WOMEN IN FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS WITH CHILDREN

Ondřej Nývlt

Abstract

The period after 1989 in the Czech Republic can be characterised by significant changes in demographic behaviour effecting household structure. Postponing entry into partner households combined with a decline in fertility resulted in a decline in the number of women living in partner households with children. On the contrary, the increasing divorce rate led to an increase in the number of women living with children in one-parent households. Capturing trends in structures of family cohabitation with children in the Czech Republic in the last twenty years is therefore one of the objectives of this study. In the first step the study compares different sources of data, mainly data from Census and survey data. In the second part the study shows the basic trends in the household structure focusing on the family arrangement with children. This data are related to women, mainly due to more frequent formation of one-parent households. Labour Force Survey was an essential framework for this part of study.

Key words: Family arrangements with children, households, Labour Force Survey, family cohabitation

JEL CODE: J10, J11, J13

Introduction

The period after 1945 is characterized by decreasing of average size of households. It occurred mainly due to a significant decline in the number of multigenerational households (families). The term “nuclearization” was common for development of the entire postwar period. It is based on the item of nuclear family, which is based on one family core (partners with or without children). The main point in this historical development represents the welfare state as a tool for independent life of women without partner or help of the parents. The rise of employment allowed higher emancipation and increased economic independence from their partner or relatives. Other changes emerged in the sixties with an increase in secularization, individual rights and freedoms of the individual in Europe, which brought about an increase in the share of other forms of cohabitation at the expense of marriage (Lesthaeghe, 1983).
An increase in cohabitation has been another sign of changes in family behaviour since the sixties in Western Europe. In the Czech Republic there was the higher preference of married cohabitation until the early nineties. The financial benefits associated with entry into marriage in the socialist Czechoslovakia logically discouraged people from living in such unions, reflected in the minimum values of extramarital fertility. After 1989, the expansion of various alternative behaviours in family history led to an unprecedented increase in extramarital fertility (e.g. Lesthaeghe – Surkyn, 2002; 2004, Rychtaříková, 2003). Although initially it was a totally alternative form of coexistence, in the long term, we can say that people of all age groups, different education levels and different ethnicity or nationality experienced the cohabitation (e.g. Kennedy - Bumpass, 2008; Perrelli-Harris, 2010; Beaujouan - Bhrolchain, 2011). Generally, we can say that compared to Western countries, in Eastern Europe or southern Europe cohabitation precedes marriage (eg. Hiekel - Liefbroer - Poortman, 2012; Dominguez-Folgueras, 2013). This is confirmed by a study in the Czech Republic itself, the marriage is still considered an institution in which children should be brought up and the predominant type of cohabitation is a premarital cohabitation of childless persons (Heuveline - Timberlake, 2004; Sobotka - Toulemon, 2008).

In a way, the negative phenomenon of expansion of social security for the population of developed countries in Europe lead to the growing number of family cohabitation, where the children live in a household with only one parent. This development, of course, also contributed to rise of the intensity of the creation of a new one-parent family with children household (Lesthaeghe, 1983).

1 Household and Family

The initial unit for this study is household as a group of individuals, from which we can derive a particular type of household. Opposite to basis demographic processes as fertility, mortality or migration, it is not possible to see the family from the point of view of an individual.

It is possible to present changes in the family structure as a result of changes of the particular member of households. To do this we need to take into account the status of individual members of households. Demography distinguishes whether the interests of the unit are of an individual or household (Willekens 1988). These things can be defined by the term “life course”. It is a compilation of individual segments (partner, educational, professional, health, maternal and residential). The modern concept of household formation in
relation to the relationships between household members, for example, was formulated in 1930 in the USA (Ruggles, Brower 2003). 5 types of households according to existence of family structure were distinguished.

The approach to seek the nuclear family cores, which consist in defining of particular types of households, is commonly used in the Czech Republic. Census is the basic historical source for this study. The first modern Census that contained the Census households was carried out in 1961. The same concept was used until 2001. The concept of census households is not used anymore in Census 2011. The basic unit was the housekeeping unit, furthermore called only the household. The reason is simple - the difference between the number of the census household and housekeeping units was very small (Bartoňová– Nývlt, 2011). In Census 2011 the results are related to the usual residence, not to permanent residence as in previous Census. Another survey, from which it is possible to obtain basic household data, are surveys LFS and EU-SILC. For these reasons, this study will be based on the concept of households (housekeeping units).

An analysis of households is therefore available in two different views. The first is based on the traditional concept of types of households, where the household is the main unit.

a) partner family households (married couple or cohabitation partners)
b) single-parent family households (a single parent with at least one child)
c) households of individuals
d) non - family households (two or more persons related or unrelated that does not constitute a family household)

Another approach is analysis based on the individual and its position in the household. In this approach, people are divided according to their relationship to the head of the household and type of household into these basic categories:

a) living alone (individual)
b) partner living in the household (spouse, partner, sibling)
c) living alone with a child (mother, father, in an incomplete family)
d) living with one or two parents (the relationship to the head of the household - son, daughter)
e) living in non-family households (including other persons not falling into the previous categories)
2 Data Source

Labour Force Survey is the main data source for this study. Data from Labour Force Survey (LFS) and Income and Living Conditions (SILC) are also used for the study. LFS is a household sample survey, the largest in the Czech Republic. This is a continuous survey which provides comparable data in the time series since 1993. The sample includes approximately 25,000 households, representing approximately 63,000 people. The survey covers all persons usually living in surveyed private household dwellings. The usual residence is based on intension to remain on the territory of the Czech Republic at least one year.

3 Analysis

The study is not focused on the representation of individual types of households, but on family households with children under 15 years. Only the data from the Labour Force Survey with the advantage that it can work with continuous time series from 1995 to 2014 are used. It is clear that development was similar to the trends in levels of total fertility rate in the Czech Republic, of course with some delay. For analytical purposes women living in two-parent family households with children under 15 years of age, regardless of married or unmarried cohabitation and women living in single-parent family households with children under 15 years were selected. In order to at least partially avoid the influence of the age structure, the numbers are relative to the number of women aged 15-59 years.

The period after 1989 is clearly defined by two basic family trends. First, there was a significant decrease in complete family households with children. In 1995, the number of women in partner households living with at least one child under 15 years exceeded one million (1 016,8 thousand) for the last time. The significant drop in fertility after 1993, mainly due to the postponement of the first birth in later years, resulted in a decrease of the number of two-parent family households. Over the years there was a significant decline with a bottom in 2007, when the number of women in households with children under 15 years was only 809.6 thousand. The depth of the decline was surprising, because the strong generation of the seventies was in the reproductive age. Since 2007, there was a gradual growth in the number of two-parent family households due to the growth of total fertility rate. But in 2014, the number of women living in a family household with a child under 15 years of age was still lower than in 1995 - about 158.5 thousand.
The development after 1989 has gradually shifted away from clear preference of marriages, when the Czech Republic was characterized by an extremely low age of entry into the first marriage, absence of cohabitation or other alternative forms of cohabitation (including for example Mingles, Singles). A phenomenon of relatively high divorce rates characterized the development in the Czech Republic. This caused the rise of the number of single-parent family households. Normalization in Czechoslovakia contributed to a delay in the onset of the second demographic transition, with the exception of the extension of single-parent family households. The period after 1989 can still be characterized by the increase in the divorce rate and the rise in the number of women living alone with a child under 15 years of age. While in 1995 the number amounted to 100.3 thousand women, in 2015 already 151.3 thousand women, the increase of approximately 33%.

The family households can be divided into three types. The first type is a married couple living in the household with at least one child under 15 years of age, the second is based on couple living in cohabitation with a child and the third is created by a single parent with a child. In the LFS the two-parent family households have been divided only since 2005. The

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Woman in partner household</th>
<th>Woman in single parent household</th>
<th>The woman aged 15-59 years</th>
<th>Proportion of women with children up to 15 years for women aged 15-59 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>1016,7</td>
<td>100,3</td>
<td>3257,2</td>
<td>34,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>983,7</td>
<td>109,6</td>
<td>3276,7</td>
<td>33,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>960,4</td>
<td>112,6</td>
<td>3295,1</td>
<td>32,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>938,7</td>
<td>107,9</td>
<td>3312,3</td>
<td>31,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>918,0</td>
<td>108,6</td>
<td>3322,2</td>
<td>30,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>905,7</td>
<td>107,5</td>
<td>3329,4</td>
<td>30,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>872,3</td>
<td>124,2</td>
<td>3318,6</td>
<td>30,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>864,6</td>
<td>121,7</td>
<td>3317,9</td>
<td>29,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>850,5</td>
<td>127,2</td>
<td>3317,2</td>
<td>29,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>835,4</td>
<td>127,9</td>
<td>3314,6</td>
<td>29,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>833,2</td>
<td>126,6</td>
<td>3310,8</td>
<td>29,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>816,9</td>
<td>126,1</td>
<td>3307,1</td>
<td>28,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>809,5</td>
<td>128,7</td>
<td>3299,2</td>
<td>28,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>816,5</td>
<td>131,6</td>
<td>3303,3</td>
<td>28,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>824,7</td>
<td>131,3</td>
<td>3294,0</td>
<td>29,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>843,2</td>
<td>131,5</td>
<td>3270,4</td>
<td>29,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>855,3</td>
<td>128,5</td>
<td>3240,5</td>
<td>30,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>850,3</td>
<td>138,9</td>
<td>3181,3</td>
<td>31,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>859,6</td>
<td>142,0</td>
<td>3147,3</td>
<td>31,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>858,2</td>
<td>151,5</td>
<td>3113,2</td>
<td>32,4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following graphs confirmed the underlying trends. Due to the availability of data the results are taken from both the Labour Force Survey (LFS) and Income and Living Conditions (SILC).

**Fig. 1: Share of two-parent families with married couple on total number of families with children up to 15 years (in %), Czech Republic, 2005–2012**

![Graph showing the share of two-parent families with married couple on total number of families with children up to 15 years in the Czech Republic from 2005 to 2012.](image)


Using these two basic sources of households gives a good overview of the overall development. These data suggest a relatively significant decline of married couples in LFS and EU-SILC. In 2005, the proportion of married couples to the total number of family cohabitation with children was 79.4 %, in 2012 70.6 % according to EU-SILC. On the contrary, the proportion of cohabitations of couples with children significantly increased between 2005 and 2012 from 6.2 % to 15.9 %. During the entire period there was no significant change in the number of single-parent families with children.
Fig. 2: Share of two-parent families with cohabitating couple and single-parent families on total number of families with children up to 15 years (%), Czech Republic, 2005–2012


Conclusion

The sample survey data has become an essential framework for this study, mainly from reason of continuously time period. In the last twenty years the Czech Republic has undergone considerable changes that are reflected in changes in the distribution of households according to their type. There has been a substantial decline of complete family households, formerly a predominant household type. On the contrary, there has been a significant rise in the number of one-member households and one-parent households due to higher divorce rates. The decline in fertility in the nineties and the beginning of this millennium contributed to a decline in the number of two-parent households with at least one child under the age of 15 years. According to the LFS data there was a continuous decline which reached its peak in 2007, since then the number of partner households with children has been gradually increasing. Despite the decline in fertility rate, the proportion of women living without a partner with a child under the age of 15 years has been steadily increasing. It certainly can be described as one of the major negative features of the development after 1989.
Within the family households in the period from 2005 to 2012 the representation of married couples with at least one child under the age of 15 was reduced. Contrary to this fact, the representation of cohabiting couples with children increased. The proportion of single-parent families with children remained similar, which is contrary to the growth of single-parent family households after 1989. This fact can be explained by the growing number of single-parent family households in the nineties and the beginning of this millennium. After that, the further growth of single-parent family households ended. This was confirmed by the stopping of the growth of indicator values of total divorce rate.

REFERENCES


**Contact**

Ondřej Nývlt

University of Economics, Prague

Nám. W. Churchilla 4, Praha 3

ondrej.nyvlt@czso.cz