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► **To cite this version:**

Clotilde Coron, Géraldine Schmidt. Sex, Breadwinner Status and Perceived Job Insecurity: A Comparative Analysis in Europe. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 2022. halshs-03675281

**HAL Id: halshs-03675281**

**<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-03675281>**

Submitted on 26 Dec 2023

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# **Sex, Breadwinner Status and Perceived Job Insecurity: A Comparative Analysis in Europe**

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Version accepted by *Economic and Industrial Democracy*

Coron C. et Schmidt G. (2022), « Sex, Breadwinner Status and Perceived Job Insecurity: A Comparative Analysis in Europe », *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, vol. 44, n° 4, p. 1052-1083

**Abstract:** Previous research has produced contradictory results about the relationship between sex and perceived job insecurity (JI). The male-breadwinner ideology has been put forward to explain the fact that women often report less JI. In addition, previous research on JI has highlighted the importance of the national socioeconomic context, and gender studies have underlined the need to take gender dimensions into account when studying national socioeconomic contexts. We contribute to those debates by measuring the effect of sex on JI and the moderating effect of breadwinner status in different groups of countries characterized by homogenous socioeconomic and gender-related contexts. To do so, we use the 2015 EWCS survey, and we add macro indicators for the national contexts. We show that when controlling for breadwinner status, sex has no significant effect regardless of the national context; in addition, breadwinner status moderates the relationship between sex and perceived JI in some national contexts.

**Keywords:** Gender; Perceived Job Insecurity; Socioeconomic Context; Gender-related context; Europe; Comparative analysis

## Introduction

Several international institutions have denounced the detrimental effects of the pandemic on women's employment and job security worldwide (ILO, 2021), notably for women in low-paying jobs, whereas the 2008 crisis had resulted in more job losses for men (Eurofound and European Commission Joint Research Centre, 2021). More precisely, previous research has led to contradictory results on the uneven effect of economic crises on women's and men's job losses, with studies showing that men have a substantially higher rate of involuntary job loss than women, other showing the contrary, and others showing that it depends mostly on the sectors affected by the crisis (Blau & Kahn, 1981; Távora & Rodríguez-Modroño, 2018; Wilkins & Wooden, 2013). Although the literature on actual job losses is very abundant in labor economics, it has been shown that perceived JI has sometimes stronger detrimental effects than effective job loss on individuals (health, attitudes, behaviors (Burchell, 2010; De Witte et al., 2010; De Witte & Näswall, 2003); hence, this article focuses on perceived JI, i.e., the perceived threat on the employment situation.

Despite abundant quantitative literature about perceived JI and gender, there is no consensus about the influence of sex<sup>1</sup> on perceived JI. Previous research has led to contradictory results (Coron & Schmidt, 2021; Jiang & Lavaysse, 2018; Probst, Jiang, & Benson, 2014; Shoss, 2017). Breadwinner status, i.e., the fact to be the person who contributes the most to the household income, has not been extensively studied in quantitative research in relation to sex and perceived JI. It is rather surprising knowing that it has been argued that gender ideology, i.e., the prevalent views and representations on gender roles (Davis & Greenstein, 2009), and

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout the article, we use the word 'sex' to refer to the statistical variable, and 'gender' to refer to the more general frameworks implying gender issues, as suggested by previous and liminal research on sex and gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

the fact that men are more frequently breadwinners than women, might explain the gender differential in perceived JI (Gaunt & Benjamin, 2007). More precisely, in qualitative research about JI, breadwinner status is frequently included (Charles & James, 2005; Kelan, 2008), but this variable has been rarely included in quantitative research.

Besides, scholars have underlined that the levels of JI vary across countries, depending on social legislation and the economic situation (Dixon, 2020). Notably, the socioeconomic context and employment protection influence perceived JI (Dixon, 2020; Muñoz de Bustillo & de Pedraza, 2010; Sverke, Låstad, Hellgren, Richter, & Näswall, 2019). On the other hand, gender studies have called for gender to be taken into account when dealing with comparative analyses of national contexts, e.g. in works about welfare states (Orloff, 1993, 1996).

We aim to study the effect of sex on perceived JI and the moderating effect of breadwinner status on the relationship between sex and perceived JI while taking into account national contexts. More precisely, we include in “national contexts” two dimensions which are expected to strongly affect the relationship between sex and perceived JI: first, the socioeconomic context and the employment regime; second, the gender equality situation and policies. In doing so, we intend to contribute to the debate on the relationship between sex and job insecurity by studying the effects of sex on job insecurity and the role of breadwinner status in different groups of countries characterized by homogenous socioeconomic (i.e., economic situation and employment regime) and gender-related contexts (i.e., situations concerning gender equality and gender equality policies).

To do so, we relied on the dataset drawn from the *European Working Conditions Survey* (EWCS), conducted by Eurofound since 1990. We used the latest edition, which took place in 2015. This survey covers a wide range of topics and countries. We combined those data with national indicators coming from the OECD, and among other things from the Gender,

Institutions and Development Database produced by the OECD (Jütting, Morrisson, Dayton-Johnson, & Drechsler, 2008), but also from the UNDP and the World Economic Forum. National indicators were used to produce a typology, according to which countries were clustered into three groups characterized by homogenous socioeconomic and gender-related contexts. We then estimated multiple linear regressions with moderating effects for each group.

We bring new insights about the debated relationship between sex and perceived JI and the role played by breadwinner status. We reveal that when controlling for breadwinner status, sex has no significant effect, regardless of the socioeconomic and gender-related context; in addition, breadwinner status moderates the relationship between sex and perceived job insecurity in some socioeconomic and gender-related contexts.

The article is organized as follows. The first section explains our research model based on the literature review. The data, methodology and results of the typology of countries are described in the second section. The data, methodology and the results of the analysis of perceived JI are presented in the third section. All results are discussed in section IV.

## **I. Literature Review**

### **I.1. The concept of perceived job insecurity and the debated relationship between gender and job insecurity**

The concept of job insecurity (JI) has been extensively researched since the seminal article by Greenhalgh and Rosenblatt (1984), which defines JI as *'perceived powerlessness to maintain desired continuity in a threatened job situation'* (p. 438). This literature emphasizes the need to distinguish between actual and perceived JI because objective employment precariousness does not always result in perceived JI (De Witte & Näswall, 2003). More recently, Shoss (2017) proposes the following definition of perceived JI: *'JI is a perceived threat to the continuity and stability of employment as it is currently experienced'*.

An abundant literature pays attention to the determinants of perceived JI and has put forward three categories of factors: first, contextual or environmental factors, such as economic context, unemployment rate, and employment protection (Dixon, 2020; Erlinghagen, 2007; Sverke et al., 2019); second, organizational factors, such as restructuring, workforce size, union activism, sector, and previous workforce evolution (Probst et al., 2014); and third, individual factors, such as type of contract and/or part-time employment, tenure, skills, education, nationality, and if one has another paid job (McGuinness & Wooden, 2009; Näswall & De Witte, 2003).

Among the individual antecedents of perceived JI, previous research provides conflicting results about the effects of sex on perceived JI (Shoss, 2017). This may be due to the entanglement of two phenomena. First, women generally face more precarious work conditions: they are overrepresented among fixed-term and temporary contracts (Steinþórsdóttir, Smidt, Pétursdóttir, Einarsdóttir, & Le Feuvre, 2019), they more often hold part-time jobs (Young, 2010), and are overrepresented among low-paying jobs (Rubery, Grimshaw, & Figueiredo, 2005). This stratification of the labor market may lead to a higher perceived JI for women, which has been evidenced by several scholars (Mauno & Kinnunen, 2002; Stier & Yaish, 2014). However, some theoretical frameworks about gender emphasize that women do not grant the same importance to their job and to job security, especially because they less often carry out the breadwinner role in their household compared to men (Adekiya, 2018). More precisely, previous research has shown that, while the presence of women in the labor market has been considerably increasing, the male breadwinner model remains much more frequent than the female breadwinner model in most European countries (Haas, Steiber, Hartel, & Wallace, 2006). As perceived JI is notably influenced by the subjective assessment of the severity of one's job loss, this could result in a lower perceived JI among women, as documented by some research (Charles & James, 2003; Gaunt & Benjamin, 2007; McGuinness & Wooden, 2009). The entanglement between both factors may also result in a nonsignificant effect of sex on

perceived JI (Esser & Olsen, 2012; Gallie, Felstead, Green, & Inanc, 2017). The debate is not yet closed and deserves further investigation.

## **I.2. Including gender in classifications of European countries**

Previous research dealing with a sample of various European countries has been based on classifications that were largely debated. In terms of socioeconomic characteristics, the notion of the “welfare state” has given rise to an abundant social policy literature, at the heart of which Esping-Andersen’s (1990) typology of “three worlds of social welfare capitalism” (liberal, social-democrat and conservative regimes), based on decommodification and stratification indices, seems to be the most influential.

Nevertheless, several scholars have pointed out the theoretical and empirical limitations of this typology and proposed alternative classifications (Hastings & Heyes, 2018; Isakjee, 2017; Powell, Yörük, & Bargu, 2020), incorporating additional dimensions such as gender. In particular, Orloff (1993) argued for a gender-related perspective and for integrating feminist approaches with mainstream work on welfare states (Güler, 2019): conditions of paid but also nonpaid work, capacity to form and maintain a household, gendered decomposition of social rights, and other legal or social provisions aimed at facilitating women’s labor decommodification (Orloff, 1993). For her part, Lewis highlighted the male-breadwinner ideology (and the female-homemaking counterpart) that underlay Esping-Andersen’s typology and suggested an adult-worker model as an alternative (Lewis, 1992). Chybalski and Marcinkiewicz (2021) provide a useful review of existing empirical studies on welfare state regimes, along with the suggested classification and the differentiating criteria (pp. 404-405): they suggest to combine characteristics of the welfare state (size and public-private mix) with pro-female dimensions, which leads to their classification of four regimes: liberal, medium-public pro-female, medium-public, and extensive public (Chybalski & Marcinkiewicz, 2021).

This classification, however, does not include any socio-economic factors that might be major determinants of perceived JI.

### **I.3. JI, gender, and national contexts**

Since the publication of research pointing out that the level of perceived JI varies according to country (Böckerman, 2004), several recent international comparisons have demonstrated the importance of taking into account the national contexts when studying perceived JI. In an integrative review of the antecedents of perceived JI, Shoss (2017) highlights the influence of several antecedents at the macro level, and Sverke et al. (2019) pay interest to national social contexts. Strong welfare systems may indeed reduce the threat of job loss and subsequently reduce perceived JI (Debus, Probst, König, & Kleinmann, 2012). Other studies reveal the influence of national economic situations. For example, a high unemployment rate (Ellonen & Nätti, 2015; Muñoz de Bustillo & de Pedraza, 2010) or a poor economic context (Dixon, 2020) leads to higher perceived JI.

In addition, previous research has shown the influence of national institutions on individuals' behaviors and beliefs (Schooler, 1996). In particular, national institutions can shape women's and men's behaviors such as importance attached to work and career centrality (Huang & Gamble, 2015; Sweet, Sarkisian, Matz-Costa, & Pitt-Catsouphes, 2016). For instance, directly after reunification of East and West Germany, the gender pay gap was lower and women's work orientation was stronger in East Germany, where institutional systems favored women's work, and the convergence was very limited in the years after (Beblo & Görge, 2018). Previous research has underlined that gender-related national contexts can explain part of the relationship between sex and perceived JI, with fewer differences in perceived JI between women and men in egalitarian countries (Muñoz de Bustillo & de Pedraza, 2010). Muñoz de Bustillo and de Pedraza (2010) show that in the country with the most egalitarian labor market of their sample, Finland, being a woman is never statistically



significant for perceived JI, which can be put in relation to Gaunt and Benjamin (2007)'s study which shows that there is less difference in perceived JI between women and men with more egalitarian representations of gender than between women and men with more traditional representations of gender. This suggests the importance of taking into account the gender-related national context when studying the effect of sex on perceived JI. However, this has rarely been performed in academic research.

Overall, it seems worth taking into account the socioeconomic and gender-related national contexts when studying the relationship between sex and perceived JI.

*H1. The effect of sex on perceived JI depends on the socioeconomic and gender-related context.*

More precisely, we expect that perceived JI will be higher in economically poorer countries and will be significantly different between women and men in countries with a gender-related context less favorable to women.

#### **I.4. The role of the breadwinner status**

Previous research has underscored the importance of gender roles and/or gender ideology to explain the sex differential of perceived JI (Gaunt & Benjamin, 2007). Gender ideology refers to beliefs and norms about gender and women's and men's appropriate behaviors, notably concerning the division of paid and unpaid work (Davis & Greenstein, 2009; Grunow, Begall, & Buchler, 2018). In the most traditional gender ideology, men take the role of breadwinner, and women are responsible for household labor and childcare (Bagger & Li, 2012; Kelan, 2008). Following this line of inquiry, men might report a higher perceived JI because the cost of job loss would be greater for them due to their breadwinner status (Adekiya, 2018; Kelan, 2008) and their breadwinner perceived identity (Nolan, 2009). Gender ideology may vary according to sex (Davis & Greenstein, 2009; Grunow et al., 2018), meaning that women and

men could perceive differently the fact to be the breadwinner or not, or even to share breadwinner status with their spouse, in what is called dual-earner households (Kowalewska & Vitali, 2021).

In addition, gender ideology varies according to national cultures and contexts. For example, countries such as Austria and Germany were categorized as “conservative welfare states”, where the male breadwinner model remains strong (Bergmann, Scheele, & Sorger, 2019). Russia is characterized by the “Soviet gender paradox”, where most women work, but hold a major share of the domestic work, and where the male breadwinner model prevails (Ashwin & Isupova, 2018). The characteristics of the labor market and notably the level of job insecurity can also play a role, threatening the male-breadwinner model (Kelan, 2008). In the South Wales context, Charles and James (2005) suggest that the male breadwinner ideology remains strong, although men’s job insecurity tends to disrupt it because this makes it difficult to maintain the arrangement of men as sole breadwinners in the household (Charles & James, 2005). In the same vein, flexible labor markets tend to decrease the link between the actual status of men as breadwinners and gender ideology (Cha & Thébaud, 2009). More strikingly, it has been shown that high participation of women in the labor force does not necessarily undermine the male breadwinner ideology (Kelan, 2008); even in dual-earner relationships, individuals can interpret the husband’s employment as providing for essential family needs, with the wife’s earnings being “supplemental” (Cha & Thébaud, 2009). Finally, in countries with low wages, couples may need to have two salaries: dual-earner couples could thus be more frequent than in countries with higher average salaries (Kowalewska & Vitali, 2021).

We, therefore, hypothesize that the national context (socioeconomic context and gender-related context) influences the relationship between sex, breadwinner status, and perceived JI.

*H2. The moderating effect of breadwinner status on the relationship between sex and perceived JI depends on the socioeconomic and gender-related context.*

More precisely, we expect that in the poorest countries and the countries with higher perceived JI, the fact of being the breadwinner will play a more important role than in other countries. We also expect that the moderating effect of breadwinner status will be less important in countries with gender-related contexts that are more favorable to women.

## **II. A typology of countries according to socioeconomic and gender-related context**

### **II.1. Data and analyses**

Several sources of data were used to typify the national socioeconomic and gender-related contexts, following the suggestions made by several scholars (Chybalski & Marcinkiewicz, 2021; Orloff, 1996). More precisely, the following national indicators, measured in 2014 or 2015 when available (once zero-centered), were used.

Indicators related to economic context are unemployment rates (source: OECD 2015) and GDP based on PPP per capita (source: IMF 2015), as in previous research (Muñoz de Bustillo & de Pedraza, 2010; Shoss, 2017). The social context is measured thanks to indicators related to the legislation on employment protection (Sverke et al., 2019), i.e., the employment protection level for regular contracts (source: OECD 2015), and HDI (Human Development Index, source: UNDP 2015). Despite the critics made against the index of the employment protection level (Myant & Brandhuber, 2016), we chose this index as it has been used in previous research (Caroli & Godard, 2016).

The gender-related context is measured thanks to indicators drawn from the Gender, Institutions and Development Database produced by the OECD (Jütting et al., 2008), but also from the UNDP and the World Economic Forum. They refer to gender equality policies (women's economic rights at work) and to the national situation regarding gender equality (inequalities concerning unpaid care work, gender gap in labor participation, gender wage gap), as suggested by feminist scholars underlying the need to take into account gender when

establishing a typology of countries (Orloff, 1993). More precisely, we used the index concerning women's economic rights at work (source: OECD 2014, not computed in 2015), women's representation in national parliaments (source: OECD 2014, not computed in 2015), the GDI (Gender Development Index, source: UNDP 2015), the female to male ratio of time devoted to unpaid care work (source: OECD 2014, not computed in 2015), and the female to male ratio of labor force participation (source: World Economic Forum, 2015).

As in Hastings and Heyes (2018), we used a principal component analysis (PCA) followed by a typology based on the first three axes of the PCA to identify groups of countries. Unfortunately, it was impossible to find some of the indexes (unemployment rate, employment protection, female to male ration of labor force participation) for some European countries: Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Greece, Luxembourg, Malta, Romania, Slovakia, Montenegro, FYROM, Serbia, and Albania. Therefore, those countries were deleted from the sample.

## **II.2. Descriptive statistics and results of the typology**

Several details concerning each indicator are given in Table 1.

*Table 1 around here*

The first component of the PCA (which explains 41% of variance) is based on strong loadings for the HDI (correlation=-0.95;  $\cos^2=0.90$ ; contribution=24.18) and the GDP based on PPP per capita (correlation=-0.92;  $\cos^2=0.85$ ; contribution=22.97). Hence, it is related to the development and economic context.

The second component of the PCA (21% of variance) is based on strong loadings for the female to male ratio of labor force participation (correlation=0.76;  $\cos^2=0.57$ ; contribution=29.69), the GDI (correlation=0.70;  $\cos^2=0.50$ ; contribution=25.59), and the

female to male ratio of time devoted to unpaid care work (correlation=-0.69;  $\cos^2=0.47$ ; contribution=24.36). Therefore, we interpret that this component covers the gender-related context which represents a continuum between traditional gender ideology and egalitarian ideology (Davis & Greenstein, 2009).

The third component (17% of variance) is mainly constituted by the employment protection level (correlation=0.73;  $\cos^2=0.53$ ; contribution=34.96). Therefore, it refers to the institutional context related to employment policies. The fact that this component is constituted mainly by the employment protection level is not a surprise as this is the only variable which refers to the institutional context of the labor market.

The typology (hierarchical ascendant classification based on those first three components) depicts three groups, as indicated in Figure 1 (groups are presented on components 1 and 2).<sup>2</sup>

*Figure 1 around here*

Table 2 gives the average value of the indicators used in the typology for each group.

*Table 2 around here*

The first group, in black, comprises the most developed countries. They have the best economic situation (high GDP and HDI, low unemployment rate), but a low level of employment protection, a gender-related context characterized by high participation of women in the labor market accompanied by a low female to male ratio of time devoted to unpaid care work and an average GDI. The countries, mostly Western and Northern European countries,

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<sup>2</sup> The typology remains very stable even when deleting variables such as the index concerning the women's economic rights at work.

are Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, Slovenia, Sweden, the UK, Norway, and Switzerland.

The second group, in red, is constituted by the countries with average economic situations, a very high unemployment rate, but a high employment protection level. The gender-related context (participation of women in the labor market, female to male ratio of time devoted to unpaid care work, GDI) is the least favorable to women. The countries in this group are Italy, Portugal, and Spain, which are Southern European countries.

The third group, in green, are less developed countries (low GDP and HDI), where the gender-related context is characterized by a very high GDI (favorable to women) and high participation of women in the labor market, but with an average female to male ratio of time devoted to unpaid care work. The countries in this group belonged to the former Eastern bloc: Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland.

We labelled the three clusters of countries regarding their respective features: the first group is labelled **RichEg** (economically rich and egalitarian); the second group is labelled **PUnTrad** (high employment protection, high unemployment rate and traditional gender ideology); and the third is labelled **PoorWEg** (economically poor and egalitarian at work).

### **III. Analysis of perceived JI within the clusters**

#### **III.1. Data, measures and variables**

Individual perceived JI, sex and other individual variables within those countries were drawn from the latest (6<sup>th</sup>) *European Working Conditions Survey* (EWCS), which took place in 2015<sup>3</sup>. This survey, conducted every 5 years by Eurofound since 1990, aims to provide a comprehensive picture of working conditions. The topics covered by this survey include employment status, working time duration, work organization, learning and training, physical

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<sup>3</sup> European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, *European Working Conditions Survey, 2015 (4th Edition)*. UK Data Service. SN: 8098, DOI: 10.5255/UKDA-SN-8098-4

and psychosocial risk factors, health and safety, work-life balance, worker participation, earnings and financial security, and work and health. Since 2005, more and more gender-relevant questions have been included. The survey covers various situations of respondents (e.g., employed, unemployed, retired, in full-time education), and we restricted it to people currently employed (excluding self-employed people). The survey encompasses the following countries: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, the UK, Montenegro, FYROM, Serbia, Turkey, Norway, Switzerland, and Albania. The countries for which the national indicators could not have been found (see section II.1) were deleted.

The final sample size is 20,092 employees. Table 3 displays the number of respondents by country. The results can be extrapolated to the national level, and we used the employee weights provided with the EWCS dataset.

*Table 3 around here*

Perceived JI was measured by a single question: “I might lose my job in the next 6 months” to be rated on a Likert scale (1: ‘Strongly agree’ to 5: ‘Strongly disagree’). This question captures the fear of job loss much more than the fear of its consequences but is close to those used in other surveys, such as the British Skills and Employment Survey or the HILDA survey in Australia, which have been used in previous research (Gallie et al., 2017; McGuinness & Wooden, 2009). The use of a single-item question corresponds to a choice made in previous research (Erlinghagen, 2007; Esser & Olsen, 2012; McGuinness & Wooden, 2009), even if

other studies use multiple-item scales (Kinnunen, Mäkikangas, Mauno, De Cuyper, & De Witte, 2014).

The main independent variable is sex. The weighted sample is composed of 50% males and 50% females. To test Hypothesis H2, we also paid attention to the moderating effect of breadwinner status on the relationship between sex and perceived JI (adding an interaction effect in the model). In the EWCS survey, respondents have to answer the question: ‘Are you, in your household, the person who contributes the most to the household income?’ (Yes/No/All equally). Therefore, this captures the self-reported breadwinner status, which has implications for our interpretations, as underlined below.

The control variables concern both individuals and organizations where the individuals work.

*Variables concerning individuals.*

*Type of contract:* The type of contract has 4 modalities: contract of unlimited duration, contract of limited duration, temporary employment agency contract, and no contract. Previous research has brought contradictory results about the effect of the type of contract on perceived JI. Indeed, some studies shows that fixed-term contracts tend to increase perceived JI (Gallie et al., 2017; Näswall & De Witte, 2003), whereas others underline non-significant effects (Greenhalgh & Rosenblatt, 2010).

*Part-time:* Part-time is a binary variable (Full-time/Part-time). Gallie et al. (2017) showed that part-time jobs increase perceived JI.

*Nationality:* The respondents have to answer the question: ‘Were you and both of your parents born in this country?’ (Yes/No). Previous research has shown that being born in another



country where the same language is not spoken increases perceived JI (McGuinness & Wooden, 2009).

*Education:* Level of education, according to the ISCED classification: Primary education/Lower secondary education/Upper secondary education/Postsecondary nontertiary education/Short-cycle tertiary education/Bachelor or equivalent/Master or Doctorate. Contrary to what was observed some decades ago, in European countries, women now tend to be more educated than men (Van Bavel, Schwartz, & Esteve, 2018). However, this is not the case for every country. For example, in Germany, in 2015, the average length of schooling for girls was 13.6, against 12.9 for boys (data from UNPD). Educational attainment tends to decrease perceived JI (Näswall & De Witte, 2003).

*Age:* Age in years. Previous research has underlined that the effect of age on perceived JI is significant and not linear (McGuinness & Wooden, 2009; Muñoz de Bustillo & de Pedraza, 2010).

*Tenure:* Tenure in the company, in years. Tenure is supposed to decrease perceived JI, as it is associated with more work-specific skills (Shoss, 2017).

*Skills:* Respondents have to answer the question: ‘Which of the following statements would best describe your skills in your own work?’ (I need further training to cope well with my duties/My present skills correspond well with my duties/I have the skills to cope with more demanding duties). The relationship between overskilling and JI has been studied in previous research (McGuinness & Wooden, 2009). As women are overrepresented in low-paying jobs, whereas they tend to be more educated than men in some European countries, it can be assumed that they are more often overskilled than men in those countries, and previous research has supported this assumption (European Commission, 2014).

*Other paid job:* Respondents have to answer the question: ‘Besides your main paid job, do you have any other paid job(s)?’ (No other paid job/Yes, regular/Yes, occasional). The effect

of having another paid job is uncertain. Having another paid job can reduce the consequences of job loss, increase perceived employability, and thus decrease perceived JI, but can also be a consequence of perceived JI from the first job (Piasna, Pedaci, & Czarzasty, 2021).

*Variables concerning the company or organization where the respondent works.* The respondents also had to answer some questions about their organization. We selected the following questions.

*Sector:* Private sector/Public sector/A joint private-public organization or company/Other'. As mentioned by Gallie et al. (2017), some sectors are traditionally associated with more insecurity due to the seasonality of work. The phenomenon of the sex segregation of the labor market has been well documented (Eurofound and European Commission Joint Research Centre, 2021): women are overrepresented in service sectors and public sector and men in industry, for example. Actually, the impact of the entanglement between sex and sector on gender differentials in perceived JI is not obvious. Women tend to work in sectors with lower wages but higher job security, a phenomenon which has been contradicted by the covid crisis, with more job losses for women in low-paying jobs, contrary to the 2008 crisis (Eurofound and European Commission Joint Research Centre, 2021), as mentioned in the introduction of this article.

*Restructuring:* Respondents have to answer the question: 'During the last three years, has there been a restructuring or reorganization at the workplace that has substantially affected your work?' (Yes/No/Don't know). Restructuring tends to increase perceived JI (Gallie et al., 2017).

*Workforce:* Number of employees in the organization (1/2-9/10-249/250+/Don't know). Previous research has shown that the rate of involuntary job loss is lower in larger companies (Muñoz de Bustillo & de Pedraza, 2010; Wilkins & Wooden, 2013).

*Workforce evolution:* Respondents have to answer the question: ‘During the last three years, has the number of employees at your workplace increased, stayed the same or decreased?’ (Increased a lot/Increased a little/No change/Decreased a little/Decreased a lot/Don’t know). Previous research has shown that past employment reduction tends to increase perceived JI (De Cuyper, Sora, de Witte, Caballer, & Peiró, 2009).

*Unions:* Respondents have to answer the question: ‘Do trade union, works council or a similar committee representing employees exist in your organization?’ (Yes/No/Don’t know). The literature gives inconsistent results about the relationship between unionization and perceived JI, notably because this relationship varies by country (Moulet & Salibekyan, 2019; Young, 2010). Women are generally less unionized (Kirton, 2017).

Table 4 provides some descriptive statistics about all the variables for the entire sample and for female and male samples.

*Table 4 around here*

### **III.2. Analyses**

First, we used t-tests and chi-square tests to identify the main differences between the female and male samples within the three groups. To answer our research question and test our hypotheses, we estimated two types of multiple linear models with perceived JI as the dependent variable. The estimation strategy most often used in the case of an ordered variable is the ordered probit or logit estimator. However, previous statistical research has shown that it is also possible to use a probit OLS (POLS) approach. This implies transforming the dependent variable into a pseudocontinuous variable and using multiple linear regression (Van Praag & Ferrer-i-Carbonell, 2006). The main interest of this strategy is to reduce considerably the computation time. Besides, it allows us to interpret the estimated coefficients as marginal

effects and to obtain a measure of the model fit with the adjusted R<sup>2</sup>. Hence, we inverted the sense of the dependent variable (1: ‘Strongly disagree’ to 5: ‘Strongly agree’) and transformed it into a pseudo-continuous variable following Van Praag’s approach (Van Praag & Ferrer-i- Carbonell, 2006). We then estimated the same two multiple linear regression models within each group, with perceived JI as the dependent variable. The first model uses sex as the main explanatory variable, and the second includes self-reported breadwinner status and the moderating effect of self-reported breadwinner status on the relationship between sex and perceived JI. As all of the variables of interest are categorical, significant interaction effects were visualized through plots that show the group means for each joint level of the regressors (Figures 2 and 3). We estimated each type of model for each of the three groups of countries, which gives 6 models. In order to check the robustness of our results, we conducted the same analysis for the non-transformed variable, using an ordered probit regression model, and this gave very concordant results.

This estimation strategy allowed us to measure the relationship between sex, self-reported breadwinner status, and perceived JI. As the data are cross-sectional, causal relationships cannot be justified (except of course for the fact that sex is necessarily a determinant).

### **III.3. Descriptive statistics**

Table 5 presents the list of variables, indicating whether there was a significant difference between females and males for each group (cases in bold indicate that there was a significant difference between females and males at the 0.05 confidence level).

*Table 5 around here*

Several findings emerge from this table. Notably, women declare significantly lower perceived JI than men in Groups RichEg and PoorWEg (RichEg: -0.17 for women versus -0.11

for men; PoorWEg: 0.22 versus 0.27), but the same level in the second group. The group where the average perceived JI is the highest is PUnTrad ( $m=0.27$ ). This might correspond to the fact that this group has a very high unemployment rate (around 18%, compared to around 7 or 8% in the other two). It is interesting to note that PUnTrad has also the highest level of employment protection (2.36, compared to 2.12 and 2.28), but this high level seems insufficient to compensate for the very high unemployment rate. This can also be due to the limitations of this index in capturing the concrete employment protection, and the fact that it overestimates the employment protection level in countries with a lot of small and medium enterprises (Myant & Brandhuber, 2016), which is the case for Italy and Spain, both countries of PUnTrad (Venn, 2009). PoorWEg also has a high level of perceived JI, close to the one of PUnTrad ( $m=0.24$ , compared to RichEg,  $m=-0.14$ ), whereas it combines a rather low unemployment rate ( $m=7.90\%$ ) and a rather high employment protection level ( $m=2.28$ ). This might be explained by the fact that PoorWEg includes poorer countries, where salaries might be sufficient to live but not to hoard money (Haas et al., 2006). Another notable fact is the distribution of the self-reported breadwinner status among the three groups. Interestingly and consistently with previous research, in all the groups, men declare more often that they hold the breadwinner status – while our sample includes only working people, which means that this sex difference is not due to the lower participation of women to the labor market. Even at a country level, while there is a certain heterogeneity of the prevalence of self-reported male breadwinners across countries, there is no country where there are more self-reported women breadwinners than men. The percentage of women declaring to be the main breadwinner is roughly the same in the three groups (approximately 40%). However, there are differences regarding whether the self-reported shared breadwinner status in the household: only 6% or 7% of women in Groups RichEg and PoorWEg declare that they share breadwinner status, whereas this is the case for 12.8% of women in PUnTrad. This is surprising, as PUnTrad has the gender-related context

that is least favorable to women. However, this can be put in relation to the fact that PUnTrad has the lowest female to male ratio of labor force participation, knowing that our data concern only employees (i.e., who participate in the labor force). Then it could be due to the fact that working women in PUnTrad (where barriers to female participation are higher) would be more skilled and working in high-paying jobs, but this assumption is partly contradicted by the fact that the female educational attainment in PUnTrad is not so different from the male educational attainment. Another explanation would be that women who work in PUnTrad live in households where a second salary is completely necessary. Another notable fact is that there are significant differences between women and men for numerous variables, regardless of the group that the countries belong to. This could explain part of the sex differential of perceived JI in Groups RichEg and PoorWEg. Not surprisingly, in each group, women are overrepresented among part-time jobs, they are more educated, and they work more often in the public and not-for-profit sectors.

The table also shows differences between groups of countries. For example, in PUnTrad, people are much less educated than in Groups RichEg and PoorWEg (9.77% of women and 9.90% of men have a primary level of education in PUnTrad, compared with 0.26% and 0.22%, respectively, in PoorWEg; in contrast, 4.13% of women and 4.85% of men hold a master's or a doctorate in PUnTrad, compared with 17.38% and 10.70%, respectively, in PoorWEg), and there are many more people who do not have another paid job (94.94% of women and 94.93% of men, against 90.36% and 89.95% in RichEg). There were more people who reported working in organizations where there were unions in RichEg (59.61% women and 61.33% men), followed by PUnTrad (45.61% and 49.08%, respectively) and PoorWEg (33.36% and 28.77%, respectively). In PUnTrad, women are underrepresented among people with contracts of unlimited duration (70.78% of women, versus 74.02% of men), whereas it is the opposite in

PoorWEg (87.42% and 84.99%, respectively). There is almost no difference between women in men in RichEg (86.47% and 87.35%, respectively).

Finally, the table also highlights differences in the size of the variation. For example, PoorWEg has the lowest difference between women and men regarding part-time work (and the percentage of people working part-time is the lowest too): 12.52% of women in PoorWEg report working part-time, against 7.63% of men (38.76% versus 11.06% in RichEg, respectively). This may be because part-time work is a less widespread HR practice in PoorWEg than in Groups RichEg and PUnTrad, which makes it difficult for women to get a part-time job. Another explanation is that, in Eastern European countries, because of low real wages, part-time wages are insufficient to cover costs of living (Haas et al., 2006).

### **III.4. Models**

Table 6 presents the results of the 6 models.

*Table 6 around here*

In the first type of model, which does not include self-reported breadwinner status, all other things being equal, women report a lower perceived JI than men in RichEg (-0.04,  $p=0.0064$ ), but not in PUnTrad (-0.04, not significant) nor in PoorWEg (-0.04, not significant). This validates Hypothesis H1. More precisely, and relatedly to Hypothesis H1, countries with less advantageous economic situations (Groups PUnTrad and PoorWEg) have the highest perceived JI, as expected. Concerning the effect of sex, the results are more striking. Indeed, RichEg countries have fewer inequalities between women and men (notably regarding participation in the labor market), and we expected that the level of perceived JI would differ less between women and men in this type of countries. This unexpected result may be explained by the fact that in countries that combine a strong economy with high participation of women in the labor

market (RichEg), the cost of job loss is not the same for women as for men, perhaps because they work even when they do not have the burden of holding breadwinner status. This assumption is sustained by the fact that this group is the one where part-time work is the most frequent among women (38.76% of women work part-time in this group), as if their income were not so necessary in the household. In contrast, in PUnTrad, where fewer women work, and in PoorWEg, where the economic situation is worse (both groups present a higher average perceived JI), working women report the same level of perceived JI as working men. For PUnTrad, this supports both assumptions made above: working women in PUnTrad are either the ones who live in households where two salaries are necessary, or are highly-skilled and educated profiles who grant a lot of importance to their professional identity. For PoorWEg, two assumptions can be made. First, as the countries are poorer (as indicated by the GDP per capita (PPP)), salaries might be sufficient to live but not to save money (Haas et al., 2006). Actually, previous research has shown that the higher the wage, the lower the probability of feeling JI, which can be interpreted in terms of the higher saving capacity due to higher wages (Muñoz de Bustillo & de Pedraza, 2010). Another assumption would be that communist countries were characterized by high work centrality (Beblo & Görge, 2018), which would increase the cost of job loss. These results may explain the contradictory results found in the literature.

The role of self-reported breadwinner status (second type of model, including self-reported breadwinner status) varies according to the groups. In RichEg, it does not play a significant role (either in itself or when moderating the effect of sex). This is in line with what was expected: reporting to be the breadwinner is less important for perceived JI in the group of richer countries with a lower level of perceived JI. In PUnTrad, self-reported breadwinner status moderates the relationship between sex and perceived JI. Figure 2 shows the interaction effect between sex



and self-reported breadwinner status in PUnTrad and helps explain this result. In PUnTrad, women who report sharing the breadwinner status equally declare a higher perceived JI than other women but also higher than men, regardless of their breadwinner status. This seems to support our assumption concerning the fact that women who work in PUnTrad live in households where a second salary is completely necessary, which increases the fear of job loss.

*Figure 2 around here*

In PoorWEg, self-reported breadwinner status directly influences perceived JI: people who report that they equally share the breadwinner status report a higher perceived JI. Self-reported breadwinner status also moderates the relationship between sex and perceived JI. Figure 3 shows the interaction effect between sex and breadwinner status in PoorWEg and helps explain this result.

*Figure 3 around here*

In PoorWEg, the level of perceived JI is the highest for men reporting to share equally breadwinner status and the lowest for women reporting to share it. One explanation can be found in the fact that in PoorWEg, even though female participation in the labor market is very high, the percentage of men reporting being sole breadwinners is the highest (81.57%, against 77.39% in RichEg and 76.32% in PUnTrad). Therefore, it can be assumed that even though the participation of women in the labor market is high, men still link ideologically their breadwinner status to their male identity. Actually, previous research has underlined that communist countries were characterized by women's economic empowerment (i.e., participation to the labor market) without domestic equality and with a strong prevalence of the

male breadwinner ideology (Ashwin & Isupova, 2018). Therefore, reporting to share the breadwinner status may not have the same meaning and may not correspond to the same reality for women as for men. Following this cultural interpretation, men would quasi systematically report that they have the breadwinner status even in households with two salaries (in which women would report to share the breadwinner status, and in which the loss of one's job is less impactful). Men who report sharing breadwinner status might live in households where a second salary is fully necessary, which increases the fear of job loss.

All of this indicates that the moderating role of self-reported breadwinner status on the relationship between sex and perceived JI varies according to the groups of countries: it depends on the socioeconomic and gender-related context. Therefore, Hypothesis H2 is validated.

#### **IV. Discussion and conclusion**

Our study shows that when self-reported breadwinner status is not controlled for, there is a significant difference in perceived JI between women and men only in RichEg, the group of countries with the best economic situation and fewer gender inequalities, and where women report a lower perceived JI. For this group of countries, the average perceived JI is the lowest and self-reported breadwinner status does not influence perceived JI, either as an explanatory or as a moderating variable. However, when self-reported breadwinner status is controlled for, the effect of sex is no more significant in RichEg. Self-reported breadwinner status significantly influences perceived JI in PoorWEg, the group of countries with the poorest economic situation characterized by high female labor force participation as well as domestic gender inequalities as measured by the time devoted to unpaid care work: people who report that they equally share breadwinner status report a higher perceived JI. In addition, self-reported breadwinner status moderates the relationship between sex and perceived JI, the level of perceived JI being the

highest for men reporting to share equally breadwinner status and the lowest for women reporting to share it. In PUnTrad, where the gender-related context is the least favorable to women and where the unemployment rate is the highest, self-reported breadwinner status moderates the relationship between sex and perceived JI: women who report sharing breadwinner status equally declare a higher perceived JI than other women but also than men, regardless of their breadwinner status.

The results of our study provide an opportunity to confront them with previous research on two points. First, we mentioned that several scholars advocated for typologies of countries, including the gender dimension (Lewis, 1992; Orloff, 1993, 1996). In our article, we took into account women's economic rights at work, women's representation in national parliaments, HDI adjusted to gender inequalities, the female to male ratio of time devoted to unpaid care work, and then female to male ratio of labor force participation. This led us to propose a typology that differs from traditional typologies (Esping-Andersen, 1999). Our typology is also different from that proposed by Chybalski and Marcinkiewicz (2021) since we used a mix of criteria related to public policies and women's real-life situations, whereas their typology mostly includes criteria related to public policies and expenditures. Our typology enabled us to show that the effect of sex on perceived JI varies according to socioeconomic and gender-related contexts, and to bridge the literature on perceived JI and the literature devoted to gender ideology and national cultures. This had been done before, but only in specific countries (Bergmann et al., 2019; Charles & James, 2005), not in an international and comparative approach.

This allows us to dialog with previous research about the male breadwinner model, in relation to women's participation to the labor market. Previous research has already suggested, but within specific countries and contexts, that women's work does not totally jeopardize the male breadwinner model. As a matter of fact, Mósesdóttir and Ellingsæter (2019) explain how,

in Norway, the normalization of women's part-time work has modified the gender contract: women are able to work but gender equality in the workplace is not reached yet. In South Wales, Charles and James (2005) argue that the male breadwinner is still widespread, however in a modified form, even in households where women work. In Russia, Ashwin and Isupova (2018) recall that the "Soviet gender paradox", i.e., the combination of women's participation to the labor market, domestic gender inequalities, and the prevalence of the male breadwinner ideology, remains prevalent. Our study allows us to extend those results in an international and comparative setting based on a representative sample. In our data, the breadwinner status variable corresponds to self-reported, and not actual, breadwinner status, and previous research has shown that, for the same actual breadwinner status, the self-reported breadwinner status might be higher for men than for women (Cha & Thébaud, 2009). Actually, in our sample, working men are more likely to declare that they hold the breadwinner status than working women, whatever the country group and the gender-related context. We were able to measure the effect of the self-reported breadwinning status on perceived JI within various socio-economic and gender-related contexts. Our research shows that the importance of reporting to be the main breadwinner or to share this status may vary between women and men but also across the different groups of countries. In RichEg, nearly half of women declare to be breadwinners or to share the breadwinner status, but perceived JI remains less important for women than for men, as if their work was less important than men's work. PoorWEg is also interesting because even though female participation in the labor market is very high, the percentage of men reporting being sole breadwinners is the highest, and men who report sharing breadwinner status have the highest level of perceived JI.

Our study suffers from several limitations that open new avenues for research. The first limitation is due to the absence of variables about individuals' work orientation, i.e., the

importance attached to career and work in one's life in the dataset, knowing that having a strong work orientation can increase perceived JI as it increases the cost of job loss (Nolan, 2009). It would be interesting to use data concerning this theme, such as the ones present in the European Values Study. Second, our macro indicators used to build the typology of countries do not take into account national cultures or values. It would be of great interest to cross the variables in our study with indicators such as those produced in line with Hofstede's work, as in some previous research (Debus et al., 2012), or again with aggregate data from the European Values Study. Third, the OECD index of employment protection which was used in this study has been criticized by previous research (Myant & Brandhuber, 2016), which might influence some of our results, as mentioned throughout the text. Fourth, as underlined by Hastings and Heyes (2018), it is worth mentioning that "groupings (of countries) are not static", especially a few years after a crisis period: this would imply that future research should encompass a more dynamic dimension in exploring not only some variables characterizing different national systems at one point in time, but also some indicators related to the trajectories they are following, their direction and pace, as well as their underlying tensions (Bosch, Lehndorff, & Rubery, 2009). It could also be interesting to include some variables related to occupational mobility patterns which have been proved to significantly differ among European countries, with distinct outcomes in terms of employment (Bisello, Maccarrone, & Fernández-Macías, 2020), and, maybe, in terms of JI.

Finally, some implications in terms of social policies might be drawn from our research. First, women's participation in the labor market is not a guarantee of equality, as their work might be considered secondary within the household, even in countries with the highest level of gender equality. The male-breadwinner model also remains important in national contexts characterized by high participation of women in the labor market but where there are gender inequalities in unpaid care work (our PoorWEg). Therefore, public policies should address not

only access to the labor market but also the prevalence of the breadwinner ideology and the share of the domestic burden within households. Second, our study underscores that employment protection policy does not totally compensate for insecurity in the labor market, as suggested by our cluster PUnTrad, characterized by a high unemployment rate, a high level of employment protection, and a high level of perceived JI. Whether it is related to the construction of the index and its limitations or to a concrete difficulty for countries to find ways to compensate for high unemployment rates, this calls for actions and changes.

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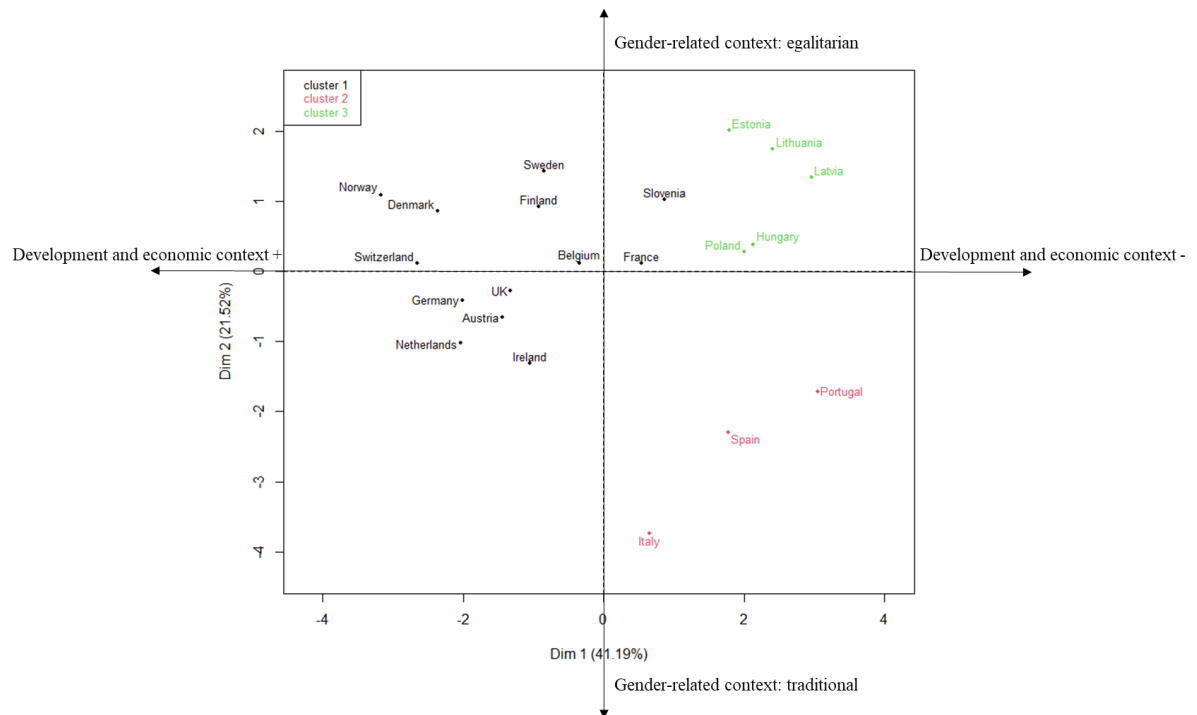
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## Figures and Tables

Figure 1. Typology of countries



**Cluster 1 RichEg** (economically rich and egalitarian)

**Cluster 2 PUnTrad** (high employment protection, high unemployment rate and traditional gender ideology)

**Cluster 3 PoorWEg** (economically poor and egalitarian at work)

Figure 2. PUnTrad. Interaction of Sex and Breadwinner

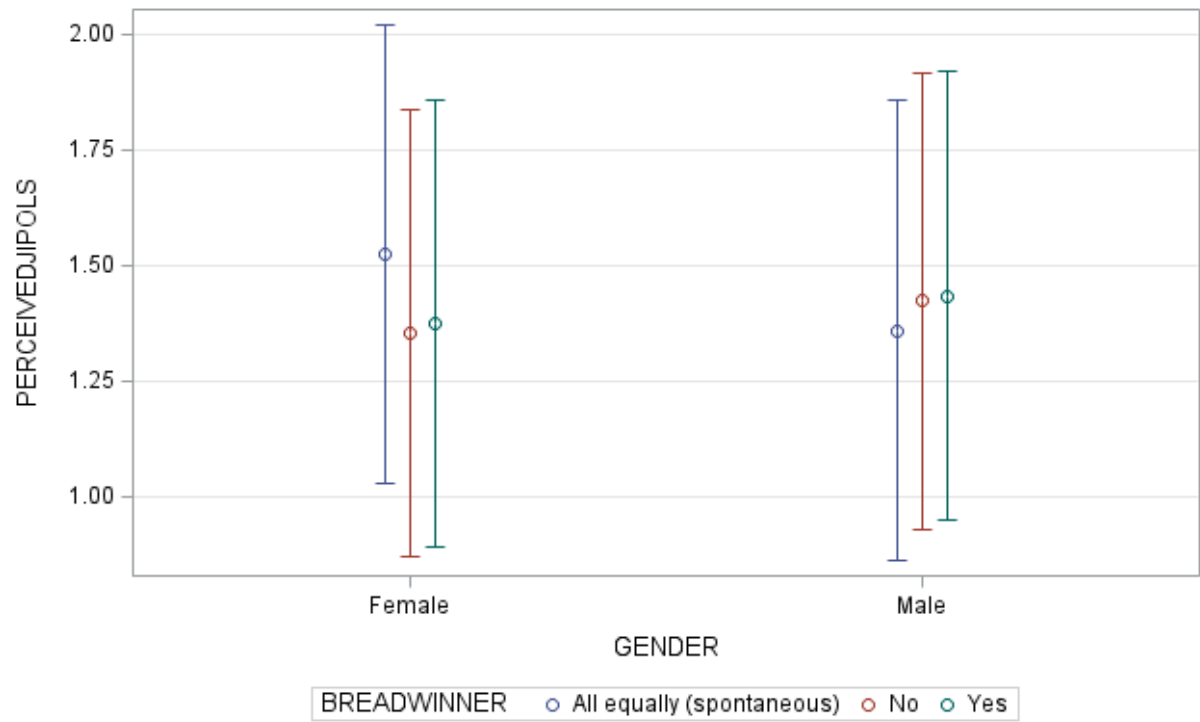


Figure 3. PoorWEg. Interaction of Sex and Breadwinner

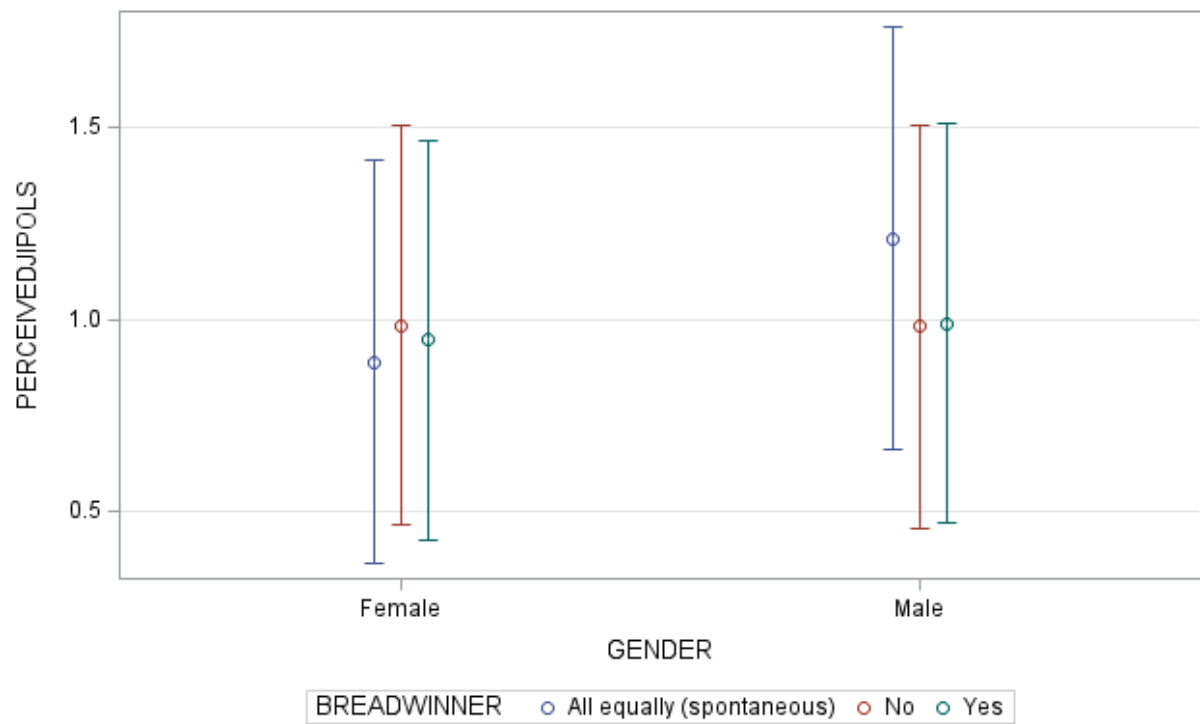


Table 1. National indicators used for the typology of countries

	Precisions if necessary	Min	Average	Max
Unemployment rate (2015)		4.5% (Norway)	8.5%	22.07% (Spain)
GDP based on PPP per capita (2015)	Expressed in dollars	\$24,541 (Latvia)	\$40,012	\$67,445 (Norway)
Employment protection level (2015)	Index about the strictness of employment protection for regular contracts	1.23 (Ireland)	2.22	3.24 (Netherlands)
HDI (2015)	Statistic composite index about human development	0.83 (Latvia)	0.89	0.95 (Norway)
Index concerning the women's economic rights at work (2014)	Binary variable: 0 if all rights are guaranteed by law (Ireland, for example) and 0.5 if some economic rights are guaranteed by law (Poland, for example)	0 (Ireland)	0.26	0.5 (Poland)
Women's representation in national parliaments (2014)	Percentage of women in national parliaments	0.09 (Hungary)	0.30	0.45 (Sweden)
GDI (2015)	HDI adjusted for gender inequalities, and including gender pay gap	0.95 (Netherlands)	0.99	1.03 (Lithuania)
Female to male ratio of time devoted to unpaid care work (2014)		1.3 (Denmark)	2.08	4.25 (Portugal)
Female to male ratio of labor force participation (2015)		0.72 (Italy)	0.88	0.95 (Finland)

Table 2. Average value of the indicators used in the typology for each group

	<b>RichEg</b>	<b>PUnTrad</b>	<b>PoorWEg</b>
Unemployment rate	7.19 (sd=2.06)	18.36 (sd=4.83)	7.90 (sd=1.40)
GDP	45795 (sd=8290)	33884 (sd=2850)	26664 (sd=1393)
Employment protection level	2.12 (sd=0.52)	2.36 (sd=0.52)	2.28 (sd=0.52)
HDI	0.91 (sd=0.02)	0.88 (sd=0.02)	0.85 (sd=0.01)
Women's economic rights at work	0.19 (sd=0.24)	0.39 (sd=0.21)	0.50 (sd=0.00)
Women's representation in parliaments	0.34 (sd=0.07)	0.34 (sd=0.03)	0.20 (sd=0.05)
GDI	0.98 (sd=0.02)	0.97 (sd=0.00)	1.02 (sd=0.02)
F to M ratio of time/unpaid care work	1.77 (sd=0.20)	3.31 (sd=0.44)	2.01 (sd=0.10)
F to M ratio of labor force participation	0.89 (sd=0.04)	0.83 (sd=0.06)	0.89 (sd=0.05)

Table 3. Sample size by country

<b>Country</b>	<b># of respondents</b>
Austria	771
Belgium	1,838
Denmark	796
Estonia	783
Finland	727
France	1,259
Germany	1,476
Hungary	600
Ireland	668
Italy	717
Latvia	651
Lithuania	756
Netherlands	769
Norway	830
Poland	695
Portugal	542
Slovenia	1,168
Spain	2,245
Sweden	846
Switzerland	763
UK	1,192

Table 4. Main descriptive statistics of the variables used in the study

	<b>Whole sample 20,092</b>	<b>Female sample 10,682 (weighted data=50%)</b>	<b>Male sample 9,410 (weighted data=50%)</b>
Perceived JI	m=0.00, sd=0.90	m=-0.02, sd=0.87	m=0.02, sd=0.93
Breadwinner			
Yes	59.63%	41.37%	77.89%
No	33.39%	50.78%	16.00%
All equally	6.98%	7.86%	6.11%
Type of contract			
Unlimited duration	84.25%	83.90%	84.59%
Limited duration	11.67%	12.06%	11.28%
Temp. agency	1.32%	1.15%	1.49%
No contract	2.76%	2.89%	2.64%
Part-time			
Full-time	78.64%	68.00%	89.29%
Part-time	21.36%	32.00%	10.71%
Nationality			
Yes	85.33%	85.40%	85.26%
No	14.67%	14.60%	14.74%
Education			
Primary	2.77%	2.79%	2.75%
Lower secondary	11.28%	9.84%	12.71%
Upper secondary	38.40%	34.80%	42.00%
Postsec. nontertiary	9.90%	9.89%	9.90%
Short-cycle tertiary	11.12%	13.21%	9.03%
Bachelor	14.12%	16.15%	12.08%
Master's or Doctorate	12.42%	13.32%	11.52%
Age	m=42.15, sd=11.65	m=42.29, sd=11.22	m=42.02, sd=12.11
Tenure	m=10.06, sd=9.70	m=9.92, sd=9.29	m=10.20, sd=10.14
Skills			
Underskilled	15.26%	15.42%	15.10%
Adequate	57.62%	58.90%	56.34%
Overskilled	27.12%	25.67%	28.56%
Other paid job			
No	91.15%	91.41%	90.89%
Yes, regular	3.93%	4.12%	3.74%
Yes, occasional	4.92%	4.46%	5.37%
Sector			
Private sector	64.67%	57.02%	72.32%
Public sector	28.61%	35.56%	21.66%
Joint PP	4.10%	4.01%	4.19%
Not-for-profit	1.41%	1.93%	0.90%
Other	1.20%	1.47%	0.93%
Restructuring			
Yes	27.49%	27.52%	27.46%
No	71.33%	71.41%	71.24%
Don't know	1.18%	1.06%	1.31%
Workforce			
1	1.65%	2.36%	0.93%
2-9	16.32%	16.97%	15.66%
10-249	41.28%	41.24%	41.31%
250+	37.27%	35.40%	39.13%
Don't know	3.49%	4.02%	2.96%
Workforce evol.			
Decreased a lot	4.88%	4.25%	5.51%
Decreased a little	19.86%	18.37%	21.36%
No change	48.75%	51.59%	45.92%
Increased a little	18.91%	18.71%	19.12%
Increased a lot	5.39%	4.95%	5.83%
Don't know	2.21%	2.14%	2.27%
Unions			
Yes	53.05%	52.29%	53.82%
No	43.08%	43.33%	42.84%
Don't know	3.86%	4.39%	3.34%

Table 5. Significant difference between females and males for the variables used in the study, according to groups

	<b>RichEg 13,103</b>		<b>PUnTrad 3,504</b>		<b>PoorWEg 3,485</b>	
Perceived JI	m=-0.14, sd=0.87		m=0.27, sd=0.95		m=0.24, sd=0.83	
	Female 49%	Male 51%	Female 50%	Male 50%	Female 53%	Male 47%
Perceived JI	<b>m=-0.17, sd=0.84</b>	<b>m=-0.11, sd=0.90</b>	m=0.26, sd=0.94	m=0.28, sd=0.97	<b>m=0.22, sd=0.80</b>	<b>m=0.27, sd=0.89</b>
Breadwinner						
Yes	<b>42.05%</b>	<b>77.39%</b>	<b>39.35%</b>	<b>76.32%</b>	<b>40.89%</b>	<b>81.57%</b>
No	<b>51.32%</b>	<b>16.64%</b>	<b>47.85%</b>	<b>15.26%</b>	<b>51.67%</b>	<b>14.26%</b>
All equally	<b>6.63%</b>	<b>5.97%</b>	<b>12.80%</b>	<b>8.42%</b>	<b>7.44%</b>	<b>4.17%</b>
Type of contract						
Unlimited duration	<b>86.47%</b>	<b>87.35%</b>	<b>70.78%</b>	<b>74.02%</b>	<b>87.42%</b>	<b>84.99%</b>
Limited duration	<b>9.83%</b>	<b>8.47%</b>	<b>21.57%</b>	<b>20.91%</b>	<b>10.77%</b>	<b>12.09%</b>
Temp. agency	<b>1.30%</b>	<b>1.86%</b>	<b>1.21%</b>	<b>0.99%</b>	<b>0.60%</b>	<b>0.55%</b>
No contract	<b>2.40%</b>	<b>2.31%</b>	<b>6.44%</b>	<b>4.08%</b>	<b>1.21%</b>	<b>2.37%</b>
Part-time						
Full-time	<b>61.24%</b>	<b>88.94%</b>	<b>72.02%</b>	<b>87.73%</b>	<b>87.48%</b>	<b>92.37%</b>
Part-time	<b>38.76%</b>	<b>11.06%</b>	<b>27.98%</b>	<b>12.27%</b>	<b>12.52%</b>	<b>7.63%</b>
Nationality						
Yes	83.20%	82.31%	89.72%	90.48%	<b>88.90%</b>	<b>91.47%</b>
No	16.80%	17.69%	10.28%	9.52%	<b>11.10%</b>	<b>8.53%</b>
Education						
Primary	<b>1.61%</b>	<b>1.45%</b>	<b>9.77%</b>	<b>9.90%</b>	<b>0.26%</b>	<b>0.22%</b>
Lower secondary	<b>8.83%</b>	<b>11.26%</b>	<b>17.11%</b>	<b>18.91%</b>	<b>6.49%</b>	<b>11.84%</b>
Upper secondary	<b>38.42%</b>	<b>45.68%</b>	<b>25.23%</b>	<b>26.54%</b>	<b>31.32%</b>	<b>44.03%</b>
Postsec. nontertiary	<b>6.66%</b>	<b>5.42%</b>	<b>15.52%</b>	<b>19.82%</b>	<b>15.74%</b>	<b>17.14%</b>
Short-cycle tertiary	<b>14.47%</b>	<b>10.45%</b>	<b>10.67%</b>	<b>6.14%</b>	<b>11.27%</b>	<b>6.46%</b>
Bachelor	<b>15.35%</b>	<b>12.22%</b>	<b>17.56%</b>	<b>13.85%</b>	<b>17.54%</b>	<b>9.62%</b>
Master's or Doctorate	<b>14.65%</b>	<b>13.53%</b>	<b>4.13%</b>	<b>4.85%</b>	<b>17.38%</b>	<b>10.70%</b>
Age	m=42.19, sd=11.42	m=42.19, sd=41.90	m=41.85, sd=10.33	m=42.00, sd=11.37	<b>m=43.03, sd=11.26</b>	<b>m=41.37, sd=12.97</b>
Tenure	<b>m=10.11, sd=9.46</b>	<b>m=10.70, sd=10.34</b>	<b>m=9.90, sd=9.21</b>	<b>m=10.60, sd=10.50</b>	<b>m=9.30, sd=8.75</b>	<b>m=7.78, sd=8.29</b>
Skills						
Underskilled	<b>15.78%</b>	<b>16.11%</b>	9.86%	11.55%	<b>19.42%</b>	<b>14.89%</b>
Adequate	<b>58.54%</b>	<b>54.76%</b>	62.99%	61.42%	<b>56.31%</b>	<b>57.16%</b>
Overskilled	<b>25.68%</b>	<b>29.13%</b>	27.15%	27.03%	<b>24.26%</b>	<b>27.95%</b>
Other paid job						
No	<b>90.36%</b>	<b>89.95%</b>	94.94%	94.93%	91.69%	90.27%
Yes, regular	<b>4.84%</b>	<b>4.35%</b>	2.07%	1.27%	3.58%	3.98%
Yes, occasional	<b>4.79%</b>	<b>5.70%</b>	2.98%	3.80%	4.73%	5.75%
Sector						
Private sector	<b>54.40%</b>	<b>70.95%</b>	<b>68.76%</b>	<b>76.38%</b>	<b>55.00%</b>	<b>73.39%</b>
Public sector	<b>36.50%</b>	<b>22.31%</b>	<b>27.14%</b>	<b>20.34%</b>	<b>40.25%</b>	<b>20.52%</b>
Joint PP	<b>4.78%</b>	<b>4.64%</b>	<b>2.64%</b>	<b>2.44%</b>	<b>2.66%</b>	<b>4.29%</b>
Not-for-profit	<b>2.60%</b>	<b>1.26%</b>	<b>0.58%</b>	<b>0.09%</b>	<b>0.93%</b>	<b>0.31%</b>
Other	<b>1.72%</b>	<b>0.84%</b>	<b>0.88%</b>	<b>0.75%</b>	<b>1.16%</b>	<b>1.48%</b>
Restructuring						
Yes	31.36%	31.40%	22.03%	21.78%	19.50%	17.78%
No	67.98%	67.88%	76.39%	76.06%	78.54%	79.49%
Don't know	0.66%	0.72%	1.58%	2.16%	1.97%	2.74%
Workforce						
1	<b>1.20%</b>	<b>0.63%</b>	<b>7.76%</b>	<b>1.99%</b>	1.27%	1.01%
2-9	<b>14.50%</b>	<b>12.92%</b>	<b>22.58%</b>	<b>23.91%</b>	20.20%	17.71%

10-249	<b>38.63%</b>	<b>37.61%</b>	<b>36.84%</b>	<b>43.63%</b>	54.39%	53.68%
250+	<b>42.86%</b>	<b>46.98%</b>	<b>26.18%</b>	<b>27.02%</b>	18.40%	20.77%
Don't know	<b>2.80%</b>	<b>1.86%</b>	<b>6.64%</b>	<b>3.45%</b>	5.74%	6.83%
Workforce evol.						
Decreased a lot	<b>5.69%</b>	<b>7.34%</b>	1.07%	1.56%	<b>2.29%</b>	<b>2.40%</b>
Decreased a little	<b>21.56%</b>	<b>24.46%</b>	9.75%	11.32%	<b>15.48%</b>	<b>19.79%</b>
No change	<b>47.69%</b>	<b>41.99%</b>	57.50%	52.74%	<b>59.44%</b>	<b>54.29%</b>
Increased a little	<b>17.89%</b>	<b>18.30%</b>	22.68%	23.94%	<b>17.77%</b>	<b>17.19%</b>
Increased a lot	<b>5.38%</b>	<b>6.24%</b>	6.36%	7.75%	<b>2.11%</b>	<b>2.08%</b>
Don't know	<b>1.78%</b>	<b>1.67%</b>	2.63%	2.69%	<b>2.92%</b>	<b>4.26%</b>
Unions						
Yes	<b>59.61%</b>	<b>61.33%</b>	45.61%	49.08%	<b>33.36%</b>	<b>28.77%</b>
No	<b>36.40%</b>	<b>36.21%</b>	49.54%	46.59%	<b>61.32%</b>	<b>65.43%</b>
Don't know	<b>3.99%</b>	<b>2.46%</b>	4.85%	4.33%	<b>5.32%</b>	<b>5.80%</b>



Table 6. Results of the models

	Without breadwinner status			With breadwinner status		
	RichEg	PUnTrad	PoorWEg	RichEg	PUnTrad	PoorWEg
Sex (ref. Male)						
Female	-0.04**	-0.04	-0.04	-0.03	-0.06	-0.04
Breadwinner (ref. Yes)						
All equally	-	-	-	0.02	-0.07	0.22*
No				-0.02	-0.01	-0.01
Sex * Breadwinner (ref. Male, Yes)						
Female*All equally	-	-	-	-0.09	0.22*	-0.28*
Female*No				-0.01	-0.01	0.05
Type of contract (ref. unlim. duration)						
Temp. agency contract	0.98***	1.00***	0.49**	0.98***	1.01***	0.52**
Limited duration	0.77***	0.65***	0.28***	0.77***	0.65***	0.27***
No contract	0.18***	0.41***	0.20(*)	0.18***	0.41***	0.20(*)
Part-time (ref. Full-time)						
Part-time	0.04*	0.10*	0.12**	0.04*	0.11**	0.12*
Nationality (ref. yes)						
No	0.04(*)	0.00	0.07	0.04(*)	-0.00	0.07
Education (ref. Up. Secondary)						
Primary	-0.10(*)	-0.10(*)	0.11	-0.10(*)	-0.11*	0.11
Lower secondary	0.02	-0.02	-0.07	0.02	-0.03	-0.07
Postsecondary nontertiary	-0.08**	-0.11*	-0.08(*)	-0.08*	-0.11*	-0.08(*)
Short-cycle tertiary	-0.06**	-0.24***	-0.03	-0.06**	-0.24***	-0.03
Bachelor	-0.06**	-0.08(*)	-0.08(*)	-0.06**	-0.08(*)	-0.07(*)
Master's or Doctorate	-0.13***	0.03	-0.00	-0.13***	-0.04	0.00
Age	0.03***	-0.01	0.00	0.03***	-0.01	0.00
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.00***	0.00	0.00	-0.00***	0.00	0.00
Tenure	-0.01***	-0.02***	-0.01***	-0.01***	-0.02***	-0.01***
Skills (ref. my skills correspond)						
Not skilled enough	0.08***	-0.01	-0.02	0.08***	-0.01	-0.02
Overskilled	0.04*	0.00	-0.08*	0.04*	0.00	-0.08*
Other paid job (ref. No)						
Yes, occasional	0.02	-0.00	-0.01	0.02	-0.01	-0.01
Yes, regular	-0.13***	-0.03	-0.26***	-0.13***	-0.03	-0.25***
Sector (ref. Private sector)						
Public sector	-0.18***	-0.17***	-0.09**	-0.18***	-0.17***	-0.09**
Joint PP sector	-0.16***	0.15	-0.05	-0.16***	0.15	-0.05
Not-for-profit	-0.04	-0.04	-0.25	-0.04	-0.04	-0.25
Other	0.02	-0.38*	-0.16	0.02	-0.38*	-0.16
Restructuring (ref. No)						
Yes	0.08***	0.02	0.18***	0.08***	0.02	0.18***
Don't know	0.21*	0.07	0.45***	0.21*	0.07	0.44***
Workforce (ref. 10-249)						
1	0.02	-0.02	-0.26*	0.02	0.93	-0.27*
2-9	-0.02	0.05	-0.06	-0.02	0.05	-0.06
250+	-0.03(*)	-0.04	-0.10**	-0.03(*)	-0.04	-0.10**
Don't know	0.02	0.04	0.14*	0.01	0.05	0.14*
Workforce evol. (ref. No change)						
Decreased a lot	0.32***	0.36***	0.36***	0.32***	0.35***	0.37***
Decreased a little	0.13***	0.07*	0.13***	0.13***	0.07*	0.13***
Increased a little	-0.06***	-0.08	-0.04	-0.05***	-0.08	-0.04
Increased a lot	-0.10***	-0.02	-0.13	-0.10***	-0.03	-0.13
Don't know	0.16**	0.05	-0.05	0.16**	0.06	-0.05
Unions (ref. No)						
Yes	-0.03(*)	0.06(*)	0.03	-0.03(*)	0.06(*)	0.03
Don't know	-0.03	-0.02	0.11(*)	-0.03	-0.01	0.12(*)
Adjusted R2	0.13	0.19	0.07	0.13	0.19	0.07

Significance levels: (\*)=0.1; \*=0.05; \*\*=0.01; \*\*\*=0.001