

Family policies, working life and the third child in two low-fertility
populations: A comparative study of contemporary France and Sweden

Diana Corman

Demography Unit, Stockholm University

SE-10691 Stockholm, Sweden

email: dianaber@hem.passagen.se

Abstract

This paper addresses the relationship between family, working life and the third child in two low-fertility populations. The data source is two national fertility and family surveys organized in Sweden and France. They include information about men's and women's educational histories and their work experience, as well as their childbearing and union histories.

We find that parents with a strong work attachment face more obstacles in France than in Sweden in their progression to a third birth. Education reduces men's and women's rates of transition to a third birth in France, whereas in Sweden improved education continues to increase fertility progression.

Generous parental benefits and flexible work practices are found as crucial instruments for facilitating the work and childbearing strategies of dual-earner families. Less latitude for adjustment to the labour market requirements leads to limitations of the family size when both parents work or to large families with a more gendered division of labour.

1. Introduction

Over the past twenty years, Sweden has experienced first a strong increase and lately a rapid decline in fertility. During the same period, France had a relatively stable fertility level (see Fig. 1) and substantially higher than that of her neighbouring countries. At the same time both countries have high female labour force participation and generous family support schemes. This contradicts the New Home Economics theories, according to which the rise in female labour force participation should have reduced fertility (Becker 1981, Willis 1973).

We use individual data to address anew the relationship between employment and fertility. Recent studies on Scandinavian fertility using individual level data have shown that labour force participation has a weak influence on second and third births (Hoem and Hoem 1989, Kravdal 1992, Olàh 1997). For example, women with strong work attachment were found to have similar third-birth rates with those of housewives. Furthermore, women with high educational attainment, known to have a particularly strong career orientation, have shown remarkably high second and third-birth rates (Hoem and Hoem 1989, Kravdal 1992, Rønsen 1998). We investigate whether this pattern is specific to the Scandinavian countries or could be found for the fertility of educated women in other countries.

The general purpose of this paper is to show what impact public policies have on people's working life and childbearing strategies. To this aim, we investigate two main questions: 1) how labour market policies and certain family policy measures shape the type of employment that fathers and mothers of small children have and 2) what consequences the position in the labour market has for the individual's continued childbearing.

Arrangements on the labour market, equal opportunities for men and women have an important role on the ways people shape their lives. A society with choices between full-time employment and household work provides working parents with options widely apart from those in a society where the work time schedule can be adapted more easily to the stage reached in the family life cycle. In a world where household workers are few, childbearing decisions are much more than previously influenced by the work arrangements available, hence our central attention is on the interface between public policy, labour market and childbearing.

We selected two countries which are very different but also similar in many fields: they are representative of two distinctive sets of family models, one where the male breadwinner family model is nowadays challenged but still very influential (France) and another where the dual-earner family is a well-established model for families with small children (Sweden). The countries are in antithesis also in issues of gender equality, an area which is well advanced in Sweden, whereas France has no active policy in this field. The sameness of the two countries consists in their combination of an active participation of mothers on the labour market with a comprehensive system of support to families with children, featured nevertheless by different political convictions. Their population has a modern demographic behaviour, reflected by a wide-spread childbearing in consensual unions as well as relatively high divorce rates, which were possible because of an increased economic independence of women and because the welfare system adjusted continuously to the complex family constellations.

2. Family-friendly policies and third births

When both parents work, it becomes important to investigate how work can be adjusted to family life. One of the first prerequisites for women's labour force participation is the development of suitable childminding arrangements out of the household. As women's position becomes more integrated in the labour market, more measures are developed which enlarge the scope for balancing work and family, such as parental leave, leave of absence to care for a sick child and shorter working hours.

The latitude for adjustment between working life and family life is determined by both formal and informal flexible work arrangements (Holt and Thaulow, 1996, p. 85). Our approach is to investigate the formal work arrangements established by the state in the two countries and addressed to working parents¹. We start by analyzing childcare services, and continue with parental leave, leave of absence to care for sick children and flexible working practices. We then discuss the implications of the national differences in the work flexibility for the specific childbearing strategies adopted by parents.

1) Child care services

The access to public child care is linked to parents' participation in education or employment in Sweden, whereas in France, the policy is to provide a wide access to education for children from all families. Sweden has a predominance of public day-care services, even for toddlers, whereas France provides a mixture of private-public day-care services for children at ages 0 to 2 and a universal public pre-school system for children at ages 3 to 6². The heavy public

subsidization³ of the Swedish day-care centres implies that, in order to collect such benefits, parents have to be enrolled either in employment or education and that families which opt for home-provided child care would hence lose benefits.

2) Parental leave

As with rights for child care, the eligibility for parental leave is work-related in Sweden. The system of parental leave is more loosely linked to employment in France than in Sweden: to be eligible for this leave in France, a parent needs a work record of two years out of the previous ten years. A Swedish parent needs to have a work record of 8 months preceding the birth and according to the “speed-premium rules” she can keep the same benefits for a second child that arrives within 2.5 years after the first (Hoem J. 1993).

One of the consequences of the loose link to employment of the French parents is that parents with already a marginal tie to the labour market are encouraged to take the parental leave benefit and consequently they might weaken ever further their position on the labour market. This is reflected by the large withdrawal from the labour market of mothers of two and three children (especially after the French family policy reform of 1994). When more than half of the mothers of three children leave the labour market, this suggests that the breadwinner-housewife contract still functions for many French households, but also that this hinders women’s continued employment after having more than two children have remained substantial.

The levels of parental leave are very generous in Sweden, as parents received 90 percent of the previous wage for a period of 12 months leave in the 1980s (Hoem and Hoem 1996). Parental leave is granted for all births, regardless of birth order, in Sweden, whereas in France until recently only parents of three children could be eligible for this leave. French parents could take leave for a duration of maximum three years at a flat rate of 2929F (in 1994), the equivalent of about 540 US\$ (Fagnani 1994, p. 50), which is a substantial benefit by international standards, but not as abundant as in Sweden.

Sweden is also very generous with regard to parents caring for sick children. They can take out sixty paid days of leave per child per year (Hoem and Hoem 1996), whereas French parents are only allowed to take six working days off and only if they are public employees (Hantrais 1992, p. 1005).

3) Latitude for adjustment of working hours to family life

In Sweden, parents of a new-born child have great latitude to combine work with leave for child care purposes and enjoy full job reinstatement after the leave (Hoem et al. 1999). They can, for example, take parental leave for half of the working week and work for the rest of the time, and can reduce working hours by 25 percent until the child is 8 years-old. Such flexibility as well as the generous parental benefit levels can induce more fathers to share the parental leave with mothers, whereas the low flat-rate benefits act in the opposite direction for French fathers.

Even if the opportunity to reduce working hours to care for the children is open to both fathers and mothers in Sweden, most of the parents who actually use this facility are mothers. The strategy used by most Swedish women who enter motherhood to combine the working life with the childbearing requirements is to work part-time (Friberg 1993, p. 34). Women in the same situation in France do not have similar facilities to reduce their working hours, and

therefore young women either continue to work full-time or leave the labour market when they become mothers, and only few work part-time⁴.

Although to a smaller extent than mothers, some Swedish fathers work shorter hours when they have small children: 7.7 per cent of the Swedish men work part-time, whereas only 3.2 per cent of French men did so in 1994 (Eurostat 1994), which suggests that Swedish fathers are more involved in childcare and household tasks than French fathers.

The prevalence of full-time work among French men and women indicates a process of segmentation of people in two sub-groups, career-oriented and family-oriented, whose family and work lives have little interaction with each other. The group of career-oriented people is featured by a delayed parenthood and a limited family size, whereas family-oriented people enter early the parenthood and have a high preference for large families.

The large latitude for adjustment between the working life and the family life provided to Swedish parents implies that people can easier reconcile the requirements of the two worlds. In our data, this could be picked up as high third-birth rates for people with higher education.

3. Analysis

3.1. Data, method

This study uses individual-level data from two FFS family and fertility surveys, namely the ESFE (Enquete Situations Familiales et Emploi) in France (1994), and the survey Family and Working Life in Sweden (1992-1993).

We analyze French women and men born between years 1944 and 1973, that is persons at ages 20 to 49 at interview (1994). The sample size is in both cases about 5000 persons. The response rate was 78 per cent for the Swedish survey and 81 to 84 per cent among the French men and women (Toulemon and Guibert-Lantoine 1998, p. 101).

We analyze only people born in Nordic countries for Sweden and, respectively, those born in France. People who never lived in a union, are childless or have only one child, adopted child or multiple births are not taken into account.

We concentrate our analysis on Swedish and French men and women in stable unions, and leave out immigrants and people who have children from different unions.

Our working sample includes 1262 Swedish women and 587 Swedish men. The working French sample includes information on 980 French women and 561 French (see Tables 1-2).

The clock that measures time (in units of full months) in the transition to parity three starts at the birth date of the second child and stops when one of the following events occur, which ever comes first: at the birth date of the third child; at a separation from the current partner, to which we add nine months to allow for eventual births conceived with this partner; when fifteen years have passed since the second birth; or at interview, 1994 for France and 1992-1993 for Sweden.

The event studied is the occurrence of a third birth, measured as the reported date of third birth. During our observation frame, 398 third births were born to Swedish women, and respectively 341 third births were born to French women. Men have reported 170 and 199 third births in the Swedish and the French sample, respectively.

We develop regression models of the intensity of the progression from the second birth to a third birth for Swedish and French women and men separately. A woman's third-birth intensity is the probability that she will experience a third birth next month, given her individual characteristics and that she has not given birth by the current month. Risks are assumed constant within each interval of a set of time intervals but may vary across time intervals (the

hazard rates are piecewise constant). We have chosen 8 intervals from 9 to 180 months (see Fig. 3). Our covariates are categorical.

3.2. Variables

For comparability between the two national data sets, we selected a number of covariates that were derived in similar ways and have close meaning. We ran regressions in several rounds and report on three of these.

In a *first* regression, we only included a number of control variables, such as religiosity, social origin, home town, and some well established demographic determinants of the third birth, such as sex of the children, second birth interval and age at second birth.

We added in a *second* step the *respondent's educational attainment*. For comparability between the two data sets, the level of education was measured as the highest level of education attained at interview.

In a *third* step we include two measures of family policy: *the current calendar year* and *the third birth interval*. The calendar year is used with the aim to capture the influence of socio-political environment on the third-birth intensity. The observation periods can reflect both changes in family policy and changes in the economic environment, which can make the separation of the eventual effects of the family policy from other macro-economic trends difficult. We grouped *current calendar year* in 6 levels for Sweden and 7 levels for France (see Table 3).

Short birth intervals can be used by working parents to organize parental leave and work in accordance with available institutional structures, such as day-care services, or the pre-school system. The patterns of the interval between the second and the third birth may point to the influence of such institutional structures on the progression to the third birth. Birth intervals are split at 24 and 30 months to reflect extensions in the duration allowing maintenance of parental benefits (the so called “speed-premium rules”) in Sweden, and at 36 and respectively 72 months to reflect entry in the pre-school and school system of French children (as shown in Figure 3).

3.3. Findings

We have confirmed once more the fertility conducive effect of religiosity or of early entry into motherhood (see Table 4). Similarly to the Swedish findings (see Berinde 1999), a recent marriage increases the third-birth risks of French couples.

Our survey data shows that French women have an educational structure that is more skewed towards the lower educational levels than that of Swedish women: only 16 per cent of French mothers of two children have an educational attainment beyond the high school, whereas 28 per cent of Swedish mothers of two children have at least a brief post-gymnasium education. The same trend exists for the comparison of men's educational attainment in the two countries (see Tables 1-2). Such differences might be explained by cultural features of the educational system, more elitist in France than in Sweden, and the more developed system of adult education in Sweden than in France. The educational structure of the group of parents with two children indicates a higher concentration of family-oriented parents in the French sample than in the Swedish data set.

Among French women, those who have a university degree are the least inclined to have a third child. Their third-birth risk is about half the risk of women with compulsory education (see Table 5). In Sweden, higher education does not seem to be a hinder for having a third

birth, as women with some higher education have as high third-birth rates as women with low educational attainment.

Men in both countries present two distinctive patterns of third births: educational level displays a U-shape for Swedish men and an inverse J-shape for French men. The fact that education does not depress men's third-birth rates can be interpreted as an effect of income. The comparatively higher third-birth rates of Swedish men with higher education as compared to French men in the same educational group might be explained however by larger facilities to combine work and family in the Swedish society than in the French.

Current calendar year We find a pro-cyclical character of fertility patterns for Sweden (see details in Hoem J. 1993 and Andersson 1999), that is, childbearing levels go up and down in step with business cycles, especially for the more recent periods (the 1980s and early 1990s). For France, the third birth rates reflect the stability of the period TFR in the 1980s, followed by a small rise at the end of the 1980s and a rapid decline in rates at the beginning of the 1990s. The current period factor is significant for both French and Swedish women, but not for men, however significance for men is difficult to achieve with our small data sets.

The second and the third birth interval Remarkable differences in the spacing of the second and third child can be noted in both countries (see Fig. 2). French women show a general lower progression to a second child than Swedish women. This suggests that French mothers who bear a second child, and later, even a third child, may be a selected group (that is, with a high preference for children), more so than the group of Swedish mothers of two children.

At intervals below 7 years, French men and women were found to have higher intensity of third births than Swedish men and women (not displayed for men). The highest third-birth rates were detected at 31 to 36 months since the second birth, for both French and Swedish women (see Fig. 3). This period is known as a threshold period for France, as nearly all children enter the pre-school system at age three. This is relevant because mothers have more time to take care of a new baby when her older children enter the pre-school or school system. A second threshold point is reached when the youngest child reached 6, and respectively 7 years, for French and Swedish respondents, that is when their second child entered school. Beyond that point, third births decline in both countries, but the decline is much sharper at 6 to 7 years for the French case and smoother for Sweden, where children may enter school at age 7. The results in Fig. 3 are in good agreement with the unstandardized rates presented in Fig. 2.

4. Discussion

The weak effect of education for Swedish women's progression to the third birth suggests that childbearing is no longer a threat to an occupational career when the state is committed to strongly support women's participation in the labour market. French women with a strong career profile have fewer facilities in combining work with family and are therefore reluctant to give birth to more than one or two children.

Swedish men and French men's distinct patterns of third births makes us understand better how important gender equality in childbearing issues is for the individual behaviour. The efforts made by the Swedish state to involve actively fathers in the childbearing process might have resulted in a more positive view on further childbearing of men. Gender equality in childbearing issues has so far not been a priority for French policy makers. Furthermore, it could be that the flexibility in working arrangements is more readily available to fathers working as white

collar employees than to blue collar workers, and we have shown that this flexibility is well advanced in Sweden, but rather poor in France. In France, white-collar employees are expected to work overtime hours, and hence to leave the childbearing and childrearing burden on their partners' shoulders. By contrast, Swedish fathers with a high educational attainment were found to share more often the child care with their partners than fathers with lower educational attainment (Näsman 1995).

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Endnotes:

¹ For an account of employer initiatives on flexible working practices, see S. Lewis and J. Lewis, 1996.

² In Sweden and France 37 and respectively 23 per cent of children at ages 0 to 2 have had a place in a day-care centre in 1993/1994. For children at ages 3 to 6 the shares were 74 and respectively 99 (Landgren-Möller, Larsson and Sande, 1994, p. 30, Christopherson 1997, NOSOSCO 1997).

³ Swedish parents pay a means-tested fee per child, nevertheless their fees cover only about 10 per cent of the total cost of public child care (Hoem et al. 1999).

⁴ Only 23.6 per cent of French women worked part-time hours in 1994, whereas among Swedish women, this share reached 45.9 per cent in the same year (Eurostat 1994).

TABLE 1. Number of Swedish female and male respondents included at each level for each fixed factor, and percentages

Factors	Women	Percent	Men	Percent
<i>Cohort</i>				
1949	358	28.4	331	56.4
1954	359	28.4	-	-
1959	335	26.5	145	24.7
1964	179	14.2	111	18.9
1969	31	2.5	-	-
<i>Father's occupation</i>				
manual worker	579	45.9	271	46.2
employee	418	33.1	159	27.1
self-employed, indep. professional	116	9.2	93	15.8
farmer, household	127	10.1	54	9.2
other	22	1.7	10	1.7
<i>Parents' religious activity level</i>				
high	175	13.9	102	17.4
low	1087	86.1	485	82.6
<i>Months between first and second birth</i>				
0 - 18 months	111	8.8	50	8.5
19 - 24 months	224	17.7	108	18.4
25 - 30 months	237	18.8	123	21.0
31 - 36 months	185	14.6	95	16.2
37 - 180 months	505	40.0	211	35.9
<i>Marital status at 1st and 2nd birth</i>				
married - married	541	42.8	238	40.5
cohabiting - married	291	23.1	126	21.5
cohabiting - cohabiting	430	34.1	223	38.0
<i>Order of union</i>				
first union	1099	87.1	511	87.0
second union	138	10.9	69	11.8
third +	25	2.0	7	1.2
<i>Second birth - Late or early?</i>				
very early	251	19.9	113	19.3
rather early	256	20.3	121	20.6
medium	231	18.3	103	17.5
rather late	239	18.9	125	21.3
late	285	22.6	125	21.3
<i>Educational attainment</i>				
compulsory schooling	257	20.4	148	25.2
vocational training	522	41.3	229	39.0
gymnasium	131	10.4	83	14.1
brief post-gymnasium	278	22.0	66	11.2
university	74	5.9	61	10.4
Total persons:	1262	100.0	587	100.0

TABLE 2. Number of French female and male respondents included at each level for each fixed factor and percentages

Factors	Women	Percent	Men	Percent
<i>Cohort</i>				
1944-1946	100	10.2	70	12.5
1947-1951	232	23.7	142	25.3
1952-1956	242	24.7	146	26.0
1957-1961	232	23.7	138	24.6
1962-1966	134	13.6	59	10.5
1967-1973	40	4.1	6	1.1
<i>Mother's labor-force attachment</i>				
always worked	317	34.4	179	31.9
some work	351	38.1	222	39.6
never worked	279	30.3	134	23.9
other	33	3.6	26	4.6
<i>Role of religion at age 18</i>				
important	280	28.6	97	17.3
of little importance	277	28.3	163	29.1
no importance, other	423	43.1	301	53.6
<i>Months between first and second birth</i>				
0 - 18 months	159	16.2	81	14.4
19 - 24 months	119	12.1	65	11.6
25 - 30 months	112	11.4	84	14.9
31 - 36 months	129	13.2	71	12.7
37 - 180 months	461	47.0	260	46.3
<i>Marital status at 1st and 2nd birth</i>				
married - married	775	79.1	467	83.2
cohabiting - married	41	4.2	32	5.7
cohabiting - cohabiting	164	16.7	62	11.1
<i>Order of union</i>				
first union	819	83.6	463	82.5
second union	148	15.1	86	15.4
third +	13	1.3	12	2.1
<i>Second birth - Late or early?</i>				
very early	211	21.5	82	14.6
rather early	191	19.5	88	15.7
medium	195	19.9	102	18.2
rather late	190	19.4	112	19.9
late	193	19.7	177	31.6
<i>Educational attainment</i>				
compulsory schooling	185	18.9	88	15.7
vocational training	494	50.4	301	53.7
gymnasium	147	15.0	76	13.5
brief post-gymnasium	93	9.5	46	8.2
university	61	6.2	50	8.9
Total persons:	980	100.0	561	100.0

TABLE 3. Share of person-months for each level of each time-varying covariate for Sweden and France

Factor	Swedish women (pers.-months)	Swedish women (in percent)	Swedish men (pers.-months)	Swedish men (in percent)	French women (pers.-months)	French women (in percent)	French men (pers.-months)	French men (in percent)
<i>Current civil status</i>								
cohabiting	19327	21.5	8732	20.1	6155	8.2	1878	4.6
married	70648	78.5	34681	79.9	68223	91.8	38979	95.4
Total:	89975	100.0	43413	100.0	74378	100.0	40857	100.0
<i>Combined civil status</i>								
married before first birth	43580	48.5	19665	45.3	64985	87.4	36646	89.7
married after 1 st or 2 nd birth	27068	30.1	15016	34.6	3238	4.4	2333	5.7
cohab. through current month	19327	21.4	8732	20.1	6155	8.2	1878	4.6
Total:	89975	100.0	43413	100.0	74378	100.0	40857	100.0
<i>Current period</i>								
<i>Sweden</i>	<i>/ France</i>							
1968-73	1599	1.8	471	1.1	3985	5.4	1563	3.9
1974-77	6524	7.3	3377	7.8	4948	6.6	2267	5.5
1978-80	10028	11.1	5601	12.9	8419	11.3	3806	9.3
1981-86	31077	34.5	15016	34.6	14492	19.5	7286	17.9
					12753	17.1	6581	16.1
1987-90	26963	30.0	12367	28.5	17385	23.4	10634	26.0
1991-93	13784	15.3	6581	15.1	12396	16.7	8720	21.3
Total:	89975	100.0	43413	100.0	74378	100.0	40857	100.0

TABLE 4. Third-birth risks for Sweden and France: Models with background and demographic variables.

Factors	Swedish Women	French Women	Swedish Men	French Men
<i>Parents' social group</i>				* (2 %)
<i>Sweden/ France</i>				
manual worker /always worked	1	1	1	1
employee /some work	0.87	0.90	1.06	1.47 (3%)
self-employed, indep. prof.	1.01	--	0.62 (4.3%)	--
farmer, household	1.14		0.74	
/ never worked		0.99		1.12
other / other	0.71	1.66 (9%)	1.67	2.28 (1%)
<i>Parents' religiosity level</i>				
<i>Sweden/ Role of religion at age</i>		* (4 %)	*(0.3%)	** (10 %)
<i>18 - France</i>				
high / highly important role	1	1	1	1
low / little importance	0.95	0.77 (8 %)	0.56 (0.3%)	0.81
- / other		1.09		0.67 (4%)
<i>Months between 1st and 2nd birth</i>	*(0%)	* (0 %)	*(0%)	* (0 %)
8-18	1.13	1.44 (4.5%)	1.55	1.34
19-24	0.96	1.27	0.93	1.08
25-30	1	1	1	1
31-36	0.70 (3.1%)	0.83	0.97	0.66
37+	0.53 (0.0%)	0.51 (0.0%)	0.42 (0%)	0.55 (1%)
<i>Second birth-Late or early?</i>	* (0%)	* (0%)		
very early	1.	1.	1	1
rather early	0.80	0.56 (0.7%)	0.86	0.93
medium	0.73 (3.2%)	0.48 (1.3%)	0.54 (4.2%)	0.80
rather late	0.59 (0.1%)	0.33 (0.9%)	0.76	0.83
late	0.37 (0.0%)	0.12 (0.1%)	0.72	0.61 (4%)
<i>Combined civil status</i>	* (0%)			** (7%)
married before first birth	1	1	1	1
married after birth	1.35 (0.7%)	1.46 (9%)	0.95	1.57
cohabiting through current month	0.67 (0.7%)	1.29	0.79	0.70 (7%)
log likelihood	-2415.1	-2049.7	-1061.4	-1189.4
no. indep. parameters	21	21	21	21

Note: *- the factor is statistically significant at the 5 per cent level; **- the factor is statistically significant at 10 per cent level. Relative risks printed in boldface are significantly different from the reference level (indicated by 1 without decimals) at the 10% level. P-values are given in parenthesis. Baseline hazards are grouped in 6 levels: 0-18, 19-24, 25-36, 37-65, 66-120, and 121-179.

TABLE 5. Third-birth risks for Sweden and France: Models with educational attainment and policy-period variables

Factors	Swedish Women	French Women	Swedish Men	French Men
<i>Months between 1st and 2nd birth</i>	*	*(0.0%)	*(0.0%)	*(0.2 %)
8-18	1.18	1.27	1.46	1.51 (8%)
19-24	0.98	1.28	0.90	1.24
25-30	1	1	1	1
31-36	0.76 (6%)	0.92	0.99	0.73
37+	0.56 (0%)	0.60 (1%)	0.46 (0%)	0.65 (6%)
<i>Second birth-Late or early?</i>	*(0.0%)	*(0.0 %)	** (9%)	*(2 %)
very early	1.	1	1	1.
rather early	0.59 (0%)	0.66 (0.5%)	0.82	0.85
medium	0.72 (3%)	0.67 (1%)	0.59 (4%)	0.65 (7 %)
rather late	0.58 (0.1%)	0.38 (0%)	0.71	0.67
late	0.27 (0%)	0.35 (0%)	0.51 (1%)	0.42 (0.2%)
<i>Educational attainment</i>		*(0.0%)	*(2.3 %)	*(0.2 %)
compulsory schooling	1.04	1.70 (0.0%)	1.44 (6.5%)	1.39
vocational training	1.	1.	1.	1.
gymnasium	0.85	0.88	0.64 (10%)	0.99
brief post-gymnasium	0.91	0.86	1.45	0.29 (0%)
university	1.00	0.76	1.25	0.87
<i>Combined civil status</i>	*(0.0%)	** (9 %)		
married before first birth	1	1	1	1
married after birth	1.21 (10%)	1.42 (9.5%)	0.94	1.32
cohab. through current month	0.58 (0.0%)	1.34	0.75	1.53
<i>Current period</i>				
<i>Sweden / France</i>	*	*(1 %)		
1968-73 / 1968-73	0.99	1.42 (8%)	2.05	0.80
1974-77 / 1974-76	0.72	0.58 (4 %)	0.86	0.81
1978-80 / 1977-79	1	1	1	1
1981-86 / 1980-83	1.46 (5%)	1.05	1.81	1.20
/ 1984-86		1.09		1.05
1987-90 / 1987-90	1.74 0%)	1.34	1.67	0.97
1991-93 / 1991-94	1.61 (6%)	0.89	1.59	0.89
log likelihood	-2394.2	-2026.9	-1042.8	-1183.4
no. indep. parameters	27	28	27	28

Note: *- the factor is statistically significant at the 5 per cent level; **- the factor is statistically significant at 10 per cent level. Relative risks printed in boldface are significantly different from the reference level (indicated by 1 without decimals) at the 10% level. P-values are given in parenthesis. For baseline hazards, see Fig 3.

Fig. 1 Total Fertility Rate for France and Sweden

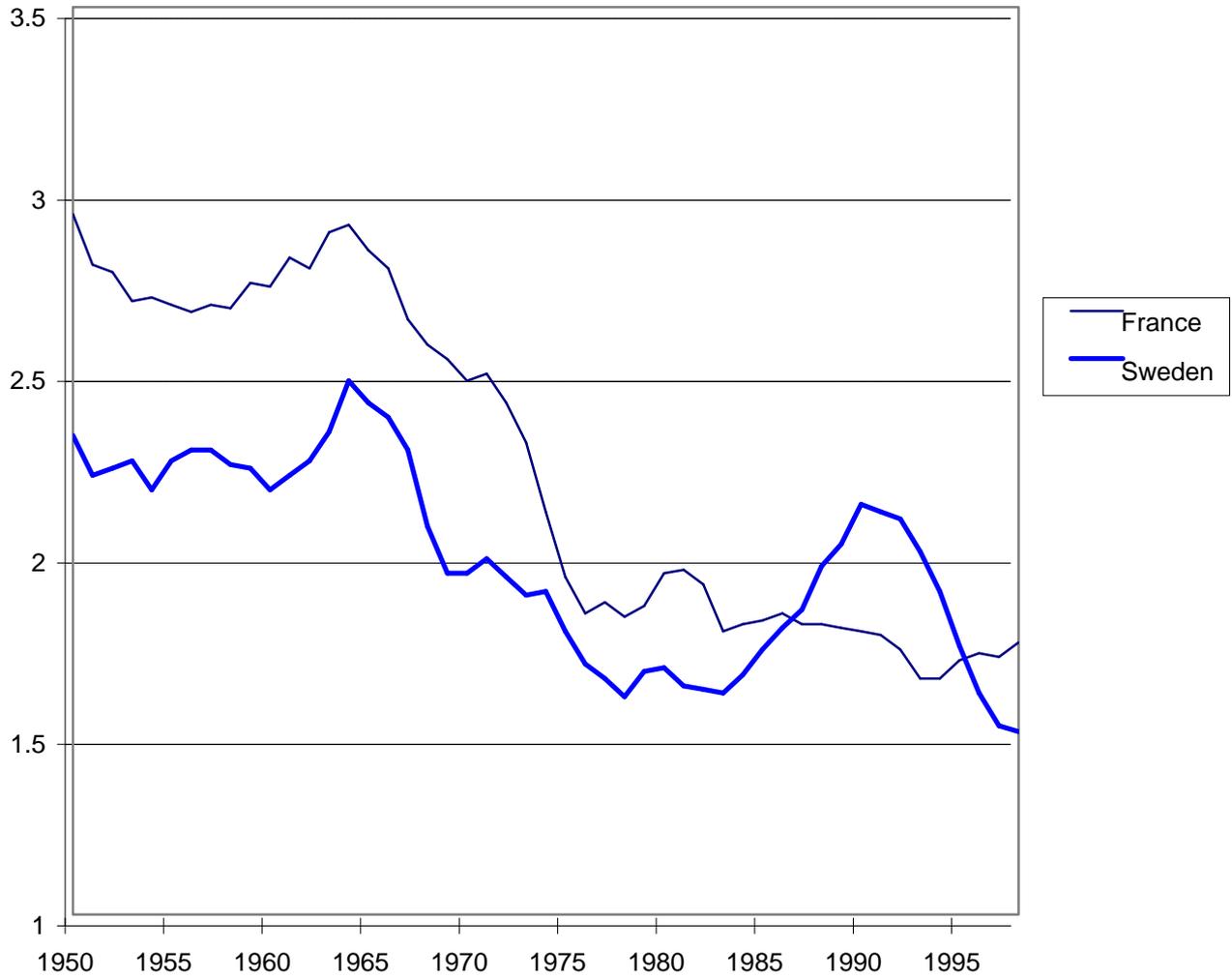


Fig. 2 Parity progression ratios for French and Swedish women

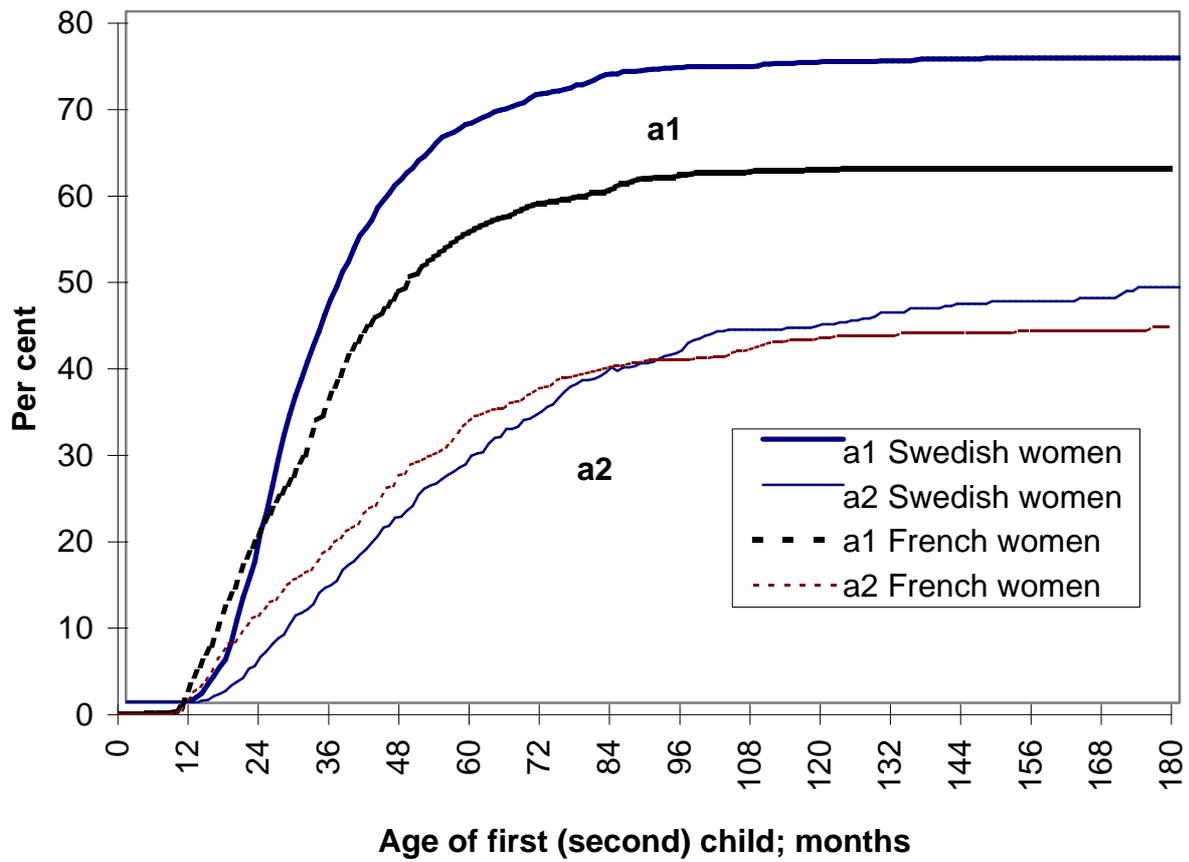


Fig. 3 Third-birth risks for French and Swedish women. Standardised for age, civil status, education and policy

