed as a constraint is generally regarded as intolerable both by individuals and by society. Negotiated change may be a source of efficiency and additional liberty. The methodology of change is at the heart of our study of the problems, and it is on this that research should be concentrated.

PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT OF NEW FORMS OF WORK AND ACTIVITY

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Preface

This Report describes the psychological impact that may be created by new forms of work and technology. There are two points which demand particular attention when new technology or a new form of working time is introduced:

1. known beneficial implications of scientific findings must be borne in mind and applied in practice whenever possible;
2. any potential adverse effects on personnel must be anticipated and described, in order to be avoided if possible.

The Report discussed the psychological aspects of the opportunities and limitations of new forms of work. There are some passages where potential dangers are discussed in particular detail; this should not be taken as an intention to discredit some of the new forms of work, but simply as a reflection that the view that things which are helpful to people should be retained, and things that might be harmful should be avoided. This is why there are such passages. They are not meant to create a prejudice that the effects are more likely to be bad than good; it has simply and deliberately been the authors' intention to discuss critical aspects, to restrict the impact of erroneous approaches which have been recognized as such, and named.

Introduction

The introduction of new technology and the evolution of information and communication technology brings about many changes in work content and processes, ie more and more employees have to tackle new tasks which demand different skills or which make existing ones superfluous. Technological change of this kind often impinges upon the personal standing of employees, eg loss of status or of skills, and can entail structural changes within the organization, eg centralization, or more economic time structure. New time and work forms have to be defined, and also their psychological and social impact on the people who will be affected. As things now stand, these various aspects make up a very fragmented picture. Much of what has been said is based on plausibility assumptions, on notional projections or on the gathering of preliminary facts by means of studies conducted without much in the way of any methodic back-up (which, in the early stages of a scientific enquiry, is a perfectly legitimate procedure). Much of the investigation into the psychological impact of new time and work forms has thus been confined to a statement of indicators (such as fluctuation, absenteeism, quality and quantity of work) which relate vaguely to psychological constructs, eg job satisfaction, stress, but whose actual relationship to such constructs is often not very clear. Data have often been gathered by means of brief surveys, or through estimates made by the people directly concerned or by their superiors, but there is a widespread lack of measurements which are more precise in empirical terms. This state of affairs ought to be changed. The psychological and social impact of new times and forms of work has to be ascertained by means of studies with a greater methodic content.

The present picture thus gives an impression of contradictions and ambiguities. On the one side, new technology is seen as a breakthrough for humanization, in the sense of higher skills, enhanced motivation, more scope for action and decision-taking by the employee; on the other side, there is a fear of increasing Taylorization of work, leading to increasing loss of skill and de-motivation, and to yet more unemployment. The present Report cannot give a verdict on the lines of impact; all the authors can do is to point out the problems which may arise when new

information and communication technology is introduced. However, it must be stressed that we are not dealing with the actual techniques which are a cause-and-effect factor when they are implemented, but with assumptions as to how the techniques can be applied as economically and efficiently as possible. The present picture is one in which work Taylorization is in favour, as a strategy for rationalization in conjunction with computer technology; this leads to many unnecessary and adverse consequences, not only for employees but also for the undertakings which employ them. This is where research has to start. Ways and models have to be identified which emphasize that other forms of work, entailing less centralization and specialization than a Taylorized approach, are just as economic and efficient and, moreover, avoid certain adverse effects of Taylorized work (cf Jacobi et al 1980, Wertz, Sullies 1983).

This calls for specific activity analyses, which pinpoint the pressures that occur and which make clear what changes have to be made to maintain a satisfactory work structure from the point of view of the undertakings and their employees (cf Vorbrücken 1984). In psychological terms it is useful to know how certain working conditions that are entailed by new time and work forms (such as home work, on-call work, 12-hour shifts for three or four days) make a psychological and social impact in conjunction with new technology.

The authors will attempt to indicate existing trends and options which are related to some of these time and work forms.

No clear-cut cause-and-effect situation should be expected at this stage. For instance, the introduction of new technology does not necessarily mean that working time has to be made flexible. The reverse may apply just as easily; if working time is made more flexible in response to a collective need within a company, it may become necessary to introduce new technology. As already became clear in March of this year at the Foundation Workshop in Dublin, we require multifactorial designs which can adequately present the manifold relationships, the interactivity of variables; in empirical terms this is no doubt a difficult undertaking.

1. Consequences and pressures of new technology

If the studies which have been conducted in the Federal Republic of Germany are examined for what they have to say about the effects of new computer technology on manufacturing and administration, and about the impact which is felt by the people who are affected, one gets a picture which is in opposition to the opportunities that are offered by new technology (cf Frese 1981, Jacobi et al 1980, Wertz, Lullies 1983). This is due mainly to the fact that most new technology is introduced according to a rationalization paradigm that rests on three basic assumptions, which determine how the technology is embedded into the work organization.

These assumptions are that:

- a. efficiency is increased by each successive work-sharing stage within an organization;
- b. this work sharing provides opportunities for specialization which are always beneficial;
- c. experience gained with efficiency-boosting measures in the production sector are directly transposable to the administrative sector (cf Naschold 1979, Cakir 1984).

If these assumptions are checked, it becomes clear that the practical application of centralization and specialization as strategies for rationalization not only leads to work dehumanization symptoms but also has dysfunctional effects on the organization as a whole (such as a lack of flexibility because of excessive formalization).

Centralization means that practice-related activities are taken out of the organizational context and are combined in terms of space and organization, and means practice-oriented work processes in central areas of the organization (such as central secretarial services, cf Jacobi et al 1980, Wertz, Lullies 1983, Frese 1981, Pirker et al 1982). This results in excessive workloads on a few activities, largescale isolation of the job in terms of its content (loss of motivation, high degree of alienation) and in a work process which is determined by technical constraints. Increasing specialization or, rather, segregation, leads to

the loss of skilled work, eg by restricting the scope for action and decision-taking, more unproductive and monotonous job components, loss of important work-relevant information, greater stress due to machine operation, ie the worker finds the job increasingly stressful, both physically and psychologically, as a result of monotony and of being insufficiently or excessively stretched by his work.

There is also the point that, with the decline in energetic components and the increase in sensory and cognitive components of computerized work, there is more scope for work intensification (eg in the case of multi-machine operation, where there has been a relative decline in energetic work and a relative increase in sensory and cognitive components).

There is an increase in work processes which are reduced to the core of data processing. This means that there is more cognitive stress because there is more processing of abstractly formal data. The growth in data processing has produced a new form of performance intensification and new forms of stress. There is now hardly one work area where technology-backed measures have not been introduced for the planning, control and monitoring of processes (CAD, CNC, etc). This entails the risk of a further decline in work freedom, and thus of new pressures on the human being. More work intensification, greater loss of autonomy and increasing fragmentation of job reality - these are the key pressure points. But employees should be offered more scope for self-fulfilment, particularly by ensuring that they are able to function at their natural rhythm and to control their own actions.

The growth of the work-Taylorization experiment is having an adverse impact on job satisfaction; it leads to loss of motivation and skills and creates increased stress as a result of performance intensification, social isolation and loss of job meaning. Further problems are caused by the change in skill requirements and by the loss of skills which is often entailed by technologization. For instance, a change in the factual preconditions of the work process due to the introduction of computer technology has a twofold impact. The new technique will change the substance of the production process and promotes job shedding. Even if

all the redundant personnel can be redeployed, they are often moved to jobs which make different demands on them. For the people concerned this means that they have to adapt to jobs with a change in technical content, which make different demands on their psychological and physical capacity and where they often have to adapt to a consequential change in the social context (cf Franke 1980, Köppl 1981). Apart from the technological factors which demand that the workforce changes its ways, there is also the stress effect of the job changes which are entailed by the organization of work. This requires retraining and new training. However, not infrequently such training, as a preparation for the changed technical work process, is carried out only to the extent to which it is unavoidable. There is not yet a sufficient degree of preparation for the new job, ie inadequate skills, increased stress due to being overstretched, insufficient participation in the experience of exerting control, together with a feeling of being a hostage to fortune (cf Gebert 1981). Even though there is systematic technical planning when a plant is scheduled for modification, a farsighted planning of personnel requirements, job analyses or precise skill training are still far too rare. The operational organization of work is regarded as a factor which can be managed fairly easily and quickly in line with objective technical requirements. A broadly spread availability of labour, which is feasible and which would do away with being tied to a specific job step for a lifetime, is being turned into increased pressure and the devaluation of personal skills. Overstress, with all its consequences, is often the result of employing wrongly or inadequately prepared workers in a job which makes normal demands.

A tendency towards overstress occurs, above all, in sensorimotoric forms of work. Lack of familiarity calls for the permanent control and correction of movements. Lack of practice conceals the not-to-be-underestimated risk that the work result will not be satisfactory, which means that the employee has to make a considerable extra psychological effort.

Insufficient preparation prior to taking up a job therefore means additional psychological input; since there is a lack of knowledge about how the job functions, there is also a great deal of uncertainty about how

to control the work process, and the jobholder has to compensate for this by paying increased attention.

This excessive demand is the result of insufficiently long learning periods and of the often premature entry into a performance-linked wage (cf Jacobi et al 1980). Also, the pressure of the job is increased by linking the wage to the output which is demanded from an insufficiently experienced worker, who is thereby burdened with the risks arising from insufficient skill, errors or shortfalls in performance which now appear and which are purely the result of an inadequate mastery of the production process (eg piecework, payment by bonus, cf Jacobi et al 1980, Pirker et al 1982).

Permanent overdemand has a debilitating physical effect and thus brings about a drop in the performance curve after quite a short time. Also, it is becoming increasingly rare for work experience to represent an accruable advantage. Experience and skills, eg typesetter, draughtsman, are being steadily devalued by the inroads of technological innovation, which are also a constant threat to status and thus to jobs.

There is now an increasing demand for high adaptability to changing work situations and for maximum psycho-physical capacity. Companies have to provide spare time for further education and for social communication and interaction. This promotes competence and powers of control, ie the re-acquisition of professional and social competence by the employee. Company deadlines and procedures have to be scaled down. The recovery of competence and powers of control, and the resulting specification factors, first demand the provision of temporal and factual scope for action and creation by an appropriate work organization and skill training (cf Naschold 1979). If this is not done, the long-term consequence will be inefficiency and quality deterioration, which cannot be remedied by performance intensification. We are witnessing a marked increase in job pressure and rush because of the close tie-in with the rhythm of computerized machines, and in the number of psychophysical complaints which represent a reaction to this state of affairs. Functional symptoms such as restlessness, irritability and permanent tiredness are not

infrequently reported by employees who are exposed to such technological modifications of the work structure (cf Frese 1978, 1981). Moreover, many people regard performance quantification as a form of discrimination. Performance pressure and an intensified man-machine interface produce a deterioration in work relations within the group and reduce the scope for informal contact. This can lead to tension between the members of the group. Performance recording, the setting of targets and payment by results are all conditions which may substantially increase performance pressure and stress, to which the employee is then often exposed because there are no means of control (cf Jacobi 1980, Wetz, Lullies 1983). The work procedure is not determined by the employee but by the computerized plant. Work Taylorization creates a lowering of quality expectations because of monotonous, repetitive and frankly boring work (cf Frese 1981, Türk 1976). The situation is dominated by unclearness of job execution, because the performance and control effects are not easily visible, and by an only small degree of autonomy and availability in respect of the individual's own job process.

Nevertheless, information and communication technology is also a means of enhancing the clearness and overview of the course of, say, a clerical task. Basically, such information systems are designed to enable the employee to steer, monitor and check the whole procedure which he has initiated. This needs the creation of an appropriate procedure, in the sense of more combined activities which contain greater responsibility and an increased scope for action and decision-taking and more inter-personnel communication. The creation of such procedures will reduce the work alienation which is caused by Taylorization (cf Rauch 1978).

To summarize, the following problem areas of operational computer application can be identified. Apart from physical stress there are also psychological pressures as the result of a more intensive man-machine interface, such as difficulty in understanding the content of the system, difficulties in operating the equipment, difficulties with computer terminology in general. Moreover, psychological pressures arise from the general work situation. Those are due to extensive standardization and specialization, to alienation by reduced contact with the work result, to

alienation by lack of insight into how the work relates as a whole, to a scarcity of contacts because of reduced job-related interpersonal communication and because of inhibitions resulting from the limitations on personal control and monitoring of the content and progress of work which are imposed by technical and organizational programming. Particular attention must be devoted to the spread of monotonous, repetitive and meaningless jobs which is the offshoot of work computerization (cf Rauch 1978, Frese 1978, Türk 1976). The lack of incentive of monotonous work can not only produce alienation but may also lead to personal regression. Job content can be defined more closely under various reference systems: energetic, cognitive, sensory. But there are also dimensions such as the degree of communication and social relations, and the proportion of work which can be influenced by the individual, ie degrees of work freedom, which have a big effect on human stress and well-being. Humanization programmes have shown the consequences of various degrees of freedom with the job. It should be emphasized that when people do their work they vary the sequence of job steps in accordance with their individual needs; this means that the individual variations of the job process which are practised depend on the degrees of freedom within that job. It has often been demonstrated that individual work strategies can be successfully learnt and applied as the degree of freedom increased and that, at equal pressure, work with a higher degree of freedom is less demanding (cf Türk 1976, Frese 1981, Martin et al 1980).

Technological change does not necessarily mean a loss of jobs. More complex forms of organization, the utilization of new opportunities (such as transferring job-related secretarial work to the person doing the job) and shorter working hours can mean that the rationalizing effect of information and communication systems will not have a crucial impact on the labour market. The most significant organizational change which arises from the introduction of new information and communication technology is that existing hierarchic structures can be relaxed. The decision-taking process could shift downwards, and hierarchic authority could be reduced in favour of a functional approach. This is where there is an opportunity to enlarge the skills and the scope for action and decision of the people who are affected.

Wider powers of decision at the junior management level could also reduce the degree to which work is split. However, from the organizational point of view this would require more intensive horizontal integration in order not to imperil the cohesiveness of operations. This would provide an opportunity of enhancing the social integration of personnel with a company by means of more communication and co-operation, whilst also making the job objectives clearer. Such a work organization would also preserve the possibility of informal contacts which allow a release of tension that would otherwise have a damaging effect on the formal organization (cf Rauch 1978, Franke 1980, Kubicek 1978).

2. Digression: the relationship between technology, stress and partialized action

Time and again it is reported that the introduction of high-technology systems has imposed work Taylorization on the personnel, ie uniformity of content, a high degree of repetition, outside supervision. In terms of action theory this means that partialized action dominates. Partialized action takes place in isolation, ie the relation between the work as a whole, or the components which do not concern a particular individual, are not included and determined as part of the process. Such activities are restricting, ie the individual links between actions are impeded, in the sense that there is an insufficient development of comprehensive and complex planning processes; the mastery of circumstances and the broad overview are superseded by a lack of perspective and by the rule of the machine, ie there is no intellectual control, and no participation in supra-individual planning processes which concern the individual. This is where research into stress is relevant; such research tries to show that being in control of the work situation is precisely what reduces stress. The possibility of control also has a major influence on self-confidence. Exposure to conditions of non-control may promote general apathy, resignation and depression (the acquired-helplessness syndrome). That syndrome's breeding ground is found in a generalized feeling of not being in control of conditions and of one's own activity. The realization of one's personal inability to control stress adequately is a major factor in the creation of the acquired-helplessness syndrome. If working methods and conditions, and the forms of integration with colleagues and superiors, are strictly prescribed, then there is very little scope to control the stress factors - such as fast rates of work, monotony, social isolation - which are typical of such situations. As has been shown above, it is precisely the avoidance of social isolation that is crucially important in terms of stress impact. The fact that social comparisons at the workplace can show people that a no-control situation does not imply personal incapacity will help to abate the symptoms. In the case of isolated home work it is difficult to apply such a strategy to the problem. Work has to be structured in such a manner as to give the workers more control over the course and distribution of work and the formation of groups within the

work unit. A more extensive control of stress is therefore what is needed, particularly in respect of working conditions and social interaction. The empirical basis of experience is that greater control can lead to higher productivity, fewer social conflicts and reduced work pressure. It has been found that work organization structures which promote group work, which place responsibility on the group and not on the individual, and which are favourable to integrated activity and thus to a diversity of work actions, are better able to offset stress pressures such as workloads, deadlines and a strong machine nexus (cf Jacobi et al 1980, Pirker et al 1982).

The internal model which one creates of oneself and of one's surroundings, and which derives from one's experience of these surroundings, can promote stress insofar as it excludes objectively available accomplishment strategies or poses unnecessarily severe or unrealistic demands. Work performed in isolation may nurture such unrealistic strategies, whereas access to social support can provide not only help but also feedback and factual control (cf Frese 1978, 1981, Gebert 1981).

The ecology of the workplace and of the organization of work can either impede or promote suitable accomplishment strategies. The latter make it possible to adapt to difficult surroundings. Any successful adaptation is based on the appropriate processing of ambient data. This means that the employee requires the contextual information which makes it possible to slot in the activity in order to relate it meaningfully to his work. This also reduces work alienation, and it is precisely the experience of work alienation which favours the Taylorization that seems to be gaining ground when new technology is introduced.

3. Job alienation and new technology

Job alienation expresses itself in the fact that no satisfaction is felt in doing the work.

It means a lack of power and meaning, ie outside control by the machine, and a lack of standards. No aim in life can be achieved within the job. Work becomes the means of acquiring leisure. In a Tayloristic rationalization situation, the personal work experience is determined by isolation and self-alienation.

Job alienation occurs, in particular, with very monotonous and repetitive activities where the jobholder becomes increasingly unable to comprehend the overall structure of which he is a part. The performance of the task does not mean much, and therefore cannot give a feeling of satisfaction. This is especially the case when the job has been made so simple and monotonous that it no longer poses any demands.

A jobholder's experience of alienation is modified by what he expects from the job, by his level of ability and by the way in which he comes to terms with failures.

With job alienation, work has lost its meaning; it is no longer perceived as a source of satisfaction but merely as a means of finding satisfaction in other areas of life. Its value has become purely instrumental (cf Lattmann 1982).

4. Home work

Electronic work at a distance, or home work, is a special form of decentralized work. It is also known as computer home work, or telework. It means workplaces which are created off company premises, in the homes of the persons employed, where the work that is done with information and communications equipment determines the overall activity. The advocates of this type of work point out its advantages in terms of energy, travel and structural policy (cf Dostal 1985, Korte 1986). Basically, home work means that many activities can be farmed out: data gathering, word processing, programming, business and technical clerical work.

However, home work gives cause to fear that it is especially women who are the target group for such forms of work. It is found that the activities which are farmed out are particularly jobs that can easily be formalized and segmented and need only fairly low-level skills because these are the jobs where the organizational problems of decentralised work are least likely to arise (cf Korte 1986, Huber 1984, Vogelheim 1984, Dostal 1985).

Women will be affected first. Because of their particular focal points of activity and their modest professional skills they are less able to compete, less organized and less able to make their mark in the business world of today. Women will then become self-employed, maintaining contact with their company on a freelance basis; depending on their workload, they can have several employers and thus earn more money, in addition to being housewives and mothers. The latter functions place an enormous extra load on a woman who takes up home work, because she can look after her family whilst at her place of work. Men have had hardly any opportunities for home work so far, apart from those in more highly skilled professions such as programmers, journalists, scientists. But even they have a fairly small share of the market.

Many women hope that home work will enable them to strike a better balance between their job, running the home and bringing up the children, but often this hope remains unfulfilled. There are also many mothers who want to work at home because they believe that they will not only be able to perform

their duties as housewives and mothers but also make a financial contribution to the upkeep of the present standard of living. However, in practice this positive endeavour comes up against some serious negative effects.

The housewife role: If the woman is at home all day, her spouse/partner can reasonably expect an impeccably run household (and, implicitly, the woman will often expect likewise). However, this implicit or explicit expectation demands that the woman orders her daily routine as if she were purely a housewife.

The mother role: Small children make psychological and physical demands with scant regard for the time of day. This is precisely why the mother often stays at home, so that she can look after her child, ie properly perform her role as a mother. When the child demands attention, the mother will try to react to that demand; in other words, the mother role occupies the first place on the intra-individual scale of values; the housewife role comes only second.

The home worker role: The home worker role usually comes third, and most women will therefore give priority to the first two roles in the course of their daily life. If her child demands attention, the mother will not first finish the page of text which she is processing; she will usually give the child her immediate attention (otherwise there may be problems with her role perception as a mother), ie her role as a worker has to wait until the other two have been played. In practice this often means night work. It is unnecessary at this point to describe in detail the well-known consequences of such a timetable.

For many women the supposed advantages of home work turn into a permanent conflict between the three roles which have been described. Let us mention merely in passing that not only a change in the conventional male role can be helpful in resolving this problem; so can a change in the attitude of women in respect of what they expect from the woman-mother-homeworker role.

Also, there are some incipient dangers with home work, which stand against the advantages of greater freedom to arrange one's work and leisure and of more flexible working times. They are as follows.

- i. The creation of jobs with a low work content and no prospects for skill acquisition. In order to avoid problems of co-ordination, it is likely that mainly uncomplicated activities are farmed out (cf Korte 1986). This again means loss of skill, simply because telework presupposes a considerable degree of formalization, ie the job as such has few attractions.
- ii. Health is affected, and there are physical and psychological pressures. The following factors are particularly powerful in the case of telework: monotonous work; equipment which is badly designed in ergonomic respects; increased pressure, particularly on women, through the constant twofold demand (family and job); greater pressure to perform, because of incentive payments.

Then there is the question of no-work-no-pay; it is the home workers who have to stand the cost of not getting any work. Home work is characterized by the absence of ensured working times and fixed breaks.

- iii. Loss of income: competition on the labour market is made more acute by the farming-out of activities which, broadly speaking, many people are capable of performing, ie which do not require much in the way of skill. The expected pressure of competition between large numbers of home workers is likely to push down wages to close to the subsistence level. Moreover, competition between home workers will lead to

increased output by some, because they can work as hard and as long as they like. This, in its turn, will reduce the number of jobs.

- iv. A socially and materially insecure existence for home workers: from the employer's point of view, this type of work not only produces savings in incidental wages costs and job and machine costs; one of its major advantages is that the risk of loss of employment is transferred to the home worker.
- v. Constant control: there is no more personal control of attendance and behaviour at work; these functions are now carried out, impersonally and infallibly, by a computer (cf Kohl, Schütt 1984).

What is the effect of all this?

Experience has already been gained in Canada, Japan and the United States. As regards psychological consequences, there is more pressure-induced stress, because working with a VDU demands concentration and speed; the work tempo increases by between a quarter and a third due to the fact that there is no more waiting time of any kind (questions, waiting, delegating, talking to colleagues). This results in typical stress-induced psychosomatic symptoms such as headaches, stomach-aches, restlessness and disturbed sleep. The psychological consequences may take the form of exhaustion, irritability, fear and dissatisfaction (cf Gebert 1981, Huber 1984, Vogelheim 1984).

The loss of communication (social isolation) and the dull work content (work monotony) which are entailed by home work constitute a major source of the above consequences. In the United States there have been no known instances of any IT-backed jobs involving a wide range of tasks in the field of word processing and clerical work. Also, the work is marked by the loss of many of the positive features of business life, such as experience, other people's recognition of one's efforts, social contacts (lost because there is no integration into the company). This can lead to dissatisfaction, depression and illness.

At this stage it is difficult to estimate what it means in the long run to work at home alone and in isolation and with only a VDU for company: this needs research. Possible social consequences of such forms of work are that home workers are confined indoors and that they lose sight of how their job relates to others; these are serious impediments in terms of inability to control one's situation (cf Chapters 2 and 5 of this Report).

Some potentially negative aspects of home work arise in respect of the duration, start and end of work, breaks, leisure time, social isolation, loss of income and, possibly, work performed by children. How much leeway can be left to the individual, and what has to be controlled from the outside (ie statutorily, by social and labour legislation)? It would seem that home work is an option which pays off only for a few highly-skilled activities, such as programming, scientific work and journalism. This is the area in which the beneficial effects of modern technology come to bear, eg the elimination of monotonous tasks, more rational working, greater skills. But even with these professional groups one has to consider the question of social isolation and the potential loss of social support, although some of the pressures can be accepted, or partly offset, in exchange for an enhanced job content.

When one considers the track record (the American, Japanese and Canadian experience) there is nevertheless the prospect that, in spite of everything, home work can take place in beneficial conditions. W. Dostal points out in his survey that more highly-skilled forms of work have been involved even during the early development of home work, and that it is reasonable to hope that future modes of home work, too, will take place within a fairly beneficial context, ie composite activities, high skills, statutory safeguards, etc. It is therefore advisable to concentrate model experiments and promotional measures mainly on the areas where the labour market will produce an acceptable context. On the other hand, it has to be asked whether experiments with traditional types of home work for low-skilled and not highly regarded activities should be promoted. Dostal concludes that home telework, in its pure form, stands no chance of being implemented this century. He bases his argument on the uncertain legal position and on the present absence of extensively equipped

telecommunications networks; Dostal says that home telework for groups of persons is advantageous to the employer only if it contributes to substantial cost savings, which is not the case in the present conditions. Such work does not seem a paying proposition with the present costs of control, transport, adaptation, recruitment, co-ordination and communication. The extent to which home work is cheap or, indeed, whether it is cheaper than non-decentralized work, cannot really be assessed until the technical context has been created and the legal position has been clarified (cf Dostal 1985).

Particular attention should be paid to the social isolation which is a side effect of home work and which is also encountered with increasing frequency in offices and factories, due to the performance intensification and Tayloristic work organization which are the concomitants of computer technology, and due to the growing technologization of time studies (cf Naschold 1979). The psychosocial consequences of social isolation are therefore briefly discussed in the next chapter.

5. Social isolation

The working conditions which are one aspect of computer technology promote the experience of social isolation. The opportunity for day-to-day communication within the office or factory becomes much smaller, or is eliminated altogether (home work). The machine nexus dominates. Job-related and personal worries, fears and experience used to be the subject for mutual discussion on a casual person-to-person basis, but occasions for such informal chats become rare. Social isolation leads to a loss of social competence. The loss of social competence means that work pressures have to be coped with by one's own efforts to a greater degree than before. Without the opportunity for social comparison, the risks and pressures of the working day are attributed to one's own inadequacy. Social isolation largely eliminates the sort of social support which is available within a work group. Social support influences not only control at the workplace but also the working person's cognitive interpretation of situations and the possibility of understanding the work process in its substantive interrelation. It has been possible to determine empirically the effect of social support, particularly in connection with the stress phenomenon (cf Frese 1978, 1981). One of these effects is that social support brings about a direct change in work stress conditions, or that it reduces subjective helplessness and depression, eg as the result of chats and morale-boosting. This is particularly important in work conditions where the work process is directed mainly from the outside. Social support also acts as a buffer; even if the stress input remains the same, its impact is softened by the presence of other people. Social support makes it easier to cope with stressful conditions, for instance if information is passed on which will place a given situation more clearly into its context, or if employees encourage one another. The main advantage of working in groups, within a social unit, therefore is that a due allowance for the social value matrix also provides access to the real world, in the sense of a social interpretation of the situation, which means that an individual's interpretation is less affected by uncertainty and that the personal virtual matrix can always be corrected. This is most useful for a successful management of stress situations. All these advantages hit against working conditions which impede social intercourse, or make it impossible.

6. Making working time flexible: forms, problems and impact

In the debate about the 'flexibilization' of working time one has to consider the human conditions within the organization which arise out of the progress, extent and distribution of work in terms of time, and for which no provision was made when the work was planned and organized, even though they are perfectly well foreseeable. Human behaviour within work organizations is determined by agreed rules of order and by the planned temporal certainties within the organization, ie deadlines, processing and production times, break facilities. It must be remembered that the human being gets tired, and is therefore subject to foreseeable regularities in terms of working time potential, the need to recuperate and limits of performance, and also has a given time rhythm as regards readiness and capacity to perform: this has an effect on the time division of the work, eg shiftwork, and on its duration and tempo. Then there are social and off-duty factors which influence people's performance potential and their fatigue curve, eg living and family conditions.

If performance per time unit is taken as the yardstick, the rule is that performance is influenced by the length of working time. There are also other influencing factors: the time of day, the degree of difficulty of the task, the equipment available, the work climate, work in groups, the work-interest rating.

Shorter working hours do not necessarily mean lower production. New technology leads to performance intensification and work compression, which put the employees under considerable extra pressure. From that point of view, the beneficial effect of shorter working hours on performance is in direct proportion to the onerous nature of the work and to the worker's influence on its progress. In the case of onerous work, only a minimal increase in daily output is obtained by increasing the daily working time, eg three or four 12-hour days, or 12-hour shifts; in other words, in psychological terms a working day in excess of eight hours is undesirable if the work is fairly demanding or definitely onerous. If it is exceptionally demanding, a working day of less than eight hours may

be advisable. This argues in favour of more part-time work, and against forms of work involving fewer but longer working days per week.

Longer working hours should even be avoided for undemanding activities where a good performance could be obtained for nine or ten hours a day (cf Köppl 1981), because it has been found that there is only a slight improvement after eight hours. Some 95% of an eight-hour output is often achieved within the first six hours. This argues in favour of a shorter daily working time in the sense of part-time work, but against an increase to more than eight hours, even if the working week is shortened by one or two days (cf Jungbluth 1968, Böckle 1979). A particularly severe increase in time pressure, as may occur when computer technology is applied to the work process, will not normally increase the output; if anything, it is likely to reduce it. When organizing the work, a suitable work tempo distribution should therefore be sought, without an excessive speed (due to excessively short deadlines) or excessive performance intensification. Empirical studies have shown that increasing time pressure can be expected to produce more errors, a decline in output, more conflict, less job satisfaction, more absenteeism and more rapid departures (cf Jacobi 1980, Wertz 1983, Frese et al 1981). Working under severe time pressure often causes severe tiredness, a feeling of being chased, a feeling of not being on top of one's job. This leads to a decline in output and to accidents, poor work and absenteeism.

Severe time pressure, performance compression, a feeling of being chased - these are all sentiments which are often also quoted in connection with computer technology, and which seem to arise from changes in the work demand, ie a decrease in physical pressure with a simultaneous increase in psychological pressure (also in the sense of sensory and cognitive components (cf BMFT Vol. 43, and also Chapter 1 of this Report). There are many tasks where the human being can adjust his/her speed of work to his/her readiness to do the job, but there is also a great deal of, mainly machine-linked, work where this is difficult, and where it is the machine that determines the tempo; this means that the reserve performance capacity which is available when the worker is in top form cannot be utilized, and that the worker feels 'chased' when he/she is below par (cf Köppl 1981).

The introduction of computer technology marked the start of a new era of time-efficient principles of organization aimed at intensifying the total production process which determines the course of the operation in three ways.

1. The organization of work is increasingly determined by a Tayloristic time saving of labour and by a flexible personnel deployment policy. The company's performance policy is directed to the functioning of all overt and latent time reserves, backed by incentives and sanctions.
 - ii. Fixed capital is made efficient by adopting production-line methods and by developing them into semi-automated or fully-automated production systems.
 - iii. Computer-backed control and information systems not only subject staff activities to industrial time efficiency, so that this type of work, too, is intensified. The decisive factor lies in the effort which is made to optimize the whole production process through total time budgeting and process-accompanying systems control by means of complex operational data gathering systems (cf Naschold 1979, p. 7).

The purpose of this trend is the time synchronization of personal activities and needs with the requirements of the whole operation, work intensification in the sense of increased performance as regards time points and spans and the tempo and compression of work, and time enhancement in the sense of simultaneous multiple activities performed as part of one task (cf Böckle 1979, Naschold 1979, Epping et al 1977, Seicht 1981, Schultz-Wild et al 1973).

All this necessitates a growing and comprehensive compression of work at constant time pressure, which spreads, either on its own or in company with other pressures (cf Köppl 1981). It has been found that operational action is characterized by an increasing degree of behaviour which is ordained by material and time factors in the form of psycho-technical working conditions and factual co-operative constraints. The time nexus

of the work rhythm, and the work rate, are growing and major sources of conflict. For instance, making the work process time-efficient faces the employees with conflicting requirements: they are supposed to work quickly, accurately and reliably under time pressure, and they often try to do so at the cost of their health. In addition to this type of stress, due to role ambiguity, there is then also the social stress of competition (cf Naschold 1979, Gebert 1981, Frese 1978, Böhnisch 1978, Türk 1976).

Stress research has demonstrated that time shortage and a lack of individual competence to do the job are combined health risks (cf Frese 1981). What is the purpose of these explanatory comments? They are meant to illustrate that the idea of making working time flexible is based on false premisses. The debate is primarily about how working time should be arranged, whereas the density of work per unit of time is often neglected. But it is precisely time density that is being changed by new technology and throws up new pressures. This should be borne in mind whenever working time formats are changed. The premiss that shorter working hours will shorten and reduce exposure to pressure and will provide more leisure time, and that the combined effect of these trends will be to reduce stress and improve regeneration, is not tenable if stated purely in those terms. The point is that work pressure, as far as the time dimension is concerned, occurs not only through the extensive utilization of time but also through its compression. Also, the off-duty area offers only very little leisure time that can be used for regeneration and creative activities, because much of the off-duty time is taken up with big additional commitments, eg in the case of a housewife.

The reduction of pressure therefore has to have a decompression strategy as its point of departure, and this, in turn, has to have as its point of departure a pressure concept which is tied to the subjective perception and competence of the employees. The objective must be to reduce pressure by means of decompression, not to reduce long working hours with a simultaneous compression of work per unit of time, as, for instance, is the case with part-time or 'on-call' work.

It is important to know where the new demands arise when the technological preconditions of a production process are altered. In the case of activities related to control and monitoring at the higher stages of mechanization, the nervous strain which is caused by constant attention is the main aspect. In such cases there is often a fairly large proportion of passive work, which allows the option of multi-place working, if the strictly spatial link to the machine can be eliminated. Multi-place working would reduce the stress of permanent vigilance, but would also greatly enlarge the physically demanding work components. Permanent time pressure produces a steadily more severe psychological stress. Research into psychological stress has not as yet produced much scientific information on the underlying biological structures, and as a result we have a multitude of conflicting theories. What does seem clear is that stress does not simply mean physical stress, with some psychological stress on the side, but that there is reciprocity between the two, ie physical and psychological demands are not experienced separately, but are felt as overall stress. There is also the point that the pressures which arise from the work situation only rarely affect the worker as exclusive individual factors: they always occur in combination. We are therefore dealing with the reinforcing effects of health hazards. At the high level of performance intensity which is obtained with computer technology, it is difficult to recover within the off-duty time of an eight-hour working day. This may lead to an increasing loss of powers of resistance and of regenerative capacity.

It is true that the sum of all the demands is concentrated either on the physical or on the psychological powers of endurance, but the feeling is the same, regardless of the cause of tiredness. Basically, both types of stress can be increased until the total stress reaches the limits of continuous performance. Beyond that point, one type of stress can be increased only if the other has been reduced. If there is a greater psychological stress as the result of a technological change in the work process, eg the introduction of VDUs, then, and assuming that the available capacity for work is used to the full, this stress can be met only if the physical demand is eased. The changing demands on working capacity which are entailed by the changes in work that follow in the wake

of technological change can therefore be described as a redistribution of the load (cf Kōppl 1981). Whether the direction of this redistribution is exclusively from the physical to the psychological side as the level of mechanization increases is something which still has to be cleared. New physical demands may arise even at a high level of mechanization.

For purposes of research the limit of continuous performance is mostly based on the performance limit within an eight-hour shift. It thus implies the maximum utilization of working power that can be obtained in the course of a day without any symptoms of short-term debility or acute illness. The introduction of new technology and the consequential increase in psychological stress, performance pressure and compression, and time pressure, requires a redefinition of the limit of continuous performance; this should be borne in mind when various forms of flexible working time are under consideration. In that context, what is the impact of, say, a ten or twelve-hour day, or of 'on-call' work? An optimal work design really needs such a redefinition of the continuous performance limit. These considerations have to be taken on board when one is thinking about the impact of flexible working time, and the impact of their adoption will have to be examined.

The position may be summarized as follows:

There is cause to question the formula which postulates a direct relation between working time and pressure on the principle of 'the shorter the hours of work, the less pressure'. Intensification of work, increasing pressure to perform, more outside control, skill shedding, greater psychological demands - these are all moderating parameters which are neglected in such a formula. There is a broad fund of research into the duration and length of working time, ie extensive time forms, but the more intensive forms of work compression have been examined only in fits and starts. The limits of continuous performance should be redefined on that basis (cf Naschold 1979, Kōppl 1981).

This is where the ergonomic pressure model finds its limits. In that model, pressure is defined as an objective demand upon the subject, and

stress as the pressure impact upon the subject in the form of tiredness and effects on health. Individual pressure factors are measured separately and their effect is then determined, mainly by physiological magnitudes which do not show a clear-cut relation with psychological aspects (cf Schmidtke 1973). The reciprocal influence of such magnitudes, for instance in the case of shiftwork, is often also neglected. Such a model has only a limited applicability. A simple stimulus-reaction model will not suffice. Ergonomic researchers have been urged "to develop a model that allows for the subjectivity of the subjects, with their experience, competence and powers, which modifies the objective pressure by means of offensive, defensive or adaptive strategies" (P. Naschold 1979, p.12).

Only with the aid of such a model is it possible to determine empirically the impact of part-time work, longer daily working hours with fewer working days per week, shiftwork or capacity-oriented working time.

However, this does not imply that a flexibilization of working time does not also have beneficial effects, in the sense of making the employee the master of his time. In fact, working time arrangements are a special and distinct aspect of work humanization.

A reduction in working time has two de-stressing effects which reinforce each other. Exposure to pressure during the daily working period is shortened; this reduces the amount of pressure and also extends the time available for recuperation. It should be remembered that the work expenditure has to be decompressed as well. The benefits of flexible working time generally lie in the greater scope which is provided for action and decisions. The employee becomes master of his time and is thus personally responsible for arranging his hours; this allows a balance to be established between personal wants and the needs of the job. Such arrangements, eg flexitime, part-time work, entail a delegation of responsibility for matters such as the appointment of a deputy, to give one example; this means that staff have to be given sufficient information, which, in turn, can give a clearer view of each person's respective place

within the firm (cf Heymann 1982, v. Rosenstiel 1975, Francke 1980, Teriet 1976, 1981, 1981a, Böckle 1979).

This awareness of place induces more intensive team work. A study of flexitime has identified the following beneficial psychologically motivated effects (cf v. Rosenstiel 1976):

- i. less fluctuation; freedom to arrange one's time is valued more highly than a little extra cash in one's pay packet;
- ii. practically no more one-day illnesses;
- iii. slight improvement in productivity; fewer careless errors;
- iv. better atmosphere among the employees who become more friendly and attentive because they need one another more than before.

It was also found that the enhanced inter-group co-operation that is enforced by greater autonomy in the arrangement of working time performs an educational function. Flexibilization of working time demands a co-operative staff, the personnel has to meet demands such as co-operation, personal responsibility and ability to discuss and agree (cf Teriet 1981a, Heymann 1982). Variable working time has given the personnel long practice in standing-in for one another; there is also the possibility of job sharing (cf Heymann 1982, Teriet 1977). This provides the opportunity to acquire more skills, which should be promoted by arranging for further training (cf also Chapter 1). The autonomy thus gained can help towards better prospects for promotion and thus towards personal development at the workplace. This is where the opportunities lie to make working time flexible in the sense of giving work a human face, with more of the characteristics of personal development (cf Heymann 1982, v. Rosenstiel 1980, 1975, Lattmann 1982, Epping 1977, Francke 1980, Böckle 1979, Teriet 1976, 1977, 1982, 1984).

7. Capacity-oriented variable working time (KAPOVAZ)

Under this arrangement a given minimum working time is agreed. However, the actual duration of weekly working time, and its position within the week, is adjusted continuously each day or each week, depending on the workload. 'On-call' work is an extreme example, where the employees have to be at the end of the telephone but do not get paid for being on stand-by, nor have a guaranteed minimum period of employment; this system is still fairly rare. The greater the scope that is allowed for making in-house procedures more flexible, the greater the scope for managerial influence on the actual working-time format, either by way of pressure or by means of informal direction. Groups of employees or workers who are unable to assert themselves are hostages to fortune, and this fact gives more scope to practise capacity-oriented variable working time. For the employers the advantage of variable working time is that it can be adjusted to the workload. This entails work intensification, ie the employees do more for the same pay. Intensification also occurs through the fact that working time can be adapted to the individual's daily rhythm. Furthermore, there is less absenteeism, greater productivity at the start of the working day thanks to the reduction of stress, eg no rush-hour commuting, and less overtime. These productivity-enhancing factors make it possible to cut staffing levels whilst maintaining the same output. From the firm's point of view the disadvantages lie in the need for more direction and co-ordination, uncertainty about the personnel's company loyalty and time-recording costs (cf Böckle 1979). Then there is the danger that variable hours will give the employer an entrenched time hegemony, which he will use to adjust capacity, save costs, compress working time and, finally, cut staff.

For the employees, capacity-oriented variable working time means work intensification and performance pressure, because there is barely time to take a breather; recovery from the effects of work is entirely a matter for off-duty hours and this impedes the chances for creative leisure-time activity. In terms of compatibility between the job and family commitments, the fact that the work periods are variable and can be neither influenced nor foreseen (ie the employees have to be available to

meet fluctuating work demands), means that the family has to take second place to the job just as much as in the case of fixed working hours. The unforeseeable nature of duty calls imposes an additional burden. The employee has to give priority to business considerations when he arranges his timetable. As far as he is concerned, his working time is no longer a planning constant; it is now a variable which is determined by the workload of the moment and by absent colleagues. This means that off-duty hours are also removed from the employee's decision to some extent. In extreme cases the time and duration of off-duty periods are entirely out of the employee's hands and are determined by the needs of the business. The desired mastery of time which is used to 'sell' such forms of work is a fairly unrealistic ambition (cf Teriet 1976). The employee can exert hardly any influence on the timing of the workload, since the individual can do very little to influence the type, extent, place and deadlines of the firm's services, nor the organization of the work, the supplier or customer structure or the personnel resources. With variable working time the hours of work cease to be a datum, since they are determined by a fluctuating workload; this means that off-duty hours, too, can no longer be planned and also depend on the demands of the business. This places a big restriction on the leisure value of off-duty time. Stress research contains the fairly obvious message that major pressure factors are inherent in a permanent on-call status, in the impossibility of anticipating the workload, in constant uncertainty about one's material existence (will there or won't there be work for me?), which tend to show such forms of work in a negative light. It has been found, for instance, that the impossibility of anticipating the workload causes powerful stress symptoms (cf Frese 1981, Gebert 1981). Even so, these forms of work also have their advantages.

Subject to business considerations, the scope for arrangements can be utilized in accordance with personal needs. It may be possible to allow for the individual's daily rhythm of performance. This reduces pressure on the organism and gives a feeling of being in charge of one's daily timetable.

However, employees do not always welcome too much flexibility in respect of working time. The time rhythm which is dictated by such flexibility will by no means always accord with what the employee would like. This is shown, for instance, by the fact that employees who have a flexitime option will always select their own fixed working time rhythm. When this rhythm is broken by one longer working day this is mostly at the firm's wish and not by personal choice. This is where conflict can arise, if the desire for certain pre-set times of work is not attuned to the needs of the personnel.

8. Nightwork and shiftwork

Many firms are obliged to go over to shiftwork, mainly for predominating economic considerations. This increases the equipment utilization rate and reduces the fixed unit costs. However, such an arrangement is incomplete and faulty. Multi-shift full utilization of the machine pool entails a whole series of hidden extra costs or profit losses which have to be set against, and may even nullify, the known advantages of shiftworking. This can be demonstrated by facts such as higher reject rates during nightshifts, more industrial accidents, more absenteeism and higher rates of departure, a lowering of morale, failure by the worker to identify with the task and with the company - all of which are signs of a lack of job satisfaction.

The partly interdependent uneconomic effects of shiftworking as an indirect consequence of automation are complemented by equally negative developments in the personal lives of the employees who are affected.

Shiftwork brings the employees many disadvantages in terms of their health and social life. The list is headed by impediments to family life and leisure values, by a lack of participation in cultural activities and by social isolation (cf Chapter 5 of this Report). In terms of occupational medicine, nervous complaints, cardiac and circulatory complaints and gastro-intestinal illnesses are often aggravated by a dangerous misuse of patent medicines, tobacco and alcohol, etc and by an increased risk of accidents at night (the performance low is between 3 and 4 a.m. (cf Rutenfranz 1982, Rutenfranz et al 1984, Bergmann 1982).

Nightwork often leads to the consumption of stimulants during the shift. The next morning, nightworkers often have recourse to sleeping pills, because daytime sleep goes against the biological clock which independently switches all bodily functions to 'on' during the day.

What is particularly striking, in business-management and also psychological terms, is that firms which work nightshifts have a high staff turnover. Generally speaking, more people leave when there is

shiftworking than when normal shifts are worked. Nightshifts are one of the reasons for increased departures from a firm. Companies which merely work late shifts have fewer leavers. Poor working conditions and unsatisfactory hours of work are two major reasons why people change their jobs, and which increase the rate of departures to other firms. A high leaving rate has many uneconomic repercussions, such as recruitment costs, a lower work yield and a greater risk of accidents to new people while they are getting familiarized with the job.

Far fewer people leave jobs which involve shiftwork but no nightshifts; this indicates a greater degree of job satisfaction (cf Neuberger 1974, 1974a).

There is also the point that shiftworkers who have to be transferred to normal shifts for health reasons are frequently disappointed and dissatisfied because they have to accept lower earnings, due to the loss of shift bonuses, on top of their health troubles.

The consequence of such transfers is, again, a declining work yield, a higher accident rate, more absenteeism and declining morale (cf v. Rosenstiel 1983).

Shiftworkers have a higher death rate and more premature invalidity than normal dayworkers. Shiftwork particularly affects the employees' social life, and the satisfaction which they are able to derive from it. The opportunities for social life are mostly confined to evenings and weekends. Work-unrelated social activities take place during what is normally off-duty time, ie off-duty for people who work normal hours, during the day. In terms of time, dayworkers have no problems in engaging in such activities; what is more likely to deter them from social life is the fact of having done a hard day's work. The situation is quite different for shiftworkers. Their social life is curtailed not only because of tiredness but also because their off-duty time is often the late morning, ie when there are few leisure facilities, compared to what is available in the evening. On the other hand, the time when they are at work, on late shifts, is precisely the period which offers a wealth of

leisure activities. Since shiftworkers have unsocial hours, there are some leisure activities that are not readily available to them, or which are out of their reach altogether. They are therefore more likely than dayworkers to engage in leisure-time pursuits that are not tied to a particular time of day, or which they can follow on their own. With weekend work there is not only the strain of doing a hard stint of two or three 10-12-hour days (cf Chapter 6), but there is also the near impossibility of sharing with friends and acquaintances the social activities which are possible mainly at weekends. The desynchronization between the shiftworker's hours of work and those of his/her friends and acquaintances causes problems which can promote social isolation. There is also the pressure which arises from the awareness of having to work during the time when most of the population is off duty. It is precisely this awareness that makes it harder to work at night or during unusual times of the day. There are also problems within the family if the husband and wife both have a job. In such conditions it is nearly impossible to engage in the sort of shared activities which would be possible at weekends. It often happens in such cases that one spouse renounces something in which the other cannot participate, and turns instead to activities which are not affected by his/her spouse's shiftwork (cf Born 1983, BMJFG 1978). Family life is thus very much constrained by shiftwork; the former has to be re-arranged because of the latter. Fathers are obliged to devote less time to their children, are away at work and unable to participate in family activities at weekends. The distribution of roles and the allocation and performance of tasks within the family may change under the influence of shiftwork. Shiftworkers are also likely to display impatience, irritability and unfairness, in reaction to a greater need for rest (even though they sleep less well) because of the greater pressure of their work.

The biological cost of work varies according to the time of day during which it is performed. The organism is subject to fluctuations, eg a high during the late morning and a low between 3 and 4 a.m. Towards the evening the organism switches to the recovery mode; a considerable physical effort is therefore needed to work at night, against the biological clock.

The organism will never adjust completely to shiftwork.

The problems may be summarized as follows:

- i. social problems with inter-family relationships, social isolation,
- ii. loss of appetite and, in the long run, gastro-intestinal illnesses,
- iii. and, fairly certainly, disturbed sleep.

The problems seem to get worse after mental strain (such as telework) because the organism finds it more difficult to switch off. On the other hand, physical work has a deep and beneficial sleep as its after-effect. Shiftworkers are always exposed to severe psychological strain; this is because nightwork upsets the daytime periodicity of the biological rhythm and because the quality of daytime sleep is never the same as that of night-time sleep. These stress agents can cause the trouble which has been mentioned, unless they can be neutralized or made manageable.

Shiftwork should be practised only if it is unavoidable. For purely economic reasons, nightwork and shiftwork should be eschewed as much as possible (cf Rutenfranz 1982). Where shiftwork is practised, plans based on scientific findings should be drawn up, to minimize the impact of such working time arrangements and to give the employees sufficient means of recuperation (cf Rutenfranz 1982, 1984, Teriet 1977, 1981, Bergman et al).

9. Summary

For employees, the impact of new technology as a component of comprehensive rationalization seems to be more adverse than beneficial at the present time. This applies in particular to employment, earnings, work content and skills, health, pressure and outside control (cf Vorbrücken 1984, Brandt et al 1981).

There is a big deficit in respect of the institutional preconditions for an integrated policy of technology with a human face. Technical-economic developments and their impact on the number and quality of jobs should be analysed, and conditions and pressures of work should be surveyed systematically.

Many problems which are created by new technology in the production sector could be touched only upon briefly in this Report. They can be solved only if all concerned play their part: employers, employees, politicians, scientists.

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**LEGAL AND
CONTRACTUAL
LIMITATIONS TO
WORKING TIME**

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Reflections on the reorganisation of working time, as well as on our study concerning the legal and contractual limitations to working time have to be situated in the framework of the overall discussion of "flexibility", in the sense of a rapid (?) adaptation of the factor "labour" to the changing conditions of the market in its broadest sense as well as in the framework of the debate on the reduction of working time. The discussion on flexibility is undoubtedly getting most of the attention.

Different kinds of flexibility can be distinguished :

- numerical flexibility :

relates to the ease with which the number of workers can be adjusted to meet fluctuations in the level of demand. The ideal numerically flexible enterprise is the one which deploys exactly the right number of workers at each stage of the fluctuations. This may mean the easing of hiring and firing; more part-time, temporary work, (atypical forms of work), contracts for a definite period, replacement, contracts on call, subcontracting and the like ... The end result is thus that at any time the number employed/working exactly match at any time the work force needed.

- functional flexibility :

is the smooth and quick redeployment of employees between activities and tasks, present and future ones, as products, services and (production) methods evolve.

- financial flexibility :

means different things :

- adaptation of pay and other employment costs to the state and supply in the external labour market; see the argument that the minimum pay of youngsters is too high to hire them; the automatic cost of living clause is looked upon by some from the same angle;
- it means equally the extent to which the pay structure reflects also individual performance, as well of the employee as of the enterprise, as well as the market rate for the skill in question.

- finally one can distinguish, although this may be overlapping partly with functional flexibility, flexibility in the organisation of working time, this is flexibility in the adaptation of the hours of work to be performed.

We will concentrate on reorganisation in the area of working time: how many hours and when.

x x x

Reorganising working time has been addressed from different points of view and covers various interests and reasons.

Trade-unions, stress the reduction of working time as a way of redistribution of available labour and thus one of the ways to solve the unemployment crisis. No need to recall the strike in the German Metalworking industry in 1984.

Employers however oppose this and insist on the contrary on the necessity of the adaptability of the enterprise to the changing demands of the market, on the urgent need to be competitive and to disconnect individual working time and the working time of the machines, of capital investment; work any time, day, night, sundays, weekend, when economically useful and indicated. Employers argue that this is the only way to secure employment and create new employment.

Some employees may want flexible arrangements part-time, temporary work, sunday work. Evaluating e.g. the Hansenne experiments, called after the Minister of Labour in my country, allowing almost everything as far as working time is concerned, provided there is an agreement between workers and their representatives, additional employees are engaged and the "experiment" is approved by the Minister himself (there are now 50 experiments), research shows that some workers doing week-end work (twice 12 hours with 36 hours pay) are happy - at least for the time being - to concentrate their work on two days and have 5 days to do other things, while others complain that family life and social contacts are jeopardised, as well as possibilities for culture and leisure are rather limited during the week.

Some governments, in order to tackle the crisis engage in certain actions with the aim of fostering the competitiveness of the enterprises and employment, thus part-time, easier contracts for a definite period, (F.R. Germany), Sunday work, annualisation (Belgium, France) and the like. One has also to add that new technologies allow for greater flexibility, work "à la carte" as well as work at home and may favour "explosion of the traditional" dinosaur enterprise toward smaller units and less group related forms of work, thus allowing for more individuality.

x x x

The purpose now of our exercise is to indicate and hopefully evaluate developments in the area of work time from the legal point of view. To examine what the legal and contractual limitations to working time are in the member states of the European Communities.

We will, for reasons of time and space, not dig into history, although this would be fascinating, since some regulations, may go back as far as the 15th and 16th century. Some were taken with the aim of tackling unemployment and promoting a better division of labour, as well as social protection. *Historia docet !*

Suffice it to repeat that French silk weavers in Lyon worked during the second Empire not less than 17 hours a day. That the Factory act of 1850 limited the weekly working time to 60 hours for men between 13 and 18 of age and for women of all ages.

Sunday rest was unknown. A Belgian law of 1889 protecting children and females set the limits at 6 days a week and 12 hours a day. For adult men no protection was foreseen in the "name of individual freedom".

One should recall developments since the First World War, the Treaty of Versailles and the first international Labour Conference in Washington setting the 48 hour week and the 8 hour day. The demand 3 times 8 (8 hours work, 8 hours leisure and 8 Hours sleep) became widely accepted; as well as Sunday rest. The 8 hour day was adopted in Germany in 1919, in France, the Netherlands in 1921 ...

The legislation which developed was essentially of a protective nature, especially for women and children and relating to the realities of mass production of workers, all starting at the same time.

Since then working time has diminished and will probably continue to diminish over the years. There is no fundamental reason why this movement should stop, depending on economic and technological progress. When I asked, last year, Irving Jones, how he saw ICI in the year 2025, as far as employment was concerned, he said : I see 350.000 people working 20 hour a week and 10.000 crazy guys like you and me, working 80 hours a week.

It is in a sense amazing that the debate over all those years has been dominated by themes which are also now familiar :

- protection of the health of the employee, also against himself;
- international competition;
- increasing productivity;
- freedom of labour;
- leisure time, family life.

Lately however great emphasis has been laid on the battle against unemployment through reorganising the working time (reduction and/or flexibility or both).

Interesting is also to watch the evolving relationship between the law and collective bargaining as ways to determine the exact amount and the when of working time. It is selfevident, the greater the diversification of products, services and techniques the less the law can do and the more collective arrangements have to be negotiated at lower levels, close to the enterprise.

Topical are at present discussions on :

- reduction of working time;
- shift work, also for economic reasons;
- sunday work;
- night work;
- annualisation of work (the flexible work week, to be organised and be calculated in such a way that over the year a given average of worked per week (see France, Belgium));
- part-time;

- temporary work;
- overtime;
- the role of representatives of employees and of the labour inspection.

x x x

Our comparative study then will concentrate, by way of national reports, on the state of the union (where are we, where are we going) regarding legal and contractual limitation to working time.

We will concentrate on :

I. (legal) sources : acts of parliament, collective agreements, eventually work rules (at plant level).

In order to have a "minimum" of contact with reality, we will examine collective agreements in four sectors of industry; two blue collar sectors (metals, textile) and two white collar sectors (banking and insurance) and agreements or arrangements (work rules included) at enterprise level, 4 enterprises from the same sectors, as indicated (metals, textile, ...)

II. Secondly we will, in order to avoid misunderstandings, engage into the meaning of the notions we use: as such, the notions : working time, full-time, part-time, temporary work, ...

III. We then examine the content of the legal and contractual limitations, as well the general rules (e.g. 8 hours a day), as the exceptions (e.g. 9 hours in a 5-day week; 12 hours in case of continuous work ...).

We consecutively pay attention to :

- the duration of working time, per day, week, month year;
- the limitation of work during certain days or periods, sunday, holidays, annual vacation, night work, motherhood, parental leave, justified leave of absence (marriage, witness before a court, and the like);
- certain categories of persons (youngsters, women, retired employees);

- part-time;
- temporary work;
- shift work.

IV. We then examine possible recent measures introducing flexibility in working time, as well as reduction in working time.

V. Finally we engage in a evaluation of flexibility versus social well being; looking for the balance of what is economically necessary and socially (from the human point of view) desirable. We will also look at the ways through which changes should be introduced.

Each national report will contain a short bibliography.

Following colleagues have accepted to write a national report :

Belgium : R. Blanpain

Denmark : P. Jacobsen

France : J. Rojot

FR Germany : M. Weiss

G. Britain : B. Hepple

Greece : T. Koniaris

Ireland : M. Redmond

Italy : T. Treu

The Netherlands : M. Rood

Portugal : M. Pinto

Spain : F. Rodriguez Sanudo

OUTLINE : LEGAL AND CONTRACTUAL LIMITATIONS TO WORKING TIMECONTENTI. SOURCES

- A. Legislation (Acts of Parliament ...)
- B. Collective Agreements
 - a. Interindustrywide - Regional
 - b. Industrywide
 - 2. blue collar sectors
 - metalworking industry
 - textile industry
 - 2. white collar sectors
 - banking
 - insurance
 - c. Enterprise level
 - 2 enterprises (metalworking - textile industry)
 - 2 enterprises (banking - insurance)
- C. Work rules (enterprise level)
 - a. In general (1)
 - b. 4 enterprises (content of work rules)

II. DEFINITIONS

- A. Working time
- B. Full-time. Part-time
- C. Temporary work

III. CONTENT OF LIMITATIONS

- A. Duration (minimum - maximum)
 - 1. Daily
 - a. In general

(1) Does the law say that work rules should say anything on working time ?

- 1) Legislation (Acts of Parliament ...)
 - 2) Collective Agreements
 - 3) Work rules
 - b. Exceptions
 - 1) Conditions
 - 2) Overtime
 - 3) Rest
 - 2. Weekly
 - a. In general
 - 1) Legislation (Acts of Parliament ...)
 - 2) Collective Agreements
 - 3) Work rules
 - b. Exceptions
 - 1) Conditions
 - 2) Overtime
 - 3) Rest
 - 3. Monthly
 - a. In general
 - 1) Legislation (Acts of Parliament ...)
 - 2) Collective Agreements
 - 3) Work rules
 - b. Exceptions
 - 1) Conditions
 - 2) Overtime
 - 3) Rest
 - 4. Annually
 - a. In general
 - 1) Legislation (Acts of Parliament ...)
 - 2) Collective Agreements
 - 3) Work rules
 - b. Exceptions
 - 1) Conditions
 - 2) Overtime
 - 3) Rest
- B. Certain days - periods
- 1. Sunday rest
 - a. In general
 - 1) Legislation (Acts of Parliament ...)
 - 2) Collective Agreements

- b. Exceptions
 - 1) Conditions
 - 2) Overtime
 - 3) Rest
 - 2. Holidays
 - Idem
 - 3. Annual vacation
 - a. In general
 - 1) Legislation (Acts of Parliament ...)
 - 2) Collective Agreements
 - b. Exceptions
 - 4. Night work
 - Idem
 - 5. Motherhood
 - Idem
 - 6. Parental Leave
 - Idem
 - 7. Justified Leave of Absence
- C. Certain Persons
 - 1. Youngsters
 - a. In general
 - b. Exceptions
 - 2. Women
 - Idem
 - 3. Retired employees
- D. Part-time
 - 1. Form - Conditions
 - 2. Remuneration
- E. Temporary work
 - 1. Duration
 - a. In general
 - 1. Legislation (Acts of Parliament ...)
 - 2. Collective Agreements
 - b. Exceptions
 - 2. Forms
- F. Shift-work
 - 1. Duration
 - 2. Conditions
 - 3. Overtime

IV. RECENT MEASURES INTRODUCING REORGANISATION OF WORKING TIME

e.g. Belgium

- A. Annual Working Time
- B. Hansenne Experiments
- C. Part-time Work
- D.

V. EVALUATION : REORGANISATION OF WORKING TIME AND SOCIAL WELL-BEING

Identify, if necessary, on the basis of an inquiry of employers associations' - trade unions which "rules", "practices" should be eliminated or rendered more flexible; or, which rules or practices, constitute a necessary element for safeguarding of health, safety, adequate familial and social life as well of the social rights of workers. Attention will also be paid to ways of introducing new forms.

VI. SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHYMETHOD

1. National Reports of maximum 50 pages double space

Belgium

Denmark

France

F.R. Germany

Great Britain

Greece

Ireland

Italy

Luxembourg

The Netherlands

Portugal

Spain

2. Timing 9 months

**REPERCUSSIONS OF
THE NEW FORMS OF WORK
ON LABOUR LAW
AND SOCIAL SECURITY**

Yota Kravaritou-Manitakis,

Faculty of Law,
University of Thessaloniki

April 1986

IV. RECENT MEASURES INTRODUCING REORGANISATION OF WORKING TIME

e.g. Belgium

- A. Experimental
 B. Household Experiments
 C. Industrial Experiments
 D. Other Experiments

ON LABOUR LAW AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Identify, if necessary, on the basis of an inquiry of employers associations' - trade unions which "rules", "practices" should be eliminated or rendered more flexible, or, which rules or practices, constitute a necessary element for safeguarding of health, safety, adequate familial and social life as well of the social rights of workers. Attention will also be paid to ways of introducing new forms.

VI. SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHYMETHOD

- National Reports of maximum 50 pages double space
 - Belgium
 - Denmark
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 - Great Britain
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 - Spain

2. Timing 9 months

April 1988

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General outline

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I New forms of work and change in employment relations systems

The extraordinarily rapid expansion of new forms of work in all the Member States, based on an employment relationship which is unorthodox in comparison with the typical, classical, inflexible one we are familiar with, has given rise to a proliferation of standards and a new classification of the types of work contracts. While the new forms appear in the context of the crisis, under the pressure of increased unemployment and the new technology, to be meeting the demand of undertakings for more flexibility in management and cheaper labour, the provisions regulating it are not always consistent with the principles governing labour law. Although they are highly imaginative, ensuring the flexibility so much desired by undertakings, these provisions give workers less protection than that provided for under labour law rules and very often deny them the basic minima traditionally guaranteed by the social security system.

Labour law, which is being overrun by the new forms of work in all the Member States, is now undergoing transformations which vary in significance from one country to another. It finds itself, in fact, required to incorporate a number of new forms of work while being, at the same time, threatened by the different, flexible reasoning which inspires them.

Before going into this study of the problems of impact of atypical work on labour law and social security, it needs to be pointed out that these legal changes are expressing the most profound transformations which the employment relationships system of the Member States is undergoing. These transformations are always linked to the new forms of work, firstly because they have often required drastic intervention by the unions or the State to regulate them, have them accepted, and establish them, and secondly because the majority of those providing their services in the new ways belong to the new social groups (the new minorities), such as women, young people, foreigners, and students, who are at the same time defending a different concept of life and work. It is in this framework that labour law and social security are experiencing the repercussions of the new forms of work.

II The new forms of work with respect to labour law and social security

2.1 Labour law covers only a part of atypical employment relationships

"New forms of work" means the forms covering an atypical employment relationship, ie a relationship which is not of indefinite duration, full-time, on the undertaking's premises.

In what we call new forms, we do of course find forms of work we have long been familiar with, such as definite duration work and home work. What is new is the unprecedented, inexorable growth of some forms of atypical work in all the Member States. This has led to legal recognition of some new forms of work, at first rather timidly. It has also led to a change in mood with regard to atypical work. A shift can be seen in the attitudes of unions - almost against themselves - which were previously hostile to this kind of work.

In so far as the law intervenes to regulate the new forms which are constantly spreading, it in fact covers only a part of atypical relationships, since the new forms are also flourishing in the underground sector of work, "the black economy". There are accordingly new forms not covered by law, despite the systematic and repeated intervention to a greater or lesser extent by legislators in some countries, such as France and the Federal Republic of Germany, and there are also some which are illegal. It is also widely felt that as soon as the law succeeds in regulating one employment relationship, another atypical employment relationship arises immediately which gets round the few constraints imposed by the rules.

2.2 New forms with the future before them

The new forms of work have been considered and studied as the "intermediate forms between stable, full-time employment and being totally unemployed"⁽¹⁾; this is largely true. Most of the new forms are insecure work, instability being one of its main features, although some new forms, such as part-time work, belong to the category of stable work.

Despite the possible instability of the employment relationship they encompass, the new forms of work now appear, on a lasting basis, to have the future before them. Atypical work is only the duplicate of traditional work and merely expresses the actual development of labour law: regional colloquia and international labour law and social security congresses are now concerning themselves with it⁽²⁾.

2.3 A new category of workers

The new forms of work are thus creating a new category of workers, whose status is lower than a traditional worker's and who are much less protected. Several groups of workers come into this category whose employment relationships are not always clearly identified or defined.

The most widely-known disadvantages for this new category of workers are:

- a. less remuneration than traditional category workers;
- b. less, or non-existent protection in the event of dismissal; and
- c. fewer, or non-existent, social advantages.

For example, they cannot get paid holidays, holiday allowances or even maternity benefits (this is the case for the United Kingdom), or sufficiently long sick leave, because the nature of their work prevents their meeting social security requirements.

2.4 Erosion of the community and diversification of the regulations

The development of the new forms initially caused a division amongst workers in traditional undertakings. In the second category of workers outside undertakings, several unclearly identified groups are often found. This resulted in an increase in the types of regulations: traditional regulations, "new form" regulations as devised for those working in an undertaking and different, variable regulations for those working for an undertaking outside it. This diversity of regulations and worker categories has obvious repercussions on workers' exercise of collective rights.

2.5 Difficulties in exercising collective rights

Workers with an atypical employment relationship cannot exercise their collective rights in the same way as other workers. Firstly, for objective reasons, for example whenever they are away from the undertaking's premises, and also for subjective reasons: even when they are working in the undertaking they are often unable to participate in protecting collective interests. The explanation may lie in the instability of their situation.

We know that the growth in new forms of work and other reasons have also weakened trade union organizations outside and within undertakings. Since in most Member States workers with an atypical employment relationship are not included amongst the undertaking's staff, the undertaking may be deprived of certain representative bodies and/or a certain number of union representatives. The great difficulties in collective organization for atypical workers with no fixed workplace should also be mentioned: proof of such is given by the lack of collective agreements in most Member States.

Amongst all these, it is particularly in France and Italy that we see legal texts aiming to protect collective rights for workers with atypical relationships. In France, legislative texts provide, inter alia, that workers with an atypical employment relationship may be elected as staff representatives and carry out their duties like the other representatives. Moreover, the rules governing their appointments take priority over those governing their contracts⁽³⁾. In Italy, acknowledgement of collective rights takes place through the provisions of collective agreements, which are not as systematic as the French regulations. There are also countries, such as the United Kingdom, which do not even seem to be aware of the existence of the problem of exercising collective rights on the part of this category of so-called "marginal" workers⁽⁴⁾.

2.6 Flexibility of the new forms and rigidity of the traditional rules:
what is the problem with labour law?

The new forms of work, in full-scale development and intrusive, raise new and serious problems for labour law and social security in all the Member States. Although they appear as new forms of work aimed at making the old forms of traditional work - closer to the beginning of the 20th century - more flexible, while they, being adaptable, varied and imaginative are closer to the beginning of the 21st century, the difficulties which they give rise to concern the elimination of worker protection, the erosion of acquired rights, the discrimination they cause and the principle of equality which they ignore.

Since labour law in all the Community countries - but not, in certain respects, in the USA or in Japan - is based on public policy, and has gradually been developed to give all workers basic protection, it can only incorporate these new forms on condition that they also grant this basic protection. It is therefore wrong to think in terms of "new forms of work being opposed to labour law because this lays down the rules common to all undertakings, or because it is based mainly on collective employment relationships"⁽⁵⁾. Labour law, capitalist labour law, is there to adapt itself to undertakings' new requirements by giving all workers this basic protection. It is when the new forms do not provide this basic protection that atypical work creates difficulties for labour law and social security. Through the new forms, labour law evolves, adapts, shakes off the yoke of the old rules and is refined and enriched. It is enough if the new forms do not deny the justification for its existence⁽⁶⁾, which is to give all workers basic protection.

The answers provided by the labour law of some Member States show clearly this prospect of legal rules adapting to the new forms⁽⁷⁾, although often they are incomplete and fragmentary. The problems which the new forms of work give rise to have not yet been systematically identified and worked out. We are taken unawares in a number of respects: sometimes legislators or those negotiating collective agreements who have been concerned with regulating some new forms, such as part-time, definite

duration or temporary work, have to go back to the problem very shortly afterwards, not having been able to grasp the breadth, or extent, of the problems to be solved.

III The new forms of work "pinned down": a new classification of the types of work contract

3.1 The new classification of types

In all the Member States, whether their legal system is based on common law or civil law, we see that atypical relationships, whether regulated or not by legislation, are undergoing significant expansion and creating a new classification of work contracts.

The most important new types - or sometimes innovatory types - of contract are common to all the Member States. The best known are: definite duration contracts, part-time contracts, temporary work in its different forms, labour "on-call", home work and telework. The most "official" forms, and the variants of them which have developed on the fringes of the law, appear in different ways in each country and are sometimes illegal.

There are some countries such as the United Kingdom, Ireland and the Netherlands where there are no legal, or other, rules for the new forms, and no initiatives in this regard are being prepared. Consequently, the solutions to the problems raised by some types of atypical work contracts, even the best-known ones, are no better prepared or more comprehensive. There are however other Member States, such as the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Italy where the legislators have felt obliged to intervene in order to regulate some contracts falling within the new classification. They did this at first to find an emergency solution to the questions raised by the new forms of work they opposed, but often they had to go back to the rule-book shortly afterwards to tackle the new problems raised in the meantime.

3.2 Definite duration work contracts

This type of work contract, fairly unusual and exceptional until the beginning of the 1970s, can be seen spreading in all countries. It was also regarded unfavourably by the unions because it deprived workers of some provisions protecting them against dismissal, and other rights (such

as seniority, and conditions for the exercise of collective rights). Now, in several countries such as France, Italy and Germany definite duration contracts are in a sense being established by new legal regulations.

3.2.1 The Federal Republic of Germany

German law, while allowing definite duration contracts to be made⁽⁸⁾, laid down certain terms - and therefore restrictions - worked out in case law and aimed at preventing abuse of this type of contract.

According to the Federal Labour Tribunal⁽⁹⁾, a limitation on the duration of a work contract must be based on reasonable grounds justified by the facts. The concept of "reasonable grounds" has not been defined precisely by case law which has, however, worked out a series of cases regarded as objective grounds.

Thus definite duration contracts are authorized when employers require temporary staff to replace workers who are ill, and when they need to fix a probationary period which must not exceed six (6) months, as well as in the case of employment of artistes (musicians, singers; actors) and seasonal employment. The objective grounds justifying this type of contract also exist when it is known in advance that funds to finance a university research programme are being withdrawn, and when a teacher is recruited by a school whose staff complement is being continually reduced.

In cases where the motive is not objectively valid⁽¹⁰⁾, and where the duration of the contract cannot be determined, the contract is held to be for an indefinite period⁽¹¹⁾.

The Beschäftigungsförderungsgesetz (BFG, law on the promotion of employment) of 26 April 1985 has provisionally suspended the case law referred to above until 1 January 1990⁽¹²⁾. Article 1 (1) of the law on the promotion of employment does in fact eliminate, during this period, the requirement of objective grounds for all workers employed in an undertaking for the first time. In this case, a single limitation which cannot exceed a duration of eighteen (18) months is allowed. In all other

cases, with the exception of new recruitment, the criteria established by case law must be fulfilled.

The law on the promotion of employment favours, in general, the growth in the number of workers with an unstable employment relationship whose protection is reduced by the provisions mentioned and, at the same time, contains other, more specific, provisions aimed at encouraging recruitment by small and medium-sized undertakings. It does in fact provide that where an enterprise has been established for less than six months, and employs fewer than twenty workers, work contracts may be for a period of twenty-four months.

3.2.2 France

The evolution of definite duration work contracts in France is highly significant⁽¹³⁾. The principle being, according to and since the 1804 Civil Code, that "one's services can be offered only for a given period or undertaking", it was case law which first established the system of definite duration, indefinitely renewable contracts. It gave workers all the protection granted with indefinite duration contracts. The law of 3 January 1979 introduced for the first time a series of provisions defining definite duration contracts. It in fact introduced two categories of contract, "by nature" and "from one date to another", whatever the objective. The second category of definite duration contracts, much criticized in 1979, was restricted by the order of 5 February 1982 and the decree of 26 February 1982 which introduced significant reforms to the previous regulations. Definite duration contracts became the exception which was tolerated. The legislators drew up a restrictive list of the cases where they could be used, ie only in the event of a worker's temporary absence, or suspension of his contract, an exceptional and temporary increase in activities, occasional jobs defined in advance and not long-lasting, work which is temporary by nature and when vocational training is being carried out.

Definite duration contracts have to be for short periods of six or at most twelve months, according to the circumstances. They cannot be renewed.

If the parties to the contract do not comply with these binding rules, the work contract is not null and void; instead, it is re-classified as a traditional indefinite duration work contract.

Not even these rules appear now to meet the requirements of undertakings and reforms are to be expected which extend the criterion to this type of contract. During the negotiations on flexibility, which failed twice, this new relaxation was proposed in the Protocol on the adaptation of conditions of employment (Point 5, under the title "differentiated work").

3.2.3 Italy

In Italy, definite duration work contracts were first regulated by Law 230 of 1962, which authorized the use of this type of contract only in clearly-defined cases, limited to seasonal work, replacing an absent worker, the nature of the work, and entertainments. Its provisions have been applied restrictively in case law, which has caused the legislators to intervene in order to make the use of definite duration contracts easier in some circumstances⁽¹⁴⁾. The number of criteria has grown. Henceforth, on the basis of Laws No. 918 of 3 February 1978 and No. 598 of 26 November 1979, such contracts may be used in the case of extra work for an undertaking for short periods in branches where the employer has to cope with demand at peak periods: tourism, commerce and services. A law of 1983 (No. 79) extends this authorization to other branches and another law, of 1984 (No. 273), extends it to a significant category of workers, women.

3.3 Part-time work

Part-time work is expanding rapidly on a wide scale, since although it appears to be the only way some categories of workers, particularly women, who represent about 90% of part-time workers, can get into the labour market, it also corresponds to very strong demand on the part of employers. The reduction in the working day has resulted in people's working harder - normally without earning any more - and part-time

contracts enable employers to manage employment more successfully. The outcome of this has been a spate of laws which, in most Member States, are adopted in order to define this form of atypical work which already existed, but without being as important as it is today.

3.3.1 Spain

Spain appears to be the first Member State to regulate part-time work by means of legislation⁽¹⁵⁾. Under the terms of article 12 of the Statuto de los trabajadores, a part-time worker is:

- a. one who does his job in a set number of hours per day which is less than two-thirds of the normal working day; or
- b. one who does his job in a certain number of days per year, per month or per week when the job is one for a determined period which normally recurs.

The law does not fix a minimum period of work. Part-time contracts have to be made in writing and registered with the Employment Bureau. Social security contributions are calculated, under the law, in accordance with the actual number of hours or days of work. With this provision, an exemption is introduced to social security law, according to which contributions must always be paid on the basis at least of the guaranteed minimum multi-sector wage, regardless of how many hours are worked each day.

3.3.2 France

In France, legislation is very favourable to part-time work⁽¹⁶⁾. This form of atypical work was regulated for the first time by Order No. 82-271 of 26 March 1982, which specifies the undertakings which can make use of part-time work, the workers who can work part-time, and the form and content of the contract. It also regulates the conditions for the duration of part-time work. It cannot exceed a weekly or monthly ceiling equal to four-fifths of the statutory or agreed work period. Although the law fixes a maximum period, no minimum is laid down. Through the regulations for part-time work, the general rules concerning social security contributions and the calculation of numbers of staff are waived⁽¹⁷⁾. Thus the contributions paid for two half-time workers will

not be higher than those paid for a full-time worker if the total of the two half-time wages is equal to one full-time wage. As regards the minimum period, we should point out that there is a provision enabling workers who want to qualify for social security benefits to require their employers to give them enough hours (aggregation of two or more part-time jobs) to meet social security requirements.

Part-time workers benefit from all the collective rights to which full-time workers are entitled. They can vote, and stand for office, in elections to appoint staff representatives and works councils; where the period of work is less than 20 hours per week or 85 hours per month, part-time workers are included in undertakings' staff totals, but in proportion to the ratio between the timetables specified in the work contract of the establishment. Undertakings enjoy considerable freedom in allocating working time, over the day, week, month or even longer periods. Another form of atypical work has also emerged: alternating work. This is organized by airlines: aircrew who so wish may work one month, take the next month off, and resume work for one or two months. Although this solution is outside the provisions on part-time work it uses the same reasoning and is not illegal. Problems arise, however, with regard to the calculation of staff totals and the payment of social security contributions, which may also become complicated because the workers - as agreed - do not receive any remuneration, or any compensation whatsoever when they are not working.

3.3.3 The Federal Republic of Germany

In the FRG, making use of part-time work is highly advantageous to the employer. Although the part-time worker works harder than a full-time worker, because his trade union representation is poor he often receives a lower wage than that corresponding to the period he works⁽¹⁸⁾. With no allowances for overtime, by virtue of the predominant case law of the Federal Labour Tribunal⁽¹⁹⁾, the part-time worker is also excluded from retirement pensions and sickness and unemployment benefits when the period he works is shorter, and, possibly, his wages are lower than a specific threshold mentioned in the Social Code (Sozialgesetzbuch, IV)⁽²⁰⁾.

Although it is aimed at making part-time work more attractive, the 1985 law on the promotion of employment has scarcely improved workers' fortunes⁽²¹⁾. This law imposes the obligation, in paragraph 2, subparagraph 1, on employers to treat part-time workers like full-time workers, "unless objective reasons justify different treatment." Although long recognized by the courts, this principle was not backed up by specific regulations on the matter of discrimination against women, even though they represent 90% of part-time workers in the FRG. In addition, the law leaves it to the courts to determine the objective reasons likely to justify different treatment, thus permitting departures from the principle of equality of treatment for part-time and full-time workers⁽²²⁾.

On the other hand, the law on the promotion of employment attenuates considerably the problems raised by one specific form of part-time work, ie job sharing⁽²³⁾.

Under this form of contract, the worker who shared a job was required to do all the work if the person with whom he shared the job was absent. The law mentioned above put an end to this obligation, except where it was the subject of a specific contractual agreement and in the case of urgent need on the part of the undertaking. In the latter case, the worker is obliged to effect replacement only if this can reasonably be required of him.

In the event of dismissal or resignation of one of the partners, the employer could also dismiss the other and recruit a new team. Under the 1985 law, such a dismissal is invalid, and the employer is entitled only to transfer the worker.

3.3.4 Italy

Until very recently, part-time work in Italy was supported neither by the trade unions nor by the legislators. The number of workers with part-time contracts was restricted mainly to small and medium-sized undertakings. The legal basis for these contracts was the principle of contractual autonomy and the right to freely engage in work. Since the demand for

this type of contract on the part of a number of large undertakings has increased substantially over the last few years, a new law has been promulgated which regulates this type of contract (273/1984)⁽²⁴⁾. Workers who want to work half-time have to register and state the type of work and hours. The collective agreements which in Italy regulate part-time work in detail have to lay down the precise conditions whereby a full-time contract may become a part-time one. Part-time workers are included amongst the staff and enjoy social security benefits in proportion to the time worked.

3.4 Temporary work

Temporary work, a new form which is also expanding, in some countries such as Spain⁽²⁵⁾, Greece and Italy⁽²⁶⁾ - in the last since very recently - arouses suspicion and is not accepted: temporary work agencies are banned. The Spanish law, "Lo Statuto de los trabajadores", in article 43(1), states clearly: "it is forbidden to recruit or engage workers to hire them out or transfer them temporarily to an undertaking".

However, the loaning of staff exists there, in various forms which are not always clearly defined. This is also the case in the United Kingdom as regards the "loan of worker"; this is not widely used but is sometimes practised among white collar workers, for example teachers, and certain types of skilled workers⁽²⁷⁾. However, even in the countries mentioned above, and despite the bans, there are some companies which provide staff for the organization of congresses and meetings or workers specializing in the hotel business and similar services. They work despite the prohibitions.

The temporary work system is completely different in countries like the Federal Republic of Germany, France or Belgium, where it is accepted and regulated by law. In the first two countries, temporary work became subject to regulations for the first time in 1972, and in Belgium, provisionally, in 1976.

German law⁽²⁸⁾, - which also provides for the loan of workers by way of exception and on a temporary basis by their employers to another undertaking - has authorized the activities of temporary work agencies since 1972 with the law on hiring out personnel (Arbeitnehmer-überlassungsgesetz). This regulates, inter alia, both the relationships between the undertakings concerned and temporary workers, and the relationships between these workers and the undertakings employing them. This legislation is supplemented by the very recent law on the promotion of employment, which extends the duration of temporary workers' engagements from three to six months for any engagement carried out before 1 January 1990. It also makes two other modifications to the 1972 law by removing from its scope the hiring out of staff within groups of companies and hiring out within the same branch of industry when it is intended to avoid short-time work and dismissals.

Temporary work in France⁽²⁹⁾, which the legislators had accepted at the beginning as an emergency short-term solution, has expanded so much that Order No. 82-131 of 5 February 1985 was adopted in order to restrict this unstable form of work. It lays down restrictions on the situations where an undertaking is entitled to make use of temporary work, whether the transfer contract and the temporary work contract are definite or short duration contracts, and it also lays down civil law penalties for undertakings in the event of fraud. Proposals have been put forward for reviewing these regulations and have led to a significant reduction in temporary work. There exist other contracts, which are also based on a tripartite relationship, and which are aimed at providing services more complex than the mere provision of labour. Thus in France there are sub-contracting contracts, service contracts and "renting" contracts. It is often difficult to draw the limits between these contracts and the mere provision of labour for financial gain. Similar cases are found in the other Member States: where temporary work is concerned, legality is constantly brushing against illegality.

3.5 "Labour on call": the problems of work "on demand"

Work "on demand" is another form of atypical work which creates a host of legal problems. The potential worker puts himself at the disposal of the employer, who may call on him at any time. This type of work, which is not popular with the unions, is spreading in some branches of industry, commerce, services, air transport, the hotel industry and tourism.

One of the specific problems encountered by this category of workers is that of waiting for work and not being called on, or not being called on enough, to work. What of this waiting time, which may be too long? Should the worker receive "basic remuneration", since he is at the employer's disposal? Can any relationship with the unemployment benefits system be envisaged, and under what conditions? "On-call" work is dealt with differently from one country to another. In Belgium, this type of atypical work is not lawful. In the Netherlands⁽³⁰⁾, since the legislators have not yet intervened to regulate the new forms of work which are flourishing there as they are elsewhere, very interesting and imaginative solutions have been put forward and worked out in case law. As regards "on-call" work, a distinction may be made between two types of work contract. In the first kind, the worker is put at the employer's disposal: this is really a "pre-contract". The second contract comes into existence as soon as the worker is taken on to carry out the work requested by the employer: this is a normal work contract. In practice, these two contracts fuse together and result in a "minimum-maximum" contract which may bring in work for a period of 0-40 hours per week. The existence of this contract for "on-call" work does not solve the problems of waiting, or work for such a short period that it does not enable "on-call" workers - most of whom, in this case too, appear to be women - to qualify for the minimum benefits granted by labour law and the social security provisions.

3.6 Regulating flexible work: KAPOVAZ

Although new regulations on work, based on the logic of flexibility and the requirements of the economic units to which workers are bound, are constantly emerging in undertakings in all countries, we find, on the other hand, that there are only very few legislative texts regulating flexible work proper.

Legislators in the Federal Republic of Germany, in the law on the promotion of employment (BFG)⁽³¹⁾, have dealt with working hours which vary according to the enterprise's needs (Kapazitätsorientierte Arbeitszeit, or KAPOVAZ), creating various problems for the workers⁽³²⁾. Uncertainty about working time requires them to be permanently at their employers' disposal, thereby preventing their organizing their free time (protection of the worker's personal lifestyle) and possibly preventing also their entering into another part-time work contract in order to earn an income which meets their needs.

Where a worker must provide his services in accordance with the amount of work at the time, in the case of KAPOVAZ, the BFG lays down three conditions:

- a. the work contract must specify the period of work, so this is not work "on-call";
- b. the worker is obliged to work only when he is notified four days in advance. Otherwise he is not required to provide his services, unless he wishes to and if at the same time he wants to keep his job;
- c. the worker cannot be called in for very short periods of work: each work assignment must be for at least three consecutive hours.

3.7 Home work and its new forms: telework

This type of work was already known and regulated in the Member States in a rather rudimentary fashion. More and more use is being made of home work, and it is creating new legal problems⁽³⁴⁾. In some countries, such as France and Germany, home workers are treated in the same way as other

workers. This category's working conditions - with the place of work at home a long way from the undertaking, no supervision of work by the employer and the right to choose one's own working hours and time spent at work - brings them closer to the self-employed⁽³⁵⁾. On the other hand, the home worker, who has no capital, is employed by the employer and at the employer's request. If such demand ends, home workers are not covered by unemployment benefits. In fact, although the number of home workers is rising, they are in an increasingly precarious situation. The isolated nature of home work - and perhaps also the independent mentality which characterizes it - prevents workers from organizing themselves collectively⁽³⁶⁾ and claiming the basic protection granted to other categories of workers. The problems to be solved concern their status, their working conditions and social security.

Apart from workers who leave an undertaking to do the same work at home (textiles) under different terms, it is telework which is causing this old form of work to reappear in a striking way. Neither industrial nor manual work, it is covered in most countries by the old regulations for home work, despite substantial differences, for example the checks carried out by the central labour bureau effected at home.

3.8 Questions also raised at Community level

Atypical work relationships raise some questions which can also be discussed at Community level. Are we, through "differentiation", going to accept discrimination amongst the various categories of workers? If not, how can differentiation be based on equality, a principle which is enshrined in all the legal systems of the Member States? How can equal treatment be ensured in, for example, social security rights? How can the criteria for proportional equality be fixed in comparison with work provided in a "differential" way? Should minimum benefits be fixed? Can a percentage be fixed of the volume of work intended for the work in each undertaking? Are the workers in the undertaking concerned entitled to have their say on atypical work and are the workers doing this work happy with it? Can these questions be tackled through negotiations at enterprise level?

IV Legal methods and techniques for adaptation

4.1 Classical methods

Adapting labour law to the new forms of work in the Member States, that is to say relaxing the rules applicable to employment relationships, "this adaptation to the enterprise's requirements, or flexibility"⁽³⁷⁾, varies from one country to another according to the specific characteristics of labour law and employment relationships⁽³⁸⁾.

In so far as this adaptation can be described in general terms, it can be said that at the beginning it is expressed first by case law, which finds itself forced to modify slightly the inflexible rules for the protection of the employment relationships. This may be the case, for example, of the criteria worked out by German case law on definite duration contracts. Next comes legislative intervention, particularly in legal systems where the law of a State system occupies a dominating position in the whole body of labour law rules; this is being used more and more. In this connection, reference may be made to the French law of 3 January 1979, the first law on definite duration contracts. Adaptation is also achieved through collective negotiations and the conclusion of collective covenants and agreements at national level. This may be the case in Belgium and the collective multi-sector agreement of 13 February 1981 on working time⁽³⁹⁾.

This path towards adaptation is also, and mainly, pursued at the level of enterprises, in all the Member States. In addition, in view of the problems created by the economic context of the crisis and also the "docility" of workers and/or the weakening or even the nonexistence of trade union organizations in undertakings, agreements within undertakings work out and express all the forms of "adaptation rules", which may however be at variance with the general principles underlying labour law. An extreme example of this is the right to a job in an undertaking, which may be exercised either by a woman who is already employed, or by her husband in her place if he were to lose his job⁽⁴⁰⁾.

4.2 New ways

This adaptation of labour law to new requirements is sometimes achieved by techniques and processes which are completely new compared to the way labour law is traditionally worked out, as in the case of the Italian "negotiated laws" method.

We are of course familiar with the social planning or collective agreement methods (multi-sector agreements) in the form in which we have already met them in the United Kingdom (the social contract), France, Belgium and Spain. In the last-named country, labour law has already succeeded in providing some new answers through national tripartite agreements such as the 1981 National Agreement on Employment, the 1982 Montcloa pact and the 1984 Economic & Social Agreement. In Italy, a new regulating process would appear to be developing, in that the State no longer merely provides the framework within which negotiations take place, giving them its support and intervening only as the State to sign the agreement, but in so far as it also takes part in the negotiations as a private party, as the third party equal to the other two. It is also in this capacity that it signs collective agreements. These are new collective agreements for Italy which do not lay down minimum benefits, as used to be the case, but instead the maxima, in accordance with the principle that matters dealt with at national level are not negotiated within undertakings. This is a new path to agreements, which although it does not bring together all the trade union organizations - as was the case in 1983 with the Scotti agreement⁽⁴¹⁾ - will enable the Italian socialist government to promulgate a decree containing the main features of the 1985 agreement⁽⁴²⁾ and, as far as we are concerned and interests us, leads to a relaxation of the conditions for taking people on or regulating part-time work.

4.3 The problem of the hierarchy of sources

Although the labour market "continues to be dominated by the legal principles of capitalism"⁽⁴³⁾, labour law must nevertheless evolve in accordance with the new economic context and the requirements of

undertakings; this causes new problems to arise and solutions far removed from a certain concept that had been formed of labour law, such as the problem of the hierarchy of sources.

Can a collective agreement grant exemptions at the bottom end of the scale, for the worse? To what extent can it undermine the minimum protection guaranteed by legal provisions? It is clear that in Italy, in view of recent developments, the concept and function of collective agreements are both changing. This does not however appear to be the case in the Federal Republic of Germany, where according to the predominant view in legal literature collective agreements must always be more favourable to the workers.

But if the concept of collective agreements, the prevailing notion that decrees that they should be more favourable to the workers, is the result of a cultural past, how can their relationship with labour laws and individual work contracts be determined? On the basis of which criterion? What does "more favourable" imply in the new circumstances? There is no guarantee that the collective agreement as a source of standards which it imposes on individual contracts still continues to be more favourable, and a priori preferable for the workers of our era⁽⁴⁴⁾. What then is the new hierarchy of standards which is taking shape and what is the content of its criterion?

What are the techniques which enable the old reasoning to be nullified? It has been seen that the most drastic means is intervention by legislators who may be unaware of the criteria worked out in case law when they enact new rules more flexible still, always for the sake of improving employment. But collective agreements lend themselves just as readily to adapting provisions to the economic realities, so what can their scope be? Where is the hard core of labour law which they cannot affect?

And, finally, what is the role of the trade union organizations in this process of adapting or transforming labour law?

V A new role for negotiations and the trade unions

5.1 Negotiations: towards new conquests

The role of collective negotiations is undoubtedly changing in all countries. A major re-organization seems to be under way, but also seems to be taking place between the part of labour law which is fixed by State law and that moulded by negotiations.

Admittedly, the role of legislation prevails in all the Member States, and in European countries in general; this is not the case in the USA, where the body of collective agreements is paramount in labour law. However important the role of collective agreements may be in the Member States, particularly in the United Kingdom⁽⁴⁵⁾, Italy, Ireland and Denmark, they are always centred on the body of legislation, with, for the last few years, the aim not merely of improving it but also of modifying it and encroaching on its ground. These new potentialities - or perhaps necessities - for collective negotiations and collective agreements in Europe⁽⁴⁶⁾ underline the role the unions must play in this "re-shaping" of labour law.

Particular mention should be made of the collective agreements reached by trade union organizations acting at national level, without of course ignoring those whose field of action is at the level of undertakings where, however, negotiations are not always conducted through the unions. At this level, employers do in fact often prefer works committees or councils, in countries where there exists a twofold system for representing staff (as in France, for example). In addition, new unions are being established, such as the independent unions in Italy, which are clearly distinct from the "traditional" union organizations, and which negotiate on matters involving work and its new forms at national level.

5.2 Trade unions and negotiations

How have the trade union organizations, on the one hand "surprised" by the constraints imposed on workers as a result of economic and technological developments and, on the other, involved in the process of re-defining their strategies and objectives, behaved with regard to the development of the new forms of work and the issues affecting flexibility? The way they behave, and the specific proposals they have made - as they have appeared in negotiations whether successful or not - vary considerably from one country to another⁽⁴⁷⁾.

At first sight, the most effective unions appear to be the Italian, German, Belgian and Spanish unions.

The German unions, who are the most militant, despite their traditionally conservative and integrationist ideology, separating them clearly from the French, Italian or Belgian unions⁽⁴⁸⁾, have conducted the fiercest struggle in Europe to reduce working hours and this is also linked to adjusting working hours⁽⁴⁹⁾.

Whereas the Italian unions were formerly poles apart from the German unions because of their ideology (the class struggle) and their practices (confrontation in employment relationships) they now seem to be quite close to them. Firstly, because of the steps they have taken in order to deal better with, amongst other things, the new forms of employment, discarding the famous "garantissimo" (rock-solid guarantees) and introducing the new "controllo" (checks) system⁽⁵⁰⁾. In this context, the solutions they have proposed and the rules they have introduced through negotiations at national level no longer really express an anti-integrationist ideology; on the contrary, they introduce a system of "neocorporatism" in employment relationships. In this framework, the Italian unions have considered it necessary to "attack" workers' acquired rights - for the sake of protecting employment, the supreme good - which appears to be less acceptable to the German unions⁽⁵¹⁾.

However, two other fundamental differences need to be pointed out. The Italian trade union organizations participate - also through the 1983 and 1985 agreements mentioned above - in the execution of State power: although they are surrendering, in part, the legal provisions of protection, they have their say in the domain of fiscal and social policy (the 1983 Scotti agreement). Furthermore, the relaxing of the rules governing employment relationships "does not mean a retreat to authority wielded unilaterally and arbitrarily by the employer"⁽⁵²⁾. It means instead that protection will henceforth be supervised by the trade union organizations in the Italian "neocorporatist" system of employment relationships. In the Federal Republic of Germany, on the other hand, protection still appears to be provided first by legislation and through the State⁽⁵³⁾.

5.3 A new role for the trade unions

While amongst the trade unions of the member countries those in the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy seem to be the strongest, with some objectives to propose in response to the economic crisis and their own crisis, their contribution to the regulating of the new forms of work is different and reveals, in the case of Italy, a profound change in their role, although this is not yet properly defined, or rather not very well understood⁽⁵⁴⁾.

This change can also be seen in France, despite the fact that the negotiations on flexibility were unsuccessful⁽⁵⁵⁾. One of the important matters discussed was "differentiated" work: definite duration work, temporary work, part-time work and home work. The unsuccessful outcome of the negotiations would appear to indicate the need for a different overall union policy.

Although the trade union organizations can only accept the new forms of work which, inevitably, reduce the number of workers who enjoy acquired rights won as a result of trade union struggles over the past decades, while increasing that of workers in unstable jobs and the supposedly self-

employed - for the sake also of the idea that it is better to be in an unstable job than unemployed - they themselves must on the other hand obtain other important advantages for the workers (this is indispensable if they are to be supported by the rank and file). These advantages need not necessarily be calculated in accordance with the traditional reasoning of collective agreements, but may instead be linked to a re-definition of the role of the unions⁽⁵⁶⁾ in national society and a re-definition of their negotiating powers from the viewpoint of social change.

VI The research objectives

The main objective of the research is to examine the impact of the development of the new forms of work on the legal precepts of labour law and social security law.

To achieve this aim, we shall endeavour to show the new classification of types of contracts resulting from the appearance of the new forms of work, and their impact on:

- a. the working conditions of workers bound by an atypical contract;
- b. the collective rights of all workers, regardless of their status as atypical workers;
- c. social security rights, whether atypical workers have them or not.

Since in most of the Member States the new forms of work have become the object of legal regulations, the formulation of a classification of their types will require, in addition to an analysis of the regulations, a comparison of their techniques and the solutions provided by them.

In the context of this comparison, we shall try to compare the legal changes introduced by the new forms of employment between the common law and civil law countries, while drawing a distinction between the Germanic countries and the Latin countries.

By examining the effectiveness of the legal methods and techniques being used to adapt traditional labour law to the economy's new requirements, we shall also endeavour to show the role of the trade union organizations in this adaptation process.

We shall also endeavour to ascertain, in view of the "attacks" being made on the protection previously given to workers, whether a "two-speed" labour law is emerging in the Member States, or whether such law has retained its "hard core", ruling out any relaxation of its rules beyond a certain point.

Finally, being aware that "economic development is not an end in itself, but a means of attaining a social objective, namely a better life for all, particularly for the underprivileged", can we find, in the legal solutions proposed in the Member States for regulating the new forms of employment, those which do not betray the characteristics of European labour law⁽⁵⁷⁾, as it has been moulded over the course of time?

Notes

1. See International Colloquium on Crisis, Maintaining Employment and Job Sharing, *Etudes Suisses de droit européen, schweizerische Beiträge zum Europarecht*, Georg, Geneva 1984 (Geneva Colloquium). At this Colloquium the problems of atypical work for most of the Member States were presented and discussed by Däubler, Vogel-Polsky, Olea, Javillier, Ghera and Napier.
2. The second theme of the 11th Congress of the International Society for Labour Law and Social Security, held in Caracas in September 1985, was devoted to "New forms and aspects of atypical work" (Caracas Congress, Vol. II).
3. See J. Pelissier, Atypical work relationships, French report presented at the Caracas Congress (1985), pp. 540-541, also published in Droit Social, July-August 1985, p. 531 et seq.
4. Patricia Leighton, New Forms and Aspects of Atypical Employment Relationships, the Law and Practice in the UK, UK report to the Caracas Congress, loc. cit.
5. It will be seen that the debate on the relationship between labour law and the new forms of employment is often put in the wrong terms. See R. Soubie, *Après les négociations sur la flexibilité* (After the negotiations on flexibility), *Droit social*, April 1985, p. 291. See also *Les changements des structures économiques en Europe et leurs effets sur les relations professionnelles* (The changes in economic structures in Europe and their effects on professional relationships), *Travail et Société*, 1985, pp. 82-83.
6. On this proposal of a return of work relationships to an era which was rather chaotic for them, before labour law came into existence, and some endeavours along these lines, see B. Boubli, *A propos de la flexibilité d'emploi: vers la fin du droit du travail* (On the flexibility of employment: towards the end of labour law), *Droit*

- Social, April 1985, pp. 239-40, and Lord Wedderburn, The new industrial relations laws in Great Britain, Labour and Society, vol. 10, January 1985, p. 46 et seq, particularly p. 58.
7. See R. Blanpain, Ajustements structurels et relations professionnelles: aspect du droit du travail (Structural adjustments and professional relationships: the labour law aspect), Travail et Société, May 1985, pp. 197 and 206. We still have to look hard for those "rules of life" in the new forms with which "the rules of law must be in accordance".
 8. Section 620, sub-para 1 of the German Civil Code (BGB), which provides that the service relationship also ends when the period for which it was concluded ends.
 9. For an overall approach to the case law concerned see Schaub Arbeitsrechtshandbuch, 5th edn, Section 39 II.
 10. BAG (Federal Labour Court) AP no. 16, Section 620 BGB, definite duration contracts.
 11. BAG (Federal Labour Court) AP no. 60, Section 620 BGB, definite duration contracts. W. Däubler in Crisis, Maintaining Employment and Job Sharing, loc. cit. p. 25, Falkenberg, Atypische Arbeitsverhältnisse in der B.R.D., German report to the Caracas Congress.
 12. M. Iöwisch: Das Beschäftigungsförderungsgesetz 1985, Betriebs Berater, p. 18, 1985, W. Däubler and Martine Friant: Un récent exemple de flexibilisation législative: la loi allemande pour la promotion de l'emploi du 26 avril 1985 (A recent example of legislation to encourage flexibility: the German law on the promotion of employment of 26 April 1985 (to appear in the French review Droit Social)).

13. See J. Pellissier, Atypical work relationships, French national report to the Caracas Congress, loc. cit., J.C. Javillier, op. cit. p. 135, D. Marchand, Des juristes débattent de la déréglementation ... (Jurists discuss de-regulation ...), Bulletin d'Informations Sociales - BIS, 2/85, pp. 197-98.
14. See, amongst others, E. Ghera, Crisis, Maintaining Employment and Job Sharing, Geneva Colloquium, loc. cit., p. 185 et seq, same author, Diritto del Lavoro, Caccucci Editori, Bari 1985, p. 323 et seq, G. Guigni, Les tendances récentes de la négociation collective en Italie (Recent trends in collective negotiations in Italy), Revue internationale de travail, Sept-Oct 1984, pp. 649-650.
15. Alonso Olea, Crisis, Maintaining Employment and Job Sharing, loc. cit., pp. 95-96.
16. See J. Pellissier, Atypical work relationships, French report to Caracas Congress, loc. cit. p. 531 et seq, J.C. Javillier, Crisis, Maintaining Employment and Job Sharing - France, Geneva Colloquium, loc. cit. p. 126 et seq.
17. See J. Pellissier, loc. cit. p. 533.
18. W. Däubler, Crisis, Maintaining Employment and Job Sharing, loc. cit. p. 126 et seq.
19. BAG (Federal Labour Court) Betriebs Berater, 1977, p. 596, see also critiques of the doctrine: Schaub, Arbeitsrecht Handbuch Vol. I Section 44 III 2, W. Däubler, Das Arbeitsrecht 2, 2nd edition, Reinbeck 1981, p. 407.
20. Under Section 8, sub-para 1 no. 1 of the Social Code I IV, part-time workers employed less than 15 hours per week whose income is less than DM 390 per month do not qualify for medical and retirement benefits, while workers employed less than 19 hours per week are excluded from unemployment insurance arrangements.

21. M. Iöwisch, Beschäftigungsförderungsgesetz, Betriebs Berater 1985, op. cit., W. Däubler and M. Friant, op. cit., note 19. Un récent exemple de flexibilisation législative: la loi allemande pour la promotion de l'emploi du 26 avril 1985 (A recent example of legislation to encourage flexibility: the German law on the promotion of employment of 26 April 1985).
22. W. Däubler and M. Friant, op. cit.
23. On the problems concerned, see Hoyningen Huene, Rechtliche Gestaltungsmöglichkeiten beim Job Sharing Arbeitsverhältnis, Betriebs Berater 1982, p. 1240.
24. E. Ghera, Diritto del Lavoro, op. cit., pp. 315-16, and report to Geneva Colloquium, loc. cit. pp. 182-183.
25. See Spanish report from A. Olea to Geneva Colloquium, loc. cit. pp. 99-101.
26. See E. Ghera, Diritto del Lavoro, op. cit. p. 317 et seq, same author, report to the Geneva Colloquium, loc. cit., pp. 187-188.
27. See Patricia Leighton, Forms and Aspects of Atypical Relationship, the Law and Practice in the United Kingdom, Caracas Congress, loc. cit., pp. 313-314.
28. See W. Däubler, Crisis ..., loc. cit., p. 29.
29. See J. C. Javillier, French report to the Geneva Colloquium, loc. cit., p. 143 et seq, J. Pelissier, La relation de travail atypique, rapport au Congrès de Caracase (Atypical work relationships, report to the Caracas Congress), loc. cit., pp. 528-529.

30. See C. Dienand, New Forms and Aspects of Atypical Employment Relationship, Netherlands report to the Caracas Congress, loc. cit., p. 28 et seq.
31. W. Däubler, Crise, maintien de l'emploi et partage du travail (Crisis, Maintaining Employment and Job Sharing), loc. cit.
32. Hoyningen-Huene, Rechtliche Gestaltungsmöglichkeiten beim Job Sharings. Arbeitsverhältnis, Betriebs Berater 1982, p. 1240.
33. Article 4, sub-paragraph 2 BFG.
34. See the discussion held at the Geneva Colloquium on "the intermediate forms between stable full-time work and complete unemployment", particularly the contributions made by Däubler and J. Vandame, p. 303 et seq.
35. According to Eliane Vogel, "a basic minimum of social security cover should have been provided on the grounds of solidarity, with this minimum not being calculated in accordance with a rule of proportionality", ibid., p. 316.
36. Using the "new forms of work" limits or may even deprive them of their collective means of expression, for example the bodies which represent and defend their interests.
37. G. Lyon-Caen, La bataille truquée de la flexibilité (The rigged flexibility battle), Droit Social, December 1985, p. 801.
38. J. C. Javillier, Ordre juridique, relations professionnelles et flexibilité. Approches comparatives et internationales (Legal systems, professional relationships and flexibility. Comparative and international approaches), Droit Social, January 1986, p. 56.

39. See E. Vogel-Polsky, *Crise, maintien de l'emploi et partage du travail* (Crisis, Maintaining Employment and Job Sharing), Belgian report, Geneva Colloquium, loc. cit., p. 80 et seq.
40. In order for all these new adaptation "rules" to be revealed, which appear to be flourishing in small and medium-sized undertakings having difficulty in surviving, research needs to be carried out on them. The same is true for the "creative" new provisions contained in work contracts for atypical employment, such as "on-call" work or job sharing, provisions which have not yet been incorporated in the traditional or legislative way (they may also be new provisions which provide relief from legal obligations imposed by legislation or a collective agreement).
41. Signed on behalf of the workers by the Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori (CISL, predominantly Socialist) and the Unione Italiana del Lavoro (UIL, predominantly Christian-Socialist), while the Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro, mainly Communist, refused.
42. The CGIL does not agree with centralized tri-partite negotiations. It proposed adjustments to the industrial relations system to deal with the realities of the 1980s at two levels of negotiations, at sector level and undertaking level. While the measures to be taken to combat unemployment and modify the tax and social security systems are left to national tri-partite negotiations, indexing ought to be discussed only between employers and workers.
43. G. Lyon-Caen, *La bataille truquée ...* (The rigged flexibility battle ...), loc. cit., p. 809.
- 43a. G. Guigni, *Les tendances récentes ...* (Recent trends ...), loc. cit., pp. 656-7.
44. G. Lyon-Caen, loc. cit., p. 808.

45. Although over the last few years, since the Conservative Government came to power (1979), we have seen the adoption of new legislation in Great Britain which "increased legal regulation of industrial bargaining and industrial action", it "has not ... obstructed the continuance and the evolution of voluntary collective bargaining in great measure as the primary source of industrial norms". For all that, it is not easy to predict the future of collective negotiations in the United Kingdom. See Lord Wedderburn, The new industrial relations laws in Great Britain, Labour and Society, vol. 10, January 1985, p. 46 et seq, particularly pp. 58 and 59.
46. See J. C. Javillier, Ordre juridique, relations professionnelles, (Legal systems, professional relationships and flexibility), loc. cit., p. 59. See also G. J. Bamber and R. D. Lansbury, Industrial Relations and Technological Change: Towards a comparative technology? Report submitted at the European Regional Congress of the International Association of Industrial Relations, Vienna, 25-27 September 1984 and K. Tapiola, La négociation, ce qu'elle peut et ne peut pas faire (What negotiations can and cannot achieve), B.I.S. 2/85, pp. 206-7.
47. On the subject of the negotiations to be conducted by the unions in Europe as seen by the employers, see J. J. Oeschlin, Travail et flexibilité: le point de vue des employeurs (Work and flexibility: the employers' point of view), B.I.S. 2/85, pp. 203-5.
48. On the problems in Belgium posed by the changes, see F. Janssens, Belgique - La bataille salariale est une page largement tournée (Belgium - The wages battle is a chapter which is nearly over), B.I.S. 1/85, pp. 2-5.
49. See, amongst others, F. Kessler, La réduction de la durée du travail dans la métallurgie allemande et ses conséquences sur les autres branches industrielles (The reduction in working time in the German metallurgical industry and its repercussions on the other branches of industry), Droit Social, December 1985, p. 850 et seq,

- F. Furstenberg, La réglementation de la durée du travail en R. F. d'Allemagne, (Regulating working time in the Federal Republic of Germany), Travail et Société, vol. 10, no. 2, May 1985, p. 141 et seq.
50. G. Guigni, Il diritto del lavoro negli anni '80 (Labour law in the 1980s), in Giornale di diritto del lavoro et di relazioni industriale, 1982, p. 373 et seq, same author, Prospettive del diritto del lavoro per gli anni 80 (Labour law prospects for the 1980s), 1983, p. 3 et seq and Les tendances récentes de la négociation collective en Italie (Recent trends in collective negotiations in Italy), loc. cit., Runggaldier, Tendances actuelles du droit du travail italien (Current tendencies in Italian labour law), Droit Social, December 1985, p. 856 et seq, T. Treu, Recent development of Italian labour law, Labour and Society, January 1985, p. 27 et seq.
51. According to W. Däubler: "Calling social achievements into question too suddenly could give rise to uncontrollable opposition and shatter the role of the unions as agents helping to regulate society." There may also be tricky questions regarding processes. In the FRG: "Legislators have decided to favour flexibility of personnel management to the detriment of the protection of workers", loc. cit.
52. See Runggaldier, Tendances actuelles ... (Current trends ...), loc. cit., pp. 859-60.
53. With regard to the role of the unions and the Betriebsräte in German undertakings on the same questions, only a survey might be able to give us the answers.
54. In all countries, a fall in the number of union members and the proportions belonging to unions can be seen, particularly in the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands. Amongst the explanations put forward is the growing importance of services, to the detriment of industry, and the increasingly large number of women employed, for whom union policy is in no way attractive for their own claims.

Furthermore, they do not hold positions of responsibility in trade union organizations. See: *Les changements des structures économiques en Europe et leurs effets sur les relations professionnelles* (The changes in economic structures in Europe and their effects on professional relations), Travail et Société, vol. 10, no. 2, May 1983, p. 178. Admittedly, the "modernizing" of these systems should have taken into account the "women workers" category, since they are the great "consumers" of atypical work. But that does not appear to be enough: they ought to express the interests of all the social groupings and the new minorities, which also include women.

55. G. Bellier, *Après l'échec des négociations sur la flexibilité* (After the failure of negotiations on flexibility), Droit Social 1985, p. 79 et seq, R. Soubie, *Après les négociations sur la flexibilité* (After the negotiations on flexibility), Droit Social, loc. cit., p. 95 et seq/221 et seq.
56. In countries where there exist several trade union organizations with different ideologies, it is much more difficult to define a joint new trade union policy. It is common knowledge how reluctant the communist unions in Italy and France, and Spain also, are to sign agreements on flexibility and atypical work.
57. See the introduction by the Director of the I.L.O., Report on the evolution of the world of work, Geneva 1985, and also the position of O. Clark in *La flexibilité du marché du travail: les deux faces du phénomène* (The flexibility of the labour market: the two sides of the problem), B.I.S. 3-4 1985, p. 40: "Above all, it must not be concluded ... that a radical review of the social measures adopted in the last few decades needs to be carried out, even if the progress achieved in this way has led to regrettable inflexibility in the functioning of the labour market. Instead, we must endeavour, in all objectivity, to analyse each case where the lack of flexibility seems to harm the efficiency of labour, while taking account at the same time of the social value and the economic cost."

**NEW DIRECTIONS IN
WORK ORGANISATION
– EXPERIENCES
FROM CO-OPERATIVE
UNDERTAKINGS**

Eight Theses

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Thesis 1

Trends in the development of new forms of work organization in conventional undertakings and in co-operative undertakings are marked by totally different starting conditions. Whereas conventional undertakings embark on the redesign of work structures with their socio-technical system already functioning at a high level, co-operative undertakings are starting "from scratch" when they set about organizing and structuring their work to arrive at an efficient, well-ordered work situation.

Thesis 2

The classic forms of a flexibilization of work organization aimed at removing work-imposed restrictions and creating humane working conditions that leave room for individuality, as implied in the concepts of job enlargement and job enrichment, the collective extension of duties and job rotation, are mostly implemented within the framework of highly developed company structures. Giving top priority to the best possible utilization of all inputs, the conventional undertaking's aim in introducing new forms of work organization is that they will help to achieve a higher yield from the production factor "manpower" without invalidating the functional mechanisms of company command structures as affecting employees in all kinds of different forms and techniques of social control and regimentation. Consequently, these new forms of work organization are only conditionally transferable as analytical categories to the context of co-operative undertakings.

Thesis 3

Through the introduction of collective rights of ownership and disposal, co-operative undertakings endeavour to remove the structural contradiction of the relationship of capital and labour and the conflict of interests resulting from it. Here, the utilization of manpower is no longer accomplished under conventional company command structures, but takes place through the neutralization of the power of capital in a process of collective self-determination. The development of social relations with the undertaking and the elimination of conflicts are an essential

precondition for the processes of communication in which the social norms and rules of the undertaking, the shaping of its structure and the contributions that can feasibly be expected from its members are laid down. Social relations, as manifested in the ordering of social matters within the undertaking, acquire the importance of a production factor in their own right. The quality of the co-operative undertaking as a model for an order of society derives precisely from the self-image of an emotionally and socially stabilized form of organization which is able to integrate the complex subjectivity of its members in an efficient system.

Thesis 4

The process of development of alternative forms of work in co-operative undertakings depends on the mode of action of the socialization principles and mechanisms described. Given that even in co-operative undertakings the lofty and theoretical demand for an unqualified renunciation of the division of labour as a phenomenon of alienation is hardly regarded as feasible, the scope for action corresponding to the distribution and design of jobs and job content is of decisive importance for the internal coherence of the undertaking. The scope for action should be seen here as the resultant of scope for activities, decisions, control and interaction, and not taken to mean a simple cumulative sum of degrees of freedom but conceived as a complex unity. Interaction of the various dimensions produces synergistic effects which can not be deduced by summation. It is precisely the possibilities and requirements of the social dimension, as expressed in the scope for interaction, that are decisive for the development of social competence. The extent of the scope for interaction is therefore the governing factor for assessing the scope for action in the day-to-day affairs of a co-operative undertaking. Contrary to de-skilling as a result of far-reaching forms of the division of labour, skill upgrading through work in the sense of the extension and continual exercise of competence to act becomes the explicit aim of alternative work organization.

Thesis 5

The co-operative undertaking as a form of organization to be stabilized emotionally and socially by way of a social experiment runs up against deficiencies in its starting conditions which greatly influence its social and economic internal structures.

These starting conditions include:

- a. less favourable opportunities for capital procurement on the public and private capital market and, as a consequence, poor capital dotation;
- b. limited degree of technological innovation and use of out-of-date technical structures, involving more labour-intensive forms of operation which far exceed the bounds of the substitution of capital by labour intended on social-policy grounds;
- c. considerable deficiencies in the formal and actual professional skills of the member workers at the start;
- d. to some extent, contextually imposed socialization deficiencies in the population presenting itself for recruitment (more and more interested persons from socially disadvantaged categories are moving into the co-operative sector, without ever having come into contact with the requirements of a way of acting based on communication).

Thesis 6

The course of development of co-operative undertakings is marked by different phases, each representing typical problem situations in the area where social and economic considerations pull in opposing directions. Whereas in the setting-up phase the translation of the project into reality is governed, apart from the concrete requirements imposed by company law and business management, by the attempt to arrive at the procedural clarification and firm shaping of social relations within the undertaking, in a subsequent phase of economic consolidation the profitability factors and functional pressures of the market on which the undertaking is seeking to operate come to the fore and outweigh those organizational features of the co-operative undertaking which are concerned with social consideration.

Thesis 7

There are two different ways of looking at the political radius of influence of co-operative undertakings. From the viewpoint of social and employment policy, the assumption is that the alternative-economy sector is first and foremost an area for social learning and experimentation which acts as a prototype in trying out new and more efficient forms of alternative self-help but which, because of intractable deficiencies in terms of economic structure, needs a continual feed-in of resources and subsidy from government sources.

In contrast to this, a viewpoint more directly linked with economic policy emphasizes that structural deficiencies could be eliminated by giving economic policy a forward-looking slant - particularly the creation of structures embodying the principles of a democratic economy - in order to make co-operative undertakings commercially viable on the market and ensure their existence as a social and an economic experiment.

Thesis 8

The attempt to make a co-operative undertaking economically stable frequently ends up by destroying the nature of the undertaking as a social experiment. Company models, which range widely between the two extremes of "failure" and "adjustment to conventional company structures", must ensure that certain framework conditions are preserved in the sphere of social relations within the undertaking if they wish to survive as a social and economic experiment:

- a. collective agreement on the organization and execution of the undertaking's affairs (as regards both overlying business objectives and the actual organization of the work process);
- b. personal upgrading of skills through the work in the sense of an extension of cognitive and social competence as a constituent element of competence to act;
- c. a form of work organization that leaves room for individuality through the extension of scope for action in the three dimensions of scope for activities, decisions and control and also scope for interaction.

LIFESTYLE, ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND TIME USE

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Abstract

Keynesian demand stimulation policies are largely discredited as means of countering unemployment. It nevertheless seems strange to have persistent unemployment in societies in which human needs still go unsatisfied. There is a mismatch between the conditions of life in Europe, and the structure of European economics.

"Conditions of life", or "lifestyle" are very difficult to measure, official statistics largely ignore those areas of life which do not have direct connections with "the economy". Yet, this paper will argue, it is precisely "lifestyle" which, ultimately, determines the shape of economy. How is "lifestyle" to be measured? The most straightforward indicator is the population's use of time.

The paper reports on the progress of an empirical attempt to describe the change in lifestyle, and its relation to change in economic structure, through the analysis of time budget data from a number of different countries. It outlines a socio-economic accounting system through which changes in time use patterns might be linked to change in final demand and labour supply - enabling us to explore such issues as the consequences of shorter work time, or alterations in educational or retirement provisions, for levels of employment. Such a new system of accounts might be used for developing alternative "time use" policies for stimulating employment.

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 March 1986

Lifestyle, Economic Structure and Time Use

1. Time Use and Underconsumption.

It is easy to forget the paradoxical nature of unemployment. On one hand we have people, with skills and capacities, having at least the potential for the production of useful goods and services, not doing so (and also unused plant and service facilities). On the other, we have unmet needs, people living in want. There are, no doubt, good economic reasons for this mismatch, risks of inflation, threats to national balances of trade, fears of the diversion of resources in unproductive directions. But nevertheless there is a puzzle here: surely there must be some way of organising matters better?

Such feelings of puzzlement form the basis of a currently rather unfashionable diagnosis of our present economic ills - "underconsumption". The most familiar variant of this view is that promoted by Keynes. He suggested that we reformulate the puzzle. Supply does not always create its own demand: the economy may reach equilibrium at a level of effective demand (ie wants plus the ability to pay) insufficient to provide jobs for all those who want them - even though there is plenty of ineffective demand still in the society, and underutilised resources.

The solution to the problem then follows naturally. We render the ineffective demand effective, expand aggregate demand, by putting money in the poorest pockets or (in Keynes' sarcastic proposal) 'by burying currency in milk bottles down unused coalmines for unemployed miners to recover, or by useful public works, as in the American New Deal, or as a 1960s economist suggested, by scattering banknotes from a helicopter'. We will then experience the virtuous operation of Kahn's multiplier, whereby those newly employed by the

increased expenditure (or those further enriched by it) themselves spend a proportion of their consequent earnings, stimulating further jobs and more wealth, until we reach full employment. Demand expands to stimulate its own supply, a reversal of Say's law.

Unfortunately, our modern experience is that this is an altogether too underdiscriminating approach. We can stimulate demand - but we cannot control what other people spend their money on. People are quite likely to spend their money in ways that fail to generate jobs. Though there is unused capital and labour in the society, the spending pattern generated by the demand stimulation may be such that the unused resources are inappropriate. Underused steel mills are no help if the extra demand we stimulate is for videorecorders.

Technical change (particularly while there are international imbalances in technological development), and the increasingly international scale of the division of labour, make it quite likely that traditional Keynesian demand stimulation is inappropriate as a national policy tool for stimulating employment. Certainly the multiplier may have two effects, either it will create new jobs, but these will be in Taiwan, or it will create wealth for the high technology companies in California. If the economy cannot produce the extra goods or services that are demanded, they may be bought elsewhere - or alternatively the increased demand may directly increase local prices. Keynesian demand stimulation (at least when undertaken by individual national economies on their own) now seems revealed as promoting domestic inflation and foreign exchange problems. We can therefore perhaps no longer pursue Keynes' prescription. But the diagnosis - the puzzle - still remains. We have unused human capacities and unmet human needs: why cannot these be matched together?

Keynes General Theory is in fact a special case, and a rather aberrant one, of the underconsumptionist argument. The Keynesian mechanism, in which individuals' spending decisions combine to produce an automatic and balanced return to full employment, may not work. But the underlying underconsumptionist proposition - that, irrespective of the mechanism for generating jobs, there should be no unemployment while there are still unsatisfied human needs - still remains.

Consider. We live our lives alternately consuming and producing. We are born (consuming medical services, generating employment for nurses and doctors and cleaners), we are cared for during our infancy and childhood (and producing employment opportunities in various industries and occupations), then we work for money (producing goods and services for others) and take leisure and recreation (using and consuming goods and services). And then we retire from paid employment, perhaps subsequently providing some goods and services for others (our families) on an unpaid basis, and finally, as we age, we progressively require more caring services for ourselves. The precise balance between our roles as consumers of goods and services, and as producers of goods and services, is not in any sense fixed or "natural". There are laws which tell us at which ages we may enter and leave the unpaid workforce, when we must and when we may consume the services of the educational system. There are public policies which determine the accessibility of leisure facilities (and hence, for example, whether we watch television or go swimming). There may also be laws which tell us how much paid work time we can expect (maximum working week) or how many days holidays per year. Technological change may also affect this balance, as where new domestic technology makes it possible for us to produce services within our own households that previously had to be bought from outside them. An extra money also has an influence, extra money means we can buy more commodities, higher wages may mean that less time is spent in paid employment, more in leisure consumption.

Aggregate demand is the sum of all these different sorts of consumption activities; the labour supply is the aggregate of all these opportunities and constraints for participation in paid work. We can at any point in time be consuming or producing. By consuming, we provide the opportunity for others to produce; and when we do consume, we are, for the most part, not producing. There is a delicate balance; if we spend too much time consuming, there will not be enough time to produce what we need; if we spend too little time consuming, there is not enough opportunity for production, hence, unemployment.

Of course, we run into the same problem of the inappropriateness of some peoples' production time for other peoples' consumption. The marginal item of consumption is by no means necessarily the end product of the work of the

marginal worker - this is precisely the problem with Keynes' prescription: aggregate demand stimulation may stimulate the wrong sort of demand. But money is not the only way of affecting this balance between consumption and production. Consider, for example, the effects of raising the statutory school-leaving age (or precisely equivalent, a mid-life educational sabbatical): on one side there would be a reduction in the part of their lives people would intend to devote to production (ie a reduction in the labour supply), on the other, an increase in consumption (and hence an increase in the demand for labour - more jobs for teachers and ancillary workers).

In this case, the consumption is constrained, to consist of an increase in the consumption of educational services. Constraint is not, however, necessary, only predictability. We know that people with more money in their pockets, spend large parts of it in ways that generate inflationary and foreign exchange pressures; this is what stops us stimulating aggregate demand so as to generate employment. Suppose we knew that people with more spare time during the week would spend it in the consumption of local leisure and recreational services. We could then sensibly compensate employers for shorter working weeks without pay reduction, subsidise the construction of local leisure centres - promoting leisure to generate new jobs.

We will return to this sort of policy later in the paper. The point for the moment is simply the demonstration of the important effect that lifestyle, conditions of life, has on economic structure. Modern states have a wide range of influences on styles of life, many of them with the potential for affecting the balance between consumption and production activities - and hence unemployment. Keynes' version of underconsumptionism operates on just one influence on lifestyle, household income. We may be able to devise other, and more sophisticated, combinations of economic and social policy which more successfully adjust the balance.

Even to think about such radical policy alternatives, however, requires information that is far removed from the conventional economist's armoury of theory and of national income and expenditure statistics. Economists know about employment and output by industry, household incomes and household expenditure patterns. In order to devise these more sophisticated underconsumptionist (or perhaps we should call them simply "consumptionist")

policy instruments, we need information about what goes on outside "the economy". We will need to judge the effects of different sorts of public and private service provisions, of different working time regimes, of new service-providing infrastructures (thinking here particularly of telecommunications), on choices of activities. To make these judgements, we require detailed information on the nature and context of daily activity patterns. We will need information on how people spend their time, we will need theories on the determinants of time use, and we will want accounting structures for integrating the time-use, "lifestyle", data with the more conventional economic data.

There are of course other reasons for collecting and analysing time-use data. It provides almost the only empirical basis for understanding the sexual division of labour in the home, for example. Insofar as "time budget" studies provide indications of unpaid work, they are invaluable sources for economists' attempts to extend GNP to include the value of household production. Time use statistics may also provide very helpful "output" measures for evaluating the performance of service institutions. But this paper will concentrate on the potential application of time-use data in the construction of "consumptionist" socio-economic models, showing the interconnections between lifestyle and conventional economic structure.

2. An International, Intertemporal Comparison of Time Budgets

The only systematic and comprehensive source of data on time use patterns comes from "time budget studies". These consist of large random sample surveys, whose respondents complete "diaries" describing in detail their activities over a period (which varies between surveys between one and seven days). The diaries provide sufficient detail to register the duration of each activity for the respondents' periods of diary keeping, so it is possible to work out a "time budget", a comprehensive set of accounts of time allocation, analogous to the more familiar accounts of the allocation of money over a given period. A large number of such studies have been carried out; Table 1 lists 53 national-scale surveys (either national random samples, or substantial urban samples) from 23 countries - and this is certainly not a comprehensive list. (A more detailed description of the international stock of time budget data may be found in Robinson 1983, and Gershuny 1985).

Table 1

Time Use Studies in Various Countries

Country

EEC

Netherlands	1975, 1980
Belgium	1965
France	1947, 1958, 1963/4, 1966, 1967, 1974/5, 1984/5
West Germany	1965, 1979, 1979/80
Denmark	1961, 1975
U.K.	1938, 1961, 1971, 1974/5, 1981, 1983/4, 1983/4
Italy	1973, 1979

Other Europe

Austria	1981
Switzerland	1979
Norway	1971/2, 1980/1
Finland	1979
Sweden	1981/2

Eastern Europe

Poland	1965, 1978
East Germany	1965
Czechoslovakia	1965, 1979/80
Hungary	1963, 1965, 1976/7
Yugoslavia	1965
Bulgaria	1970/1, 1976/7
Soviet Union	1980

Far East

South Korea	1981
Japan	1960, 1965, 1970, 1975, 1980

North America

Canada	1971, 1981
U.S.A.	1965, 1975/6

Near East

Israel	1970
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This very large fund of survey material does not however mean that the patterns of time use, and of change in time use over historical periods, are well understood either internationally or even nationally. Any time budget data is very difficult to collect and use. The preparation of the data involves restructuring the raw survey material in a much more fundamental way than in a conventional questionnaire - the activity sequences described by respondents ("I got up at 7.15, then I ...) must be translated into a closed set of categories, and aggregated into activity totals (490 minutes of sleep, 80 minutes eating etc.). And then, since the range of possibilities for even one individual's activities is very wide, and there are a large range of different sorts of people (varying as to sex, family position, age, occupation, income, class) with quite different activity patterns, the task of describing lifestyle in even one society at one point in time, is a very complex and exacting one.

And there are further, and particularly serious, problems which plague attempts to use the fund of survey data described in Table 1 for comparative purposes. While the Table 1 surveys share a common core of methodology - the use of a diary format to record activity sequences which are subsequently aggregated into totals of time spent in activities - time budget surveys may nevertheless differ from each other in a number of ways.

- 1 They may cover different parts of the population: most, though not all, place upper and lower limits on the age of respondent; some surveys are concentrated exclusively on urban (or more rarely, rural) populations. The sampling methodology (random, stratified or quota), and the nature of the sampling frame (household or individual) also varies. Apparent differences in results between surveys may be the spurious consequences of such differences in research strategies and techniques.
- 2 The design of the diary is by no means standard. Diaries may be collected using natural language (ie the respondents' own descriptions of activities in their own words), or in fixed and precoded activity categories. They vary in length, between a day and a week; some involve a series of non-sequential days (eg one work day, and one non-work day). They may be completed by an interviewer after the diary period, or by the respondent during the period. Some diaries are now collected through the medium of telephone interviews.

- 3 The activity classification scheme may vary, so that categories such as "domestic work" mean different things in different surveys. However, in the mid-1960's there was a multinational comparative dataset collected under the auspices of UNESCO (Szalai 1973), and the coding scheme used in this exercise (while deficient in some important respects) has come to be used as a sort of de facto international standard, and many of the more recent surveys listed in Table 1 can be compared through this coding system.

- 4 A large amount of contextual information on the respondents is necessary to make sense of the time-use data. There is no standard list of the sorts of ancillary variables that should be collected for a time-budget survey, nor of the coding categories for these variables. Thus, for example, a country with no substantial urban/rural disparities, may omit some geographical variables which are indispensable to the understanding of conditions in other countries.

Despite the scope and importance of these problems, it is nevertheless possible to make some progress, both in the comparison of time use patterns over historical periods, and between countries. The difficulties listed above mean that, to be effective, attempts to make comparisons involve a return to the raw data, reconstructing and reconstituting variables, so as to arrive at a "lowest common denominator" across the various surveys. This exercise is certainly not possible for all the surveys in Table 1, since (apart from the enormous size of such a task) the data may be lost or inaccessible, or organised in such a way as to be incomparable across time or between countries.

Such a task is currently being undertaken, at the University of Bath, for seven countries, and a total of 15 surveys (Netherlands 1975, 1980, Denmark 1961, 1975; UK 1961, 1974/5, 1983/4; France 1965, 1975; Norway 1971, 1980; Canada 1971, 1981; USA 1965, 1975). Almost all of this material has now been received (only one survey, from France in 1975, is missing) and most of it has been processed (the reworked Canadian and USA data will become available at the end of April 1986); in addition, new studies are currently underway in the Netherlands, Denmark, France and the USA, which it is hoped will be added to the Archive in due course.

3. Change in Lifestyles, 1960s to 1980s

Using this material, it will be possible to put together a quite unique account of how patterns of life have been changing over recent decades in developed economies. We shall return to the question of how to link this lifestyle data to evidence on the structure of the formal economy, so as to explore the possibilities for the construction of "consumptionist" policies. But before doing so, let us briefly consider the evidence of social change that has emerged at this intermediate point in the research project.

Table 2 presents a very preliminary view of the pattern of change which emerges from the 12 surveys which have so far been processed. The first section of the table gives the average minutes per day spent in three major categories of activity - paid work, unpaid work (in a broad sense including childcare, shopping and gardening as well as routine domestic tasks), and leisure (the residual time is devoted to sleep, personal toilet and non-social eating).

There are, at this level of data presentation, no clear patterns of change, instead a rather confused picture, in which the time use averages, and the changes in them, differ between countries. Indeed, in the one case where we have three surveys of the same country, even the directions of change alters between the decades - domestic work in Britain appears to decrease through the 1960s, and then increase again during the 1970s.

In fact this confusion is not particularly surprising. Three quite different sorts of change are conflated in this one table. First, there are differences in the biases in the composition of the samples, most of the surveys, for example, contain to a varying degree a disproportionate number of women, since women seem less disinclined than men to keep diary-type records. Samples like the 1983/4 UK survey, in which women comprise almost 60% of the respondents, will tend to overestimate the amount of domestic work, and underestimate the amount of paid work, insofar as women tend to do more domestic and less paid work than men do. And where the extent of the overrepresentation differs between samples, there will emerge a totally spurious appearance of a difference in average time use. Second, there are real changes in the

TABLE 2 Work and Leisure in 7 Countries

	Paid Work		Domestic Work			All Leisure			All Work			
	1960s	1970s	1980s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1960s	1970s	1980s
Average minutes per day												
Netherlands	164	165		219	226		418	400		383	391	
Denmark	247	245		152	134		409	417		399	379	
UK	262	254	216	209	188	210	311	339	383	471	442	426
France	294			242			246			536		
Norway		236	228		250	227		312	346		486	455
Canada		234			208			362			442	
USA	292			209			326			501		
Sex Effects												
MEN												
Netherlands		118	131		-116	-129		13	17		2	2
Denmark	59	84		-92	-71		21	0		-33	13	
UK	131	109	61	-118	-103	-78	2	4	22	13	6	-17
France	137			-143			11			-6		
Norway		110	73		-115	-75		14	16		-5	-2
Canada		109			-114			19			-5	
USA	131			-122			-1			9		
WOMEN												
Netherlands		-85	-82		84	83		-9	-11		-1	1
Denmark	-59	-85		92	73		-21	0		33	-12	
UK	-119	-102	-45	105	96	59	-2	-4	-17	-14	-6	14
France	-115			120			-10			5		
Norway		-104	-67		109	69		-13	-15		5	2
Canada		-83			86			-15			3	
USA	-119			110			+1			-9		
Employment Effects												
FULL TIME												
Netherlands		186	185		-108	-110		-39	-36		78	75
Denmark	144	158		-57	-57		-52	-62		87	101	
UK	185	167	169	-118	-107	-89	-36	-17	-54	67	60	80
France	139			-105			-25			34		
Norway												
Canada		133			-90			-30			43	
USA	113			-80			-29			33		

PART TIME

Netherlands	-39	-34		62	74		-16	-36		23	40	
Denmark	-17			60			-40			43		
UK	-92	-87	-45	69	41	89	-19	-17	-49	-23	-46	44
France	-45			43			-4			-2		
Norway												
Canada		-26			9			5			-17	
USA	35			-16			34			19		

NOT EMPLOYED

Netherlands		-44	-77		56	38		17	20		12	-39
Denmark	-144	-180		57	50		52	83		-87	-130	
UK	-257	-244	-143	161	163	77	58	44	55	-96	-81	-66
France	-284			213			53			-71		
Norway												
Canada		-221			151			51			-70	
USA	-288			203			69			-85		

composition of the population over time. One component of the change in paid work over the three decades covered by Table 2, is the increase in the proportion of the population falling into the category of "employed women". This will have the effect of increasing the overall amount of paid work in the society, and also, (since employed women tend to do less housework) decreasing the amount of unpaid work. Third, there are actual changes in behaviour over time. Particular sorts of people have particular behavioural tendencies - these also influence the average time statistic, thus a further component in any reduction of time spent in domestic work, might be that particular "sorts of person" actually do less at a later point in history than at an earlier.

In order to establish how time use has actually changed in a population, it is necessary to eliminate the effects of the first category, sample biases, and then distinguish between the second two, between changes in the composition of the population on one hand, and in the behaviour of particular population subcategories on the other.

The second part of Table 2 shows some examples of the effects of belonging to particular population subcategories, in the twelve surveys. We see, for instance, that men in the Netherlands in 1975 did 118 minutes more paid work than the average, 116 minutes less domestic work and 13 minutes more leisure (also, since the length of the day is the same for men and women, presumably they slept 15 minutes less than the average). The women by contrast did 85 minutes less paid work, 84 minutes more domestic work, and 10 minutes less leisure than average. (The overall average is skewed towards womens' totals and away from the men's because the overrepresentation of women in the sample.) Figure 1 plots the broad patterns of change for men and women from the Table 2 data.

Here we see a very substantial degree of stability. The signs of the effects are, with only a very few exceptions, constant across all the surveys for each population category. The men in each of the surveys do more paid work than women, the women all do more unpaid than men, and with just one apparent exception, the women all have marginally more leisure time than men (this may however reflect a systematic underrepresentation of men's leisure time, in that breaks during paid work time tend not to be reported in time diaries). Employed people all have substantially less leisure than non-employed.

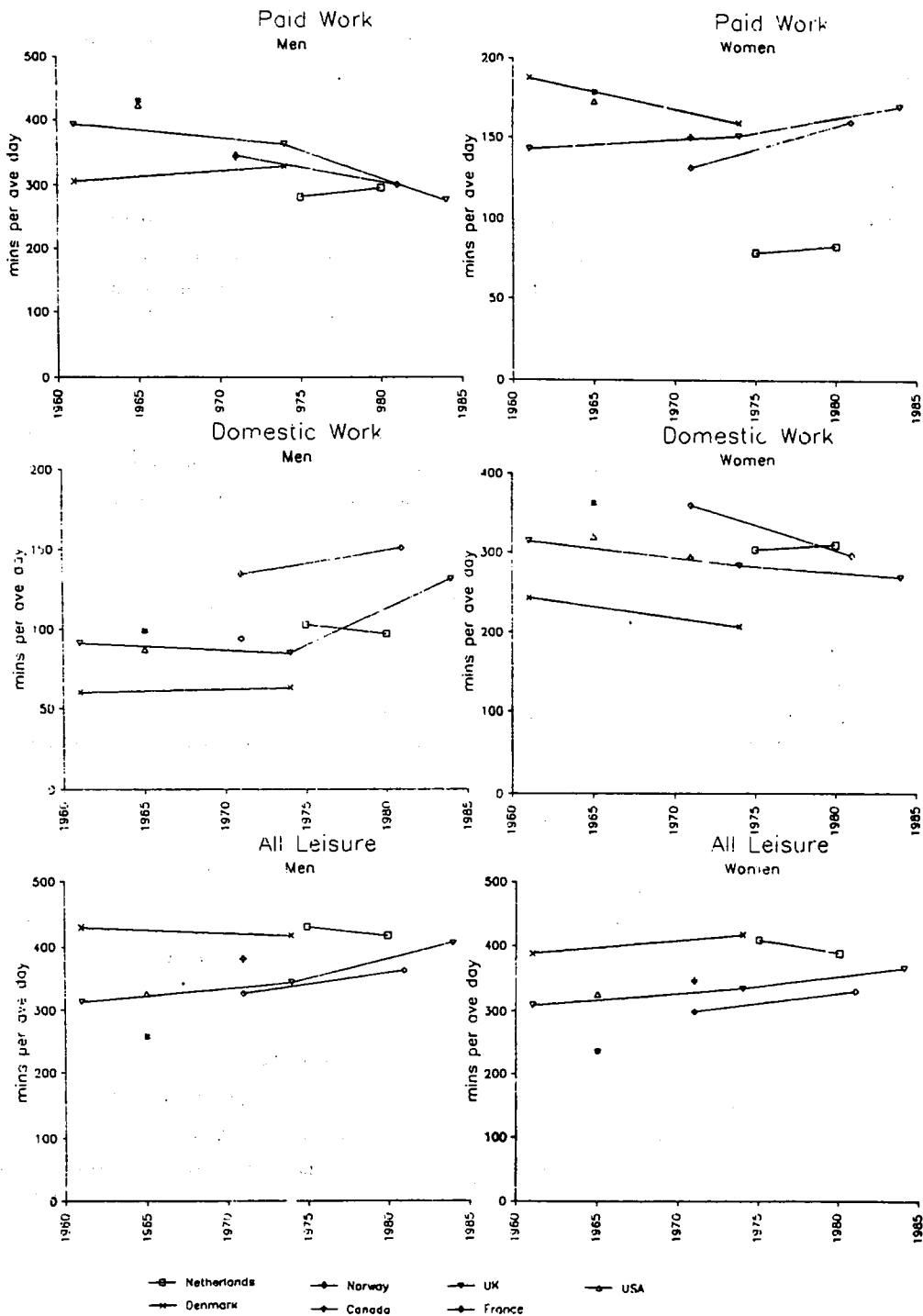
There is nothing very surprising here (though it is satisfying to have our expectations of society so clearly mirrored in empirical evidence). What makes this sort of analysis useful is that it tells us which sorts of social characteristics make a difference in the determination of time use patterns - and hence, which sorts of characteristics we have to try to hold constant when we try to distinguish change in behaviour from change in social composition. When we apply this sort of technique to the surveys in our archive, three distinct sorts of social characteristics emerge as particularly important: sex, employment status, and (having a major effect on women's time use but not on men's) family status - particularly, the age of the respondents' youngest child.

To identify changes or differences in behaviour, then, we must break down the sample into the subgroups defined by these three social characteristics. This work is currently underway, and a flavour of the results can be acquired from figure 2, which shows change in various categories of domestic work in Britain, controlling for sex and employment.

These figures in fact show the elasticity of time in various domestic activities with respect to the amount of paid work carried out by the respondent. We have divided up the samples into groups according to hours of work, and then (since there are a large number of such categories and the numbers of respondents in each category are small) averaged the amount of unpaid work in each category with that of the adjoining categories.

Look first at the women's housework category. For each of the three surveys (1961, 1974/5 and 1983/4) there is a clear negative slope; the marginal minute of paid work substitutes for, depending on the position and the year, something around half a minute a minute of routine domestic work. This observation is at the root of the widely remarked phenomenon of the "dual burden" - women who take on paid work do not have an adequately compensating reduction in their burden of unpaid work. What has not been previously remarked, however, is the difference between the successive surveys. Category by category, at each level of paid work, the domestic work time of women in 1974/5 was some 50 to 100 minutes per day less than in 1961. This is a clear change in "behaviour", and very probably results from the diffusion of

Figure 1 Broad Change in Time Use 1961 - 1984



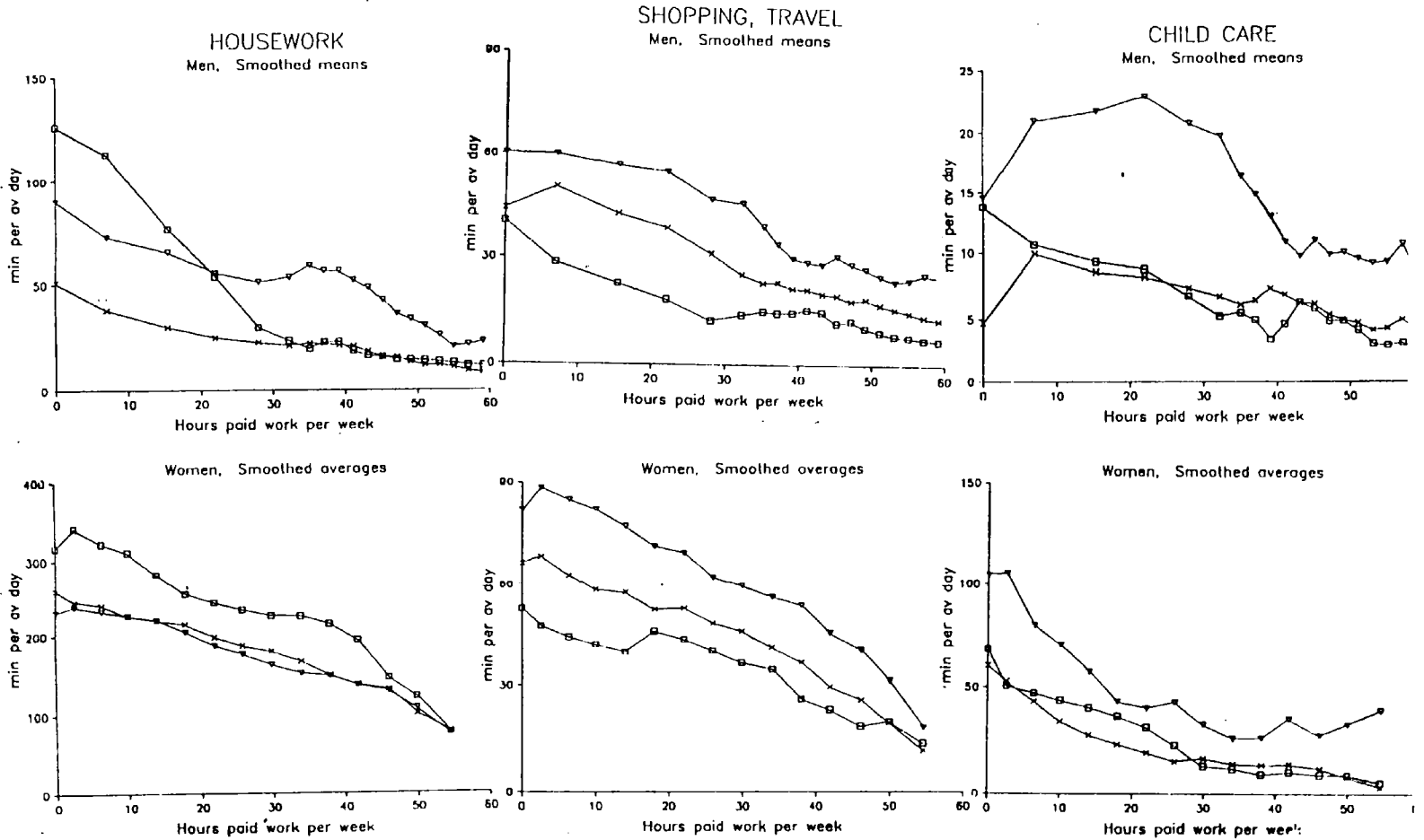
domestic equipment (washing machines, vacuum cleaners, electric cookers, central heating) into households over the period; more productive capital equipment in the household, hence more efficient domestic production, and less domestic work item. Over the latter period, the change was, though in the same direction, very much smaller - perhaps most British households had acquired the most productive sorts of domestic equipment by the mid 1970s.

The equivalent set of curves for men is superficially more complicated. There seems to be an enormous drop in the domestic work time of men employed for less than 30 hours per week. This is in fact a compositional effect: in 1961, with full employment and a relatively buoyant economy, a large proportion of the few men not employed or working short hours were doing so voluntarily, because they have heavy domestic responsibilities (probably care of old people or children), whereas in 1975 the much larger number of men in this group also included a large number of involuntarily unemployed and underemployed, with much less heavy domestic responsibilities.

So for comparative purposes we can ignore the steeply rising portion of the 1961 curve. With this exclusion, what we now see is almost the inverse of the pattern of change for women. The portions of the 1961 and 1974/5 curve above 30 hours of work show virtually no change whatsoever. But the whole curve shifts bodily upwards from 1974/5 to 1983/4. Men working 35 to 45 hours per week at their jobs, increased their routine domestic work time by about an hour per day between 1974/5 and 1983/4. There cannot be a technological explanation for this - it presumably reflects an ideological change, a change in social norms with respect to men's domestic work.

Turning to the shopping and domestic travel elasticities, we find essentially the same trends for men and women. At each level of work involvement the amount of time devoted to shopping and associated activities has increased throughout the 1960s and 1970s. The explanation here presumably has to do with the spatial reorganisation of retail and other service facilities. Local shops are replaced by remote supermarkets, small schools by large distant ones - in both cases these changes lead to improvements in efficiency in terms of cost reduction in "the economy" while increasing the personal time costs imposed on individuals acting outside the economy. There is also a fair degree of consistency between the sexes in the child care category.

Figure 2 Domestic Work Elasticities 1961 - 1983/4



In both cases, childcare time remains pretty much constant for most paid-work categories between the 1961 and 1974/5 surveys and then rises markedly between 1974/5 and 1983/4, this rise cannot be explained in compositional terms, since the average number of children per household fell over this period - and in fact the increase in childcare time is highly concentrated in households in which the youngest child is below school age. People seem just to spend more time with their children.

So, once we control for sex and employment, and look at some slightly more detailed activity categories, quite clear and easily explicable patterns of social change emerge. In the example discussed above, we have seen some technologically induced change (reduction in women's work time 1961 to 1974/5), some change related to the development of new social norms (increase in men's housework 1974/5 to 1983/4), other developments related to change in spatial organisation (shopping), and, presumably, simple change in tastes (childcare).

When we look at British leisure in these more disaggregated terms, we again find rather straightforward patterns of change. Overall, most groups had between 30 minutes and an hour per day more leisure in 1983/4 than they did in 1961 (and this does not include the unemployed). The majority of this extra leisure is spent out of the home, in sports, walking, going to restaurants and drinking establishments (though the data shows the expected decline in cinema and theatre-going). Most interestingly, while television-watching has increased over the period, the increase is entirely at the expense of listening to the radio - time spent in "passive" leisure (watching television, listening to radio, tapes and records) has actually declined over the two-and-a-half decades by surveys.

We find, in Britain, (even excluding unemployed people from the analysis) a reduction in paid work, and in unpaid work for women; a (small) redistribution of domestic labour between the sexes, an overall increase in leisure time, and that increase being taken mainly in sociable activities outside the home, home leisure activities moving proportionately away from the passive consumption of broadcast entertainment. Equivalent analyses are in progress for the other six countries in the archive. Given the cross-national similarities in the trends seen in Figure 1, we anticipate that broadly similar conclusions will emerge from the international comparisons.

4. Determinants of Change in Time Use Patterns

The analysis of the time budget survey will tell us a great deal about how time use had changed. But (since the arguments outlined in the first section of this paper involve purposeful intervention in the change), it is clearly also important that we discover why time use patterns change. We need to develop some theoretical basis from which we may argue that a particular change in circumstances will lead to particular changes in behaviour. We need to be able to say that, for example, particular technological innovations such as home shopping, or particular changes in social organisation such as shorter working weeks, will lead to more out-of-home-leisure consumption (and hence more jobs).

There is a substantial economic literature on the determinants of time allocation, producing sophisticated and elegant mathematical models (eg Becker 1965, Bronau 1979) - which are altogether rather hard to apply to the sort of data we have been discussing. They are, in most cases, rather narrowly concerned with the determinants of labour supply, disregarding the complex choices between different sorts of unpaid work and leisure. And their basic assumptions, of self-knowledge, rationality, and knowledge of alternative available courses of action and their consequences, are deeply implausible. Familiarity with the complexity of behaviour demonstrated by the time use data, does not encourage belief in the economic theory of time.

There is however the basis of a more satisfactory theoretical framework for understanding the processes of determination of lifestyle, deriving from the work of Swedish geographers, studying time in the 1960s (Carlstein, 1977). The starting point of this work is the observation that all human activities are located both in time and space, and that activity sequences are constrained by the geographical locations of, and temporal restrictions on, particular activities.

The "time geographers" see households as having "activity programmes" - lists of tasks that are expected to be carried out by or on behalf of the household over a period - and what we might think of as "household work and leisure strategies" - sets of expectations of which activities are to be carried out

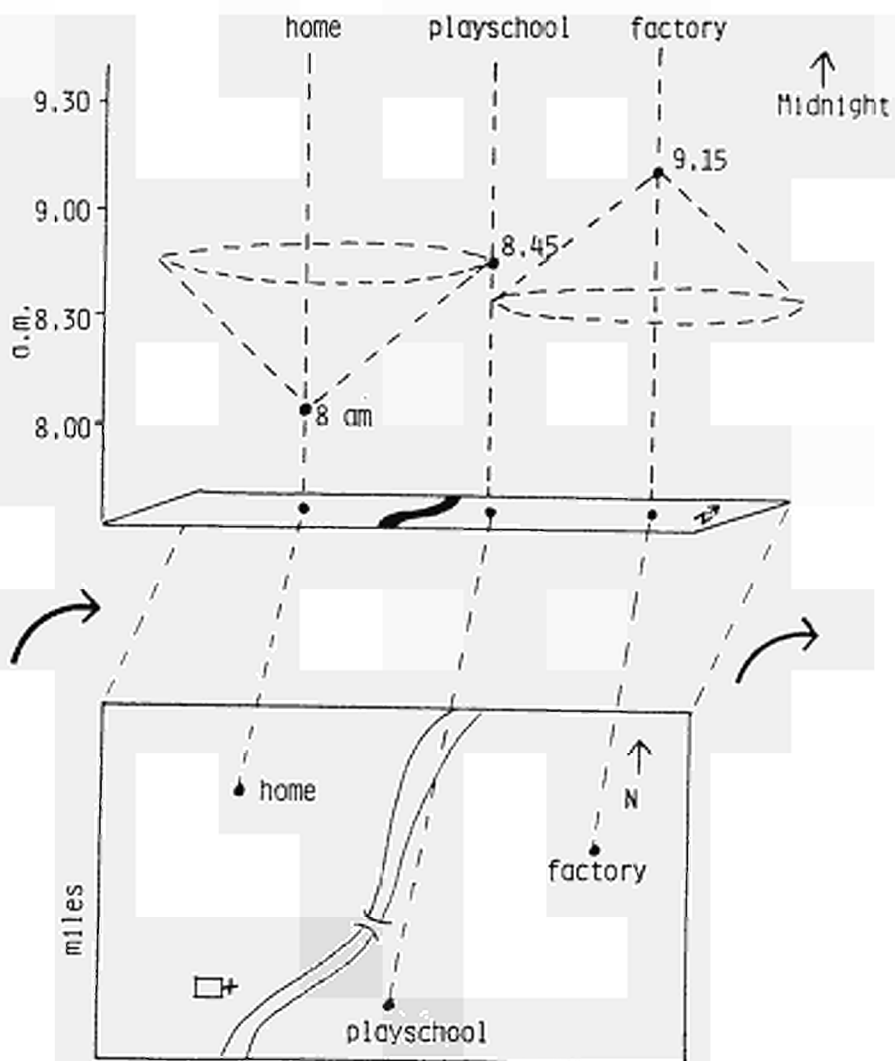
by which household members. Over time, strategies may be modified without altering programmes (eg change in the domestic division of labour) and the programmes themselves may change - perhaps as a consequence of strategic change (as where the size of the household wash decreases as the husband takes over responsibility for it from the wife). Activities are characterised by their geographical locations ("stations"), by their duration, and by any temporal constraints that apply to them (eg pub or shop opening hours, clocking-on-times).

This simple set of concepts constitutes a powerful tool for interpreting the process through which activities are determined. Consider the example in Figure 3. Let us suppose that the household contains a couple and a preschool child. The woman of the household is presently not working but has been offered a job in a factory. The job would require her to clock-on at 9.15 in the morning. The current household strategy has the woman responsible for weekday daytime childcare, how is the child to be cared for if she takes the job?

There is a playschool across the river, which opens at 8.45 in the morning. The cone drawn on Figure 3 with its apex at the station marked "home" shows the limit of places that someone leaving home at 8 am can reach at any given point in time (the slope of the sides of the cone is proportional to the maximum speed of transport available - the faster the transport, the more places can be reached at any point in time, and hence the flatter the cone). If the woman leaves home at 8.00 am she can (just) deliver the child at the playschool at 8.45. The cone with its apex at the factory shows, for various points in time, the geographical limits of the area from which the factory can be reached by 9.15 am. If the woman is at the playschool at 8.45 she cannot get to the factory in time to clock on a 9.15. Does the domestic division of labour (the household "strategy") change - if the tempero-spatial constraints on the man are less severe, perhaps it becomes his job to deliver the child. Or perhaps it is possible to pay some other person to do this. Or perhaps the constraints and complications are such that the woman simply does not take the job.

Figure 3 The Swedish Time Geography

- Terminology - Activity stations
- Geographic constraints, distances, speeds
 - Temporal constraints - times of day for acts
 - Activity norms - household programmes
 - gender division of labour



This is clearly the correct framework for thinking about change in time use. The historical changes that we find in the time-budget data must clearly reflect the interplay of habits and preferences with changing options and temporal and geographical constraints. Some of the raw material for developing these explanations are to be found in the time-budget surveys themselves. Most time-budget surveys contain some ancillary information about the geographical locations of activities - some (eg the Canadian material) contains rather detailed information of this sort. And the diaries themselves contain data on the start and finish times of activities. Part at least of the change in time use over time can be explained simply by changes in constraints (eg increases in domestic travel time explained by the increasing distance to shops and schools).

But this only gets us part of the way. We need to understand how households discover new options, how possibly conflicting preferences for alternatives are negotiated among household members. We need to understand the process through which changes in households opportunities and constraints are translated into new patterns of behaviour. These requirements take us beyond the possibilities of the time-budget data, towards a more experimental approach.

One rather promising option (which emerges from transport planning research) is the use of structured time-use decisions-making "games" (Jones, Dix and Heggie, 1983). The experiment faces actual households with hypothetical changes in their circumstances, and traces the consequences. The experimenters gather a household together, and plot the week's activities of each household member on a rectangular board, one side of which is married with a set of stylised "stations" (workplace, shops, schools etc.), the other with the hours of the week, and a set of coloured wooden blocks representing different activities. They then introduce a perturbation - in their case, a change in the transport system, but for our purposes this could as well be an offer of shorter working hours, or a part-time job, or a teleshopping terminal - for a member of the household, and then simply observe the process through which the household adjusts to it.

So the husband, let us say, is offered an hour's reduction to his workday. What will he do? "I'll go down the pub." "But there's the laundry to collect, Tuesdays". "You promised me I could go to Judo/Ballet/Scouts if the car was available." "Bran wants to come and visit." What does he do? Buy a new washing machine? Ferry the kids? Work an hour's overtime instead? The experimenters watch the process of negotiation, and the outcome, and draw conclusions as to what might happen if the hypothetical options were to be offered in real life. The transport researchers were dealing with actual proposals for new bus services, and were therefore able to see what the real-life outcome was. It appears that the game did pretty well model the actual outcomes.

The historical time use data will certainly get us some part of the way to understanding the impact of prospective social or technical innovations on lifestyle. But we will need to integrate the insights we gain from this work, with evidence gained from experiments - from small scale controlled "laboratory" experiments such as the time use game described here, and also from larger scale social "field" experiments, the "wired cities", four-day working weeks, remote working and home shopping experiments which are at present underway all over the world.

5. Lifestyle and Economic Structure.

Lifestyle is a rather vague and general term - in this paper we have adopted a rather specific meaning for it. It has been used to mean "a household's pattern of allocation of time to various activity over a given period" (so that "a society's lifestyle" is used as shorthand for the mix of patterns of time use adopted by the various households in that society.)

The intention of this paper is to demonstrate the intercommunications between lifestyle and economic structure (and the connections between changes in lifestyle and changes in the balance between labour supply and labour demand). The reason for adopting such a very specific, time allocation based, definition of lifestyle, is that it enables us to make extremely direct empirical links with the economic structural variables. We can divide time use into three categories of activity - paid work, unpaid work, and consumption/recreation (with sleep as a residual). Of these, the paid work

time-use category corresponds precisely to the labour supply to the formal economy, while each of the detailed categories of unpaid work and leisure consumption activities have direct complementarities with items of final expenditure or final Government service outputs.

Thus, the "blue book" statistics on employment of workers in particular occupations, correspond to the time budget data of paid work done by respondents in those particular occupational categories, time spent in cares in the survey data corresponds to expenditure on restaurant services in the "blue book" statistics, hours spent at school corresponds to the (notional) output of the educational system; time spent washing dishes, to money spent on washing-up sponges and washing-up soap - and so on. We can, in short, draw up a comprehensive table of associations, of identities and complementarities, between, on one side, inputs and outputs to and from "the economy", and on the other, categories of time use.

The set of correspondences summarised in Figure 4b, is the basis for a system of socio-economic accounts which relate lifestyle and economic structure. Each time use category requires a particular set of inputs of goods and services from the formal economy. Washing clothes, for example, requires washing machines, soap powder, repair and maintenance services and so on.

At a particular historical junction we know (from the time budget statistics) how much time is spent by the society in clothes-washing, and (from the domestic expenditure statistics) how much money is spent on each of the goods and services input to the process. We can establish coefficients of relationship between these phenomena: we can say that, for example, so many (million) minutes spent in clothes-washing, correspond to so much money spent on soap powder. The official economic statistics register the whole output of the economy. The time budget data covers all the time use of the society. So the output of the economy can be comprehensively "explained" in terms of categories of time use (with the exception of goods and services exported); and the "consequences" of time use can be mapped in terms of final consumption, and hence ultimately employment (or else imports, and hence employment elsewhere).

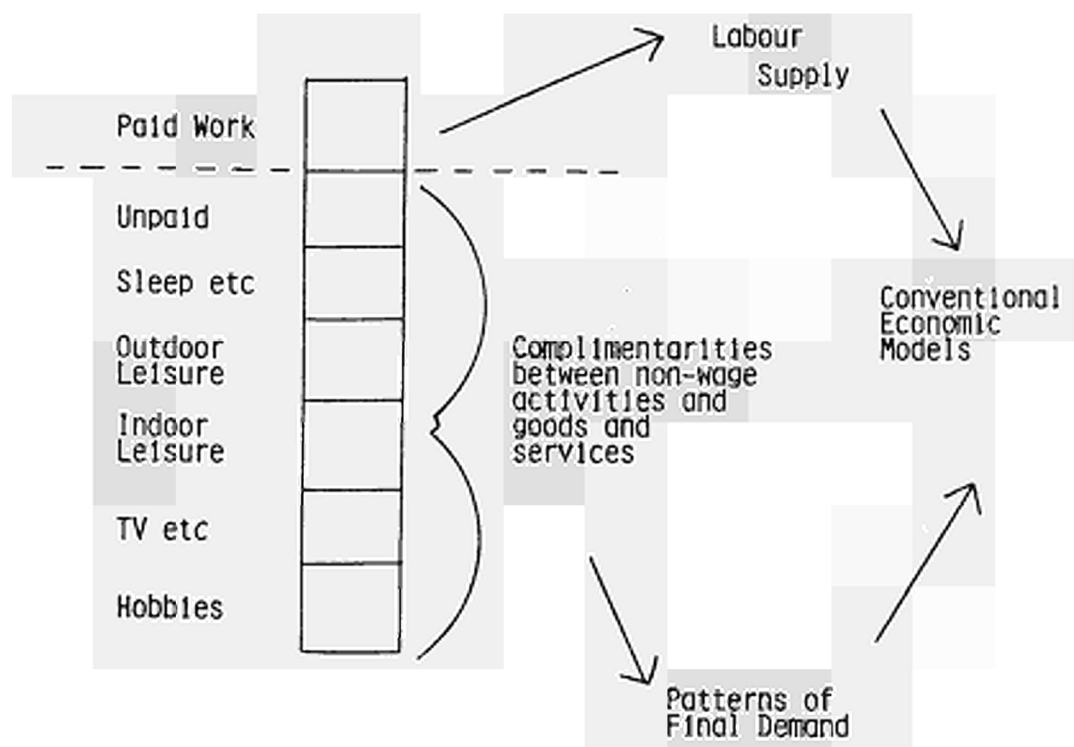
Figure 4a Time Use and Conventional Economic Models

Figure 4b Time Use and Consumption

FUNCTIONS/PURPOSES	COMMODITY INPUTS TO HOUSEHOLD (CONSUMPTION CATEGORIES)					ACTIVITIES (TIME USE CATEGORIES)	
	Equipment Capital	Materials	Intermediate Services	Final Services	Public Services	Mainly Production	Mainly Consumption
BASIC	HOUSING FABRIC	House purchase tools	Fuel, paint	equip. repair	decorating etc.	Pub. Utilities	"Odd Jobs"
	HOUSE FITTINGS	Furniture, cleaning equip.	Cleaning materials	Repair domestic equip.	Domestic services	Welfare services	} Sleeping, visiting, entertaining, talking
	CLOTHES	Clothing, washing m/c	Soap etc.	Repair	Laundry cleaning	Welfare	
	FOOD	Cookers, fridge	Food etc.	Repair	-	Welfare services	Washing, cleaning, repair of clothes
RECREATION	EAT, DRINK, OUT	-	-	-	Restaurant services	-	Food preparation, washing up
	OUT, SPECTATOR	-	-	-	Spectator activities	Cultural services	Eating, drinking
	OUT, PARTICIPANT	Sports Equipment	-	-	Fees, subscriptions	Sporting facilities	-
	AT HOME, PASSIVE	TV etc. records etc.	-	Repair	-	-	-
	... READ & WRITE	Books, papers	Stationery	-	-	-	-
	PLAY, HOBBIES	Toys, games etc.	-	-	-	-	-
	GARDENING, PETS	Tools	Pet food, Plants	-	-	-	-
	HOLIDAYS	Caravan, second home	Maintenance	-	Hotels	-	-
	TRANSPORT	Car purchase	Petrol, oils	Repairs, insurance	Transport, postal servs.	Roads etc., subsidies	-
	MEDICAL	-	Drugs	Health insurance	Medical fees	Health services	-
MAINTENANCE	OTHER PERSONAL	-	Cosmetics, toilet, soap	-	Hairdressing, manicure	Social services	Domestic, work travel
	EDUCATION	-	-	-	School fees	Educ. services	-
	SECURITY, ADMIN. LAW	Security equipment	-	-	Security services	Pub. Admin., security	-

These coefficients of correspondence do of course change. We saw previously that routine domestic work had declined overall in Britain between the early 1960s end the mid 1970s, and assumed that this change was associated with an increase in the household stock of equipment, each minute of housework was associated with more expenditure on domestic equipment in 1975 than in 1961. So, there are in fact two sorts of change over historical periods: change in the society's allocation of time between the various consumption and production activities; and change in the consequence of particular patterns of time allocation of the pattern of final demand.

The socio-economic accounting model outlined here is undoubtedly extremely crude (though in principle not noticeably cruder than some of the standard operations of national income accounting). And crude though it may be, it would nevertheless provide us with something that conventional economic modelling does not - a framework for thinking about the impact of changes in lifestyle on economic structure.

What has been written so far constitutes the specification for a very extensive research programme. It calls for the collection of historical series of estimates of societies patterns of time use. It calls for the development of theories of the determination of time-use patterns. And it proposes a framework for intergrating national time-use data with conventional national income accounts, to produce a new system of socio-economic accounts. The reason for proposing this research program is that it may reveal new policy options; it provides us with a new, "consumptionist" framework for intergrating various streams of social and economic policymaking - into what we might think of as a "time use policy".

6. Time Use Policy.

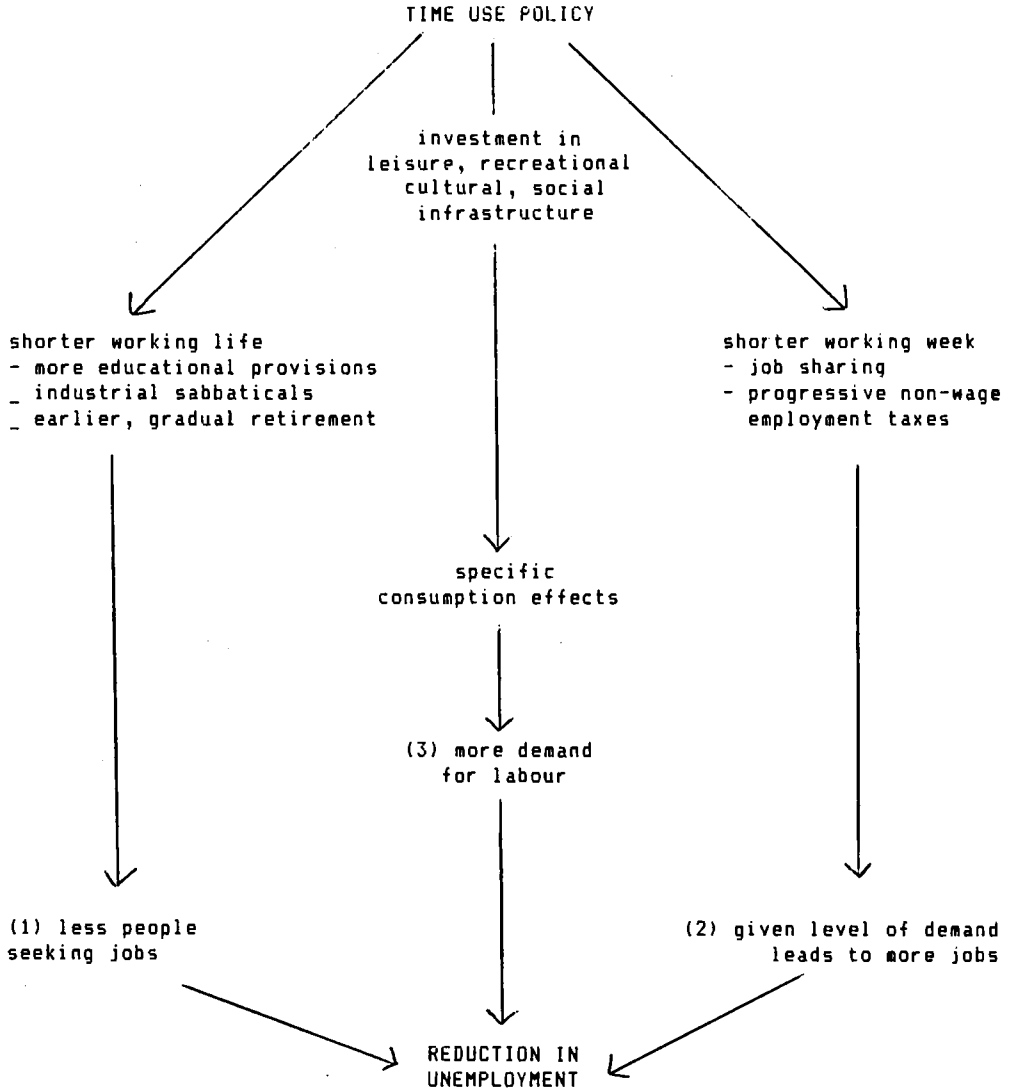
In the first section we dismissed the Keynesian version of consumptionism as too indiscriminate. We cannot simply stimulate effective demand, if consumers opt for patterns of expenditure which do not have the desired effect of producing jobs. The aim of the "time use" approach to policymaking is simple

(though not the practice): to search for areas of life in which job-generating consumption activities may be directly stimulated through policy.

We can guess at some of the essential elements of such a time use policy, these are illustrated in Figure 5. There are three main planks. First, policies for the reduction of the length of the working life. These might include raising the school leaving age, adding to requirements for post-school training or education of young people, and extending provisions for further and higher education for adults and the retired. Adult workers might be offered the option of taking mid-career sabbatical leave, either for educational or for recreational purposes. In addition to earlier retirement, older workers could be offered the option of a more gradual phased withdrawal from full time employment, with long periods of leave interspersed with full time work in the final years of employment.

As Figure 5 suggests, these measures would have two different sorts of consequences. Directly, they lead to a reduction in the number of people needing jobs, since they constitute the removal of substantial parts of particular age cohorts from the labour force. Indirectly, they lead to an increase in the demand for labour. In some cases this increase in labour demand is quite straightforward - raising the school leaving age increases the demand for teachers. In others - the increase in demand for leisure of informal work facilities by early retirees for example - the consequence is more difficult to predict.

The second plank of such a time use policy is the promotion of a shorter working week, with the aim of encouraging job sharing. Policy instruments here include the provision of legal rights for employees to demand part-time work, public subsidies to employers operating job-sharing schemes, and technical help in implementing them. But probably the most important element of public policy here will be the reduction of the current disincentives - mostly fiscal - to shorter time working. Employers who must pay non-wage benefits on a per capita, flat rate, basis, have an incentive for limiting the number of their employees; converting these payments to a progressive system based on total weekly incomes would encourage job sharing.

Figure 5 Time Use Policy and Unemployment

The consequences of such policies are again twofold. Job sharing means that a given level of demand for labour yields more jobs. The shorter working hours again mean a change in the pattern of final demand, in the direction of providing more employment in the production of leisure related goods and services. But in neither case are the consequences very clear: a given reduction of hours cannot be expected to translate itself into an exactly proportional increase in the number of jobs; nor is it clear exactly what are the uses to which the extra free time will be put.

The third major element in this programme would be investment in the new facilities and infrastructural provisions demanded by people with extra non-work time. A proportion of the investment in new entertainment facilities could certainly be provided by the market. But new educational establishments, sports and similar recreational facilities, cultural institutions, parks and access to the countryside would all come more naturally into the ambit of public provision. Of course, the balance between the different sorts of leisure provision would depend on what people wish to do with their extra free time.

By now two things should be emerging. On one hand, there may be very substantial scope for the application of the sort of integrated social time-use policy I have been outlining. The possibility of such an approach to the problem of mass unemployment must be admitted. On the other hand, everything written so far is speculation, we have only the vaguest of understandings of the social mechanisms which would govern the implementation of these lines of policy and determine their consequences. A great deal of social research is required if we are to be able to evaluate the practical feasibility of this approach.

We can list the main areas of uncertainty with respect to the three mechanisms for reduction in unemployment listed in Figure 5. In some cases a body of

research material does already exist. Mechanism 1 (reduction in the number of people seeking jobs) requires substantial intergenerational transfers, in the form of additional educational and pensions provisions. A certain amount of evidence on the determinants of the willingness to make such transfers is to be found in the literature on the economic and social psychology of altruism.

Mechanism 2 (job sharing through shorter working hours) raises the issues of what Samuel Brittan (1981) has called the "lump of labour fallacy" - the marginal productivity of the last few weekly hours of work may be very low (as suggested by the less-than-proportional loss of output during the three day week period in the U.K. in 1974), so that a substantial reduction in the working week could generate a rather less than proportional increase in the number of jobs. Some German estimates suggest that with a 5 hour per week reduction, the "replacement ratio" might be substantially greater than 5 (Schettkat 1984). There is also the question of how the reduction in working time would be financed. If there were no wage compensation (ie if the wage decreased in proportion with the work week), then the strategy would be in effect a job-sharing tax - we would then be returned to the empirical question of the degree of the community's economic altruism. And if there were to be wage compensation, the issue of whether this would be inflationary would depend on exactly what people do with their extra free time. (An extended review of the literature on the consequences of shorter working weeks is to be found in Cuvillier 1984.)

This brings us back to the central issue in this paper. Mechanism 3 (the specific consumption effects of extra free time) is a field of almost entire ignorance. Some very preliminary suggestions are just now emerging from the results of time budget research, but so far we know very little. Yet this is the crucial issue for the underconsumptionist argument. If extra leisure time leads to an increased participation in activities which require the purchase of commodities that are produced by the local economy, then working time reduction is a viable strategy for reducing unemployment.

The proposition is that increased leisure time may generate new jobs. We will probably find from the multinational comparative data analysis that this proposition is at least consistent with the historical evidence - that economic growth and full employment are associated with declining hours of work. But for the time use policy to be translated into a plausible,

implementable, form, we need to go further. Just as a successful application of a Keynesian demand stimulation policy depended on estimates of the population's Marginal Propensity to Consume (ie its propensity to spend its income rather than save it) so our time use policy depends on our estimates of our populations's propensity to spend its marginal leisure time in particular activities.

Extra money in European consumers' pockets may, ceteris paribus, mean more jobs in Korea. If we knew that extra money, combined with extra free time, would be spent in purchasing services in the local economy, then it would make sense to stimulate effective demand and subsidise shorter working hours. It is the attempt to influence, or direct, or constrain, marginal consumption towards those commodities which provide employment, which distinguishes the "time-use" version of consumptionism from Keynes. We shall need to work hard at developing the sorts of theory, and acquiring the data, that we need for predicting (and for influencing) precisely how people use their extra leisure time.

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Tentative conclusions and further work

by Françoise Elberet and Gerhard Ebeling

Tentative conclusions and further work

The first meeting of the Commission on the initiative of the ILO was held in Brussels on 23 April 1960. It has since then held 11 sessions.

- a. to define more clearly the main lines of research required for a better understanding of the problems and questions connected with these new forms of work;
- b. to see how to re-direct the approach to the problem in some research work in order to make the results more operational;
- c. to eliminate non-existent issues and non-existent problems - so that achievement in itself.

Various questions have arisen which are of different natures and which would require work to be carried out on varying scales.

A list of these questions, by no means exhaustive, should make choices easier by laying down priorities.

It would appear that these questions, and this research, can be organized around two main aspects:

- I. Establishing the facts
- II. The repercussions and the alternatives

Tentative conclusions and further work

by Françoise Piotet and Eberhard Köhler

The first series of exploratory work projects undertaken on the initiative of the European Foundation and the Colloquium held in Brussels on 25 April 1986 have made it possible:

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- b. to see how to re-direct the approach to the problem in some research work in order to make the results more operational;
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It would appear that these questions, and this research, can be organized around two main aspects:

- I. Establishing the facts
- II. The repercussions and the alternatives

I. The facts

1. What is the real situation as regards these new forms of work?

Several approaches have been suggested for tackling this problem:

- a. The first, really the micro-economic approach, has concentrated on developing an initial outline of undertakings' strategy on employment, the strategy of the "hard core" and the "outskirts", with the "outskirts" being represented by temporary work, agency "temping", definite-duration contracts, part-time work and the growth in sub-contracting.

How widespread is this pattern?

What types of undertaking are affected by it?

Which sections are involved, all or just some of them?

- b. The second approach, which is supplementary to the first, is based on what may be described as the macro-economic and macro-social method. First of all, this would consist in trying, initially, to identify the numbers of workers involved in each of these "atypical" forms of work and to carry out a detailed analysis on the basis of the paid workers affected by such work.

- c. What pattern do these workers fit into, if any? In other words, do these atypical forms of work affect the whole working population haphazardly or are they in fact restricted to certain specific categories of the population, such as women, young people and so on?

- d. If these categories do exist, are they condemned to these atypical jobs? Are these jobs steps towards "hard-core" jobs? Here movements rather than figures would need to be examined, with the research carried out on these lines being aimed at updating segmentation in the labour market.

e. These two approaches are based on ways of tackling problems which have as one of their assumptions the notion that undertakings are adapting to environmental constraints which are mainly economic in nature.

A third approach is proposed which is based on the supply and development of technology. The research already begun by the Foundation on distance work, linked to developments in information technology, will no doubt be highly instructional.

2. If it has been possible to ask these questions, it is because they are based on thinking and practices which are already being applied.

The current debate on flexibility has underlain all our work. The terms for it are generally known, but the seminar's discussions show the interest there is in going into this subject more deeply.

Disregarding the distortions in the media, what positive proposals are being made by those involved, the trades-union and employers' organizations, and the public authorities?

Do these proposals entail a broad consensus or are there differences of opinion? How enthusiastically do the various rank-and-file support their representatives' proposals?

The proposals on flexibility came from the institutions. How are the various components of the new forms of work and the working population being assessed? The opinions and attitudes of workers require wide-scale investigation, already started in the specific case of telework. The other forms of employment, particularly sub-contracting and the way it is growing, which nowadays appears to be taking on specific characteristics, would need to be examined in much more detail.

A limited answer to these questions, limited because it deals with a specific point, has already been given by the research carried out on

trends in legislation and negotiations on the adaptation of working time. In the presentation made of this research, over and above the vital information it contributes to people's knowledge of realities and practices, there emerges a fundamental issue with regard to negotiations. This issue does not call for research to be regarded only in technical terms, but instead calls for the problem raised by flexibility, which is that of social adjustment, to be dealt with through the necessary arbitration between individual interests and the general interest, in both the short and medium-to-long term. This issue is therefore a political issue in the strict sense of the term, which specific research should succeed in clarifying.

II. The repercussions and the alternatives

The Foundation has therefore instigated the initial exploratory research, over and above establishing the facts (in itself a highly complex task) and also the initial elements in the approach to the problems of possible research on the repercussions of the new forms of work on some sectors of society, as well as on individuals themselves:

1. What is initially required is comparative research on the evolution, or upheaval, of labour law and social security when confronted with the flexibility issue.
 What regulatory elements should be kept?
 What adaptations need to be made to avoid the risk of a society developing without any social standards?
 What rights should there be, and to protect what?
 How should laws and bargaining tie in with each other nowadays?
2. Research then needs to be carried out in order to have a better understanding of the short and medium-term repercussions of these new forms of work on the social system and family life. On the basis of the repercussions, whether positive or negative, already observed or to be observed, this research would need to be able to clarify and

direct policies to guide or rectify, namely housing and urban development policies, as well as tax or law development policies.

Accordingly, the Foundation is supporting particularly original research on the allocation of time within families in order to work out effective policies for expanding domestic demand likely to create jobs.

In all cases, the research to be carried out will have to examine carefully all the advantages and disadvantages, both for undertakings and the community, of the new forms of work, in the short and medium term.

3. In addition to their collective repercussions, these new forms also undoubtedly have a significant impact on individuals, an impact of a very diversified nature, both physiological and psychological, with the emergence of new freedoms, but also an increase in stress, new illnesses and accidents at work in some of these jobs, and so on.

The research will be difficult, because a new balance will undoubtedly have to be found between aspirations towards greater liberty and autonomy and the ability of individuals to deal with them in the medium and long term. The paths already opened up on "isolated" work should definitely be extended, just as further examination of the "theories of needs" could usefully clarify the research carried out on the social framework.

All the research workers have underlined the difficulties involved in coming to grips with these remarkably mobile realities. For example, only assumptions can be made as regards the present repercussions of telework at home because so few people are involved.

Does this mean that as a result it is necessary to wait for this form of work to become widespread in order to analyse its repercussions and try to correct those which are harmful?

Are the new forms of work a response to adapt to the current economic situation, or do they instead foreshadow a new and lasting arrangement in undertakings?

How can their positive effects be expanded and their harmful effects analysed and foreseen now in order to attempt to rectify them?

It is definitely these questions which the research to be done must try to answer - knowing, to paraphrase Valéry, that we are not in a world which has ended, but in an uncertain world which makes research in human sciences particularly difficult.

III - A practical way forward

In the course of the discussion at the Colloquium on 25 April, 1986, it became clear that there was a great desire and a great need for **quantification** of the problematique. At present, practically all parties concerned - the two sides of industry as well as the citizens of the European Community in general - have to rely to a great extent on speculation about possible trends regarding the spread of "atypical" forms of work and activity, i.e. away from the "standard" pattern of full-time permanent work. As long as nobody knows how real and how extensive these trends are, and why they are occurring at all, uncertainty will persist regarding the need for concern and the possibility of corrective, protective, or constructive positive action by the various actors, be they parliaments, governments, employers, or unions, that have a legitimate concern in this matter.

In order to shed more light on the reality of the situation, the European Foundation has initiated work which may lead ultimately towards the establishment of an experience and attitude survey regarding the desirability or otherwise of the development of "atypical" forms of work and activity.

The main aims of such a survey will be to collect quantitative and qualitative data on questions such as:

- to what extent are new forms of work and activity practised in comparison to more traditional "work pattern";
- what are the reasons for their development;
- to what extent do these forms of work fit into existing legal frameworks and collective agreements and what modifications, if any, are desirable, or respectively
- to what extent are the social partners and the governments/parliaments active in accommodating new arrangements within the framework of collective agreements and social security legislation;
- to what extent do the "users", i.e. employers and employees, of new forms of work and activity perceive the benefits and/or disadvantages of these arrangements;

- to what extent does a greater choice of work patterns meet the economic and social needs and aspirations of employers and employees and of society in general.

Some of the questions posed may be - at least partially - answered once some of the ongoing research will be finalized and the results will have been analyzed and interpreted. Among those currently running projects which will be finalized later in 1986 and early in 1987 is the work done by the two teams headed by Professor Blanpain and by Prof. Kravaritou, respectively. Other issues seem satisfactorily and relatively exhaustively covered by existing work (cf. Epstein on job sharing, Ochs and Gretsches on alternative cooperative enterprises, or the body of knowledge already assembled on telework), so that further research into these areas seems not to be imminently necessary. However, an informed watch will be maintained over any developments which may happen in the future. Different emphases on certain issues will be pursued through different projects within the total framework of the European Foundation's research programmes. For example, the study of cooperative undertakings (1986/87 programmes of work), particularly in Spain, Portugal, France and other relevant Member states will be distinct from the approach taken by Gretsches and Ochs in the paper which is part of this documentation.

Also, the ongoing analysis of existing time-budget data which the Foundation is undertaking with Prof. Gershuny will continue to provide quantitative and qualitative data that should go a long way towards explaining what changes have taken place historically and cross-nationally in the use of time, in particular also changes in the ratio between working time and other time.

However, many questions will remain to be researched; therefore, the second meeting of the Foundation's Advisory Committee on 27 June, 1986, came to the unanimous conclusion to move towards the preparatory phase of a survey project. During this phase, the European Foundation will need to clarify the following questions:

- which groups need to be included in the survey? Employers, unions, employees, social security experts, legal experts, politicians, and/or who else?
- how big should be the sample sizes for each group? Should they be weighted, structured or random samples?

- if they are to be structured, which structure should be introduced? By sector, by country, in which countries, etc.

Once these basic questions have been clarified, it will be possible to

- develop appropriate research instruments for each group, such as survey questionnaires, interview guides, checklists, etc.
- test the research instruments in a pilot phase.

In order to limit the many risks and pitfalls of a methodological and political nature associated with attitudinal and experience survey research, it was the Advisory Committee's opinion that a technical working group should be set up to deal with the technical questions. The results or progress of this working group would frequently be related back to the original Advisory Committee which is more political in nature by virtue of the unions', employers' and government representation on it. In this way, through a dynamic and constant interchange of knowledge between the two groups, a satisfactory and acceptable research design should emerge, one that will yield the most important and most useful data. The work of the technical working group will commence late in 1986/early in 1987.

Annexes

Europäische Stiftung zur
Verbesserung der Lebens-
und Arbeitsbedingungen

Fondation Européenne
pour l'amélioration des
conditions de vie et de travail

European Foundation
for the Improvement of
Living and Working Conditions

Neue Arbeits- und Tätigkeitsformen

Nouvelles formes de travail et d'activités

New Forms of Work and Activity

COLLOQUIUM/COLLOQUE 25.4.1986

**Centre Albert Borschette,
36 rue Froissart – Bruxelles**



Programme

Chairman: Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf

09.30 **Welcome**

Dr. Clive Purkiss, Director, European Foundation

Opening statements

—Michael Welsh, MEP, Chairman of the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment of the European Parliament

—Dott. Enrico Kirschen, Chairman, Economic and Social Committee — Section for Social Questions

—Jean Degimbe, Director-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Education, Commission of the European Communities, Chairman of the Administrative Board of the European Foundation

—Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf, Universität Konstanz, Chairman of the Advisory Committee

10.00 **Presentation of the main problem areas**

Prof. Françoise Piotet, Université Sorbonne, Paris,
Eberhard Köhler, Research Manager, European Foundation, Dublin

Statements of

—UNICE (Union des Industries de la Communauté Européenne)

—ETUC (European Trade Union Confederation)

11.00 **Refreshments**

11.30 **Plenary Discussion**

13.00 **Lunch**

14.30 **Continuation** of plenary discussion and summary of results Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf

16.00 **End of Colloquium**

Official languages: English, French and German

Programm

Vorsitzender: Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf

09.30 **Begrüßung**

Dr. Clive Purkiss, Direktor, Europäische Stiftung

Einführende Bemerkungen

- Michael Welsh, MEP, Vorsitzender des Ausschusses für soziale Angelegenheiten und Beschäftigung, Europäisches Parlament
- Dott. Enrico Kirschen, Vorsitzender, Wirtschafts- und Sozialausschuß — Fachgruppe für Sozialfragen
- Jean Degimbe, Generaldirektor für Beschäftigung, soziale Angelegenheiten und Bildung, Kommission der Europäischen Gemeinschaften, Vorsitzender des Verwaltungsrates der Europäischen Stiftung
- Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf, Universität Konstanz, Vorsitzender der beratenden Arbeitsgruppe

10.00 **Vorlage des Problemrahmens**

Prof. Françoise Piotet, Universität Sorbonne, Paris,
Eberhard Köhler, Forschungsleiter, Europäische Stiftung, Dublin

Stellungnahmen von

- UNICE (Europäische Industrievereinigung)
- EGB (Europäischer Gewerkschaftsbund)

1.00 **Erfrischungen**

1.30 **Plenardiskussion**

13.00 **Mittagessen**

14.30 **Fortsetzung** der Plenardiskussion und Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse
Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf

16.00 **Ende** des Kolloquiums

Offizielle Sprachen: Englisch, Französisch, Deutsch

Programme

Président: Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf

09.30 **Accueil**

Dr. Clive Purkiss, directeur de la Fondation européenne

Introduction

- Michel Welsh, MEP, président de la Commission des affaires sociales et de l'emploi du Parlement européen
- Dott. Enrico Kirschen, président du Comité économique et social — section des affaires sociales
- Jean Degimbe, directeur-général pour l'emploi, les affaires sociales et l'éducation des Communautés européennes, président du conseil d'administration de la Fondation européenne
- Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf, Universität Konstanz, président du Comité consultatif

10.00 **Présentation de la problématique**

Prof. Françoise Piotet, (Sorbonne),
Eberhard Köhler, chargé de recherche à la Fondation européenne de Dublin

Interventions de

- l'UNICE (Union des Industries de la Communauté Européenne)
- de la CES (Confédération Européenne des syndicats).

11.00 **Rafraîchissements**

11.30 **Discussion plénière**

13.00 **Déjeuner**

14.30 **Suite** de la discussion plénière et synthèse par le Prof. Dr. Ralf Dahrendorf

16.00 **Fin** du Colloque

Hintergrund- material

Neue Organisationsweisen der Arbeit zur Anpassung an eine veränderte Nachfrage nach Produkten und Dienstleistungen, veränderte

Verhaltensweisen und eine anhaltende technologische Entwicklung gekoppelt mit noch nicht dagewesenen Arbeitslosenzahlen zwingen zu einer Neueinschätzung des Arbeitsmarktes und damit einer Neudefinition von Arbeit. Für eine Vielzahl von Personen hat "Arbeit" ihre herkömmliche Bedeutung im Sinne von Vollzeitbeschäftigung gegen Bezahlung verloren.

Zum besseren Verständnis dieser Veränderungen startete die Stiftung 1985 ein Forschungsprogramm über **neue Arbeits- und Tätigkeitsformen**. Dieses Programm untersucht die Art und Weise, in der der Arbeitsmarkt auf diese veränderten Bedingungen reagiert sowie die neuen Arbeitsformen, die zunehmende Beachtung finden und bewertet die Implikationen hiervon. Zu diesen neuen Arbeitsweisen gehören solche, die Flexibilität in die Wohnsituation von Arbeitnehmern einbringen, und zwar in Bezug zu deren Arbeitsplatz sowie jene, die auf einer andersartigen Nutzungsweise von Zeit fußen wie Heimarbeit, Dauerwochenendarbeit, 12-Stunden-Schichtarbeit, Arbeit "auf Abruf" und Telearbeit.

Contexte

Les attitudes, la demande en biens et en services évoluent, l'évolution technologique se poursuit, le chômage atteint un niveau sans précédent. Ces facteurs sont à l'origine de nouvelles formes d'organisation du travail qui nous obligent à repenser le marché du travail et à redéfinir ce qu'est le travail. Pour beaucoup, ce concept a perdu son sens traditionnel d'emploi exercé à plein temps contre salaire.

Afin de mieux comprendre ces phénomènes, la Fondation a lancé en 1985 un programme de recherche **Nouvelles formes de travail et d'activité**. Il a pour thèmes: la réaction du marché du travail au changement, les nouvelles formes de travail qui se répandent et l'évaluation de leurs conséquences. Parmi ces nouvelles méthodes de travail, certaines introduisent un élément de flexibilité en ce qui concerne le lieu de travail, alors que d'autres modifient l'utilisation qui est faite du temps (par exemple travail à domicile, travail permanent de week-end, travail posté de douze heures, travail impliquant l'astreinte à domicile, télétravail).

Background Material

New ways of organizing work to meet changes in demand for products and services, changing attitudes, and continuing technological development, coupled with unprecedented levels of unemployment are forcing a reassessment of the labour market and with it a redefinition of work. No longer for many people does "work" hold its traditional meaning of full-time employment for remuneration.

To understand these changes more fully the Foundation initiated a research programme on **New Forms of Work and Activity** in 1985. It is designed to address the way that the labour market is responding to these changing conditions, to study the new kinds of work which are attracting increasing attention and to assess their implications.

These new ways of working include those which introduce flexibility in where workers live in relation to their work places as well as those which look differently at the way time is used, such as: home-work; permanent week-end work; 12-hour-shiftwork; "on-call" work and telework.

Hintergrundmaterial

Auch außerhalb des formellen Arbeitsmarktes finden grundlegende Änderungen statt. Je schwieriger es wird, eine bezahlte Arbeit zu finden, desto mehr Personen wenden sich anderen Tätigkeitsformen zu, die gewöhnlicherweise nicht den gleichen Stellenwert einnehmen, wie z.B. gemeinnützige Arbeit, Familienfürsorge usw. In einer Gesellschaft, in der sich der soziale Status lange Zeit aus der Arbeit ergab, benötigen diese Tätigkeiten einer Neubewertung.

Die Stiftung hat dieses Thema bereits aus verschiedenen Perspektiven untersucht. Sie versucht nunmehr, zu einem umfassenderen Verständnis der einzelnen Faktoren zu gelangen und untersucht mögliche nachfolgende Aktionen. Die Untersuchung erstreckt sich auf folgende Bereiche:

- Externe und interne Arbeitsmärkte und Beschäftigungs-flexibilität.
- Entwicklung von Job-sharing.
- Entwicklung von Telearbeit.
- Auswirkungen auf Familien und soziale Organisation.
- Psychische Auswirkungen neuer Arbeits- und Tätigkeitsformen.

Contexte

Des changements considérables se produisent également en dehors du marché du travail traditionnel. A mesure qu'il est de plus en plus difficile de trouver un emploi rémunéré, on pratique d'autres formes d'activités auxquelles d'habitude on n'accorde pas la même importance: travaux d'utilité collective, aide sociale, etc. Dans une société comme la nôtre où le statut dépend beaucoup de l'emploi, il est possible que les activités mentionnées doivent faire l'objet d'une réévaluation.

La Fondation a déjà étudié ces problèmes sous plusieurs angles. Elle va maintenant chercher à cerner de plus près les questions soulevées pour ensuite examiner les actions qui pourraient être entreprises. Les recherches se concentreront sur les thèmes suivants:

- Marché interne et externe du travail et flexibilité de l'emploi.
- Évolution de la division du travail.
- Évolution du télétravail.
- Impact sur la famille et la société.
- Impact psychologique de nouvelles formes de travail et d'activité.

Background Material

Outside the formal labour market too, fundamental changes are taking place. As paid work becomes more difficult to find, more people are becoming involved in other forms of activity not usually regarded as having the same value; such as community work, family-care occupations and so on. In a society where status has for long been largely derived from work these activities may need re-evaluation.

The Foundation has already studied this subject from several angles. It will now seek to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the issues involved and will examine what actions could follow. The Foundation's research will look at:

- External and internal labour markets and employment flexibility.
- Development of job sharing.
- Development of telework.
- Impact on families and social organization.
- Psychological impact of new forms of work and activity.

Hintergrundmaterial

- Rechtliche und vertragliche Arbeitszeitbestimmungen.
- Arbeitsrechtliche und sozialversicherungsrechtliche Fragen betreffend neue Arbeits- und Tätigkeitsformen.
- Arbeitsorganisation in kooperativen Unternehmen.
- Sich verändernde Strukturen der Zeitnutzung.

Contexte

- Dispositions juridiques et contractuelles relatives au temps de travail.
- Problèmes de droit du travail et de législation sur la sécurité sociale relatifs à de nouvelles formes de travail et d'activité.
- Organisation du travail dans les coopératives.
- Nouvelles modalités de l'utilisation du temps.

Background Material

- Legal and contractual provisions relating to working time.
- Issues in labour law and social security legislation regarding new forms of work and activity.
- Work organization in cooperative undertakings.
- Changing patterns of time use.

Zu diesen Fragen werden Arbeitspapiere erstellt, die einem beratenden Ausschuss auf einem am 25. April 1986 in Brüssel stattfindenden Kolloquium vorgelegt werden. Dieser **beratende Ausschuss** wurde von der Stiftung zur Unterstützung bei ihrer künftigen Planung in diesem Bereich eingesetzt. Er setzt sich aus Vertretern der Gewerkschaftsbewegung und der Arbeitgeberorganisationen zusammen. Den Vorsitz führt Professor Ralf Dahrendorf (ehemaliger europäischer Kommissar). Das Kolloquium wird von ca. 40 Teilnehmern besucht, und zwar Vertretern der Sozialpartner, Regierungen, europäischen Gemeinschaftsinstitutionen, IAO, OECD sowie unabhängigen Sachverständigen.

Des communications sur ces thèmes seront présentées à un comité consultatif lors d'un colloque qui se tiendra à Bruxelles le 25 avril 1986. La Fondation a constitué ce **comité consultatif** qui l'aide à organiser la recherche dans ces domaines. Il est composé de représentants des syndicats et des organisations d'employeurs, et il a pour président le professeur Ralf Dahrendorf, ancien commissaire européen. Ce **colloque** réunira environ quarante participants représentant les partenaires sociaux, les gouvernements, les institutions de la Communauté européenne, l'OIT, l'OCDE, et des experts indépendants.

Papers on these will be presented to an advisory committee at a colloquium in Brussels, on the 25 April 1986. This **Advisory Committee** was set up by the Foundation to assist its future planning in this area. It is composed of representatives of the trade union movement and employers' organizations and is chaired by Professor Ralf Dahrendorf (formerly a European Commissioner).

The **Colloquium** will be attended by some 40 participants representing the social partners, Governments, European Community institutions, ILO, OECD, and independent experts.

Europäische Stiftung zur Verbesserung der Lebens- und Arbeitsbedingungen

Die Europäische Stiftung zur Verbesserung der Lebens- und Arbeitsbedingungen im Loughlinstown House, Co. Dublin, ist eine autonome Gemeinschaftseinrichtung, die durch eine Verordnung des Ministerrates der Europäischen Gemeinschaften vom 26. Mai 1975 gegründet wurde.

Der Verwaltungsrat der Stiftung setzt sich aus vier Gruppen zusammen, und zwar der Europäischen Kommission, der Regierungen, der Arbeitgeberverbände und Arbeitnehmerorganisationen jedes Mitgliedstaates. Die von der Stiftung durchgeführte

Forschung erstreckt sich auf Bereiche wie Schichtarbeit, Arbeitsorganisation, neue Technologie, Lohnsysteme, Verkehr und Pendelverkehr, Verrentung, Erhebungen über Arbeitszeit und Freizeit und eine Vielzahl weiterer Bereiche.

Die Stiftung ist in enger Zusammenarbeit mit einer großen Anzahl von nationalen Forschungsinstituten tätig und unterhält enge Kontakte zu den verschiedenen europäischen und internationalen Einrichtungen, die sich mit der Verbesserung der Lebens- und Arbeitsbedingungen beschäftigen.

Fondation européenne pour l'amélioration des conditions de vie et de travail

La fondation européenne pour l'amélioration des conditions de vie et de travail, située à Loughlinstown House, dans le Comté de Dublin, est un organisme communautaire autonome créé par un règlement du Conseil des ministres des Communautés européennes du 26 mai 1975.

Le conseil d'administration de la Fondation européenne comprend quatre groupes : la Commission européenne, les gouvernements des États membres, les organisations d'employeurs et les organisations de travailleurs de chaque État membre.

La Fondation a déjà entrepris des recherches dans des domaines comme le travail posté, l'organisation du travail, les nouvelles technologies, les systèmes de rémunération, les transports et les trajets domicile-travail, la retraite, le temps de travail et le temps de loisir, et bien d'autres.

La Fondation coopère étroitement avec un grand nombre d'instituts de recherche nationaux et entretient des relations suivies avec les divers organismes internationaux et européens qui s'occupent de l'amélioration des conditions de vie et de travail.

European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions in Loughlinstown House, County Dublin, is an autonomous Community body established by a Regulation of the Council of Ministers of the European Communities which came into force on 26th May, 1975.

The Foundation's Administrative Board comprises four groups, namely, the European Commission and the governments, the employers' federations and the trade unions of each member State.

Research which has been carried out by the Foundation includes such areas as shiftwork, work organisation, new technology, wage payment systems, transport and commuting, retirement, surveys into working time and leisure time, and many more.

The Foundation co-operates closely with a large number of national research institutes and maintains close contact with the various European and international bodies concerned with the improvement of living and working conditions.



European Foundation
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Loughinstown House, Shankill, Co. Dublin, Ireland. Tel: (01) 826888 Telex: 30726 EURF EI

ANNEX 2

COLLOQUIUM / COLLOQUE / KOLLOQUIUM

New Forms of Work and Activity

Nouvelles formes de travail et d'activité

Neue Arbeits- und Tätigkeitsformen

Centre Borschette, 36, rue Froissart, Brussels

25 April 1986

List of Participants / Liste des Participants / Teilnehmerliste

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