

# Transformation of Reproduction Norms: Delay and Gender Dynamics in Parenthood

Gabriel BIANCHI, Miroslav POPPER, Ivan LUKŠÍK and Magda PETRJÁNOŠOVÁ

Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava  
bianchi@savba.sk

**Acknowledgement:** This paper was written with a support of the Slovak Grant Agency APVV grant No. 604-10

**Key words:** social norms, reproduction, fertility, fecundity, parent, father, mother, gender, delay

## Introduction

Slovakia, along with the majority of countries espousing a Western culture, faces a low reproduction rate and the postponement of fertility to a later age. Slovakia exhibits a so-called Second Demographic Transition (SDT; Lestaege, van de Kaa, 1986), characterised by a rise in the age of first marriages; in the level of divorce, cohabitation and parenthood within cohabitation; in individual autonomy, self-actualization, symmetry in gender roles; and at the same time a decline in the number of married couples and remarriages, and decreasing fertility, social cohesion and acknowledgment of authority. In post-socialist countries SDT only fully came into being after the political transformation following the breakdown of the regime of the totalitarian Soviet bloc in 1989. Currently Slovakia is one of the countries exhibiting lowest low fertility (total fertility below 1.3). This study focuses on the key aspects of delay, as well as on gender issues related to reproductive intentions. Our theoretical stance mainly draws on the social norm approach (Bicchieri, 2006).

As far as delaying reproduction to a later age (at least in Western countries) is concerned, there are various conceptions and justifications overlapping on many key points. The greatest benefit young people derive from delaying reproduction is independence. Arnett (2000) refers to the period between the ages of 18 and 25 as *emerging adulthood*, which is characterised by a relative independence in terms of social roles and normative expectations and at the same time by being able to experiment with relationships, job opportunities and

worldviews. Similarly, Fukuyama (2006) characterises Western societies by a weakening of social bonds and common values, disruption of social norms and the decreasing status of the family.

In terms of the gender dynamics of reproduction, there is on the one hand, a general tendency towards a more gender-equal society, on the other hand there is the sharply contrasting discourse on the irreplaceable mother and the father as “helper”, according to which women do not like to relinquish their roles as mothers-as-the-main-childrearer, for fear that they might lose their feminine identity, which is associated with motherhood (Badinter, 2012; Janoušková, Sedláček, 2005; Grño, 2006). This type of discourse perpetuates traditional gender role divisions and at the same time significantly contributes to the distrust women have of men as fully-fledged fathers. In both the Czech Republic (Hašková, Zamykalová, 2006) and Slovakia (Potančoková, 2009a), the norm of mothers spending several years at home bringing up the child full-time is considered to be the most appropriate form of motherhood.

The current situation concerning the gender challenges of parenthood may be summarized in two ways:

1. ***The push-pull dynamic aspect:*** The predominant stereotype of attributing parenthood to women (Rich, 1976), results in women’s identity being constructed around motherhood (cf. e.g. Szeghy et al. 2008). In order to protect their identity, women implicitly “expel” men from the parenthood/fatherhood arena. At the same time, women want men to participate in household and parenthood so that the women can pursue their personal/individual goals.
2. ***Complementarity between motherhood and fatherhood:*** Due to the emancipation of both women and men (e.g. “new men” and “new fathers”; Zachová, 2006) the traditional normative model of the mother and father is being substituted by a variety of parent models to be considered by the parents to ensure a sufficient degree of (new) complementarity.

## **Research objective**

Our research objectives were to explore the main normative topics concerning parenthood. The normative topics can be arranged into two main groups for analytical purposes. The first group (1) **reproductive delay** refers mainly to (1A) the social norm of the need for self-actualization, (1B) the social norm of constructing an existential background, and (1C) the incompatibility of different parental and educational/professional trajectories. The second group relates to (2) **the gender construction of expected parental interactions** in relationships – from strongly stereotypical to various forms of stereotype-deconstruction.

## Methodology

The first phase of this study consisted of 15 focus group discussions with young men (N=48) and women (N=39), aged 20-34; 7 groups were all male, 4 were all female and 4 were mixed, and they involved participants from various socio-economic backgrounds with varying levels of education (high school, undergraduate, graduate, and postgraduate). The discussions were semi-structured, following a scenario focusing on the participants' lifestyles (compared to their parents' lifestyles), life-goals, fecundity, partner-and-parental-role constructions, work-and-family/parenting relations. and normative opinions on parenthood. All the discussions were audio-recorded, fully transcribed and analysed by three researchers using open-coding in a thematic and interpretative analysis. Based on results of this qualitative exploration we conducted quantitative representative national survey (N=1400; respondents aged 18 to 45). Due to our focus on delay, we are alternatively using constricted subsamples based on criteria of parenthood or age (e.g. respondents who are parents, childless, respondents in certain age distance from the average age for childbirth of first child).<sup>1</sup>

## Results

**Delay.** Qualitative research with undergraduates (as well as postgraduates, both male and female) indicated that delay or plans to delay reproduction are mainly due to needs relating to self-actualization, education, their professional careers and endeavours to be financially and materially secure before conceiving a child.

Both women and men use the delay for self-actualization, experimenting with relationships, job opportunities, etc. Some women respond to the delay in male reproductive intentions by seeking older men. However, some men, despite enjoying the delay, display a readiness to switch to the responsible pattern, even giving up their university studies and earning money in order to provide for the family if a child is to be born.

*„In my opinion young guys today grow up a lot later than they used to and they are more liberal than we perhaps were and they want to have fun and not tie themselves down and get married until they're in their thirties, and as for children well I won't even say when“ (Nitra5F; F).*

---

<sup>1</sup> The average age for birth of the first child in this sample is 24,9 years (SD=4,7 years). We identified four age cohorts distanced from this average age for first childbirth: (a) below mean 20-24, (b) above mean 25-29, (c) one SD above mean 30-34, (d) two SD above the mean 35-39. Most specific analyses were done on the cohort (c) as it represents an age profile with a 5-9 years delay after the average first-childbirth and therefore is most useful for studying the delay phenomenon (the genuine postponers).

The other “reason” for delaying fatherhood – the need to provide (materially) for the family – was highlighted mainly by male participants.

*„I can't imagine having a child and whatever happens. ... I basically need to have something put by so that I could look after it even if I lost my job, so that I would have a couple of months to get by on until I found another job, so I wouldn't have to go asking my parents for money, to give me something because I can't feed my kid“ (STU M; M).*

Finally, there was a third reason given in the discussions for delaying reproduction that relates to the incompatibility of parenting and a professional career; young adults think their professional career has to be developed to a sufficient degree before they can start their reproductive life.

*“Well I am planning to have children, but exactly how many I have no idea, but definitely not in the near future, because I think completing my doctorate and then basically being on maternity leave, well then I would feel that the doctorate was pointless. perhaps five or six years after I've got my doctorate then it would be more realistic to think about having a child“ (Trnava Mix; F).*

*„Well when I actually get... When I've finished studying and I've got a job and can provide financial security for us then for the children“ (Nitra 2 M; M).*

Thus, in general, a new norm is emerging that stresses the necessity of establishing a family only once a state of economic independence has been reached, and that allows at the same time for a wide space for self-actualisation (in work, life and partnership etc). This applies to the young generation regarding higher education mainly.

The interviews also revealed that there are well-grounded expectations suggesting that these three dimensions of delay may be further expanded into broader, theoretically elaborated dimensions. In particular, self-actualisation corresponds with the lifestyle area (Bourdieu, 1979), the need for the material resources for parenthood corresponds with the broad socio-economic status arena, and the (in)compatibility of parenting and career corresponds with structural/institutional/political support in parenthood/childcare. These dimensions were operationalized in the quantitative representative survey and were tested in relationship to fertility and fecundity.

1. Self-actualization of respondents was measured by several questions concerning value and lifestyle preferences. In the cohort of 30-34 years childless respondents (postponers) have a preference for “independent life” (as value opposed to “family life”) in 37% (compared to 6% and 6% in parents of one and two-child respectively; Kruskal-Wallis Test Chi-Square=48.7\*\*\*). Another value that shows a significant difference between childless and parents is “being rooted in one's region” (as opposed to „knowing new locations and working abroad“); being rooted in one's region is dominant in all respondents, however

much less in childless and growing towards one- and two-child parents (60%. 74%. 83% respectively; Kruskal-Wallis Test Chi-Square=20.5\*\*\*).

In concert with value-differences, also lifestyle indicators show similar patterns. In holiday preferences orientation towards „knowing new locations“ decreases significantly with increasing number of children (childless. one- and two-child parents 25% . 14%. 6% respectively). Similarly. preference for a holiday where „one can have fun, enjoy oneself“ decreases significantly with increasing number of children (childless 16%, one-child 8%, two-child parents 3% . Complementary to this, preferences for a holiday when „I can have a rest“ increase significantly with fertility (childless 34%, one-child 46%, two-child parents 67%; Chi-Square=26.7\*\*).

Another lifestyle indicator concerning weekend preferences again supports the self-actualization focus of childless postponers, for whom, along with high diversity of interests, there is a dominant preference for “having fun with friends” (24%), while in one-child parents “caring for others” (36%), “work around the house” (33%) and “resting” (22%) are the most frequent preferences, and in two-child parents „caring for others (47%) dominates strongly.

2. Indicators of creating an existential background (as a basis for a satisfactory reproduction) we chose the value preference for saving (as opposed to „spending for experiencing life“), reported monthly saving, and living (still) together with parents (due to economic restrictions).

In the 30-34 years cohort there is general preference towards „saving“ ( which is seemingly close to what participants in the qualitative study expressed as „get secured for a reproduction career“). However, due to the fact that the absolute amount of money saved per month is on average 105 EUR, this mode of saving cannot be seen as a way to secure living conditions for a family. Thus, the individual implementation of the norm of creating one’s existential background before conceiving a child is hard to achieve, which enhances the postponement/delay.

In this context the housing conditions of people from the 30-34 years cohort living together with parents are remarkable. Our data show that 44% of childless/postponers (significantly more than expected) still dwell with their parents, whereas only 16% of two-child parents (significantly less than expected) live with their parents (N=233; Chi Square14.533\*\*\*). This may - due to the self-actualization presumption – support the selfish motivation of the post-poners seeking reserves for enjoying life. However. at the same time. it

corresponds with the mere fact of a low standard of living in Slovakia interfering with reproductive intentions and contributes to the postponement of child bearing.

3. An indirect indicator of the tension/incompatibility between household/parenting and pursuing career for women/mothers is a structural support in childcare. The accessibility of childcare facilities (nurseries, kindergartens) is the key aspect of this structural context. The accessibility of nurseries and kindergartens in Slovakia is in a long run very low. Our quantitative data (considering a cohort of women aged 25-34 years) show that highest concerns about accessibility to childcare facilities are reported by the youngest mothers, with a decrease along their age of birth of first child (N=202; R=0.184\*\*). This finding does support the expectation that limitations of structural contexts is in the background for delay in childbearing<sup>2</sup>.

All quantitative analyses show that the assumption of norm-transformation concerning the postponement of childbearing has a strong support in numerous individual, socio-economic and structural indicators, mainly (1) a growing need for self-actualization expressed in value and lifestyle preferences, (2) limitations in efforts to create material resources and housing conditions for parenthood, and (3) insufficient accessibility of childcare facilities.

***Push-Pull Gender Issues.*** Data from our qualitative study indicate that there is ambivalence concerning the norms of fatherhood and motherhood. What dominates is neither traditional (gender stereotypical) nor new (gender equal) social norms. Instead, in order to obtain greater independence and create a larger space for self-realisation, women tend to pull men into the sphere that has traditionally been the domain of women – housekeeping and child nurturing. Simultaneously, however, they want to maintain their leading position in the household and therefore view men as their assistants instead of as full-blooded substitutes. Men, on the other hand, mostly take on the role of apprentices, who are able to learn much of women's traditional roles, but only to a certain extent, and only when it is essential that they stand in for their female partners/wives. Thus, the underlying norm of the irreplaceable mother is reinforced.

---

<sup>2</sup> The significance of this finding concerns only kindergartens (for children from the age of 3 years). Due to a strong social norm, it is expected that the mother stays home with the child for the first 3 years of age, therefore the interest in nurses is very low; also the nurses are difficult to access, because they are either rare (public nurseries) or expensive (private nurseries).

Gender issues related to reproductive intentions were observed in the focus group discussions on two levels – household-roles and parenthood-roles. Some participants – both male and female – expressed preferences for **traditional stereotypical gender divisions** over household roles, as well as in parental roles.

*„Well the woman usually looks after the house, cooking, ironing, washing, but I think the man should help out a bit more and not be surprised later that the woman is stressed, or like when the man comes from work and lies on the settee and everything is up to her. Like he should help the woman a bit more, fine, he doesn't have to iron, but everyone can do something, a bit of hoovering now and again or do the things that are more physically difficult for the woman for example“ (Nitra 4 Mix; F).*

*„Not so that he takes over the female role but so that he's with me and not always at work and that he tries to help with bringing up the kids generally“ (Nitra 5 F; F).*

At the same time, some male participants expressed a **moderate deconstruction of gender stereotypes** concerning the household role-divide and a similar moderate deconstruction concerning parental roles was expressed by both male and female participants. Finally, a decline in traditional gender roles maintained in a **sharp deconstruction of gender stereotypical attitudes**, as formulated by both male and female participants concerning household as well as parental roles; however, a radical position abandoning gender stereotypes in relation to parenthood and childcare generally was expressed – surprisingly – only by some male participants.

*„I, for example, wouldn't have any problem being on paternity leave and looking after the child in the first few months or years and she could work a bit and I would stay at home. In that way I'm completely liberal. I would really like to try it and it's of interest to me because I've read some studies where it's actually the fathers who stay with the children after birth that have even stronger relationships with the children later on. I would really like it to be like that“ (Bratislava M; M).*

*„I would even request it [paternity leave]. I have the right as a father, don't I? And who has the right to take away two years of my life with my son or daughter? It's discrimination, men having to go to work and sweat“ (Bratislava M; M).*

On our representative sample we tested in what extent these gender-based tensions and the push-pull ambivalences of parenthood (expressed in housework, childcare and satisfaction with division of work) are manifestations of the diversity of partnership forms: cohabitation (as a new form of partnership) vs. marriage. Also, we analysed fecundity differences between married and cohabiting partners.

The distribution of marriage vs. cohabitation in all respondents living together (age cohort 20-39; Table 1) highlights a sharp decrease of marriage and increase of cohabitation status from the oldest to the youngest cohort, illustrating the transformation of a norm related to reproduction.

**Table 1: Respondents in a relationship living together:**

			In marriage	Cohabiting	Total
Age cohorts	20-24	Count	4	25	29
		Expected Count	20.0	9.0	29.0
		% within age category	13.8%	<b>86.2%</b>	100.0%
		Adjusted Residual	-6.6	6.6	
	25-29	Count	59	54	113
		Expected Count	77.9	35.1	113.0
		% within age category	52.2%	<b>47.8%</b>	100.0%
		Adjusted Residual	-4.4	4.4	
	30-34	Count	119	39	158
		Expected Count	108.9	49.1	158.0
		% within age category	75.3%	<b>24.7%</b>	100.0%
		Adjusted Residual	2.1	-2.1	
	35-39	Count	146	30	176
		Expected Count	121.3	54.7	176.0
		% within age category	83.0%	<b>17.0%</b>	100.0%
		Adjusted Residual	5.1	-5.1	
Total		Count	328	148	476
		Expected Count	328.0	148.0	476.0
		% within age category	68.9%	31.1%	100.0%
Pearson Chi-Square	75.054	Asympt. Sig. (2 sided)	0.000		

When assessing the division of reported housework there is a significant difference between married and cohabiting partners (cohabiting women working significantly less than married, as reported by both men and women; see Tables 2A and 2B). However, in the division of childcare i.e. dressing up the child, bringing it to bed, staying home with a sick child, helping with homeworks, bringing it to school (with one exception concerning playing with the child) while the majority of work in childcare is reported to be done by mothers, there are **no significant differences between married and cohabiting women in the mothers’ share in childcare (Table 3)**. This shows that the emancipatory tendency in cohabiting mothers concerns mainly housework, while in childcare there is a (non-significant) reversed tendency – cohabiting mothers report caring even more for the child than married mothers. As the mother carries the dominant share in childcare, independently of whether she is married or cohabiting, the core of the concept of “irreplaceable mother” (not of an irreplaceable housewife) seems to be well preserved.



**Table 2A: Reported housework in women (in %)**

WOMEN in joint household with a man (N=379. age 20-39)	In marriage		In cohabitation		Chi	Sig.
	Mainly myself	Sharing with partner equally	Mainly myself	Sharing with partner equally		
Cooking	73.7	23.3	59.5	30.4	10.1	**
Washing up dishes	63.0	32.7	48.8	42.5	6.2	*
Food shopping	39.0	51.3	31.3	63.8	4.4	Non
Vacuum cleaning	50.2	38.9	45.0	36.3	3.4	Non
Small household repairs	5.4	11.8	3.9	18.2	2.4	Non
Managing household budget. paying bills	35.1	50.0	32.9	51.9	0.1	Non
Decisions about child upbringing	18.1	80.9	28.6	71.4	3.3	Non
Decision about leisure/societal life	9.9	86.1	13.3	79.5	2.5	Non

**Table 2B: Reported housework in men (in %)**

MALES living in joint household with a woman (N= 293. age 20-39)	In marriage		In cohabitation		Chi	Sig.
	Mainly my partner/wife	Sharing with partner equally	Mainly my partner/wife	Sharing with partner equally		
Cooking	72.6	21.7	50.6	43.2	14.1	***
Washing up dishes	62.2	34.0	50.6	45.9	3.7	Non
Food shopping	35.2	58.3	20.7	69.0	6.6	*
Vacuum cleaning	51.4	30.5	45.3	46.5	8.9	*
Small household repairs	2.4	10.9	5.8	19.8	6.8	*
Managing household budget. paying bills	26.4	55.1	25.3	51.8	0.7	Non
Decisions about child upbringing	12.9	85.6	19.5	78.0	1.5	Non
Decision about leisure/societal life	11.5	84.8	10.5	86.0	0.1	Non

**Table 3: Reported childcare of mothers (in %)**

MOTHERS in joint household with a father (N=206. age 20-39)	In marriage		In cohabitation		Chi	Sig.
	Mainly myself	Sharing with partner equally	Mainly myself	Sharing with partner equally		
Dressing up the child	77.3	21.6	76.7	20.0		Non
bringing child to bed	63.4	34.9	73.3	23.3		Non
staying home with a sick child	81.7	17.7	86.7	10.0		Non
playing with the child	36.2	62.6	60.0	36.7	7.4	*
helping child with homeworks	53.1	43.8	72.2	27.8		Non
bringing child to school	50.4	46.0	66.7	33.3		Non

Paradoxically, in spite of significant differences between the amount of house-work performed by men and women in marriage and cohabitation respectively, the level of satisfaction (of both men and women) is relatively high and does not differ between these two liaison/union conditions (married and cohabiting men 88.1% and 81.8%; married and cohabiting women 69.4 and 62.7%).

On the contrary, in childcare, where there are (almost) no significant differences between marriage and cohabitation, level of satisfaction differs significantly between the two conditions – satisfaction with the amount of load in childcare is lower in the cohabitation

condition (for both men and women) as compared to marriage (men: 69.0% and 80.2% respectively, Chi square=7.5\*; women: 60.0% and 72.3% respectively, Chi square=9.1\*\*).

While there are indicators of a transformation of the norm of partner liaison from marriage to cohabitation, there is an insufficient potential for changing the norm of irreplaceable mother. High figures on satisfaction with the current situation in sharing work among partners (mainly in men who due to their traditionally perceived power could utilize their agency more effectively) indicate a low motivation to change the status quo.

As many countries in Central and East Europe are currently characterised by the lowest low fertility, we examined whether changes in partnership status (from marriage to cohabitation) influence the fecundity. Our findings show that about one third of women as well as men (considering all single-child parents from the cohort of 30-34 years old. N= 98 women, 95men) indicated, independently of whether they are in marriage or cohabitation, planning a child within next three years (women 30% and 33% respectively; men 33% and 36% respectively). Planning the second child later was reported by 8% of those women living in marriage, and 18% of women living in cohabitation (N=66), and by men in 8% of those living in marriage and 33% of those living in cohabitation (N=60). That means that increase of cohabitation (as an alternative form of partnership) per se may not play a substantial role in fertility rates.

## **Discussion and conclusion**

In a broader context of SDT (Lestaeghe. van de Kaa. 1986) delay in childbearing in Slovakia was expressed in our representative sample, along with an increase of preference of cohabitations in contrast to marriage.

Findings from our qualitative and quantitative studies converge in explanation of **delay**. The postponement of childbearing is influenced by all three presumptions. i.e. (1) growing need for self-actualization. (2) limitations in efforts to create material resources and housing conditions for parenthood. and (3) insufficient accessibility of childcare facilities.

Our findings partially support Arnett's (2000) concept of emerging adulthood in a sense of weakening the traditional norms concerning partnership – predominance of cohabitation (instead of marriage) in younger cohorts (more than 4/5 of 20 to 24 year olds and almost half of the sample between the ages of 25 and 29). Even almost one third of the older age cohort (30-34 year olds) declare that independent life is a preferred value for them (in contrast to family life). Their lifestyles indicate a tendency towards carefree life. mainly during holidays and weekends. However. individual autonomy and self-actualization seems to

be to a large extent inhibited by a low amount of money that young people have. In the age cohort of 30-34 years still a remarkable part live together with their parents due to economic restrictions (expensive flats/houses and insufficient possibilities to save enough money within an overall low standard of living in Slovakia).

While findings from the qualitative research (focus group discussions) indicate a wide variety of **gender** constructions of the parental roles (from traditional stereotypical to highly egalitarian), results from the representative sample show that changes in gender roles in partnership are not as considerable. Only participants from one focus group consisting of men with higher education from the capital of Slovakia and better-than-average income expressed a radical position - abandoning gender stereotypes as such and expressing gender equality in relation to parenthood and childcare. Thus, “new men” and “new fathers” (cf. Zachova, 2006) represent an exception rather than a mainstream trend.

Generally, if gender changes occur, they are expressed more in the household area, less in parental roles where the concept of irreplaceable mother (Badinter, 2012; Janoušková, Sedláček, 2005; Grňo, 2006) is still prevailing and persisting. The growing occurrence of cohabitation (as a new norm) is accompanied by a moderately higher equality in sharing housework between the partners; however, this does not concern childcare and cohabiting women report higher involvement in childcare compared to married women. Their effort to engage men more into parental care and at the same time to keep their dominant position of irreplaceable mothers is not fulfilled - neither in marriage. nor in cohabitation. In cohabitation as a new form of partnership, women even work more in caring for children and are less satisfied with labour division than in marriage. This may be also due to their higher expectations concerning independence if they are in the status of cohabitation. Thus cohabitation as such does not automatically bring positive development or improve conditions for better self-realization of women in their professional career.

Finally, if returning to the central issue of fertility and fecundity, while cohabitation in the younger age cohort (20-24 years) is the prevailing partnership status and is tied to the delay in childbearing, in the cohort of 30-34 year olds it relates to only one fourth of the young people. It is probably due to a tendency to enter into marriage after first pregnancy or childbirth. And even those who do not decide to marry and stay in cohabitation after getting the first child have similar plans (to have a second child) as those in marriage. Thus, alternative partnership formation (cohabitation) does not seem to be significantly connected to fecundity of those who already have one child.

## References:

- Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging Adulthood: A Theory of Development from the Late Teens through the Twenties. *American Psychologist* 55, 469-480.
- Badinter, E. (2012). *The Conflict: How Modern Motherhood Undermines the Status of Women*. New York, HarperCollins.
- Bicchieri, C. (2006). *The Grammar of Society: The Nature and Dynamics of Social Norms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction*. Harvard University Press.
- Fukuyama, F. (2000). *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Order*. New York, Touchstone.
- Grňo, J. (2006): Kde se láme subjekt. *Biograf*, (40-41): 51 odst.  
Available online: <http://www.biograf.org/clanky/clanek.php?clanek=4002>
- Hašková, H., Zamykalová, L. (2006). Mít děti – co je to za normu? Čí je to norma? *Biograf* (40-41): 130 odst. Available online: <http://www.biograf.org/clanky/clanek.php?clanek=v4001>
- Janoušková, K.L., Sedláček, L. (2005): Jiné mateřství. *Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum* 6 19-22.
- Lesthaeghe, R., van de Kaa, D. J. (1986). Twee Demografische Transitities? (Two Demographic Transitions?). In D. J. van de Kaa and R. Lesthaeghe (Eds.). *Bevolking: Groei en Krimp (Population: Growth and Decline)*. pp. 9-24. Deventer: Van Loghum Slaterus.
- Lesthaeghe, R., Neidert, L.: The “Second Demographic Transition” in the US: Spatial Patterns and Correlates. Report 06-592. Population Studies Center. University of Michigan. March. 2006.
- Potančoková, M. (2009). Neplnohodnotné matky? Imperatív dobrej matky a participácia matiek maloletých detí na trhu práce. *Sociologický časopis/Czech Sociological Review*, 2009a. 45. pp. 61-88.
- Rich, A. (1976). *Of Women Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Szeghy, P. (2008). Rodová identita. (Gender Identity). In: Gabriel Bianchi et al.: *Re/produkcia rodovej nerovnosti v zdravotníctve.(Re/production of Gender Inequality in Healthcare)* Bratislava. OKAT PLUS. pp.31-42
- Zachová, A. (2006) “Dcery otcovy” a ztracené matky: Hledání matek v české próze posledních desetiletí psané ženami. In: P. Hanáková et al. (Eds.) *V bludném kruhu*. Praha. Slon. pp. 361-384.