The Feminization of Weekend Employment: A Comparative Analysis

Harriet B. Presser
Distinguished University Professor
Department of Sociology
University of Maryland
presser@socy.umd.edu

and

Janice C. Gornick
Associate Professor
Department of Political Science
Baruch College
City University of New York
Janet_Gornick@baruch.cuny.edu

Paper to be presented at the annual meeting of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, held in Tours, France, June 2005.

[Unedited version]
The post-industrial era has brought with it changes in the temporal nature of labor force activity in highly industrialized countries -- including a growing diversity in employees’ work schedules. *How many* hours a week people are employed and *which hours* in the day they are employed are becoming more varied -- not just within countries, but across countries; so, too, are *which days* of the week people are employed.¹

Whereas researchers have long studied the number of hours per week that people work, and are finally giving some attention to workers’ shifts--whether they work mostly days, evenings, nights, or weekends, or have a rotating schedule--there is considerably less research about what is happening to employment during the weekend, both Saturdays and Sundays. Yet weekend employment is a phenomenon of considerable interest as the service sectors of many advanced economies grow, responding to the growing demands of consumers for 24/7 access.² And since women are disproportionately employed in the service sector in virtually all highly industrialized countries, we would expect a growing share of weekend employment to be female.

Weekend employment has both negative and positive implications for workers. On the negative side, weekend employment may be viewed as an important part of the general erosion of the standard work week, regarded by some as “one of the major achievements of the working class.”³ This perspective suggests that weekend work, when mandated by employers, may not be in the interest of most employees and could potentially affect morale and productivity. It surely changes the temporal structure of family life, often reducing spouse interaction and parental time with children. It also adds to the complexity of child care arrangements, particularly in single-mother families.⁴
Many other forms of social interaction may be constrained because one is unavailable when friends and family who are not employed on weekends engage in leisure activities.

On the positive side, working weekends may increase employees’ income as a consequence of pay premia, which is far more common in European countries than in the U.S.\(^5\) It may also have some family benefits. For example, it may increase married fathers’ involvement with their children when mothers are working different days than fathers and fathers become the primary caregivers during this time (which is not usually the case). The availability of fathers when mothers are employed may push some men reluctantly into this mode of sharing child care, but it also may be that more weekend employment by women reflects men’s growing willingness to assume primary caregiving responsibilities when available.

We cannot tease out such complex social issues from the data on hand (and have no measures of preference), but as a start it is important to consider the gendered nature of weekend employment, both in terms of trends and variations. This is the first study to document the feminization of the weekend accordingly, focusing on 15 contemporary European countries, and to a lesser extent (limited by problems of comparability), also considering the United States.\(^6\) This comparative analysis will show considerable variation among European countries that call for contextual factors as part of the explanation, such as differences among countries in public policies and collective agreements bearing on work hour regulations, pay premia and/or compensatory time, and child care. It is our plan to undertake such an analysis in future work. In this paper we lay the groundwork that can be used for further exploration.
Data Sources

The data we use are from the Labour Force Surveys (LFS) of 15 European countries, obtained from Eurostat, the statistical office of the European Union (EU).\(^7\) The trend analyses presented cover the period 1992 to 2001, or the most recent year when reliable data on work schedules are available. The total sample sizes of these surveys range from approximately 12,500 (Finland) to 380,000 (Germany). The countries are ordered in the analysis according to region: Nordic countries, including Sweden (SW), Finland (FI), Denmark (DK), and Norway (NW); British Isles, including the United Kingdom (UK) and Ireland (IR); Western/Central European countries, including France (FR), Germany (GE), Switzerland (CH), Austria (AT), the Netherlands (NL), Belgium (BE), and Luxembourg (LX); and Southern European countries, including Italy (IT) and Spain (SP). These were the countries for which reliable LFS data on work schedules were obtained from Eurostat.\(^8\)

We adopted this regional breakdown largely because much comparative literature on European policies and employment outcomes -- especially women’s employment -- has established a substantial degree of homogeneity within these groupings. The Nordic countries, for example, tend to have high rates of female employment, sizable service sectors, and large redistributive welfare policies. The Western/Central European countries typically have lower rates of female employment, smaller service sectors, and less redistributive social policies. The British Isles, like the U.S., generally have moderate rates of female employment, and much more market-oriented regulatory and social welfare systems. The southern European countries generally have both low female employment and less developed social policies.
Eurostat does not provide to outside scholars the individual records for these countries. Rather, it is only possible to purchase from them cross-classification tables, which present weighted clusters of individuals with identical sets of characteristics. We have restricted the samples to those aged 25 to 64, to wage and salary earners only, and to those working in nonagricultural occupations (farmers and farm laborers are excluded).  

The main variable of interest for this study was asked of respondents in all the countries reported, whether they worked Saturday and whether they worked Sunday. The responses were “usually,” “sometimes,” and “never.” We are specifically interested in usual employment (typically defined by countries as at least half of the weekends during the reference period of one month), and have dichotomized both Saturday and Sunday usual employment accordingly (yes/no). To assess the percent female working Saturdays and Sundays, the base is all employees with the same restrictions as noted above.

We include in some tables data for the U.S. as well as the European countries, using data for both the May 1997 and May 2001 Current Population Surveys (CPS). Both surveys ask respondents which days of the week they usually work. However, the 2001 CPS (unlike the May 1997 CPS) expanded the options to allow for “days vary” without determining whether these variable days included Saturday or Sunday, and this “days vary” category is substantial in size. Given this change, we report overall prevalence data on weekend work for the U.S both in 1997 and in 2001, but do not interpret this as a trend, nor do we do include the U.S. in detailed comparative analyses. The CPS data are based on approximately 50,000 households.
Trends in the Feminization of Employment

Over the period 1992-2001, the 15 European countries under study experienced either an upward trend in the percent female of all those employed ages 25 to 64, or sustained the high levels achieved earlier. As may be seen in Figure 1, sustained high levels are characteristic of the Nordic countries, the United Kingdom, and France, with the percent female ranging between 47.5 and 50.7. All of the other countries start from lower positions, and all clear patterns of increasing feminization in employment, achieving levels in 2001 ranging from 38.8 percent (Spain) to 46.8 percent (Ireland). The high levels in 2001 for Sweden (50.7 percent) and Finland (50.4 percent) exceed that for U.S. in 2001 (48.3 percent), based on CPS data.

Trends in the Percent of All Employed Working Weekends

Along with the increasing feminization of those employed, some European countries—but not all—have experienced an increase in employment on Saturdays and/or Sundays. Before considering the extent to which weekend employment has become feminized, it is of interest to examine, overall, what the trend in weekend employment has been for all those employed ages 25 to 64.

Figure 2 shows the percent of those employed who usually work Saturdays for 15 countries from 1992-2001. (Some of the countries have missing data for certain years.) We see that the countries are highly variable in whether they show an upward, downward, or fairly stable level of Saturday employment. For most countries, about one-fourth of those employed work Saturdays, with minor fluctuations over the years. The lowest levels are for two Western/Central European countries; Belgium, which shows an upward trend (from 9.2 percent in 1992 to 11.5 percent in 1998, latest reliable year); and
Luxembourg, which is fairly stable over the decade (14.2 percent in 1992 and 14.0 percent in 2001). In contrast, the two Southern European countries, Italy and Spain are the countries with relatively high levels of Saturday employment: Italy with its peak of 36.1 percent in 1993, but declining notably to 29.4 percent in 2001; and Spain, peaking at 29.1 percent in 1995 and declining somewhat to 26.3 percent in 2001.

Sunday employment, as one would expect, is less common than Saturday employment. Countries that are relatively high in Saturday employment are not always relatively high on Sunday employment. We see in Figure 3 that three of the Nordic countries, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark, along with the Netherlands and Spain, show the highest levels of usual Sunday employment, with close to one-sixth of all those employed. The lowest levels are for some of the Western/Central European countries: France, Belgium, and Luxembourg, plus Italy (which has the highest level of Saturday employment). Among all the countries, the only one to show a clear declining trend in usual Sunday employment is Finland, from 15.8 percent in 1995 (earliest year available) to 13.3 percent in 2001. The more general change seems to be a trend toward more Sunday employment, most evident for France, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, and Spain.

People who are employed Sundays are highly likely to be employed Saturdays. Thus, the trends for those who usually work both Saturday and Sunday (not shown) are similar to those who usually work Sundays, shown in Figure 3, except the levels are lower. As of 2001, the percent who worked both Saturday and Sunday was highest in Sweden (15.0) and lowest in Luxembourg (5.2).
The Feminization of Weekend Employment

Having seen that women are increasingly becoming employed in most of these countries, and sustaining their high levels in others, and that for many countries there has been an increase in weekend employment, particularly on Sundays, the issue we next address is the extent to which weekend employment has become feminized. In other words, what percent of those usually employed on Saturdays and/or Sundays are female—compared to the percent female who work weekdays only?

As noted earlier, the growth of women’s employment is linked to the growth of the service economy, and the service sector—at least in the U.S.—has higher rates of weekend employment than the industrial sector.11 Thus, we would expect an increase over time in the percent of weekend employees who are women for many of these countries.

Figure 4 shows the trend in the percent of Saturday employees aged 25 to 64 who are female. Interestingly, we see a trend toward convergence, with 7 of the 15 European countries that had relatively low feminization of Saturday employment in 1992 showing notable increases by 2001: the United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Spain.

We see a similar trend toward convergence in Figure 5 relating to Sunday employment, but for 10 of the 15 countries. In addition to those noted above for Saturday, the percent female usually working Sundays on the rise between 1992 and 2001 (with minor fluctuations over the decade) includes Finland, Norway, and Italy. Only three countries that showed no clear pattern or declines in weekend employment (both

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11 For more information on how the gender distribution of employment has changed over time, see the data presented in Figures 4 and 5.
Saturday and Sunday): Sweden, Denmark, and France—all with relatively high levels to
begin with.

Although we do not have annual data for the U.S., the percent female of those
working Saturdays and Sundays in 1997 was about midway along the continuum for the
European countries that year (41.2 and 45.0, respectively).

Detailed Comparisons of the Percent Female Working Weekends for 2001

The remainder of the paper makes some detailed comparisons among countries in
the percent female working weekends, focusing on the year 2001 or the most recent year
for which comparable data are available, and considering economic sector and weekly
hours worked.

Disproportionate feminization on weekends

We consider first the extent to which the percent female of those weekends
exceeds that of the percent female of all those employed (regardless of schedule). This
analysis allows for the fact that different countries have different levels of female
employment. Relative to their levels of employment in comparison to men’s within these
countries, are women disproportionately working weekends?

Figure 6 shows that for most of these European countries, they are. The numbers
above the bars in the figure are the ratios of the percent female in weekend employment
divided by the percent female in all employment, computed for Saturday and Sunday
separately. Ratios over 1.00 represent disproportionate female employment on these
weekend days -- meaning, female shares in weekend employment are larger than female
shares in the workforce more generally. Regarding Saturday employment, the only
European countries showing less than 1.00 are the U.K. and Ireland; regarding Sunday
employment, only Norway, Ireland, Italy, and Spain have an under-representation of women among the employed. It is notable that weekend employment in the U.S. is not disproportionately female, either with regard to Saturday or Sunday, with ratios below one.

The feminization of weekend employment is most notable in Sweden (ratios of 1.29 and 1.27 for Saturday and Sunday, respectively), and Luxembourg (a ratio of 1.31 for Saturday).

Contrasts within economic sectors

These country differences in the feminization of weekend employment may due to differences in the size of their service sectors and, relatedly, differences in their percent female among the employed. Taking this into account—that is, considering only those employed in services for these various countries, are women over represented in weekend employment? Figure 7 shows the ratios of the percent female in weekend service employment relative to the percent female in all service employment for these countries. We see that even within the service sector, Sweden and Luxembourg show ratios that are notably high, albeit somewhat reduced, indicating that for them, the feminization of weekend employment includes the feminization of weekend service employment. All of the 13 other countries with ratios above 1.00 in Figure 6 drop to just above or below a ratio of 1.00 in Figure 7, suggesting that it is the high weekend employment of women in the service sector that explains the disproportionate feminization of weekend employment more generally. (Saturday employment in Ireland is the only country not to show a lower ratio when comparing the two figures.)
The feminization of weekend work in services may be contrasted to that in industry. As the total rows in Table 1 reveal, regardless of which days are worked, the service sectors in all countries are much more feminized than the industrial sectors. But allowing for this fact, the service sector also disproportionately draws in women in weekend work relative to weekday-only work than does the industrial sector.

For most of the countries considered, including the U.S., within the service sector the percent female of all those employed is higher for those working weekends than weekdays only. (Saturday and Sunday employment in this table are not mutually exclusive, but a separate category of individuals working both Saturday and Sunday is added.) The only exceptions to the greater feminization of weekend employment among the European countries are for Norway, Ireland, Germany, Austria and Spain; they have a less feminized weekend workforce than a weekday-only workforce in the service sector.

The reverse is true with regard to the industrial sector. For almost all the European countries and the U.S, this sector has a higher percent female working weekdays only as compared to weekends. The exceptions in this regard are France, Switzerland, and Luxembourg, and relate to Saturdays only (more feminized than weekday-only employment).

**Contrasts within hours worked**

These surveys do not ask how many hours women and men are employed during the weekend, and there may be gender differences in this regard. We do have the total number of weekly hours worked and thus are able to consider differences in the feminization of weekend work for those working 30 or more hours versus less than 30
hours per week (the distinction most often used in Europe for full- and part-time work, respectively).

The totals in Table 2 show the much greater feminization of part- than full-time work. Looking specifically at those who work less than 30 hours a week, Saturday and Sunday employment generally is more feminized than weekday-only employment. So too is employment of an individual on both Saturday and Sunday. The differences in the percent female, however, tend to be small for most of these countries. The exceptions are France and the two Southern European Countries, Italy and Spain—with Sunday employment and both Saturday and Sunday employment notably less feminized than Saturday or weekday-only employment (although with still substantial percentages female). The U.S. also is an exception, with less feminized weekend employment among part-timers working weekends than weekdays only.

Among those working 30 hours or more, the feminization of weekend employment is more apparent for most of these countries, both with regard to Saturdays and Sundays (and both). The exceptions are Norway, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Italy, and the U.S.

Contrasts within economic sectors for those employed 30 hours or more

Do the marked differences in more feminization in weekend employment among those working 30 hours or more obtain for both economic sectors, service and industry? As Table 3 shows, the answer is consistent with what was found without regard to the number of hours worked: full-time employed women in the service sector in most of the countries are disproportionately in weekend employment, but the reverse is true in the industrial sectors of these countries; they are generally less feminized on the weekends.
relative to weekdays only. (Luxembourg is a notable exception, with only 8.7% female of those working weekdays only, 30 hours a week or more, in the industrial sector, and France shows little difference by weekend status.) The U.S. shows less feminization on weekends for both the service and industrial sectors relative to weekdays only.

Summary and Discussion

As noted at the outset, the purpose of this analysis is descriptive: to determine, for the first time, the extent to which the weekend employment is feminized among employees in 15 European countries and the United States. As background, we provided comparable figures on the overall feminization of employment in these countries and the overall prevalence of weekend employment. For the European countries, we have considered trends over a 10-year period, 1992-2001, and for these countries as well as the U.S. The feminization of weekend employment within economic sectors and within weekly work-hour groupings was examined for the most recent comparable year.

For all European countries considered, the data show an upward trend over the decade—or sustained high levels—in the percent female among all employed. Along with the increasing feminization of employment has come, for some countries—but not all—an increase in weekend employment. It is interesting that the “popular wisdom” is that weekend employment is on the rise throughout Europe, due to a loosening of restrictions on weekend commerce, increasing rationalization in production, and the spread of “American-style” consumer preferences. In fact, the picture of change in Europe is more complicated. In the last decade, there has been no uniform increase in Saturday employment, and some countries show a decline. However, Sunday employment—
is less common—is rising in more countries than not, especially in the Western/Central European countries and in Spain.

Many European countries have also experienced increasing feminization of weekend employment. However, as noted, it is not necessarily the more feminized countries with regard to employment that are more feminized with regard to weekend employment. Moreover, it matters whether one is considering Saturday or Sunday employment, as some countries relatively high on one are not on the other.

Comparisons of these countries for the most recent year by economic sector show that it is the high weekend employment of women relative to men in the service sector—and not the industrial sector—that helps generate the disproportionate feminization of weekend employment more generally. But even within the service sector, weekend employment is highly feminized; that is, women in the service sector disproportionately work weekends in the service sector relative to men in this sector. The reverse is true for the industrial sector.

Women are more likely than men in these countries to work part time, and part-time work is more female than full-time work. However, among part-timers, weekend employment is not much more feminized than weekday work; the difference is more marked for full-timers. And among full-timers in the service sector, women are disproportionately in weekend employment, whereas for full-times in the industrial sector, women disproportionately work weekdays only.

Our descriptive findings suggest two important analytical questions. The first question is whether the overall pattern of high and rising weekend employment among women advances women economically or whether the feminization of weekend
employment constitutes yet another form of women’s labor market disadvantage. It is possible, for example, that—in some countries and/or in some sectors—weekend employment commands relatively high pay premia, whereas in others it does not. In the former cases, employees would presumably compete for weekend shifts whereas, in the latter cases, those with less seniority or less bargaining power may be assigned those shifts. It may be, for example, that in the service sector weekend workers receive little in the way of compensatory pay and thus women’s disproportionate share of weekend service work reflects their poor standing in the labor market. If the opposite tends to be true in the industrial sector for some or all countries, then the fact that this sector has a higher percent female working weekdays only, compared to weekends, might be a sign of women’s disadvantage vis-à-vis male workers (or possibly the unions that represent them). It is also possible that these demand-side factors interact, in varying ways, with supply-side factors that also affect women’s engagement (relative to men’s) in weekend work—such as the availability of non-parental child care during the week as well as on weekends, and the extent of fathers’ willingness to care for children.

Answering this question would require data on a number of variables in addition to gender and weekend employment, variables not available in the European Labour Force Survey data. To fully understand the extent to which women, and men, prefer weekend shifts, and the advantages and disadvantages associated with working those shifts, one would need microdata that include workers’ wages, scheduling preferences, and union membership, as well as other variables. This question is probably best approached using country case studies, supplemented by country-specific datasets.
The second question concerns the institutional factors that shape the prevalence--and the quality of--weekend employment. Our descriptive results indicate that the regions, or country clusters, that we used when reporting results are generally not very homogeneous with respect to weekend employment -- i.e., its prevalence, growth, or degree of feminization. That suggests that the sources of country-level variation are not clearly rooted in overarching labor market characteristics or welfare state designs. To the extent that public policies matters, the factors have yet to be identified. Moving forward in this regard entails consideration of such factors as the extent to which countries restrict production or operation at nonstandard times, including weekends, the extent to which public services (such as child care) are available on a seven-day basis to accommodate workers scheduled at nonstandard times, and the extent to which weekend workers are compensated for such employment in the form of pay premia and/or compensatory time.

To conclude, the feminization of week employment merits our attention and needs further exploration.
Figure 1
Female Employment Trends:
Percentage Female Among Employees Aged 25-64,
15 European countries, 1992-2001 and
the U.S., 1997 and 2001

values shown indicate % female in 2001

Nordic countries
British Isles
Western/Central European countries
Southern European countries
Figure 2
Weekend Prevalence Trends:
Percentage of Employees Aged 25-64 Who Usually Work Saturdays,

values shown indicate % Saturdays for most recent year
Figure 3
Weekend Prevalence Trends:
Percentage of Employees Aged 25-64 Who Usually Work Sundays,

values shown indicate % Sundays for most recent year
Figure 4
Feminization Trends:
Percentage of Saturday Employees Aged 25-64 Who Are Female,

values shown indicate % female for most recent year
Figure 5
Feminization Trends:
Percentage of Sunday Employees Aged 25-64 Who Are Female,

values shown indicate % female for most recent year
Figure 6
Ratio of Percent Female in Weekend Employment to Percent Female in All Employment
15 European countries and the U.S.,
2001 or most recent year comparable data available
Figure 7:
Ratio of Percent Female in Weekend Service Employment to Percent Female in all Service Employment, 15 European Countries and the U.S., 2001 or most recent year comparable data available
Table 1: Percent female of wage and salary earners aged 25 to 64 by weekend work schedule and according to economic sector: 15 European countries and the U.S., 2001 or most recent year comparable data available

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Nordic Countries</th>
<th>British Isles</th>
<th>Western/Central European Countries</th>
<th>Southern European Countries</th>
<th>US (1997)</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Saturdays</td>
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<td>59.1</td>
<td>57.4</td>
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<td>Sundays</td>
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<td>60.2</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>54.2</td>
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<td>Both Saturday and Sunday</td>
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<td>60.6</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>53.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekdays only</td>
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<td>60.6</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>56.8</td>
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<td>57.6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>25.6</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>22.2</td>
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</table>

Note: "Saturdays" and "Sundays" include those who may also work the other weekend day; these two categories are not mutually exclusive.
Table 2: Percent female of wage and salary earners aged 25 to 64 by weekend work schedule and according to number of hours worked: 15 European countries and the U.S., 2001 or most recent year comparable data available

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
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<th>Southern European Countries</th>
<th>US (1997)</th>
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<td><strong>Less than 30 hrs</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Saturdays</td>
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<td>75.7</td>
<td>75.7</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>88.5</td>
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<td>76.2</td>
<td>78.6</td>
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<td>Both Saturday and Sunday</td>
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<td>72.1</td>
<td>78.5</td>
<td>80.6</td>
<td>88.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weekdays only</td>
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<td>72.2</td>
<td>75.8</td>
<td>87.3</td>
<td>90.6</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td>73.1</td>
<td>75.3</td>
<td>86.7</td>
<td>89.7</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>30 hrs or more</strong></td>
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<td>Saturdays</td>
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<td>50.4</td>
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<td>48.0</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>36.9</td>
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Note: "Saturdays" and "Sundays" include those who may also work the other weekend day; these two categories are not mutually exclusive.
Table 3: Percent female of all wage and salary earners aged 25 to 64 employed 30 hrs or more according to economic sector: 15 European countries and the U.S., 2001 or most recent year comparable data available

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Nordic Countries</th>
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<th>US (1997)</th>
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<td>Service Sector</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturdays</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>60.1</td>
<td>56.1</td>
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<td>Sundays</td>
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<td>57.3</td>
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<td>Both Saturday and Sunday</td>
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<td>62.6</td>
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<td>43.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekdays only</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Sector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturdays</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundays</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Saturday and Sunday</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekdays only</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: "Saturdays" and "Sundays" include those who may also work the other weekend day; these two categories are not mutually exclusive.
Notes

Acknowledgements: The authors thank Sangeeta Parashar and Lijuan Wu, graduate students at the University of Maryland, for their programming assistance for this paper. We also gratefully acknowledge financial support from the Russell Sage Foundation to conduct this research.


4 Presser, Working in a 24/7 Economy.


6 In another paper, we assess employment during nonday hours -- that is evening, night, and rotating hours -- in these same countries (Harriet B. Presser and Janet C. Gornick, “Working in a 24/7 Economy: Common Ground Between Europe and the U.S.,” unpublished manuscript, 2004).

7 All of the European countries in this study are EU members, with the exception of Switzerland and Norway. Eurostat gathers data on a limited number of non-member European countries.

8 Eurostat would not provide the precise sample sizes for each of these countries, after selecting the subsample with the restrictions noted, for reasons of confidentiality, although weights were provided and used to generate the national estimates.

9 The restriction of wage and salary workers is based on our interest in workers who are subject to employer demands and have less choice about working weekends than the self-employed. The prevalence of weekend employment would be higher if the self-employed were included.
In the 1997 CPS, no reference period was specified in the question concerning which days of the week people worked (neither “usually” or “last week”). However, this question was asked after other questions relating to the usual week.

Presser, *Working in a 24/7 Economy*.