

Changes to gender regimes in state-socialist and post-socialist Czech society: Explanation of gendered re-familialist trend

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1. Context

Previous studies emphasized:

- gendered re-familialist trend in post-1989 Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), i.e. a turn away from incentives to women's combining paid work and care, towards incentives which undermine women's employment (e.g. Fodor et al., 2002)
- differences in gender relations across CEE countries (both now and under the state socialism) (e.g. Saxonberg & Szelewa, 2007)
- existence of distinct periods of the state socialism in terms of gender relations (e.g. Haney, 2002)

Implications for current research:

- to explain mechanisms that contributed to re-familialization in the CEE
- to investigate gender relations in the broader context of gender regimes
- to explore changes to gender regimes in the different countries of CEE

3. Conceptual framework

Gender regimes

- represent a combination of culture, institutions, power relations and social practices that constitute the key policy logics of welfare states in relation to gender (Pascall & Lewis, 2004)
- are systems through which:
 - a) paid work is connected to unpaid work
 - b) state services and benefits are delivered to individuals and households
 - c) costs are allocated and time is shared between men and women in households as well as between households and employment (Pascall & Kwak, 2005; Einhorn, 2006)
- the connection between paid work and unpaid care is central to the determination of gender inequalities (Walby, 1990)
- path dependency is the core mechanism explaining institutional development, stratification outcomes and the type of logics of gender regimes (Hobson & Fahlén, 2009)

4. Results

Changes to gender regimes in Czech society 1950s-2013

Gender regimes	Gender blind full-time dual earner model	Gender conservative full-time dual earner model	Gendered full-time dual earner model with women's interrupted work trajectories	Socially stratified gendered pluralization of the life course
Time periods	1950s (from 1948)	1960s (till 1968)	1968 till 1989	1990s – 2013
Institutional and discursive processes	- gender blind equalization - growing state involvement in the family - weakening of male breadwinner model	- opening for change - voice of experts and specialist elites important	- gendered re-familialisation	- gendered privatization of care as part of continuation of the gendered re-familialization
Relations of public and private spheres	- weakening of separate gender roles - public sphere gains/ private sphere loses importance	- increase in support for separate gender roles	- support for separate gender roles - public sphere loses (prestige)/ family gains importance (as a refuge from political oppression)	- support for separate gender roles - public sphere and private ownership gains/ family loses importance (i.e. remasculinization , see e.g. Zawiska, Luyt and Zawadzka, 2013)
Political and socio-economic backgrounds	- communists came to power (1948) - decline of civil society - introduction of commanded economy - need for labour supply	- civil and political democratization - lowering of the need for labour supply - declining fertility	- Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968 followed by increase in political oppression	- post-1989 transformation followed by EU membership since 2004 - transition to market economy with the growth of unemployment and social insecurities during post-1989 transformation and since 2008 global economic crisis - lasting fertility drop
Policies	- obligation and right to work - equalization of legal rights and duties of men and women - defamilialist policies (increase in public care institutions)	- policies increasingly treating women and men differently due to motherhood	- policies aiming at segmentation of women's lives (education-care-work) for the sake of children and healthy (i.e. gender-conservative) family	- explicitly re-familialist policies (drop in public (child)care while increasing and extending payments for (mothers') home-based (child)care - EU equality acquis only formally transposed
Discourses	- idea of liberated household - discourse of bringing women into paid work to liberate them from household drudgery	- critical reflections on public childcare, fertility decline, women's burden and economic effectiveness of working mothers - freedom of choice for mothers not to be employed	- family as the only place of freedom beyond the state control - support of family quantity and quality - ideal of women's sequenced life course	- everything connected to the communist past rejected - freedom of choice for mothers not to be employed - public care as 'unhealthy communist invention'
Practices/ outcomes	- quick increase in women's employment but gender segregation and inequalities on the labor market persist - increase in the use of public childcare but intergenerational help also widespread - lack of goods and services	- two continuous full-time earners in the family widespread but criticized - improvements in women's qualifications but persisting gender segregation and inequalities on the labor market - more children placed in public childcare - lack of goods and services	- professional careers lost significance - focus on private life - women's long employment interruptions due childcare	- education and work care gained significance - increase in unemployment, economic inactivity and precarious work (mainly among mothers and low educated people) - mothers increasingly out of standard employment - university degree women increasing childless/childfree - low educated men (poor breadwinners) increasingly single - gender discrimination on the labor market increasingly connects to motherhood – motherhood employment penalty the biggest in the CR followed by Slovakia and Hungary but in a sharp contrast to one of the lowest motherhood penalties in Slovenia, former GDR or even Poland)

5. Conclusions

- Plurality of gender regimes in state-socialist period in Czechoslovakia.
- When gendered power relations are considered, alternative view of the society's development appears, which points to continuities around 1989 (which has been usually seen as a critical juncture/ formative moment in CEE).
- The formative moment proved to be situated long before 1989.
- Gendered re-familialisation and processes that supported it started in Czech society long before 1989 and contributed to a specific type of post-1989 gender regime, which is far from representing gendered power relations in CEE as a whole; it is rather one specific type firmly rooted in the historical institutional and discursive processes.

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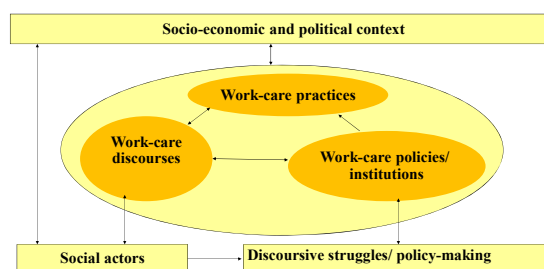
2. Research aims

- to enhance knowledge on mechanisms that ingrained gendered re-familialist trend in the CR
- to explore changes to gender regimes in the CR
- to investigate gendered power relations at the intersection of policies, ideologies and practices of paid work and care

Feminist institutionalist approach

- focus on how institutions are embedded in gendered power relations
- and how institutions influence the manner in which gendered power is exercised and gender relations change
- explains continuity and changes: though institutions 'lock' actors onto a certain path (**path dependency**), the '**openings for innovations**' emerge (Thelen, 2003)
- the '**openings for innovations**' emerge especially if contradictions are seized upon by certain social actors who try to bring about change (Pfau-Effinger, 2005)
- ideas are the key to explaining institutional change (Schmidt, 2010)

Conceptual model



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