CHAPTER 6

WOMEN'S INTENTIONS AND FLEXIBLE WORK ARRANGEMENTS

Evidence From the Far Southeastern Corner of the EU

Christiana Ierodiakonou and Eleni Stavrou

This study extends research on women and employment by exploring the perceptions, attitudes, and intentions of unemployed women towards flexible work arrangements (FWAs). We develop and validate empirically, through group interviews, a conceptual framework suggesting that the interactions of different factors influence the intentions of women to adopt FWAs and their career aspirations. Women's intentions to work under FWAs, and aspirations, differ depending on each FWA as well as the family, personal and organizational factors relevant to them. Results raise issues about the employability of women through FWAs in a complex society and the need for policy at the organizational and the national levels.

Economic and technological factors have encouraged employers to adopt flexible work arrangements (FWAs) as a means to respond to the increasing competition, market volatility and economic recession (Brewster, Mayne, & Tregaskis, 2001). Simultaneously, changes in family life have been taking place (Crompton, 2002b; Strazdins, Clements, Korda, Broom, & D'Souza, 2006) and altogether interact with shifts of individual priorities, as women become more involved in paid employment and men with family duties (Higgins & Duxbury, 1992). These changes put pressures on individuals to find ways to harmonize their life rhythms (Aryee, Srinivas, & Tan, 2005) and on employers to introduce appropriate work schedules (Barnett Chait & Gareis, 2000) that reduce conflict between the two "greedy institutions" of family and employment (Wood & Newton, 2006, p. 344).

In the attempt to face these challenges FWAs have a significant contribution to make (Scheibl & Dex, 1998). The majority of studies on the subject have focused on women since FWAs are assumed to be more beneficial for women with work and family responsibilities (Crompton, 2002a). However, extant research on women has four main limitations: the majority of studies have been conducted (a) on employed career women, mainly at managerial or professional levels (Brett & Stroh, 2003; MacDermid, Lee, Buck, & Williams, 2001; Powell & Mainiero, 1999; Wood & Newton, 2006); (b) in the United States or other developed Western countries (Bainbridge, Cregan, & Kulik, 2006; Dex, Joshi, Macran, & McCulloch, 1998; Scheibl & Dex, 1998; Wood & Newton, 2006); (c) on the basis of personal or family-related issues (Aryee et al., 2005; Fels, 2004; Phillips & Imhoff, 1997; Tang & Cousins, 2005); and (d) considering FWAs as one or few homogeneous groups of practices (Crompton, 2002a; Dreike-Almer, Cohen, & Single, 2003; Nadeem & Hendry, 2003; Sheridan & Conway, 2001).

In this study, we extend current research on the subject by focusing on the perceptions and intentions towards such arrangements of career and non-career oriented women who are currently unemployed and live in the far Southeastern corner of the EU that serves at the cross-roads of Europe and the Middle East. The group of unemployed women, especially in the Southeastern parts of the Mediterranean, has been largely neglected in research, but merits exploration to increase reentering rates in the European labor market: to illustrate, the EU recommends that national governments include "flexicurity" in their laws to spread the use of FWAs by acting to ensure a stable employment future. Furthermore, we enlarge the scope of factors that may influence their intentions to adopt FWAs perceived by these women. Finally, we consider women's intentions towards each of a large array of FWAs. The complete model proposed in and framing the present study, shaped and validated through our empirical data, is presented in Appendix 1 and analyzed next.

To conceptualize the process through which women develop attitudes and intentions towards FWAs and to build a framework to guide the research, we adopt Ajzen's (1991) theory of planned behavior. This theory is "one of the most comprehensive accounts on how attitudes relate to behavior" (Houston & Marks, 2003, p. 200) and is based on the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1969, 1970, 1977; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1974). It generally argues that the person's attitudes towards the behavior, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control (we summarize these into what we name "Factors Affecting Intentions") form intentions that affect behavior. "Intentions" is actually a central concept in the framework and suggests a person's motivation to perform certain behaviors (Houston & Marks, 2003, p. 200).

FACTORS AFFECTING INTENTIONS

Through the literature, we have found factors that may fall into three main dimensions that may affect women's intentions or behaviors to work under flexible work. As explained later, these dimensions are not mutually exclusive but rather interrelated. We named these dimensions, Family, Personal and Organizational; each of these dimensions is discussed next.

Family

The intentions of individuals to work under FWAs are affected by domestic role allocation (Dreike-Almer et al., 2003) since traditional gender role expectations place men in the primary breadwinner role and women in the caregiver role (Aryee et al., 2005; Powell & Mainiero, 1992). Given that "the meaning and practice of parenting in the modern western world has been profoundly gendered" (Halford, 2006, p. 383), women with childcare responsibilities are more likely to adopt FWAs compared to men (Dreike-Almer et al., 2003). In fact, female employment increased in parallel with FWAs, indicating that women prefer employment in companies that offer flexibility (Stavrou, 2005).

Upon marriage, women often decide to sacrifice their own needs—including advancement, pay, and work hours—to satisfy the needs of their partner or family, since it is unlikely that their partner will do this instead (Crompton, 2002a; Fels, 2004; Phillips & Imhoff, 1997; Strazdins, Clements, Korda, Broom, & D'Souza, 2006). Nevertheless, support from the familial network can reduce family-work conflict and enable women to get involved in paid work (Aryee et al., 2005; MacDermid et al., 2001). Pertinent, however, is the number and age of children: having dependent

children might make reduced-hours employment necessary to also fulfill maternal roles; otherwise women will remain in full-time careers (Houston & Marks, 2003).

Part of this decision process is the availability of affordable childcare. In Europe, the considerable lack of high-quality and affordable childcare, especially for small children, is a disincentive for women's employment. Moreover, the operating hours of childcare services for older children often do not match parents' working hours; further, the high cost of private childcare remains a controversial issue in most of Europe (Joshi Leichne, Melanson, Pruna, Sager, Story, & Williams, 2002), constraining mothers' employment choices (Crompton, 2002a; European Communities, 2005).

The adoption of (certain) FWAs can enable parents to minimize childcare costs (Strazdins et al., 2006), especially in European countries where employers hardly offer childcare services and facilities (European Communities, 2005). In Central-Eastern and Southern Europe, women are invariably assumed as the primary child carers, but often rely on family members for support, whereas in Western Europe childcare is mainly done exclusively by mothers (Tang & Cousins, 2005). Perhaps the establishment of the "involved" father model would make women's sacrifices unnecessary. However, despite men's gradual involvement in domestic work (MacDermid et al., 2001), changing the forms of fatherhood is difficult (Halford, 2006).

Personal

Women's intentions to work under FWAs are influenced by their personal values, beliefs, ideas, and goals, which are in turn affected by their socialization. In many societies, it is still unacceptable for women to have young children cared by others (European Communities, 2005) and there are still "strong normative expectations that young children would be exclusively cared for by their mothers" (Crompton, 2002b, p. 4). These norms are usually internalized by women, who often argue that they prefer spending more time with their children to bring them up "properly" (European Communities, 2005; Maher, 2005).

More positive attitudes towards FWAs are held by those who believe that getting involved in both the family and employment spheres will enrich their lives (Bainbridge et al., 2006). Phillips and Imhoff (1997) found evidence that role multiplicity can increase women's self-esteem; evidence verified by Brett and Stroh (2003, p. 69) who argue that "work experiences may contribute to self-esteem in ways that family experiences cannot" (p. 69). In fact, men and women have similar motivations to

work: survival, pleasure, and contribution; not just necessity (Joshi et al., 2002; Powell & Mainiero, 1992).

Similarly, Barnett Chait and Gareis (2000) found that women who increase their workforce participation experience decreased emotional distress. Nevertheless, other findings indicate that reducing working hours can be beneficial to individual health, relationships, and work productivity (MacDermid et al., 2001). These results, though appearing contradicting, point to the same direction: a balanced lifestyle can have positive effects to both spheres (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006) because it improves quality of life (Hildebrandt, 2006).

Organizational

Corporate cultures and practices influence, even determine, individual employment intentions (Powell & Mainiero, 1992). Smithson and Stokoe (2005) explored the assumptions inherent to corporate cultures and found that FWAs are "by definition" associated with women and that employees are labeled as either moderate achievers who adopt FWAs or high achievers who pursue careers with "standard" hours. Evidently, 'the workplace has been represented as a sphere for intellect, efficiency and rationality while the domestic realm … as a place for emotion, nurturing and embodied personal relationships" (Halford, 2006, p. 385). Consequently, balance cannot be achieved unless corporate definitions of success change or are translated differently by individuals (Dreike-Almer et al., 2003; Kofodimos, 1997).

Organizational practices like upward career models, performance evaluation criteria, and long working hours, restrain employees from achieving balance (Halford, 2006; Kofodimos, 1997; Wood & Newton, 2006). Traditionally, companies defined careers in terms of vertical progression, status and rewards (MacDermid et al., 2001). However, "the modal pattern of men's careers is unlikely to provide a good fit for the modal pattern of women's careers" (Powell & Mainiero, 1992, p. 219); women look for alternative, more flexible career paths (Sullivan, 1999). Nonetheless, FWAs deviate from the traditional full-time, permanent, and secure employment model (Sheridan & Conway, 2001); therefore companies often penalize adopters (Houston & Marks, 2003). Furthermore, sexual harassment is "perhaps one of the most aversive barriers to women's career advancement" (Phillips & Imhoff, 1997, p. 13). The male employment model is nonetheless becoming increasingly scrutinized in the light of increasing concerns for equal opportunities and techno-economic changes creating a flexible economy (MacInnes, 2006; Powell & Mainiero, 1992; Sullivan, 1999).

INTENTIONS

A large proportion of people, especially those working long hours, would prefer reduced and/or more flexible hours (Scheibl & Dex, 1998); yet there is relatively low adoption of FWAs (Wood & Newton, 2006). Brewster et al. (2001) summarize the categories of people who are more eager to adopt FWAs into those who have decided to follow a more balanced life-style, those who do not want to make long commitments to one organization, and those who want to combine one job with another, either paid or unpaid. Likewise, Dreike-Almer et al. (2003) found that additional family time is important for FWA adopters, especially if they have children; therefore, women are more likely to adopt them (Scheibl & Dex, 1998).

Indeed, most women have positive attitudes towards FWAs because of their desire to combine employment with family even if this would mean slower career progression. It is only the minority of women that is primarily oriented toward either family or career and therefore has negative attitudes toward FWAs (Houston & Marks, 2003); career-oriented women prefer remaining childless than using FWAs (Maher, 2005). It is possible, however, that women have positive attitudes towards FWAs but do not adopt them because they fear subsequent career penalties and stigma (Scheibl & Dex, 1998; Wood & Newton, 2006). Or they are positive towards some FWAs, but negative towards others (Strazdins et al., 2006).

Women who have adopted FWAs report detrimental effects on their careers (Crompton, 2002a): slower career progression, less visible and stimulating assignments, exclusion from corporate networks, and pressure to increase working hours (MacDermid et al., 2001). Some even argue that the increasing use of FWAs leads to the "creation of a significant underclass of unprivileged and 'vulnerable' workers" (Brewster et al., 2001, p. 136). Nevertheless, many adopters are still satisfied with their choice (MacDermid et al., 2001; Nadeem & Hendry, 2003).

The household income and financial needs also affect women's decisions to adopt FWAs (Crompton, 2002a). On the one hand, women might be unable to work under FWAs if in increased financial need (Houston & Marks, 2003, p. 199). Moreover, women who occupy managerial positions are less likely to adopt FWAs (Dreike-Almer et al., 2003). In fact, the higher their educational and occupational levels the more likely they are to remain attached to regular employment because they earn enough to afford childcare services (Crompton, 2002a, 2002b), though they are more likely than others to adopt teleworking (European Communities, 2005; Halford, 2006). On the other hand, the higher the partner's occupational status, the lengthier become women's career breaks; also, single

mothers spend more time in employment compared to women with part-
ners (Dex et al., 1998).

In summary, intentions have a very strong, positive correlation with
behavior (Dreike-Almer et al., 2003), but for intentions to be carried
through to behavior planning is important, especially when decisions
have long-term implications (Houston & Marks, 2003). Therefore,
women's intentions to adopt FWAs will be turned into behaviors if they
make the necessary plans for childcare, domestic role allocation, trans-
portation, and working hours.

ASPIRATIONS

Over the past decades, women's career aspirations have increased (Phil-
lips & Imhoff, 1997), but women are still less likely to explicitly admit a
career-orientation and often use family obligations as a defense
(Crompton, 2002b). Women's career aspirations actually depend on their
gender-role attitudes: traditional gender roles equal fewer career
aspirations (Phillips & Imhoff, 1997). What constitutes a career, however,
is personally defined: for men career means advancement, status, and
rewards, whereas women view ambition as "egotism, selfishness, self-
aggrandizement" (Fels, 2004, p. 51) and define careers in terms of indi-
vidual growth and learning (MacDermid et al., 2001). Whatever the defi-
nition of career, some women are not interested in one and claim that
they simply want a job. According to Crompton (2002b), this is often a
rationalization: people who have not succeeded in the workplace cite
their family responsibilities as the reason for that. Interestingly, although
the majority of these women argued against being ambitious, they still
expressed a need for recognition and admitted having been more ambi-
tious when younger (Fels, 2004).

Women's aspirations are also influenced by social expectations (Fels,
2004) and in patriarchal settings like Southeastern Europe women's fami-
lies should precede career aspirations (Yeandle, 1999). Given that any
gender deviant behavior could have negative consequences (MacDermid
et al., 2001) and that childcare services are underdeveloped and/or
expensive (Gardiner, 2000; Millar, 1999), women firstly engage in full-
time family caring and then (re)enter the labor market (Phillips & Imhoff,
1997).

It can be safely argued that Southern Mediterranean countries have
their own distinctive way to function (Rhodes, 1997). Jurado Guerrero
and Naldini (1997) elaborate on the values and attitudes that characterise
the southern model: family, religion, children, and the elderly.
Traditional family structures suggest that women are primarily wives and

mothers, thus preserving the male breadwinner model (Martin, 1997), but they are going through changes similar to those of their northern counterparts. Despite this late "modernisation," traditional values are still cherished and the socioeconomic situation, social policies, and kinship structure operate to reproduce the southern family type (Jurado Guerrero & Naldini, 1997).

The discussion above provides useful insights and also generates questions for research: How do women in Southeastern Europe make lifestyle decisions? Which factors influence their decision to focus on their family and what drives them back into the labor market? What are women's intentions towards different FWAs, how were they shaped, and what do they aspire to achieve in the employment sphere? Answering these questions is the purpose of the present study, which focuses on unemployed women who want to return to the labor market but seek arrangements that would enable work-life balance.

METHODOLOGY

This research is part of the European Union's project "EQUAL" initiated to reinforce the European Employment Strategy, especially among new member countries. The ontological perspective that guides this research is constructionism: that social reality is multivariate and best reflected in women's discussions (Breckner & Rupp, 2002). Given this, a qualitative methodological approach was selected to underpin this study and focus group interviews were selected for data collection. Focus groups were used to incorporate group interaction and to actively involve and empower participants (Kitzinger, 1995) since women's experiences are better discussed and understood in group settings (Campbell & Wasco, 2000).

Convenience sampling was used to recruit participants and all volunteers completed applications to participate. This information was used to select women whose experiences would contribute the most to the research purpose. According to the research plan, 20 focus groups were conducted with 121 women during July-August 2006. The groups were homogenous enough to facilitate interaction but heterogeneous enough to enable in-depth exploration (Kitzinger, 1995). We made serious efforts to hold groups of eight participants, but this was not always possible. In turn we eliminated two groups from analysis: one with two participants and one with too many; therefore the results reported here concern 18 groups with a total of 113 participants who engaged in discussions that lasted from 1½ to 2 hours. The venues selected for the interviews were easily accessible with relaxed and comfortable environments (Blour, Thomas, Frankland, & Robson, 2002). The facilitator explained the pur-

pose of the project and got the participants' consent to record the discussion on video and audio. The protection of personal information and anonymity was guaranteed and it was clarified that recording could stop at any time anyone wished.

Analytical Procedure

The focus group interview templates were constructed upon the review of the relevant literature and organized around two broad themes: (1) employment and family responsibilities, and (2) FWA intentions and aspirations (Appendix 2). We transcribed all discussions and went through the transcripts to record one-sentence statements relevant to the themes, making irrelevant information redundant. We evaluated the one-sentence statements that were generated from the content analysis to ensure that each contributed to the research; further irrelevant statements were made redundant. Each of us separately reviewed the remaining statements and together agreed on the underlying dimensions that we felt were representative of the statements and could frame the research: family, personal, and organizational. To verify that these were encompassing, first we classified the statements in each dimension separately and then together agreed to eliminate additional statements.

To validate these classifications externally, we constructed an inventory that included definitions of the three dimensions and all the statements in random order. As a pilot, two doctoral students with no knowledge of the fields of human resource management and sociology completed the inventory and discussed their responses with us. Consequently, the definitions were revised and the wording of some statements was improved. The process was then repeated with another doctoral student of a similar background and the new version was pilot tested with three additional students whose answers coincided enough to consider this the final version of the instrument. This final version was then completed, in addition to us, by three experts in the field of human resource management who do work on women and FWAs and by two academic colleagues in Business Administration who do not have a relevant background to ensure the impartiality and independence of the final categorizations. Overall, categorizations among the five individuals were consistent among each other and with ours; we discussed any major deviations and revised accordingly to finalize the dimensions and statement categorizations.

Finally, a reliability analysis was carried out and some statements were excluded to increase the model's internal consistency, indicated by Cronbach's coefficient alpha. Therefore, the first and second dimensions ("Family" and "Personal") include 17 statements each, and the third one

("Organizational") 11. The most internally consistent are the family and personal dimensions (Cronbach's alpha 0.676 and 0.679 respectively); the organizational dimension appears to be lower in internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha 0.577).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The majority of participants were between 40-49 years old, married with one or two children. Nonetheless, about 20% of the participants were divorced mothers and 18% were childless. Moreover, most participants were either high school graduates or college diploma holders, without additional qualifications or computer knowledge and were unemployed at the time of the interviews, but had been employed in the past. For a detailed demographic profile of the participants, please refer to Table 6.1.

Next we discuss the research results in relation to the model presented in Appendix 1. In addition to the results from the qualitative analysis, we present results from a set of correlations that reinforce and complement qualitative results; correlation tables are not presented due to lack of space, but the significant coefficients (where alpha is .05 or lower) are reported in the text.

Family

Results show that the behavior of women is indeed driven largely by their family situation, especially if they have dependent children. In line with previous research (Crompton, 2002a; Phillips & Imhoff, 1997) major reasons for women not to work, at least not through "standard" arrangements, were their responsibilities at home. To illustrate, almost 75% of all participants in our study, regardless of age and educational level, claimed that they are *the only ones responsible for the house and children*. Moreover, the more children women had, the more likely they were to claim sole responsibility for domestic and family responsibilities (r 0.23*), and the more likely they were to stay at home with the children (r 0.25**); something that verifies previous results (Houston & Marks, 2003). Only in the group of single, childless women did this percentage drop to about 50%, which is still quite high. Married mothers were more likely than divorced ones to raise children than to work, because they were more likely to afford the associated loss of income. However, university graduates were also less likely to stay home, because they had invested more in human capital.

Some women referred to the unavailability of childcare as a deterrent to their working at all or to their working long hours. More specifically,

Table 6.1. Demographic Profile of the Sample

	N	%		N	%
Age			**Educational level**		
20 29	12	10.6	Gymnasium	16	14.2
30 39	33	29.2	High school	42	37.2
40 49	58	51.3	College diploma	37	32.7
50 59	9	8.	Bachelors degree	13	11.5
60 and over	1	0.9			
District			**Computer knowledge**		
Nicosia	47	41.6	Not at all	46	40.7
Limassol	39	34.5	Average	28	24.8
Larnaca	11	9.7	Good	20	17.7
Paphos	10	8.8	Very good	11	9.7
Ammochostos	6	5.3	Exceptional	8	7.1
Marital status			**Additional qualifications**		
Married with children	71	62.8	No	66	58.4
Married without children	4	3.5	Yes	42	37.2
Single without children	12	10.6			
Single with children	1	0.9	**Employed in the past**		
Divorced with children	22	19.5	No	8	7.1
Divorced without children	2	1.8	Yes	102	90.3
Engaged	1	0.9			
Number children			**Currently employed**		
None	20	17.7	No	97	85.8
1	10	8.8	Yes	16	14.2
2	44	38.9			
3	26	23			
4	8	7.1	**Rural area**		
5	4	3.5	No	85	75.2
	1	0.9	Yes	28	24.8

women commented that *private childcare facilities are very expensive* (7.1%), *childcare services are not available late in the afternoons, during nights, weekends and summer* (6.2%), and that *school/childcare operating hours are inconvenient for parents* (7.1%). These women were more likely to seek a job with convenient hours *(r = 0.28**, 0.19*, 0.20* respectively).* These findings reinforce existing evidence suggesting that the unavailability of appropriate childcare services determines women's employment paths (Crompton, 2002a; European Communities, 2005). Though not suggested in previous studies, findings here show that divorced mothers were more dissatisfied with the availability and cost of childcare facilities than others because their financial responsibilities require longer working hours.

In turn, the familial context also determines women's intentions to return to paid employment, perhaps under a FWA (Tomlinson, 2004). By far, the major reason is their *need to contribute income to the household* (66.4%) especially as the number of children increases and children grow up: in these cases financial responsibilities increase proportionally and cannot be satisfied by one income only. Whereas only half of all childless women discussed their need to earn an extra income, this percentage rose up to 60% for women with one child, to about 75% for those with two or three children and to 100% for those with four children. The need for additional income was also expressed by women who said that while *all they wanted to do was to raise their children, now they <u>have</u> to work* (8.8%). These women were mostly high-school graduates above 40 years old who emphasised that they want to (re)enter the labour market because of financial necessity only. These are somewhat contradicting with previous findings suggesting that financial need is determinant mainly for single parents (Dreike-Almer et al., 2003), but verify that financial need forces women to work even if not desired (Houston & Marks, 2003).

Other women said that when they were younger they had dreams of building a career but explained that *priorities change as one gets older, marries and has children* (23.9%), so they are willing to settle for just a job. Such opinion was articulated only by mothers, either married or divorced, though divorced mothers were more likely to indicate it, probably because they found themselves as primary family carers in an unexpected turn of life. It is therefore indeed the case that many women have 'split dreams' (Sullivan, 1999) and choose to prioritize family first. Whatever the case, many of the participants felt that their employment intentions were bounded by their family situation and suggested that they were willing to get *any job as long as the hours were convenient* (21.2%) and that *career comes second because family is their priority* (10.6%).

Finally, women's life decisions were also influenced by their membership and position in their primary families as daughters in a rather patriarchal society. Such findings were not reported by other researchers, but

the cultural context of this study generates interesting findings: 15.9% of all women said that their *parents did not allow them to finish high school or to study abroad* and 8.8% said that their *parents forced them to marry very young*. Perhaps worthy of further investigation is the fact that all these women are mothers today, either married or divorced, and have few career aspirations.

Personal

While discussing the reasons that kept them out of paid employment, women referred to their own values, goals and needs that guided their decisions and would influence their intentions to adopt FWAs. Many women chose to stay home to raise a family because they considered it an important personal value, probably influenced by the traditional cultural values (European Communities, 2005). Compared to women below 30 years old, older women—especially above 50 years old—seemed more likely to have chosen this, indicating the strong normative expectations wanting mothers at home to raise children (Crompton, 2002b). In line with Maher's (2005) finding that the concept of "proper" mothering has not changed much, even university graduates felt that children's "proper" upbringing should be done exclusively by the mother.

Fewer women referred to the fact that they had *no educational opportuni ties in the past* (1.8%) and therefore they got married and raised their children. One woman argued that she was *too old to learn quickly and effectively,* although she was only between 30-39 years old: to the best of our knowledge, previous studies did not refer to the lack of educational opportunities in the past as a reason not to grow further in the future. Nevertheless, the positive correlation between educational level and the statement *"I love my children but they are not enough"* (8%, r 0.19*) shows that more educated women feel that there is more to life than family. This was mainly mentioned by young women: perhaps these are caught between traditional notions of mothering and their personal need for achievement or growth (Brett & Stroh, 2003).

In their discussions about future employment, women emphasized their own needs, particularly making reference to their *need to get out and socialize because they got depressed* (35.4%) and their need to *work and do something for themselves* (20.4%). The latter were needs expressed mostly by older mothers with relatively high levels of education. Additionally, the *need to feel useful that they offer something* (31.9%) was mostly felt by younger women in their thirties who were again well-educated, but were divorced and perhaps felt that they had more to offer to their children. The need to *learn something new and use their minds* (29.2%) was expressed by women

of all ages and educational backgrounds, but the desire to *prove that they are worthy and capable* (8.8%) was mainly expressed by younger women in their twenties and thirties who were well-educated and perhaps felt that they had the potential to achieve more in their lives. Some women said that even though they *always wanted to have family and children, they now felt the need to learn and progress* (7.1%), especially if they were younger than 40 years old and well-educated. Notably, divorced mothers felt the need to learn and progress more strongly than married ones, probably because they need to succeed in the workplace to "compensate" for possible problems in their personal lives. Whatever the main personal drive of each woman, their views verify that indeed, the work sphere can offer rewards and satisfaction that boost individual self-esteem in ways that the family sphere cannot and that women seek employment not only for financial reasons (Bainbridge et al., 2006; Brett & Stroh, 2003; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Joshi et al., 2002).

Organizational

Asking women why they were not employed at the moment brought to light organizational practices that discouraged them from doing so. Almost half the participants mentioned that *working hours are inconvenient for mothers*, indicating that childcare responsibilities were largely incompatible with "standard" working hours. This was expected as a common problem of women and one that is reported in many relevant studies (Dreike-Almer et al., 2003; Halford, 2006; Higgins & Duxbury, 1992; Powell & Mainiero, 1992; Scheibl & Dex, 1998). In fact, we found a positive correlation between number of children and inconvenience in "standard" working hours (r 0.23*). An important finding not reported in the literature, was that long working hours are more problematic for divorced mothers: whereas fewer than half married mothers referred to the problems associated with long working hours, almost 65% of all divorced mothers did. Married women are more able to remain unemployed or secondary earners given the security provided by their spouse's income.

Women expressing inconvenience in work hours were also likely to note that *salaries offered are low, sometimes lower than the legally defined minimum wage* (r 0.23*). This is notable because low salaries are typically associated with FWAs (Hildebrandt, 2006; Maher, 2005); no evidence for illegally low salaries has been reported elsewhere. Women with higher education compared to high-school graduates were more discouraged from low salaries because they expected higher returns on their investment, something consistent with existing research (Dreike-Almer et al., 2003; MacInnes,

2006). Although all mothers found such low salaries insulting and diminishing, they were even more problematic for divorced ones with increasing financial responsibilities. Although we are unaware of studies reporting such consistent differences between married and divorced mothers, the difference here is supported by the relevant correlation suggesting that the presence of a partner reduced the possibility of mentioning low salaries being so problematic (r $-0.27**$).

Finally, women above 40 years old, especially if they were divorced, were more likely than others to express certain opinions reflecting their past negative experiences in the labor market. These women explained that *employers do not respect employees* (13.3%) and that they are prejudiced against women: employers *see (divorced) mothers as temporary staff* (3.5%). Moreover, they perceived the *culture in companies as very competitive,* characterized by envy and jealousy among coworkers (4.4%); they even argued that *once fired, it is hard to get another job* (1.8%). These are in line with previous findings suggesting that managers perceive mothers as less committed because they cannot conform to traditional employment models (Halford, 2006; Smithson & Stokoe, 2005) and showing that corporate cultures cannot only discourage FWAs (Powell & Mainiero, 1992), but the employment decision overall.

Common Areas Among Dimensions

The categorization process of statements under the above three dimensions indicated that these dimensions should not be perceived as separate but as interconnected groups of issues that interact and overlap to produce the overall effect on each women's intentions. It seems that family-related and personal-related factors in combination affect many of the decisions and behavior of women; therefore the area in the model where these two dimensions coincide is perhaps the biggest. This is also supported by the positive correlation between the two, showing that women who mentioned family-related factors were more likely to also mention personal-related factors affecting their employment decisions (r 0.28**). Primary examples are women's perceptions concerning the proper way to raise children, the responsibilities of women in the family and their prioritization of family over career. While finally classified as reflections of women's personal values, these issues were also perceived as family-driven because such decisions were made due to women's membership in a patriarchal familial institution. In addition, the fact that some women had someone help with childcare and that their priorities changed over their life course, were primarily perceived as family-driven while also considered as driven by personal values and needs.

The area between the personal and organizational dimensions affecting behavior was not as large as to create much disagreement, but a positive correlation still exists between the two categories (r 0.23*): statements like *"I will not pursue a career but if I have opportunities why not?"* were classified as women's own intentions not to actively pursue a career while also interpreted as organizational in the sense that women will pursue careers if opportunities are there. Another statement in this area was: *"I am too old to have a career; there are no opportunities for older women."* This was perceived primarily as an organizational factor considering the emphasis on the corporate practice of denying older women substantial career opportunities, but was also interpreted as a personal value.

Finally, it should be mentioned that no significant correlation has been found between family and organizational factors. Nonetheless, some of the statements in these categories created some disagreements as well. To illustrate, though *"Working hours are inconvenient for mothers"* was finally labelled as organizational (working hours were viewed as corporate practices), this statement was also driven by familial responsibilities and roles.

Intentions to Adopt FWAs

The overall intentions of participants towards each FWA (noted on a 5-point Likert scale, where one (1) stood for "not at all willing to adopt" and five (5) for "very willing to adopt") were about average. Examining the means of responses, women had more positive intentions towards flexitime (3.80), part-time (3.68), home-based (3.43), and tele-working (3.36), whereas they were more negative towards weekend (1.56), shift (1.85), and seasonal work (1.88). Specifically, 70% of all women were either quite or very willing to adopt flexitime, 59% part-time, 57.3% home-based work, and 54.7% tele-work. The negative intentions towards certain FWAs were evident by the percentages of women who were not at all or somewhat willing to adopt them: 93.2% for weekend work, 90.2% for shift work, 85.5% for seasonal work, 79.5% for temporary contracts, and 75.2% for overtime. Opinions were rather divided concerning other FWAs. While the results of our study were somewhat expected since extant research notes that some FWAs may obstruct family life instead of facilitating it or vice versa (Strazdins et al., 2006), hardly any studies exist that consider unemployed women's intentions towards each of these FWAs.

Part-time was among arrangements that attracted the interest of study participants because they were familiar with it and they found reduced working hours particularly convenient. In the literature, part-time is the most available form of flexibility but is not always employee friendly (Brewster et al., 1997). In this study too, there was one main argument in

favour of part-time and one against it, both commonly cited in the literature (Scheibl & Dex, 1998; Tang & Cousins, 2005; Tomlinson, 2004), and both more often raised by women 20-49 years old, though important for women of all ages: part-time *enables women to take care of their children* (27%) was considered very important by all mothers, but better-educated divorced mothers and single women were more likely to indicate that part-time work means *reduced salary* (24%).

Job sharing generated rather contradicting and weak reactions because most women were unfamiliar with it and therefore expressed their concerns rather than their intentions to adopt it. Differently, the literature presents job sharing as an employee friendly FWA (Scheibl & Dex, 1998; Stavrou, 2005). In this study, 42% of all women noted that their decision would *depend on whether they would be able to cooperate with the other person sharing the job* and 20% raised their concerns asking *who would work more and who would take responsibility for mistakes* under such an arrangement. Some women disapproved job sharing arguing that it *means reduced salary* (12%), an argument more common among single and divorced women. Although the higher the education of women, the less likely they were to have positive intentions towards adopting job sharing (r   -0.226), highly educated women recognized some of its advantages. Specifically, these women found it important that job sharing *offers flexibility* (15%), *it is convenient for mothers* (9%), and *it means that someone can cover them in case of an emergency* (12%). The last advantage was mentioned more by divorced mothers and single women, probably important in the absence of a partner who would be able to handle an emergency at home.

Despite the growth of **shift work** in Europe (Brewster et al., 2001), women in our study were sceptical about it; only about one third were willing to adopt it, but only if the shifts were *during the day and especially in the morning*. These women were mainly 30-49 years old, with basic education; marital status or number of children were not important. Another similar group of women (18%) noted that adopting shift work would *depend on factors like the shift frequency, the work environment, and the salary.* Few women (mothers, 40-59 years old) explicitly expressed positive attitudes towards shift work (i.e. it *allows free time for other obligations and for the family*) without conditions. Another argument in favour of shift work was raised by younger women (20-29 years) who were highly educated and more likely single or married with one child: *shift work reduces boredom and routine*. The more children women had and the more educated they were, the more likely they were to claim that *shift work creates childcare problems* (24%). Another argument was that shift work is *very tiring* (20%); oddly, the more children they had, the less likely women were to say so. These results are not surprising since shift work is cited as an arrangement that mainly benefits employers than employees (Dex & Scheibl, 1998).

Like shift work, **overtime** has negative effects on employees and gradually on employers, since it reduces job satisfaction and efficiency (Sullivan, 1999) and cannot be considered as a FWA (Dex & Scheibl, 1998). Nevertheless, women in the present study had mixed feelings about overtime: more positive among those with career aspirations (r 0.22*), though about one third of all participants said that overtime could be *ok as long as they are warned in advance and it is not continuous*. Women who held this attitude were more likely divorced, highly educated mothers. Interestingly, single women tended to consider the *increased money* associated with overtime as an important advantage of this arrangement, especially if they were in the 30-49 age range. This explains the fact that the presence of a partner reduces women's intentions to work overtime (r   -0.19*). Nevertheless about one fifth of the participants, aged 20-49 years, argued that overtime creates childcare problems.

Women were more positive towards **compressed work week,** something generally consistent with the literature as well (Dex & Scheibl, 1998). Well-educated mothers between 20-49 years old mentioned more often that compressed work week *allows free time during workdays* (30%) and that it *provides flexibility and control* (20%). Some married ones could not decide if they would adopt this arrangement and simply said that *it depends* (15%). They found that this arrangement would *require many work ing hours during a day* (18%) and it would therefore be *impossible for women with young children* (21%).

Discussion on **annual hour contracts** was somewhat limited because participants were unfamiliar with it and articulated neutral and sceptical opinions. In favour of annual hour contracts, 20% noted its *flexibility* benefits; an advantage that was perceived mainly by young, childless, highly-educated women. Older ones, 30-39 years old, were somewhat more sceptical, regardless of their marital status and educational level: they said that such a contract would just be *better than unemployment* (15%) and that their intentions would *depend on the agreement with their employer* (18%). Even older women, especially those above fifty years, and with a relatively low educational level, were more likely to simply *prefer a fixed schedule* (12%), probably because the concept of such a contract was foreign to them.

The arrangement with the most positive reactions was **flexitime;** a popular FWA in European countries because it seems beneficial to both employees and employers (Brewster et al., 1997). Almost half of all women in our study, regardless of their demographic characteristics, indicated that flexitime *enables them to take care of their children*; the better-educated, younger women noted that flexitime is *ideal* (20%) and that it *gives flexibility and control* (23%). The latter was mentioned more often by divorced and single women since the absence of a partner increases

women's intentions to adopt flexitime (r −0.19). Flexitime is among the favourite employee-focused FWAs cited in the literature as well (Scheibl & Dex, 1998; Stavrou, 2005).

Seasonal work generated rather negative reactions and intentions: these are consistent with reports that seasonal work creates insecurity and lack of benefits (Brewster et al., 1997). Particularly highly-educated, divorced mothers in our study with more than two children were more likely to argue that seasonal jobs are *temporary and insecure* (34%) and that they *offer low and unstable income without benefits* (15%). Moreover, highly-educated mothers in the 30-49 age range were more likely to say that available seasonal jobs were *during the schools' summer holidays* (17%) and would therefore create childcare problems. Few women recognized some advantages associated with seasonal jobs: women 30-49 years old simply said that a seasonal job would just be *better than unemployment* (18%); single highly-educated women in the 30-39 age group were more likely to say that seasonal jobs *offer variety* (5%); and older women above 50 years old, who had children and were either married or divorced were more likely to appreciate the fact that seasonal jobs *allow some rest during some months of the year* (4%).

Similar were women's reactions to **temporary employment**. In fact temporary and seasonal work are positively correlated (r 0.31**) showing that women perceive them in similar ways. Many participants argued that such arrangements are *insecure and temporary* (34%); a disadvantage which was important for all women 20-49 years old, but more important among more educated women and among divorced mothers (73% of all divorced mothers). Moreover, the more educated women and those with more children argued that temporary jobs *offer low and unstable income*. Some younger women without partners and of low educational levels argued also that getting a temporary job *reduces the possibility of getting a more permanent position* (5%). Mothers between 30-39 years were more neutral and admitted that their decision to take a temporary position would *depend on the contract duration* (9%). It was mainly a group of younger women, in their thirties and mainly in their 20s, without children, who found temporary jobs *better than unemployment* (27%) and that they *offer variety and opportunities for learning* (14%).

Associated with temporary employment was also **weekend work** (r 0.21*), for which participants again expressed mainly negative opinions; more than half, especially those 20-39 years old without partners, argued that *weekends are for the family*. Further, 20% of participants noted that weekend work does not offer any *time for rest and/or to go out*. This was particularly important for older mothers (40-59 years old) and more educated women, because they had different perceptions concerning quality of life. Nonetheless, some women had more positive attitudes towards

weekend work: *it would be ok for 1 2 weekends per month* (20%) and it *allows time off during the week* (7%). The majority of women with more positive intentions were 40-49 years old, though the older women were the more positive intentions they were likely to have (*r*   0.26**). Moreover, 60% of these women were married with children; the lower their educational level the more likely they were to be positive towards weekend work. Finally, single childless women were more positive towards weekend work compared to others: to illustrate, four young, highly-educated childless women liked weekend work because it means *more money.*

Home-based and tele-work were discussed by participants simultaneously since they are similar FWAs. Here, opinions were somewhat contradictory, verifying the argument of Huws, Korte, and Robinson (1990) that for women workers with family commitments, tele-work may not be perceived as an alternative option to going to work in an office but as an alternative to having no paid employment at all. In our study, correlations show that the absence of a partner increases the intention to adopt either one of these arrangements (r   −0.23). In fact, women below 40 years old recognized that these arrangements *enabled them to take care of their children* (28%) and *reduced transportation and clothing costs* associated with work (9%). The more educated women of this group also recognized that these FWAs *gave flexibility and control* (30%) and allowed them to *work in their own place, away from 'tough' employers* (13%). Similar arguments are presented in the literature in favour of these FWAs (Huws et al., 1990; Stavrou, 2005). But two main disadvantages of home-based and tele-work were recognized by women: these arrangements would cause *social isolation* (32%); it would be *difficult to implement them because there are many distractions in the house and therefore discipline and planning would be necessary* (23%). The latter was more likely to be mentioned by highly-educated, married mothers and by those with more children. Huws et al. (1990) would agree that female tele/home workers experience greater isolation and that planning is essential.

Aspirations

Women were explicitly asked whether they would actively pursue career advancement and in agreement with extant research (Fels, 2004; MacDermid et al., 2001), most women asked to specify what a "career" means before responding. In turn, we schematically imagine women's aspirations along a continuum, at the one end of which are those women who clearly said that they simply want a job and not a career, and at the other end those who said that they want a career. Nonetheless, only a minority of women gave such explicit answers; the majority are located along this

continuum, leaning towards either end, but indicating factors that would influence or even frame their aspirations.

Moreover, results suggest that women's financial needs, indicated more clearly by the presence of a partner, the presence of children, and women's educational level, were the most determinant factors shaping their aspirations. Therefore, we conclude that women's articulated aspirations have been shaped more by the realities of their lives than by their personal goals and dreams. Additionally, and in accordance to the relevant literature (Fels, 2004; Phillips & Imhoff, 1997), many women hesitated to answer to the career or job question, especially if their answer leaned more towards the career end, exactly because they viewed such an aspiration as selfish and in contrast to their roles as wives and mothers: many women preferred to define 'career' in terms of learning and personal development (i.e., having opportunities for training and personal growth).

Located at the one extreme of the continuum without aspiring for a career are more likely to be women who are in the 30-49 age groups, but none who is above fifty years old. There is, however, an interesting differentiation between mothers and childless women: mothers were more likely *not to want a career because it requires long hours something incompatible with motherhood,* whereas one forth of childless women *simply want a job and not a career.* Findings then may suggest that some women "used" their role as mothers to justify their lack of career aspirations (Crompton, 2002b), whereas childless women were unable to do so. Nonetheless, it is equally likely that mothers "prohibited" themselves from aspiring for a career because they perceived their role in the family as more important (MacDermid et al., 2001). Whatever the case, the two statements at this end of the continuum are positively correlated (r 0.31**). Women who are located to this end of the continuum appear to have a low educational level in their majority and although some college graduates are placed at this end of the continuum, the lower women's educational level, the greater their aspirations to be job oriented (r −0.23*).

At the other end of the continuum we only found a minority of women, one tenth of all participants, who explicitly said: *"I want a career, yes! Why not?"* These women generally have a very consistent demographic profile that was found in previous research as well (Crompton, 2002b; Phillips & Imhoff, 1997): they are all young, below 40 years old (more likely in their 20s), and highly-educated, more likely university graduates. Moreover, the majority of these women are either single and childless or married mothers and none is divorced. Results therefore suggest that for women to feel comfortable and safe enough to explicitly say that they aspire for a career they must have the necessary qualifications and the financial security, either in the sense that they have no dependants or they have a partner

already providing for their dependants. It would be rather naïve and superficial to claim that divorced women as a group have no career aspirations; rather results show that their role as sole providers of their family and hence the associated financial responsibilities places their personal wants lower in their priorities.

In fact women without a partner were far more likely than others to say that *a career comes second and money is the priority*; this statement has a negative correlation with the presence of a partner (r −0.32**), verifying that the absence of a partner reduces the importance of career in the light of financial needs. Compared to married mothers, from whom only one said this, 18% of all divorced mothers made this claim, as well as 25% of all single ones. Moreover, money appears to be the priority of young (20-29) and older women (50-59), the former perhaps because they are at a stage in their lives where they are entering the labour market and forming families and the latter because they need to support their families and older husbands. Finally, it seems that education is not very important here because 12% of all women with a very low education placed a career after money and so did 8% of all university graduates.

Leaning more towards the "career" end of the continuum but without explicitly saying it are mainly women in the 40-59 age group, regardless of the presence of a partner. In fact, the older women were, the more likely they were to say either that they *will not pursue a career but if they have opportunities, why not?* or that *if they have opportunities why not? It depends on the job and the environment.* These two statements are actually positively correlated (r 0.20*), but age has a positive statistically significant relationship only with the latter (r 0.27**). Mothers were more likely than others to claim the above, especially if they had one or two children, though it appears that highly-educated women were more likely to say that a career would depend on the given opportunities, whereas for lower-educated women that it would depend on the job and the environment. Finally, it is interesting to note that women's job aspirations were positively correlated with family-related factors (r 0.21*), whereas their career aspirations with personal-related factors (r 0.24*).

CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

The results of the study are very rich and analyzing their meaning is still at the beginning stages. Nevertheless, they provide empirical support for the conceptual framework developed and proposed in this study. Focusing on a sample of unemployed women who want to (re)enter the labor market, and employing a qualitative research approach, we sought to understand which factors shape their intentions towards each FWA and career aspirations.

Family-related factors are of paramount importance and often cause changes in women's life plans, especially if they have children. Quite interesting is that older, lower-educated women generally choose a different life path than younger, better-educated ones. The first group is more likely to prioritize family over employment until children are grown or financial need necessitates involvement in paid employment. The second one is more likely to pursue a more balanced lifestyle and avoid prolonged absence from the labor market. In both groups availability and cost of childcare are important determinants to their employment decision, especially if they do not have a partner. In addition, financial need is an important driver for seeking employment since the need to care for others imposes additional financial burdens.

Personal factors that influence women's decisions seem highly influenced by their social context and age. The notion for "proper" mothering does not appear to have changed significantly and most women still believe that children should better be raised by their mothers. However, older women seem more influenced by these normative beliefs while younger women seem to be caught up in a transitional state, where they try to balance "proper mothering" with their need to work. Results also show that through employment women try to achieve social and personal needs, in addition to financial ones.

One of the most important organizational factors that influence women is the lack of well-paying, part-time jobs, constraining women's choices to full-time positions with hours that are inconvenient, especially for mothers. Women without partners and/or highly-educated women were also especially displeased with the low, even illegal, levels of salaries. Moreover, women with various work experiences referred to the competitive culture and prejudice of employers as factors discouraging them from paid employment all-together.

All these factors combined influence women's intentions and aspirations, and generally make them more favorable towards FWAs that offer flexibility and control of their time, but more negative towards more insecure ones. This was particularly the case for women without partners with increased financial responsibilities. Few women expressed a clear need for career or a need for only a job: without career aspirations are middle-aged women with low-educational level and aspiring for a career are young, highly educated women. Most women are placed along a continuum between career and job, with divorced mothers to clearly prioritize money over a career and older women to lean towards the "career" end but being hesitant to express it. Most women consider the traditional notion of career as a selfish pursue of advancement and prefer to consider career in terms of learning and personal growth.

The above results brought to the surface a clear view, from the women's side of the story, of the important issues that concern women's employability through FWAs. Many of the issues discussed, raise the need for policy at the organizational and possibly the national levels in order to help such employability while at the same time remaining profitable and/or effective: for example, how can such women better balance their employed with nonemployed life through FWAs without feeling like second class citizens? How can organizations change in light of women's views and become better employers for them? Further, how may national governments or other relevant constituents reinforce better organizational practices: what are the infrastructures and policies necessary within a society to help women (want and be able to) return to the labor market through FWAs? Finally, what are the possible effects of managing a diverse work force in a complex world to our respective societies?

Perspectives of Research

The aforementioned questions are critical to the advancement of extant research on the subject and the present study has provided the women's side of the story. Despite the valuable insights generated by this study, its limitations need to be acknowledged and considered when data are interpreted and conclusions are drawn. To start with, the data collection method is subject to group dynamics that might affect or even silence women's views (Campbell & Wasco, 2000) and discourage discussion on very sensitive issues (Kitzinger, 1995). Moreover, respondents might give socially desirable, rather than truthful, answers in group settings and the researcher might influence responses and/or interpret them subjectively (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Qualitative research methods also offer little room for generalizations (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2004). Although our intention was not to create generalizable results, but to explore and understand women's perceptions, intentions, and aspirations, we recognize that if we had combined focus groups with quantitative methods, data would be enriched and analysis would not be limited to qualitative insights. Nonetheless, time limitations influenced data collection decisions and dictated methods that would enable adherence to defined project deadlines.

Moreover, since convenience sampling was used, results can only be generalized to the specific group. It should also be taken into consideration that we surveyed volunteers; therefore differences between participants and nonparticipants might have influenced our results. The final turn-up to the focus groups was also beyond our control; therefore we had groups of varying sizes and somewhat unpredicted composition. Also pertinent to the sampling procedure was the resulting sample, which

was mainly composed of unemployed women. This indeed enabled research on a rather neglected group, but it also deprived the chance of comparing it with employed women with different intentions and aspirations to produce more comprehensive results. Results could also be enriched if time permitted discussion on additional issues that would widen the scope of this study.
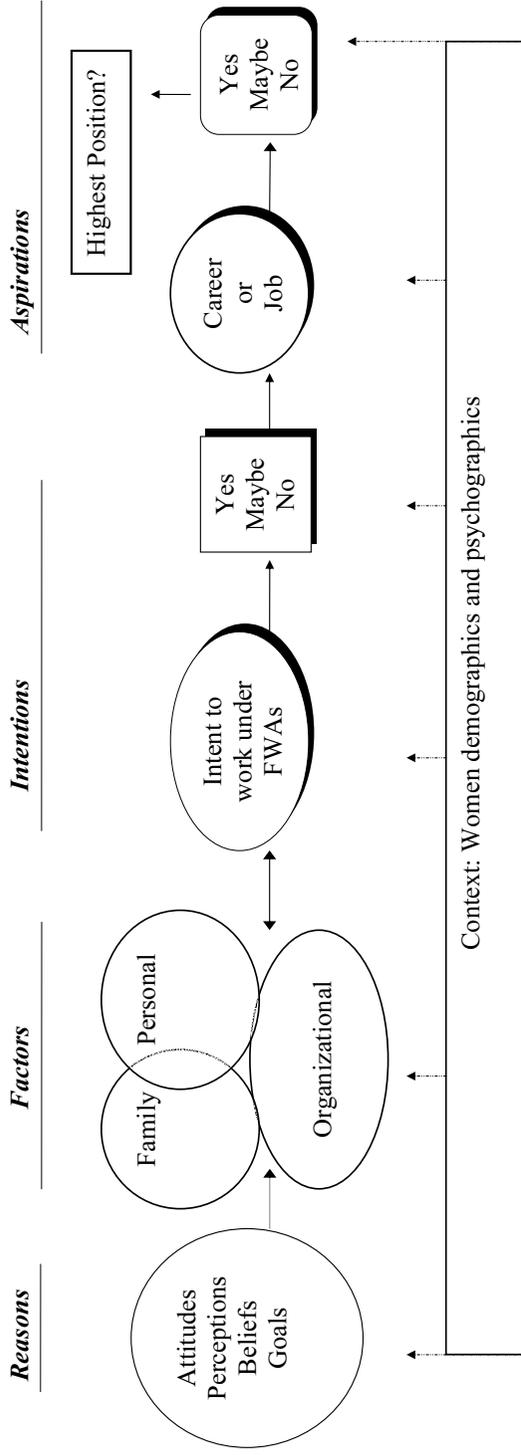
The limitations and findings of the study point the direction for future research, which could effectively combine qualitative and quantitative methods to produce more reliable results and to draw a holistic picture of women's intentions and aspirations. Moreover, future research could use larger samples including both employed and unemployed women and therefore enabling the generalization of results to the female population. Though the group of unemployed women merits further analysis, comparisons between employed and unemployed women could bring to light further important issues and implications. Larger samples would also enable comparisons between women with partners and women without partners to further validate the differences between these groups that were revealed here. In addition, future research could also compare men and women to find if different factors shape their intentions towards and aspirations under FWAs. Finally, FWA practices and their effectiveness should be examined from the organizational perspective, even from a national policy perspective, in order to match organizational with women needs, thus ensuring that societal concerns are also addressed. Generally, larger-scale studies which would combine different methods, across different countries, could produce results to enable a targeted development of FWAs to mainly support women, but generally to promote a more balanced lifestyle.

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Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Christiana Ierodiakonou, who is now at the Department of Public and Business Administration, University of Cyprus., P.O. Box 20537, 1678 Nicosia, Cyprus. Electronic mail may be sent via Internet to c.ierodiakonou@ucy.ac.cy

APPENDIX 1: RESEARCH MODEL OF WOMEN'S INTENTIONS TO WORK UNDER FWAS

Reasons   *Factors*   *Intentions*   *Aspirations*

Attitudes
Perceptions
Beliefs
Goals

Family   Personal

Organizational

Intent to
work under
FWAs

Yes
Maybe
No

Career
or
Job

Yes
Maybe
No

Highest Position?

Context: Women demographics and psychographics

Appendix 2:   Focus Group Questions

Family/Employment

- Who has most of the responsibilities in the household for the house and family?
    - o   Do you have help from another person?
- Your husband/partner has enough time to help around the house?
    - o   Working hours, other obligations outside working hours
- Generally, you would characterize yourself as a person who has as a priority:
    - o   Career, job/employment, family, personal life   any combination
- Why aren't you currently employed?
- Why do you want to find a job?
- In which sector/field/position would you prefer being employed? Why?
- Would that be a career position for you? How would you see your job?

Flexible Work Arrangements (FWAs)

- Under which circumstances would you be willing to work?
- Have you ever worked under a FWA?
    - o   When? Why? Experiences/opinions? Advantages and disadvantages?
- Have you ever asked an employer to adopt a FWA?
    - o   Why? Which were their reactions?
- Would you consider working under any FWA?
- Which FWAs would be suitable for you? Why? Under which circumstances?
- What reward types/levels would you be willing to accept under each FWA that suits your needs?
- Generally, do you believe that working under a FWA would be good for you or not?

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