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

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Centro Direzionale, via Carducci 63/a – 62100 Macerata
info.ceum@unimc.it
http://eum.unimc.it

Stampa:
NonSoloStampa
via IV Novembre 11 – 60021 Camerano (AN)
info@nonsolostampa.com

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Gender Issue in European Policies: Family, Care and Work Challenges

by Isabella Crespi and Tina Miller

Recent developments in European countries are that more and more women are joining the labour force, birth rates are declining and social policies are increasingly orienting their measures towards gender equality. Whereas previously the countries with the highest fertility rates were those in which family-oriented cultural traditions were most pronounced and in which women's labour market participation was least, these relationships are now reversed. These shifts, set within a European framework of public spending cuts and global economic concerns, present problems of maintaining and sustaining forms of welfare state support and provision previously enjoyed. The gradual shifts related to gender equality and economic demands have led to the significant entry of women into the workforce – in line with the indications of the 2000 Lisbon Declaration.

The labour market structure has gone from being reserved almost exclusively for the male breadwinner to become a space for women to participate in too, which undoubtedly has been linked to change in family lives, family policies and in the market structure. The differences become obvious when we compare the trajectory of the welfare states and family changes and so the division of home and paid work in Northern and Southern Europe. These show how different welfare states concerning family and employment policies have conditioned the employment and family strategies adopted by women (and men) in the different countries.

The feminisation of the workforce has also been accompanied by an increase in the number of women achieving in higher education and so taking up higher level positions in the work sphere when compared to earlier periods. The backdrop of equal opportunities, which has received considerable attention at a European level has in part orientated societies towards a goal of promoting fairer societies. However, this goal may have consequences for the ways in which (both) parents are able to determine their parenting and their participation in the labour market. Focusing on work/caring negotiations at the household level can reveal significant gendered differences. A framework which encompasses equal opportunities on the one hand and female emancipation on the other, in a competitive and little-regulated market, can, paradoxically, lead to inequalities and trade-offs being made, between ideals of equal opportunity in the workplace and family (or family-friendly) policies (Crespi and Strohmeier 2008; Bianchi and Milkie 2010).

Although some significant improvements have certainly been made – especially in terms of women's greater participation in education and employment and policies addressing gender equity, for example in relation to maternity and paternity leave – it should however be noted that some fundamental issues remain unresolved and continue to pose problems. Many studies highlight the need for a more detailed appreciation of the connections between gender, family and work relationships (Miller 2010; 2011). As has been seen, in recent years greater attention has been given to family well-being effects in the workplace and such studies have helped to redefine the social subjects who must be considered in social policies facilitating work-family balance.

All the contributions in this collection are concerned with the relationship between family, care and work using the lens of gender: in particular, they illustrate the different ways in which these relationships are addressed in various European social policy systems. The contributions help to show that the promotion of qualification measures and childcare facilities increases the activity rate of women in the workplace, although doubts

remain about the quality and sustainability of many measures and the impact on family lives.

The contributions in this book help to map different country contexts and current positions in relation to policies and how aspects of care and work are practiced and gendered. Major themes arising across the chapters, involve a focus on policy issues, the legacy of historical societal/cultural arrangements and the ways in which ideas and ideals of caring are used. There is also reflection on the ways in which these areas are differently conceptualised and researched.

1. *Matters of Policy*

The work-family balance measures introduced in the countries represented in the papers result from the different national frameworks and social (and/or family) policies related to work, gender roles, family formations and different welfare strategies mentioned above. As a general rule, social policies are intended to comply with the guiding principles outlined in the European masterplan, and in particular with the March 2000 Lisbon agreements.

The need for changes in family policy (e.g. paternity/parental leave) is highlighted in some of the papers, but importantly the limitations of what policies alone can do is also evident. It is concluded that although policy change is a necessary step in signalling and facilitating gender equity, policy introduction alone is not enough. It is clear that other factors play a part in whether policy is a) introduced and b) taken up by those it is designed for. For example, apparent "choices" may not be perceived as such if there is a strong tradition of segregated work and caring roles between men and women. Gendered traditions can influence broader perceptions of a policy and their take up as in the case of use of parental leave by fathers. Across the papers the focus on policy responses to broader social changes help to show points of difference and similarity in different country contexts as (new) policies are introduced.

2. *The Legacy of Historical Contexts and Practices*

The need to contextualise change and developments in different countries is another important theme to emerge. The legacy of (patriarchal) gendered arrangements and roles is not suddenly forgotten when new demands or policies are introduced, but echoes of past ways of doing things are only gradually eroded. This point is related in particular to how ideas and conceptualisations of "choice" and "preferences" (as examined for example in Hakim's contested theorisations) can be understood and operationalized. These do not occur in a vacuum and so contexts (national, historical and cultural) must also be considered to see what apparent "choice" might actually mean in a particular context.

Work-family measures in different countries are then the outcome of different histories and social policies that take into account aspects related to work, gender roles, family models and different welfare strategies. The national context is relevant to work-family issues because employees' work-family balance can be facilitated and supported by national policies and programmes. National gender equality reflects a society's support for women's development and achievements, and recognition of the importance of including women in all aspects of life, as well as changes which are occurring gradually in men's lives too. But there are of course national differences in relation to how roles and associated responsibilities are regarded, resulting from different cultural contexts and political histories. However concerns with national level understandings around gender equality remain pertinent because in relation to work and family issues, traditional expectations that women will be primarily or solely responsible for their children can be a significant barrier to their employment opportunities.

Therefore in this changing European context, gender equality cannot be achieved without societal (and national) recognition of the need to provide resources and support to help employees manage both work and family responsibilities. Research has

shown that in more gender egalitarian societies (e.g. Northern European countries) women are more likely to be included in decision-making roles and so can influence policies which reflect the importance of work-family issues (Lewis 2009). Even though work-family reconciliation issues have been to a greater or lesser extent on national and European political agendas – in recent years, compelling questions remain in relation to work-family conflict and the implementation of actions and policies to meet work-family needs, in line with the indications of broader European framework (Craig and Powell 2011).

3. *Caring Between Policies and Ideals*

A third major focus across the contributions relates to caring and policies. Caring is both practice and moral activity which involves relationships and reciprocity; thus it does not readily accommodate economic notions of time – how much time can be spent on a particular activity and with what cost implications. Research shows that those who are most "work busy" are those in dual income households who have caring responsibilities for children too. Such working parents stand in marked contrast to those whose present time hangs heavily – those with no jobs to go to and fewer resources to enable them to fill their time, such as unemployed lone parents, the young unemployed and the poor elderly. In some families, economic notions of time may be more dominant than in others. In some work contexts the basis for the development of caring relations is weakened through the intensification of working hours and commitment. Yet even for the "work busy", there is an inherent contradiction between time in work and time devoted to care. Both work and care imply ethical codes and practices about how, in moral terms, people believe they ought to live their lives. However, these two ethics shape experiences in both contexts and may overlap and so cross the work-family boundary. For some authors caring is a moral practice which is not contained within family or kinship contexts (Pfau-Effinger and Geissler 2005;

Crompton 2006). The contributions here also urge us to be more precise in how the terms care/caring are used. As caring demands increase (as a consequence of demographic and other changes) there is a need to more carefully examine how caring is framed in policies and where responsibilities are seen to reside.

4. *Researching Gender, Care and Work*

Prior cross-cultural research (Crompton, Lewis and Lyonette 2007) has found that countries differ, for example, in beliefs about appropriate roles and behavior for men and women; in some countries, men and women occupy highly differentiated roles based on biological sex, such as male breadwinners and female caregivers/homemakers, whereas in other countries men and women occupy more similar or overlapping social roles. National gender equality is related to work and family issues because traditional expectations that women will be responsible for their children can be a significant barrier to women's employment opportunities.

Therefore, gender equality cannot be achieved without societal recognition of the need to provide resources and support to help employees manage both work and family responsibilities. Also, in gender egalitarian societies women are more likely to be included in decision-making roles where they can influence policies to reflect the importance of work-family issues and care.

The contributions in this collection deal with a series of questions concerning the role of caring, gender differences and welfare state patterns and how these are recognized and managed in a changing society. However, this is not a comparative analysis in the strict sense of the term; rather, it is a collection of specific, in-depth studies with regard to different geographical contexts. The aim is not to draw comparisons or create theoretical patterns of different welfare systems and measures to reconcile work and family life; on the contrary, it is to illustrate the most important models emerging in the countries concerned with the purpose

of enhancing caring and gender policies and making them more visible and effective. The common thread across the chapters is that all authors, deal with the connection between the existing gender roles structures and conditions, the labour market, the caring system and family and welfare policies that, to different degrees, regulate these relationships.

The chapters presented in this collection employ a range of research approaches and data sets. In doing so they are able to demonstrate evidence of large scale patterns of change in relation work and caring activities in different European contexts as well as complimentary, small scale analysis of micro-level negotiations and practices around gender, care and work.

The ways in which work and caring are reconciled and managed by families in the countries of, the Czech Republic, Germany and Lithuania are presented in chapters 1 (Preference for family and work in the Czech Republic), 2 (Reconciliation of care and work in Germany) and 4 (Family as a provider of social support: The Lithuanian case). Germany also provides the focus of chapter 3 (Women's Employment Behaviour – Rational Choice, Family Values, and Wage Penalties? Empirical Evidence from Germany and the United States) in which women's employment behaviours are compared with those of women in the United States using nationally representative longitudinal data. Using a range of data sources, the collection concludes with a focus on Italy in chapter 5 (Men who care. Men's changing commitments to care in Italy) and Italian men's changing commitments in relation to caring.

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Chapter 1

Preference for Family and Work in the Czech Republic[1]

by Beatrice Chromková Manea and Ladislav Rabušic

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)

[1] This research was funded by the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic GAČR project no. GAP404/11/0329 "Male reproductive behavior" Study.

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 education[2]. 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 responsibilities[4].

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 career[5]. 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 family[6]. 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 preferences[8], 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 course[9]. 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 (Rabušíc 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 relationship[10]. 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 heterogamy 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 1999[12]. 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 role[13]. 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 commitment[14] and the status of being the main income earner in the family[15]. 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 gown-up children would not require intensive

caring[17]. 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 children[18], 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 reseaerch 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 have[19]. 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 market[20].

	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.

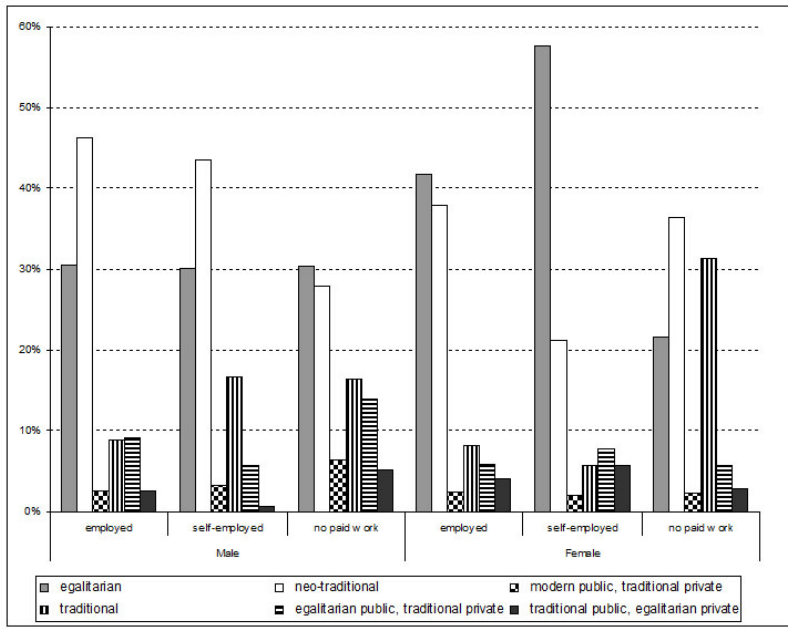

Figure 1. Preferred ideal family model by employment status and gender
Source: own calculations *MRB* dataset 2011

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.

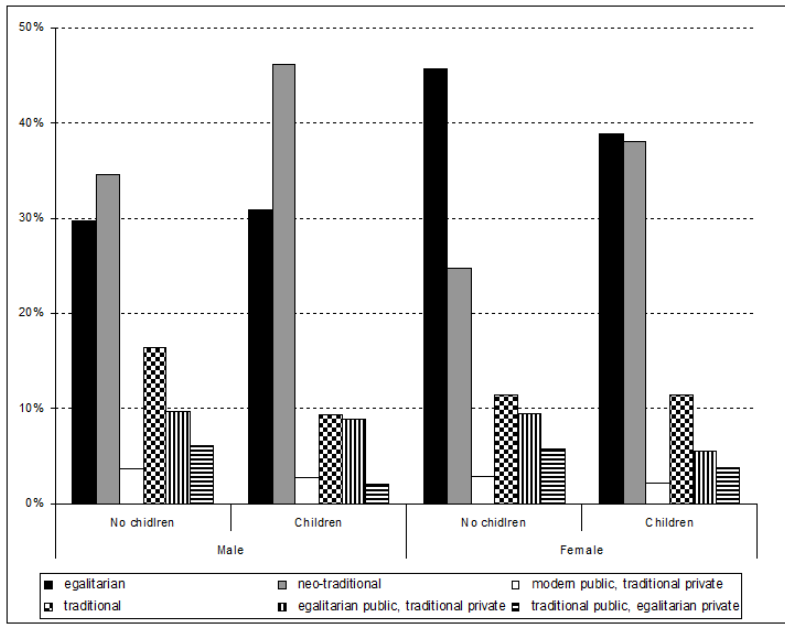

Figure 2. Preferred ideal family model by the presence of children and gender

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 factors[21]. 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 barriers[22]. 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	*Work-oriented*	*Adaptive*	*Adaptive*
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	*Inconsistent*	*Adaptive*	*Family-oriented*
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	*Work-oriented*	*Adaptive*	*Inconsistent*
4) A family where only the husband has a job and the wife runs the home	*Inconsistent*	*Family-oriented*	*Family-oriented*
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	*Work-oriented*	*Adaptive*	*Family-oriented*
6) A family where only the husband has a job and where housework and the care of the children are shared equally between them	*Inconsistent*	*Family-oriented*	*Family-oriented*

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.

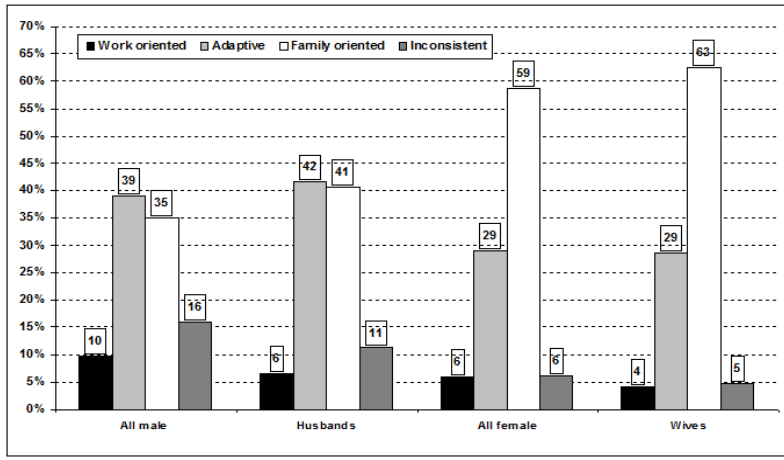

Figure 3. Distribution of lifestyle typology by gender and marital status
Source: own calculations *MRB* dataset 2011

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.
Gender		
Female (vs. male)	.382	.001
Age	.992	.704
Marital status		
Cohabiting (vs. married)	1.769	.062
Never married (vs. married)	2.777	.003
Level of education		
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
Working status		
Self-employed (vs. employed)	1.070	.828
Not employed (vs. employed)	.830	.679
Actual number of children	.603	.001
Value of children index	.629	.000
Main income provider		
Partner (vs. respondents)	1.580	.197
Both partners (vs. respondent)	1.245	.467
Religion		
Non-believer (vs. believer)	.820	.436
Perception of division of gender roles in the family	.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.
Gender		
Female (vs. male)	2.664	.000
Age	1.020	.066
Marital status		
Cohabiting (vs. married)	.673	.032
Never married (vs. married)	.569	.011
Level of education		
Lower secondary education (vs. primary education)	.492	.048
Higher secondary education (vs. primary education)	.637	.213
Tertiary education (vs. primary education)	.376	.012
Working status		
Self-employed (vs. employed)	.625	.012
Not employed (vs. employed)	1.601	.021
Actual number of children	1.203	.009
Value of children index	1.508	.000
Main income provider		
Partner (vs. respondents)	.960	.825
Both partners (vs. respondent)	.915	.605
Religion		
Non-believer (vs. believer)	1.035	.781
Perception of division of gender roles in the family	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 influence 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

Rabušic 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 ord'er 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 them[25]. 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?	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?
	– 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?	– 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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Chapter 2

Reconciliation of Care and Work in Germany

by Christin Czaplicki and Tatjana Mika

Abstract

Due to demographic changes the demand for care grows. Caregivers are often expected to be employed and to care at the same time while only some European welfare systems support the reconciliation of employment with family tasks explicitly. The chapter pays therefore particular attention to care arrangements in various countries across Europe on the one hand and the legal framework as well as opportunities and rights to access the support services like the long-term care-insurance in Germany on the other. Some care-arrangements encourage informal care-giving at home. We examine biographical aspects while analyzing the relationship between paid work and informal caregiving. Therefore this chapter adopts a dynamic life-course approach for the investigation of the compatibility of caregiving activities and work life. For this purpose longitudinal data of the German Pension Insurance is used to compare a ten year period in the lives of 1,849 female care providers.

The results show that for the older birth cohorts the combination of caregiving and employment was a rather short-lived arrangement. In the course of time the caregiving task is then abandoned. This is understandable on the background that it is difficult for women over age 40 to find new employment in Germany. More stable arrangements are the combination of caregiving with marginal employment as low-level labor market participation or caregiving alone as singular activity. Social change leads to an increasing number of women who

combine caregiving and working and the younger cohorts are also able to sustain both activities for longer periods.

1. *Introduction: Research Deficits*

Due to demographic changes such as an increasing life expectancy, low birth rates and changing family structures, all European countries are affected by a shrinking share of younger people, an ageing work force, and an increasing number of older people. Because of population aging and the simultaneous growing need of care, since the 1990s eldercare has increasingly become a subject of public and political debate. Thereby eldercare has been acknowledged as a major phase of life for both care-dependent individuals and caregivers (Bubolz-Lutz 2007). At the same time governments in advanced European welfare states have accelerated an active approach to welfare policies with the aim of moving people into work (Triantafillou *et al.* 2010). While welfare states pursue increased labor market participation of women and older workers, relatives of the elderly will be expected to undertake paid work and care for older family members (Arksey and Moree 2008). Thus, supporting caregivers in combining care with paid work has become an integral part of the reconciliation policy framework of many welfare states. The ways in which caregivers are supported in combining caring responsibilities and workplace demands differ considerably between countries. Studies which deal with this question figure out the importance of various forms of non-monetary benefits, such as tax relief, social security contributions and the right to work leave (Reichert 2003; EUROFAMCARE 2006; Hoff and Hamblin 2011). After investigations have pointed out the impact of state provided benefits on the organization of private care arrangements, the question whether caregivers are able to combine work and care at all, still remains. In particular the relationship of care and employment has often been discussed (Brody *et al.* 1987; Pavalko and Artis 1997; Naegele and Reichert 1998;

Schneider *et al.* 2001). However, in Germany there is still little known about the extent and the duration of combining family tasks and work. Therefore this study investigates the issue of how the German welfare state facilitates the reconciliation of care and labor market responsibilities. Given the fact that especially women still undertake most of all care responsibilities (Mika and Stegmann 2010), the participation of female care providers on the labor market is examined. For this purpose, we use process generated longitudinal data of the German Pension Insurance (Scientific Use File of socially insured people). The investigations consider two types of employment which women could combine with care work: socially insured employment and marginal employment. In contrast to regular employment, which is linked to social security contributions, marginal part-time employment is characterized by tax exemptions and lower social security contributions. Since 2003 this type of atypical employment has increased substantially (Jacobi and Schaffner 2008). In particular for women who have to deal with care tasks, marginal part time employment is an opportunity to earn some money on the side.

The chapter analyzes a ten year period (2000 until 2010) in the lives of caregiving women in Germany. The longitudinal data taken from the German Pension Insurance includes a national sample of 1.849 caregiving women aged 46 years and older. The aim of analyzing this ten year period of caregiving activities is to examine similarities and differences between the older and younger birth cohorts in their reconciliation of care and paid work. Therefore we selected two different birth cohorts. While the first group comprises women born between 1943 and 1953 (N = 1.178), the second group is composed of women born between 1954 and 1964 (N = 671).

In order to investigate the reconciliation of caregiving and paid work in the German Welfare state, the second paragraph provides an overview of different care arrangements found in Europe. In paragraph 3 the German compulsory long-term care insurance and the social security benefits for voluntary home care are described. Paragraph 4 describes problems of female

employment in Germany and reflects empirical results of other German studies concerning the reconciliation of care and work. Paragraph 5 comprises the description of the longitudinal data of the German Pension Insurance and the methods of sequence and cluster analysis which we used. Finally the results of our investigation will give deeper insights in the relationship of care and work in Germany thus we identify different types of caregivers' employment participation (paragraphs 6 and 7).

2. *Comparing Care Arrangements in Germany with Other European Countries*

In the case that a person is in need of care, i.e. as a result of an unexpected serious illness, both the care dependent person and the family members ideally have to reach a joint decision about the care arrangement. Caring needs can be met either through home based care (supported by formal professional services) or by care in a nursing home which is privately funded or in case of need partly state-funded in Germany. Studies dealing with factors influencing this negotiation process consider, beside expectations of the elderly, the degree of care need to be important (Heusinger and Klünder 2005). Furthermore, financial and temporal resources of family members who could undertake the care responsibilities are important factors in the decision-making-process (Motel-Klingebiel *et al.* 2002; Blinkert and Klie 2004; Döhner *et al.* 2007). All these factors refer to specific cultural-contextual structures of an institutional setting which is mainly influenced by the relationship between the state and the family. The contextual structures represent all societal conditions within which intergenerational relations develop (Brand *et al.* 2009). These include, i.e. conditions of welfare state, the social, economic and tax system, and the labor market. In addition, the decision for a specific care arrangement depends on the social care policy tradition of welfare states. In the course of comparative welfare state research three broad classifications

have been devised (Esping-Anderson 1990; 1999). As structuring characteristics, the obligation to care and the source of funding are used to differentiate care regimes (Anttonen and Sipilä 1996; Daly and Lewis 2000). Generally long-term care systems in most European countries try to ensure that the care dependent person remains in the familiar home environment on the one hand and to meet their needs on the other. The relationship between state-allocated services and family responsibilities provides insights into cultural and institutional welfare traditions. Studies have found indications of the state displacing family services ("crowding out"), stimulating family support ("crowding in") as well as a "complementarity" of the two sources of support (Künemund and Rein 1999; Daatland and Herlofson 2003; Motel-Klingebiel *et al.* 2005; Brandt *et al.* 2009; Litwin and Attias-Donfut 2009). Thus, unequal regimes offer very different options and opportunities and have a formative effect on the structure of care arrangements.

In consideration of this impact of state policies on the private negotiation process Diagram 1 illustrates the organization of private care provision in eleven European countries[1].

The diagram shows a considerable cross-country variation in the role played by formal and informal care between Mediterranean countries – where the bulk of care is provided by family members – and the Scandinavian countries – with a greater reliance on formal professional care provision – at the two extremes.

[1] The results concerning the care arrangements are based on the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE), which includes information about social support by family members and different kinds of professional home care services received at least once per week in the last twelve months. The respondents are aged 50 and older and have been questioned on receiving types of personal care – e.g. dressing, bathing or showering, eating, getting in or out of bed, using the toilet – and professional or paid nursing – e.g. professional or paid home help for domestic tasks or services like "meals-on-wheels". The care information collected is internationally standardized and includes reported information on support with activities of daily living (ADL). People who received only one type of care, either personal care or formal care, are classified as "informal care recipients" on the one hand and "professional care recipients" on the other. People who received both informal and formal care services are classified by "combination of informal and formal care services".

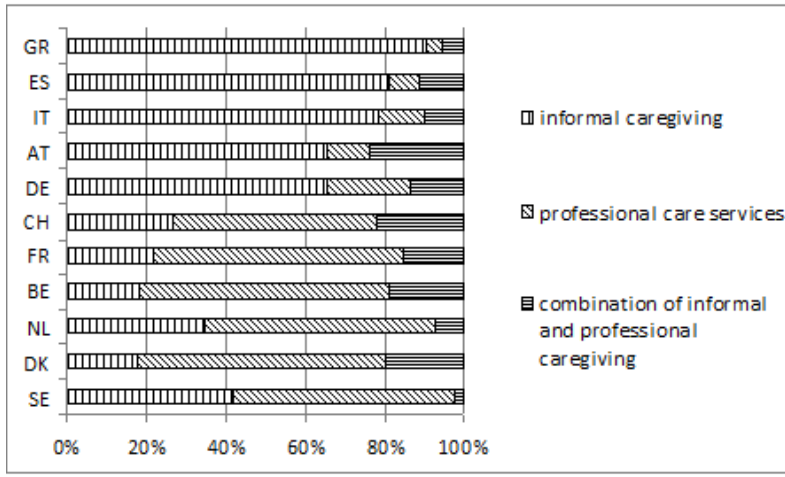

Diagram 1. Private care arrangements in eleven European countries
Source: SHARE[2] 2006, release 2.5.0, own calculations, weighted, n = 4,352,495 (unweighted, n = 942)

Yet, especially in the Mediterranean countries like Italy, Spain and Greece, the bulk of care is provided informally: 80% and more of the care arrangements consist of care provided by family members. Professional services and the combination of informal and formal care provision play a secondary role. This can particularly be explained by the structure of the care market, which is characterized by less state-allocated social services. In the Scandinavian countries, municipalities are in contrast the main providers of care for older people. Public providers cover 50%

[2] This paper uses data from SHARE release 2.5.0, as of May 24th 2011. The SHARE data collection has been primarily funded by the European Commission through the 5th framework programme (project QLK6-CT-2001-00360 in the thematic programme Quality of Life), through the 6th framework programme (projects SHARE-I3, RII-CT-2006-062193, COMPARE, CIT5-CT-2005-028857, and SHARELIFE, CIT4-CT-2006-028812) and through the 7th framework programme (SHARE-PREP, 211909 and SHARE-LEAP, 227822). Additional funding from the U.S. National Institute on Aging (U01 AG09740-13S2, P01 AG005842, P01 AG08291, P30 AG12815, Y1-AG-4553-01 and OGHA 04-064, IAG BSR06-11, R21 AG025169) as well as from various national sources is gratefully acknowledged (see <www.share-project.org> for a full list of funding institutions).

and more of services, whereby informal caregivers with coverage of at least 40% play a less important role. Care arrangements in continental European countries are more heterogeneous. While in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Switzerland formal care amounts between 50% and 60% of care provision, informal care is less pronounced with at least 35%. In Belgium, France and Switzerland, combined assistance of informal and formal helpers is about as frequent as informal caregiving. Two exceptions to the continental European care regime are Germany and Austria, which are characterized by a large percentage of informal care provision by family members (over 60%) and a smaller amount of formal and combined care provision. These two countries have adopted statutory care insurance systems which provide financial support for home based services on the one hand and benefits for the informal caregivers on the other.

The heterogeneous results of these care regimes have different implications for the reconciliation of work and care. Welfare states are able to encourage gainful employment of caregivers by providing well-established infrastructure for formal care services. On the other hand, legal obligations and insufficient supporting measures might discourage the labor market participation of caregivers. The legal requirements of German compulsory long-term care insurance and the opportunities to reconcile work and care in Germany will be subject of the discussion in the sections below.

3. *Social Security Arrangements for Voluntary Home Care in Germany*

In Germany the number of people who are receiving home or institutional care from long-term care insurance contributions rose gradually between 2000 and 2010 from about 1.8 million to a number of 2.3 million (Table 1)[3]. German long-term

[3] Financial support from the state in case of need of care was until 1995 limited to people without financial means to pay for services by themselves. The care insurance covers since them the whole population. However, the financial benefit is limited to a

care insurance offers benefits in case of permanent need of help with personal mobility or hygiene. The need of long-term care has to be proven via a medical assessment. Physical or mental impairment that only leads to problems with housekeeping, e.g., cleaning, cooking etc. does not entitle to benefits from care insurance. Neither does temporary impairment due to recurrent diseases. Need is assessed according to a catalogue of assistance for all kinds of acknowledged disabilities concerning mobility and hygiene. For each impairment a certain, rather short, time span is designated in this catalogue. Payments by long-term care insurance is then assessed according to the gravity of the case. On a three-step scale the need of care is either "considerable" (Grade 1), "severe" (Grade 2) or "extreme" (Grade 3). The benefits of the care insurance offer cash benefits for those receiving informal home care. In the case of care in a nursing home, the patients must pay part of the costs (co-payment). Both kinds of benefits can also be combined, e.g., staying in a day care institution, but staying at home at night and on weekends.

The receipt of cash benefit for self-organized home care has become very popular over the last decade. In 2010, 45% of all individuals in need of long-term care chose the care allowance, 27% were living full-time in a nursing home and the rest opted for a combination or special arrangement. Given the fact that the cash benefit (care allowance) for home care is lower than the benefit in kind financing accommodation in nursing homes, this trend to voluntary home care has eased the financial burden on the social security system. However, there was a trend towards a combination of professional day care and living in the private home (see Table 1). The mixed responsibilities between the professional services and the family tend to be more expensive, but also less stressful for the relatives because they offer some time for activities outside the home and without the company of the person in need of care. The most common example is day-care facilities.

part of the payments. On the other side has voluntary caregiving been included in the benefits.

Year	Care allowance (N in 1,000)	Combination of different care arrangements (N in 1,000)	Full time in nursing home (N in 1,000)	Other care arrangements (e.g. day care); (N in 1,000)	Total
2000	50.7 (955)	10.3 (193)	26.3 (495)	12.7 (240)	1,882,125
2001	50.0 (962)	10.5 (202)	26.7 (513)	12.8 (248)	1,925,053
2002	49.6 (977)	10.4 (205)	27.0 (532)	13.0 (257)	1,971,638
2003	49.0 (968)	10.3 (202)	27.3 (540)	13.4 (266)	1,977,296
2004	48.4 (959)	10.3 (204)	27.7 (549)	13.6 (271)	1,983,358
2005	47.9 (959)	10.2 (204)	27.9 (560)	14.0 (280)	2,004,744
2006	47.4 (977)	10.1 (209)	28.0 (576)	14.5 (298)	2,060,214
2007	46.9 (988)	10.4 (218)	28.0 (589)	14.7 (309)	2,102,116
2008	46.4 (1,009)	11.2 (244)	27.6 (600)	15.2 (321)	2,175,590
2009	45.5 (1,034)	12.5 (285)	27.0 (614)	14.9 (338)	2,271,445
2010	44.9 (1,054)	13.4 (312)	26.5 (622)	15.2 (362)	2,347,263

Table 1. Kind of benefits received from the long-term care insurance, yearly average in percent[4]

Source: Ministry of health – Fifth Report on the development of long-term care insurance, 2011

Every year since 2000, between 955,000 and 1 million people received care allowance in Germany. This means that many individuals worked as lay caregivers in family home care. Most people who rely on a home care arrangement have "considerable" need of care (Grade 1 classification according to the medical assessment). More than half are classified as Grade 1, a third as Grade 2 and about 10% are Grade 3 cases (Mika and Stegmann 2010). Overall it can be noticed that home care addresses less severe cases than professional nursing home care. In nursing homes is one of five people a case of "extreme" (Grade 3) need of care.

[4] Including several nominations if different kinds of benefits have been received in the year. Benefits for care in nursing homes were not introduced until 1996.

4. *Female Employment in West and East Germany and the Reconciliation of Employment and Caregiving in the Light of Previous Studies*

In the case that individuals have to deal with family and work responsibilities at the same time, the two areas of life – family and labor market – make different demands on individuals as they completely differ in their functional logic (Krüger 2001; 2003). While families mainly follow principles of solidarity, the labor market is orientated towards the economic principle of efficiency. Individuals therefore have to develop compatibility models of reconciling these different demands (Lewis 2001).

With regard to female employment and particular the resulting compatibility models of reconciling family tasks with work the two parts of Germany have a different history (Rosenfeld and Trappe 2004). While female employment was a social norm and extremely common in East Germany until re-unification, it was rather marginalized in West Germany. However, female blue-collar workers were often at least part time employed most of their adult life in West Germany. Female employment has not always been welcomed in West Germany and particularly gainful employment of married women has been marginalized. Until 1972 husbands had a legal right to veto the employment of their wives. After 1972 the legal framework changed, but the social norm remained unchanged for many years. The tax and social security system subsidizes the male-breadwinner model until today (Dingeldey 2000).

Continuous full time employment was therefore the typical life-course status of only a small minority of women in West Germany. More often mothers returned after a shorter or longer period of raising children or stayed out of the labor market after having their first child (Kreyenfeld and Geisler 2005). Another opportunity has been and still is marginal employment. Marginal employment is defined by the amount of money earned in the job. The maximum ceiling is 400 € irrespective of the hours worked for this money. Income earned in this special arrangement of marginal employment is exempt from taxation and social secu-

rity contributions. On the other hand, no pension entitlements are earned in this case and no health insurance coverage exists independent from the spouse. Empirical evidence points out that employers pay significantly less in case of marginal employment (Finke 2011). This adds to the existing income discrimination of part time employees and the existing gender pension gap.

The relationship between labor force participation and informal eldercare is documented by a large body of empirical studies (Brody *et al.* 1987; Scharlach 1994; Pavalko and Artis 1997; Dallinger 1996; 1997; Doty *et al.* 1998; Naegele and Reichert 1998; Meyer 2006; Schneider *et al.* 2006; Pavalko and Henderson 2006). The objective of most studies is to measure the effects of informal eldercare responsibilities on caregivers' employment. The focus thereby is on issues such as whether the conflicts between informal caregiving and labor market participation cause caregivers to withdraw from the labor market, take unpaid leave or reduce their hours of work, or be late or absent more often than employees without care responsibilities (e.g. Hammer *et al.* 2003). Schneider (*et al.* 2001), e.g. found evidence of reduced propensity among caregiving married women to be employed, and of higher probability of career interruptions in the case of a higher household income. Moreover, the relationship between caregiving and employment activities is examined with respect to health issues (Cramm *et al.* 1998; Robison *et al.* 2009). Some studies investigated whether employment affects the decision to take over caregiving responsibilities.

Studies which analyze differences in female labor market participation in East and West Germany show even lower labor market participation among West German caregiving women. Dallinger (1997) determined the proportion of employed caregivers of all caregivers in East and West Germany for the early 90s. While 42.3% of caregivers in East Germany work full-time and 5.9% part-time, these proportions amount 21.1% and 11.5% in West Germany (Dallinger 1997). Thus East German caregivers' labor market participation was twice as high as that of West German caregivers.

Rosa (*et al.* 2011) use more recent data collected within the European research project EUROFAMCARE[5] and find different compatibility models of reconciling care and work. The findings imply that beside the reduction of working hours only working on an occasional basis would enable caregivers to reconcile family and work responsibilities. As a result, these compatibility models are expected to have negative impacts on the level of old-age provision (Stegmann and Mika 2007).

The studies carried out by Dallinger (1997) and Rosa (*et al.* 2011) analyzed the possibility of reconciling care and work in Germany. Both investigations are based on cross-sectional survey data. However, the observation of caregiving activities at a particular date leads to overestimation of long-term caregiving caused by the lack of a longitudinal perspective. The data used in Dallinger's (1997) analyses was furthermore collected prior to the implementation of German long-term care insurance when no financial incentive supported family caregiving. The study carried out by Rosa (*et al.* 2011) reflects the subjective wishes of reconciliation strategies from the interviewed caregivers with no investigation of their previous labor market experience.

5. *Data and Methods*

The objective of this contribution is to investigate a longer period of caregivers' employment biographies. We analyze the actual relation of employment and caregiving. Because previous studies indicate that caregivers generally had to give up labor market activities in the course of caregiving we are taking into account minor short term varieties of employment including marginal employment. Furthermore, we examine the labor market participation of caregivers before taking over care responsibilities

[5] EUROFAMCARE is a comparative European project for analyzing the situation of caring family members in six European countries. Thereby the main objective is to measure the influence of the availability of formal care services on the decision of taking over care responsibilities and whether these services relieve caregiving relatives.

in order to evaluate their labor market experience. Overall, the analyses give deeper insights in the relationship of caregiving and labor market participation of German women.

The contribution uses a Scientific Use File of the German Pension Insurance, the "Sample of the insured population"'s records of the year 2010. The data and the methodology are the subject of the following sections.

5.1 *Data from the German Pension Fund: the "Sample of the Insured Population"'s Records (VSKT)*

For the analysis we use process-produced longitudinal statistical data drawn from the pensions fund records. The data is based on the real pension fund records, in which information on gainful employment is collected as well as notifications of periods of illness or unemployment. The data offered for empirical analysis are a sample drawn from the original records, leaving out information that could lead to personal identification such as the social security number, name and address and the employer's name and address. The longitudinal information is presented on a monthly basis. For each month the data shows if the person was gainfully employed or in a different social situation such as unemployment, caregiving, sickness or no information at all.

For the analysis we use the scientific use file called "Sample of the insured population"'s records of the year 2010. The scientific use file for social research is a sample (roughly 1%) consisting all actively insured persons and combines the longitudinal life-course information with the cross-sectional part of the data set. The cross-sectional part includes further demographic information. This means that demographic variables mirror the social situation at the moment the data is drawn from the records, the 31.12 of the respective year.

5.2 *Recorded Social Activities – Care and Work*

The pension fund records include many social activities and situations. Many differ not in their social significance (e.g. receiving unemployment benefits), but in their legal preconditions and consequences. Because of the constant change of these legal conditions, the original range of attributes would not allow the comparison over time. Therefore, the different situations have been recoded as 13 different kinds of "social situations", which are rather stable over time (Stegmann 2008).

Employment has priority status in the data and all other social situations are second in rank. A lack of information means that a person is in none of the considered social status situations. Such a gap in information can stand for self-employment without social insurance obligation, for life-time employment in public service ("Beamte"), for unemployment without entitlement to benefits from the Federal Employment Agency, but in most female biographies it signifies a period as a housewife[6].

Caregiving episodes are one aspect which lead to higher pension benefits and have therefore been registered in the pension record since 1995. The longitudinal data of the pension fund provides information on the length of caregiving activities. Beyond this basic life course information, there are, however, severe restrictions concerning the possible research questions that can be answered with pension record data. Firstly, there is a time limitation that hinders the comparison of different age cohorts (Mika 2009). As the registration of caregiving only started in 1992 and the de facto inclusion of voluntary home care only in 1995, the older cohorts had no chance until their 50s to earn credit points for caregiving. The age limit of 65 as the maximum age for earning credit points for caregiving sets another limitation to analyses. It is known from other research that caregiving is not limited to an age younger than 65 (Schneekloth *et al.* 2005,

[6] This fact can be proven with the data from the AVID 1996 project, where process produced data were combined with survey data.

77). The other limitations concern the content of the data. If we know the duration of caregiving, we still know very little about the severity of the case the caregiver is providing help for. Particularly, the investigation of the relation of caregiving and employment depends on the severity of need of care.

If voluntary caregiving occurs as the only occupation, this shows up in the data as the prime social situation of the person. The prime social situation in the data would be "employed", if the person combines gainful employment with caregiving. However, in such cases the information about caregiving is not lost, but preserved in a second longitudinal variable. This second variable shows for every month of the biography if a person is caregiving while also employed. Thus, for the investigation of caregiving and employment activities pension data is particularly suitable.

5.3 *Methods*

In order to investigate the number of caregivers reconciling care and work in Germany, we apply sequence analysis and cluster analysis techniques[7]. The analyses consist of three parts: at first, differences between individual sequences are calculated through the use of optimal matching[8].

[7] For this part of the analysis the software package TraMineR of R is used, which is freeware and available on the following Website: <http://www.r-project.org/>. For further information, see Gabadinho (*et al.* 2011).

[8] The individual sequences are compared to each other by using the optimal matching algorithm. The optimal matching algorithm calculates differences between individual sequences by estimating a distance measure which contain a matrix of the distances (Wu 2000). The underlying idea of optimal matching is to transform one sequence into another sequence using three possible operations: insertion, deletion and substitution. A cost is associated to each of the three operations. The choice of the costs is a delicate operation in social sciences and a large body of literature discusses this topic (Wu 2000; Brzinsky-Fay 2006; Aisenbrey and Fasang 2010). We decided to compute pairwise optimal matching distances between sequences with an insertion/deletion cost of 1 and a substitution cost matrix based on the observed transition rates. Thereby the idea is to set a high cost when changes between two states are seldom observed and lower cost when they are frequent (Gabadinho *et al.* 2011). Because this algorithm is

1	Socially insured employed – employed and therefore socially insured
2	Socially insured employed and informal caregiving
3	Informal caregiving – registered caregiving
4	Marginally employed – employed for low salary and without social security protection
5	Marginally employed and informal caregiving
6	Missing Value – No employment status recorded in the pension fund record
7	Other (including self-employed and long-term sickness)
8	Unemployed – in receipt of unemployment benefits
9	Pensioner – in receipt of an old-age or disability pension

Table 2. Social situations during the life-course included in the analysis

Sequence data is used in many scientific fields, such as biology, where DNA sequences are of main interest, and the social sciences, where researchers investigate life courses and employment profiles. A sequence is defined as an ordered list of elements, where an element represents a certain status, for example an employment or marital status (Gabadinho *et al.* 2011). In the case under consideration here, monthly information on a social activity is an item and a chain of social activities creates a sequence. In order to analyze the sequences of social activities of caregivers in Germany, nine kinds of biographical situations were defined as shown in table 2. These statuses allow the description of the employment status of caregivers, whereby a comparison of various employment and non-employment situations is possible.

Sequence analysis allows measuring the length of different activities, caregiving being one of them. The focus is set on the combination of caregiving with more or less regular employment. The method calculates similarities between the life-courses of caregivers. It takes the length of the activities as well as the kind of activities into consideration. Most similar are those who do

only able to calculate distances between the sequences, a further method is required to group the sequences with similar distances in a second step. For this purpose we use cluster analysis. The groups of sequences are explored with the aid of the hierarchical algorithm of Ward. In the course of the investigation, we defined a six cluster solution for the two groups of birth cohorts. The clusters and the general characteristics of the clusters are described in the section below.

the same, i.e. caregiving combined with regular employment, for about the same duration of time, i.e. 12 months. The measured distance between those cases is minimal. The next step of the analysis brings the most similar cases together to types of life-courses which can be described by their most specific features and measured in their absolute and relative number compared with the other typical cases.

For the analysis of the caregivers' employment situation, we selected 1.849 caregiving women aged between 46 and 67 of the "sample of the insured population's records" of the German Pension Insurance. In the data set, all sequences of caregivers' different employment statuses have the same length as all individuals are observed during a ten year period beginning in 2000. This implies that the analyses are framed by calendar time and not by biographical time such as age. For that reason we carry out the analyses separately for women born between 1943 and 1953 and those born between 1954 and 1964[9].

6. *Empirical Results*

6.1 *Description of Clusters*

The clusters of life-courses between 2000 and 2010 are presented separately for the earlier (1943-1953) and later (1954-1964) born cohorts, because the earlier born cohorts reach retirement age in the time period chosen for this analysis. Being a pensioner is therefore a normal stage in the life-course for those born before 1950, but an exception for the later born, who receive a pension only in case of chronic illness.

[9] However, the range of the two cohorts of female caregivers are defined rather broadly, and thus we are not able to estimate differences in reconciling care and work among different birth cohorts, we are nevertheless able to examine period effects in the considered time period.

6.1.1 *Age Cohorts Born Between 1943 and 1953*

Table 3 summarizes main information about the employment situation as well as the duration of each employment status of caregiving women within the ten year observation period. Based on the duration of these different employment situations we labeled the six clusters carried out with the sequence and cluster analysis. The six clusters of those born between 1943 and 1953 show a very different degree of labor market participation of female caregivers in Germany. The first cluster (named "socially insured employed") is clearly dominated by socially insured employment. 80% of the women included in this cluster are in socially insured employment at the beginning of the period and labor market participation declines as they come closer to retirement age. The combination of employment and caregiving is common in this cluster and is far more common than caregiving with no other recorded activity. In this cluster unemployment can also be found, but it is not a severe problem.

The second and third clusters are those most affected by unemployment in the years from 2000 to 2010. People above the age of 60 were allowed to retire, if they had been unemployed for about a year from age 59. This explains the large proportion of retirees in these clusters. Cluster 2 (named "unemployment and early retirement") starts with a rate of 60% of women who are employed in 2000. Approximately one in eight of those included in Cluster 2 combine their employment with caregiving. This is a rather high degree, which even increases over time. The difference to Cluster 1 lies firstly in the already mentioned labor market participation and secondly in the higher number of people who undertake caregiving as sole and main activity.

Cluster 3 (named "Pensioner") includes life-courses with a large proportion of unemployment and a rather small proportion of employment combined with caregiving. We can assume that women included in this cluster have been employed in the past, because they would not be able to claim unemployment benefits otherwise.

Birth cohorts 1943-1953	N	Socially insured employed	Marginally employed	Care-giving	Combination of socially insured employment and caregiving	Combination of marginal employment and caregiving	Unemployment	Pension	Other	No information recorded	Label of cluster
Cluster 1	200	96.7	2.9	2.8	8.8	0.9	6.4	9.0	2.1	1.4	"Socially insured employed"
Cluster 2	227	30.8	5.6	11.5	11.1	1.3	38.6	20.1	2.6	9.5	"Unemployment and early retirement"
Cluster 3	119	3.3	3.0	9.5	1.6	0.9	15.4	93.7	1.9	1.5	"Pensioner"
Cluster 4	204	1.4	8.4	64.1	0.8	10.5	1.9	15.6	2.9	25.4	"Long-term caregiving"
Cluster 5	107	1.0	96.0	2.1	0.2	12.1	1.8	4.4	0.2	13.2	"Marginally employed"
Cluster 6	321	1.4	4.1	9.3	0.1	0.7	1.0	3.7	1.5	109.1	"No employment recorded"

Table 3. Defining cluster membership by the mean duration of different social employment situations for the birth cohorts 1943-1953 (in months)

Source: SUF VSKT 2010, own calculations

However, from the age of 50 socially insured employment was seldom available for them. Caregiving can be seen as one of the activities which took the place of employment in these life-courses. The proportion of caregiving among those included in the second and third cluster is high compared with the other clusters. Only Cluster 4 has a higher proportion of caregiving as sole activity.

Cluster 4 (named "long-term caregiving") is dominated by caregiving as main and long-term activity. Life-courses in this cluster are largely dedicated to the task of caregiving. The proportion of time spent in socially insured employment is marginal. If any combination with gainful employment takes place, it is marginal employment. Table 3 shows a rather large proportion of months in which women combine marginal employment and caregiving at the same time. The size of this cluster in these birth cohorts is impressive. About one sixth of those women who engage in caregiving are engaged in long-term caregiving over many consecutive years.

Cluster 5 (named "marginally employed") has only half the size of Cluster 4. The main activity is marginal employment while caregiving is only a side activity. The combination of caregiving with gainful employment is as common in this cluster as the combination of socially insured employment in Cluster 1. The combination declines, as in Cluster 1, when retirement age is reached.

The last cluster (named "No employment recorded") is dominated by a lack of employment of any kind, either socially insured or marginal. Cluster 6 is rather large, in fact the biggest of all in this age category with 321 cases. Caregiving is the most frequent recorded activity of female life-courses included in this cluster. Some marginal employment also takes place and even less socially insured employment, but the combination of both with caregiving is very rare.

6.1.2 *Age Cohorts Born Between 1954 and 1964*

Many clusters of life-courses of women born between 1954 and 1964 resemble those of the earlier born, but differ considerably in size. What sets all younger apart from the earlier born is the fact that an old age pension was not yet available for them in the time period under consideration. When we see retirement taking place, this regularly indicates a disability pension caused by severe health problems.

Table 4 contains information about the employment situation as well as the duration of each employment status of caregiving women in each cluster within the ten year observation period for the birth cohorts born between 1954 and 1964. The first cluster is dominated by socially insured employment to an even higher degree then the same named cluster in the earlier born cohorts. Unemployment is a smaller problem in those life-courses and also the combination of caregiving with socially insured employment is less prominent. Caregiving without any other working activity seems to be a short and only sporadic feature of these life-courses. The clear message of this cluster is that women who are employed are not willing to give up their job, but try to reconcile employment and caregiving.

This effort of combining work and caregiving is even more important for the second cluster (named "Combining care with work"). We see a large proportion of combinations of socially insured employment and caregiving. Besides we notice caregiving activity alone, but also marginal employment and the combination of marginal employment with caregiving. An also prominent status in these life-courses is unemployment. Cluster 1 and 2 are equal in size. The number of women in stable employment who are trying to reconcile caregiving with work is as large as the number of those with a less stable and secure working situation. This unstable and mixed situation has no equivalence in the earlier born cohorts.

All other clusters are similar to one of the clusters shown above for the older birth cohorts, but the relative size is different.

Birth cohorts 1954-1964	N	Socially insured employed	Marginally employed	Caregiving	Combination of socially insured employment and caregiving	Combination of marginal employment and caregiving	Unemployment	Pension	Other	No information recorded	Label of cluster
Cluster 1	142	112.8	1.1	1.8	7.6	0.5	5.2	0.3	1.2	0.6	"Socially insured employed"
Cluster 2	145	52.4	14.3	8.1	21.5	3.0	13.9	0.2	7.2	10.5	"Combining care with work"
Cluster 3	58	8.8	6.9	12.3	0.2	3.7	80.5	0.2	2.8	15.5	"Unemployment"
Cluster 4	155	7.9	3.5	61.4	2.8	10.9	5.9	10.2	13.0	15.6	"Long-term caregiving"
Cluster 5	67	2.0	86.4	8.0	0.1	16.3	2.3	0.9	2.7	12.3	"Marginally employed"
Cluster 6	104	2.2	9.1	12.5	0.3	1.9	1.6	0.0	3.6	99.8	"No employment recorded"

Table 4. Defining cluster membership by the mean duration of different social employment situations for the birth cohorts 1954-1964 (in months)

Source: SUF VSKT 2010, own calculations

Cluster 3 shows a small proportion of women, who are severely hit by unemployment. This cluster is therefore named "Unemployment". Unemployment rose in the years between 2004 and 2007. This increase is most likely due to the reform of the means-tested unemployment benefit which left more people eligible for this benefit ("Arbeitslosengeld II"). Only after this period we can notice the combination of marginal employment and caregiving. At this time close to no socially insured employment is taking place. The cluster points to the fact that informal caregiving is to some women an alternative for a futile further search for socially insured stable employment.

The younger cohorts also have a cluster dominated by caregiving as main activity. The difference to the older cohorts is that the combination of caregiving with marginal employment is more often noticed than the lack of any recorded activity. The proportion of socially insured employment is thereby larger, but still very small compared with Clusters 1 and 2. The reconciliation of long-term caregiving and regular employment seems to be very difficult. Only marginal employment seems to be a realistic option in these cases. This cluster has another feature not shared by other life-courses of caregiving women: a considerable number of months spent in the status pensioner, which points the receipt of a disability pension. This indicates that a considerable number of long-term caregivers suffer from severe and ongoing health problems. The legal condition for a disability pension in Germany is chronic sickness of at least six months and no chance of recovery in the near future.

Cluster 5 is dominated by marginal employment. Women in this cluster have worked for a very low salary and have been exempted from income tax and social security contributions over the recorded time. In this cluster the proportion of socially insured employment is marginal. And if we look into the transition rates (see table in annex) the transition from marginal employment into a socially insured job is very low. It was zero in the elder group and increased to about 0.1 in the younger. Marginal employment and regular employment are obviously distinct social states with little

exchange between taking place in both age groups. An important feature of this cluster is that marginally employed women did not give up their job in favor of caregiving alone. We see this in the transition rates where the transition from marginal employment to caregiving as a singular state has a transition rate of 0.0. Over the period included in this analysis we see a diminishing amount of caregiving and an increasing rate of marginal employment in this cluster. This gives the impression that marginal employment is the preferred status.

Cluster 6 includes those who have over most of the recorded ten years no information available. Already at the beginning the proportion of socially insured employment is small and declines even further. Women with these life-courses tend not to combine any kind of work with caregiving. They either give care or take on marginal employment, but they hardly ever combine marginal employment with care. In comparison to Cluster 5 these women tend to give up marginal employment in favor of caregiving.

6.2 *Social Change: Caregivers in Different Age-cohorts*

The cluster analysis was conducted separately for the birth cohorts chosen for this analysis. Nevertheless, the majority of the clusters show distributions of social situations across the period from 2000 to 2010 which look very similar. The most important difference lies in the distribution of the clusters in East and West Germany and between the age groups. The shift between life-course patterns shows the degree of social change.

West German women in the older age group can be found most often in the cluster with no recorded information. This percentage is lower in the younger age group where this cluster amounts to only one third of all biographies included in this study. This shows the increase in employment among women in West Germany. In East Germany the same cluster includes only a tenth of all cases in both age groups.

	West Germans	West Germans	East Germans	East Germans
Comparable clusters	1943-1953	1954-1964	1943-1953	1954-1964
"Socially insured employed"	18%	27%	23%	28%
"Unemployment"	15%	6%	50%	28%
"Long-term caregiving"	20%	29%	15%	32%
"Marginally employed"	12%	16%	2%	2%
"No recorded employment"	35%	23%	10%	10%

Table 5. Similarities between the age cohorts in East and West Germany
Source: SUF VSKT 2010, own calculations

Socially insured employed as the complementary cluster are on the rise if we compare age groups in both parts of the country. The younger cohorts show the same share in West and in East Germany with around 28%, if we look at those born between 1954 and 1964.

The second largest cluster in West Germany in the elder group was the cluster of long term caregivers with about one-fifth of the cases. This cluster is even increasing if we analyze the later born women. Among those born between 1954 and 1964 in West Germany long-term caregivers are the biggest share of all caregivers. The same tendency is notable in East Germany where long-term caregivers go up from 15% to 32% in the same age groups. However, the absolute number of women in the whole sample dedicating long periods of their life to caregiving alone has declined from 204 (elder group) to 155 (younger group).

The proportion of unemployment is, on the other hand, shrinking in all biographies if we compare the age groups. The group is nevertheless still rather large in East Germany at 25%. The comparison in the case of this cluster is less stringent because unemployment is more severe among elder women above the age of 55. The older group of unemployed is therefore less special among their peers than the younger. Unemployment was much more widespread in East Germany compared to West Germany at any time since 1990.

Marginal employment as low-level labor market participation is on the rise in West Germany, but negligible in East Germany. The cluster of life-courses which shows the combination of care with employment in the younger age group is equal in size at about 25% in East and West. This cluster is not shown in table 2 because there was no comparable cluster among the earlier born but the relative and absolute number can be found in the annex.

Overall later born women are more similar if we compare both parts of the country than the earlier born in both parts of the country, but West Germany and East Germany are still different in regard to the kind and distribution of female labor market participation. Women in East Germany are keener to work in socially insured jobs which in return render social protection in case of unemployment or sickness and lead to higher pensions. West German women rely more on the household income and tend to wish to avoid tax and social security payments with marginal employment.

6.3 *Socio-demographic Profile of the Caregivers According to Cluster Membership*

Caregivers tend to have more children than non-caregivers (Mika and Stegmann 2010). If we compare caregivers among themselves, we find large differences in regard to the number of children if we compare the clusters (see table 6 and table 7). Long-term caregiver and marginally employed have most children in the older group and unemployed and marginally employed in the younger group. Only one cluster in the older age group displays a longer duration of caregiving. These are the long-term caregivers with more than 8 years of caregiving recorded. All other clusters vary around the average length of a normal case of family home care, which is less than 3 years.

The picture is less clear cut in the younger age grou The long-term caregivers are involved about as long as in the older group,

roughly 8 years. However, two other clusters show longer periods of caregiving in the younger age groups than in the older age cohorts. Those who combine care with work and the marginally employed are involved for about 40 months. The cluster named "socially insured" on the other hand exhibits a shorter period with a median of only 12 months and a mean of 20 months. This is half a year shorter than the older cohorts with similar life-courses. If we take into account that in many cases the older women had already retired at the end of the period, we can conclude that the younger are willing to take on caregiving only for a shorter period.

The average length of socially insured employment before age 40 shows a wider range in the younger than in the older age grou The older group shows three clusters with about 14 to 15 years of employment. This length stands for continuous employment from age 25 to 40 or for continuous employment since completing school except for the periods of child-raising. These are the clusters "Socially insured employed", "Unemployed and early retired" and "Pensioners". The other clusters are far behind this threshold.

Clusters	Average number of Children	Mean duration of Caregiving (months)	Median duration of Caregiving (months)	Mean duration of Employment until the age of 40 (months)	Median duration of Employment until the age of 40 (months)	N
"Socially insured employed"	2.0	26	18	159	177	200
"Unemployment and early retirement"	1.8	34	23	177	194	227
"Pensioner"	1.8	27	16	186	206	119
"Long-term caregiving"	2.1	100	98	112	102	204
"Marginally employed"	2.1	27	20	98	84	107
"No employment recorded"	1.9	26	19	87	73	321

Table 6. Women of the birth cohorts 1943-1953
Source: SUF VSKT 2010, own calculations

Clusters	Average number of children	Mean duration of caregiving (months)	Median duration of caregiving (months)	Mean duration of employment until the age of 40 (months)	Median duration of employment until the age of 40 (months)	N
"Socially insured employed"	1.7	20	12	168	183	142
"Combining care with work"	1.7	42	32	143	142	145
"Unemployment"	2.2	24	20	108	100	58
"Long-term caregiving"	1.9	95	85	106	96	155
"Marginally employed"	2.1	38	29	98	85	67
"No employment recorded"	1.8	25	18	75	62	104

Table 7. Women of the birth cohorts 1954-1964
Source: SUF VSKT 2010, own calculations

The remaining three clusters, being "Long-term caregiving", "Marginally employed", and "No employment recorded" have only half the duration of employment recorded, less than 8 years of socially insured employment. These are the clusters which also show no or very little employment during the period from 2000 to 2010. This means that those women included in these clusters gave up regular employment around the age of the birth of the first child. The younger birth cohorts are closer together in regard to overall duration of employment in their life.

7. *Conclusions*

The German welfare state supports family home care with a cash benefit. Hence, the majority of care arrangements in Germany consist of informal caregiving whereby especially low earners are encouraged to take on the task of caregiving in the family. This brings up the question if and how women are able

to combine employment with informal caregiving. Caregiving and work can be found in the life-courses of a large minority of women as the analysis of longitudinal life-course data from 2000 to 2010 shows, but only a minority is able to combine both simultaneously. The chapter shows caregiving as one element in the life span during this period.

The results show that only some caregivers in the older birth cohorts (born between 1943 and 1953) try to combine this task with regular employment, while others combine the less burdensome marginal employment with their care duties. The status depends mostly on the employment status before the caregiving begins. Those who worked in a regular job with social security protection combine most often only temporarily the new task of caregiving with ongoing regular employment. Those who had no employment before are not going to start while being a caregiver. The relative number of persons who combine caregiving with employment has gradually increased if we compare older with younger age cohorts. Those born between 1954 and 1964 are therefore trying harder to work and to be a caregiver at the same time. This also shows the emergence of a new type of life-course in the analysis, in which regular employment or marginal employment is both combined with caregiving. Marginal employment is a typical feature of the German Welfare State and leads to a loss of social protection for women who were regularly employed before. It is nevertheless attractive for some, because the rather low income from those jobs is tax-exempt and privileged in regard to social security contributions. In West Germany about a sixth of all female caregivers are engaged only in this kind of employment for the whole period under consideration. The number is even higher among the later born. The combination of caregiving and marginal employment seems to be a way which allows longer periods of reconciliation of work and care compared to regular employment. The average length of caregiving is about the double compared with those who are socially insured employed. In the younger cohorts the shorter period of

caregiving shows that is not easier to combine both for women between forty and fifty.

However, especially long-term caregivers are seldom able to work while caregiving. We have found only little employment and some marginal employment on the side in the life-courses of those who have long periods of care registered in their pension fund records. The analysis shows altogether that the combination of care and regular employment is only for some a way to fulfill the care needs of another person and still take part in the labor market. The topic of reconciliation of caregiving and work has to be understood in the context of overall labor market opportunities for women over age 40. Even if surveys found that caregiving women would like to work on the side while pursuing the caring, the chances to be (regularly) employed after a long break in the working career are very limited.

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Chapter 3

Women's Employment Behaviour: Rational Choice, Family Values, and Wage Penalties? Empirical Evidence from Germany and the United States[1]

by Veronika V. Eberharter

Abstract

The chapter directs attention to the structuring effects of human capital endowment and family background characteristics on female labour supply, and the impact of occupational segregation on gender wage differentials in the United States and Germany – two countries with different institutional labour market settings, educational systems, welfare and tax policies, and family role models. Based on representative survey data from the international version of the Cross National Equivalent File (PSID-GSOEP) the chapter tests the hypotheses that the impact of socioeconomic and family characteristics on female labour supply decisions is more expressed in societies with traditional gender division of labour resulting in a higher degree of occupational segregation and gender wage differentials. In both the countries the results show that human capital endowment significantly increase women's allocation of time into paid work, the influence of family background characteristics on women's labour supply is more

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pronounced in Germany. The gender wage-gap is mainly explained by gender pay differences within occupations, which shed light on the (de-)valuation of female skills and work.

1. *Introduction*

The women's employment status, their position in the family life, as well as the flexibility of working conditions are among the major themes of the public debate and the interdisciplinary academic discussion on the reconciliation of family and paid work. Gender disparities and family and institutional strains originate in and are sustained by the social organisation of time in paid work, and occupational career paths requiring full time full life commitments. Market work crowds out women's time in terms of foregone leisure and other valued activities, reduces resources for meeting family responsibilities, and conflicts with social forces in gender values, family role patterns, and cultural norms of gender equality. In most industrialised countries women's labour market participation is increasing, and young women are reported to less likely withdraw from the labour force over their life course (Jacobs and Gerson 2001; Blau *et al.* 2005). New patterns of women's allocation of time have become common. Flexible working arrangements are frequently promoted as an attractive solution to balance work and family commitments and the long-term demand of child rearing (O'Reilly and Bothfeld 2003), guaranteeing earnings and potential skill development (Hakim 2002; Trzcinski and Holst 2003). On the other hand flexible working arrangements can lead to major disparities between the living and working routines of the family members as well as to pervasive and persistent occupational segregation, limited opportunities for career progression, and wage disadvantages (Jacobs 1989; O'Reilly and Fagan 1998; Joshi *et al.* 1999; Williams 2000; Budig and England 2001; Dolado *et al.* 2001; Baunach 2002).

This chapter will analyse the influence of human capital variables and family background characteristics on the choices women make in relation to different working arrangements, to

quantify the overall level of occupational segregation, and the impact of occupational segregation on gender wage differentials. The analysis compares the situation in Germany and the United States. Both countries differ concerning the existing welfare state regime shaping the institutional labour market settings, traditions with respect to vocational training and higher education, family and work reconciliation policies and social benefits, but also with regard to demographic trends, family role patterns and the permeability of the social system.

The Esping-Andersen typology of welfare state regimes (Esping-Andersen 1990; 1999) is based on the level of decommodification and stratification, and clusters democratic industrial societies into liberal, conservative-corporatist, and social democratic welfare state regimes. The conservative-corporatist welfare state regime in Germany is characterised by a modest level of decommodification. Government policies insure against market-based risks, protect those who are unable to succeed in the market place. The social and family policies facilitate the incorporation of women into the labour force (e.g. child care, paid maternity leave, job return guarantees) and support the transition from the traditional male bread-winner model to the adult worker model. At the other side, tax policies (e.g. tax splitting) reinforce the traditional gender division of labour (Lewis 2006). The labour market institutions ensure a high degree of employment stability, and social policy is designed to guarantee income equality. Higher education, health care, welfare, social insurance, national assistance, and old age pensions are publicly provided. The vocation-oriented educational "dual system" relies on occupation-specific credentials, and results in socially stratified and sex segregated outcomes. The liberal welfare state regime in the United States is characterized by low decommodification and strong individualistic self-reliance. The public philosophy is grounded on the idea of opportunity reflecting individual efforts, which indicates an open, liberal and dynamic social system. Furthermore it promotes the market rather than the state in guaranteeing the welfare needs of its citizens. A relatively unregulated labour market fosters the creation of low-skill, and

low-paid jobs, large wage dispersions, and small differences in the jobs performed by women and men. The distributional consequences of the market forces are accepted. The labour market policies offer less protection for workers, and do little to ameliorate market-based risks and incentives. The state reacts only in case of social failures, the transfers are modest and the rules for entitlement are very strict. The educational system is less stratified and standardized which may induce social mobility (Mortimer and Krüger 2000; Charles *et al.* 2001; Hall and Soskice 2001; Gornick and Meyers 2003; Dustmann 2004; Trappe and Rosenfeld 2004).

We start from the hypothesis that women's allocation of time into paid work differ with respect to the welfare state regime and the family role patterns in a country. The widespread belief about and practice of the male breadwinner role and the women's responsibility for home production and care promote gender typical employment patterns: women more likely prefer jobs that provide "family-friendly" fringe benefits, they choose flexible and atypical working arrangements, they are engaged in highly segregated industries and occupations with limited opportunities for their career progression.

We suppose that variations of employment incentives by welfare and tax policies as well as the traditional gender division of labour imply a higher impact of family background characteristics on women's allocation of time into paid work in Germany than in the United States.

In Germany, women are expected to be engaged in part-time employment or in casual work, and to choose predominately female occupations, resulting to gender differences in economic and social outcome.

The positive relation between occupational segregation and the gender wage-gap suggests higher gender wage differentials in Germany than in the United States, but this effect might be compensated by labour market policy, collective bargaining, and equal pay policy.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 2 provides a brief theoretical background. Section 3 presents the data base and the

sample selection. Section 4 provides the methodological issues and the empirical specification. In section 5 the empirical results are discussed. Section 6 concludes with a summary of findings and future prospects for social and economic policy implications.

2. *Theoretical Background*

The women's employment behaviour can be explained by individual preferences, societal expectations, demand and supply of jobs, the institutional settings of the labour markets, and welfare policy and tax incentives. According to the demand oriented approaches, gender differences of labour market behaviour, occupational choice, and earnings are explained by the miss-match between the supply and the demand of jobs (crowding hypothesis), and missing job opportunities for women (Sorensen 1990). Furthermore, gender differences in social and economic outcome are explained by discrimination against women, the employer's perception that women are on average less qualified than men (Becker 1971; Arrow 1971; Blau *et al.* 2005), and the (de-)valuation of skill requirements of predominantly female occupations and the work performed by women (Petersen *et al.* 2000).

The supply-sided approaches to explain gender differences in labour market behaviour, occupational choice, and the earnings situation are based on the human capital theory presupposing economic rationality (Mincer 1962; Becker 1964; Mincer 1974). Persons decide to allocate their time into paid work and to choose occupations in (i) maximizing the discounted present value of potential lifetime earnings, (ii) entailing the lowest training costs, and (iii) offering the lowest discounted present value of expected earnings forgone due to unemployment. The allocation of women and men to different jobs results from differences in human capital equipment as education and labour market experience. The extensions of the traditional framework introduce relative income and employment concerns of family members as well as socio-economic or demographic characteristics into the utility function to

consider the impact of cultural factors, social attitudes or gender role patterns (Killingsworth 1983; Killingsworth and Heckman 1986; Vella 1994; Penceval 1998; Blundell and MaCurdy 1999; Powell 2002; Devereux 2004; Dustmann 2004). According to the traditional gender division of labour in the family, women substitute among market work, home production and leisure, while men substitute only or primarily between market work and leisure. Changes in the labour market income have larger substitution effects on women's labour supply because women have closer substitutes for time spent in market work than men do. Women attune their labour market behaviour to reconcile work and family (Becker 1991; Simon 1995; Hakim 2002; O'Reilly and Bothfeld 2003), and anticipate shorter and less continuous careers and they choose occupations which are compatible with their family tasks. Due to this "societal discrimination" it is their own interest to choose occupations requiring lower human capital investments, entailing limited opportunities for career progression and earnings prospects associated with a lower social and economic status (Williams 2000; Jacobs and Gerson 2001; Blackwell 2001; Budig and England 2001; Hakim 2002; Blau and Kahn 2007).

The (horizontal) segregation characterizes differences in the relative concentration of women and men in the occupations. The vertical segregation addresses to differences in the relative concentration of women and men according to the hierarchical levels in industries, and is concerned with the question whether there is a "glass ceiling" for women's access to managerial jobs. Both types of segregation are important indicators of women's status in the labour market and are discussed as major reasons for the persisting earnings disadvantages for women (Blau and Kahn 1997; 2007). It has been reportet that sex segregation explains a great deal of the gender wage gap even controlling for human capital variables, job characteristics, and socio-demographic factors (Kilbourne *et al.* 1994; Tam 1996; Tomaskovic-Devey and Skaggs 2002).

3. *Data and Sample*

The empirical analysis is based on nationally representative longitudinal data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP) and the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), which were made available by the Cross-National-Equivalent-File (CNEF 1980-2009)[2]. The GSOEP started in 1984 and contains a sample of about 29,000 German individuals, including households in the former East Germany since 1990. Starting in 1980, the PSID contains an unbalanced panel of about 40,000 individuals. From 1997 on the PSID data are available biyearly. Both the surveys track socioeconomic variables as age, gender, family composition, educational level, labour market participation, working hours, employment status, occupational position, or income situation of the members of a given family over time. The data allow monitoring the employment and occupational status, the earnings situation, and the socioeconomic characteristics of the individuals in their life-cycle.

The analysis concentrates on two observation periods: In the period 1989-1995, both the countries were faced with comparable economic conditions: the real GDP growth rate in Germany was 2.2% compared with 2.5% in the United States, the German unemployment rate (6.7%) not significantly differs from the unemployment rate in the United States (6.4%). In the period 2001-2007, the German real GDP growth rate averages at 0.6% compared to 2.3% in the United States, and the German unemployment rate amounts at 8.9% compared to 5.2% in the United States (OECD 2012). We restrict our analysis to two age cohorts: persons aged 25-35 years and persons aged 31-41 years are observed in the first and the last year of the observation periods. The selection process leads to a sample of 4,618 German women and men and 6,405 American women and men. The samples are constructed by matching individual characteristics and family background variables reported in year t with retrospective income data in year t-1.

[2] Project at the College of Human Ecology at Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. For a detailed description of the data base see Frick (*et al.* 2007).

The data is weighted to correct for sample attrition (Heckman 1979). We use adjusted sampling weights so that the data of each year receives the same total weight.

4. *Methodology*

To evaluate the influence of individual characteristics and family background variables on female employment status we employ a multinomial logit model (Heckman 1981; Maddala 1983). We expect women (i = 1, … N) to be rational when choosing one out of a set of alternative working time categories, which "can plausibly be assumed to be distinct and weighted independently in the eyes of a decision maker" (Mc Fadden 1973). The preferred working time category (EMP = j = 1, … M) compared to any other offers the highest discounted present value of potential lifetime earnings, and maximizes women's utility (u_{ij}) which depends on a set of socio-economic individual and family related characteristics (X_i). This relation can be approximated by the linear relation $u_{ij} = u(X_i) = X_i \beta_j + e_j$. The β_j is a 1xK vector of (unknown) parameters, and X_i is the Kx1 vector of explanatory variables, which are the same for all working time categories, and expected to affect the probability to choose a given working time arrangement. The disturbances e_j indicate the random error associated with occupation j, which are assumed to be independently and identically distributed as a log Weibull distribution. The estimated equations provide a set of probabilities of M working time arrangements (P_1, … P_M). The probability that a woman will choose working time category EMP = j (j = 1, 2, … M) over working time category EMP = k (k = 1, 2, … M) when given the explanatory variables X_i then is

$$P(EMP = j \mid X) = \frac{e^{\beta_j X_k}}{1 + \sum_{k=1}^{M} e^{\beta_k X_k}} \cdot \tag{1}$$

To remove the indeterminacy in the model we impose the normalization of $\beta_0 = 0$. The controls in X are the same for all working time categories, and they are expected to affect the probability to choose a given working time arrangement. The log-odds ratio $\ln(P_j/P_k) = X(\beta_j - \beta_k)$ expresses the natural logarithm of the probability that a woman will choose working time category j over working time category k. The interpretation of the results is based on the relative risk ratio for working time category (EMP = j) and the predictor variable $X_k(rrr_{jk})$. The relative risk ratio equals the amount by which the predicted odds favouring employment status (EMP = j) compared to the predicted odds favouring the reference category (EMP = k) are multiplied, per one unit increase in the explanatory variable X_k, all other X variables staying the same

$$rrr_{jk} \cdot \frac{P(EMP = j|X_k)}{P(EMP = base|X_k)} = \frac{P(EMP = j|X_k + 1)}{P(EMP = base|X_k + 1)}. \quad (2)$$

Values less than one suggest that the probability of choosing alternative j over k decreases, whereas values higher than one indicate that alternative j is more likely compared to the reference category k. Since we have fully specified the density of the working time category (EMP = j), given the set of individual and family background characteristics (X), the model is solved with maximum likelihood estimation. The resulting estimates are unbiased, consistent, asymptotically normal, and asymptotical efficient. Moreover, the likelihood function is globally concave, ensuring the uniqueness of the ML estimates.

In the empirical analysis the dependent variable (EMP = j) indicates three distinct working time arrangements: full-time employment (j = 1) comprises a labour market presence of at least 1,820 hours per year, part-time employment (j = 2) comprises between 780 and 1,820 annual working hours, and casual employment (j = 3) comprises less than 780 per year. The explanatory variables

in X include a set of individual and household-specific characteristics reflecting human capital equipment, family tasks, the household's financial background, and the household composition.

The variable WAGE denotes the natural logarithm of the average real gross earnings (2001 = 100) per working hour of a person in the observation period. Increasing earnings prospects are supposed to have positive and negative effects on women's allocation of time into paid work. Higher wages can motivate women to increase their labour market participation (income effect) or to substitute their labour market presence with leisure time or household responsibilities (substitution effect).

Human capital endowment is positively correlated with a person's productivity, which determined her labour market income and is captured by the years of education and the labour market experience. The years of schooling (EDUC) and labour market experience (EXP) which is calculated as "age minus years of schooling minus six" indicate the opportunity costs of an income loss (Vella 1994). We assume that higher education and labour market experience imply a higher labour market presence, indicated by a higher relative risk to prefer full time employment compared to flexible work. We introduce a marital status dummy (MAR) to capture the influence of the household situation on the employment decisions. Married women or women living with a partner have to coordinate their labour market behaviour with home production responsibilities. According to the hypothesis of the traditional gender division of labour, married women or women living with their partner more likely choose part-time employment or casual jobs rather than full-time work arrangements.

The financial background of the household is introduced by the natural logarithm of the real equivalent disposable household income (INC) including income from assets, interest, dividends, rents and paid work of all household members, but excluding women's earnings. To consider the family structure we adopt the "modified" OECD-equivalence scale (Hagenaars *et al.* 1994). The equivalent disposable household income is deflated with the national CPI (2001 = 100) to reflect constant prices. Following

Zabel (1993) among others we expect a negative relationship between the women's employment status and the household's income situation. Increasing disposable household income suggests that women substitute time in paid work with time to meet family responsibilities.

The classification of the occupational status (OCC) is based on the ISCO88 (international standard of occupation) classification structure, which defines four levels of aggregation, consisting of ten 2-digit major groups, 28 sub-major groups, 116 minor groups, and 390 unit groups. We exclude persons with missing occupations or persons with occupations not applicable. We exclude "0 armed forces", and reorganize the major occupational categories into 7 groups: we join "2 professionals" and "3 technicians and associate professionals" into one group, and we relocate individuals in the group "4 clerks" to either the groups "1 academic/scientific professions/managers" or "2 professionals/technicians and associate professionals". This procedure allows maintaining the distinctive ranking of the occupational dimensions. Occupations in the lower-numbered categories offer higher prestige and social status which is particularly true for countries, where economic and social hierarchies are salient. The analysis considers four occupational dummies: "1 academic/scientific professions/managers" or "2 professionals/technicians and associate professionals", "3 trade/personal service", and "7 elementary occupations". We expect that women engaged in "typically female" occupations more likely prefer for flexible work.

We include the number of children living in the household to control for the influence of family tasks and care responsibilities on employment decisions. The decision to have children may be the result of an overall set of time allocation decisions including labour supply. The countries differ concerning maternity leave regulations and child benefits. In general, child care benefits as well as socio-political regulations on maternity leave are related to the children's age, therefore we consider three age groups: children aged 0 to 4 years (CHIL0_4), children aged 5 to 10 years (CHIL5_10), and children aged 11 to 15 years (CHIL11_15).

Variable	Definition
EMP	Employment status of the individual
	1 full-time employment
	2 part-time employment
	3 casual employment
WAGE	ln (hourly wage = earnings per year/working hours per year (2001 = 100))
EDUC	Years of education
EXP	Experience = age minus educational years minus six
MAR INC	Marital status: 1 married or living with partner, 0 else
OCC	Occupational categories
	1 academic/scientific professions
	2 professional/managerial
	3 trade/personal service
	4 agricultural and fishery workers
	5 craft and related workers
	6 plant and machine operators and assemblers
	7 elementary occupations
CHILD0_4	Number of children aged 0-4 years in the household
CHILD5_10	Number of children aged 5-10 years in the household
CHILD11_15	Number of children aged 11-15 years in the household
ELD	Number of persons > 60 years in the household

Table 1. Description of the Variables

Finally, we include the number of persons aged 60 years and more living in the household (ELD). The presence of elderly persons in the household could imply the need of care and therefore higher relative risk to choose part-time employment or casual work. On the other hand, elderly persons in the household can disburden other household members from family tasks and therefore positively affect women's labour market presence. (Table 1)

A traditional approach to quantify structural gender imbalances between occupations is to calculate segregation indices. Segregation indices indicate the proportion of employees who must be relocated to reach a certain gender-ratio in each occupation. The dissimilarity index (Duncan and Duncan 1955) indicates the proportion of employees who must change the occupation to

produce a sex-ratio of 50:50. The dissimilarity index is sensitive to the number of observation units and the aggregation level, which might pose problems in cross section comparisons. The change of the index value in two particular years might be due to a change of the gender-ratio in the occupations or to a change of the relative weight of the occupation. In this analysis we employ the Karmel-Maclachlan (1988) segregation index which is considered to be a more reliable indicator of occupational segregation. The KM-index denotes the proportion of employed people who would have to change the jobs to achieve a sex ratio in each employment status equal to the male/female ratio in the total employment

$$KM = \left(\frac{1}{N}\right)\sum\left|M_i - a\left(M_i + F_i\right)\right| = \left(\frac{1}{N}\right)\sum\left|(1-a)M_i - aF_i\right|, \quad (3)$$

with the total number of employed persons (N), the proportion of men in total employment (a), and the number of men and women in the employment status i (M_i, F_i). The structure of employment and the overall sexual shares of the workforce are kept constant. Under zero segregation, the number of (fe)male employees in a particular working time category would be equal to the overall (fe)male share of employment multiplied by the number of employees in this working time scheme. The absolute difference between the number of (fe)male persons required for zero segregation and the actual number of (fe)male persons in the employment status i, represents the number of (fe)male persons who must relocate to another employment status to achieve zero segregation. The KM-segregation index of working time category i (KM_i) times the proportion of employees in working time category i (N_i/N denotes the fraction of total employment that is employed in working time category i and must be relocated to achieve zero segregation (Rich 1999).

The evaluation of the gender wage-gap in the different working time categories addresses on persons with the same occupations.

The aggregate male/female gender wage gap is calculated as the mean of the natural logarithm of the wages of men (w_{mi}) and women (w_{fi}) in real terms (2001 = 100) weighted with the sexual shares in each occupation i (a_{mi}, a_{fi})

$$W_m - W_f = \sum_i \left(a_{mi} w_{mi} - a_{fi} w_{fi} \right),$$

(4)

and expressed in natural log points[3]. Negative values indicate higher wages for women than for men. The male/female wage-gap can be converted to the gender wage ratio by exponentiationing its negative.

To quantify the extent the gender wage gap is determined by occupational and pay structures we employ an extension of the Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition approach (Blinder 1973; Oaxaca 1973). This decomposition approach (Zveglich and van der Meulen Rodgers 2004) addresses to the link between the shifts in the relative importance of the occupations and the changes in the relative wages. We add and subtract the term $\sum_i a_{fi} w_{mi}$, representing the women's overall average wage that would occur if women and men receive the same average compensation within each occupation from the right-hand side of equation (4) and get

$$W_m - W_f = \sum_i \left(a_{mi} - a_{fi} \right) w_{mi} + \sum_i a_{fi} \left(w_{mi} - w_{fi} \right).$$

(5)

The first expression quantifies the effect of gender differences in the employment distribution across occupations ("across-occupations gap"), given male wages in these occupations. This term represents the portion of the gender wage gap that is explained by the women's relative concentration in certain occupations.

[3] The decomposition procedure can be applied to the aggregated wage gap in absolute terms as well as to the residual wage gap.

Negative "across-occupations" pay differences characterise a concentration of female employees. The second term shows the effect of gender pay differences within the occupations ("within-occupations gap"), given the female occupational structure. The decomposition in equation (5) is a level decomposition because it applies to wages and the employment structure in a given observation year.

5. *Results*

Table 2 presents the results of the multinomial logit model, the relative risk ratios and their significance level. The relative risk ratios reveal country differences concerning the impact of individual and household characteristics on female employment patterns.

In Germany the results corroborate that human capital variables influence women's allocation of time into paid work. In both observation periods, higher wages make it more likely that women are engaged in full-time jobs than in flexible work, indicating that the income effect outperformed the substitution effect. Higher education and labour market experience significantly lower the probability to be part-time employed or to work casually compared to be full-time employed. The results confirm the hypothesis that women substitute between labour market presence and disposable household income. A higher disposable household income increases the probability that women are part-time employed compared to be full-time employed. Women's employment status is significantly influenced by family background characteristics, which corroborates the findings of Killingsworth and Heckman (1986), Penceval (1998) and Powell (2002). In both the observation periods women living with their husbands or their partners more likely prefer part-time jobs or casual work. The effect of the number of children on women's employment decision reveals country differences with respect to policy incentives to balance family responsibilities and paid work. German women living with children aged 0-5 years more likely prefer flexible work compared

to full-time employment. In the prospering 1990ies, women with children aged 5-10 years have a higher relative risk to be full-time employed. In the observation period 2001-2007 women with children aged 5-10 years are hit be the deteriorating economic conditions and more likely work casually than in full-time jobs. In both the observation periods women living with children aged 10-15 years are more likely full-time employed. The presence of elderly persons in the household significantly raises the relative risk that women are full-time employed compared to part-time employed in 1995 and 2007. The results corroborate the empirical findings of Simon (1995) and (Trzcinski and Holst 2003), that women choose typically "female" occupations and flexible working time arrangements in anticipating their multiple roles to reconcile family and work. In the 1990ies German women engaged in "2 professional occupations" and "3 service occupations" are more likely engaged in part-time jobs, but they significantly prefer full-time employment compared to casual work.

In the United States, the relative risk ratios for labour market income, educational level and labour market experience partly corroborate the human capital theory in both the observation periods. Higher wages tend to result in a higher relative risk that women are full-time employed, but not in a significant way. Each additional educational year significantly increase the relative risk that women are full-time employed compared to flexible work. Additional labour market experience significantly increases the relative risk to be full-time employed compared to be part-time employed in the observation years 1995 and 2007. The family background characteristics significantly work on women's labour supply decisions. In the observation period 2001-2007, married women or women living with a partner experienced a higher relative risk to be part-time employed or to be engaged in casual work compared to be full-time employed. In 1995 and 2007 a higher disposable household income makes it more likely that women choose part-time jobs compared to full-time jobs. In both the observation periods, the number of children not significantly affects women's allocation of time into paid work. The presence

of elderly persons in the household implies that women tend to have a higher relative risk to be full-time employed. In the United States, too, the results indicate the positive relation between flexible work arrangements and typically "female" occupations: women in "2 professional occupations" and "3 service occupations" are more likely part-time employed or they work casually than full-time employed. In contrast, women engaged in "1 academic/scientific professions/managers" and "7 elementary occupations" more likely prefer full-time employment compared to part-time work.

The gender ratios indicate a higher labour market participation of women in the United States than in Germany. In total employment, the gender ratio amounts at 60:40 in Germany, compared to 50:50 in the United States. In full-time employment, German women are represented with 30%, in the United States the proportion of women increased from 40% (1989-1995) to 45% (2001-2007). In both the countries, the proportion of women in part-time employment and casual work varies between 70% and 80%.

Occupational segregation is more pronounced in Germany than in the United States, which corroborates the findings of Rubery and Fagan (1993), Anker (1998), and Polivka (*et al.* 2000). In the 1990ies the fraction of employees who should be relocated to reach the gender ratio in total employment amounts at 17% in Germany compared to 13% in the United States. In the observation period 2001-2007 the deteriorating economic conditions in Germany lead to increasing gender imbalances in the occupational distribution, the segregation level raised to more than 22%.

As indicated by the gender-ratios, the segregation level in full-time employment is significantly lower than in flexible work. In the 1990ies the KM-index suggests a relocation of 12% (Germany) respectively 9% (USA) full-time employees to guarantee the same sex distribution as in total employment (Table 3).

EMP = j		GERMANY				UNITED STATES			
		1990	1995	2001	2007	1990	1995	2001	2007
PART-TIME WORK	WAGE	.696**	.821**	.788	.660**	.964	.892	.969	.785
	MAR	.712	.512***	.503***	.595***	.642**	.540***	.411***	.527***
	EDUC	.916**	.992	.984	.989	.986*	.955***	.915	.910*
	EXP	.939***	.996	.991**	1.004	.988	.909**	.915**	.910
	INCOME	1.622	1.203	1.656	.699***	1.018	1.464***	1.089	1.430***
	CHIL0_4	2.358***	1.046***	2.522***	1.002***	1.099	1.007	1.085	1.069
	CHIL5_10	1.747*	1.534*	2.247***	1.469***	.909	.856*	1.067	.872
	CHIL11_15	.927	.972	.839	.755**	.981	.942	.936	.936
	ELD	1.108	.794*	.957	.796*	.953	.912	.899	.792*
	OCC_1	1.948**	.835	.826	.633*	1.031	1.286	1.705*	.945
	OCC_2	.825	.683**	.561***	.421***	.659***	.811***	.988	.797*
	OCC_3	985	.759**	.773***	.715***	.941	.945	1.064	.915
	OCC_7	1.076*	.887***	.931**	.945**	1.006	1.029*	1.048*	.938*

CASUAL WORK	WAGE	.555***	.931	1.007	.853*	.752***	.961	.679*	1.089
	MAR	.541**	.629*	.503***	.453***	.291***	.540***	.411***	.396**
	EDUC	1018	.974	1.001	1.009	.893**	.995*	.983	.942
	EXP	952**	.929*	.991	1.006	.999	1.008	1.015	.989
	INCOME	.302***	2.185***	2.075***	.378***	.315***	.859	875	1.445
	CHIL0_4	2.162***	1.047***	1.601***	1.329***	1.072	1.007	1085	1.027
	CHIL5_10	537**	.728*	1.196***	1.988***	1.020	.856*	1.067	1.151
	CHIL11_15	.751	.785*	.839	.763*	.878	.942	.936	1.019
	ELD	1.053	1.021	.957	.766*	1.045	.912	.899	.849
	OCC_1	.413***	.204***	.826	.099***	.098***	1.286	1.705**	.358*
	OCC_2	.230***	.459***	.561***	.229**	.162***	.811**	.988	.726
	OCC_3	.435***	.652***	.773***	.218	.527***	.945	1.064	.485**
	OCC_7	.802***	.822***	.931**	.526***	.805***	1.029	1.048	.854**
	N	1986	2698	2697	3824	3112	3196	2385	2035
	LL	-849.29	-1387.54	-1474.14	-1919.93	-1754.42	-2205.84	-1048.72	-1326.38
	LR chi2	618.08	673.91	760.93	1212.81	718.73	785.97	201.53	520.39
	Prob > chi2	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000
	Pseudo R2	.2668	.1954	.2051	.2400	.1700	.1512	.0877	.1640

Table 2. Determinants of women's labour market behaviour. Base category EMP = j = 1 full-time work $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$ Source: GSOEP-PSID 1980-2009, author's calculations

In Germany, the proportion of part-time employees who should be relocated increased from 30% in 1989 to more than 40% in 2007. The results indicate that the increasing labour market participation of women was predominately absorbed in flexible work. Finally, about 40% of the casual employees should be relocated to reach the same sex distribution as in total employment.

In the United States, the KM-index suggests a relocation of about 20% of the part-time employees, and of 30% of the casual workers to guarantee the same sex distribution as in total employment. In both the countries full-time employment contributes 50% to the total segregation, part-time employment contributes about one third to the total segregation, and the contribution of casual employment to total segregation amounts less than 20%.

Table 4 shows the overall gender wage-gap in log points and its decomposition into the "within-occupation gap" and the "across-occupation gap" components. The country differences of the aggregate gender wage-gap reveal structural differences in the gender composition in the work-time categories, the level of wage inequality, and the compensating effects of social policy and institutional settings in the labour market. In Germany the impact of the segregation level on the gender wage differentials may be overlaid respectively compensated by effective labour market policy and equal pay initiatives.

In both the observation periods, the gender wage gap in total employment is not significantly higher in the United States than in Germany. The increase of the gender wage-gap in full-time employment in Germany may be due to the deteriorating economic conditions in the observation period 2001-2007. The decomposition analysis reveals country differences concerning the occupational distribution in the working time categories.

In Germany, the gender wage gap is driven by the gender distribution of the occupations in part-time employment and casual work. In both the observation periods we find increasing gender pay differences for full-time employed persons which relates to the increasing occupational segregation.

	GERMANY				UNITED STATES			
	1989	1995	2001	2007	1989	1995	2001	2007
FULL-TIME-WORK								
men (%)	.72	.69	.68	.69	.60	.61	.59	.55
women (%)	.28	.31	.32	.31	.40	.39	.41	.45
N	2,501	3,429	3,377	4,920	3,815	4,537	3,792	3,627
fraction to relocate (%)	.1142	.1194	.0734	.1597	.0984	.0891	.0875	.0709
contribution to KM (%)	.5000	.5000	.4545	.5000	.5000	.5000	.5000	.5000
PART-TIME-WORK								
men (%)	.24	.22	.28	.18	.29	.31	.26	.29
women (%)	.76	.78	.72	.81	.71	.69	.74	.71
N	488	825	842	1,403	1,241	1,412	1,103	943
fraction to relocate (%)	.3667	.3458	.3241	.3511	.2095	.2054	.2394	.1961
contribution to KM (%)	.3133	.3485	.5000	.3135	.3464	.3588	.3980	.3595
CASUAL WORK								
men (%)	.22	.23	.23	.09	.18	.27	.23	,20
women (%)	.78	.77	.77	.91	.82	.73	.77	.80
N	274	364	393	670	362	456	248	257
fraction to relocate (%)	.3890	.3408	.2301	.4374	.3184	.2502	.2729	.2812
contribution to KM (%)	.1867	.1515	.0455	.1865	.1536	.1412	.1020	.1405
KM TOTAL	.1750	.1773	.1261	.2247	.1385	.1262	.1290	.1066
men (%)	.60	.57	.57	.53	.50	.52	.50	.48
women (%)	.40	.43	.43	.47	.50	.48	.50	.52
N	3,263	4,618	4,612	6,993	5,418	6,405	5,143	4,827

Table 3. Occupational segregation
Source: GSOEP-PSID 1980-2009, author's calculations

The "across-occupations gap" component plays a secondary role in explaining gender wage differentials. In both countries

the gender wage gaps in the working time categories are mainly explained by pay differentials within occupations. The high "within occupation" effect in predominately female occupations corroborates the crowding hypothesis (Sorensen 1990), and the (de-)valuation of female work by employers (Petersen *et al.* 2000). In both the countries, the gender pay differentials in the male dominated occupations are predominately explained by the differences in the sex concentration across occupations.

Part of the country differences concerning the influencing factors of female employment behaviour, as well as the relation between occupational structure, and gender pay differentials may be due to the country specific institutional settings of the labour markets, welfare and tax policy incentives, but also to cultural attitudes towards gender and the traditional gender division of labour. Other than in Germany, American families rely on private social insurance strategies to compensate for weak industrial safety and social protection. Limited state support and minimum social benefits for families, as well as a high work place risk keep persons from spending more time with their families. The gendered distribution of occupations can also be determined by credentials and vocational tracks in the education system, which may be more pronounced in Germany (Trappe and Rosenfeld 2004). In both the countries part-time jobs and casual work tend to be typically "female", which corroborates the findings of Dolado (2001) and Blackwell (2001) among others that the increasing labor market participation of women is absorbed by flexible work-time arrangements. The results confirm the hypotheses of the positive relation between the proportion of women and gender pay differentials. In typically "female" occupations the gender wage-gap is predominately explained by the "within-occupations" – effect which may be due to a mismatch of supply and demand (Sorensen 1990) but also to the employer's devaluation of of female work (Petersen *et al.* 2000).

	GERMANY				UNITED STATES			
	1989	1995	2001	2007	1989	1995	2001	2007
FULL-TIME-WORK	.263	.294	.185	.215	.306	.107	.287	.091
across-occupation gap	-.019	-.065	-.054	-.072	-.087	-.026	-.101	.108
within-occupation gap	.283	.349	.239	.287	.394	.133	.389	-.017
% within-occupation gap	107.60	118.71	129.19	133.49	128.76	124.30	135.54	-18.68
PART-TIME-WORK	.309	.179	.185	.103	.276	.259	.212	.198
across-occupation gap	-.027	.089	.044	-.061	-.132	-.126	-.092	-.040
within-occupation gap	.337	.089	.141	.164	.408	.385	.304	.239
% within-occupation gap	109.06	49.72	76.22	159.22	147.83	148.65	143.40	120.71
CASUAL WORK	.196	.326	.375	-.134	-.059	-.054	.259	.237
across-occupation gap	-.054	-.136	-.019	.113	-.218	-.058	-.060	.070
within-occupation gap	.250	.462	.394	-.247	.159	.004	.319	.166
% within-occupation gap	127.55	141.72	105.07	184.33	-269.49	-7.41	123.17	70.04

TOTAL EMPLOY-MENT	.322	.255	.267	.213	.329	.297	.291	.261
across-occupation gap	-.023	-.044	-.033	-.069	-.098	-.114	-.099	-.116
within-occupation gap	.345	.299	.300	.283	.427	.411	.390	.377
% within-occupation gap	107.14	117.25	112.36	132.86	129.79	138.38	134.02	144.44

Table 4. Gender wage-gap
Source: GSOEP-PSID 1980-2009, author's calculations

6. *Conclusions*

We started from the hypotheses that the women's allocation of time into paid work differs with respect to the existing welfare state regime and the gender division of labour in a country. We supposed that human capital endowment significantly increases women's allocation of time into paid work. We expected a higher explanatory power of family characteristics on women's employment decision in Germany than in the United States, resulting to a higher level of occupational segregation and wage differentials. The empirical results partly support these hypotheses.

The relative risk ratios show country differences concerning the impact of human capital attributes and family background characteristics on female employment status, which supports the findings of Killingsworth and Heckman (1986), Penceval (1998) and Powell (2002) among others. In both the countries, the influence of education, labour market experience and earnings prospects on women's employment status corroborates the human capital theory: an increase in the hourly wages, the educational attainment or the labour market experience makes it more likely that women prefer full time employment compared to part-time employment or casual work.

In both the countries, family characteristics influence the relative risk that women have part-time jobs or work casually compared to full-time employment. Married women or women living with a partner are more likely engaged in part-time employment or casual work arrangements. The empirical results support the findings of Becker (1965) among others, that women substitute their labour market presence with time for family responsibilities if the income situation of the household changes for the better.

The relative risk ratios indicate country differences concerning the influence of presence of children and elderly persons on female employment decisions which might be due to country specific work-family incentives of social benefits, and maternity leave regulations and tax policy.

Occupational segregation is more pronounced in Germany than in the United States. In both the countries female work concentrates on three occupations: "1 academic/scientific professions", "2 professional/managerial occupations", and "3 trade/personal service occupations". The gender distribution of occupations in the working time categories reflects differences in the cultural attitudes towards gender and the division of labour, but can also be determined by credentials and vocational tracks in the education system, which are more pronounced in Germany (Trappe and Rosenfeld 2004).

In both observation periods, gender pay differentials are more expressed in the United States than in Germany, but not in a significant way. In both the countries, the gender wage gap is mainly explained by gender pay differentials within the occupations. In typically "female" occupations the gender wage-gap is largely driven by "within-occupations" – gender pay differences which corroborates the crowding hypothesis (Sorensen 1990) as well as the employer's devaluation of women's skills and work (Petersen *et al.* 2000). In predominately "male" occupations the gender wage gap is predominately explained by the "across-occupations"-component.

Despite the policy initiatives to guarantee equal opportunities, to reduce discrimination in the labour markets, and to apply the principle of equal pay for equal work, gender inequalities in social and economic outcome are persistent. Achieving gender equality is often approached primarily as a question of improving the numerical representation of women in the labour market. In the political discussion a high labour market participation of women in itself is considered to improve the labour market status of women. However, improving the numerical representation of women in the labour market is a necessary condition for achieving gender equality, but it is not sufficient. Further agenda to achieve gender equality must include interdisciplinary approaches to explain the complex field of the intersection of family related responsibilities and paid work. Furthermore, major private and policy efforts are necessary to improve the nature of jobs and the working conditions, to develop strategies and best practices to balance family and paid work, and to reduce occupational segregation and the feminisation of jobs with poor prospects for career and income progression.

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Chapter 4

Family as a Provider of Social Support: The Lithuanian Case

by Vida Kanopienė

Abstract

Family changes that have persisted for almost five decades in the Western societies have altered the structure of its social networks and the character of relationships. The kinship structure has become both more complex and fragmented, the character of interpersonal linkages has been transformed and the means of interaction have changed. Influenced by the increasing life expectancy, many families today have even four-five generations alive at the same time. Pessimistic interpretations of these family changes emphasize the rise of individualism and challenge the ability of family to maintain solidarity between its members and to provide potential in terms of support and care (Chambers 2006, 3).

Are these statements relevant, if we consider Lithuanian context? Can we speak about fragmentation of social and personal ties and weakening of support relationships between generations within a family?

These issues are explored in the chapter. In the first section, the trends of Lithuanian family deinstitutionalisation and process of population ageing are analysed. Data of national statistics and sociodemographic research findings show that the changes of a family as social institution are very rapid in the country, they are related with a spread of cohabitation and pervasion of new family types (e.g., single parents, transnational families, etc.). The growth of a number of one-person households is also observed, as an outcome of acceleration of

demographic ageing. These developments pose many challenges to a family as a primary caregiver and provider of support.

The second section discusses the individual perceptions about the role of family in care giving and examines the peculiarities of informal social support networks, aiming to discover the place of close family members in these networks and to reveal the importance of gender in provision of informal care and assistance within a family. Analysis is based on the data of questionnaire survey of the Lithuanian population "Trajectories of family models and social networks: intergenerational dimension", conducted in 2011-2011. The respondents (N=2000) represent Lithuanian population of four age cohorts (persons born in 1950-1955, 1960-1965, 1970-1975 and 1980-1985).

1. *Introduction*

Statistical and socio-demographic research data show that significant shifts in all areas related to family formation (decrease of nuptiality and birth rates, postponement of marriage to the older age, the growth of births out of wedlock) occurred in Lithuania in the last decade of the twentieth century. An outcome of a turn in attitudes and behavior of the Lithuanian population is the spread of new family types (post-divorced and lone mothers' families, transnational families, etc.) that are diverse in structure and functioning patterns, and quite often are perceived as social risk group. The existing body of research gives evidence that many of these families experience big work-family reconciliation pressures, high parenting stress and a lack of material and social resources. This raises doubts about the ability of these families to provide support and caregiving for the elderly parents or other relatives.

Considering rapid population ageing and increasing demand for caring, the questions raised in Western sociological discourse regarding the modification of support relationships in modern families seem particularly relevant to the Lithuanian society. The chapter aims to discuss the individual perceptions on role of family in caregiving and to reveal the peculiarities of informal social support networks, focusing on the place of close relatives,

distant kinship and other persons (friends, neighbours, etc.) in these networks. Personal expectations concerning potential providers of instrumental and emotional support will be analysed, giving much attention to gender differences in provision of informal care and assistance within a family.

We shall base our research on the data of questionnaire survey "Trajectories of family models and social networks: intergenerational dimension", carried out in 2011-2012.

2. *Demographic Implications for Caring*

Essential demographic changes facing Western societies (population aging and family transformation) enhanced the pressures for a family as a care provider and extended the scope of the demand for care. Due to the changes in marriage patterns – the spread of cohabitation, growth of divorce rates, increase of single parents' families and one person households, the abilities of a family to perform its caregiving functions are disputed, indicating that "people will be less likely in future to be part of the sort of relationships which can result in informal caring" (Chambers 2006, 3).

These demographic changes have been taking place in Lithuania, as in all Eastern and Central European region. However, they have their own specific features that are related with peculiarities of the historic past and societal transformations.

During the soviet period (1940-1989) Lithuania, together with the other former communist countries has displayed the "Eastern European" marriage pattern, characterized by earlier marriages and higher proportions ever marrying. Limitation of personal opportunities under the totalitarian socio-political system as well as economical reasons (housing shortages, state policy supporting marriage and childbearing, poor consumption possibilities, etc.) were among the main factors influencing the development of behavioural stereotypes, based on view towards family "as a source of authenticity and individual fulfilment" (Bronchlain 1993, 475) and making the marriage desirable.

	1960	1970	1980	1990	1995	2000	2010
Marriages per 1000 population	10.1	9.5	9.2	9.8	6.1	4.8	5.7
Mean age at first marriage: Females	…	24.1	23.0	22.3	22.4	23.6	26.4
Mean age at first marriage: Males	…	…	…	24.1	24.3	25.7	28.7
Total fertility rate	2.59	2.39	1.99	2.03	1.55	1.39	1.76
Mean age of women at birth of first child	…	…	23.79	23.28	23.17	23.92	26.57
The proportion of illegitimate live births	7.3	5.1	6.3	7.0	12.8	22.6	28.7
Divorces per 1000 population	0.8	2.2	3.2	3.4	2.8	3.1	3.0

Table 1. Marriage and fertility trends in Lithuania, 1960-2010
Source: Statistics Lithuania

Demographic data show, that the features of traditional family (young mean age of women at first marriage and childbirth, low proportion of illegitimate births, prevalence of middle-sized families) have persisted in the country up to the early 1990s (table 1).

As can be seen from the table, significant shifts in all areas related to family formation (decrease of nuptiality and birth rates, postponement of marriage to the older age, the growth of births out of wedlock) occurred in Lithuania only in the last decade of the twentieth century – the country has entered the second demographic transition (Van de Kaa 1987; Lesthaeghe 1995) for almost three decades later, if compared with many Western European nations. These demographic developments were a sequence of a turn in attitudes and behavior of Lithuanian population, conditioned by socio-economic and political transformations of the state (Stankūnienė *et al.* 2003).

Socio-demographic research data show that a role of marriage as the only socially acceptable form of partnership has changed, and cohabitation (either as a prelude to marriage or as an expected "permanent" union) has become quite a common behavioural pattern, in particular among the younger generations (Stankūnienė 1997; Baublytė and Stankūnienė 2007-2008). Having children outside marriage is becoming increasingly toler-

ated. For example, according to the Lithuanian Fertility and Family Survey data, 48.8% of males and 54.6% of females (aged 18-49) strongly supported/supported the statement that it is normal for unmarried woman to have a child (Stankūnienė *et al.* 1999); according to the Generations and Gender Survey data, 54.9% of interviewed males and 65.4% of females of the same age strongly supported/supported the statement that "a woman can have a child as a single parent even if she does not want to have a stable relationship with a man" (Baublytė and Stankūnienė 2007-2008, 209).

The other important trend in Lithuanian families is particularly high divorce rate that persists for more than three decades. This reflects the impact of various factors, including the liberalisation of divorce legislation in the 1970s, a progress towards women's emancipation and cultural specifics of gender social roles. As the researchers indicate, worsening men's possibility to perform breadwinner's role during the periods of economic transformations and crisis is an important divorce risk element in the country (Maslauskaitė *et al.* 2011, 6). According to the Lithuanian statistics, annually 10-12 thousand marriages end in divorce and around 8-10 thousand children stay with one of parents, usually mother.

Dissolution of marriages and increase of proportion of births out-of-wedlock lead to the rising numbers of single parenthood in the country. Statistical data show, that lone parent households make approximately 23% of households with children (OECD Family Database 2010) and 6.4% of all households (Income 2012, 13). Lithuania takes one of the leading positions – in sixth place in the ranking of EU-27 member states according to the %age of children living with one parent[1]. Single parent households are among the poorest social strata, more than a half (51%) of these households with great difficulty/difficulty make ends meet[2] (Income 2012, 25).

[1] 17.6%, 2008 data (Population 2011, 3).

[2] This is the highest indicator, compared with all other types of households.

There is not much of published research on lone parents' families in Lithuania, but some data suggest that lone mothers experience big work-family reconciliation pressures and high parenting stress as well as a lack of social relationships with family and friends (Kanopienė 2002).

Emigration[3] is also an important factor contributing to the erosion of two-parent family model in Lithuania because a large number of emigrants are leaving the country without their spouse and/or children. According to the national statistics, in recent years a proportion of married persons in the total number of migrants varied between one fourth-one third (26.6% in 2011), respectively a share of children aged under 15 made only 10-15% (10.5% in 2011)[4]. Since migration statistics is compiled on individual level, there is no reliable information about the migrants from the same family households[5].

Data availability on the number/structure of the households with at least one family member temporary residing abroad is also poor:

– 21.9 thousand such households (or 2.3% of all family households) were registered in the 2001 Population census, among them nuclear families made 22% (in most cases these were families of male migrants).
– Families with one of parents residing in other country were the object under investigation in sociological survey conducted in 2007. The research has revealed that in four-fifths of

[3] During a period of 1990-2012 about 710 thousand Lithuanian inhabitants have emigrated from the country. An immense scope of emigration is a major factor, contributing to the rapid decrease of the total population, from 3.694 million at the beginning of 1990 to 2979 million at the beginning of 2013. In recent years Lithuania has recorded the highest negative net migration (–23.7 per thousand average population in 2010,–11.8 in 2011) in EU (International 2012).

[4] Data on the declared migration.

[5] Quite controversial data on the situation in different years can be found in literature, e.g., almost half of married migrants in 2006 had children, but every second migrated without them (Lietuvos 2007, 11). Each seventh person aged 18 and older leaving the country in 2007 had children, but only 7 per cent thereof left together with children. Most (72%) emigrants' children stayed in Lithuania with one of the parents, the rest (28%) – with grandparents or other relatives (Demographic 2007, 164).

these families migrant member of the household was a father, majority of them (78%) were nuclear families, rearing only one-two children (Maslauskaitė and Stankūnienė 2007, 188).

– Even less is known about the families with both parents abroad: different sources indicate that there are around 20,000 children left in the country under guardianship or without it (Juozeliūnienė 2008; Lietuvoje 2007).

In spite of a limited amount of statistical and research data, it is evident that transnational families[6] are not homogenous. Some types of these families can be distinguished, basing on several classification criteria – according to the marital status of parents, migrant family member (father/mother/both parents) and duration of stay abroad, guardianship of children (one of parents/grandparents/brothers/sisters/other relatives/other persons take care of children or they are placed in institutions) (The Baltic 2009, 163-182; Juozeliūnienė *et al.* 2008).

It should be noted that since the beginning of mass emigration transnational families are given much attention in public discourse, however, they are mostly viewed as social risk group, emphasizing the negative consequences of parents' migration to children. As Juozeliūnienė indicates, families with parents abroad are perceived by national press and internet portals as deviation from the normative family model, and stigmatizing attitudes towards children are observed (Juozeliūnienė *et al.* 2008; Juozeliūnienė and Martinkėnė 2011).

Research on transnational families has focused, first of all, on the consequesces of transnational living arrangements for the child-parent relations and child well-being. The scholars argue that these families have to transform the social organisation of family daily life in order to cope with the increased load of child rearing and homework (Maslauskaitė *et al.* 2007, 189). In many cases the efforts to overcome the new challenges are unsuccessful,

[6] In Lithuanian sociological literature a term "family with parents abroad" is also used to describe families where one of parents, or in some cases both, live and work abroad while the children remain in Lithuania (Juozelinienė *et al.* 2008; Juozeliūnienė and Martinkėnė 2011).

and "the children suffer the disruptions in emotional, intellectual and social behaviour" (Maslauskaitė *et al.* 2007, 190).

Thus, it may be concluded that demographic processes that are observed in Lithuania during the last two decades increase a variety of family life forms in the country, and nuclear family is no longer a normative model. For many people, especially for the younger a family is not associated with marriage and presence of children, e.g., according to the 2011 representative Lithuanian population survey data, more than a half (55%) of respondents between 15-34 years considered cohabiting couple without children a family, respective indicators in the age cohorts between 35-54 years and 55-74 years were 45 and 37% (Maslauskaitė 2011, 2).

As was already mentioned, a notable literature withing the national sociological discource has focused on the relationships between the new family structures and the outcomes for *children* while their abilities to perform the other functions that are assigned to a family as social institution (e.g., care and assistance for the *elderly*) are still under-investigated. Are the modern families still capable to form basis for maintaining intergenerational relations and family solidarity?

These issues are particularly important for the Lithuanian society because of the rapid demographic ageing. Older people represent the fastest-growing segment of Lithuanian population. Fifty years ago it was a young country – children and the youth (0-19 years) made more than one third (35.6%) of the total population and only one person out of ten (or 11.8%) was 60 years and older.

Because of the slower, compared to many Western European countries fertility decline in the '70s-'80s and uneven improvement of the life expectancy, particularly for males, the country still had considerably smaller proportions of older people than the majority of European Union member states at the beginning of the 1990s. But, due to a noticeable decrease of fertility and emigration, it "almost caught up with the older populations" (The Baltic 2009, 23).

At present the ratio between the young and the old has changed completely – the proportions of these age cohorts are 15

and 21.6% respectively (Lithuanian statistics, 2011 data). The process of population aging is gaining speed and according to the Eurostat population projections, Lithuania will "move" from the medium to the leading positions among the other EU-27 member states by the level of population aging – the share of population 65 years and older will change from 16.1% in 2010 to 31.2% in 2060, and a share of population 80 years and older will change respectively from 3.6 to 10.8% (Population projections 2011).

A pecularity of this process in the country is a highly visible feminisation of olde age[7]: a proportion of the older age group (60+) makes 26% of total female population and 16.5% – of total male populaiton, this difference is even bigger among the rural population (respectively 28.5 and 17.7%). A pronounced gender disbalance is observed in all older age groups, and masculinity ratio is higher than 2 in the age groups older than 75 and even exceeds 3 among the oldest (85+).

The over representation of women among the elderly population is compounded by the fact that they are far less likely to live with a partner – the number of people who live alone makes 41.7% among females and only 16.8% among males aged 65 years and over. Although Lithuania has quite high proportion of females who live alone, it also distinguishes by the fact that substantial numbers of women without a partner live in extended households, most likely, with their children (table 2). This is also the case for men.

If looking at the living arrangements of the oldest groups in the population (80+), one can see that an absolute majority of the elderly (respectively 97.7% of persons aged 80-89 and 96.2% of those 90 years and over)[8] live in private households, in this regard the country is a group of some Estern and Southern European states with a lowest proportion of the institutionalized care among the elderly (Demography 2009).

[7] This process is linked to the much lower life expectancy for men – in 2011 the gender gap was 11.09 years (life expectancy at birth was 79.14 for females and 68.05 for males).

[8] 2001 Census data.

	Females		Males	
	LT	EU-27	LT	EU-27
Living alone	41.7	41.2	16.8	19.7
No partner, not living alone	24.8	14.2	7.8	4.8
Living just with partner	25.7	37.4	55.1	60.0
Living with partner plus others	7.9	7.2	20.4	15.5

Table 2. The living arrangements of men and women aged 65 and over in Lithuania and EU-27 in 2008, %
Source: Population 2011, 6

On the one hand, this data may reflect national differences in the development of institutional care. In Lithuania formal care services were provided for a long time merely by budgetary agencies and only the adoption of new social services legislation in 2006 embedded the prerequisites for the transition from the bureaucratic model of coordination of services to the mixed economy model. However, due to the fact that a period of new reforms is too short, the system still does not have sufficient resources and is under-developed (Žalimienė and Lazutka 2009, 2).

On the other hand, in Lithuanian society traditionally the responsibility for the elderly is attributed to a family. For example, survey "Evaluation of the population-related policy" carried out in 2001[9] showed that an absolute majority of population perceived taking care of senescent parents as the duty of adult children and gave priority to informal sources of support, compared to formal care provided by public institutions (Stankūnienė *et al.* 2003, 304).

Thus, it can be said that in spite of ongoing fundamental changes in the family, the attitudes towards family responsibility and solidarity appear to *remain strong* over time. We shall elaborate on this in the next chapter by discussing the data of questionnaire survey of the Lithuanian population, carried out in 2011-2012.

[9] The sampling: 1400 respondents aged 18-75 years representing Lithuanian population.

3. *Social Support and Caregiving: The Role of Family*

3.1 *Research Methodology and Characteristics of the Sample*

Quantitative research was conducted in the frame of the project "Trajectories of family models and social networks: intergenerational dimension"[10]. The aim of the project is to explore relationships between family models and social networks in contemporary Lithuania. The research questions rose (*What is the structure and functions of social network in various stages of family trajectories? What mutual influences are between the family models and social networks in contemporary Lithuania?*) are relevant with regard to spreading of the new family types, changing its roles and the increase of complexity of personal relationships both "within" and "outside" a family.

In order to explain the *interplay* between family events, historical events and social environment, both macro- and micro-levels' analysis is combined in the project, applying quantitative and qualitative research methods: questionnaire survey, aimed at the investigation of family life trajectories in the intergenerational perspective and the in-depth interviews, aimed at investigation of diversity of individual life trajectories.

The research design and instrument (questionnaire) was developed in cooperation with project partners – Institute of Social Sciences at University of Lisbon (ICS-UL) and Universities of Geneva and Lausanne (UNIGE and UNIL). In later stages of analysis this will allow introducing a comparative dimension into survey.

[10] Project "Trajectories of family models and social networks: intergenerational dimension" (code No. VP1-3.1-ŠMM-07-K-01-106) is financed by the European Social Fund (ESF) and Lithuanian government under the Human Resources Development Operational Programme's 3rd priority "Strengthening of capacities of researchers and scientists". Measure VP1-3.1-ŠMM-07-K "Support for scientific activities of scientists and other researchers (Global grant)". Duration of the project 01/04/2011-31/03/2015. Research team: V. Kanopiene, V. Cesnuityte, S. Mikulioniene, <http://famo-socnet.mruni.eu>.

Questionnaire form encompasses five component parts (A. Life events; B. The important things in life: C. Social networks; D. Attitudes and values; E. Personal information).

Questionnaire survey – face-to-face structured interviews at respondent's home was carried out in during a period from November 20th, 2011 till a 5th of May, 2012, the field work was performed by the Public opinion and market research company "Vilmorus Ltd.". A total of 2000 respondents, representing the age cohorts born respectively in 1950-1955, 1960-1965, 1970-1975 and 1980-1985 were interviewed (500 respondents in each age cohort). Respondents were chosen by quota sampling, representing by the place of residence, sex and age.

The focus on these particular age groups was based on the following presumptions:

– The twenty years' gap between the selected cohorts enables to reveal the consistent patterns of linkages between the family and social networks in dynamic perspective;
– The age of the youngest cohort under study ranges around the average age of family formation while the eldest cohort was in the same age during the years of Lithuania's political and socio-economic transformations.

Males make 47.8% and females – 52.2% of respondents. Respondents have different levels of education: 4.5% are with basic or lower education, 14.2% have graduated secondary and 20.8% – professional school, 26.5% have diploma of higher (college) studies and 12.7% – of integral (higher education) studies, 12.1% hold bachelor's, 8.5% – master's and 0.3% – doctoral degree (no answer – 0.1%).

A majority (76.1%) of interviewed persons are employed, 10.1% – job seekers (unemployed), 3.0% are on parental leave and 10.5% – economically inactive. Residents of small settlements with less than 500 inhabitants make about one fourth (23.6%), the others live in large cities (30.6%), big towns (12.6%) or in towns with less than 100 thousand inhabitants (33.2%). An absolute majority (90.8%) of interviewed persons are of Lithu-

anian nationality, the rest are Polish (4.0%), Russians (3.1%) or of other nationality.

3.2 *Results*

In sociological research family is seen, first and foremost, as a primary group that carries out fundamental roles in society. It is also defined "as an organisation of primary relationships founded upon the difference of gender and the differences between generations" (Scabini *et al.* 2006, 4). This definition integrates a view on family both as a structure with internal relationships and as a group within which the individuals fulfill their social roles – the connection of relationships to roles is inclusive (Scabini *et al.* 2006, 5). It is important to stress, that as a result of increased longevity *idem* generations simultaneusly fulfill the role of children and the role of parents or even that of grandparents, and this is particularly true with regard to the midlifers, or those in their forties-sixties.

As was indicated, the research sample represents Lithuanian population of the four specific birth cohorts, the age difference between the oldest and the youngest is thirty years. However, we could hardly define them as "real" representatives of parents-children generations, because among the oldest quite many have parents who are still alive while among the youngest quite many have children. Divorced and cohabiting persons make a considerable proportion among respondents, thus, their composition by marital status reflects the spread of non-traditional family forms in society (table 3).

Family is considered as a principal provider of care and assistance in critical life situations at *different ages* and in *different stages* of *life*. As is seen from table 4, normative solidarity is expressed in all birth cohorts; however, there are some differences between the oldest and the youngest.

	Birth cohorts			
	1950-1955	1960-1965	1970-1975	1980-1985
Distribution by marital status:				
Single/not married	5.0	6.0	12.4	23.8
Married	61.7	63.0	59.9	39.7
Divorced	16.0	19.8	15.8	12.4
Widowed	13.4	3.2	1.2	0.2
Live in unregistered marriage/ cohabit	4.0	8.0	10.8	24.0
Have a child/children	86.8	88.4	77.2	40.8
Have a grandchild/grandchildren	62.3	24.1	1.0	0.0
Respondent's mother is still alive	31.6	64.8	81.2	92.0
Respondent's father is still alive	8.6	31.2	53.0	77.6

Table 3. Respondents by marital status, presence of children/grandchildren and parents who are still alive, % age in each birth cohort

Those born between 1950 and 1955 make more emphasis on the role of parents in providing instrumental support to their children and more often give prefercence to the informal care of the elderly persons, perceiving it as a duty of adult children. There might be different theoretical explanations for this, e.g., by the social exchange theory at the young and mature age people make investments in their children with the reasonable expectation to receive a "reward", i.e. that children will take care of them in an old age (Ritzer 1996). By the economic theories of fertility, parents' demand is not for children as such, but child services, from which they derive utility, and old age security is one of the three types of childrens' utility (Robinson 1997).

Compared with the older cohorts, the youngest respondents more often show the support for collective responsibility for the elderly and herewith give less importance to children-parents' mutual obligations. Thus, individualism is more vivid in their attitudes, and the same is true for egalitarism – one out of five support the statement that daughters should bear more responsibility than sons for providing care for old parents (the proportion among the oldest cohort is one out of four).

	Birth cohorts			
	1950-1955	1960-1965	1970-1975	1980-1985
Parents should help their adult children who experience material difficulties:				
Strongly agree/agree	65.1	61.5	50.7	51.5
Disagree/strongly disagree	7.2	10.4	10.8	10.2
Grandparents should take care of grandchildren, if their parents are unable to do that				
Strongly agree/agree	54.7	44.4	40.8	41.2
Disagree/strongly disagree	12.2	17.4	16.6	13.0
Children should live together with their parents, if parents cannot care for themselves				
Strongly agree/agree	54.0	52.7	54.2	50.8
Disagree/strongly disagree	13.4	13.8	13.6	12.4
If parents need care, nursing, daughters should bear more responsibility than sons				
Strongly agree/agree	26.0	23.4	20.2	19.2
Disagree/strongly disagree	40.3	41.3	43.3	45.0
Just those lonely old people who don't have relatives should live in nursing homes				
Strongly agree/agree	51.6	47.3	41.9	40.3
Disagree/strongly disagree	19.4	20.8	24.4	27.0

Table 4. Support of the statements about a share of responsibilities for care about children, parents and elderly family members by age cohorts, %age

These differences might be explained by the fact that the oldest cohort was socialised in soviet years when gender equality was formal and viewed mainly in terms of labour force participation, while the need to alter familial relations and decrease women's domestic responsibilities was downplayed or ignored. Such policies did not foster the changes of public attitudes – various research data demonstrate that gender stereotypes grounded on the traditional reasoning of femininity and masculinity are fairly widespread in the country (Bučaitė-Vilkė *et al.* 2012; Moterys 2009; Kanopienė 1999; 2000). As Lithuanian authors indicate, women are viewed as caregivers and providers of emotional support, and "these views rarely receive critical reflection" (Maslauskaitė, 40).

The study has also revealed that women's role in caregiving and providing assistance for family members is more important. We shall discusse this issue basing on the sources of informal support. The respondents were asked whom would they personally address and ask for a help in case of urgent need. The question ("If suddenly the need/problem would arise, from whom would you ask help first of all?") was open, an opportunity to indicate one-three persons for each particular case (if respondents would get ill, would feel lonely, would need care for young children or other family member, would need help at home, financial, temporary care for their pet) was given.

A total number of persons indicated by respondents was 18863. The potential providers of assistance were classified into several groups: (1) a family of procreation (a spouse/partner, son, daughter), (2) a family of orientation (a father, mother, brother and sister), (3) other relatives/members of extended family (a grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, nephew, niece, cousin, son/daughter in law, daughters in law, grandchild, spiritual kinships – godmother/fodfather and godchild), (4) ex-spouse/partner and (5) other persons who are not bound by any kinship ties (friends, neighbours, etc.).

Table 5 shows that immediate family is an essential provider of assistance in critical life situations – nearest relatives (a spouse and child/children) are the ones who most often give emotional support and are primary helpers with housework and in case of illness. Parents and siblings are the most important providers of financial aid and caregivers for the young children. Meanwhile more distant family members play a minor role in mutual suppor networks and a place of exs-spouses/partners is almost negligible.

It can be supposed that after the divorce or separation the relationship ties become weak or even break. This assumption can be supported by the findings of other research (Kanopienė 2002).

Type of assistance	Family of procreation	Family of orientation	Other relatives	Ex-spouse/ partner	Non-family members
Help in case of illness	54.9	34.4	4.7	0.8	5.2
Provision of financial aid	29.0	47.9	9.9	1.0	12.2
Provision of emotional support	48.2	29.8	5.6	1.1	15.3
Caregiving for young children or other family member	38.8	42.8	9.8	1.0	7.6
Help with housework	53.0	30.9	6.6	1.0	8.5

Table 5. Potential providers of support by their place in family structure. % of the total number of indicated persons fore each case/type of assistance

There is also a lot of evidence in national mass media about the communication breakdowons in post-divorced families and inadequate attitude of men towards their former wife and children. Information on the increase of alimony cases in courts shows that many of them even try to avoid alimony payments in various ways – change permanently jobs and places of residence, go abroad, etc. Thus, contrary to the arguments of some Western sociologists (Levin and Trost 1992), divorce *means* the dissolution of a family in most cases.

As is seen from the table 5, the friends, neighbours and persons who are not related by kinship ties play more important role as assistance providers, compared with distant family members, especially in terms of providing emotional support and financial help. Thus, we should also note the complexity of support relationships that extend beyond a nuclear family and kinship.

One of the most important aspects in the analysis of these relationships are gender differences in caregiving and helping the others. There are quite many research data on public attitudes towards a role of women and men in caregiving and on the positioning of care in Lithuanian gender identities (Baublytė and Stankūnienė 2007-2008; Maslauskaitė 2004). However, a place of women and men in informal social support networks is given much less attention.

In order to identify a gender of potential assistance providers, we shall limit our analysis to family members, including all close and distant relatives[11]. The distribution of the answers is as follows:

– If respondents get ill, they much more often would ask for help women than men (the ratio between indicated numbers of females/males is 1.83:1).
– If respondents feel lonely and need somebody for conversation, they would twice more often address women than men (the ratio is 1.93:1).
– If respondents have a need for care of small children or other family member, they would commonly ask women (the ratio is 2.2:1).
– If respondents experience financial preassure, they also would more often address women than men (the ratio is 1.32:1).
– If respondent need help at home, they would ask women as often as men (the ratio 0.98:1) – thus a hosework is the only domain where men are equally relied[12].

Thus, women, compared to men are much more often pointed out as potential providers of assistance, particularly when we talk about the direct caregiving and emotional support. Men's role is more important in provision of help in housework. This can be explained by a fact that in Lithuanian families is very common that men perform minor repair work regarding upkeep of the flat/car, maintenence of the appliances, etc. This tradition has roots in soviet times (when service sector was under-developed) and is retained at present because of the low standard of living. On the other hand, contrary to the traditional expectations for norma-

[11] In Lithuanian language the names of family members have feminine or masculine ending of a word, however the words indicating the other persons (non-family members) have "gender-neutral" endings therefore they were not taken into account.

[12] This can be explained by a fact, that in Lithuanian families is very common that men perform minor repair work regarding upkeep of the flat/car, maintenence of the appliances, etc. This tradition has roots in soviet times (when service sector was under-developed) and, is retained at present because of the low level of living in the country.

tive gender-role behaviours, women are more often indicated as providers of financial help. In this respect, reference to the erosion of male bredwinner's role in Lithuanian families might be a partial explanation. According to many research data, women are more responsive for the needs of the others, compared with men (Regan 2011; Scabini 2006; Middle 2005), thus, it can be presumed that they are the ones who make a "backbone" of kinship mutual assistance relationships.

4. *Conclusions*

Significant shifts in all areas related to family formation (decrease of nuptiality and birth rates, postponement of marriage to the older age, the growth of births out of wedlock) occurred in Lithuania at the beginning of the 1990s. As an outcome of demographic developments, the spread of the new family types (single parents, transnational families, etc.) is observed in the country. The other important feature of Lithuanian society is related with rapid demographic aging – the older people represent the fastest-growing segment of population. Analysis of statistical and secondary research data shows that these processes pose many challenges in terms of an increasing demand for care and a weak care-giving potential of non-traditional families.

Conducted research enables to conclude that family is considered as a principal provider of care and assistance in critical life situations at different ages and in different stages of life. This attitude is particularly strong among the older cohorts while the youngest more often support collective responsibility for the elderly and give less importance to children-parents' mutual obligations.

A spouse and child/children are the ones who most often give emotional support and are primary helpers with housework and in case of illness. Meanwhile parents and siblings are the most important providers of financial aid and caregivers for the young children. More distant family members play a minor role

in mutual suppor networks and a place of exs-spouses/partners is almost negligible. Persons who are not related by kinship ties are important providers of emotional support and financial help. This indicates to the the complexity of support relationships that extend beyond a nuclear family and kinship.

Women play a primary role as assistance providers, particularly in caregiving and emotional support. This confirms the other national research data on the positioning of care in Lithuanian gender identities

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Chapter 5

Men Who Care. Men's Changing Commitments to Care in Italy

by Elisabetta Ruspini

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to discuss some aspects of Italian men's changing attitudes towards care, and especially childcare. This is explored from two viewpoints: the individual and the institutional.

On the one hand, men (especially if belonging to the younger generations) are beginning to claim a greater share in bringing up their children. The desire to discover (or rediscover) the terms and values of one's specific masculinity also seems to be growing. On the other hand, these changes are influencing the institutional level: in order to support contemporary processes of social change, some legislative and educational initiatives have been developed, aimed at a reconsideration of masculinity (as it is traditionally defined); at a deconstruction of the violent symbolism still affecting the process of male socialisation; at education to "new" forms of masculinity (Ruspini, 2009 and 2011a).

In the chapter, I will discuss some initiatives aimed at supporting changes in traditional forms of masculinity towards a culture of gender equality. I will also present some collective efforts that have arisen as part of a national men's network of critical thought on dominating models of masculinity. The methodology used is a combination of: a review of existing Italian literature on men and masculinities; secondary analysis of existing data; documentary analysis; information provided by interviews to key informants.

1. *Introduction*

Italy (together with Greece, Portugal and Spain) belongs to the so-called "Mediterranean countries" of Europe (Gunther, Diamanduros and Puhle 1995; Ferrera 1997; Esping-Andersen 1999). These nations of Southern Europe constitute a particular group because they have followed a specific process of "modernisation"; their politico-economic connotation is similar; they show specific patterns of interaction between family, labour market and the welfare state; and, within this interaction, *family* plays a very crucial role. Southern European social policy models are also oriented towards the continued existence of the traditional family, which is based on a rigid division of roles and responsibilities along both gender and generation lines; on the assumption that women still offer their services as caregivers; across a widespread support network provided by the extended family (see for example Saraceno 1998; Rossi 2009).

Italy has been defined as being a *familistic* context.

By *familism* we mean a set of normative beliefs that: describes a strong attachment and loyalty to one's family, emphasizes the centrality of the family unit, and stresses the obligations and support that family members owe to both nuclear and extended kin. This includes a strong reliance on family for material and emotional help. In a familistic culture, the norms and traditions of the family are transmitted to the younger generation, and usually people perceive these norms to be fair and legitimate. If family is seen as the crucial foundation of society, the sense of society is not very strong, nor the sense of the state (Ginsborg 1994). Lugo Steidel and Contreras (2003) identified four components of familism, namely familial honor, respect for familial elders, familial interdependence, and subjugation of self to family.

Familism has good sides: in Italy (the same is true, for example, for Spain, Greece, Mexico[1]: Gérman, Gonzales and Dumka 2009)

[1] There is an implicit assumption in the existing literature that familism is primarily applicable to Italian or Hispanic people. However, as Schwarz (2007) notes, there

family has acted as an informal support network (a social security cushion), offering care services for children, older and sick people-services provided by the welfare state in other countries. This has contributed to reinforce family solidarity between generations, as well as to create broad family networks.

The negative compensation of this family economy model also seems evident. Familism means a strong reliance on the family as provider of social protection, with minimum state intervention. Familism discourages individual autonomy. Furthermore, women's moral obligation to care is taken for granted: familism implies a prioritization of the needs of the family over those of women (Saraceno 1994; Bimbi 1997; Trifiletti 1999).

In Italy (but this is also the case of Spain), men continue to devote a much smaller quantity of time to domestic work than women, and we cannot yet speak of an equal division between partners in terms of caring responsibilities. According to international comparisons, Italian men carry out, on average, less unpaid household work than men in most other OECD countries, being second only to Japanese men. The *Harmonized European Time Use Survey* (HETUS)[2], shows that Italian men perform the lowest amount of domestic work among men in the countries considered, while Italian women stand out as the least active in the labour market. Italian fathers contribute the least to unpaid household work, relative to other European countries.

A study carried out on fathers' involvement in daily childcare activities in Italy (Tanturri and Mencarini 2009), based on data from the 2002-2003 *Multipurpose Survey on Italian Households (Indagine Multiscopo sulle Famiglie Italiane*), carried out by the Istat-National Institute for Statistics on a national representative sample of households, shows that only a small minority of fathers are involved in everyday routine care activities: 7% with a child

is some evidence that familism may apply to other cultures and ethnic groups as well. For example, Papadopolous (1998) speaks about a "Greek familism". Coohey (2001) found that familism was protective against child abuse for both Hispanics and non-Hispanic Whites.

[2] <https://www.h2.scb.se/tus/tus/>.

under three years old, and 6% with a child over three. The proportion of fathers who never perform any of the childcare tasks is around 4%. However, a comparison with the previous *Multipurpose Survey* (carried out between 1988-1989) indicates a slight, but not negligible, increase in fathers' involvement: the average IFI-Index of Father Involvement[3] is higher (for children under three years old it was 0.56; for children over three years, 0.54) and the proportion of fathers who never undertake caring activities has fallen from 8 to 4% (Tanturri *et al.* 2006). Tanturri and Mencarini (2009) conclude that, in Italy, childcare is still carried out almost completely by mothers; even when fathers reveal some degree of participation, they merely support mothers, performing only a few of the tasks among those essential for childrearing. While for babies below three years of age, the prominence of the mother role may be justified for biological reasons (breastfeeding, for instance), for older children the motivation is mainly cultural or linked to the parents' job-time schedule.

A further, empirical analysis[4] of the time allocation of Italian couples (Bloemen, Pasqua and Stancanelli 2009) shows that Italian husbands' time allocation responds to their wife's attitudes and characteristics. In particular, husbands' housework time increases

[3] The focus of the analysis is on fathers' participation in routine care activities, such as: *1) helping the child to dress, 2) feeding the child, 3) changing nappies, 4) bathing, 5) putting her/him to bed*, tasks which have been traditionally performed by mothers. The Index of Fathers Involvement (IFI) is equal to 1, when a father performs all the activities every day, and it is equal to 0, when a father never carries out any of the task.

[4] Models were estimates from data drawn from the already mentioned 2002-2003 *Italian Time Use Survey* carried out by Istat, combined with earnings information taken from the 2002 *Bank of Italy Survey on Household Income and Wealth*, that was launched in 1965. Twenty-three further surveys have been conducted since then, yearly until 1987 (except for 1985) and every two years thereafter. The aim of the survey is to gather information about the economic behaviour of Italian families at the microeconomic level. Data on family income, saving, expenditure, consumer durables and real wealth have been collected since 1966, while the acquisition of details concerning total consumption expenditure started in 1980. The basic survey unit is the household, which is defined in terms of family relationships, that is, as a group of individuals linked by ties of blood, marriage or affection, sharing the same dwelling and pooling all or part of their incomes.

with the wage of their wife. On the contrary, the own wage effect is significantly negative for women's housework. Fathers' involvement in childcare increases with own wage and with the presence of small children and this is true both for weekdays and weekends. Moreover, the higher the education level of their wife, the more time husbands allocate to domestic tasks and childcare. The commitment at home of Italian fathers also seems to be rather unrelated to changes in family size and spouse's labour market participation (Anxo *et al.* 2007). This often implies an overload of responsibilities for mothers, because of their involvement both at home and in the labour market.

Notwithstanding this, demands and challenges have multiplied also in Italy (see for example, Barbagli, Castiglioni and Dalla Zuanna 2003; Ruspini 2011b; Zanatta 2011; Crespi 2012). Despite marked differences between geographical areas (in urban areas and in the northern part of the country – for example the city of Milan: Facchini, 2012 – tendencies towards social change are more evident and incisive), there is a movement towards individual and family change.

Women, who (especially in the years of the economic boom) had been concerned with the management of the home and care, have become increasingly less willing to deal exclusively with family matters. This change in motivations is due to women's new competences – consequent upon more extensive education and growing schooling rates – and because they are increasingly present within the employment market. Today young women place work and financial independence at the top of their priorities and see it at the core of their identity.

Changes in female identities increasingly and inevitably have implications for male partners, workers and fathers. Also in Italy, one cannot fail to recognise the growing assumption of responsibilities by younger fathers following the birth of their children. Younger men are beginning to claim a greater share in bringing up their children although, in the father-child relation, playing dominates the other dimensions (see for example Rosina and Sabbadini 2006; Zajczyk and Ruspini 2008). The number of

men willing to question the stereotyped model of hegemonic and traditional masculinity is also growing, and, at the same time, of men desirous of exploring a part of themselves which for a long time had been kept silent, in care functions and socialisation processes.

Among the consequent changes in the family sphere we may mention the increase in the number of single-person or childless families, of single-parent and LGBT households; of divorces and separations (Ruspini 2011b).

In order to understand and support contemporary processes of gender change, some legislative and educational initiatives have been developed, aimed at a reconsideration of masculinity (as it is traditionally defined); at education to "new" forms of masculinity; at a deconstruction of the violent symbolism still associated with the process of male socialisation (Ruspini, Hearn, Pease and Pringle 2011).

In the next sections, I will look at the current situation in Italy regarding the introduction of laws and educational programs to enhance richer, more flexible and mature forms of masculinity, and therefore the ability to adapt to the processes of individual, family, social, and gender change.

2. *An Overview of Innovative Practices*

2.1 *Fatherhood and Children*

In this section I present some initiatives aimed at supporting changes in traditional forms of masculinity towards a culture of gender equality (that is, that particular type of equality in rights, in access to resources and public facilities, and decision-making processes which respects gender differences). These efforts share some similarities but also differences. For example, a number of them are national initiatives whilst others have a local dimension; several are official policies in contrast to others that may be defined as "unofficial" (see also Ruspini 2009; 2011a).

I begin by discussing some key legislative initiatives concerning the issue of fatherhood and custody of children: above all, the Law 53 of 8th March 2000 regarding support for maternity and paternity[5]. Law 53/2000 introduced important innovations regarding, in particular, incentives to fathers taking care of their children and the extension of the possibility to stay at home up till the child's eighth year of life. Both parents were guaranteed the right to make use of periods of leave from work-up to a maximum of six months each and ten months together (consecutive or not)-in order to take care of their children during the first eight years of the child's life. This measure entitled parents to an allowance of 30% of their salary up to the child's third year of life. For fathers deciding to make use of leave for a period of at least three months (even if not consecutive), they were entitled to a "bonus" of one extra month. In total, parents could take up to 11 months of leave. For example, six months for the mother and four months for the father, which became five thanks to the "bonus". However, a report by the Istat – National Institute for Statistics (*Istituto Nazionale di Statistica*) – that was commissioned by the Equal Opportunities Department of the Ministry of Welfare, in accordance with Law 53/2000, in order to investigate work schedules and working time flexibility, work-life balance, and the take-up of leave-shows that "only" 749,000 working parents applied for parental leave (86% of whom were women) and 541,000 applied for sick leave (76.9% were women)[6].

Italian working women can stay home with full pay during the last two months of pregnancy and the first three months after giving birth (or, alternatively, during the last month of pregnancy and the first four months after the birth of the child), and can go home to nurse their babies during works hours for a maximum of

[5] Law 53, 8 March 2000 "Provisions for the support of maternity and paternity, for the right to care and training and for the coordination of urban temporalities", and of the Legislative Act 26-3-2001 (Consolidation Act of the legal provisions regarding defence and support of maternity and paternity), in Art 15 of Law 53/2000.

[6] Available at: <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/ewco/2006/03/IT0603NU04.htm>.

two hours a day (full-time work; one hour if the work day is less than 6 hours) in the baby's first year of life.

In Italy, there is still no compulsory paternity leave. Maternity leave can be transferred to fathers in certain conditions. The father has the right to paternity leave in all those cases when the mother did not make use (or made only partial use) of maternity leave. That is, because of the mother's death or serious illness, her abandoning the family or sole custody of the father in case of separation or divorce. In case of adoption or foster care adoption, the working mother can renounce (totally or partially) to her maternity leave to the father. Following the request of the EU parliament, a parliamentary debate began in June 2010 regarding the introduction of a compulsory and fully paid paternity leave. The law proposal establishes that Italian fathers would have the right to be absent from work for four days within three months after the birth of the child (Mosca and Ruspini 2011). The very recent employment law reform (Law 92/2012) introduced, on a trial basis for the years 2013-2015, an important innovation. Staring from January 2013, employees who become fathers are entitled to: 1) a one day compulsory paternity leave; 2) two days of voluntary leave from work, which can be used as an alternative to the mother's compulsory maternity leave and with her consent. That is, fathers can take two additional days if the mother agrees to transfer these days from her maternity leave allocation. The above days of leave should be used within the fifth month after the child's birth. The leave is paid by INPS (Istituto Nazionale della Previdenza Sociale-the Italian Social Security Body): paternity leave compensation is 100% of pay.

Law 58/2006 is also noteworthy. This Law was energetically demanded by the various associations of separated fathers to combat what was described as "inequality of treatment in lawsuits for separation and custody of minors". The Law modifies the existing legislation (Art. 155 of the Civil Code and Art. 708 of the Civil Code) regarding the custody of children in cases of separation or divorce of parents, in which the rule is sole custody and joint custody is an exception. Following this law, shared custody

has therefore become the main solution in cases of separation or divorce. With the new law, the judge normally entrusts the children to both parents without having to choose between them. For questions of ordinary administration, parental power would then appear as a shared right, with a number of duties to be attributed to both parents according to the areas of competence linked to their past experience, their aptitudes and to indications of preference made by the children.

I may also mention the educational project *Condividiamo con i papà* (Let's share with fathers), aimed at helping fathers become more involved with children. This project is sponsored by the province of Turin, the association *Il Cerchio degli uomini* (Men's Circle), and the maternity hospital S. Anna. The project aims to involve 1,500 mothers and fathers in the period 2009/2010. Through the child birth education classes offered by Hospital S. Anna (at least 70 in a year), fathers and mothers will be offered the opportunity to discuss gender stereotypes and parental leave opportunities. Some research suggests that children benefit from both paternal and maternal attention and the emotional and practical support which derives from "at home" parenting (see for example Land 1997; Pruett 2000; Lamb 2004; Doucet 2006).

Padri coraggiosi (Brave Fathers) is a web and media campaign, sponsored by the Provincia of Bologna and funded by the European Social Fund, aimed at raising awareness about the need to share caring activities between the sexes. The campaign, started in May 2007, targets young people and especially young fathers. It aims to create a better appreciation of men's care and a mitigation of what some commentators see as women's cultural monopoly in performing care. The media campaign used different strategies: a billboard in public places; press releases; press releases for radio; a free brochure, homogeneously distributed throughout the provincial territory-specifically aimed at men-on the Law 53 of 8 March 2000 on support to maternity and paternity[7].

[7] <http://www.provincia.bologna.it/pariopportunita/Engine/RAServeFile.php/f/pagina-internet-padri.pdf>.

2.2 *Deconstructing the "Dark Sides" of Masculinity and Supporting Men's Change*

Masculinity is a *social construction* and concerns the *position of men in a gender order* (Connell 1995). Masculinity is a configuration of practices that are embedded in social action and can differ according to gender relation in specific social setting. Following Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), masculinity is both produced and reproduced as a consequence of struggles between dominant and subordinate groups of men. Models of masculinity developed in the West have shaped dominant understandings of men's experiences in much of the rest of the world, becoming the standard-setter for all regional-based and national masculinities (Kimmel 2001). The focus on normative white Western masculinity (without naming it as such) marginalizes dominant understandings of men and masculinities in other parts of the world. Even though hegemonic masculinity may not be the most common form of masculinity practiced, it is supported by the majority of men as they benefit from the overall subordination of women.

According to Kimmel and Levine (1992), the "cultural construction of masculinity" indicates that men organize the conceptions of themselves as masculine by their willingness to take risks, by their ability to experience pain or discomfort without submitting to it, by their drive to accumulate constantly (i.e., money, power, sex partners, experiences), and by their resolute avoidance of any behaviour or feeling that might be constructed as "feminine". Social and health statistics indeed show that life in Western society demands a high price from men. For example, males are overrepresented among drug abusers and prison inmates. Across Western societies, the life expectancy of men is shorter than women's. Boys show more problematic behaviour patterns in school than girls, and constitute a larger proportion of the pupils requiring remedial measures at primary school level. In most EU countries, boys are more at risk of leaving school early than girls.

Thus, not only are men increasingly recognised as gendered, but they are increasingly recognised as a gendered social problem to which welfare systems may or, for a variety of reasons, may not respond. This can apply in terms of violence, crime, drug and alcohol abuse, buying of sex, accidents, driving, and the denial of such problems as sexual violence (Hearn *et al.* 1994; Connell 1995; Kimmel 1995; 1996; Hearn 1998; Ruspini, Hearn, Pease and Pringle 2011).

Starting from these premises, I now discuss some Italian practices concerning prevention in relation to the problematic aspects of masculinity. I begin to mention the Law n. 66/1996, "Law against sexual violence", that defines violence against women as a crime against the person and against personal freedom, modifying the previous "moralistic" definition of sexual violence as a crime against public morality. According to this Law, the offences against children are now prosecuted *ex officio*. It also introduces the so-called "protected examination of the victim" to whom a psychological support is guaranteed within the framework of a trial intended to be more respectful of the emotional impact on the child.

I also refer to several interesting collective ventures which are part of a male network of critical thought on dominating models of masculinity. These centre around men who choose to speak out about: violence; on relations between the sexes; on cultures and languages generated by patriarchal relations; starting from their identity and gendered experiences (Vedovati 2007). They are groups of men who are open to dialogue and critical thinking on the complexity, richness and even the contradictory aspects which mark men's gender identities. For example, Groups (all belonging to the *Italian Men's Network-Rete Associazioni degli Uomini*) such as *Maschile Plurale* in Rome (*Maschile Plurale* coordinates the Italian men's Network[8]); *Uomini in cammino* in Pinerolo; *Il Cerchio degli uomini* in Turin; the *Gruppo uomini* in

[8] <http://maschileplurale.it/cms/>; <http://maschileplurale.it/cms/index.php?option=com_content&view=section&id=3&Itemid=7>.

Verona, Viareggio and Turin. These Groups have made a critical re-examination of the historical experience and identity models of male identity, in which comparison with women and dialogue with the thought and practice of feminism has been a decisive element (Ciccone 2009). They are rethinking the traditional male identity in an anti-sexist logic, converging with feminist thought. The Italian Men's Network gives particular attention to problems regarding male sexual violence. We may here recall the web-launched appeal against violence by Italian men[9], bearing the signatures of men from different political, cultural, religious and sexual spheres, when they decided to react to acts of violence against women which have been brought to our attention by the media.

Another *project* of note is "Pariteia-Promoting gender equality in active European citizenship"[10], a European Union project funded by the Fifth Community Action Programme "Towards a Community Strategy on Gender Equality (2001-2005)". It was aimed at establishing European citizenship based on the active participation of women and men in all social, political and professional activities. Five countries were involved: Italy, Latvia, the Netherlands, Poland and Spain. Pariteia was structured in four key actions which entail:

– conducting a comparative analysis in the five European countries involved, in order to analyse the male role in terms of gender equality within the labour market, within the family sphere and in public roles and in power-wielding positions;
– selecting and drafting a catalogue of good practices – experiences together with communication and awareness-raising tools – that have been successful in actively involving men in the process of achieving gender equality in society;
– promoting a "Charter of Intent for Equal Citizenship" that involved a European group of men, who committed them-

[9] <http://www.womenews.net/spip/spip.php?article819>.
[10] <http://www.eaea.org/news.php?aid=9442>.

selves to participating in a European network fostering European citizenship aimed at achieving equal opportunities;
– promoting workshops and awareness-raising meetings and the promotion of good practices and support for the Charter of Intent in the countries involved in the project (ter Woerds, Stavenuiter and Duyvendak 2007)[11].

As far as the issues of sexuality and homophobia are concerned, I may mention the trans-national project "Cassero Scuola Schoolmates"[12] promoted by *Arcigay* (The Italian Lesbian and Gay Association) in partnership with Colega Madrid, KPH Warsaw and the City of Vienna. The project is co-financed by the European Commission under the Daphne II programme. The main objective of the project is the development and enhancement of tools and competencies that students and school-workers can apply to make their school a safer environment for gay and lesbian individuals and, more generally, every student exposed to psychological or physical violence. Project activities are addressed at three main target groups: school students (12-19 years) teachers and non-teaching school staff.

Another project aimed at fighting homophobia and preventing the development of homophobic attitudes among younger people is the *Triangle-Transfer of Information to Combat Discrimination against Gays and Lesbians in Europe*[13]. This transnational action has the aim of exchanging information and good practice within the EU framework of the "Community Action programme to Combat Discrimination". Triangle is a network of cooperation partners within Europe who agree on a string of concrete goals in the sector of information as well as educational work in order to reduce discrimination. This network includes organisations and groups whose actions address discrimination in the form of sexual orientation and ethnicity with a view to ensuring a creative, holistic exchange of ideas and approaches. This project's outcomes include

[11] <http://www.verwey-jonker.nl/doc/participatie//D5183548-def.pdf>.
[12] <http://www.arcigay.it/schoolmates/UK/progetto.html>.
[13] <http://www.diversity-in-europe.org/alt/html/index_eng.html>.

the manual *Different in More Ways Than One: Providing Guidance for Teenagers on Their Way to Identity, Sexuality and Respect*[14] whose main principle is to deal with discrimination based on sexual orientation in a multi-cultural society. The manual-developed by a project team made up of representatives from Austria; France; Germany; Italy and The Netherlands-condenses the know-how and experiences of many specialists in the field and aims to create more in-depth understanding of fear of the "other".

2.3 *Men's Voices*

In order to "give voice" to the experiences of some Italian associations and groups that work on men and masculinities, I now briefly present some results of a study conducted in 2011 by the European Institute for Gender Equality[15] (EIGE) on the "Involvement of Men in Gender Equality in the EU27[16]". The study involved different associations of women and men by means of questionnaires and interviews. In Italy, questionnaires were completed by: *Associazione Donne In Quota*; *Associazione Uomini Casalinghi-Italian Association of Househusbands* (*ASUC*); *Comitato Provinciale Arcigay "Il Cassero" – School Project*; *Gruppo "Uomini in Cammino"* (a men's group that belongs to the *Italian Men's Network-Rete Associazioni degli Uomini*); *Istituto di Studi sulla Paternità-Institute for Fatherhood Studies (ISP)*.

The interview questionnaires were completed by Fiorenzo Bresciani (President of the *Associazione Uomini Casalinghi-*

14 <http://www.diversity-in-europe.org/index.html>.

15 <http://www.eige.europa.eu/>.

16 The project aimed to collect and analyse background information related to the involvement of men in the promotion of gender equality within the EU27. Focusing on the period 2007-2010 it mapped relevant actors active in engaging men in gender equality work in the Member States and provided an analysis of their organisation forms, methods, approaches, tools and materials. The study addressed the European, national, regional and local levels. *Project Co-ordinators*: Sandy Ruxton and Nikki van der Gaag; *Project Line Manager*: Klas Hyllander. *Italian Research Team*: Francesca Fumagalli and Claudia Traini; Scientific Coordinator: Elisabetta Ruspini, Università di Milano-Bicocca.

Italian Associaton of Househusbands[17]) and Dr. Maurizio Quilici (President of the *Istituto di Studi sulla Paternità-Institute for Fatherhood Studies*[18]).

The most frequent good practices implemented by our actors to integrate men in gender equality processes in the Italian context, are listed below:

- individual support to parents, lone mothers and lone fathers (advocacy, counseling, etc.);
- dissemination and public awareness on the issues of gender equality through the media and Internet in particular (websites) We may mention the association *Associazione Uomini Casalinghi*, that often takes part in TV programs;
- support to the active participation of men in housework;
- working groups and discussion groups about equality and gender stereotypes;
- courses and workshops on gender issues;
- cultural events;
- measures to prevent gender violence in schools (Group *Uomini In Cammino* and *Il Cassero – School Project*);
- publications on masculinity and fatherhood;
- law proposals, such as those supported by the *Istituto di Studi sulla Paternità* on compulsory paternal leave;
- collaboration with other organizations involved in projects on gender equality. For example, *Donne In Quota*, although

17 ASUC (<http://www.uominicasalinghi.it/>) is a Tuscany-based association, the first male organisation to enter FEFAF (Fédération Européenne des Femmes Actives en famille/European Federation of Parents and Carers at Home) that represents European at-home Parents and Carers at European Union level. ASUC is becoming more than just a gathering point for stay-at-home men. One of the main aims of the association is to support and to protect stay-at-home men. The ASUC website contains practical information in order to help house-husbands engage in domestic life on a daily basis. ASUC is now campaigning for men to be allowed to write "househusband" on national ID cards. In Italy, many regional laws still do not permit this and so men are forced to write "unemployed", even if they have chosen to stay-at-home.

18 The *Istituto di Studi sulla Paternità* (<http://www.ispitalia.org/>) has different purposes: to promote the study of fatherhood with particular emphasis on its psychological, pedagogical, social, biological, historical an juridical aspects; to support the paternal role and functions.

dealing with women's issues, regularly collaborates with other association such as the men's Association *Maschile Plurale*.

With regard to interviews, some interesting suggestions to increase involvement of Italian men in gender equality were offered. Both interviews stress both the need and the potential benefits to involve men in gender equality issues. Fiorenzo Bresciani says:

> Male involvement is a necessity, an involvement that can generate high benefits […] For men it is an enrichment.

And Maurizio Quilici states:

> This would generate great advantages: not only a deeper respect for the woman, but a personal growth, an individual enrichment […] more responsible fatherhood models and better education for the new generations, too.

Despite this, there are still some obstacles to a full male involvement in gender issues. Fiorenzo Bresciani says:

> The model that society (and the media within Italian society) usually proposes is the man who "does not need to ask", a model that no longer exists. Another stereotype refers to the rigid division of roles between men and women (especially within the family): this is a major obstacle to progress towards gender equity.

In his interview, Fiorenzo Bresciani also discusses the problem of women's "resistance" against men's involvement in family and caring roles, a dimension of everyday life traditionally managed by women:

> […] not knowing that they are losing a great advantage, women continue to say "we do not like househusbands".

And Maurizio Quilici states:

> I believe, however, that the setting of equal opportunity in Italy has a bias: it is oriented towards the elimination of discrimination and stereotypes that affect – certainly to a greater extent – women, but shows little attention to the male dimension.

Maurizio Quilici also mentions the social actors who could help:

> The family, of course, and the school. But, among the traditional educational agencies, the family has lost many chances. And the public school suffers, at all levels, from years of bad government. In the media, for example, a general barbarism – especially within television – reduces the chance to work for a change in gender culture.

He also proposes an increase in the adult male presence in schools, starting from the early years of compulsory education, and advocates *educational programs* designed to enhance *fathering* skills and promote paternal family involvement, with particular attention to critical moments of the life course, such as separation/divorce. He says:

> Our institutions should take more responsibility. Actions should be articulated at all levels: from the relevant ministries to individual municipalities. A good practice would be to arrange pre-marriage courses for parents-to-be and new parents, courses for separated/divorced parents. Courses for separated/divorced fathers could perhaps avoid some family tragedies… Also educational projects in schools, from elementary schools to university. These initiatives are, in other countries, in an advanced stage.

Then, he adds a final, important suggestion:

> I believe that success depends largely on the (not easy) choice of the right strategies. Strategies to involve men on the basis of genuine equality. In my opinion, attitudes that come from a "feminist" ideology are doomed to failure. The involvement should be activated by both men and women, this in order to guarantee impartiality and objectivity.

3. *Conclusions*

The familistic connotations of the Italian context complicates and at the same time calls for educational projects to prepare the new generations of men for their encounter with the multiple trends which have arisen as a consequence of social change.

The above-reported projects show that a re-orientation of the historical lack of balance between the male and female genders

requires many closely inter-linked components: from the removal of gender stereotypes to the need to set up more suitable training formation processes for new generations (such as the importance of structuring text books) and including the preparation for parental and care functions, the handling of the relationship between gender and social change as well as education about the plurality of gender identities.

The legislative, educational, research initiatives taken into account also reveal the emergence of "new" types of masculinity-which are more egalitarian and oriented to sharing and caring-and the need to understand and support them. Two aspects seem particularly relevant to the development of a culture of gender equality. First, a general concern that day-care institutions and schools remain a female-dominated environment. Second, the belief that overcoming the problematic aspects of gender traditionalism and familism, cannot be achieved without the shared involvement of *both* women and men. In Italy (as in many other countries), there cannot be gender equality without the participation of men.

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The Authors

Beatrice Chromková Manea is a researcher at the Office for Population Studies, which is the research institute of the Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University in Brno (FSS MU), Czech Republic. She has a doctoral degree in Sociology from the same faculty. Her research is focused on fertility behavior (at present, male reproduction behavior), preferences for work and family and the relationship between well-being, age and health. Her recent publications are: Chromková Manea, B. and Rabušic, L., Male fertility in the Czech Republic – first empirical evidence, *Demografie*, 4, 2013; Rabušic, L. and Chromková Manea, B., Velikost rodiny-postoje, normy a realita (Family size-attitudes, norms and reality), *Demografie*, 3, 2013; Rabušic, L. and Chromková Manea, B., Řekni, kde ti muži jsou? O chybějících mužích ve studiích reprodukce (Where have all the men gone? On missing men in studies on reproduction), *Sociální studia*, 4, 2011.

Isabella Crespi is associate professor in Family sociology and Cultural sociology at the Faculty of Education, University of Macerata, Italy. She is coordinator of the ESA RN13 Sociolgy of families and intimate lives (2013-2015). Current research activities include studies about family, gender and work in European social policies but also gender identity process, the definition of difference, diversity and inequality. Her recent publications include: Crespi, I., Bould, S. and Schmaus, G., The cost of a child, mother's employment behaviour and economic insecurity in Europe, *International Review of Sociology*, 1, 2012; Crespi, I. and Rossi, G. (eds.), Families, welfare state and social changes in the European context, *International Sociological Review, Special issue*, 3, 2013.

Christin Czaplicki is researcher at the Munich Center for the Economics of Aging at the Max Planck Institute for Social Law and Social Policy and PhD student at the Technical University of Berlin. She works on life course patterns of care and work as well as on topics of social inequality, gender and labor market participation.

Veronika V. Eberharter is associate professor in economics at the Faculty of Economics and Statistics, University of Innsbruck, Austria. Her research interests are in the topics of personal income distribution, income inequality, and intra- and intergenerational economic and social mobility. Current research activities include studies about labour market behaviour, and wage mobility in countries with different welfare states regimes. Her recent publications include: Intergenerational Educational Mobility and Social Exclusion. Germany and the United States Compared, *Research on Economic Inequality*, 20, 2012, and The Intergenerational Transmission of Occupational Preferences, Segregation, and Wage Inequality – Empirical Evidence from Europe and the United States, *Journal of Applied Social Science Studies*, 133 (2), 2013, and Marginalization and Social Exclusion. Threats to Life-Satisfaction and Social Cohesion – Empirical Evidence from Germany and the United States, in Kapferer, E., Koch, A. and Sedmak, C. (eds.), *Strengthening Intangible Infrastructures*, Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013.

Vida Kanopienė is professor of Sociology at the faculty of Social Policy, Mykolas Romeris University (Vilnius, Lithuania). She has published extensively on gender and employment, family and population development (migration and ageing) issues. Current research includes the study of new family models and social networks in contemporary Lithuania, aiming to reveal their mutual influences as well as to explore the role of gender in relationships between generations within a family. Her recent publications include: Kanopienė, V., Mikulionienė, S. and Česnuitytė, V., *Family and Social Networks: Intergenerational Perspective. Analytical results*, Vilnius, Mykolo Romerio universitetas, 2013

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Tatjana Mika is head of the research data centre of German Pension Insurance at the Federal Pension Insurance in Berlin. She works on the topics of old age security, social inequality and migration. Her recent publications include: Disability retirement risk of different occupations in German, *Bundesgesundheitsblatt*, 3, 2013 and Mika, T. and Stegmann, M., Voluntary care giving in the Life Course of Women in Eastern and Western Germany, in Doblhammer, G. and Scholz, R. (eds.), *Aging, Care Need and Quality of Life*, Wiesbaden, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2010.

Tina Miller is a Professor of Sociology in the Department of Social Sciences at Oxford Brookes University in the UK. Her research and teaching interests include motherhood and fatherhood transitions, gender and identities, reproductive health, narratives, qualitative research methods and ethics and she has published in all these areas. She has been engaged as an expert advisor by the World Health Organisation, political parties and think tanks and participated in various TV and radio programmes in relation to her research and publications on motherhood, fatherhood and gender. Her most recent sole-authored book is *Making Sense of Fatherhood: Gender, Caring and Work,* published by Cambridge University Press in 2010.

Ladislav Rabušic is professor of Sociology at Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University (FSS MU), Czech Republic. Currently, he is also the director of Office for Population Studies which is the research institute of FSS MU. His research is focused mainly on Czech low fertility (at present, he works on male reproduction) and the effects of ageing. He is also interested in sociology of values, where he is the Czech representative for *Europan Values Study* project (European comparative longitudinal research on value change). His recent publications are: Chromková Manea,

B. and Rabušic, L., Male fertility in the Czech Republic – first empirical evidence, *Demografie*, 4, 2013; Rabušic, L. and Chromková Manea, B., Velikost rodiny-postoje, normy a realita (Family size-attitudes, norms and reality), *Demografie*, 3, 2013; Rabušic, L. and Chromková Manea, B., Řekni, kde ti muži jsou? O chybějících mužích ve studiích reprodukce (Where have all the men gone? On missing men in studies on reproduction), *Sociální studia*, 4, 2011.

Elisabetta Ruspini is Associate Professor in Sociology at the University of Milano-Bicocca (Italy) and Coordinator of the AIS (Associazione Italiana di Sociologia – Italian Sociological Association) Research Section "Studi di Genere" (Gender Studies). She is a board member of the ESA RN33 (Women's and Gender Studies). She has extensive teaching and research experience, and has published widely on gender issues. She is the main editor of the book series "Generi, Culture, Sessualità" (Gender, Cultures, Sexualities), published by FrancoAngeli, Milano.

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Isabella Crespi is associate professor in Family sociology and Cultural sociology at the Department of Education, Cultural Heritage and Tourism, University of Macerata, Italy. She is coordinator of the ESA RN13 Sociology of families and intimate lives (2013-2015). Current research activities include studies about family, gender and work in European social policies but also gender identity process, the definition of difference, diversity and inequality.

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