

WORKSHOP

“IF I HAD TWO LIVES” The Tensions Due to Role Conflict in Western European, Post-Socialist and American Women*

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Abstract: This paper examines the chances and changes of conflict between family and work roles of women in West European and post-socialist countries and the USA based on multivariate statistical methods. The most significant differences among the various regions are the features of female employment. This is reflected in the results as well. Based on the facts both in 1994 and 2002 women living in post-socialist countries had the highest probability to face role conflict. In Western European countries women seemed to be more protected from role conflict as a result of part-time employment.

Keywords: ISSP, double burden, role theory, role conflict, role accumulation, family–work conflict, part-time employment

One of the common issues of the literature on gender role conflicts is the phenomenon of double burden supported mostly by women. The core of the double burden, also called the second shift, is that with the advent of the two-earner family model, women need pertinence in two fronts: not only at work but also in the household duties and child rearing. Hence, the conflict between female family role and the working–professional role is a typical example of role conflict.

The paper will try to present women who could face the role conflict between mother and working woman with multidimensional statistical methods on the 1994 and 2002 databases of the ISSP (International Social Survey Programme) after a theoretical introduction. It has to be said beforehand that with the available variables the occurrence of role conflict and its intensity cannot be directly measured. The database provides indirect information only.

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It has been considered whether this particular issue can be seized with quantitative methods, or is it rather typically a field where only qualitative methods, like structured interviews, would be effective? When researching role conflict, qualitative methods can map the deeper structure of conflict between the roles and another great advantage is that the person living in conflict can present the situation with one's own words. Yet, one of the biggest disadvantages of the qualitative methods is that when used on a bigger sample the collection of data and its analysis is an immensely time consuming activity. Finally, the ideal solution would be if both quantitative and qualitative data collection could have taken place. In the present situation, however, the paper is based on quantitative data which allows the author to make more general statements on the topic.¹

First the theory of social roles and more precisely role conflict and role accumulation theories are presented. In the next chapter the regions are presented focusing on the history of the employment of women and the characteristics of the child benefits system of the welfare state. This will be followed by the analysis.

SOCIAL ROLE THEORIES, ROLE CONFLICT, ROLE ACCUMULATION

One of the fathers of classical (normative) role theory, G. H. Mead defines the role as regular complex behavior connected to given situations that are constructed around the personal goal-attainment motivations of a person and also defined by collective norms and expectations (Mead 1973). Erving Goffman emphasizes more the regulative elements. According to Goffman:

„status is a position in some system or pattern of positions and is related to the positions in the unit through reciprocal ties, through rights and duties binding on the incumbents. Role consists of the activity the incumbent would engage in were he to act solely in terms of the normative demands upon someone in his position. [...] Role is the basic element of socialization” (Goffman 1972: 75–76).²

These theoretical approaches are called normative role theory. They state that role-behavior is the function of regulative sanctions; behavior is defined by sanctions connected to the roles (Csepeli 2001).

The criticism of normative role theory started in the sixties. The main objection of critics was normative definiteness: it is overly simplifying and too static to think that while one tries to perform a given role, one tries to behave conformingly in view of the possible sanctions. Goffman points out, when reviewing his own role theory that role means a typical reaction which could be different from the actual performance. It is very important that the typical role is not the role defined by the normative aspect of the role. Therefore the three elements constituting the typical role, the normative

1 Role conflict cannot be measured with purely quantitative methods. In the mid-eighties, Chusmir and Koberg developed the sex role conflict scale (SRCS) in which they try to measure tensions raising from role conflict with 17 statements (Chusmir and Koberg 1986).

2 It must be noted that the other main figure of role theory, Ralph Linton also starts to define role from the notion of status. He defines role as follows:

aspect and the actual performance need to be treated separately. These three do not necessarily coincide (Goffman 1978).

The interpretative role theory was born as a critique of normative role theory. The interpretative theory emphasizes the social origin of the roles: the social field is central in the theory. The theory concentrates on the context of role formation. Helena Znaniecka Lopata redefines the concept of role from this point of view as being a multitude of mutually interdependent social interactions that take place between the individual and a social circle (Lopata 2006). The role could include obligations, rights and privileges. It is worth defining who is included in the social circles: all those individuals and other social actors whom the actor has obligations towards and who entitle the actor to perform a certain role. The society or the social circle has the right to define the capabilities that allow the actor to perform a certain role.

An individual can have multiple roles at the same time and these might be in conflict. The author will concentrate on presenting those role conflicts where one actor's different roles are in conflict. This is called conflict between roles.³ Csepeli thinks that this results in the under-performance of both roles (Csepeli 2001).

The thoughts of László Cseh-Szombathy about role conflict use elements of the normative theory. He defines role conflict as the contention between role expectations (Cseh-Szombathy 1985: 68). He locates three main sources of conjugal conflict:

- a) The personalities of the spouses,
- b) The functioning of the family micro-community
- c) The macro-societal level: norms and goal system.

The third type is important for our work, because this type includes the norms of the society regulating gender roles. Role conflicts can develop from different role expectations, but also from the cultural differences due to differences in social development (Cseh-Szombathy 1985: 60). The author thinks that this phenomenon is most common among the wives of the Occidental world, but expands the analysis to non-married couples also, to women living in cohabitation, since in the author's view it is not the act of marriage that defines to what extent a woman feels tension due to role conflict. Cseh-Szombathy claims that the fulfillment or the wish to fulfill both the expectations of earning activity and the roles inside the family is especially problematic amongst women (Cseh-Szombathy 1985: 70). On the one hand, a woman does not only work for the lack of choice (although this remains an important factor, since the earnings of women are just as necessary as those of men), but also because she is interested in what she is doing and therefore she fulfils her need for self-realization. The main conflict is based on the fact that women fulfilling their family tasks persist using the traditional solutions according to Cseh-Szombathy. "If one is working on a regular basis he/she will not be able to fulfill family and economic tasks on the required level" (Cseh-Szombathy 1985: 71). Cseh-Szombathy highlights that in modern societies one of the gravest conflicts is between the mother's role and the working woman's role. This is because mothers stop their earning activities for a shorter or longer period when giving birth, and thus they cannot practise their

3 The other two major types are conflicts inside the role and conflicts between the person and the role.

profession for a period of time. The time spent at home and rupture in the career have an effect on later possibilities. Cseh-Szombathy thinks that the partners' role would be very important to decrease this role conflict, if the partner "thinks of his role as a father as an important one from the beginning and takes part in child rearing [...] Yet, the more common behaviour of the husband is not this. A large part of husbands thinks it is natural, that the wife prefers the mother's role and does not see interruption in the career as a problem" (Cseh-Szombathy 1985: 74).

Cseh-Szombathy thinks that the problem is that this behaviour is externally supported by the society, since the society itself thinks that this is the natural way of behaving. "When conflict between motherhood and work is the question the usual reaction is to accord priority to the mother's role without hesitation and to think that the disadvantages in the woman's career are natural ones" (Cseh-Szombathy 1985: 75).

Cseh-Szombathy says that this internal conflict can become an external one quite easily, a conflict between the parties in the relationship, if the man still thinks that when the woman returns to the labour market he will not help in the household duties, because he has fulfilled the expectations with his wage-earning work (Cseh-Szombathy 1985: 75).

When discussing the different role theories, the role accumulation theory should also be mentioned. This theory appears parallel to the critique of normative theory and is a criticism of the role conflict theories. According to Sieber the role conflict theories do not consider the possibility that multiple roles could create positive sentiments and awards than oversize the burden due to the expectations. He lists the possible positive outcomes under the following four categories: (1) privileges of the role, (2) status security, (3) the role performance as a source to increase status, (4) the enrichment of the personality and the gratification of the self (Sieber 1974). Beáta Nagy stresses that the role accumulation theory could be even more appropriate than the role conflict theory to analyse the role conflict of working women; however, the ideal would be if both points of view were used by researchers to describe the characteristics of the different role performances (Nagy 2001). In the present research the standpoint of role accumulation cannot be included (since no attitude questions were asked in the questionnaire), but in a future research it shall not be neglected.

THE REGIONS AND THEIR SPECIFICATIONS/CHARACTERISTICS

The countries examined are categorized under the following three major regions:

- The USA is a region on its own,
- Post-socialist countries: Czech Republic, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Poland and Hungary.
- West European countries: Germany, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Spain, UK and the Netherlands.

The three regions were primarily created according to the World Value Map of Inglehart and Baker (2000) from where the following two dimensions were derived:

(1) traditional/secular-rational and (2) survival/self-expression values⁵. The three regions are all in different quarters of the map.

Moreover, there are other relevant issues to the topic that have led to keeping this categorization. The most important of these are the structure of the flow of women in the employment market, the ratio of part-time employment and parenting habits. Zsuzsa Blaskó notes major differences in the work of women, in their presence in the employment market and the structure of employment between post-socialist and West European countries (Blaskó 2006). A brief presentation of these follows.

Edit S. Molnár calls our attention to the fact that "the situation of women has developed in a different manner in West European countries and in ex-socialist ones, which have in the last decade switched to market economy" (S. Molnár 1999: 44).

The main difference, according to S. Molnár is that in the North and West European countries the incorporation of women in the labor market was the result of development inside the society, while in the post-socialist countries it was part of the forced equalization ideology and policy of the regime and was accepted by the general public with much more reluctance and opposition compared to Western Europe. As the educational level of women increased public opinion about women working also changed. In post-socialist countries, while in the 1970s the majority of people thought that women would prefer to stay at home rather than work, in the 1980s it was a minority of the working-age women who thought that working was not an option. The 1990s led to further modernization of thought (S. Molnár 1999).⁶

In the USA the employment ratio of women started to rise in the 1940s. While in 1940 15 % of women were employed, in 1950 24 % were, in 1960 32 %, in 1970 41%, in 1980 50 % and in 1995 61 % of women were employed. The massive integration of women with school-age children started in the 1960s and in 2000 two thirds of mothers with maximum kindergarten-age children were working and three fourths of mothers with school-age children were present on the labor market (Nagy et al. 2005).

Gřsta Esping-Andersen thinks the States is an example of the liberal welfare state where certification of eligibility is necessary to getting aid and "it is one where the limits of welfare equal the marginal propensity to opt for the welfare state instead of work. Entitlement rules are therefore strict and often associated with stigma; benefits are typically modest" (Esping-Andersen 1990: 26).

This resulted in the motivation of women to enter the labor market. Part-time employment started in the 1950s, and the most intensive increase of this form of employment took place in the 1970s. When looking at the ratio of women employed part-time as we go further in time the ratio of part-time employees aged 22-44 and 45-64 increasingly differs. In 1969 the younger group's employment rate was 17 % and that of the older 13 %. In 1990 in the group of 22-44 year-olds the ratio increased

5 The two dimensions were created from 10 attitudinal variables with factor analysis. The two dimensions explained 70% of the cross-national variance in a factor analysis of ten indicators and each of these dimensions is strongly correlated with scores of other important orientations.

6 For this later result it has to be added that according to the research of Olga Tóth (1995a) in Hungary between 1988 and 1994 the opinion of men, but especially women turned towards a more traditional perception about women and work. Tóth thinks that the major reason for the opinion shift was that "the women were tired of the burden, greater than that of West European women, created by full-time employment and the household duties." (Tóth 1995a)

by 10 percentage-points, while the older group underwent a slight decrease by 1.5 percentage-points (Tilly 1991). Now the rate of part-time employment of women according to OECD data is just over 20 %.⁷

In the USA the childcare institutions are profit-oriented and only the neediest receive social aid. Therefore, two-earner families with children have to finance the day-care of their children on their own, from their actual income. Ákos Tárkányi notes that the USA “has the least generous and developed family policy system” (Tárkányi 1997: 199). In 1995 54 % of children aged under 3 were placed in day-care institutions in the USA. This is a high percentage compared to the fact that in the average 76 % of the costs are paid directly by the parents. Mária Frey explains this with the fact that “the families do not decide according to availability when deciding to use a service but also considering cost and quality” (Frey 2001: 292). It is not uncommon that low-income families spend as much as one fourth of their income on childcare fees as Frey notes in her article (Frey 2001). Margaret L. Anderson describes that in the USA of the 1980s childcare was practically a private enterprise and was the responsibility of women to a quasi full extent. The home ‘isolation’ of children is based on the assumption that the mother is the person most capable of taking care of the child. Still, there are some exceptions, says Anderson: the babysitters and the nanny. In this case the mother manages the childcare, but it is another person who actually does it. Anderson also mentions that by examining the American employment figures it can be seen that the ratio of women entering the labour market is very high and is especially high in the case of mothers with no school-age children (L. Anderson 1983: 181–182).

The West European countries show much more heterogeneity, but still pose some distinctive characteristics when compared with the other two regions. It was also in the period following the war that women in Western Europe started to enter the labor market and this process accelerated in the last three decades. In the countries included in the survey the employment rate of women was around 65% in 2002. This is an important increase compared to the average of about 50 % in 1994. It has to be noted that Spain is very different from this point of view, the employment rate of women in 2002 was just 44 % and in 1994 one third of working-age women were employed.⁸ As for the part-time employment rates: a higher ratio of women is employed part-time than in the post-socialist countries. The Netherlands is a special example in this respect where in 1994 the ratio of part-time employment was 54% and in 2002 it reached 76 %. The Netherlands has a different history in women’s employment: in the 1960s the employment rate was extremely low, especially the rate of employed married women (in 1960 the first was 26%, the latter 9%). Between the 1960s and the 1990s the ratio of employed women practically doubled and that of married women became seven times its original. The prevalence of part-time work was an important factor in this change. In 1980 half of Dutch women worked part-time (Sainsbury 1996). Similar tendencies can be seen in other West European countries. Usually, the increase in the employment rate of women since the 1960s is due to married women entering the labor market. This phenomenon, on the other hand is due to the increase in part-time employment

⁷ www.oecd.org/dataoecd/30/39/38752777.pdf, downloaded 14 June 2008

⁸ Source: KSH, *Nemzetközi statisztikai évkönyv*. [Central Statistical Office, Hungary, International Statistical Yearbook.] 2004.

positions, just like in the Netherlands. There are diverse forms of pre-school childcare. In the UK and Austria it is also the private sector that provides for the care of children aged under 3, while in the other countries there is a strong state participation. Children aged over 3 are in the majority in state establishments in all countries.⁹

In post-socialist countries the massive flow of women to the labor market started also after the Second World War, due to the pressure of political ideology. The period of extensive industrialization needed workforce and one of the most important resources of the time were women working at home and the urban migration of peasant women (Schadt 2003: 40–41). According to Mária Schadt, Western and Eastern societies can easily be distinguished from each other on the basis of their opinion on women’s employment. The author says that “the labor demand of the economy constantly absorbs spare women, therefore, the economic activity rate of women is constantly rising and high, while in Western Europe the employment rate is usually characterized by fluctuation.” (Schadt 2003: 42)

Schadt thinks that the attempt of the socialist society to change the lifestyle of women in a dramatic way has had a series of negative effects. Before, it was nearly exclusively the task of women to provide for the family, to be a full-time housewife, but due to the above mentioned changes the housewife as a lifestyle was downgraded compared to the image and ideology of working women. Schadt thinks that what the ideology propagated as the equality and liberation of women was no other than the birth of the double burden. The problem was that the traditional division of labour remained intact inside the family and the tasks that political ideology did not appreciate still remained aligned to women (i.e. the management of the household). Moreover, with the double burden, women had to face brand new roles, roles without a set example: they did not have a model to inform them how they could live up to the expectations of the multiple roles in the two-earner model, the main question being how one can be a good working woman and a good wife and a caring mother at the same time (Schadt 2003: 143–146).

It is characteristic of post-socialist countries that the rate of employment is lower than in Western countries and the great majority of employment (nearly all) is a full-time one. The ratio of part-time employment is over 10 % only in Poland (it was 13 % in 2003, while in 1995 it was 6 %). The rate of female employment was around 55 % in 2003 in the countries included in our paper. This was only 5 percentage-points higher than that of 1995.¹⁰ So, while the rate is lower, women present on the labour market work a higher number hours than the women in Western Europe.

According to the data of the OECD, children between the ages 3 and 6 can be placed in state financed day-care institutions in post-socialist countries, while the possibilities for children under 3 are more varied.¹¹ Children aged under 3 are mostly cared for in the private sector in Poland and the Czech Republic, while in the other countries state provision is dominant.

9 Source: OECD, www.oecd.org/dataoecd/45/28/37864525.pdf, downloaded on 14 June 2008.

10 Source: KSH, *Nemzetközi statisztikai évkönyv*. [Central Statistical Office, Hungary, International Statistical Yearbook.] 2004, personal calculations.

11 Source: www.oecd.org/dataoecd/45/28/37864525.pdf, downloaded 18 June 2008.

ANALYSIS

It has been aimed to figure out whether there was a difference in the role the mothers would think appropriate at different ages of their child, and what they could realize from these in the West European region, in the post-socialist countries and in the USA.¹² If there is a difference between what a mother could do and what she wished for, then it can be supposed that the mother experienced a role conflict. To answer to this question the paper will use the ISSP databases of 1994 and 2002. The hypothesis is that the highest number of women facing role conflict will be in the post-socialist region, because they face the strongest pressure of double burden. As for the longitudinal dimension the expectation is that the ratio of women potentially facing role conflict does not change significantly. There were no important changes in these countries that would suggest the pluralization of employment modes. For the other two regions, that is Western Europe and the USA, the author expects to find a smaller ratio of role conflict with a possible increase between the two years due to the expansion of the two-earner family model.

The questionnaire enquired whether a woman should work and what the respondents actually did, when in the given situation in the following three time periods of life:¹³

1. When there is a child under school age,
2. After the youngest child starts school,
3. After the children leave home.

The possible answers were: (1) to work full-time, (2) to work part-time and (3) to stay at home.

Right at this point, the difficulty of international comparative survey research can be seen looking at the time periods in the question. The welfare system of the different countries and the ideology behind them determine whether these boundaries have a common validity. Let us take the example of Hungary, where the decisive moment is not when the child reaches school age, but day-care age is much more important, since it then becomes possible for the mother to work again even full time, as the child turns 3, when the flat-rate childcare allowance¹⁴ is no longer due, which is a motivating factor for the mother to return to work if the family is not well off enough for the mother not to work. Still, having considered the above problematic issues the author thinks that the variables are good enough to reveal the eventual role conflicts, since these boundaries are important in the family versus work conflict.

A new variable is created from the three above mentioned answers to measure the ideal mother's role as regards when and how much the mother should work. A second variable is created to measure what the given respondent actually did. Hence, only women who have experienced all three periods and have given valid answers to all

12 The same question that is how the interviewee worked in the different parts of the life cycle was asked to male respondents also. However, no information is available on the expectations of work from the father in the different periods, so frustration due to the father's role cannot be measured even though it is a very interesting area. This question would merit further research.

13 To be totally exact the question referred to four periods, but the first before the birth of the first child was left out, in order to be able to treat the typology as an ordinal variable.

14 GYES in Hungarian.

questions are included in the analysis.¹⁵ Then what the mothers realized was examined.¹⁶ As expected, life changes the ideal and the number of realized forms is greater than previously imagined.¹⁷ The typology was expanded with these.

The values of the typology are scaled, on the one end there are the mothers who work all the time (who have worked full-time during all the three periods and think this is the ideal), and on the other end are the mothers that stay at home full-time. In between the logical answer-structures can be ordered. The principal idea is that the younger the child is, the more time the mother should be able to spend with him/her. If we look at the two endpoints only 7.4% of the mothers opt for the lifestyle of the full-time working mother, while 28.7% had to do so. At the same time 17% stayed at home during all three periods, while no respondent chose this to be the ideal one. Thus, it can be clearly seen that the ideal working career and the realized one differ a great deal (*Appendix, Table 1*).

A typology with 3 values is created from these two variables. The meanings are the following:

1. Women who could not realize their expectations and had to work more than they planned in these periods. They are the ones who felt frustration, because they could perform their mother’s role less than their working role.
2. There are the women who were lucky enough to arrange their life as optimal as they wished to see it.
3. The third group consists of women who worked less than they expressed they thought a mother should during the given periods. They are frustrated, because they could not fulfill their role as working women.

Looking at the data in 1994 and 2002 we can see that the distribution of the variable measuring the different frustrations does not change between the two years (*Table 1*).

Table 1. Distribution of the Variable Measuring the Frustration connected to the Mother’s Role in the Three Periods in 1994 and 2002, %

| | 1994 | 2002 | P |
|--------------------------------|-------|-------|-----|
| Worked more than thought ideal | 43.1 | 44.7 | 0.5 |
| Realized the ideal | 22.3 | 21.2 | 0.5 |
| Worked less than thought ideal | 34.5 | 34.1 | 0.8 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | – |

Looking at the proportion of women in the different categories in the two years we can see significant change only in the post-socialist countries in two categories: the

15 Afterwards the cases where, for instance due to the age of the respondent it was suspicious that the answer of the final variable was possible. Women between 18 and 29 were excluded. The guideline was that before the child went to school the mother should work maximally the same way as when the smallest child is at school and should work the same way maximum when the children leave the home. Those that fulfilled the above mentioned criteria were accepted for the answer structure.

16 The ratio of logical answers was 85.70%, 14.30% was invalid, 12.84%, because it has a missing variable and 1.46% gave illogical answers.

17 Among the realized forms there were some considered that were judged good but did not appear on the expectation-variable. These were added to the typology.

number of women feeling frustrated in their mother's role decreased significantly and the number of women who would have liked to work more increased significantly (Table 2). When comparing the regions, it can be seen that in both years it was in the post-socialist countries that the proportion of women was the highest in the category working more than they wished to. Thus, the hypothesis seems to be verified.

Table 2. Distribution of the Variable Measuring Frustration connected to Mother's Role in the three Periods in 1994 and 2002, within the Regions, %

| | 1994 | 2002 | P |
|---------------------------------|-------|-------|--------|
| Western Europe | | | |
| Worked more than thought ideal | 33.1 | 37.1 | 0.2 |
| Realized the ideal | 28.6 | 23.7 | 0.1 |
| Worked less than thought ideal | 38.3 | 39.3 | 0.7 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | |
| Post-socialist Countries | | | |
| Worked more than thought ideal | 70.5 | 60.1 | 0.00** |
| Realized the ideal | 17.7 | 21.6 | 0.1 |
| Worked less than thought ideal | 11.8 | 18.3 | 0.01* |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | |
| USA | | | |
| Worked more than thought ideal | 42.1 | 45.6 | 0.5 |
| Realized the ideal | 19.5 | 19.2 | 0.9 |
| Worked less than thought ideal | 38.5 | 35.2 | 0.5 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

In both years the USA had the second highest proportion of women frustrated with the mother's role after the post-socialist countries and the smallest number of such women was found in Western Europe. It is very interesting that when examining women who did what they thought was ideal, we can see that in 1994 there were significant regional differences with Western European proportions being the highest, yet in 2002 there was no significant difference, there was an equalization between the regions. It seems as though the important regional difference disappeared by 2002, and there was no difference between the regions in the proportion of women who could realize their dream about harmonizing the role of mother and the role of working woman. The proportion of women who worked less and were more at home was highest in the USA followed closely by the Western countries and was lowest in the post-socialist countries.

It could be seen in the post-socialist region that the proportion of women who were more at home and worked less in the given periods increased significantly and at the same time the proportion of women who worked more and stayed at home less than they thought ideal also increased significantly. The explanation lies in the macro-statistical indexes. When looking at the rate of female unemployment between 1993 and 2003, the following trends can be detected: in the Czech Republic, Hungary

and Slovenia the rate decreased, while in Bulgaria and Poland it increased, in the latter the female unemployment rate was 20.4%¹⁸ in 2003. The author thinks that it is the development of the unemployment rate that is behind the larger number of women staying at home, because unemployment redirected women towards the household. Since Poland is by far the largest country in the region the strong relationship in Poland determines the profile of the whole region.

All in all, apparently most changes took place in the post-socialist region and it is in this region that most interrelationships can be found between the macro-statistical background and opinions.

Before analyzing the role conflict experienced by women with statistical methods, the author would like to underpin the idea that women who work more than they think ideal feel guilty for spending less time with their children. Olga Tóth comes to the conclusion that "we are witnesses of a societal bad conscience" while examining the Hungarian data of the ISSP, because from 1988 to 1994 there was a significant increase of those who agreed with the statement that "A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works" (Tóth 1995b: 35). Even among women with the highest level of education only 20 % thought a working mother was not automatically bad for the child (Tóth 1995b). In this paper the author examines that from the above created groups where will be the greatest proportion of agreement with the statement.¹⁹ The hypothesis is that the collective bad conscience noted by Tóth will be characteristic of the whole post-socialist region in both years and it will be felt more than the fellow women would in the West European countries and the USA. The second hypothesis is that women who worked more than they considered ideal would, in the average agree more with the statement. The results are summarized in *Table 3*.

18 Source: KSH, *Nemzetközi statisztikai évkönyv*. [Central Statistical Office, Hungary, International Statistical Yearbook.] 2004.

19 There is a whole series of items that measure the attitudes towards female employment in the region, but this was the only item that was significantly different in all three regions in both years from all the items that measured role conflict.

Table 3. "A Pre-school Child is likely to Suffer if his or her Mother Works."
 – Average agreement on a 5-grade scale where 1 means totally
 disagrees and 5 means completely agrees –

| | 1994 | 2002 |
|---------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Western Europe | P=0.019<0.05 | P=0.004<0.05 |
| Worked more than thought ideal | 3.57 | 3.41 |
| Realized the ideal | 3.41 | 3.14 |
| Worked less than thought ideal | 3.34 | 3.21 |
| Total | 3.50 | 3.33 |
| Post-socialist Countries | P=0.009<0.05 | P=0.000<0.05 |
| Worked more than thought ideal | 3.85 | 3.71 |
| Realized the ideal | 3.5 | 3.04 |
| Worked less than thought ideal | 3.69 | 3.52 |
| Total | 3.79 | 3.57 |
| USA | P=0.002<0.05 | P=0.000<0.05 |
| Worked more than thought ideal | 3.26 | 3.23 |
| Realized the ideal | 2.63 | 2.11 |
| Worked less than thought ideal | 3.16 | 2.93 |
| Total | 3.13 | 3.00 |

It can clearly be seen that in both years and in all three regions those women agree on the average more with the statement cited above, who worked more than they thought ideal in the age-periods of their child/children. The second hypothesis is thus verified. The first hypothesis seems to be also true, since in both years women from the post-socialist countries agreed more on the average with the statement ($p=0.000<0.05$ in both years). Moreover, in both years women from the post-socialist countries who worked more than they thought ideal agreed more on the average with the statement ($p=0.000<0.05$ in both years). It can also be seen from examining the averages that both the respondents from the Western European countries and the post-socialist countries agreed less with the statement in 2002 than they did in 1994. Thus, it seems as though collective bad conscience characterizing post-socialist countries had decreased somewhat between the two years.

The next question is what kind of socio-demographic attributes increase the chance of role conflict caused by the fact that they worked more than they thought they would have liked to. Since the analysis focuses on the aspect of more work, a dummy variable is created, where 1 means more work and 0 is the other values of the variable (ideal situation and less work than thought ideal). This variable is examined with binary logistic regression and the explanatory variables are age, level of education, economic activity, type of settlement of domicile, region, religiousness and the economic activity of the respondent's mother before the respondent was aged 14.²⁰ First, all respondents

20 The binary logistic regression model allows the variables to appear with their proper explanatory values, the effect of all the other variables in the model is filtered out.

with valid answers were included in the model and the explanatory variables such as the year of questionnaire, region, level of education, age-group, economic activity, type of settlement and religiousness were also included. The results of the binary logistic regression are summarized in Table 4.²¹

Table 4. Binary Logistic Regression Analyzing the Results of All Valid Respondents
– Conflict between professional and family roles –

| Name of the variables | B-value | S.E. | Wald-value | Sign. | Odds ratio |
|--|---------|------|------------|-------|------------|
| Constant | -1.05 | 0.32 | 10.24 | 0.00 | 0.36 |
| Religiousness (atheists) | | | 5.99 | 0.05 | |
| Maximum once a month | 0.25 | 0.15 | 2.92 | 0.09 | 1.29 |
| Every week | 0.38 | 0.16 | 5.99 | 0.01 | 1.46 |
| Did the respondent's mother work before age 14 of the respondent? (no) | 0.53 | 0.10 | 26.36 | 0.00 | 1.7 |
| Age (30-39) | | | 17.00 | 0.00 | |
| 40-49 | 1.02 | 0.26 | 15.18 | 0.00 | 2.76 |
| 50-59 | 0.90 | 0.25 | 12.56 | 0.00 | 2.46 |
| 60-69 | 0.71 | 0.28 | 6.61 | 0.01 | 2.04 |
| 70 and above | 0.72 | 0.29 | 6.09 | 0.01 | 2.06 |
| Economic activity (full- time employment) | | | 83.54 | 0.00 | |
| Part-time employment | -0.96 | 0.18 | 27.57 | 0.00 | 0.38 |
| Unemployed | -0.53 | 0.34 | 2.52 | 0.11 | 0.59 |
| Pensioner | -0.46 | 0.18 | 6.78 | 0.01 | 0.63 |
| Housewife | -1.40 | 0.18 | 62.70 | 0.00 | 0.25 |
| Other inactive | -0.14 | 0.32 | 0.18 | 0.67 | 0.87 |
| Region (Western Europe) | | | 22.21 | 0.00 | |
| Post-socialist | 0.73 | 0.17 | 18.03 | 0.00 | 2.07 |
| USA | 0.07 | 0.16 | 0.22 | 0.64 | 1.08 |

OLS $R^2 = 0.12$

RL² = 0.09

Value of Chi square 224.82; df=21; $p = 0.00 < 0.05$, hit ratio²² = 66.1%***, a priori probability = 54.5%

21 Here and from now on only the independent variables with significant effect are presented. The reference cell is in brackets after the variable name. The Bulgarian, Spanish, British and Norwegian respondents are not included in the model due to missing answers.

22 If we estimated with the modulus of the type, the hit ratio would be 54.5%, thus the model improved the goodness-to-fit.

The model itself is significant,²³ the explanatory value of the model can be characterized by the OLS R^2 ; the value is 0.12. The independent variables that affect significantly the dependent variable are the following: religiousness, economic activity of the respondent's mother, age, economic activity of the respondent and the region. The odds ratio²⁴ shows us that religiousness²⁵ is just over the significance benchmark effecting frustration. As compared to the atheists²⁶ those who go to church once a week are one and a half times more likely to live by role conflict. One can suppose that this is due to the fact that it is nearly exclusively the woman's task to rear children according to the religious world view. If the mother worked before the respondent turned 14, the probability that the respondent works more than she considered ideal is 1.7 higher than for others, so she will most likely carry on the family pattern. Compared to the 30–39 age group and to the 40–49 age group there are 3 times the odds to work more and this is the age-group with the highest odds ratio. Part-time employment compared to full-time employment means that the chance of role conflict is one third. The odds ratio is under 1 also for pensioners and housewives.

In our case it is especially interesting to see women in post-socialist countries having twice the odds to live in role conflict between their professional and family roles. This difference is even more important if one keeps in mind that this is the result while all other variables are kept under control. American women have the same odds to work more than their West European counterparts. It has to be noted that the year did not have an effect that is if we go from 1994 to 2002 it does not have a significant effect on the ratio of women potentially facing role conflict, which is in accordance with what can be seen in *Table 2*. The level of education and the type of settlement have no effect on their own.

In the next step the models are run separately for the two years (*Tables 5 and 6*).

23 We can see this from the significance of the chi-square test. The integration of the independent variables decreased by 9% the score of the likelihood function at step 0 that is the worst goodness-to-fit and could be ameliorated by this much.

24 The odds ratio is the ratio of two odds, where odds are ratios of probabilities. The odds ratio expresses what the probability of a role conflict is compared to the reference cell. If it is greater than 1, then the probability of role conflict for the given category is greater than of those in the reference cell.

25 The significance of religiousness is 0.49995.

26 In reality they are those who are not religious and those who never go to church.

Table 5. Binary Logistic Regression Analyzing, the Results of All Valid Respondents – Conflict between professional and family roles, year 1994 –

| Name of the variables | B-value | S.E. | Wald-value | Sign. | Odds ratio |
|--|---------|------|------------|-------|------------|
| Constant | -0.53 | 0.44 | 1.44 | 0.23 | 0.59 |
| Did the respondent’s mother work before age 14 of the respondent? (no) | 0.32 | 0.15 | 4.52 | 0.03 | 1.38 |
| Economic activity (full- time employment) | | | 66.84 | 0.00 | |
| Part-time employment | -1.13 | 0.26 | 19.05 | 0.00 | 0.32 |
| Unemployed | -0.54 | 0.52 | 1.08 | 0.30 | 0.58 |
| Pensioner | -0.32 | 0.25 | 1.56 | 0.21 | 0.73 |
| Housewife | -1.72 | 0.26 | 45.07 | 0.00 | 0.18 |
| Other inactive | -0.11 | 0.45 | 0.06 | 0.81 | 0.90 |
| Region (Western Europe) | | | 19.07 | 0.00 | |
| Post-socialist | 0.94 | 0.25 | 13.78 | 0.00 | 2.55 |
| USA | 0.01 | 0.24 | 0.00 | 0.95 | 0.99 |

OLS $R^2 = 0.16$

RL² = 0.12

Value of the chi-square test =161.49; df=20; p = 0.00 < 0.05. hit ratio = 67.1%***. a priori probability =55.1%

In 1994 our model was significant,²⁷ the value of OLS R_c measuring the explanatory value of the model is 0.16²⁸. In 1994 the respondent’s economic activity, the respondent’s mother’s economic activity before the respondent was aged 14 and the region were the only dependent variables. If the respondent’s mother worked before the respondent was aged 14, then the odds of frustration, not to be a good enough mother while working were one and a half times higher. As compared to being full-time employed, those employed part-time had one third of the odds to have a similar role conflict and housewives had one fifth. In 1994, women in post-socialist countries had two and a half times the odds to work more than they thought ideal. It can be seen that in 1994 the level of education, the type of settlement, religiousness and the age of the respondent had no effect on this question.

Looking at Table 6 with the 2002 data the model is significant (this can be said from the chi-square test’s significance level).

27 The inclusion of the independent variables made the model fit 12% better.

28 A hit ratio is 67.1%, if the estimated and the real group belonging there is checked in a cross-table then the significance of the lambda measure (lambda=0.26; p=0.00<0.05) suggests that the logistic regression’s independent variables increased substantially the hit ratio.

Table 6. Binary Logistic Regression Analyzing, the Results of All Valid Respondents
– Conflict between professional and family role, year 2002 –

| Name of the variables | B-value | S.E. | Wald-value | Sign. | Odds ratio |
|--|---------|------|------------|-------|------------|
| Constant | -1.67 | 0.50 | 11.36 | 0.00 | 0.19 |
| Level of education (8 grades maximum) | | | 7.42 | 0.05 | |
| 9–11 grades | 0.48 | 0.24 | 3.89 | 0.03 | 1.61 |
| 12 grades | -0.10 | 0.25 | 0.15 | 0.70 | 0.91 |
| 13 and over | -0.05 | 0.25 | 0.04 | 0.83 | 0.95 |
| Did the respondent's mother work before age 14 of the respondent? (no) | 0.72 | 0.15 | 23.80 | 0.00 | 2.06 |
| Age (30-39) | | | 14.29 | 0.01 | |
| 40–49 | 1.50 | 0.42 | 12.56 | 0.00 | 4.46 |
| 50–59 | 1.40 | 0.41 | 11.73 | 0.00 | 4.07 |
| 60–69 | 1.30 | 0.44 | 8.69 | 0.00 | 3.67 |
| 70 and above | 1.15 | 0.47 | 6.05 | 0.01 | 3.15 |
| Economic activity (full-time employment) | | | 21.01 | 0.00 | |
| Part-time employment | -0.77 | 0.27 | 8.30 | 0.00 | 0.46 |
| Unemployed | -0.48 | 0.46 | 1.09 | 0.30 | 0.62 |
| Pensioner | -0.58 | 0.25 | 5.24 | 0.02 | 0.56 |
| Housewife | -1.09 | 0.25 | 18.63 | 0.00 | 0.33 |
| Other inactive | -0.29 | 0.47 | 0.39 | 0.53 | 0.75 |

OLS $R^2 = 0.11$

RL² = 0.08

Value of the chi-square test = 102.38; df=20; $p = 0.00 < 0.05$. hit ratio = 65.9%***. a priori probability = 53.9%

The model was significant in 2002 also.²⁹ The explanatory value measured by OLS R^2 is 0.11.³⁰ It could seem as though our model became weaker from 1994 on. The following variables were significant in the model in 2002: level of education, the economic activity of the mother before the respondent was aged 14, age, economic activity of the respondent. Compared to those with basic education, those who completed grades 9 to 11 were one and a half times more likely to feel frustration while those completing 12 grades or 13 and above had the same odds as the reference group. If the respondent's mother worked before the respondent was aged 14, this increased the odds twice for the respondent to work more than she thought justified. Compared to 1994, the odds ratio grew, this factor having a greater impact. While in 1994 the age did not have a significant impact, in 2002 it changed. Compared to women in the age

29 The inclusion of the independent variables made the worst fit 8% better.

30 The hit ratio in 2002 was 65.9 %, and the estimated and the real group belonging there is checked in a cross-table where the significance of the lambda measure (lambda=0.25; $p = 0.00 < 0.05$) suggest that independent variables increased substantively the hit ratio in the logistic regression.

group 30–39, those between the ages of 40 to 49 had four and a half times the odds to live in role conflict, and this score was also above three in all other age groups. Thus, the age group 30–39 was in a much better position regarding potential frustration in 2002 than the 40–49 group was in 1994, when they were in the 30–39 age group. Compared to those who work full-time now, the odds ratio is under 1 in all other categories, so they are less likely to be frustrated. In 2002 the region was no longer significant ($p=0.07$) provided we checked the usual regions (West European countries, post-socialist countries and USA). However, if we create a dummy to check whether the respondent was from the post-socialist countries or not then this regional dummy has a significant effect on the variable measuring frustration ($p=0.034$). In this model women from the post-socialist countries were one and a half times more likely to live in frustration than women from other regions. When re-running the 1994 model with the dummied region variable, the value of post-socialist countries is 2.5. It ensues from the above that on the one hand the West European countries and the USA came closer and formed one single group in 2002, and on the other hand the odds ratio of the post-socialist countries decreased considerably, but was still over 1. This means that from 1994 to 2002 the odds of frustration of post-socialist women decreased that is the odds of the above mentioned bad collective conscience.

The binary logistic regressions run within the regions show the following: in the West European countries in both years the fact whether the respondent was raised by a full-time mother or a working mother and the economic activity of the respondent were significant (see *Appendix Tables 2 and 3*). In both 1994 and 2002 the odds of frustration doubled if the respondent's mother worked before the respondent was aged 14. The effect of employment structure changed. While in 1994 compared to full-time employment had one fourth of the odds to live in role conflict, this decreased to 0.1 in 2002. Thus part-time employment protected women better from this type of conflict in 1994. This shows that part-time employment in West European countries helps live up to both role expectations, and women resolve potential role conflicts. Thus, for women who would like to succeed in both roles part-time work solutions may be the best option.

In the post-socialist region there were important changes from 1994 to 2002 as the logistic regression models show (see *Appendix Tables 4 and 5*). Although the model is significant in both years the explanatory value was a lot weaker in 1994 (OLS $R^2=0.08$) than in 2002 (OLS $R^2=0.19$).³¹ In 1994 only the economic activity of the respondent had a significant effect on the variable measuring potential conflict. When comparing the West European and the post-socialist countries it was not the part-time employed women that had the smallest odds ratio as compared to full-time employment (they say with nearly equal odds that they work more than they think ideal), but the housewives who faced role conflict with 0.16 times less chance.

In 2002 economic activity had no significant effect on the variable measuring frustration, but the type of settlement and the age did. It is interesting that the economic activity of the respondent's mother had no effect in either year in the post-socialist region. As mentioned above the type of settlement had a significant effect:

31 Moreover, in 1994 the independent variables of the logistic regression did not increase the hit ratio in a significant manner.

city-dwellers had twice the odds to face role conflict than women living in rural settlements. Women between the ages 30–39 had odds about equal with the 40–49 age group, while the 50–59 and 60–69 age groups' odds ratio was one and a half.

In the USA in 1994 only the respondent's economic activity had an effect on the variable measuring frustration (see *Appendix Table 6*). When compared to women working full-time, women working part-time had 0.33 times less chance to face role conflict. It is interesting, that at the same time the inactive women reported as more likely to be frustrated 2.4 times. In 2002 the whole model was not significant. Even if we see 0.01 next to the respondent's mother's economic activity, this is not enough to have a significant model. At a first sight there was no dimension in 2002 in the USA that predicted with a certain security whether the respondent felt unease for not living up to her mother's role.

SUMMARY

It can clearly be seen that the proportion of women who worked more than they thought ideal was highest in the post-socialist region in both 1994 and 2002, even though the proportion of women who may have experienced role conflict between the professional and the family roles fell considerably between those two years. In 1994 the odds that a woman belonged to the group working more than ideal was two and a half. This decreased between 1994 and 2002, but still the odds were one and a half for women in the post-socialist region working more than ideal. It is important to underline that the level of education had nearly no effect on the chance of role conflict. Only in 2002 could we see that those of one category above basic education faced role conflict with one and a half times more odds and in the intra-region models this was not significant anywhere. Therefore, women with different levels of education had nearly the same chance to live in role conflict between the professional and the family roles.

The post-socialist countries could not provide an alternative employment mode, apart from full-time employment that could reduce the potential of role conflict for employees with family. The severe lack of real alternatives (most likely part-time employment) is underpinned by the data. It was presented that in West European countries part-time employment protected women better in 2002 than it did in 1994. With the support of part-time employment women who left the labour market temporarily due to childbirth could be better reintegrated later. Thus, female employment rate could increase, which would be good not only for the given country but for the whole of the European Union, since the Union has been facing an aggravating employment deficit in the past decades due to the ageing of societies. Arne L. Kalleberg highlights in his book *The Mismatched Worker* that in several countries the entering of women to the labour market is seen as a personal decision (like in the USA), while if this does not happen it has a major effect on the whole national economy (Kalleberg 2006). According to Kalleberg it is not enough to make flexible and part-time employment more accessible, but the infrastructural background also needs to be there (like day-care institutions, etc.), one can easily accept this. Moreover, it cannot be forgotten that the partners could also help effectively in the role conflict between professional and family roles, for instance with a more equal share of

housework. If this is missing most probably we will be witnessing the prolongation and rebirth of role conflict with each generation in the future.

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Do you think that women should work outside the home full-time, part-time or not at all under the following circumstances (when there is a child under school age, after the youngest child starts school, after the children leave home)? Possible answers:

Work full-time, Work part-time, Stay at home.

The structure of the responses and their distribution, %

| How did the respondent work? | Actually (%) | Ideally (%) | Is this a good Response-structure? |
|---|--------------|--------------|------------------------------------|
| Full-time full time | 28.68 | 7.44 | Yes |
| Full-time -Full-time -Part-time | 0.77 | - | No |
| Full-time -Full-time -Stay at home | 1.19 | - | No |
| Full-time -Part-time -Full-time | 0.34 | 0.64 | No |
| Full-time -Full-time -Part-time | 0.32 | - | No |
| Full-time -Part-time -Stay at home | 0.13 | - | No |
| Full-time -Stay at home-Full-time | 0.41 | - | No |
| Full-time -Stay at home-Part-time | 0.25 | - | No |
| Full-time -Stay at home-Stay at home | 0.52 | 0.14 | No |
| Part-time -Full-time -Full-time | 5.38 | 11.49 | Yes |
| Part-time -Full-time -Part-time | 0.42 | - | No |
| Part-time -Full-time -Stay at home | 0.24 | - | No |
| Part-time -Part-time -Full-time | 5.58 | - | Yes |
| Part-time -Part-time -Part-time | 4.29 | 20.57 | Yes |
| Part-time -Part-time -Stay at home | 0.80 | - | No |
| Part-time -Stay at home-Full-time | 0.12 | - | No |
| Part-time -Stay at home-Part-time | 0.08 | - | No |
| Part-time -Stay at home-Stay at home | 0.78 | 0.69 | No |
| Stay at home-Full-time -Full-time | 7.29 | 4.75 | Yes |
| Stay at home-Full-time -Part-time | 0.38 | - | No |
| Stay at home-Full-time -Stay at home | 0.50 | - | No |
| Stay at home-Part-time -Full-time | 6.65 | - | Yes |
| Stay at home-Part-time -Part-time | 5.63 | 30.37 | Yes |
| Stay at home-Part-time -Stay at home | 0.79 | - | No |
| Stay at home-Stay at home-Full-time | 6.22 | 11.08 | Yes |
| Stay at home-Stay at home-Part-time | 5.31 | - | Yes |
| Stay at home-Stay at home-Stay at home | 16.94 | - | Yes |
| No valid answers | - | 12.84 | - |
| Total | 100.00 | 100.0 | - |

Table 2. Binary Logistic Regression Analyzing the Results of All Valid Respondents – Conflict between professional and family role, West European countries, 1994 –

| Name of the variables | B-value | S.E. | Wald-value | Sign. | Odds ratio |
|--|---------|------|------------|-------|------------|
| Constant | -0.27 | 1.00 | 0.08 | 0.78 | 0.76 |
| Did the respondent’s mother work before age 14 of the respondent? (no) | 0.69 | 0.29 | 5.61 | 0.02 | 1.99 |
| Economic activity (full- time employment) | | | 29.69 | 0.00 | |
| Part-time employment | -1.41 | 0.56 | 6.22 | 0.01 | 0.24 |
| Unemployed | -0.89 | 0.73 | 1.50 | 0.22 | 0.41 |
| Student | | | | | |
| Pensioner | -0.91 | 0.54 | 2.84 | 0.09 | 0.40 |
| Housewife | -2.88 | 0.56 | 26.40 | 0.00 | 0.06 |
| Other inactive | -1.34 | 0.70 | 3.69 | 0.05 | 0.26 |

OLS $R^2 = 0.19$

RL $^2 = 0.16$

Value of the chi-square test =58.82; df=18; $p = 0.00 < 0.05$. hit ratio = 71.2%***. a priori probability = 62.4%

Table 3. Binary Logistic Regression Analyzing the Results of All Valid Respondents – Conflict between professional and family role, West European countries, 2002 –

| Name of the variables | B-value | S.E. | Wald-value | Sign. | Odds ratio |
|--|---------|------|------------|-------|------------|
| Constant | -0.98 | 1.02 | 0.92 | 0.34 | 0.38 |
| Did the respondent’s mother work before age 14 of the respondent? (no) | 0.65 | 0.28 | 5.20 | 0.02 | 1.91 |
| Economic activity (full- time employment) | | | 26.50 | 0.00 | |
| Part-time employment | -2.38 | 0.58 | 16.57 | 0.00 | 0.09 |
| Unemployed | -0.43 | 0.78 | 0.31 | 0.58 | 0.65 |
| Student | | | | | |
| Pensioner | -1.13 | 0.54 | 4.32 | 0.04 | 0.32 |
| Housewife | -2.25 | 0.54 | 17.28 | 0.00 | 0.11 |
| Other inactive | -0.90 | 0.86 | 1.10 | 0.29 | 0.41 |

OLS $R^2 = 0.18$

RL $^2 = 0.14$

Value of the chi-square test =51.73; df=18; $p = 0.00 < 0.05$. hit ratio = 71.8%***. a priori probability = 60.3%

Table 4. Binary Logistic Regression Analyzing the Results of All Valid Respondents – Conflict between professional and family role, post-socialist countries, 1994 –

| Name of the variables | B-value | S.E. | Wald-value | Sign. | Odds ratio |
|--|---------|------|------------|-------|------------|
| Constant | -0.98 | 1.02 | 0.92 | 0.34 | 0.38 |
| Economic activity (full-time employment) | | | 10.98 | 0.05 | |
| Part-time employment | -0.09 | 0.71 | 0.01 | 0.90 | 0.92 |
| Unemployed | -0.78 | 0.65 | 1.46 | 0.23 | 0.46 |
| Student | | | | | |
| Pensioner | -0.23 | 0.39 | 0.35 | 0.55 | 0.79 |
| Housewife | -1.81 | 0.58 | 9.72 | 0.00 | 0.16 |
| Other inactive | -0.54 | 0.77 | 0.49 | 0.48 | 0.58 |

OLS $R^2 = 0.08$

RL² = 0.07

Value of the chi-square test = 31.86; df = 18; $p = 0.02 < 0.05$. hit ratio = 71.2%. a priori probability = 70.0%

Table 5. Binary Logistic Regression Analyzing the Results of All Valid Respondents – Conflict between professional and family role, post-socialist countries, 2002 –

| Name of the variables | B-value | S.E. | Wald-value | Sign. | Odds ratio |
|--|---------|------|------------|-------|------------|
| Constant | 0.02 | 0.74 | 0.00 | 0.98 | 1.02 |
| Religiousness (atheists) | | | 13.57 | 0.00 | |
| Maximum once a month | 0.58 | 0.38 | 2.27 | 0.13 | 1.78 |
| Every week | -0.32 | 0.35 | 0.84 | 0.36 | 0.73 |
| Did the respondent's mother work before age 14 of the respondent? (no) | | | 6.55 | 0.04 | |
| Age (30–39) | 0.68 | 0.30 | 5.30 | 0.02 | 1.98 |
| 40–49 | 0.08 | 0.31 | 0.07 | 0.79 | 1.09 |
| 50–59 | | | 9.81 | 0.04 | |
| 60–69 | 0.06 | 0.65 | 0.01 | 0.92 | 1.06 |
| 70 and above | 0.50 | 0.66 | 0.58 | 0.45 | 1.65 |
| | 0.44 | 0.72 | 0.37 | 0.54 | 1.55 |
| | -0.47 | 0.74 | 0.40 | 0.53 | 0.63 |

OLS $R^2 = 0.19$

RL² = 0.16

Value of the chi-square test = 80.34; df = 18; $p = 0.00 < 0.05$. hit ratio = 70.7%***. a priori probability = 59.0%

Table 6. Binary Logistic Regression Analyzing the Results of All Valid Respondents – Conflict between professional and family role, USA, 1994 –

| Name of the variables | B-value | S.E. | Wald-value | Sign. | Odds ratio |
|---|---------|------|------------|-------|------------|
| Constant | -0.28 | 1.12 | 0.06 | 0.80 | 0.75 |
| Economic activity (full- time employment) | | | 14.06 | 0.03 | |
| Part-time employment | -1.10 | 0.52 | 4.48 | 0.03 | 0.33 |
| Unemployed | -0.39 | 1.65 | 0.06 | 0.81 | 0.68 |
| Student | | | | | |
| Pensioner | -0.26 | 0.58 | 0.20 | 0.65 | 0.77 |
| Housewife | -1.52 | 0.55 | 7.61 | 0.01 | 0.22 |
| Other inactive | 0.88 | 1.35 | 0.42 | 0.52 | 2.40 |

OLS $R^2 = 0.14$

RL² = 0.12

Value of the chi-square test = 31.78; df=18; p = 0.03 < 0.05. hit ratio = 70.8%** . a priori probability = 58.6%

Table 7. Binary Logistic Regression Analyzing the Results of All Valid Respondents: – Conflict between professional and family role, USA, 2002 –

| Name of the variables | B-value | S.E. | Wald-value | Sign. | Odds ratio |
|--|---------|------------|------------|-------|------------|
| Constant | -1.74 | 1.29-01-24 | 1.97 | 0.16 | 0.18 |
| Did the respondent's mother work before age 14 of the respondent? (no) | 0.93 | 0.35 | 7.06 | 0.01 | 2.55 |

OLS $R^2 = 0.13$

RL² = 0.10

Value of the chi-square test = 26.70; df=18; p = 0.08 > 0.05. hit ratio = 67.7%** . a priori probability = 55.0%