

# Labor Division at Home and Procreational Intentions: The Case of Lithuanian Families

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**Abstract.** *The paper is based on the analysis of power structure of the family and the family decision-making concerning household responsibilities, including childcare and household duties. The traditional institution of family has long been viewed as the basic unit of society and as a matter of public interests and public sphere. However, the increasing tendencies of individualization force individuals to accept the existence of distinction between male-breadwinner and female-career models. The traditional male breadwinner model is characterized by normative expectations of women and men's duties and responsibilities shared in households. The modern families, as a consequence of individual decision-making, allow more diversity in sharing household labor. The main results of the survey conducted in 2010–2011 indicate that the most consistent predictor of the division of domestic labor in the private sphere is the dominant gender ideology of men, and both spouses/partners' education, sex and place of residence. Compared to men, women share greater responsibility in taking care of children and housework. In this regard, the common satisfaction in family relations influences the restructuring of traditional gender roles. The asymmetries in family relations related to domestic labor are considered as one of the main factors characterizing the nature of gendered power relations in private and public spheres, including procreational behavior.*

**Keywords:** *gender identity, gender roles, procreational intentions, family patterns.*

**Raktažodžiai:** *lyčių ideologija, lyčių vaidmenys, prokreaciniai ketinimai, šeimos modeliai.*

## Introduction

The recent discussions on changing family models and procreational behavior have become a challenge in the countries that face the economic instability and social problems, such as the change in occupational structure, low salaries, unemployment and migration. The relation between fertility intentions and the reconciliation of family and work obligations is not only an important research question; it also offers new objectives for public policy, particularly in Lithuania, a country with the significant decrease of fertility rates during the last decades.

The aim of this article is to discuss the impact of gender inequality on procreational intentions emphasizing the gendered patterns of behavior in sharing the household responsibilities in a family. I will examine the power structure of family relations focusing on the gendered distribution of household and childcare responsibilities and its influence on procreational behavior. The gender ideology will be used as an analytical construct that is usually regarded as an independent variable in gender studies explaining the dynamics in professional sphere, divorce, the quality of marital life, procreational and matrimonial behavior, etc. (Cunningham 2008; Kaufman 2000).

Several decades ago, scholars working in the field of family and gender studies turned their attention to the analysis of diversification of household duties and their relation to a wide range of determinants such as career dynamics, the quality of marriage/partnership, kinship, symbolic exchange of power, gender ideology, the construction of gender roles, procreational intentions, and the opportunities of reconciliation of professional and family obligations (Coltrane 2000, 1209). One of the theoretical approaches based on the economic perspective explains the nature of gender inequality and gender role models in families in terms of exchange of economic resources. According to this approach, women's economic status and professional occupation have an insignificant influence on men's participation in household labor (for instance, Berardo, Shehan, Leslie 1987; Coverman 1983; Coverman, Sheley 1986, etc.). The economic nature of gender relations is typically measured by the division of household and childcare duties. The partner who can afford more economic resources such as education, income, professional status and prestige has the privilege to maximize them in bargaining the division of household labor (Walby 1986, cited from Brines 1994, 654).

Another rather opposite approach focuses on the symbolic construction of feminine and masculine spheres typically related to different gender roles in household tasks. In this sense, household responsibilities are symbolically identified as a feminine activity, and the ability to earn money as a masculine activity. Following the symbolic construction approach, the diversification and division of household labor can be analyzed in terms of symbolic gender roles rather than the exchange of economic resources (West, Zimmerman 1987; Ferree 1990; Deutsch 2007; Risman 2009 and others). For instance, if the female behavior transgresses the boundaries of social norms, it may cause the conflicts in gender relation or stimulate social sanctions. According to West and Zimmerman, the "oppressive" nature of gender derives from the relations of power and resources exchange (West, Zimmerman 2009, 17). On the other hand, Giddens reflects on the importance of individualism that shapes personal intimate relationships into more democratic relations based on a more equal share of different obligations in professional and private life (Giddens 1992). In other words, the need for balancing the division of household labor

might be perceived in terms of strategies of constructing gender identities and mainstreaming gender ideology.

Based on the representative survey of 18–45-year-old Lithuanian inhabitants conducted in 2010–2011, the article focuses on the following questions: What are the main determinants that may explain the existing gendered division of household and childcare labor in Lithuanian families? How can the unequal contribution of women and men to housework be explained? Can the specific division of housework become one of the main predictors explaining the respondents' procreational intentions and providing the guidelines for the analysis of existing gender ideology?

## Defining a Theoretical Approach: Towards Family as a Structure of Gendered Power

Family is often analyzed as a structure of gendered power related to the division of unpaid work in a private sphere. In recent studies, the gendered division of household labor is treated as one of the main indicators of gender equality that points to the importance of the distribution of power, responsibility and privileges. The existing gender division of work and leisure indicates challenges to the gender-based power relations. The specificity of division between the private and public spheres may also highlight the male dominance and show the boundaries between different perceptions of men and women of marriage, childcare and household responsibilities (Shelton, Daphne 1996; Stekens, Kiger, Riley 2001).

Okin emphasizes the importance of structural, cultural and institutional factors that shape the social structure of marriages/partnerships in a patriarchal society. According to Okin, even if their partners do not directly control women, in traditional sense, all the household, childbearing and childcare duties are assigned to the women's responsibility. The position of women in the labor market doesn't shape her responsibility for making procreational or matrimonial decisions. Because of their unequal power and opportunities to participate in the labor market, women encounter challenges in education and in their attempts to reconcile professional and family obligations. However, the traditional power patterns in society and women's limited opportunities to participate in the public sphere also generate their vulnerability in marriages or partnerships (Okin 1989).

The analysis of femininity and masculinity is considered, in gender studies, as an alternative to the structural approach in the analysis of the gendered division of household labor that underlines the importance of male economic domination. According to this gender studies approach, the structures of femininity/masculinity and motherhood/fatherhood shape the gender relations in private and public spheres. The asymmetric power relations are mainly formed

by the cultural patterns and subordination that legitimizes the unequal division of labor between sexes, including the share of unpaid household labor in the family. In other words, the normative approach emphasizes the significance of traditional hierarchical relationships that tend to directly affect marital and procreational behavior. The daily social interaction reproduces different configurations of gender relations and become one of the main factors in constructing gender identities (see Berk 1985; West, Zimmerman 1987).

The recent research in the field of gender studies indicates that gender differences in sharing household and childcare tasks may be related to the existing strategies of social policies and practices that lead to a lack of opportunities for men and women to participate in a private family life, for instance, in taking care of children. The traditional cultural discourses emphasize the importance of maternal care and women's responsibilities in the private sphere. Furthermore, women in modern societies also share greater responsibility for breadwinning and work outside the private sphere (Brandth, Kvande 1998, 295).

According to Lewis, the recent changes in family institution have influenced the erosion of the male-breadwinner model in private and public spheres. The increasing female labor market participation and the welfare state, which provides necessary social benefits for child-care arrangements, are characteristic of these changes. Currently, the main challenges are related to the gap between daily practices and normative expectations flowing from the male breadwinner model (Lewis 2001, 16–22). Pfau-Effinger also underlines that this gap indicates the diversion between the gendered cultures, including normative gender behavior, and the gender order, which involves the impact of social policies and labor markets (Pfau-Effinger 1998, cited by Lewis 2001, 22).

Figure 1 suggests the model that indicates the changes in the gendered division in paid work. The model also demonstrates the change towards a more egalitarian model of gender relations. In other words, the model of one and half-earner family affects the shift in normative expectations about women and men's roles in the private as well as in the public sphere. It is also indicative of the need for reconciliation of professional and household responsibilities among sexes (see Figure 1) (Lewis 2001, 68–69).

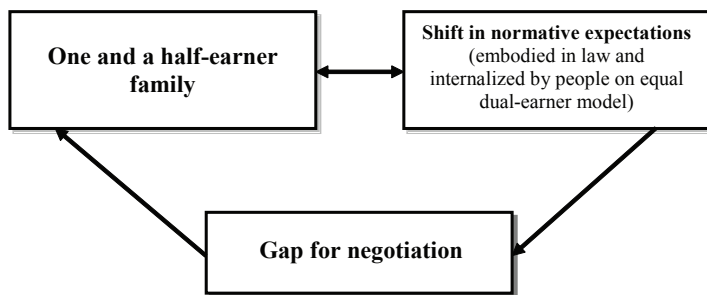


FIGURE 1. MODEL OF CHANGES IN GENDERED DIVISION (LEWIS 2001, 69)

The studies on the changes of family models and gender relations have also been one of the main analytical challenges for Lithuanian researchers who studied the dynamics of traditional marital patterns, the problems of reconciliation of professional and family life, including procreational intentions, as well as femininity and masculinity (see for instance, Reingardė 2006, 2009; Tereškinas 2006, 2008; Stankūnienė 2003, 2008; Maslauskaitė 2005, 2006, 2008, 2009; Purvaneckas, Purvaneckiene 2001 and many others).

The Lithuanian scholars' main findings demonstrate that the changes in traditional familial models are related to the cultural meanings of gender and the models of femininity and masculinity. The traditional gender models in which men are associated with the public sphere and women, with the private space, contradict the ideal of positive partnership based on the egalitarian patterns (Stankūnienė 2003, 123–137). Maslauskaitė analyzes the quality of marital relationships in the Lithuanian families and its effect on the emotional cohesion, conflict level, sharing of the domestic work and attitudes towards the formation of partnership patterns. According to her, the quality of marital relationships positively affects partners' emotional cohesion, reduces the conflict level and leads to the symmetrical role sharing in a couple. Higher levels of satisfaction with marital life are bound with the positive attitudes toward the formation of institutional partnership patterns (Maslauskaitė 2005).

The results of the study on the changing forms of the Lithuanian family and its matrimonial and childbearing behavior indicate that the domestic labor in the family depends on both spouses' education and the husband's gender ideology. Furthermore, the income, time availability, family structure and children are less important structural determinants. One of the most interesting findings demonstrates that the liberal gender ideology and similar socio-economic status of spouses, including their employment, wages and education, do not necessarily lead to a more balanced division of household labor. As Kraniauskas indicates, the traditional masculine and feminine engagements with the domestic labor should be analyzed in terms of the construction of complex gender identities (Kraniauskas 2009, 169–172).

## Sample and Methods

I illustrate the above theoretical insights by using empirical data from the representative quantitative survey "Gender Inequality, Public Policy and the Future of Fertility in Lithuania" which was conducted in 2010–2011 in Lithuania (the survey sample consisted of 1031 respondents). The aim of this survey was to evaluate the content, scale and main tendencies of gender inequality in different economic sectors and to learn about the impact of gender inequality on procreational attitudes and behavior in the Lithuanian context. The general bulk of the data comes from 18–45-year-old inhabitants of the reproductive

age with different socio-demographic characteristics based on their sex, age, place of residence, occupational status and economic sectors. The main socio-demographic characteristics of the sample in the survey were the following: 53% were male and 47%, women; their age was between 18–45 years; 31% of respondents had secondary school education, 27% had college education and 20% were university graduates; 19% were the inhabitants of the capital, 23% lived in the biggest cities of the country and 32% were inhabitants of the countryside; 55% of the respondents lived together with their children under the age of 18, and 45% did not have any children.

The main empirical question is set to measure the statistical dependence between procreational intentions and the gendered division of household labor. Another empirical question is related to the possible correlation between the satisfaction with the different aspects of life quality and gender. For the multinomial logistic regression analysis we constructed two analytical categories of different family role models based on the gendered division of household and childcare labor in the private domestic sphere. The analytical model of factors determining the division of labor in a family includes the share of childcare duties (such as nourishing, dressing up, nursing, playing, helping with homework and picking from school/ kindergarten/extra-curriculum activities) and household duties between spouses/partners (such as preparing food, cleaning apartment, buying food, washing dishes, paying taxes, washing and ironing and organizing family's leisure).

## Women and Men's Contribution to Household and Childcare

Gender differentiation in the private sphere and differences in power relations refer to the changes in the mechanisms of gender construction and social reproduction. Changes in the beliefs about the appropriate roles of women and men in public and private spheres affect the symbolic significance of the division of household and childcare labor. In order to evaluate the relation between the gendered division of household responsibilities and procreational intentions, first I focus on the general satisfaction with different aspects of life that may indicate the general perception of life quality. The data of the empirical study evaluate the common satisfaction with different aspects of daily life, including the place of residence, paid work guarantees, health, relations with spouse or partner and the opportunities to take care of children (see Table 1).

According to the empirical data, it is possible to observe the statistical correlation between sex and satisfaction with personal health. Male respondents are more satisfied with their personal health than women (Kendall's tau-c correlation  $-0.0874$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ,  $n = 1029$ ) (77.6% of men are very much satisfied with their health condition). Another statistically significant determinant implies that

TABLE 1. SATISFACTION WITH DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF PERSONAL LIFE  
 (GENDER DISTRIBUTION, %)

How much are you satisfied with:	Very bad		Bad		Satisfactory		Good		Very good	
	Men/ Valid %	Wom- en/ Valid %	Men/ Valid %	Wom- en/ Valid %	Men/ Valid %	Wom- en/ Valid %	Men/ Valid %	Wom- en/ Valid %	Men/ Valid %	Wom- en/ Valid %
Living place	0.4	1.4	4.8	9.7	12.6	12.4	59.3	53.8	22.9	22.7
Work guarantees (probability not to loose your job)	5.6	5.0	16.7	16.8	25.6	22.7	39.5	42.9	12.7	12.6
Your health**	1.1	0.8	8.3	8.9	13.0	16.7	59.6	63.0	18.0	10.6
Your relations with spouse/partner**	0	1	2.3	1.9	5.8	14.9	61.6	55.2	30.2	26.9
Opportunities to take care of children	1.7	0.3	4.6	3.7	9.9	9.7	58.4	58.7	25.4	27.5

Difference is statistically significant:  $p < 0.01$ ; Kendall's tau-c correlation coefficient.

the satisfaction with the personal relations depends on sex. Men are more satisfied with their relations with spouse or partner compared to female respondents (Kendall's tau-c correlation  $-0.096$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ,  $n = 652$ ) (30.2% of men stress very high satisfaction with their relationship). Nevertheless, there was no significant correlation between the sexes and satisfaction with the economic conditions such as the place of residence or paid work guarantees. Both men and women are satisfied enough with their opportunities to take care of children. In this sense, the differences in the common evaluation of life quality might be explained in terms of a gap between the individual perceptions of family life based on gender. The masculine "world" is constructed using the dominant gender ideology which validates the symbol of an active man in the public sphere. Men are more satisfied with the different aspects of their personal life compared to women.

One of the research questions is related to the distinct gender differentiation in the household sphere and the different power relations within a family. It means that one of the partners or spouses, typically a woman, is taking more responsibilities in household and childcare duties. The asymmetry of gender relations in a family symbolizes the perception of particular familial roles and

normative relations in society transmitted into the private home sphere. The unequal perception of gender roles and the deconstruction of gender identity in the personal life may also be related to couples' procreational intentions. The significant differences between the female and male "worlds" might become one of the main reasons determining the decision to take a risk of childbearing and childcare in the future.

The statistical data represent the types of the share of household tasks among spouses/partners (see Table 2).

The empirical data indicate that in the Lithuanian families women have more responsibilities for household duties compared to men. Lithuanian women are more responsible for preparing food (that 75.3% of women respondents mention this duty compared to 61.6% of men also confirms that women are more responsible for cooking) (the relation is statistically significant, Kendall's tau-c correlation  $-0.0874$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ,  $n = 1029$ ). The crosstabs data demonstrate that the other household duties, such as cleaning, washing dishes, paying taxes and planning family's financial budget, laundering and ironing, are also under women's responsibility in the families. The household task types mentioned above are typically considered as routine and monotonous which in turn indicates the specificity of traditional female household work. Moreover, 57.6% of males confirm that both partners are responsible for daily shopping and organization of family's leisure and entertainment (68.6% of male and 53.1% of female answers). The statistical results reveal that household duties closely related to the social life and social skills dominate as predictor of the male sphere. These household

TABLE 2. FEMALE AND MALE CONTRIBUTION TO HOUSEHOLD DUTIES

Household duties	Mainly myself		Mainly partner/spouse		Both	
	Men/ Valid %	Women/ Valid %	Men/ Valid %	Women/ Valid %	Men/ Valid %	Women/ Valid %
Preparing food***	6.7	75.3	61.6	1.9	28.5	17.2
Cleaning apartment***	4.7	67.9	52.9	0.3	35.2	20.5
Buying food***	14.0	44.5	26.5	10.7	57.6	39.0
Washing dishes***	6.7	61.0	47.4	4.3	36.9	20.3
Paying taxes and being responsible for financial accounts of the household***	26.8	58.4	45.2	14.3	24.8	22.4
Laundering and ironing***	3.5	89.9	84.3	0.3	10.2	5.8
Responsible for family's leisure*	10.9	27.4	15.7	8.6	68.6	53.1

\* Difference is statistically significant: \*  $p < 0.05$ ; Kendall's tau-c correlation coefficient.

\*\*\* Difference is statistically significant: \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ ; Kendall's tau-c correlation coefficient.



tasks are not routine and monotonous and it is sufficient to perform only several tasks during a week (for instance, purchase food for family needs). Referring to the research on gendering of household labor, the routine housework such as cooking or laundering is typically analyzed as “female-dominated” or “female-stereotypical” tasks. On the contrary, less frequent tasks such as car or household repairs are labeled as “male-dominated” or “masculine.” Coltrane mentions the third category that is gender-neutral and might involve such household tasks as food buying, bill paying or driving (Coltrane 2000, 1211). Following gender construction theories, specific household labor types provide opportunities “to demonstrate to oneself and to others that one is a competent member of a sex category with the capacity and desire to perform appropriately gendered behaviors” (West & Fenstermaker 1993, cited from Coltrane 2000, 1213).

The other question analyzes the specificity of the division of childcare labor between spouses/partners in the families (see Table 3). I am following the hypothesis that the more balanced division of labor might differ in terms

TABLE 3. DIVISION OF CHILDCARE LABOR BETWEEN SEXES

Childcare duties (who is responsible for?)	Mainly myself		Mainly partner/spouse		Both		Mainly themselves		Mainly other people (or family members)	
	Men/Valid %	Women/Valid %	Men/Valid %	Women/Valid %	Men/Valid %	Women/Valid %	Men/Valid %	Women/Valid %	Men/Valid %	Women/Valid %
Nourishing of children***	5.8	76.4	55.2	1.1	35.7	17.8	0.4	0	2.9	4.8
Dressing up the children***	3.7	63.6	54.6	0.4	25.7	12.8	13.8	20.4	2.3	2.8
Nursing children***	7.1	76.1	51.5	0.4	38.5	18.4	0.4	0.4	2.5	4.8
Playing with children***	7.8	41.5	10.4	3.6	68.8	34.0	7.4	14.6	5.6	6.3
Helping with homework***	6.9	62.9	39.2	1.7	39.2	20.6	11.5	10.9	3.0	3.9
Picking from school/ kindergarten/ extracurriculum activities**	13.2	43.9	21.7	6.1	39.5	24.4	25.6	20.1	0.	5.4

\*\* Difference is statistically significant; \* p < 0.01; Kendall's tau-c correlation coefficient.

\*\*\* Difference is statistically significant; \*\*\* p < 0.001; Kendall's tau-c correlation coefficient.

of sexes, it might influence the family structure and shape the configuration of gender patterns.

The empirical data indicate the differences in sharing responsibility for childcare tasks among spouses/partners and highlight the asymmetry of gender relations. They might also refer to the order of gendered interaction which demonstrates the imbalances in gender power. As it is presented in the table, in Lithuanian families female are more responsible for preparing food for children (that 76.4% of female respondents indicate this duty compared to 55.2% of men also confirms that women are more responsible for children's nourishment) (the relation is statistically significant, Kendall's tau-c correlation -0.571,  $p < 0.001$ ,  $n = 516$ ). Women in their families are also more likely to take more duties related to dressing children up (Kendall's tau-c correlation -0.0364,  $p < 0.001$ ,  $n = 468$ ) and nursing them (Kendall's tau-c correlation -0.0553  $p < 0.001$ ,  $n = 511$ ). The data suggest that women bear the greatest responsibility for the care of children and that they tend to emphasize their role as home careers. On the contrary, men's contribution to childcare tasks is smaller. Moreover, men typically devalue their role as an active partner in taking care of children, except playing with them and entertaining them. For instance, 68.8% of male respondents indicate that their responsibilities for childcare mostly involve playing games and entertaining children. However, the more equal share of childcare tasks among female and male refer to such daily task as picking up children from school or kindergarten (the difference between variable and sex is statistically significant, Kendall's tau-c correlation -0.182,  $p < 0.01$ ,  $n = 293$ ).

In general men take more active role in tasks typically associated with social skills, normative behavior and the formation of self-expression in the public sphere. On the contrary, the female sphere includes emotional security and care usually considered as a particular feminine norm. The research data complement other Lithuanian housework and marriage studies that emphasize different male and female perceptions of family and their different responsibilities for household work. For instance, Kraniauskas argues that men are taking more responsibilities for the activities related to children's social skills. Moreover, women's contribution includes biomedical childcare that is less visible. It is argued that activities associated with the public sphere allow men to demonstrate their skills and to control the socialization of children (Kraniauskas 2009, 188–194).

## Gender, Family Relations and Procreational Intentions

One of the aims of this research was to answer the question of whether the various structural variables are related to the unequal distribution of household

labor. To answer the question, the regression analysis model was used to classify household and childcare duties into two analytical categories – the patriarchal and egalitarian types of the division of household labor. The traditional division of household and childcare tasks among spouses/partners defines the patriarchal type, and a more equal distribution of home labor refers the egalitarian type.

The multinomial logistic regression analysis was used to identify the predictors of socio-demographic characteristics and satisfaction with life quality that attributed respondents to a particular model of the division of household labor (the egalitarian model of the division of household labor is used as predicted variable). The model of multinomial logistic regression was composed of 4 socio-demographic predictors (age, sex, education and the place of residence) and the predictor of common evaluation of life quality (used as range scale varying from very satisfactory (5) to completely unsatisfactory (1)) (see Table 4).

The main results of the regression analysis demonstrate that it is more likely that male respondents (odds ratio [OR] = 3.069, confidence interval [CI] 95%: 2.06-4.57) would perceive their contribution to household duties as more egalitarian compared to the female position. Other important variable includes respondents' education. It is more likely that respondents who have

TABLE 4. TYPE OF FAMILY RELATIONS -  
 MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION RESULTS

Variable	B	Exp (b)	95% confidence interval
Type of the division of household labor (predicted (dependent) variable)			
Sex (male)	1.121***	3.069	2.06-4.57
Age	-.004	.996	0.96-1.02
Education (primary)	-.094	.910	0.46-1.79
Education (secondary)	-.212	.809	0.47-1.36
Education (secondary school)	-.673*	.510	0.30-0.86
Place of residence (Vilnius)	.835*	2.305	1.33-3.98
Place of residence (main cities: Kaunas, Klaipėda, Šiauliai, Panevėžys)	.315	1.371	0.81-2.31
Place of residence (other town)	-.214	.807	0.46-1.40
How would you evaluate your life quality (very bad)	-.123	.685	0.48-1.60
How would you evaluate your life quality (satisfactory/average)	-.113	.606	0.58-1.37
Constant	-1.672	.004	

Enter method; N=705; df=1; \*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05.

secondary school education would perceive their contribution to household labor as less egalitarian (odds ratio [OR] = 0.510, confidence interval [CI] 95%: 0.30-0.86) compared to the respondents with university education. The results of the analysis also show that respondents who live in the capital are more likely to accept their contribution to home labor as more egalitarian compared to the respondents from countryside regions (odds ratio [OR] = 2.305, confidence interval [CI] 95%: 1.33-3.98).

The research results partly supplement other research on the sharing of household labor and gender segregation of tasks. Studies on routine housework show that the specificity of the gendered division of household and childcare tasks can be explained by the unequal resources such as education, professional status and prestige, income, etc. Most researches define and measure the household labor as dependent variable. In other words, the unequal distribution of social and economic resources among spouses/partners may become one of the most important reasons that determine the type of family relations. For example, men's education is analyzed as statistically significant variable which correlates with their contribution to household labor (see more, Brines 1994; Haddad 1994; Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer et al. 2000, etc.). Research on the housework time measurement obtained from husbands and wives in the Sloan 500 Family Study demonstrates that hours spent on housework differ significantly among spouses. The husbands agree that their contribution to household tasks is smaller compared to their wives' contribution. Men statistically spend 7.2 hours for home labor (about 33–43% of all housework tasks), whereas women work for about 13.2 hours. Moreover, the gendered division of labor depends on education, for instance, women with higher education support a more egalitarian type of family (Lee, Waite 2005, 333–334).

Another important research question raised was whether a particular type of familial roles affects the respondents' procreational decisions. The other multinomial logistic regression was used to identify predictors of socio-demographic characteristics, satisfaction with life quality and a type of familial role (positive procreational intentions for the next three years are used as a predicted variable). The model of multinomial logistic regression was composed of 4 socio-demographic predictors (age, sex, education and the place of residence), the predictor of the common evaluation of life quality (used as a range scale varying from very satisfactory (5) to completely unsatisfactory (1)) and the predictor of the type of labor division in a family (in this case only the patriarchal model of family is observed) (see Table 5).

The main results of the regression analysis indicate that the main variables that influence procreational intentions include sex, age and education. It is more likely that the male respondents (odds ratio [OR] = 1.983, confidence interval [CI] 95%: 1.18–3.31) would have positive procreational intentions for the next three years compared to women. Another significant factor includes respondents' education. It is more likely that respondents who have

TABLE 5. PROCREATIONAL INTENTIONS FOR THE NEXT THREE YEARS –  
 MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION RESULTS

Variable	B	Exp (b)	95% confidence interval
Positive procreational intentions for the next three years (predicted (dependent) variable)			
Sex (male)	.685**	1.983	1.18-3.31
Age	-.175***	.839	0.80-0.87
Education (primary)	-1.381**	.251	0.10-0.59
Education (secondary)	-.925**	.397	0.20-0.78
Education (college/high school)	-.544	.580	0.30-1.11
Residence place (Vilnius)	.396	1.485	0.72-3.02
Residence place (Kaunas, Klaipėda, Šiauliai, Panevėžys)	.330	1.391	0.72-2.66
Residence place (other town)	.168	1.182	0.61-2.27
How would you evaluate your life quality (very bad)	-.315	.730	0.33-1.59
How would you evaluate your life quality (satisfactory/average)	-.263	.769	0.45-1.31
Type of division of household labour (patriarchal)	-.539	.584	0.30-1.11
Constant	5.249	190.387	

Enter method; N=456; df=1; \*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05.

primary education (odds ratio [OR] = 0.251, confidence interval [CI] 95%: 0.10–0.59) and secondary education (odds ratio [OR] = 0.397, confidence interval [CI] 95%: 0.20–0.78) would have less procreational intentions compared to the respondents with university education. The results demonstrate that the respondents' age significantly affects their intentions to have children in the future (odds ratio [OR] = 0.839, confidence interval [CI] 95%: 0.80–0.87). The other socio-demographic variables such as the place of residence, life quality or a type of the division of household labor are not statistically significant in determining future procreational intentions.

Following Cohen, it can be argued that women's procreational intentions are usually associated with their traditional role in society and the exaggeration of motherhood. On the contrary, for men fatherhood creates favorable career opportunities and provides a possibility to replace women in their childcare role. Most men regard fatherhood as an opportunity to gain the position of breadwinner (Cohen 1987). The results of this research show that a particular type of the gendered division of household labor is not statistically significant predictor that determines respondents' procreational intentions. In Lithuanian families women

assume more responsibilities for household labor and childcare compared to men. In this sense, women perceive their contribution to the division of household tasks as a more traditional type of relations. The results suggest that women's childbearing intentions might be associated with the increased inequality in a family especially making decisions about the second and the following children.

## Discussion and Main Conclusions

The structural determinants, such as education, women's participation in the labor market, income, increasing significance of occupational status and different strategies of social policies show significant changes in gender equality in the family. Furthermore, the changing gender patterns and ideologies are also associated with the normative transitions towards a more egalitarian behavior of men and women. Following Holter, it is possible to argue that relations in the private sphere have no direct connection to gender in/equality, but, on the contrary, may be related to other forms of power and domination in a wider social, cultural or economic context. This researcher emphasizes that the gendered division of childcare and household duties as well as reproductive behavior cut across the traditional gender lines and become more central in normative gender formations (Holter 2005, 121–122). In other words, families can be considered as a consequence of individual decision-making which allow more diversity in sharing household labor between spouses/partners.

The main results of the analyzed survey demonstrate that the type of the division of household labor depends on socio-demographic factors (such as sex and education) that are observed as statistically significant variables. Women in families share the greater responsibility in taking care of children and housework compared to men. Controversially, despite the unequal division of labor in the private sphere, men more often than women consider their relations as egalitarian. The empirical findings indicate that the most consistent predictor of the amount of domestic labor in the family is education, the place of residence of both spouses/partners and the dominant gender ideology of men.

Moreover, the results of the multinomial logistic regression reveal that the socio-demographic determinants, such as education, the place of residence, sex and age of respondents, largely define procreational preferences. These predictors are statistically significant. Men's contribution to domestic labor is quite limited, but their procreational intentions are more substantial than those of women. Education is also considered as one of the main determinant that may limit procreational intentions (less educated respondents are more negative towards childbearing).

In conclusion, the nature of familial interpersonal relations influences the dynamics of *traditional* gender roles. The asymmetries in the division of domestic labor can be considered as one of the main factors that characterize

the changing nature of gendered power relations in the private and public spheres, including procreational behavior. The subversion of the *traditional* versus *egalitarian* models of the structure of familial interpersonal relations indicates a broader spectrum of individual behavior and reflects the existing normative models. The division of the responsibilities for unpaid work in households also indicates the substantial differences in the power and subordination structure of society in general, including pay gaps, professional occupational status, market dynamics and gender empowerment.

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## Namų ūkio įsipareigojimai ir prokreaciniai ketinimai: Lietuvos šeimų atvejis

### Santrauka

Šiame straipsnyje siekiama atskleisti šiuolaikinės šeimos ir lyčių vaidmenų kaitos tendencijas. Analizuojama, kaip besikeičiantys šeiminių santykių modeliai susiję su prokreaciniais ketinimais, kaip vertinami besikeičiantys lyčių vaidmenys ir lyčių lygybė tarpasmeninių santykių lygmenyje, kaip konstruojami šeimos modeliai, kuriame abu tėvai mokamą darbą derina su vaikų ugdymu. Straipsnyje remiamasi 2010–2011 metais atliktos reprezentatyvios reprodukcinio amžiaus gyventojų apklausos „Lyčių nelygybė, viešojo politika ir gimstamumo ateitis Lietuvoje“ rezultatais, kurios tikslas buvo įvertinti lyčių socialinės nelygybės turinį, mastą ir tendencijas įvairiuose užimtumo sektoriuose ir šeimoje bei lyčių nelygybės poveikį gyventojų prokreacinėms nuostatoms.

Tyrimo rezultatai rodo, kad egzistuoja dvejopas požiūris į tarpasmeninius šeimos santykius bei namų ūkio ir vaikų priežiūros pareigų pasidalijimą, kuris priklauso nuo įvairių sociodemografinių rodiklių – lyties, išsilavinimo ar gyvenamosios vietovės ir pan. Atlikto tyrimo rezultatai patvirtina, kad moterys prisiima didesnę atsakomybę už namų ūkio bei vaikų priežiūros įsipareigojimus nei vyrai. Tiek vyrai, tiek moterys labiau linkę vertinti savo šeimą kaip patriarchalinio, o ne egalitarinio tipo lyčių vaidmenų struktūrą, nors patriarchalinį tipą vertinančių vyrų skaičius yra mažesnis. Akivaizdi lyties kriterijaus reikšmė: nepaisant mažesnio vyrų įsitraukimo į šeimos įsipareigojimų struktūrą, jų lūkesčiai gimstamumo aspektu yra pozityvesni nei moterų. Vyrai labiau nei moterys linkę turėti prokreacinių ketinimų, taip pat ir respondentai, turintys aukštąjį išsilavinimą ir gyvenantys mieste, palyginti su kaimo vietovėmis. Tyrimo rezultatai pagrindžia dominuojančią *tradicinę* lyties ideologiją šeimose, kuri rodo egzistuojančią šeimos santykių asimetriją ir vaidmenų konfliktą tarpasmeninėje srityje bei iš dalies padeda paaiškinti šeimų lūkesčius prokreacinių ketinimų aspektu.