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Gendered divisions of labour and the formation of fertility intentions -
A comparison of European (GGS) countries
(Extended abstract)

Abstract

The research aims to unfold the relation between gender division of labour and fertility behaviour in a European comparative perspective. The comparative study includes Western and Eastern countries from Europe, representing different welfare regimes; Austrian, Georgian, French, Hungarian, Norwegian and Russian GGS data from the first wave will be compared. The fundamental hypothesis assumes that the nature of gender division of labour in partnerships influences fertility behaviour. Fertility behaviour is measured by short-term (within three years) fertility intentions. Gendered division of labour will be measured by two indicators. On the one side, the employment profiles of the partnership (male breadwinner vs. dual earner partnerships) measures the gendered division of labour outside the household, namely the labour market and welfare system related division of labour. The division of labour at home, the housework division on the other side, will be measured by a scale based on the items directly measured by the GGS. Logistic regression will be employed in order to identify if and what kind of division of labour influences the formation of fertility intentions. The two basic demographic factors, closely related to fertility behaviour, age and parity, will be controlled. Results points to the directions, that division of labour have an influence among woman and within a context of more unequal division of labour.

The research question:
The analyse concentrate on the understanding the division of labour on the formation of fertility intentions. It is assumed, that fertility intention is a good enough indicator of future fertility behaviour, and we will investigate the influence of the division of labour outside and inside the home. The study investigates the influence of the division of labour using two supplementing variables: the division of work (housework) is measured by an index constructed upon a 7 item response on different tasks in the household; the outside division of labour (labour market related work/work for money) is describe by different partnership activity profiles, using categories full time job, part time job, unemployment, etc. We constructed different assumption regarding outside and inside division of labour that are closely related.

Hypotheses:
H1. Concerning the *division of housework* we assume, that the women will be more willing to plane/to have a child in the close future, in short run, if they feel to get more support from the side of their partner. That is, the lower the value of the division of housework-index, the higher the chance intending to have a(nother) child in short run.

H2.Concerning the *labour market related activities* of the partners, we have competing hypotheses, that focus especially on the relation between the Male Breadwinner and the Dual Earner Partnership types.
H2a. Several approaches, such as the time availability approach, the opportunity costs, or the traditional role idea, etc., support the assumption that, being all other factors equal, those

partners favouring the more traditional Male Breadwinner (classic or de facto) model are more willing to have a(nother) child than those favouring the Dual Earner Partnership model.
H2b.Research results, that points to the positive relation between high female labour market participation and high fertility, offer reasonably grounds to assume that Dual Earner will be more willing to have a(nother) child.

Data, Variables, Methods

Generation and Gender Survey (GGS), several countries (until know included 4 countries), women aged 20-44, in partnership

Variables:
Fertility intention: The variable measuring *fertility behaviour* is quite well known: "Intention to have a(nother) child within three years (yes/no)"

Two variables should measure the division of work between partners.
The *division of housework-index* measures and sums who is doing what at home. The following 7 tasks are measured: preparing meals, doing the dishes, shopping for food, vacuum cleaning, small repairs, paying the bills, organizing joint activities. Responses give information if the respondent, or the partner carries out the mentioned task usually, or they are doing jointly. Responses were summed up into an index. The value of the index ranges from minus 10 to plus 10. If all the tasks are carried out by the women, than the partnership scores +10 on the scale, if all the things are done by the male partner, than the partnership scores -10. Zero could be attained in two ways: all the tasks are usually carried out together on the one side, or if the half of the tasks are carried out by the women, the other half by the man. Not surprisingly, as we will see later, women do the higher share of the housework according the used data.
The second variable, the activity profile of the partners measures the *labour market attachment* of the two partners: it combines the women's and the man's labour market attachment. The classical Male Breadwinner model identifies partnerships where the husband/male partner work full time, and the women do not work. The „de facto" Male Breadwinner model describes those situations where the husband/male partner works full time, and the woman works part-time. In the case of Dual Earner partnerships both are engaged in full time. Female Breadwinner is the reverse type of the Male Breadwinner partnerships. Since their number is low, the two models where the women are more strongly integrated into the labour market are grouped. If nobody of the two has employment, than these become to un-employed or non-employed type.

Method:
Logistic regression
Controlled influencing demographic factors: age, parity

Descriptive:
The overview about the features of samples is given by the basic statistics (distributions and means) of the employed variables (Table 1-5). Clear country-differences characterize the division of labour according labour market relations: while strong share of Double Earner partnerships, but also Male Breadwinner partnerships characterizes the French population, in Austria the Male Breadwinner especially that of the 'de facto' type is more spread (Table 3).

Two post communist countries have similar distributions, and the majority of the women had Double Earner partnerships. As it is expected, the division of housework is unequally distributed in all the countries, and done primarily by the women in all the countries. The average values range from 2.5 to 3.5, starting with France, where the women evaluate their share less burdened as in Russia, being at the other pole, with the value 3.5.[1]

Concerning the dependent variables, having a(nother) child or not within the next three years, the share of partnered women, age 20-44, is *by and large very similar* in the four countries: the percentage range between 25 and 35 percent (Table 5). The highest willingness to get a child can be found among the French women living in a partnership, the lowest among Russian women. These figures correspond with the macro-level fertility trends in the given countries.

However, our aim is here not to compare country differences in firm, short term intentions, but to investigate, whether the division of labor (outside and inside the home) contributes or not to the formation of intentions.

Bivariate results

Before going to the multivariate modeling we can have the report on the uncontrolled effects of the division of work outside and inside the home on fertility intentions. As expected, in France, the division of housework between partners is much more unequal in the two Male Breadwinner partnership types as in the Dual Earner, Female Breadwinner or Non-employed partnerships. This correspond with the time availability approach, since in the two Male Breadwinner partnerships the women spend les time on the labour market as the men, they carry out larger share of work at home. The same is valid in the case of Austria, with the exception, that Female Breadwinner and Unemployed partnerships evaluate women's burden more negatively as in the Dual Earner partnerships (Table 6a).

The surprise comes, if we consider the average values of the division of housework-index according to the different partnerships based on the activity profiles of the partners in Hungary (Table 6b). There is hardly any difference among the different activity profile of partnerships: Dual Earner women evaluate their burden as high as that of the women living in a Male Breadwinner partnership. That mean, that women in Dual Earner partnerships are squeezed much more by work at the labour market and at home at the same time in Hungary. The very same is valid in the case of Russia. Dual Earner and Female Breadwinner women do as much unequal share of the housework, as that of the women living in „traditional" Male Breadwinner partnerships. To remember: women in the two eastern countries not only evaluate the household division as more unequal, but women in Dual Earner types feel as burdened by the housework as those in Male Breadwinner type.

Multivariate results:

Table 7 shows the effects of the *division of housework-index* on fertility intention. (To remember: we are controlling by age and parity in this logistic regression model.)

You can a see the odds of wanting a(nother) child if there is a change in the division of housework-index. Results, the he values (odds) of the housework-index odds should be compared to the value-1- line. The more distant the country values to the value-1-line, the higher the probability that the division of housework influence the intention to have a(nother) child. The values above the 1 signify positive, the values below 1 line negative relations. The

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[1] Having the answers of the men, we will have lower gender inequality, but the ranking of the countries will be the same.

negative relation could be interpreted as the followings: the higher the inequality of the division of housework between the partner, the less the odds of willing a(nother) child.

We found significant influences in two countries, in Hungary and in Russia. The results show the expected relation: the higher the evaluated inequality of the division of housework between the partners, the lower the chance being inclined to have another child, the lower the chance increasing fertility. The result shows, at least in Hungary and Russia, the *negative relation between inequality in partners division of housework and level of intended fertility.*

Table 9 reports whether living in a Male Breadwinner partnership compared to Dual Earner partnership have a higher or lower probability to being inclined to have a(nother) child within three years. We found significant influences in two cases, namely in Austria and in Hungary. Being all other factors equal, women living in Male Breadwinner are more willing to have a(nother) child than women in Dual Earner partnership

(Note: further GGS countries will be included in the future)

(Preliminary) summary

Concerning the division of housework we assumed that women will be more willing to have a child in the close future, if they feel to get more support from their partners. That is, the lower the value of the division housework-index, the higher the chance intending to have a(nother) child in short run. This assumption, the H1 hypothesis could be verified in case of Hungary and Russia.

Concerning the labour market related activities of the partners, we had two assumption. Our investigation verified H2a in case of two countries: Being all other factors equal, those partners using the more traditional Male Breadwinner model are more willing to have a(nother) child than those favoring the Dual Earner Family model. This corresponds with such approaches, as the time availability approach, the opportunity costs, or the traditional role idea, etc. However we found significant influences in Austria and Hungary, but not in France and Russia.

We see our results as preliminary: additional analyses and adding new countries should bring more understanding on the relation between division of labour and the fertility decision making.

Table 1
Age distribution of cohabiting women in
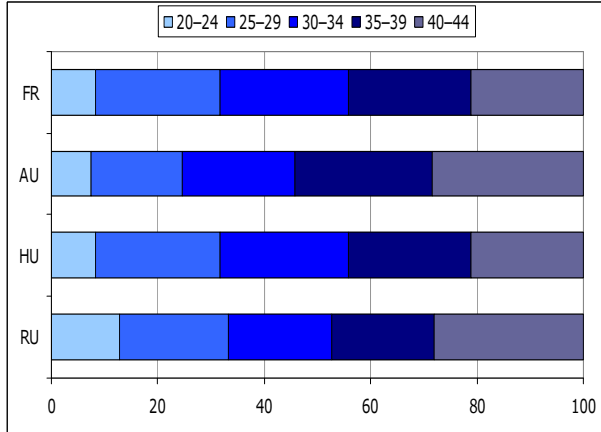different countries, aged 20-44

Table 2
Parity distribution of cohabiting women in
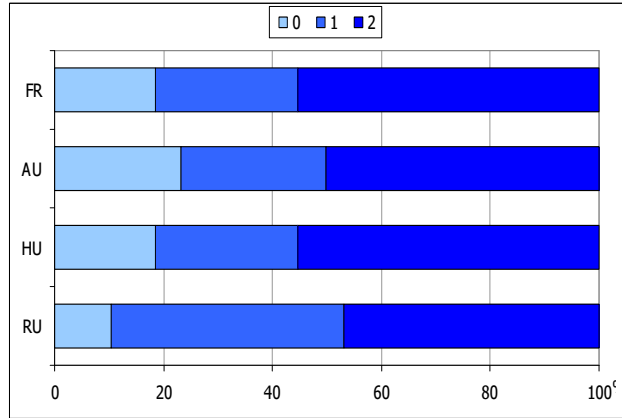different countries, aged 20-44

Table 3
Distribution of activity profiles of partners in different countries,
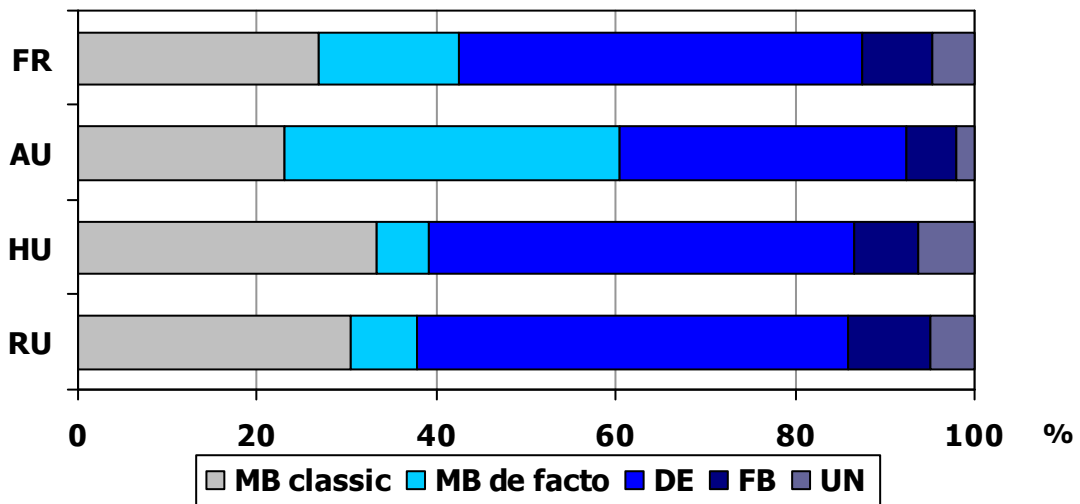cohabiting women, aged 20-44, different countries

Table 4
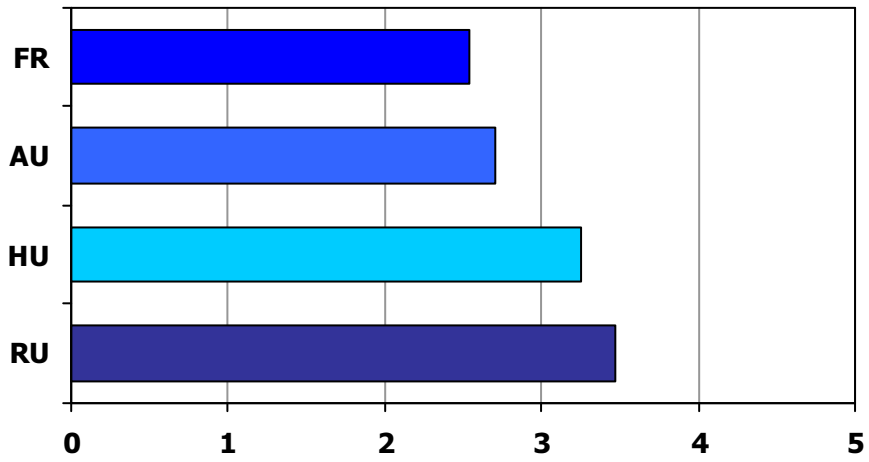Average level (mean) of the ***division of housework-index***,
(7 tasks, women's response)

Table 5
Ratio intending or not having a(nother) child within three years,
cohabiting women, aged 20-44, different countries
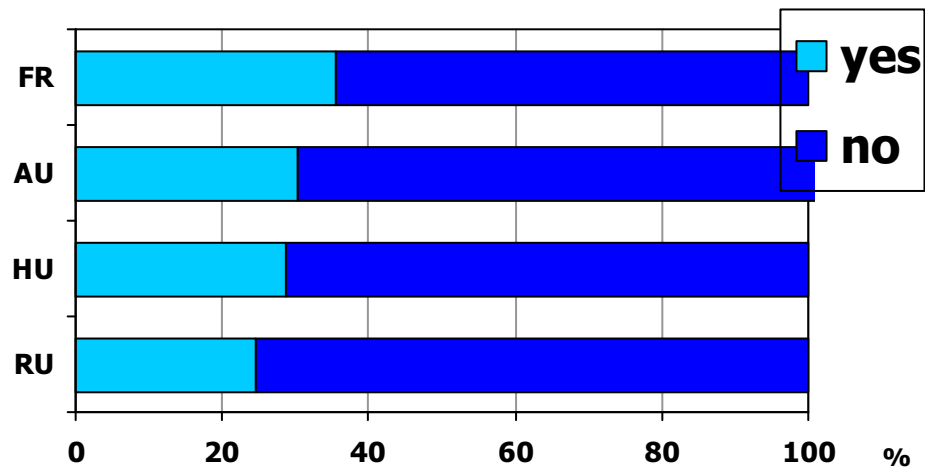
Table 6a

Average level of division of housework-index according activity profile of partners,
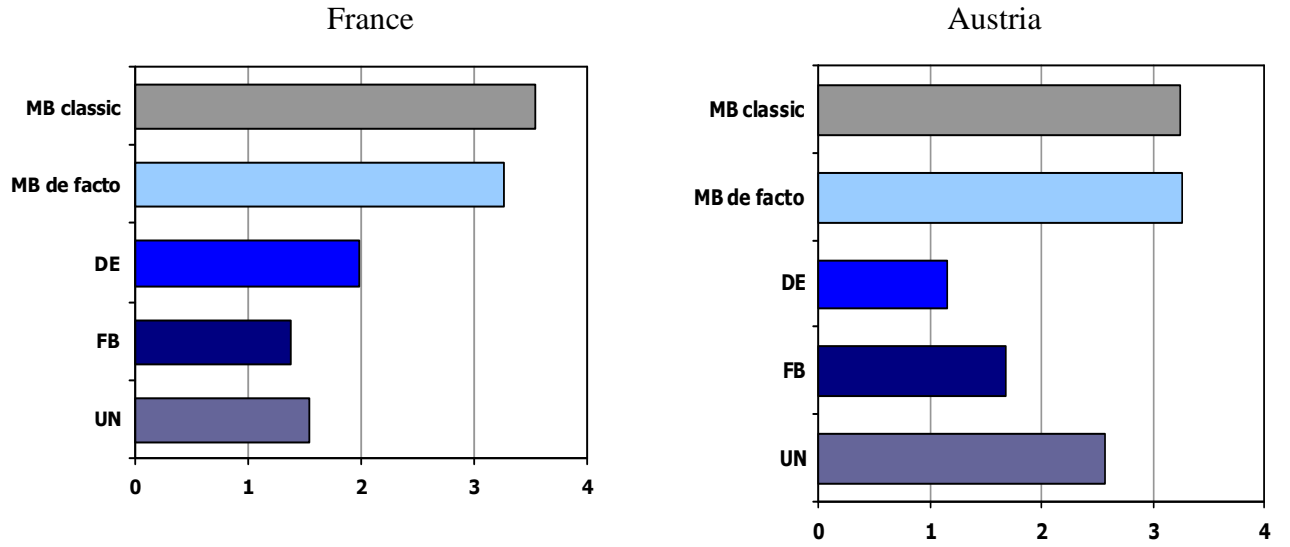France and Austria, 7 tasks, women's response

France

Austria

Table 6b

Average level of division of housework-index according activity profile of partners,
Hungary and Russia, 7 tasks, women's response
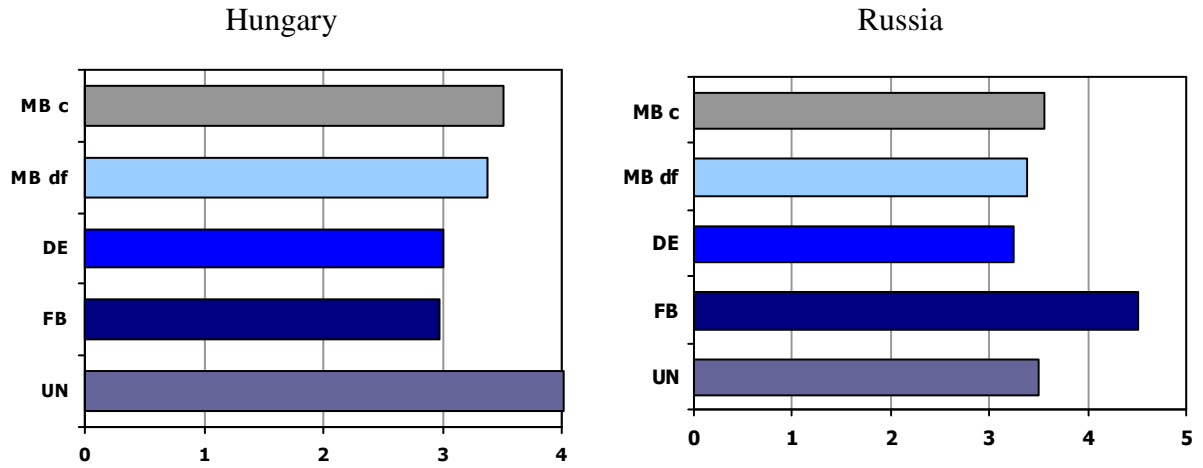
Hungary

Russia

Table 7
The influence of housework division-index on short term fertility intention formation,
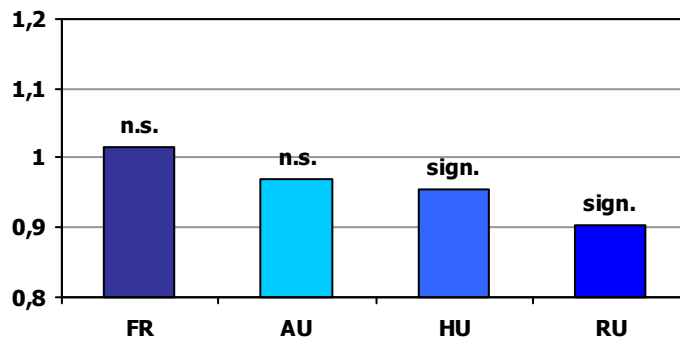results (odds) of logistic regression modelling, controlled effects

Table 8
The effect of activity profile of partnerships on short term fertility intention formation,
results (odds) of logistic regression modelling, controlled effects,
(Reference: Dual Earner partnership)