

Family, care and work in Europe: an issue of gender?

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Chapter 1

Preference for Family and Work in the Czech Republic¹

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Abstract

Diversity characterizes fertility, family and work patterns in Europe: there are marked differences between nations in terms of childbearing, family and work preferences. In the year 2000 the British sociologist Catherine Hakim published a new theory based on preferences for paid work and family. The preference theory tries to explain and predict female preferences for work in the labour market and family. It works with elements such as values and decisions at both a micro-level and the economic and institutional macro-context, in which preferences are seen to be the main determinant of choices that people make in their lives. Lifestyle preferences are understood as causal factors, which influence the models of work and family. Preference theory works with a classification of life-style preferences for family and work: “work-oriented preferences”, “adaptive preferences” and “family-oriented preferences”. Preference theory was empirically tested on female populations in some European countries including the Czech Republic. Using a more recent survey (carried out in 2011 in the Czech Republic) on men and women, we used the preference theory in order to answer the following questions: a) What is the distribution of different life-style preferences in the Czech Republic in male and female populations? b)

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What are the factors impeding the realization of the preferred family model? c) What are the main determinants of these lifestyle preferences? We hypothesized that more men than women will be found to be “work-oriented” and that life-style preferences for family and work are not found to be differentiated by age or gender.

1. Introduction and Theoretical Background

Changes in the political, social, and economic systems in Central and Eastern Europe started in the beginning of the 1990's and have made an impact on all aspects of life. At the individual level a plurality of life paths have emerged, which have offered a wider range of opportunities for young women, both in the labour market and education². Tertiary education has changed from being elitist into education that is available to all while new value preferences concerning life style have been adopted gradually (e.g. work-life preferences or career-oriented life paths). Unsurprisingly, these phenomena led to changes within the family: the marked decrease of nuptiality (low marriage rates) and postponing of fertility being the most observable ones.

In the Czech Republic, women, as the main care providers in families, have increasingly faced the challenge of providing care for their children and elderly relatives (sandwich generation effect), whilst also having a paid job and responsibility for the

² We should be careful when interpreting the statistics on young female economic activity rate. These statistics indicate that while at the beginning of the 1990s, the activity rate for the age group 25-29 ranged between 80 and 90% (being the highest in the Czech Republic – 94.5%), in 2004, the rate dropped to 65-75% (64% in CR) (for more details see UNIFEM report, table 2.4b, p. 27). Fertility patterns are to some extent responsible for the decline in the activity rates. Behind the high economic activity rate in the early 1990s was the fertility pattern of the old communist regime, when women had children at very young ages and at relatively short intervals between births, so that at the age of 25-29 women were already out of the maternity leave period. In 2004, the effect of the second demographic transition was already fully reflected and led to a significant increase in the childbearing age. Thus, many women aged 25-29 have maternity leave during that age. Moreover, we should not ignore the effect of the youth unemployment that caused a drop in the economic activity rates in 2004.

household. The majority of women are employed full time as few part-time positions are available (approximately 8% of total female employment was in part-time jobs at the end of 2011)³. The male role in the family has been slowly changing and men who are fathers can take parental leave if they want to share childcare responsibilities⁴.

A public opinion poll carried out in 2003 in the Czech Republic showed that the traditional model of the male breadwinner and female carer still persists in people's opinions. Its results supported the idea that the man should provide financial security for the family (64% of all adult population agreed), and that women should take care of household responsibilities (78% agreed). The results also indicated that both partners should be equally involved in childcare to a larger extent than before, although women are those who primarily fulfill the role of child carer (CVVM 2/2003). In a later study, Höhne (*et al.* 2010) found that the vast majority of adult Czech population, regardless of gender, education, age or stage of life, agreed with the model of a two-income family, where both partners contribute to the family net income. At the same time, there is also considerable support for equal opportunities for men and women to pursue their employment paths, but women, or individuals with higher levels of education, expressed such opinions a little more frequently.

At certain stages of life, people face the challenge of reconciling two important factors in their lives – work and family. They decide whether or not to have children and whether they want to work in the labor market or stay at home and care for their close relatives. Research supports the idea that there is (and has always been) a difference between men and women with regards to their

³ Male part-time employment rate for the reference year was about 2%.

⁴ Since 2007, fathers have been entitled to take parental leave immediately after the birth of the child (there is no paternity leave), while woman can do so after maternity leave (Labour Code in force since 1 January 2007). In 2011 1.7% of all fathers took parental leave (MPSV statistics – <<http://www.mpsv.cz/cs/10543>>).

preferences for family, work and career⁵. Facing these dilemmas, women and men must develop innovative strategies to balance work and family responsibilities and simultaneously transform their traditional views about the division of gender roles.

Duncan and Edwards (1999; 2003) developed the concept of “gender moral rationalities about combining employment and mothering”. Their typology was based on single mothers’ experiences and divides mothers in “primarily mother”, “primarily worker” and “mother/worker integral”. In later research, they concluded that gendered moral rationalities around combining mothering and paid work are similar for both partnered and single mothers (2003, 313).

Values, norms, desires and intentions play a very important role in reconciling work and family⁶. One of the contested but useful theories in reconciling work and family based on values and norms is the “preference theory” by British sociologist Catherine Hakim (2000; 2003).

Preference theory refers primarily to the choice that women choose to make between family and work in the labor market. Hakim argues that women are heterogeneous in their preferences and priorities on the conflict between family and employment (2000, 7). According to the theory, lifestyle preferences originate within a new scenario, which results as a consequence of five historical changes: the contraceptive revolution, the equal opportunities revolution, the expansion of white-collar occupations, the creation of jobs for secondary earners and, finally, the

⁵ For instance, Hochschild (1989) supports this view and argues that modern societies have reconciled the dilemma between self-interest and caring for others by dividing women and men into different moral categories.

⁶ And not only here. It was already Ansley Coale who in 1973 – in the context of fertility transition – coined the term “the calculus of conscious choice” meaning that one of the important condition of the (first) demographic transition was one’s recognition that number of children can be decided by parents themselves, i.e. having children and the family size is something that can correspond with parental values, desires and/or preferences: “Potential parents must consider it an acceptable mode of thought and form of behaviour to balance advantages and disadvantages before deciding to have another child” (Coale 1973, 65).

increasing importance of personal values and preferences when individual choices are made. The most important aspect of the theory is the recognition that following the contraceptive revolution in the 1960's, women have come to have the decisive factor in the reproductive strategy of the married couple. Hakim asserts that in terms of women's participation in paid work and taking up family responsibilities, women fall into three lifestyle preference groups – “home-centered”, “work-centered” and “adaptive”. According to Hakim, it is crucial that these preferences are maintained consistently throughout life.

Preference theory has been built for women only – although Hakim roughly sketched male preferences, her operationalization for men has not been very clear, and thus not used in empirical studies. Female typology was tested in several European countries and the findings indicate that the size of these three types differ in contemporary modern societies due to differences in public and social services. The empirical data from these studies produce a normal distribution curve and show that approximately 20% of women are home-centered, 60% adaptive, and 20% work-centered (Hakim 2000, 6). Hakim believes that these three types of lifestyle preferences determine the decision-making of women about whether they will have children and if so, when and how many children they will have. Hakim also proposes that their lifestyle preferences is a determinant of the occupation they will choose, how sensitive they are towards offers and incentives of social and population policy, their employment policy and their economic and social conditions.

Hakim's theory is controversial and it has been widely criticized for its fundamental universalizing character and for its implicit assumptions about women and their assumed preferences – (see for instance Crompton and Harris 1998; Charles and James 2003; McRae 2003)⁷. The main criticism of prefer-

⁷ We are quite aware of this criticism and we share it (Manea *et al.* 2006). At the same time, however, we regard its methodological element as inspiring for further elaboration and testing.

ence theory is that women with essentially the same preferences for work and family can experience very different outcomes as they make choices in the light of the situations in which they find themselves, as women, wives, mothers and workers (McRae 2003, 586). Moreover, the theory lacks sufficient evidence to support its claims (McRae 2003, 332-334).

In our opinion, one of the major points of criticism is the lack of an appropriate typology for men and the exclusion of men and male-female interaction from family planning. Hakim rightly acknowledges that men and women have different choices and options in the labor market and family life, and men rather conform to the male breadwinner norm (Hakim 2000, 257). However, Hakim's preference theory lacks the power to predict male preferences for work and family and it disregards the importance of structural factors in societies that bring about conditions for these choices and options. Hakim also assumes a strong impact of family size on women's preferences⁸, but she ignores the fact that the decision on the number of children also depends on negotiations between the man and woman that are a couple (see Manea *et al.* 2006). Furthermore, it seems that the preferences are modified by individual circumstances after each additional child is born during life's course⁹. From a methodological point of view, we consider the life-style preferences typology to be oversimplified: trichotomized continuum from strong preferences for work on its one pole to strong family preferences on the other. In addition, the choice of indicators for the construction of the typology is simple and could have been more elaborated.

⁸ Which was proved to be so, but the impact of lifestyle preferences on female fertility is not strong in the Czech Republic (see Rabušic and Chromková Manea 2008).

⁹ This is called a sequential decision-making model and is contrary to the static one that assumes that individuals decide at one time to have a certain number of children and then try to complete their desire. However, as Hofferth (1983) found out, the support for sequential model is not strong: "the relationship between consequences to a couple, their expectations for the consequences of the next child, its actual consequences for couples like themselves, and its effects on their decision are very much unclear" (543).

Not to mention, the way in which Hakim built and applied the preference theory on men is very ambiguous.

In our earlier work in 2005, we tested the preference theory as formulated by Hakim on a Czech female representative sample aged between 20-44 years, by replicating Hakim's set of indicators to create the typology. We found a similar distribution of preferences as in other European countries – 13% of females were work-centered, 71% adaptive and 16% were family-centered (Rabušić and Chromková Manea 2008).

Giving the above theoretical and empirical considerations, we decided to work on a new way to operationalize the typology originally proposed by Hakim. We aimed to find the appropriate indicators and algorithms that could be used for testing preference theory on a male population. As a result, we formulated, tested and built a lifestyle preference typology that is suitable for both men and women.

In this chapter, we explore a new source of national representative sample data, “Male Reproductive Behavior Study” (*MRB*) in order to pursue the following aims: to build a new typology of life-style preference for both men and women and to describe the lifestyle trends in the Czech Republic.

We explore the following research questions:

- What is the distribution of different lifestyle preferences with respect to family and work in the Czech Republic in the male and female population?
- What are the factors impeding the realization of the preferred family model?
- What are the main determinants of the preferences for work and family?

The next section outlines the data used in the analysis. Further on, we discuss the main indicators of work-family preferences as they were used to build the typology of lifestyle preferences. This section also draws on the previous empirical research that examines and replicates the lifestyle preferences as developed by Hakim and presents men and women's lifestyle preferences based on the new methodological scheme. The chapter goes on to discuss the

main determinants of the differences found between male and female lifestyle preferences. Finally, we conclude by debating the implications of the new evidence for Hakim's preference theory applied on a male and female population found during a post-reproductive period.

2. *The Data*

The present chapter uses quantitative data from our own empirical study entitled "Male Reproductive Behavior". The "Male Reproductive Behavior" (*MRB*) study is based on a survey whereby the objective was to track people's reproductive and partnership biography and information on labour force participation, education and household, as well as their opinions, norms and attitudes towards having children, gender roles, lifestyle preferences, timing of life events, baby-lasting and values of children. The *MRB* survey represents a unique opportunity to closely examine individual reproductive and lifestyle preferences in the Czech Republic from a comparative perspective since data was gathered from both a male and female population. It also allows us to study couple dynamics and test for conflicting preferences within couples.

The *MRB* fieldwork took place in November-December 2011 and collected a wide variety of information from 800 couples ($N=1,600$ respondents), where men were aged 40-55 in 2011, and from a supplementary sample of 900 men and women aged 40-55, regardless of whether they were found to be in a relationship¹⁰. The survey was conducted by a professional agency using face-to-face interviews. Both the man and woman were interviewed in those households where the interviewers found a couple to be married or living in cohabitation.

¹⁰ Our main research unit is men aged 40-55 and their female or male partners/spouses. The age of female population varies and ranges between 20 and 70 y.o. (due to the age heterogeneity between partners/spouses in the population).

According to the long term Czech trend in age-specific fertility, age 40-55 is more or less a post-reproductive one: number of children born to people in this age group is minimal, although has slightly increased in recent years.

The analysis reported here is based on a sample of 2,500 respondents (we will use individual data, not the pair-data)¹¹. The data items used in this analysis are described in the next section of the chapter.

In terms of general representativeness, the *MBR* sample is representative of the Czech male population aged 40-55. The *MRB* data is biased towards men aged 40-55 found in a relationship (either cohabitating or married), but this is an outcome that was given by our initial goal to study couple dynamics and reproductive behaviour from a retrospective perspective (to catch the completed fertility history).

3. Preference Theory and Its Typology. A New Way of Operationalization

In order to give the context of our analyses we shall provide the main questions and indicators used to develop the lifestyle preferences typology first. Hakim's classification of women into three groups – family-centered, career-centered and adaptive – was based on three survey questions that were included in the British Survey conducted in 1999¹². Hakim uses a question on ideal family models and identifies home-centered women as preferring traditional role segregation within marriage where men are taking the breadwinner role¹³. The category “work-oriented”

¹¹ Total sample = 1,600 + 900 = 2,500 respondents.

¹² The British survey was carried out by including the required questions in the Office for National Statistics (ONS) omnibus survey. The same questions were also used in a Spanish Survey carried out in 1999 for cross-country comparison purposes.

¹³ The exact formulation of the question is as follows: “People talk about the changing roles of husband and wife in the family. Here are three kinds of family. Which of them corresponds best with your ideas about the family?”

– A family where the two partners each have an equally demanding job and where

is made up of a combination of two questions: an item measuring work commitment¹⁴ and the status of being the main income earner in the family¹⁵. The category “adaptive” is a residual one and it is based on the rest of the cases not included in the previous two categories.

Using the same questions and methodology, we implemented the preference theory in the Czech context in 2005. We tested the typology on a sample of women aged 20-40 and looked for the distribution on the three categories and the possible impact on fertility levels (see Rabušic and Chromková Manea 2008)¹⁶.

In our *MBR 2011* survey, we decided to partially use some of the original questions and insert new ones, which could offer us the possibility to build and validate a comparable male-female lifestyle preferences typology (see Appendix).

For the identification of lifestyle preference groups and to build the typology, we relied on two main questions. First, we used a question on work/family commitment that identifies people who manifest job, family or reconciliation of work and family prioritization positions. We coded as “committed to work” those respondents who chose the answer “Most important for me is work – to this I subordinate my family life as well as hobbies and interests”.

- housework and the care of the children are shared equally between them.
- A family where the wife has a less demanding job than her husband and where she does the larger share of housework and caring for the children.
- A family where only the husband has a job and the wife runs the home.
- None of these three cases” (Hakim 2003, 37).

¹⁴ The exact formulation is: “If without having to work you had what you would regard as a reasonable living income, would you still prefer to have a paid job, or wouldn’t you bother?” (Hakim 2003, 37).

¹⁵ The question was formulated as follows: “Who is the main income-earner in your household? Is it yourself? Your partner/spouse? Both of you jointly? Or someone else?” (Hakim 2003, 37).

¹⁶ As we were already aware of the possible methodological limitations of the lifestyle preference typology, we included a supplementary question on ideal family models that included more variants than the ones suggested and used by Hakim, but we did not use it later in our analysis, as our main aim was to replicate Hakim’s classification exactly.

	Total	Men	Women
Most important for me is to have a family and children – to this I subordinate my work as well as my hobbies and interests	41.7%	29.4%	53.7%
Most important for me is work – to this I subordinate my family life as well as hobbies and interests	13.7%	18.6%	9.0%
My interests and hobbies are most important for me, so I prefer them to the family and work	4.8%	7.6%	2.1%
Both family and work are important for me, so I try to reconcile them	39.7%	44.5%	35.1%

Table 1. Work/family commitment – distribution of answers by gender
Source: own calculations MRB dataset 2011

Those who answered “Most important for me is to have a family and children – to this I subordinate my work as well as my hobbies and interests” are coded as “committed to family”. “Adaptive” are respondents who answered “Both family and work are important for me, so I try to reconcile them”. Respondents were also offered a fourth option: “My interests and hobbies are most important for me, so I prefer them to the family and work”. We recoded these answers as “committed to work” because quite often personal hobbies and work are correlated, and preferences of hobbies instead of family indicate work orientations.

Table 1 examines the distribution of answers on the work/family commitment distinguishing between men and women. We can observe that respondents are to the same extent committed to family or are adaptive (42% vs 40%), while only 14% are committed to work. More than half of the female respondents are family committed, while approximately half of the men are adaptive type.

Also men more than women said that they are committed to work (19% vs 9%). We were surprised that men did not show a clear preference to work, but that they showed a preference for either both family and work or to family (45%, respectively 29%) instead. Commitment to work was only the third option among men (19%). Interestingly we had expected men to be more work committed in this post-reproductive stage of life, because their adolescent or grown-up children would not require intensive

caring¹⁷. Consequently, men in this stage of their life course can devote more time and effort to work or personal interests and hobbies.

It is necessary to examine the difference between respondents by the presence of children¹⁸, employment and marital status, as these groups tend to have divergent work/family commitment (see Table 2). Some studies reported that women's preferences for work or family are strongly related to the presence of children and to their status in the labour market. Our data confirms there is a considerable difference in preferences between men and women with and without children in the household. Women with children are rather committed to family, while men are adaptive. Preferences are shared among childless women – they are either committed to work or they are adaptive, while only a small share is family oriented. On the other hand, the majority of childless men are committed to work.

	Committed to work	Adaptive	Committed to family
Men with children	20.4%	47.3%	32.3%
Women with children	8.9%	34.7%	56.4%
Childless men	70.1%	22.8%	7.1%
Childless women	41.3%	40.0%	18.8%
Married men	17.7%	47.8%	34.5%
Married women	7.8%	33.7%	58.6%
Cohabiting men	41.7%	42.5%	15.7%
Cohabiting women	20.9%	35.3%	43.9%
Single men	62.6%	26.7%	10.7%
Single women	20.1%	43.3%	36.6%
Employed men	24.7%	43.9%	31.4%
Employed women	11.9%	36.7%	51.4%

Table 2. Work/family commitment – distribution of answers by presence of children, employment and marital status

Source: own calculations MRB dataset 2011

¹⁷ Our expectation was based on Hakim's assumption as well as on our own research experience.

¹⁸ 14% of all respondents in our sample are childless.

Our analysis also reveals that employed men and women have different lifestyle preferences: women are rather family-oriented (51% see “employed women” row in table 2 compared to 31% of men), while men tend to be adaptive in their preferences for work and family (44% “employed men” row in table 2). More employed men than employed women are committed to work (25% of employed men, respectively 12% of employed women), which is a result that could have been expected.

The data also confirms that there are differences in preferences between men and women due to marital status. There are important differences between single men and women – single men are much more frequently work-oriented than women (63 vs 20%). Among the married respondents, women report that they are more committed to family than men (59 vs 35%). Married men are rather adaptive, while married women are family committed. Among cohabiting respondents, men are either committed to work or adaptive, while women are rather work-oriented, but a large proportion is also adaptive. In this respect, cohabiting couples are a transitional type between singlehood and marriage.

The second question used to build the lifestyle preferences typology measures personal preferences on ideal family models (see Table 3). Given our previous research experience with preference theory, we decided to work with an extended version of the question by means of which Hakim identified as the ideal family models. Hakim employed three family models, while our operationalization included six family models that – in our view – sketch better the variety of preferences men and women might have¹⁹. These models range from the most common traditional

¹⁹ The survey question that we used is as follows: “People talk about the changing roles of husband and wife in the family. Here are six possible family models. Which of them corresponds best with your ideas about the ideal family model?”

- 1) A family where the two partners have an equally demanding job and where housework and the care of the children are shared equally between them (*same as Hakim*).
- 2) A family where the wife has a less demanding job than her husband and where she does the larger share of housework and caring for the children (*same as Hakim*).
- 3) A family where the wife has a more demanding job than her husband and where

model “male breadwinner/female homemaker” (see category 4) to the egalitarian or neo-traditional models (category 1, respectively 2 or 6, which are an adaptation of the traditional one). This cluster of family models largely depends on the role woman performs in the household as well as on her involvement in the labour market²⁰.

	Total	Men	Women
1) A family where the two partners each have an equally demanding job and where housework and the care of the children are shared equally between them – Egalitarian	35.1%	30.6%	39.5%
2) A family where the wife has a less demanding job than her husband and where she does the larger share of housework and caring for the children – Neo-traditional	40.7%	44.5%	36.9%
3) A family where the wife has a more demanding job than her husband and where she does the larger share of housework and caring for the children – Modern public, traditional private	2.6%	2.9%	2.3%
4) A family where only the husband has a job and the wife runs the home – Traditional	10.9%	10.4%	11.5%
5) A family where the two partners each have an equally demanding job and where woman does the larger share of housework and caring for the children – Egalitarian public, traditional private	7.5%	9.0%	5.9%
6) A family where only the husband has a job and where housework and the care of the children are shared equally between them – Traditional public, egalitarian private	3.2%	2.6%	3.9%

Table 3. Preferred ideal family model – distribution of answers by gender
Source: own calculations MRB dataset 2011

- she does the larger share of housework and caring for the children.
- 4) A family where only the husband has a job and the wife runs the home (*same as Hakim*).
 - 5) A family where the two partners have an equally demanding job and where woman does the larger share of housework and caring for the children.
 - 6) A family where only the husband has a job and where housework and the care of the children are shared equally between them.
 - 7) None of these cases”.

²⁰ Women are either considered as second earners who are required to participate to the family budget or as persons who want to build a career.

Table 3 shows that the preferred ideal family model is different for men and women. Women typically prefer the egalitarian model (see row 1 in table 3), where both partners have the same demanding job and equally share the responsibilities for housework and childcare (40%). For men, this model is only the second most preferred family model (30%) as they consider the neo-traditional family model (row 2 in table 3) to be the ideal where the woman works in a less demanding job and does the larger share of housework and childcare (45%). For women, such arrangement is second (37%). The traditional family model (row 4) is preferred by every tenth man or woman in the sample. Men and women do not differ in their views on the egalitarian arrangement in the labor market and traditional share of household and childcare chores (row 5, 9% of male vs. 6% of female).

As noted earlier, men and women's preferences are strongly related to the presence of children and the involvement in the labor market. Also here, with respect to the ideal family model, our data confirms there is a significant difference between employed (either in the labor market or self-employed) men and women. Employed men prefer the neo-traditional family model, while women employed or self-employed give preference to the egalitarian model (see Figure 1). Differences could be also observed between men and women not having a paid work: women prefer the traditional or neo-traditional family models, while men consider as ideal the egalitarian or neo-traditional family models.

When considering the presence of children, a different pattern of preferences emerges (see Figure 2). There are differences between men and women with and without children. While childless women – as could be expected – consider the egalitarian family model to be ideal, men without children – also not surprisingly – prefer neo-traditional model. An important finding is that preferences of women with children appear to be shared between the egalitarian and neo-traditional family model. Men with children tend to prefer the neo-traditional model, while the egalitarian model is the second preferred one.

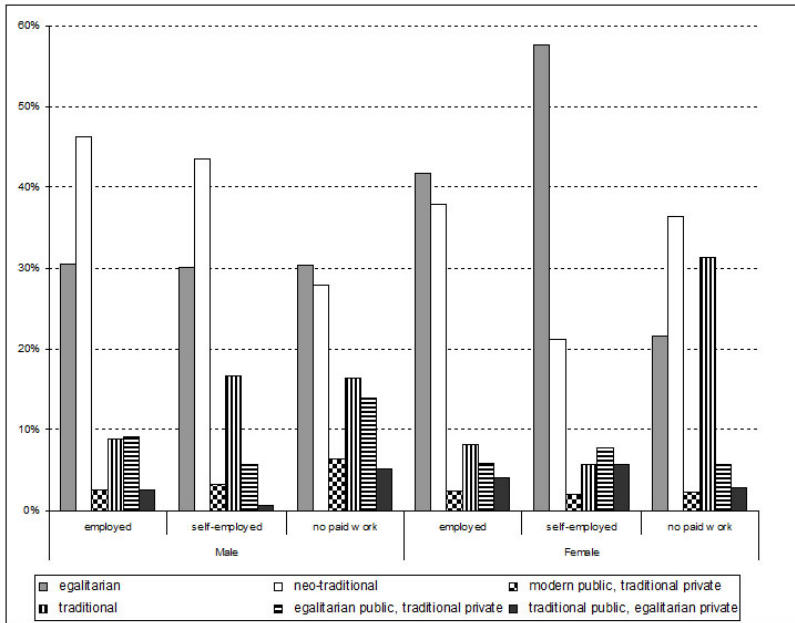


Figure 1. Preferred ideal family model by employment status and gender
Source: own calculations MRB dataset 2011

Hakim's theory does not account for the interactions of couple's decisions on their preferences for work and family regardless or not of the presence of children. She assumes that men have preferences for full-time work because they are both work-centered and competitive in the labor market, while women work to financially provide for the family rather than to build a career. Our data suggests that the relation between these phenomena is not so straightforward.

Hakim (2000) discusses some of the factors that can have an impact on preferences but do not seriously consider the factors that are constraining people's ability to achieve their family and work preferences. We identified a series of factors that can impede people from fulfilling their ideal family model.

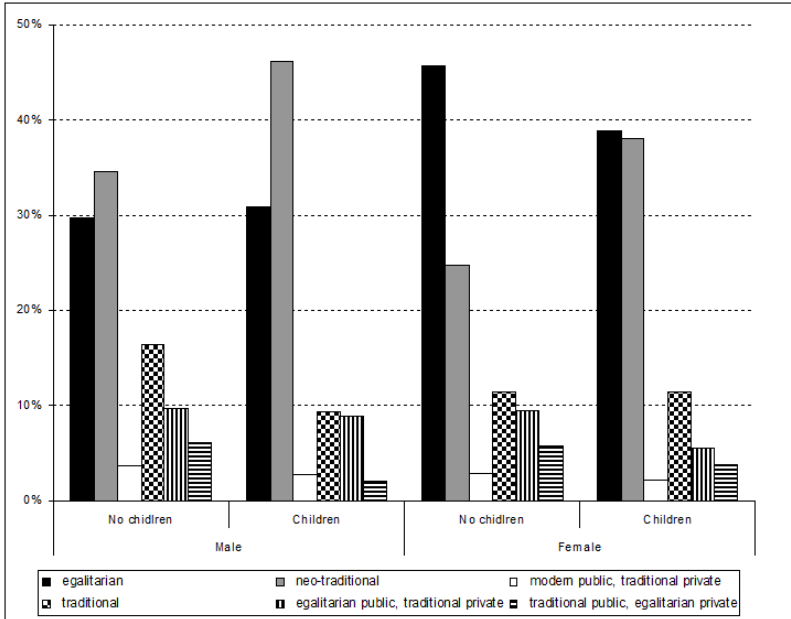


Figure 2. Preferred ideal family model by the presence of children and gender

Source: own calculations MRB dataset 2011

We asked our respondents to state whether there are any barriers in fulfilling their preferences and we let them choose from a list of impeding factors²¹. The results (the table not shown in this chapter) indicate that one-fifth of all respondents stated that there were barriers that could impede the realization of the preferred

²¹ The two questions were phrased as follows: “Are there any barriers in your family that will impede the realization of the model? Answers: yes/no. If yes, which are these (multiple answers allowed)?

- 1) my partner would not agree with such a model
- 2) this model would be unacceptable for people around us
- 3) this model would be economically disadvantageous for us
- 4) it would not be possible to provide adequate care for children
- 5) it would not be possible to provide for household chores
- 6) we could not have found suitable employment
- 7) the working conditions would not allow such a model”.

family model, while almost three-quarters denied the existence of such barriers²². There are differences between men and women who acknowledged these barriers with more women experiencing it and being aware of their existence. The results do not differentiate by the level of education in the case of male respondents, but more women with secondary education state that there are no barriers, while female respondents with university education less acknowledge the non-existence of such impediments.

Table 4 provides the main barriers for not fulfilling the ideal family model by gender. The low number of cases does not allow us to analyze the responses by the preferred family model.

Multiple answer – % col.	Men	Women
a) this model would be economically disadvantageous for us	57.7%	59.6%
b) the working conditions would not allow such a model	37.6%	36.8%
c) we could not have found suitable employment	35.6%	38.1%
d) my partner would not agree with such a model	35.1%	42.6%
e) it would not be possible to provide adequate care for children	27.3%	23.3%
f) it would not be possible to provide for household chores	25.8%	27.8%
g) this model would be unacceptable for people around us	10.3%	11.7%

Table 4. Main barriers by gender (ranked by male distribution)
Source: own calculations MRB dataset 2011

The negative economic impact of the model is the most important limitation for both Czech men and women (58% and 60%, respectively). As for the second most mentioned constraint, men and women differ in their opinions. Women see partner's disagreement with the model as a barrier in fulfilling it (43%), while for men it is the working conditions that would not allow them to choose such a model (38%). A suitable employment (job) is the third most frequently chosen obstacle by both men and women. These results also point to a low impact of pressure by the social group that the respondents belong to, as the least mentioned factor that hinders the fulfilling of the preferred model of family

²² The percentages do not add up to 100% because of "Do not know" category.

and work is the disagreement of people around our respondents with the chosen model (only 11%).

By combining the previous two questions (on family-work commitment and ideal family arrangement), we defined four life-style preferences groups of men and women. We used the following scheme to build lifestyle preferences typology (see Table 5).

	A. Committed to work	B. Adaptive	C. Committed to family
1) A family where the two partners each have an equally demanding job and where housework and the care of the children are shared equally between them	<i>Work-oriented</i>	<i>Adaptive</i>	<i>Adaptive</i>
2) A family where the wife has a less demanding job than her husband and where she does the larger share of housework and caring for the children	<i>Inconsistent</i>	<i>Adaptive</i>	<i>Family-oriented</i>
3) A family where the wife has a more demanding job than her husband and where she does the larger share of housework and caring for the children	<i>Work-oriented</i>	<i>Adaptive</i>	<i>Inconsistent</i>
4) A family where only the husband has a job and the wife runs the home	<i>Inconsistent</i>	<i>Family-oriented</i>	<i>Family-oriented</i>
5) A family where the two partners each have an equally demanding job and where woman does the larger share of housework and caring for the children	<i>Work-oriented</i>	<i>Adaptive</i>	<i>Family-oriented</i>
6) A family where only the husband has a job and where housework and the care of the children are shared equally between them	<i>Inconsistent</i>	<i>Family-oriented</i>	<i>Family-oriented</i>

Table 5. Typological scheme of lifestyle preferences
Source: own questionnaire MRB survey 2011

The national distributions of work-centered, adaptive and family-centered men and women are presented in Figure 3 and Table 6. The results point to the fact that there are substantial differences between men and women: only 10% of all men aged 40-55 are work oriented, while only 6% of women found in a similar age category is work oriented. Majority of women are family oriented (almost 60%) but only 35% men are family centered.

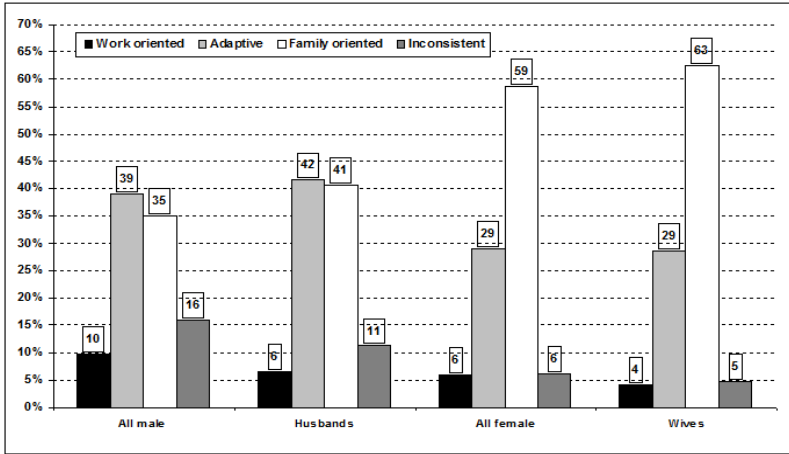


Figure 3. Distribution of lifestyle typology by gender and marital status
Source: own calculations MRB dataset 2011

About 40% of all men are adaptive in their preferences for work and family, while one-third of women indicate adaptive preferences.

There are certain differences between the distributions of female lifestyle preferences measured in 2005 (age group 20-40 with incomplete reproductive outcomes) and 2011 (age group 40+ in post-reproductive period)²³. About three quarters of all women in 2005 were adaptive in their preferences for work and family, while only a third of interviewed women in 2011 belonged to this category. Half of all women interviewed in 2011 are family-oriented but only 16% in 2005, 13% of all women were work-centered in 2005; the proportion of those work-oriented in 2011 is lower (about 6%).

Nonetheless, it is not possible to compare these results in a straightforward manner, as we used a slightly different methodology and operationalization, but the differences could point to the reasons behind this. They might be due to: a) different opera-

²³ For more details on 2005 results see Rabušic and Chromková Manea 2008.

tionalization; b) different age groups that were socialized within different population climate and found in different life course stages; or c) possible changes in values in relation to family and work. Moreover, comparison between men of 2005 and 2011 cannot be made, as we did not have an appropriate operationalization of male lifestyle preferences typology in 2005.

Differences can be also observed by marital status for both men and women, but the differences are similar to those we found with respect to gender. The most preferred type among wives is the “family oriented” one (63% – see category “wives” in the table 6), while among husbands the corresponding figure is 41%, but this share is more or less the same as their preference for adaptive category (42%). Only a small percentage of wives or husbands embrace lifestyle preferences towards work.

	Work oriented	Adaptive	Family oriented	Inconsistent
Male respondents	9.7%	39.1%	35.1%	16.0%
Husbands	6.4%	41.6%	40.6%	11.3%
Cohabiting men	19.2%	38.4%	20.0%	22.4%*
Men in employment	9.4%	38.7%	36.7%	15.1%
Female respondents	6.0%	29.0%	58.8%	6.1%
Wives	4.2%	28.7%	62.5%	4.7%
Cohabiting women	10.6%	27.3%	50.0%	12.1%
Women in employment	6.5%	30.5%	56.7%	6.4%

Note: * We can only speculate about the reasons why cohabiting men and women are inconsistent in their preferences. It may be because of the lack of legalization of their relationship or because of their mental bouncing between the state of singlehood and marriage (thus not having their preferences crystallized).

Table 6. Distribution of lifestyle preferences among men and women in the Czech Republic

Source: own calculations MRB dataset 2011

3.1 *Determinants of Lifestyle Preference*

A better understanding of the possible differences among these four groups of lifestyle preferences can be reached by means of binary logistic regression analysis run for each model one at a

time, using socio-demographic, attitudinal and opinion variables as determinants (see Table 7).

The dependent variable is the lifestyle typology which is a dichotomous variable with value 1 for respondents belonging to a certain type and 0 not belonging to it. We included among the predictors one variable measuring the perception on the division of gender roles because from another analysis (not shown here) we know that this predictor shows that there is a significant positive effect irrespective of the lifestyle preference model. Hakim (2003) suggests that attitudes towards the division of gender roles might play an important role in lifestyle preferences. She argues that women oriented towards family tend to accept full patriarchy (both in private and public spheres) and tend to have negative attitudes towards gender equality within the family and at work.

The covariates included in our analysis were as follows (see their distribution in Table 7):

- Gender of respondent: 1 male, 2 female.
- Age of respondent: continuous variable, respondents aged 40+.
- Marital status: categorical variable, where 1 means married, 2 cohabiting, 3 never married.
- Educational level: categorical variable, where 1 means 9 years of compulsory education (ISCED level 1 and 2), 2 is vocational education (ISCED 3B and 3C), 3 stands for upper secondary education (with GCSE-ISCED level 3A), and 4 is for completed tertiary education (ISCED level 5A, 5B or 6).
- Employment status: categorical variable, where 1 means employed (either full time or part time)²⁴, 2 = self-employed and 3 = not working (students, pensioners, housewives, unemployed).
- Actual number of children: continuous variable, measuring the number of children a respondent had at the time of the interview.

²⁴ We intended to split the two categories but we had an insufficient number of part-time respondents in the sample (only 2.1% of all respondents work part-time).

		Men	Women
Marital status	Married	71.4%	70.8%
	Cohabiting	12.9%	10.9%
	Never married	15.7%	18.3%
Educational level	Primary education	2.5%	3.8%
	Vocational education	43.3%	35.5%
	Secondary education	40.3%	48.9%
	Tertiary education	13.9%	11.8%
Employment status	Employed	80.0%	81.3%
	Self-employed	13.2%	4.9%
	No paid work	6.8%	13.8%
Number of children	No children	16.1%	9.6%
	1	16.6%	16.8%
	2	49.2%	54.5%
	3	13.8%	15.2%
	4	3.2%	2.9%
	5 and more	1.1%	1.0%
Main income provider	Respondent	79.5%	24.1%
	Partner	4.4%	58.9%
	Both equally	16.1%	16.9%
Religion	Believer	21.9%	29.2%
	Non believer	78.1%	70.8%
Perception on division of gender roles in the family (mean)		34790	27851
Value of child Index (mean)		30407	41369

Table 7. Distribution of covariates entered into the regression models (Col %)

Source: own calculations MRB dataset 2011

- Values of children index: continuous variable ranging from 1 to 6 where values tending towards 1 mean people with low value of children, and towards 6 mean people with high value of children.
- Main income provider: categorical variable, where 1 represents respondent, 2 partner and 3 both partners.
- Religion: dichotomous variable coded as 1 “believer” and 2 “non-believer”.
- Perception on the division of gender roles in the family: variable based on the statement “Men should earn money, women

should take care of the household and family” and measured on a 6-point scale, where value 1 means strongly disagreement with traditional gender division of roles and 6 strong agreement with such a gender division (we considered this covariate to be interval).

The models resulted from the binary logistic regression analyses allow us to predict the presence or absence of a characteristic or outcome based on values of our predictor variables. We chose to present only two models here for space reasons: work-oriented and family-oriented (see Tables 8 and 9).

As can be seen from Table 8, female respondents are 62% less likely to be work oriented than men. Respondents that have never been married are 2.7 times more likely to be work oriented when controlling for all other covariates included in the model. Statistically significant effects have both the number of children and the index “child value”: the higher the number of children or the higher the value of the child, the less likely it is for the individual to be work-oriented. Traditional perception of gender division of roles in the family decreases the chances to be work-centered by 21%.

To a certain degree, we found a surprising result since we assumed that employment status and education would play an important role in lifestyle preferences oriented towards work. However, we found this not to be the case.

The odds of preferring the family model are to a certain degree reflected by the lifestyle preference towards work (see Table 9). The higher the number of children and the higher the index of “child value”, the higher the likelihood that the individual will be family-oriented, as well as having traditional views on the division of gender roles and the respondent’s gender increase the chances to be family-oriented. On the contrary to the previous model, cohabiting respondents are 33% less likely to be family-oriented and therefore they differ from the married respondents. Here, as we expected, education and employment status did play a significant role in predicting preferences towards family.

	Exp(B)	Sig.
<i>Gender</i>		
Female (vs. male)	.382	.001
<i>Age</i>		
	.992	.704
<i>Marital status</i>		
Cohabiting (vs. married)	1.769	.062
Never married (vs. married)	2.777	.003
<i>Level of education</i>		
Lower secondary education (vs. primary education)	1.122	.890
Higher secondary education (vs. primary education)	1.705	.521
University education (vs. primary education)	2.659	.254
<i>Working status</i>		
Self-employed (vs. employed)	1.070	.828
Not employed (vs. employed)	.830	.679
<i>Actual number of children</i>		
	.603	.001
<i>Value of children index</i>		
	.629	.000
<i>Main income provider</i>		
Partner (vs. respondents)	1.580	.197
Both partners (vs. respondent)	1.245	.467
<i>Religion</i>		
Non-believer (vs. believer)	.820	.436
<i>Perception of division of gender roles in the family</i>		
	.786	.003
Nagelkerke R Square	0.13	

Table 8. Logistic regression model with dependent variable “work-oriented lifestyle preferences”, respondents aged 40+

Source: own calculations MRB dataset 2011

The self-employed respondents were 38% less likely to be family-oriented and the unemployed respondents were 1.6 times more likely to belong to this type. The tertiary educated respondents were 62% less likely to be family-oriented when controlling for all other factors. The same trend can be seen for the category of vocationally educated respondents who were 51% less likely to be family-oriented. The results of the regression models did not show any statistically significant effect of religion and variable measuring the main income provider.

	Exp(B)	Sig.
<i>Gender</i>		
Female (vs. male)	2.664	.000
<i>Age</i>		
	1.020	.066
<i>Marital status</i>		
Cohabiting (vs. married)	.673	.032
Never married (vs. married)	.569	.011
<i>Level of education</i>		
Lower secondary education (vs. primary education)	.492	.048
Higher secondary education (vs. primary education)	.637	.213
Tertiary education (vs. primary education)	.376	.012
<i>Working status</i>		
Self-employed (vs. employed)	.625	.012
Not employed (vs. employed)	1.601	.021
<i>Actual number of children</i>		
	1.203	.009
<i>Value of children index</i>		
	1.508	.000
<i>Main income provider</i>		
Partner (vs. respondents)	.960	.825
Both partners (vs. respondent)	.915	.605
<i>Religion</i>		
Non-believer (vs. believer)	1.035	.781
<i>Perception of division of gender roles in the family</i>		
	1.263	.000
Nagelkerke R Square		
	0.18	

Table 9. Logistic regression model with dependent variable “family-oriented lifestyle preferences”, respondents aged 40+

Source: own calculations MRB dataset 2011

To sum up, the crucial variables discriminating against lifestyle preference are the number of children, perceived value of child and perception of division of gender roles in the family. Additionally, lifestyle preferences towards family are also influenced by marital status, education and employment status.

4. Conclusions

In this chapter, we addressed three research questions. Our answers are as follows: as far as the distribution of lifestyle pref-

erences measured by our model which extends the original categories used by Hakim is concerned, we found that among the respondents in the post-reproductive age group (40+) approximately 46% belonged to family-oriented types, while 34% belonged to adaptive types. Only 8% belonged to the work-oriented type. However, the distribution was different for men and women with more women stating preferences which led them to be categorized as family-oriented and men stating preferences which led them to be categorized as more work-oriented.

The second question concerned the factors that might constrain people's ability to achieve their family and work preferences. Our findings show that the negative economic impact of the model is the most important limitation regardless of gender. Among other significant factors, we can mention partner's disagreement with the model, the working conditions that would not allow them to choose such a model or a suitable employment (job).

As far as the third research question is concerned, multivariate logistic regression analysis shows that the type of lifestyle preferences mainly depends on the number of children, the perceived value of child and the perceived division of gender roles in the family, when controlling for other factors. This may appear as an unsurprising finding but this is not the case as the bivariate analysis between the number of children and the perceived value of child indicates no association (Spearman coefficient is 0.054 among men and 0.052 among women, respectively).

In her analysis, Hakim found a normal distribution of trichomized lifestyle preferences among the female population, with the adaptive type as the most frequent found one (around 60%). Our results showed that among Czech male and female respondents who are in their post-reproductive age, the preferences were not normally distributed. Among Czech women, the most preferred type is the family-oriented one, while among men the preferences are shared between two models – adaptive and family-oriented. Why is this so? One of the explanations comes from the characteristics of the samples. When we measured preferences on a sample of women aged between 20-40 (in 2005, see

Rabušić and Chromková Manea 2008), the results were similar to the ones reported by Hakim. The post-reproductive sample interviewed in 2011 was composed of respondents who were socialized and lived through the communist period (1956-1971), with a deeply embedded family ideology that stressed the idea that having and raising children was a duty done for the good of society. Therefore, the older cohorts developed a family-oriented lifestyle preference, while the younger sample (measured in 2005) did not develop such an attitude. In order to elaborate these findings, future studies (surveys) should include respondents of both post-reproductive and reproductive ages. The inclusion of reproductive-age respondents would also allow testing Easterlin's theory (1971, 1973, 1976 and 1978) on the effects of relative cohort size and relative income because the 1974-1978 baby boom cohort is among them²⁵. Moreover, the typology of lifestyle preferences could be more pronounced on this cohort.

Nevertheless, given our results, the snap-shot survey data cannot bring appropriate data for the task. The only reasonable way to test lifestyle preferences, we believe, is to use the *panel data*. Panel data would offer the possibility to observe and study these preferences over time and grasp the time effect which is very effective for predicting preferences for family, children and work. However, we are aware of all the difficulties and costs in implementing such a study.

²⁵ The Easterlin effect envisages that large cohorts suffer from heavy life-long competition for resource which reduces their economic opportunities (and their relative income is lower) thus producing a smaller number of children and less traditional family structures that stem from their value preferences.

Appendix

Hakim's typology (Hakim 2003, 37)	New lifestyle typology (own survey MRB 2011)
1) People talk about the changing roles of husband and wife in the family. Here are three kinds of family. Which of them corresponds best with your ideas about the family?	1) People talk about the changing roles of husband and wife in the family. Here are six possible family models. Which of them corresponds best with your ideas about the ideal family model?
– A family where the two partners each have an equally demanding job and where housework and the care of the children are shared equally between them.	– A family where the two partners have an equally demanding job and where housework and the care of the children are shared equally between them (same as Hakim).
– A family where the wife has a less demanding job than her husband and where she does the larger share of housework and caring for the children.	– A family where the wife has a less demanding job than her husband and where she does the larger share of housework and caring for the children (same as Hakim).
– A family where only the husband has a job and the wife runs the home.	– A family where the wife has a more demanding job than her husband and where she does the larger share of housework and caring for the children.
– None of these three cases.	– A family where only the husband has a job and the wife runs the home (same as Hakim).
	– A family where the two partners have an equally demanding job and where woman does the larger share of housework and caring for the children.
	– A family where only the husband has a job and where housework and the care of the children are shared equally between them.
– None of these cases.	– None of these cases.

2) If without having to work you had what you would regard as a reasonable living income, would you still prefer to have a paid job, or wouldn't you bother?	<p>2) There are different ways people organize their lives in terms of having a family with children, a job, hobbies and interests. Here are four examples. Which one fits best your opinion?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Most important for me is to have a family and children – to this I subordinate my work as well as my hobbies and interests - Most important for me is work – to this I subordinate my family life as well as hobbies and interests - My interests and hobbies are most important for me, so I prefer them to the family and work
3) Who is the main income-earner in your household? Is it yourself? Your partner/spouse? Both of you jointly? Or someone else?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Both family and work are important for me, so I try to reconcile them

Operationalization of Hakim's typology vs. new lifestyle typology

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