

How Do Today's Czech Adults Split the Household Chores? On the Relationship between Attitudes and Behaviour^{1 2}

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How Do Today's Czech Adults Split the Household Chores? On the Relationship between Attitudes and Behaviour. Sociologists are often questioning the differences between gender roles/norms and actual behaviour in the adult population. The purpose of this paper is to explore to what extent attitudes toward gender roles correspond with adults' participation in various domestic chores, pointing to the differences between men and women in general and within couples in the Czech Republic. We aim to find whether attitudes indicating gender roles equality are reflected in the real behaviour. Our findings indicate certain discrepancies between attitudes and behaviour. Although the attitudes expressed by the respondents appear to lead to more gender equality, their reflection in everyday life is weak. The inclination to equality in the answers to attitudinal questions did not significantly influence the equal distribution of unpaid domestic work, nor did it influence the difference between the work done by each partner in the couple. Furthermore, the results point to the fact that discrepancies do not differentiate by attained educational level (it is an argument against the status differentiation). It requires in further research to look at the factors that allow men and women to handle the demands specific for the different stages in their life.

Sociológia 2022, Vol. 54 (No. 4: 325-351)

<https://doi.org/10.31577/sociologia.2022.54.4.12>

Key words: *Gender roles attitudes; division of household chores; gender equality; behaviour; time-use diary*

Introduction

A considerable number of surveys carried out during the last 30-40 years show a narrowing of the gender gap in the domestic division of labour (Blair – Litchter 1991; Artis – Pavalko 2003; Baxter 2002; Dongen 2009; Bianchi et al. 2012; Altintas – Sullivan 2016; Sofer – Thibout 2019; etc.). Among the main factors that influenced these trends is the fact that more women are involved in the labour market. Another reason is the appearance of new technologies that have reduced the amount of housework that needs to be done. Additionally, many studies have proved that attitudes towards gender roles have changed

¹ We acknowledge suggestions by anonymous reviewers. The final version of the paper is ours, though, and the reviewers bear no responsibility for any errors and mistakes.

² The data used for this paper were collected as part of a project that received funding from the Czech Science Foundation under Grant Agreement No. GB14-36154G. No extra funding was received to assist with the preparation of this manuscript.

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during the last two decades (e.g. Beck – Beck-Gernsheim 1995; Goldscheider – Bernhardt – Lappegård 2015; Knight – Brinton 2017). These changes point to more gender-egalitarian beliefs, but various survey findings suggest that European countries do not show a uniform model of egalitarianism in gender roles, as Knight and Brinton argue that ‘... *there has not been convergence to one dominant form of gender egalitarianism over the past two decades in European countries.*’ (2017: 1519). Socioeconomic modernization allows people to make autonomous choices that match their demands for self-realization and freedom of action, resulting in a "humanistic culture" that penetrates into all spheres of life. They form new sexual norms, gender roles, family values, religious beliefs, work motivation, relationships to nature and the environment, as well as community activities and political participation (Inglehart – Welzel 2005: 3). Consequently, sociologists often question the differences between attitudes towards gender roles and actual behavior regarding domestic work.

This article uses data from a Czech panel study, a sample that allows us to broaden the analysis on the differences between men and women regarding the attitudes and actual behaviour towards the division of gender roles. The data set allows overcoming the issue of lack of data on both attitudinal questions and time use diaries, as well-known studies such as *European Value Survey*, *World Values Survey* or *European Social Survey* gather only data on attitudes. The aim of this paper is to explore to what extent attitudes towards gender roles correspond with adults’ participation in various domestic work, by pointing to the differences between Czech adult men and women. The paper proceeds as follows: first, some theoretical clarifications are made regarding the main links between attitudes on the one hand, and behaviour on the other. It also presents previous findings, focusing in particular on the way the division of domestic tasks is connected to gender-role attitudes. The second part includes the main trends and changes in gender roles, paid work, and division of domestic work in the Czech Republic. In the next section, we present the data and methodology. The fourth section presents the results, while the last part includes the conclusions of the study and some discussion and suggestions for further research.

Theoretical framework and trends in the division of domestic work

At the beginning, we want to bring into discussion the main theoretical features that deal with gender elements and can explain the influence of norms and attitudes on real behaviour. We will turn our focus to *gender role* theory and *doing gender* theory. The second part of the chapter will turn attention to trends

in the division of domestic work division and how they are related to gender norms and attitudes.

Theoretical links between gender attitudes and norms, and behaviour - role theory and doing gender

According to role theory, a role conflict may occur when a person is expected to simultaneously act out multiple roles that carry contradictory expectations (e.g. Grunow 2010). Following this line, gender role theory suggests that men's lesser involvement in domestic work can be attributed to their socialization into a traditional gender division of roles within the family and in society. Many gender differences in the family, labour market, or in society are due to the influence of normative social expectations. The gender-differentiated socialization explains the process by which individuals learn behaviors that are culturally defined as appropriate for their gender. According to the traditional gender stereotype, men are seen as the breadwinners of the family, while women's main social role is primarily concerned with childcare and household chores.

Therefore, this theory predicts that men and women will develop different attitudes and acquire different skills that eventually lead to different behaviours within both the private (family) and public (labour market) spheres.

On the other hand, couples choose how they will divide domestic tasks, starting from the point when they decide to live together (Gupta 1999). However, gender role theory leaves room for changes in gender relations, if the social structures and conventions, which construct gender roles, change. The results of the *European Value Survey* show that the gender gaps have been decreasing since 1990. Attitudes toward gender equality are more similar between men and women, although women tend to be more favourable to equality than men do (François – Magni Berton 2017). Nowadays, the traditional differences between men and women are slowly blurring, and the transition to more egalitarian attitudes toward gender equality is one of the key aspects of the modernisation process (Inglehart – Welzel 2010).

Personal preferences, norms, attitudes, and values must also be taken into consideration when discussing gender roles. Individuals' attitudes and values lead them to prefer certain forms of domestic arrangements to others. According to Surkyn and Lesthaeghe (2004), egalitarianism with a focus on gender equality is one of the values which plays a role in how a person chooses a household arrangement and when s/he starts a family. The main trends resulting from the second demographic transition, among others, narrowing gender differences in education and labour force participation, and diminishing cultural support for traditional gender ideology, are evident throughout all

postmodern societies, including the Czech Republic (e.g. Lesthaeghe 1995, 2010). These shifts seem to reduce gender differences in housework.

A second theoretical framework that can help us to better understand how the mechanism of norms influences real behaviour is *doing gender* theory. West and Zimmerman first used this term in their article 'Doing Gender' (1987, 2009). In their view, an individual's performance of gender is intended to construct gendered behaviour in the form that is naturally occurring. On the other hand, Butler (2004) explains "doing gender" as not an inherent quality but a performance that people are taught, and uses the term "gender performativity". Using this theoretical perspective, scholars advance the idea that housework is a suitable place for gender construction, and there are certain studies that have found evidence to support *doing gender* theory in the field of housework division of tasks (e.g. Brines 1994; Greenstein 2000). In other words, even when the contributions of wives and husbands to paid work and income tend to be the same, women do more housework because doing housework represents a way of highlighting their femininity. Conversely, spending little or no time in housework allows men to show their masculinity (see e.g. Greenstein 2000). Children are socialised to behave in a way that is appropriate for their gender. For example, Slepíčková a Kvapilová Bartošová (2013) found out in their study with children in the Czech Republic that gender roles were described through children's own experiences in the family. Despite the rhetorical emphasis on gender equality and the freedom to choose their role and how to engage in household chores, their research participants got to confirm gender stereotypes and the traditional division of gender roles in the family at a time when the labour market is still gender segregated and the performance of work in the household remains asymmetric.

Social circumstances can also influence the ways in which both men and women reproduce their gender roles in real everyday life. Various studies prove that women living in countries with higher levels of gender equality tend to spend less time fulfilling domestic tasks than women in countries with less equal gender regimes (e.g. Nordenmark 2004; Geist – Cohen 2011; Stier – Lewin-Espstein 2007). Among them, Geist and Cohen (2001) confirmed that social context plays an important role in shaping couples' division of labour at home, but also showed that this is a two-way relationship – the context affects patterns of change, too.

Some authors draw attention to family and personal contexts that might influence how gender roles are shaped and may have an impact on the division of domestic roles. The education and employment of the mother play an important role. Other research (e.g. Burt – Scott 2002; Kulik 2002) has reached the conclusion that within a family, mothers and daughters show more egalitarianism than fathers and sons. Race and ethnic differences in gender

attitudes find roots in historical differences in access to the labour market and to education; in addition, social class also enters the relationship as well.

What are the trends in the division of domestic work? How are they related to gender norms and attitudes?

The following section summarizes some empirical findings, focusing in particular on the connection between the division of domestic tasks and gender norms and attitudes. In the USA, gender attitudes and their changes became the centre of attention in the 1980s. From the 1990s, evidence of changes in behaviour and gender role expectations has appeared. The literature states that changes in gender attitudes are taking place due to the change in cohorts, while there is also a partial influence from the process of ideological learning, in which changes in attitudes related to gender are part of a wider set of value changes. According to the findings, the change in cohorts explains 57 % of the change in attitudes toward gender roles between 1977 and 1998 (see Brooks – Bolzendahl 2004; Bolzendahl – Myers 2004). Furthermore, research has repeatedly shown that attitudes towards gender roles influence the level of inequality in the division of household chores. Gender attitudes influence women's perceptions of what is a fair division of labour, and their willingness to participate in such an unfair / fair distribution (for more, see Bianchi et al. 2000; DeMaris – Longmore 1996; Greenstein 1996; Pina – Bengston 1993; Bianchi et al. 2012). Cunningham (2001) found that men with more liberal approaches to gender attitudes participate more in household chores compared to men with more traditional attitudes. Artis and Pavalko (2003) or Sayer et al. (2004) concluded that the amount and relative proportion of household chores carried out by women is decreasing over time. Women's support for the traditional gender division of roles, both in terms of work as well as in terms of ideology, is also decreasing. Carlson and Lynch (2013) group housework activities into two sets – routine and infrequent housework - and they focus on the routine household labour in the USA. The results show a mutual reciprocal relationship between the distribution of household labour and gender ideology (i.e. how one imagines an ideal distribution of gender roles), both for men and women. For women, this relationship is weaker, indirect, and partially conveyed by the gender ideology of their husbands (for detailed results, see Carlson – Lynch 2013).

In addition, Risman (1998) and Vespa (2009) have found that gender ideology can change over time as a response to changes in behaviour. Their findings support the argument about the reciprocity of the relationship between these variables.

Several studies have shown that the division of household chores that are typically male or typically female does not lead to greater equality and greater

participation of men. Instead, it confirms the inequality within the family. The main reason is that these typically male and female chores vary in how much time they demand – male chores are commonly occasional, while female chores are necessary for the maintenance of the everyday life of the household (e.g. Baxter 2002; Bianchi et al. 2000; Blair - Litcher 1991).

Baxter (2002) showed the change in the proportion of men and women participating in various kinds of household labour at the end of the 1980s and 1990s in Australia. In general, their results show a decrease in gender inequality over time, but this is more because women do fewer household chores, rather than men doing more of them. The author interprets the changes in a wider context of changing characteristics and roles traditionally linked with men and women, not as a conscious change in the distribution of household labour (for instance, due to more time spent at paid work, women do not have so much time for meal preparation, and therefore their participation in this task was decreasing).

Given the theoretical framework and previous research on the relationship between domestic work and gender norms and attitudes, we expect family and personal circumstances to influence the way men and women share domestic tasks and the amount of time spent on them. We also suggest that there is a straightforward distinction between what is considered a “male” or “female” domestic task.

The next section consists of an overview of the different trends in gender roles, work, and value changes in the Czech Republic by emphasizing the perspectives that have been considered in the Czech literature.

Gender roles, paid work, and value changes in the Czech Republic

Since the end of the Second World War and the rise of the communist regime in 1948, the Czech Republic has been a country with a high female labour market participation rate. This situation was initiated by the communist political regime, which imposed on everyone the obligation to work, regardless of gender. Křížková (2007) notes that during the 1960s, women in households became the largest source for the labour force. Notwithstanding the increase in the number of women in the labour market during the Second World War, most women of an economically active age entered the labour market as late as during the 1960s. One of the reasons for the high level of participation of women in the labour market was the strong ideological pressure on the emancipation of women: employment was perceived as the only way to liberate women. However, one less positive phenomenon can be noted as well – the overburdening of the role of the woman, which included responsibility for paid

work together with care of the family and household (see e.g. Hašková - Uhde 2009).

According to Hašková, Křížková and Linková (2006), the proportion of women among the total number of employed people increased from 37 % in 1948 to 42 % in 1955. The rate of women in the labor market participation increased after the 1960s; however, it was not as significant as in the previous decade. Research has shown that the main motivation for women to do paid work was to contribute to the financial security of the family.

In the 1960s, there was an increase in the level of education in Czech society. Due to the improvement in educational structure, women became more qualified and had better working conditions overall. The subsequent period (up to the end of the 1980s) was characterized by a high rate of women's participation in the labour market. In this period, women represented 45 % of people able to work, and about 85 % of all economically active aged women were employed. The dominant family model at the end of the 1980s was that of two breadwinners (Čermáková 1999). Although this era was characterized by certain positive trends leading to the improvement of the position of women in the labour market, there remained a vast number of unequal conditions between the sexes, both in the family and in society at large (Hašková - Uhde 2009). The two-breadwinner model has become necessary due to the low level of family income. The improvement in the position of women went hand in hand with more technical or institutional development and changes (e.g. home equipment, kindergarten) than with changes in attitudes towards gender role attitudes.

Participation in the labour market is closely related to the value of work. Mareš and Katrňák (2010) discuss the changes in the absolute and relative value of paid work in the Czech population. Their results show that the value of work is high in the Czech Republic, but during the observed period (1991-2008), there was a decrease in all indicators measuring the value of work. In the same period, there was an increase in the proportion of respondents who emphasized the importance of free time. An increase in the importance of free time can influence the time spent doing various household chores and can lead to a decrease in this time.

Sociologists have discussed the topic of double-career families since the beginning of the 1990s. Their interest is focused on the division of household chores and the division of roles in the family. For instance, Možný (1983, 2006) studies families in which both partners have a university degree. His initial assumption was that these partners should participate in the family to a similar extent. However, the results of his research show that even in families where both partners have university education, the traditional division of household chores between women and men still prevails. In general, an

egalitarian model of the division of domestic labour among these couples is partly in place until the birth of the first child. Further research from the 1990s (Rodina 94, VŠ 98) points to differences in the time spent on household chores in double career, compared to single career families. Women from double-career families devoted, on average, less time to their households than women from single or non-career families. As for the difference between men and women, men devoted less time to their household than women did, and no significant differences between men of various age categories were observed. Research also shows a gender division of household chores, with a clear division between women and men's household chores (Maříková 2006).

Hašková (2005) argues that the shift towards more liberal attitudes towards gender roles and the combination of paid work and motherhood has occurred in the Czech society mainly due to a change in opinion in the Czech female population, but not in the male population. The Czech trends at the beginning of the new millennium follow the European trends, where women are the main bearers of liberal attitudes towards gender roles and the combination of work and motherhood.

Valentová (2006) deals with attitudes related to the division of labour in households. Her results suggest that men should participate more in childcare and household chores. Women share this opinion more commonly than men do. On average, women spend more hours on household chores than men do (23 hours compared to 15 hours). However, there are also differences between women according to age, family status, education, participation in the labour market, and the presence of children. Later research confirms the unequal division of labour in the household in terms of the time spent with various household chores. According to the findings of the 2010 *Life Pathways Survey*, economically active women spend approximately twice as much time on these activities as working men. If all women are considered, including economically inactive ones, the amount of time spent on these activities is even 2.5 times higher than for men. In the context of the Czech society, where women's participation in the labour market is traditionally high and where the majority of economically active women work full-time, this 'second shift' of almost 28 hours per week represents a significant burden for women (Vohlídalová 2012). Findings from other surveys show that there are differences in the division of domestic work and its evaluation between unmarried and married couples even after taking into account differences in the duration of the unions, the presence of children, and other socioeconomic characteristics. Unmarried couples are more likely to share household chores than married couples are, while unmarried men are more likely to belong to the group dissatisfied with the traditional division of household roles (Klímová Chaloupková 2018). Klímová Chaloupková alleges that *“women's dissatisfaction with the division of*

domestic work may be related more to the tension between traditional attitudes and the need to reconcile work with household and family care than with egalitarian attitudes.” (2018: 619).

Data and methodology

The following analyses are based on data from the Czech Household Panel Survey (CHPS). We use the data from the first wave that was conducted in 2015. The total sample included 13,049 individuals in 5159 households. The size of the final sample available for our analyses was affected by a combination of necessary preconditions. We use data only from respondents: (1) living with co-resident partners, (2) not younger than 18 or older than 60 years, (3) economically active, and finally those respondents who (4) completed the time-use diary part of the questionnaire set. These four restrictions decrease the sample size to 2995 individuals in 1389 households. This sample is used in the first part of the analysis based on aggregate comparisons of men and women. The next step is to use pair data to compare the responses of both partners in the household. Therefore, an additional condition is introduced: (5) both partners completed the time-use diary. This reduces the size of the sample to 771 couples. Given that, only the data provided by the partners are used in the second part of the analysis.

In relation to our research questions, we take advantage of three groups of indicators included in the CHPS surveys. On the one hand, we are interested in gender attitudes about the division of household chores as measured by a battery of four questions. On the other hand, we aim to connect these attitudes with results which indicate behaviour, i.e. with questions in which the respondents report their share of household chores and that of their partners, as well as with time-use diaries in which the use of time is recorded. The last method is particularly not widespread in surveys, and CHPS is a unique source of data in this respect. Our goal is to examine these three aspects of gender equality in the sphere of intimacy, in particular to observe the influence of attitudes on the division of labour in the household.

The analysis of the above data is carried out on two levels. The basic descriptive statistics, concerning the gender attitudes, self-reported share of household tasks, and the extent of time spent on housework, is handled by contingency tables, means comparison, and by constructing indicators measuring the difference in time spent on household tasks by men and women. For these latter indicators, we further compare their distribution and we correlate them with the measures of gender attitudes and self-reported share of housework. The next level of analysis is based on linear regression models in which we work with both the extent of unpaid work and the difference in

unpaid work between couples as dependent variables. These variables are modelled as a function of expressed gender attitudes (which is the main independent variable of interest) and a set of control variables.

We report the inferential statistics in the results, but it should be noted that, due to a number of limitations (self-selection when filling in the time-use data, restricting the sample to couples), the resulting dataset is already far from the ideal of a simple probability sampling. Therefore, in the interpretation, we always highlight only results where we find a substantively (and statistically) significant difference or association that we consider sufficiently robust.

Results

Attitudes towards gender roles

From the battery of questions that measure attitudes towards gender roles, we have chosen four which are related to the participation rate of men and women in paid and unpaid work (these items were measured on five-point scale of agreement; see Table 1). In relation to our topic, it is important that at the self-reported level Czech society already endorses the equal division of household chores attitudes (more than 80 % of men and women agree with the statement that “men should have the same responsibility for the household as women”). At the same time, the model of a household with two breadwinners is accepted almost universally (90 % of all respondents agree). On the other hand, a household with double income does not necessarily mean a household with double career, and therefore the patterns can be found in combination with an even distribution of answers to the question whether “the man should earn money, while the woman should take care of the household”, which is surprising at first sight.

The question “a child suffers if the mother goes to work” is specific, first in that it places the division of labour in the context of early parenthood, and second in that it is not sufficiently clear whether what it is meant is a child who is two years old or five years old⁵.

Apart from the relatively egalitarian attitudes expressed by the population as a whole, an important finding is the comparatively stable pattern of opinions in various subpopulations. Men and women do not differ significantly in their opinions. Age modifies only attitudes about the combination of work and the care of preschool children (those who are concerned with this question disagree with the statement more often). Attitudes are partly influenced by the level of education. In particular, higher education leads to a higher rate of disagreement with the first statement (e.g. traditional division of roles).

⁵ This issue largely concerns the institutional care system for pre-school children, namely its size, regulations and availability.

Table 1: **Distribution of gender role attitudes by sex (Row %)**

		Strongly agree	Somehow agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somehow disagree	Strongly disagree
Man	a) the man should earn money, while the woman should take care of the household	13.0 %	23.2 %	24.6 %	23.5 %	15.7 %
	b) men should have the same responsibility for the household as women	47.3 %	35.6 %	10.3 %	5.8 %	1.0 %
	c) a preschool age child suffers if the mother goes to work	14.5 %	22.5 %	15.1 %	31.7 %	16.2 %
	d) both the man and the woman should contribute to the budget	65.8 %	25.0 %	6.0 %	2.5 %	0.6 %
Woman	a) the man should earn money, while the woman should take care of the household	10.9 %	20.9 %	22.3 %	26.9 %	19.0 %
	b) men should have the same responsibility for the household as women	48.7 %	35.1 %	8.5 %	6.8 %	0.9 %
	c) a preschool age child suffers if the mother goes to work	14.2 %	19.8 %	12.0 %	34.3 %	19.7 %
	d) both the man and the woman should contribute to the budget	73.8 %	20.8 %	4.0 %	1.1 %	0.3 %

Source: authors' calculations, CHPS 2015, 1st wave, N=2995

Reported division of household chores

The other side of the coin when measuring any attitudes is the question of their relation to behaviour. This brings us to the main topic of our text, which is not gender attitudes or the division of chores as such, but their interrelatedness. The CHPS data offer two ways of studying the division of household chores: first, the respondents themselves revealed the proportion of their participation; second, they filled in time-use diaries in which they noted the time spent on household chores. We will present both types of results.

In the context of the question “Who in your household does the following chores?”, respondents estimated the part of their participation in five different types of unpaid work in the home (see Table 2). In contrast to the attitudes reported above, it is apparent that the proportion by gender is significantly unequal, from both the women and men’s perspectives. The discrepancies between the estimated proportion of men and women are rather small, so it is not possible to say that the perspective on their own participation significantly contradicts the women’s perspective of women on the work of their partners and vice versa. Men report a dominant share of repairs in the household and

they take care of shopping to a larger extent. The other chores are taken care of in an absolute majority by women – washing clothes (women do it in 90 % cases), cooking (71 %) and cleaning (69 %).

The answers indicating gender differences in fulfilling household chores do not change according to the education – with higher education, the reported proportion of men doing household chores does not increase or fall, nor does the proportion of households with equal distribution of household chores change. In terms of age of the respondents, for most chores, a slight decrease of the proportion of men doing household chores with increasing age can be observed. The presence of a child in the household slightly increases the reported proportion of women doing household chores.

Table 2: Distribution of selected domestic tasks by person who does the task (%)

		Always me	Usually me	Each of us similarly often or together	Usually the spouse	Always the spouse	Someone else (a third person)
Man	a) washes the clothes	1.7 %	1.9 %	9.5 %	27.9 %	57.9 %	1.0 %
	b) does small repair jobs in the household	54.5 %	31.6 %	9.3 %	1.9 %	0.9 %	1.8 %
	c) does the shopping	2.5 %	9.7 %	57.7 %	22.6 %	7.0 %	0.6 %
	d) does the cleaning	1.1 %	2.1 %	34.2 %	41.0 %	20.4 %	1.2 %
	e) prepares meals	2.3 %	4.2 %	29.9 %	40.4 %	22.3 %	0.9 %
Woman	a) washes the clothes	72.3 %	19.7 %	5.9 %	0.6 %	0.6 %	1.0 %
	b) does small repair jobs in the household	3.6 %	3.9 %	13.7 %	33.4 %	42.7 %	2.7 %
	c) does the shopping	15.7 %	25.3 %	50.4 %	6.3 %	1.8 %	0.6 %
	d) does the cleaning	33.8 %	35.9 %	28.0 %	1.2 %	0.3 %	0.9 %
	e) prepares meals	34.2 %	37.2 %	23.0 %	3.6 %	1.2 %	0.9 %

Source: authors' calculations, CHPS 2015, 1st wave, N=2995

The distribution of hours allocated to household chores

Apart from the estimation of the share of doing chores, we also have at our disposal time-use diaries, in which the respondents recorded the amount of time spent on various chores done during the previous day. Respondents could record 24 different kinds of activity (possibly also more than one at a time) at 30-minute intervals over 24 hours. For our purposes, out of all activities we have selected those that represent unpaid work in the household. We also have

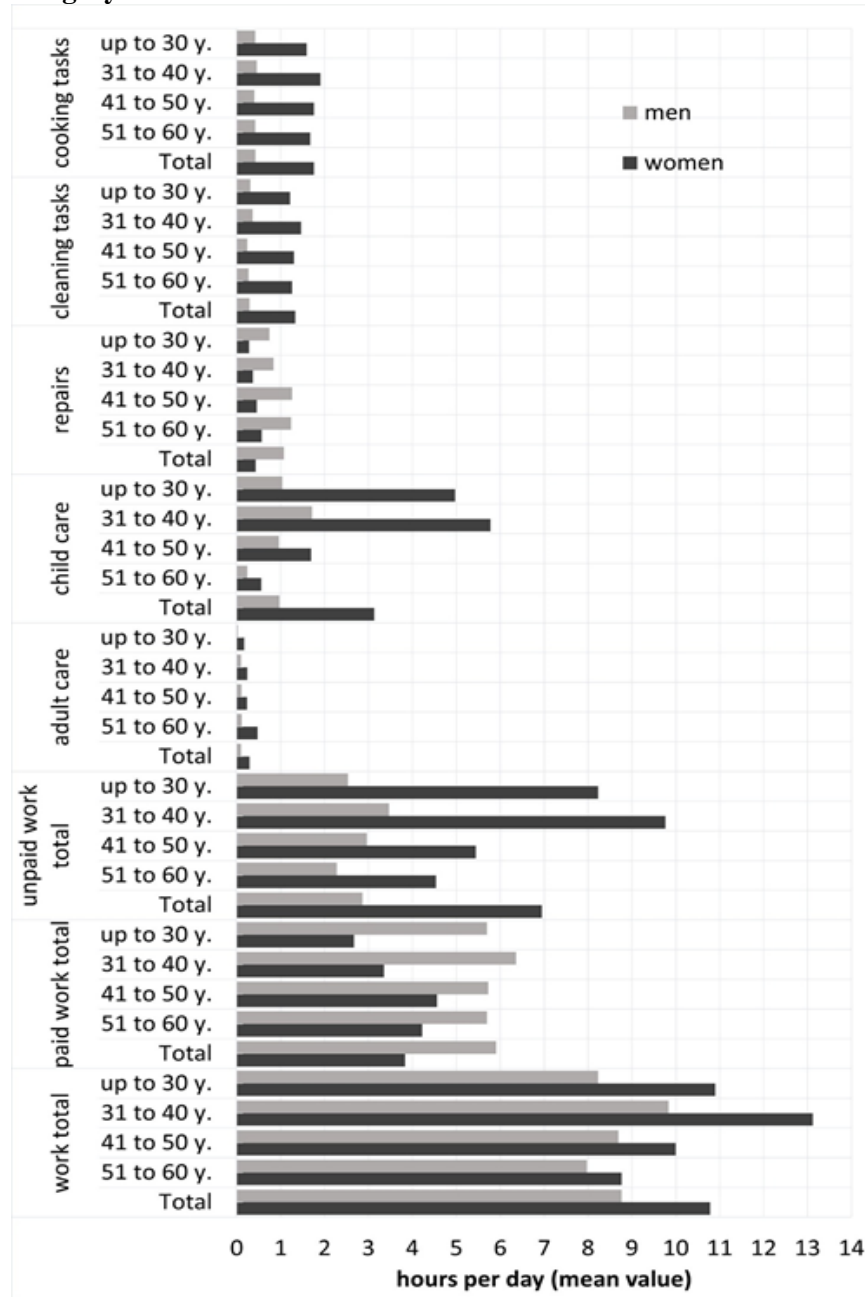
recorded the time spent doing paid work for crosschecking (see Figure 1). The distinction is similar to that in the questions analysed above; however, washing clothes and cleaning are combined here and, in addition, there are categories of “childcare” and “care for adult members of the household”. The “shopping” category was not used here, because it is combined with the types of activities that are not related to unpaid work for the household.

This form of measurement provides us with an image that is consistent with the results obtained by the self-reporting questions, and which similarly contradicts the expressed attitudes towards gender roles. Women spend more time doing unpaid work for the household; their average daily burden reaches about six and a half hours, while the average for men is two hours and forty minutes. This inequality is generated by the dominance of women’s work in all categories, except for “repair and maintenance work in the house, garden and of the car”. A more important inequality can be found in younger age categories, which is mainly related to having a child and childcare. Childcare has a dominant influence on the scope of work in the home and it forms the majority of hours of unpaid work in the household. Even if we take into account their lower participation in the (paid) labour market and compare the total hours of paid and unpaid work, the results show that until 40 years of age, women faced the largest inequality in the division of labour.

So far, we have based our interpretations on aggregated data, i.e. data for women and men as two separate units of analysis in the sample. Now we will take advantage of the fact that in the CHPS, all members of the household were questioned, and henceforth we will work with paired data. Pair comparisons enable us to find inequalities in the division of labour between men and women in couples. By doing this, we attempt to overcome the limitations of aggregated data, where undetected variability may be hidden under the averages.

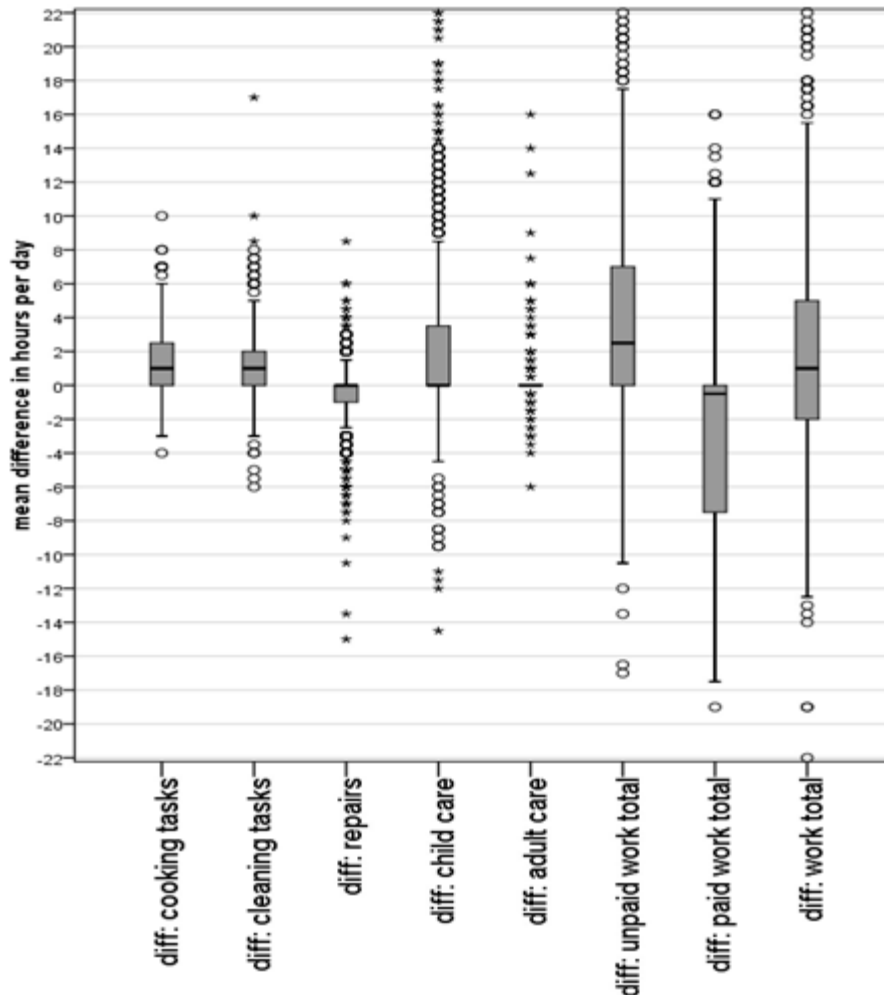
For this analysis, we have constructed pair differences in the number of hours devoted to chores (see Figure 2). The unit of analysis is now a household with a partnership. According to the CHPS, in approximately 30 % of households in the Czech Republic the difference in unpaid work reaches negative values or zero – this means that these activities are done by both partners to the same extent (9 %) or that the man does more (21 %). In the remaining 70 % of households, the woman is more involved in unpaid work.

Figure 1: Number of hours spent on each domestic task by sex and age category



Source: authors' calculations, CHPS 2015, 1st wave, N=2995

Figure 2: Differences between partners within couples in the time spent on domestic tasks



Source: authors' calculations, CHPS 2015, 1st wave, N=771

Note: Positive values mean more hours allocated by women, and negative values mean more hours allocated by men. 0 means equal distribution

The median of this distribution has a value of 2.5 hours per day. If for the sake of comparison we also consider the data for paid work, we find that in approximately half of the households women spend less time in paid work than men do: the median value is -0.5 hours. In the remaining 26 % of the households, the difference in paid work equals zero, and in the remaining 24 % of the households, the women spend more time in the labour market than their male

partners do. Therefore, the differences in the distribution of paid and unpaid work are to a large extent inverse (the value of the Spearman correlation between paid and unpaid work hours is -0.464), but they do not completely equal themselves. If we make a sum of paid and unpaid work, still in 58 % of Czech households, the woman works more, in 36 % the man works more, and in 6 % the amount of work among partners is equal.

The differences within couples depend on the age and the education of the partners. Concerning the life trajectory, it is especially the period of intensive parenting that greatly skews the balance in the proportion of paid work and childcare. The differences are presented in the table below (see Table 3), in which the data are sorted according to the education and age of the women; the smallest differences in the amount of time devoted to household chores can be found in the youngest age group (less than 30 years) and in the oldest age group (51 to 60 years). In the two youngest age categories, the division of labour is clearly influenced by parenthood; however, interesting results can be found in older categories. Surprisingly, the division of labour is equal in couples where the woman is more than 50 years old. From a generational perspective, we would suppose an opposite relation; nevertheless, the data show that the size of the difference is not linearly dependent on age. Even if we compare households without children separately, we find the pattern of a reverse U, with the lowest differences in the youngest and oldest categories.

Table 3: Differences in time spent on domestic tasks by age and level of education

	women - age category				women - education			
	18 to 30	31 to 40	41 to 50	51 to 60	EL	VOC	HS	UNI
difference: cooking tasks	1.18	1.52	1.51	1.26	2.05	1.64	1.29	1.24
difference: cleaning tasks	0.73	1.18	1.27	1.12	1.12	1.36	1.11	0.94
difference: repairs	-0.34	-0.62	-0.82	-1.01	-0.86	-0.66	-0.71	-0.74
difference: child care	3.82	4.09	1.19	0.39	2.69	2.20	2.09	2.94
difference: adult care	0.12	0.20	0.12	0.15	0.45	0.24	0.11	0.08
difference: unpaid work total	5.52	6.37	3.27	1.90	5.45	4.78	3.88	4.46
difference: paid work total	-3.38	-2.62	-1.79	-1.25	-2.08	-2.46	-1.85	-2.48
difference: work total	2.13	3.75	1.48	0.65	3.37	2.32	2.03	1.98

Source: authors' calculations, CHPS 2015, 1st wave, N=771

Education negatively influences differences in time devoted to unpaid work; childcare is the exception, where the difference is the largest in households where the woman has a university education. Women with university education reported on average the longest amount of time devoted to childcare, and therefore the difference between the partners is the highest in this category. We believe that women with university education share the norm of intensive parenting and have the most resources to carry it out.

Relationships between attitudes towards gender roles and behaviour

Which circumstances do influence the extent of inequality in the division of unpaid labour in the households, and what are the gender attitudes in this relation-ship? We seek an answer to this question through regression models, in which the dependent variables are the extent of unpaid work done by a given member of a household and the difference in hours per day devoted to unpaid work. We estimate a first model using the sample of individual respondents (this concerns the amount of unpaid work done by an individual), and the second model uses paired data (this concerns the difference in work done by a woman and a man in a given household).

Both linear regression models have the same logic: first, they map the statistical influence of attitudes toward gender roles (three variables measured on a Likert-type 5-point scale are used); second, they contain a set of variables that capture the characteristics of the respondents and the household (age, education, presence of children, type of relationship); and finally they control for important circumstances (extent of paid work, report of one's own share of household chores). If we model the statistical influence of these sets of variables on the amount of unpaid work that individuals do in a household, we further distinguish two variants of model according to gender; the regression model then explains 16 % of the variability of the dependent variable for men and 34 % for women (see Table 4). Among the variables with the most considerable influence for men is the organization of paid work (measured by a standardized coefficient), while for women this variable is the second most important. The more time an individual devotes to paid work, the less time he or she devotes to unpaid work in the household.

The most important factor in the model for women is the presence of preschool and school-aged children in the household. This represents a specific period in the life trajectory during which the distribution of household chores changes greatly (the same was already pointed out in the descriptive statistics). However, the main subject of our interest is indicators of attitudes towards gender roles in men and women. As far as the amount of unpaid work among individuals is concerned, we find very weak and non significant values of the regression coefficients for men, but in the case of women, there are two

correlations worth noting. In contrast to men, where attitudes do not play a role, women with more egalitarian attitudes do less unpaid housework. In the model of paired data, the strongest predictor of the unequal distribution of household chores is the difference in the amount of paid work (see Table 5). This part of the model is therefore in line with the historically traditional complementary division of labour model. The strength of the correlation suggests that, for most Czech households, this is a point of departure from which the models of organization stem. For us, however, it is important to know what happens next when we control for this in the model.

Table 4: Linear regression models estimating the predictors of the amount of hours spent by unpaid work; separate models for men and women

	MEN ($R^2=0.16$)			WOMEN ($R^2 = 0.34$)		
	B (coef.)	Beta (standar- dized)	Sig.	B (coef.)	Beta (standar- dized)	Sig.
(Constant)	4.420		0.000	8.944		0.000
Gender roles (earnings)	-0.083	-0.029	0.289	-0.306	-0.061	0.004
Gender roles (household responsibility)	0.007	0.002	0.947	-0.427	-0.062	0.002
Gender roles (budget contributions)	-0.014	-0.003	0.917	-0.039	-0.004	0.848
reported activity (scale)	0.557	0.084	0.001	0.781	0.130	0.000
Age	-0.003	-0.008	0.805	-0.053	-0.084	0.001
Elementary	(ref.)			(ref.)		
Vocational	0.026	0.003	0.918	0.223	0.015	0.535
Secondary	-0.031	-0.004	0.899	0.050	0.004	0.873
Tertiary	-0.829	-0.040	0.154	-0.184	-0.007	0.754
Type of relationship (1=marriage 2=cohabitation)	-0.690	-0.081	0.005	-0.181	-0.012	0.566
Paid work (hours/day)	-0.223	-0.288	0.000	-0.387	-0.268	0.000
N. of children <6	1.203	0.216	0.000	3.727	0.370	0.000
N. of children 6-10	0.628	0.100	0.001	1.110	0.100	0.000
N. of children 11-17	-0.076	-0.013	0.644	0.165	0.016	0.452
N. of adult children	-0.177	-0.032	0.279	0.080	0.008	0.699

Source: authors' calculations, CHPS 2015, 1st wave, N=771

Table 5: Linear regression model estimating the predictors of the difference in hours spent by unpaid work within the couple

	B (coef.)	Beta (standardi zed)	Sig.
(Constant)	3,832		0,056
Gender roles (earnings) (man)	0,111	0,021	0,533
Gender roles (earnings) (woman)	-0,409	-0,078	0,025
Gender roles (household responsibility) (man)	-0,358	-0,047	0,149
Gender roles (household responsibility) (woman)	-0,419	-0,057	0,073
Gender roles (budget contributions) (man)	0,379	0,045	0,171
Gender roles (budget contributions) (woman)	0,150	0,013	0,681
Reported activity (man)	-0,297	-0,021	0,487
Reported activity (woman)	1,014	0,154	0,000
Age (woman)*	-0,062	-0,089	0,019
Elementary (man)			
Vocational (man)	0,738	0,053	0,241
Secondary (man)	-0,415	-0,030	0,469
Tertiary (man)	0,637	0,018	0,629
Elementary (woman)			
Vocational (woman)	0,088	0,006	0,893
Secondary (woman)	-0,061	-0,004	0,910
Tertiary (woman)	-1,317	-0,043	0,238
Type of relationship (1=marriage 2=cohabitation)	0,298	0,019	0,567
Paid work difference (hours/day)	-0,430	-0,365	0,000
N. of children <6	2,174	0,220	0,000
N. of children 6-10	0,162	0,014	0,682
N. of children 11-17	0,516	0,051	0,139

* Age of man omitted due to collinearity

Source: authors' calculations, CHPS 2015, 1st wave, N=771

The presence of children (most importantly of preschool age) again shows itself to be a very important predictor of the discrepancy in unpaid work. In the model for paired data, the questions on gender attitudes do not manifest

themselves significantly: their contribution is minimal, and their statistical significance is below the critical level. The only exception is found in the response to the question: “Man should earn money, while the woman should take care of the household”, whereby a negative response from women decreases the discrepancy in the proportion of time spent by men and women. All in all, it can be said that the attitudes measured by the battery of questions on gender roles do not project themselves into the behaviour as strongly as we would expect; regardless of the stated opinions men and women have, the division of unpaid labour in the household is mostly dependent on the regime of combining paid work with parenthood.

Discussion and conclusions

In terms of gender roles attitudes, Czech society is specific due to a contradictory combination of factors: women’s broad access to the educational system and the labour market goes hand in hand with traditional division of labour. On the one hand, there is a historically rooted high employment rate of women. Several generations have already experienced a double-income and double-career model, and this model is today taken for granted. On the other hand, Czech society is not especially receptive to changes in gender roles. Especially the traditional division of men and women’s domestic roles is changing very slowly, and only generations of youths socialized after 1989 have slowly changed their views on equality not only in the public sphere, but also in the private one.

Our results show that even in 2015, household chores were mainly a women’s affair in the Czech Republic. In all activities such as cooking, washing, cleaning, and childcare, except maintenance and repair work, the participation of women was dominant. This was apparent from the estimated share of time (70-90 % of women reported a large share, while 60-90 % of men reported a small share) and from the time-use diaries (women spent on average 4 hours more per day on unpaid work than men). The amount of work individuals do in the household, as well as the difference within households, is strongly dependent on the amount of paid work that people do; logically, there is a complementarity here. Nevertheless, a negative correlation between the amount of paid and unpaid work is not a determinant, but discrepancies have their origins here (if we sum up hours of paid and unpaid work, Czech women still work on average one and a half hours more per day than men).

The largest discrepancy is related to the life stage. In households with children under six years of age, childcare makes the largest share in the unpaid work, and women do the vast majority of it. This effect (of the stage of the life path) is also related to the possibility of comparing the effects of cohorts. Inequalities in the division of unpaid labour are mainly linked to parenthood, and therefore they are accumulated in the younger age groups. As age increases, the inequality in the division of labour decreases. However, this effect remains in the regression models when controlling for the presence of children in households and other factors. Although our data do not allow us to distinguish between cohort and lifetime effects, the comparison of age categories does not show any shift toward a more equal division of unpaid labour among younger respondents, even though for comparable tasks (cooking, cleaning, washing clothes), the inequality decreases with age. However, these results may again be linked to parenthood, and therefore it is in practice impossible to detect a cohort effect independent of the influence of life stage. At the same time, we have found that neither the amount of unpaid work in the household nor inequality in the household are systematically influenced by the level of education.

In addition to the partners' influence and the characteristics of the household, we were especially interested in the influence of gender attitudes on the domestic division of labour. To put it simply, this study has sought to find whether attitudes indicating equality are reflected in real behaviour. This hypothesis can be rejected. Although the attitudes expressed by the respondents appear to lead to gender equality, their reflection on everyday life is weak. The inclination to equality in the answers to attitudinal questions did not significantly influence the equal distribution of unpaid domestic work, nor did influence the difference between the amount done by women and men. Specifically, 80 % of men agree with the statement 'men should have the same responsibility for the household as women'. However, in 75 % of households, women do more chores.

The discrepancy between attitudes and behaviour is not a unique result in sociological research. Most of the reasoning aims to unfold the potential causes behind it. On the one hand, the causes may be methodological, inappropriate measurement, or behaviour, or both. However, in this context, the measurement of attitudes (including gender roles) in question-naire surveys has its insurmountable limits resulting from the existing amount of validity of the standardized designs. However, if these limits have not been reached, better indicators of different dimensions of gender roles can still be developed,

although for a better understanding of these attitudes, a qualitative approach would be more appropriate.

This analysis is based on data collected before the coronavirus pandemic, so in many ways the situation has changed. Early publications focusing on similar topics during the pandemic show that this global issue strongly affected everything concerning the links between paid and unpaid work, gender division and revealed the uneven distribution of responsibilities in the private sphere (e.g. Dudová 2022). We believe that presenting data from the pre-pandemic period can provide a reference level for further analyses focusing on the change and its time course. In this case, the search for the causes and deepening of the discrepancy between the workload of men and women is an important topic for further research. In this respect, our study, at least for the pre-COVID period, points to the fact that the discrepancy does not differentiate by attained educational level (it is an argument against status differentiation), but it will be necessary to look at the factors that allow men and women to handle the specific demands of the different stages in their life. On the one hand, it will be necessary to look at the effects of specific social policies (e.g. parental leave) and, on the other hand, to take into account the forms of discrimination against women in the labour market (in particular wage discrimination). Discrepancies between attitudes and behaviour can be triggered by minor differences in income between men and women, which, combined with traditional attitudes toward childcare, determine the distribution of unpaid domestic work not only during periods of intense parenting, but also its persistence for a longer period of time. This disconnection and the vague causal direction between causes and consequences make it difficult to identify the real causes of the discrepancy.

For people who live in a couple, the combination between the status in the labour market and the presence of underage children is important in shaping their attitudes towards gender roles. Furthermore, the combination of statuses operates differently according to the aspects of the gender roles we are focusing on.

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