



GENDERED AND INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONALITIES IN FUTURE ORIENTATIONS: GUATEMALAN SCHOOLCHILDREN'S REPORTS OF GENDER ROLES IN PRESENT AND FUTURE HOUSEHOLDS

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Résumé de l'article

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GENDERED AND INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONALITIES IN FUTURE ORIENTATIONS: GUATEMALAN SCHOOLCHILDREN'S REPORTS OF GENDER ROLES IN PRESENT AND FUTURE HOUSEHOLDS

Jonathan N. Maupin and Joseph Hackman

Abstract: This article examines children and youth's future orientation in rural Guatemala by examining their reports of activities of adults and children in present and future households. A total of 690 students in a small town in highland Guatemala completed a household task attribution form that listed 29 tasks in seven domains (domestic chores, care for children, household decisions, responsibilities, household purchases, work for money, development) with four gendered household figures (man, woman, boy, girl). Using cultural consensus analysis, we analyze patterns of agreement and variation in responses to determine the existence of shared cultural models and gendered submodels in both time periods. Taking a gendered and intergenerational relationality perspective, we focus on the ways that future orientations reflect, (re)produce, and contest contemporary gender norms. Reports of task distributions in the present reflect "traditional" gender norms divided along "productive" and "reproductive" lines. While male participants' conceptions of the future largely reproduced these structures, female participants appeared willing to increase their own domestic work to foster greater gender equality among their children.

Keywords: Guatemala, gender, adolescents, youth, future orientation, future imagination

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Examining children's and youth's conceptions of the future provides unique insights into the ways individuals negotiate personal aspirations and expectations, perceived constraints, and possibilities for change (Chisholm & du Bois-Reymond, 1993; Türken et al., 2016). According to Seginer (2019), future orientation can be framed as "the image individuals have regarding their future, as consciously represented and self-reported" (p. 3). Future orientation involves setting goals, and planning and motivating behavior, while embracing hopes and dreams with evolving perspectives on time, space, and commitment (Brannen & Nilsen, 2005; Seginer, 2019). It reflects the identities and positions individuals think are possible, desirable, and likely while situating themselves within historical processes and contemporary contexts (Forsberg & Timonen, 2018; Haukanes & Heggli, 2016). There is debate, however, regarding the extent to which youth future orientations are shaped by notions of individual agency or constrained by existing social structures that limit options, choices, and outcomes (Brannen & Nilsen, 2005).

Individualization theory argues that in post-industrial Western societies processes of globalization, with concomitant technological and socioeconomic change, detraditionalize and destandardize the life course, replacing the standard biography with "choice biographies" as individuals create their own futures in uncertain contexts (Bauman, 2013; Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1991; Woodman, 2011). According to Beck (1992), individuals living in a time of "reflexive modernity" are disembedded from traditional structures and sources of collective identity that, like gender and social class, formerly determined one's fate, and are able to live "a life of one's own". The pace of change and proliferation of mutually incompatible structures also create risk and uncertainty as traditional paths and strategies no longer serve predictably, compelling individuals to deliberately plan for their futures and justify their actions with "rational" rather than "traditional" arguments (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Giddens, 1991).

These processes resemble impacts of neoliberalism, characterized as both an economic and political ideology and a form of governance (Ganti, 2014). Promoting free-market capitalism, neoliberalism emphasizes individual agency as traditional structures and norms, including the welfare state, retract (Gershon, 2011; Rose, 1990). It also fosters the "economization of the social", in which individual identity, behavior, and relationships are conceptualized in market terms, promoting consumer citizenship, individual agency and responsibility, and weakened ties to collectives (Bauman, 2013; Harvey, 2007). In this context, youth may feel able, or compelled, to "assemble" their own biographies through consumption of goods like education, although the instability in educational, occupational, and social pathways for advancement may generate fear and uncertainty regarding the future (Brannen & Nilsen, 2005; Heggli et al., 2013; Türken et al., 2016).

Most studies on youth future orientation find themes of agency and autonomy, although critics of individualization theory argue that choice is an "epistemological fallacy" that ignores structural constraints (Heggli et al., 2013). Even though youth may not explicitly discuss structure in their

narratives of the future, this silence does not mean it is unimportant to them. Rather, structure is rendered invisible through discourses of power that emphasize individual responsibility and risk (Brannen & Nilsen, 2005; Türken et al., 2016). As Brannen and Nilsen (2002) described, youth future orientations reflect a “structured individualization” where youth envision themselves constructing their own lives while, consciously or not, recognizing the structural constraints shaping their potential life courses (Chisholm & du Bois-Reymond, 1993; Forsberg & Timonen, 2018; Gómez-Urrutia et al., 2017).

Critics also argue that ignoring structure masks variation in youth’s sense of agency and in their ability to exert agency in the sense of having the capacity to plan, and that youth’s expectations of happiness and success are shaped by poverty, educational and occupational resources, and collectivist orientations (Brannen & Nilsen, 2002; Sletten, 2011). Even studies supporting individualization theory find that some groups of young adults, including those who are “multiply stressed”, “non-trendsetters”, or “privileged learners”, do not plan, whether from a lack of resources, limited options, or a sense of ontological security (Anderson et al., 2005; Brooks & Everett, 2008; du Bois-Reymond, 1998). Brannen and Nilsen (2002, 2005) argued that planning and choice are also influenced by time perspective, as planning occurs among individuals who have a “predictability” time orientation that involves collectivist traditions with well-established pathways to adulthood, while choice is associated with an “adaptability” orientation among those privileged with enough educational and occupational resources to envision themselves creating their own destiny and overcoming challenges. In contrast, individuals with a “deferment” orientation have a present-centered perspective and assume their future lives will mirror that of their parents.

Youth future orientations are also relational. Many scholars focus on “gendered relationalities” as individuals attempt to balance their own future paid and care work in relation to the actions or inaction of their desired or expected partners (Chisholm & du Bois-Reymond, 1993; Haukanes & Hašková, 2020; Patterson & Forbes, 2012). Though some studies show how youth may identify diverse forms of family formation (Forsberg & Timonen, 2018), many find that the majority of youth express heteronormative models of family structure and focus on the relationships between men and women (Haukanes & Hašková, 2020; Haukanes & Heggli, 2016). Yet, in addition to negotiating gendered roles between themselves and their potential future partner, future orientation also involves *intergenerational relationalities* where individuals attempt to balance adult roles with the desired and expected roles of their potential children (Zartler, 2015). In contexts where children supplement adult work, examining intergenerational relationalities in future orientations is particularly important for understanding how youth perceive their roles in their current families and what they desire or expect for their own children.

To understand the relationship between agency and structure in youth future orientations, Ng et al. (2016) drew on Bourdieu’s theory of practice. Central to this is the concept of habitus, “a subjective but not individual system of internalised structures, schemes of perception, conception, and action common to all members of the same group or class.” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 86). Habitus

is built on historical patterns, instilled through institutions like families, and establishes norms or tendencies that guide behavior and thinking, producing and reproducing structures or dispositions from the inside out. Linked to habitus are the interactions of economic, social, and cultural capital that produce, maintain, and naturalize inequalities (Bourdieu, 2011). Ng et al. (2016) argued that youth may have similar future aspirations as those in their habitus, which seem achievable and desirable based on access to different types of capital. Yet, some have an “inventive capacity” and can envision a way out of their habitus and instigate change by challenging adult expectations.

Similarly, Haukanes and colleagues (Haukanes & Hašková, 2020; Haukanes & Heggli, 2016) drew on feminist theories of power to demonstrate how youth discourses reflect processes of naturalization, in which inequitable relationships are taken as natural: denaturalization (questioning and destabilizing the naturalness of specific orders) and renaturalization (attempting to resist or reverse denaturalization). Their studies in Czechoslovakia and Norway have detailed how maternalistic parental leave policies and state disinvestment in child care naturalize or renaturalize gendered segmentation in paid and care work, while promotion of the “universal breadwinner” model, which encourages female employment and men’s participation in child care, may denaturalize these structures and promote gender equality. In New Zealand, Patterson and Forbes (2012) argued that the universal breadwinner model replicates inequitable gender divisions of labor by assuming that women continue providing unpaid care work while working intermittently. While youth may view their futures as the outcome of individual choices, they effectively “do gender” by using contemporary gender beliefs to imagine future relationships in ways that naturalize gender segregation in paid and care work.

In this paper we draw on these theories to analyze the ways in which Guatemalan children’s and youth’s future orientations reflect, (re)produce, and contest perceived gender norms. Most youth future orientation studies are conducted in European countries with individualistic cultures; there are few studies from Latin America, which is traditionally more collectivistic (Triandis, 2001). Additionally, most studies of youth future orientation use qualitative methods, such as future biographies, in which individuals envision their future lives without constraints. In contrast, we use a quantitative methodology to examine patterns of interparticipant agreement in the attribution of tasks in present and future households. This methodology allows us to understand, in ways that qualitative methods do not, how structure — in this case, gender norms — is (re)produced through shared individual representations of the present and conceptions of the future.

Gender Norms in Latin America and Guatemala

Like much of Latin America, Guatemalan culture is characterized by systemic gender disparities (Gibbons & Luna, 2015; Landa Ugarte et al., 2018), although recent changes in a series of interrelated structural and sociocultural domains are perhaps exerting a non-traditional influence on the gender norms and life course strategies of children and youth. Across the region, gender gaps in education and employment have decreased, fertility rates are declining, mother’s median

age at first birth is increasing, and family structures are changing (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean [ECLAC], 2020; UNESCO, 2018). The impact of these changes on gender relationships is complex, however. Structural and social changes do not occur at the same pace, but reflect an “incomplete revolution” where changes in family-level institutions often lag behind changes in individual factors, such as education and employment, that intersect with ethnicity, social class, and traditional gender norms (Chant, 2002; Covre-Sussai et al., 2013). For example, female employment is associated with women having greater independence, decision-making authority, and bargaining power (Pearse & Connell, 2016; Poelker & Gibbons, 2018). For middle- and upper-class women, it is also associated with gender equality; however, lower-class women, who provide the household labor and child care that allows wealthier women to participate in the labor market, continue to be constrained by traditional gender roles (Lavrin, 1987). Nor does participation in the labor market necessarily reduce women’s time spent in unpaid labor: instead, it may add to existing responsibilities, exacerbating gender inequalities (Campaña et al., 2018; Gammage, 2010).

Similarly, recent studies in Latin America identify diverse forms of masculinity and emerging models of fatherhood that vary along socioeconomic lines. Olvera and Luna (2019) identified two emergent models: “responsible fatherhood”, which advocates for reproductive responsibility and providing resources; and “active fatherhood”, which promotes co-responsibility in daily child-rearing. These emerging forms are linked to age and wealth, as traditional models persist among working class fathers, while young middle-class fathers may be more amenable to change, and upper-class fathers may promote greater equality and autonomy. In contrast to stereotypes of *machismo*, men are often willing to participate in care work (Viveros & Guttman, 2005), unless women’s employment threatens their masculinity (Chant, 2002; Lavrin, 1987).

In Guatemala, gender roles are largely divided into “productive” and “reproductive” tasks: men produce economically and women reproduce the physical and social (Metz & Webb, 2014; Wehr et al., 2014). “Traditional” gender norms emphasize male authority and men’s role as providers while framing women as mothers who sacrifice for the benefit of the family (Sierra de Gamalero et al., 2014; Gibbons & Luna, 2015). Female employment rates in Guatemala remained fairly steady between 2011 and 2019 at roughly 37%, lower than the average rate of 46% across Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC, 2021). In a labor market that is largely segregated by gender, women work primarily in sales and services; they generally earn up to half of what men earn, and spend more time overall in paid and unpaid work (Gammage, 2010; Landa Ugarte et al., 2018). Women’s lack of economic independence is associated with limited decision-making powers with regard to household expenditures, reproductive behavior, and social interactions (Gibbons & Luna, 2015; Poelker & Gibbons, 2018). While it is largely true that there is gender parity in school enrolment at all levels, girls aged 15 to 24 are more likely to be out-of-school (55.3%) than their male counterparts (49.2%), although the latter have higher drop-out and repetition rates (Landa Ugarte et al., 2018). Reasons for not enrolling vary by gender: boys tend to drop out in

order to generate income, while girls often stop to assist with domestic chores or because they are pregnant (Landa Ugarte et al., 2018).

While Guatemala continues to have the highest fertility rate in the region, rates declined from 5.1 births per female in 1995 to 3.1 in 2014–2015 due in part to increased uptake of contraceptives and delays in age of marriage, sexual activity, and first birth (Ministerio de Salud Pública y Asistencia Social [MSPAS] et al., 2017). Teenage marriage and pregnancy is prevalent, with roughly 22% of girls aged 15 to 19 married or partnered; 20% have been pregnant at least once (MSPAS et al., 2017). In 2015 Guatemala passed a law prohibiting marriage for girls under 18, yet girls as young as 16 may marry with judicial permission (Colom, 2015). Sociodemographic disparities in the timing of reproductive events suggest that poverty, limited opportunities for socioeconomic advancement, and cultural norms may promote early marriage and reproduction (Colom, 2015). Welfare and development programs potentially encourage early pregnancies: placing responsibility for child and household health on women leads to motherhood being one of the few categories through which women can receive social assistance (Colom, 2015; Moore et al., 2017; Wehr et al., 2014). Franzoni's (2021) analysis of family policy in Latin America and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean argued that most countries in the region, including Guatemala, have a weak complementary, rather than co-responsible, model of fatherhood: policies that provide for extended maternity leave for mothers but minimal leave for fathers frame women as caregivers, even though economic maintenance is a joint responsibility.

While many Latin American countries have adopted LGBTQ+ legislation, including recognizing gay marriage, Guatemalan politicians have resisted progressive policies (Encarnación, 2011). In March 2022, the Guatemalan Congress passed the Law for the Protection of Life and the Family bill that formally recognized marriage as being between a man and a woman, defined a family as a man and woman raising children together, defined non-heterosexual relationships as abnormal, prohibited teaching of sexual diversity in schools, and further criminalized abortion (Kitroeff et al., 2022). Congress reversed the bill after President Alejandro Giammattei promised to veto it following international and national protest (González Cabrera & Pappier, 2022). While space for LGBTQ+ activism may be growing in Guatemala (Bentley, 2021), stigma and violence against non-heterosexual gender identities and sexual orientation is pervasive, particularly in rural areas where there is little education regarding sexual and gender diversity (Human Rights Watch, 2021).

These structural disparities and cultural norms permeate family assemblages and influence the roles of children and youth. Egan et al. (2014) detailed “parental ethnotheories” among Guatemalan women that entail different expectations of boys and girls based on perceived differences in behavior: “good boys” are obedient, respectful, and study, while “good girls” help at home, are obedient, and study. These different expectations reflect differing household responsibilities: Dammert (2010) reported that girls spent an average of 4.3 hours per week in market activities (paid work, unpaid agricultural or business activities, and self-employment) and 2.9 hours per day in domestic chores; the comparable figures for boys were 8.9 and 1.1 hours,

respectively. Similar disparities in children's time allocation are documented in other Central American countries and reflect the early establishment of gender roles (Landa Ugarte et al., 2018; Lloyd et al., 2008).

Few previous Guatemalan studies have examined children's or youth's perceptions of gender norms or future orientation. Gibbons and colleagues' (1990) research shows that Guatemalan adolescents characterize the ideal man and woman as having interpersonal qualities centered on relationships and community, reflecting a collectivist orientation; however, the increasing influence of individualism creates tensions that force youth to renegotiate their identities, roles, and relationships both in and outside the household (see also Flores et al., 2016). Maupin and Hackman's (2019) research on adolescents' reproductive preferences found that female participants' ideals for the timing of reproductive events, including marriage and birth, were influenced by ethnicity, attending private school, and whether they planned to attend university, suggesting that girls consider trade-offs between pursuing their education and forming their own families. Male participants, however, did not seem to consider the impacts of having children on their own educational or occupational trajectories.

The current study builds on these lines of research to examine the ways in which children and youth's future orientations reflect and contest contemporary gender norms. Using survey methods, we collected self-reported data on the distribution of household tasks at two time points from 690 students. Taking a gendered and intergenerational relationality perspective, this study explores three research questions:

- Is there a shared cultural model of gender norms, evidenced in the distribution of household tasks, in the present and future?
- Are there systematic patterns of variation in agreement between male and female participants?
- How do models of gender roles in the future replicate or contest existing gender norms?

Method

The research was conducted in a small town in the central highlands region of Guatemala. According to the national population census conducted by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE; 2018), the municipality's population is roughly 23,000, about half of whom live in urban areas. Nearly 66% of the population is indigenous, with higher rates in rural (72%) than urban (60%) areas. The town has nine schools at the primary, secondary, and vocational levels, though many students travel to schools in the departmental capital, about an hour away. Coffee plantations serve as the primary economic activity in the region. In 2018, 75% of men and 15% of women over the age of 15 reported working. The most common jobs for men were in agriculture (65%); women were most frequently employed in domestic work outside the home (18.7%), sales and services (16.1%), and teaching (15.5%). Many professional jobs require traveling outside the

municipality. Although there is a biweekly community market, artisanry and weaving are not significant economic strategies for women as they often are in other municipalities. Beyond employment, the most common activities for women were household chores (72%), studying (8.7%), and caring for others (8.5%), while men listed other non-remunerated activities (12%), household chores (8%), and studying (7%).

Participants

Participants were recruited from schools in the town center: one primary school, two secondary schools, two secondary/primary schools, and four vocational schools. The schools included public, private, and cooperative institutions. All students except those in kindergarten and first grade were invited to participate. Of an estimated 1,100 eligible students, 948 submitted the questionnaire; 690 were complete and included in the analysis. The Institutional Review Board at Arizona State University) approved the study.

Materials

Students were presented with a questionnaire in Spanish that consisted of demographic questions and a task attribution form including a list of 29 household tasks in seven domains (domestic chores, care for children, household decisions, responsibilities¹, household purchases, work for money, development²), followed by columns for each of four household figures: “man”, “woman”, “boy”, and “girl”. The 29 items were selected based on pilot research where participants were asked to list all the activities that men, women, boys, and girls did in their household. The most frequently mentioned items were used in the questionnaire for the present study, along with items identified in the literature as important for gender equality.

The survey included two versions of the task attribution form, one asking students “Who in your current household does the following?”, and one asking, “Thinking of your future household, when you are an adult, who will do the following?” Emphasis was placed on explaining that in visualizing their future households, the participants were to put themselves into the role of the “man” or the “woman”, and the “boys” or “girls” would be their future children. The survey required participants to indicate which household member(s) participated in each task by putting an “X” in the appropriate column. Any number of household members could be associated with each task.

Procedure

Prior to the project, students were provided with parental consent forms, which they were required to bring back signed in order to participate. On the day of the project, students over 18

¹ Here, “responsibilities” refers to ensuring household well-being. It comprises “make sure everyone has clothes” and “maintain health of the family”.

² Here, “development” refers to social and educational activities, and comprises “play” and “study”.

years of age signed a consent form while younger students signed an assent form. Each classroom had 1 hour to complete the project.

Analysis

To assess whether the distribution of tasks reflected a shared cultural model, we analyzed the 116 yes/no questions (29 tasks for each of the four household figures) for each time period using cultural consensus analysis (CCA). Based on a cognitive anthropology definition of culture as an emergent property of shared beliefs across individuals, CCA is a factor analytic procedure that measures interparticipant agreement to determine whether a single model can explain patterns of agreement to questions in a single domain (Romney et al., 1986; Ross, 2004). CCA thus measures the degree to which beliefs are shared across individuals and, if there is a high degree of agreement, justifies aggregating individual responses into a “culturally correct” response. Additionally, CCA permits identifying subgroups by exploring second factor loadings, which indicate where subgroups (in this case, males and females) are found to systematically exhibit patterns of agreement amongst themselves that are not shared with other subgroups (Ross, 2004). We explored evidence for consensus overall and for male and female participants independently.

We analyzed these models by calculating the proportion of tasks in each of the seven domains that are assigned to each household figure (man, woman, boy, girl). Individual proportion scores range from 0 (person does nothing in the domain) to 1 (person does all items in the domain). Proportion scores allowed us to test for the existence of *gender bias*, which is present when male and female participants report different proportions for a given person in a specific domain (e.g., men doing chores).

To explore within-participant differences in task allocation between figures, we calculated *gender disparity* scores; that is, one gender is assigned more tasks in a domain than the other. Gender disparity scores for each time period were calculated by subtracting the female’s proportion from the male’s proportion. Disparity scores range from +1 (man/boy does everything in the domain and the woman/girl does nothing) to −1 (man/boy does nothing in the domain and woman/girl does everything).

To assess within-participant changes in the distribution of responsibilities across time, an *intergenerational disparity* score was calculated for each figure. The future proportion of a domain was subtracted from the present proportion for each household figure. Scores range from +1 (present figure does everything in the domain and future figure does nothing) to −1 (present figure does nothing in the domain and future figure does everything).

Finally, a series of analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests were conducted to test for between-participant differences in the proportions for each domain in each time period, and paired *t*-tests were used to test for within-participant differences across time periods and figure genders. Due to the number of tests, we used a Bonferroni-corrected *p*-value of 0.00019.

Results

Participant Characteristics

Table 1. *Participant Demographics*

Characteristic	Male %	Female %
Ethnicity		
Ladino	50.8	51.5
Maya	39.5	39.6
Age category		
8–10	18.8	19.4
11–13	31.3	29.6
14–16	33.2	36.7
17–19	16.6	14.3
Religion		
Catholic	50.2	46.9
Evangelical	44.8	50.1
School level		
Primary	41.4	40.2
Secondary	43.3	46.6
Higher +	15.4	13.2
School type		
Public	35.1	39.1
Private	64.9	60.9
Number of siblings		
0	2.8	4.3
1–3	58.3	59.6
4–6	28.8	26.1
7+	10.0	10.0
Father's education		
None	31.7	29.6
Primary (1–6)	20.4	18.9
Secondary (7–9)	11.6	16.2
Higher (10+)	32.6	30.2
Mother's education		
None	36.7	37.7
Primary (1–6)	17.2	17.8
Secondary (7–9)	11.9	11.1
Higher (10+)	31.0	25.3
Father employed		
Yes	87.8	88.4
Don't know/No response	12.2	11.1
Mother employed		
Yes	38.2	33.4
Don't know/No response	15.0	13.7

The sample (690 participants, 319 male, 371 female) was roughly evenly split between children (ages 8–13) and youth (ages 14–19), with majorities of female (53.8%) and non-indigenous participants (Table 1). Approximately 41% of the participants were enrolled in primary schools (grades 2–6), 45% in secondary (grades 7–9), and 14% in vocational. Roughly two-thirds were from private schools; there are only two public schools in town.

Although the accuracy of participants' reports of parental education is uncertain, their responses show a bimodal distribution, with “none” and “higher” reported the most frequently. Reported parental occupation may be more accurate. Over 88% of participants reported that their father was employed, with most engaging in agriculture (24.1%), manual labor (17.5%), or sales and services (16.4%). Roughly 36% of participants reported that their mother was employed, in fields such as sales and services (12.6%) and professional work (10.8%), primarily teaching and nursing.

Models of the Present

CCA shows a shared cultural model among all participants regarding the tasks that men, women, and children do in their current homes as the ratios of first to second eigenvalues and average competency scores are high (Table 2). There are significant gender differences in second factor loadings ($F = 137.6, p \leq 0.001$), indicating the existence of gender-specific subgroups. Male and female participants have consensus within their subgroups.

Table 2. *Cultural Consensus Analysis Results*

	Present		Future	
	Eigenvalue Ratio	Average Competency	Eigenvalue Ratio	Average Competency
All	9.38	0.62±0.15	15.64	0.69±0.15
Males	9.39	0.61±0.14	12.96	0.66±0.15
Females	10.77	0.67±0.14	18.37	0.74±0.14

To analyze the differences between male and female participants' responses, each subgroup's modal response for each question was calculated (Table 3). The majority of students reported a heteronormative family structure in the present, although several participants identified living in a single-parent household, often due to male migration to the United States. There is no gender bias in the models regarding men's tasks. Participants agreed that men work for money, participate in all household decisions, responsibilities, and purchases (except for food), but do not participate in chores or in several of the listed child care tasks. Similarly, both the male model and the female model entail nearly identical tasks for women, who participate in all tasks except working for money, paying household bills, and development (study and play). However, female participants stated that women buy furniture and appliances while male participants said they do not.

Table 3. *The Cultural Models of Task Distribution.*

Task	Men	Women	Boys	Girls
Domestic chores				
Wash clothes		A _b		F _p
Sweep		A _b		F _p
Cook		A _b		
Wash dishes		A _b		F _p
Clean house		A _b		F _p
Care for children				
Teach children religion	A _b	A _b		
Help children with homework	A _f	A _b		
Care for children during day		A _b		
Take children to doctor when sick	A _b	A _b		
Make sure children eat		A _b		
Bathe children		A _b		
Educate children	A _b	A _b		
Discipline children	A _b	A _b		
Household decisions				
Decide where to go to church	A _b	A _b		
Decide where kids go to school	A _b	A _b		
Decide if children go to middle school	A _b	A _b		
Decide when to have children	A _b	A _b		
Decide how many children to have	A _b	A _b		
Responsibilities				
Make sure everyone has clothes	A _b	A _b		
Maintain health of family	A _b	A _b		
Household purchases				
Buy food	M _f	A _b		
Buy medicine	A _b	A _b		
Pay household bills	A _b			
Buy furniture and appliances	A _b	F _b		
Buy gifts for others	A _b	A _b		
Guard household money	A _b	A _b		
Work for money				
Work for money	A _b	F _f		
Development				
Play	M _f	F _f	M _p	F _p
Study	M _f	F _f	M _b	F _b

Note. Calculated from the overall and male and female participants' modal responses of the present and future task distributions.

A = full model; M = male model only; F = female model only

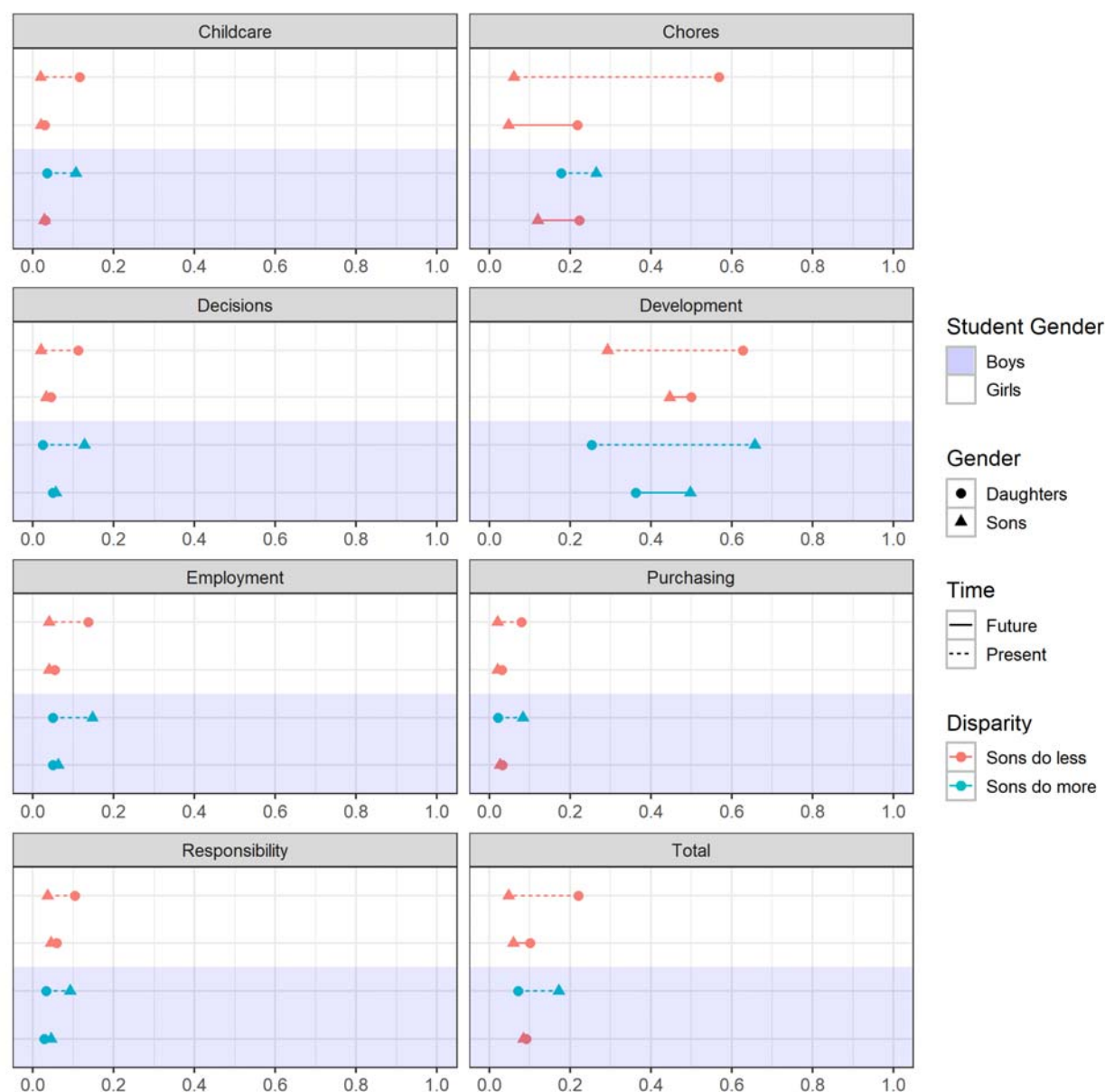
_b = present and future model; _p = present model only; _f = future model only

In terms of children's tasks, differences in subgroup models reflect gender biases. The female participants' model suggests that boys do not perform any tasks while the male participants' model states that they study and play. Conversely, the male participants' model says that girls do not perform any tasks, while the female participants' model states that they help with domestic chores, study, and play.

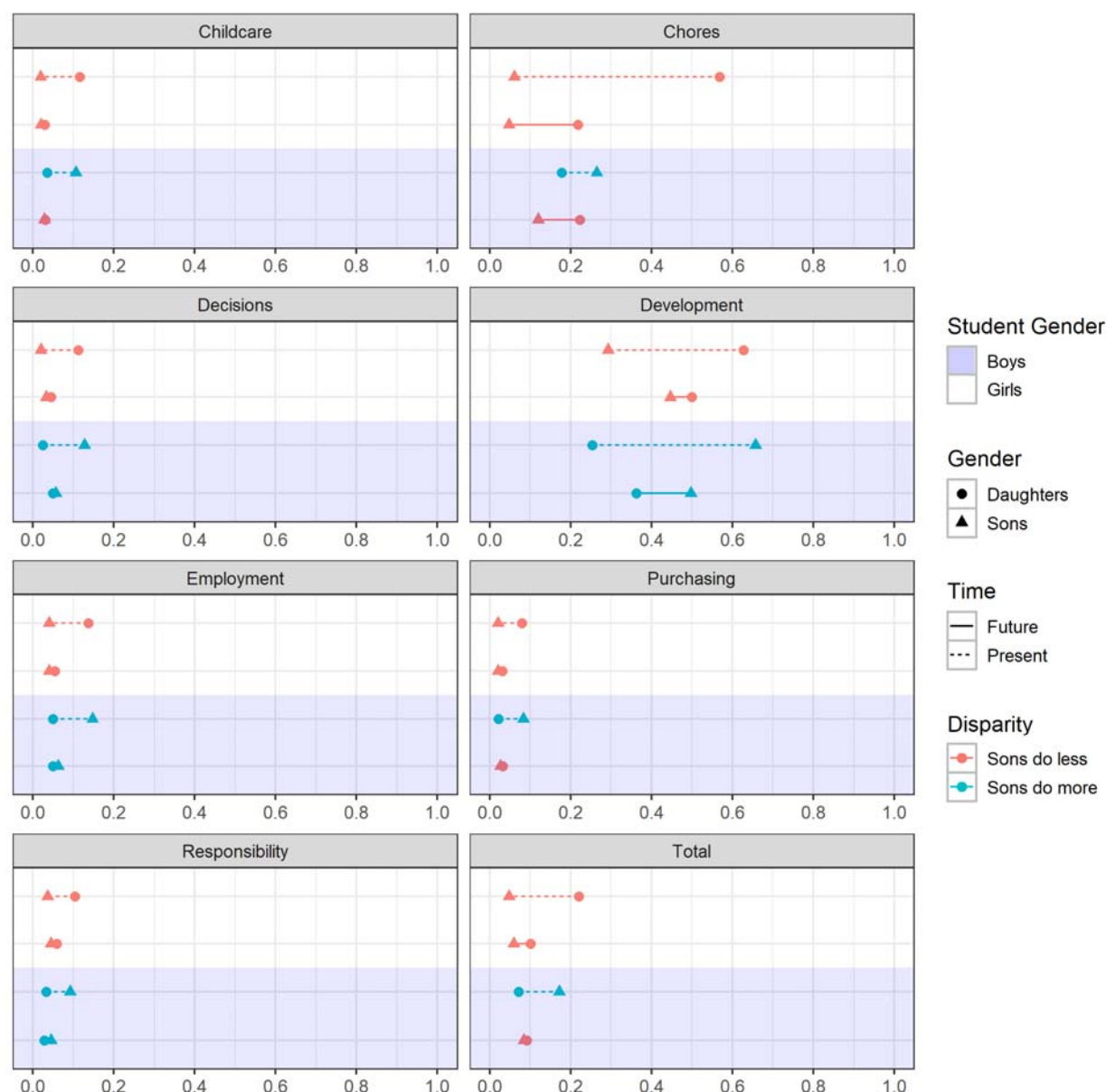
Figure 1 displays the average proportion of adult tasks across domains to identify gender bias in present and future disparities as well as expected changes over time (average values and significance tests are reported in Table A1 in the Appendix). Proportion scores represent the average number of tasks in each domain attributed to the household figures by participants divided by the total number of tasks in that domain. Male and female participants show roughly the same average proportion of all tasks attributed to men and there is no significant gender bias in any domain regarding men's roles. There is significant gender bias in tasks attributed to women, however, as female participants report women doing more overall, in child care, purchasing, responsibilities, and decision-making.

Regarding children (Figure 2), all domains show significant differences that reflect gender biases. Male participants report boys doing more tasks than female participants report, and vice versa. The largest difference is in chores: female participants report girls doing an average proportion of 0.57 ± 0.34 chores, compared to 0.18 ± 0.27 reported by male participants.

Only three domains exhibit no significant differences in gender disparities: chores, which both groups overwhelmingly identify as female-dominated; working for money, which both identify as male-dominated; and development, where there is a slight response bias. For both purchases and responsibility, male participants identify men as doing more than women whereas female participants report that women do more, if only slightly (see Figure 1: Responsibility and Purchasing panels). Both groups agree that women do more child-related tasks, although female participants report greater disparities. Similarly, while both groups report women doing more household decision-making tasks, female participants report greater disparities while male participants report near equality (see Figure 1: Decisions panel, solid lines). For children, there is strong within-group bias as both genders report themselves doing more than their counterparts in each domain (all solid lines in Figure 2 show gender bias).

Figure 1. *Proportions for Adult Task Attributions*

Note. These panels reflect the disparities for all adult tasks, in both the present and future, as reported by both male and female participants. The length of the line indicates the size of the gender disparity, while the color indicates whether men or women do more. Panels with all one-color line indicate male and female agreement on which gender contributes more in that domain (e.g., Chores), while panels with lines of both colors indicate differences in perceptions of which gender contributes more (e.g., Responsibility). Comparing dashed and solid lines within a shaded or unshaded region shows a figure's expected change from current to future distributions.

Figure 2. *Proportions for Child Task Attributions*

Note. These panels reflect the disparities for all child tasks, in both the present and future, as reported by both male and female participants. The length of the line indicates the size of the gender disparity, while the color indicates whether boys or girls do more. Panels with all one-color line indicate male and female agreement on which gender contributes more in that domain (e.g., Chores), while panels with lines of both colors indicate differences in perceptions of which gender contributes more (e.g., Responsibility). Comparing dashed and solid lines within a shaded or unshaded region shows a figure's expected change from current to future distributions.

Models of the Future

CCA shows the existence of consensus among all participants regarding the roles of men, women, boys, and girls in students' future households (Table 2). However, there are significant differences between male and female participants' second factor loadings ($F = 109.12, p < .001$),

indicating the presence of gendered subgroups. Male and female participants have consensus independently. The majority of participants reported a heteronormative family structure in the future, with a partner of the opposite sex and children.

As in models of the present, both male and female participants agreed that men in the future will participate in all household decisions and responsibilities, in working for money, and in several tasks related to child care (Table 3). Both groups agreed that in the future men will help their children with homework and participate in most household purchases. In a change from the present, male participants said they will buy food in the future. Male participants also said that men in the future will play and study. The tasks attributed to women in the future were identical to those in the present, with women carrying out all domestic chores, child care tasks, household decisions, and responsibilities, as well as making several types of household purchase. While the male participants' model shows no differences in women's present and future tasks, female participants' report that women in the future will continue to have responsibility for making certain large household purchases (furniture and appliances); unlike in the present, women will play, study, and, importantly, work for money. For female participants, then, the only task that they will not do in the future is pay household bills. Female participants respond that girls in their future households will not participate in domestic chores. Finally, there continues to be gender bias in reports of children's studying.

Analyzing the raw data for future activities shows significant gender biases in expected tasks (Figure 1, dashed lines). Male participants reported that as men in the future they will do significantly more overall — in chores, child care, and development — than female participants reported they would. That is, male participants expected to do more than at present, while female participants thought that men will continue with the current level of activity. Conversely, female participants reported that as women in the future they will do significantly more tasks in all domains than male participants expected them to. There were fewer differences between the expectations for boys and girls, although these also reflect gender bias. Male participants attributed more tasks overall and in chores to boys in the future, while female participants attributed more development tasks to girls than did their male counterparts.

In contrast to the present, there are significant differences in gender disparity scores between respondents in all domains related to adult tasks. For chores and child care, both groups reported that women will do more than men; the difference is in terms of degree, as female participants reported greater gender disparities. For responsibilities, decision-making, and development, however, there are strong gender biases: male participants reported that men will do more than women in the future and female participants reported that women will do more than men. Both groups agreed that employment and household purchases will continue to be dominated by men, although female participants suggested less gender disparity in these domains.

There are fewer significant differences in gender disparities in the future tasks of children as participants generally agreed on what their future children will do. However, female participants

reported greater disparities in total tasks and chores, where they foresee their future daughters doing more than their sons. Female participants also reported significant gender disparities in development, with future daughters playing and studying more. Conversely, male participants reported future daughters doing more chores than sons, while the latter will have higher rates of development tasks.

Generational Change in Household Tasks

Comparing the distribution of tasks across time permits identifying patterns of perceived change in gender norms and relationships. Female participants reported that future husbands will do more tasks overall, including child care, purchasing, decision-making, and development than men in their current household do. Additionally, women will do more overall than their mothers did in chores, child care, development, and decision-making. These changes indicate decreased gender disparities in child care, in decision-making processes, and overall, but an increase in gender disparities in purchasing powers as female participants expect that men will increase their role in that domain. For future children, female participants reported that their daughters will do fewer tasks than they do now in each domain except responsibilities, while future sons will do more in development. Thus, female participants expected an overall decrease in gender disparity between their future children.

Male participants also identified an increase in men's tasks overall, with gains in domestic chores, child care, purchasing, decision-making, and development. However, male participants did not expect more of future wives compared to women in their current household. This results in a decrease in gender disparities in chores and child care, but an increase in gender disparities in purchasing and decision-making. While not significant after using a Bonferroni correction, a trend was observed ($p < .0005$) in which male participants expected a decrease in women's employment. Male participants also reported that future sons will do less in every domain, with the exceptions of employment and responsibilities, while future daughters will do more in development. This results in a decrease in overall gender disparity with regard to children.

Discussion and Conclusion

The results of this study show a shared cultural model among students across a range of ages, family contexts, and educational settings in the distribution of tasks among household members in the present and future. This consensus means that students not only identify similar patterns of gender division in their current households, reflecting social norms and structures, but that they share similar expectations of their own future households. Yet, despite this shared agreement, there are significant differences that highlight existing gender norms, patterns of gender bias, and expectations of change.

The distribution of tasks in present households largely reflected “traditional” gender roles in Latin America where men are primarily responsible for “productive” economic roles while women are responsible for “reproductive” work centering around domestic chores and child care (Gibbons

& Luna, 2015; Metz & Webb, 2014; Wehr et al., 2014). In this model, fatherhood is largely complementary to motherhood, as participants reported men assisting in some child care tasks and some domestic chores. In contrast, women reportedly do all chores and child care tasks, and roughly 40% of participants reported their mothers working for money. However, participants recognized the complexity of gender roles, identifying multiple tasks that men and women share to a certain degree, including decision-making, household responsibilities, and some purchases.

Despite overall agreement on the present distribution of tasks, there are significant gender biases as each group reported doing more than the other recognized, particularly with regard to children's chores. While this bias may emerge from personal perceptions or from depreciating siblings' contributions, it illustrates the need to examine the intersection of gendered and intergenerational relationalities and how these reflect and reinforce gender norms. Gendered divisions of labor among children and youth reflect not only the early socialization of children into expected gender roles (Egan et al., 2014; Gibbons & Luna, 2015; Lloyd et al., 2008), but also the ways in which gendered inequalities among children serve to "balance" the household division of labor as girls subsidize their mothers' work in domestic chores and child care (Dammert, 2010; Landa Ugarte et al., 2018).

Similarly, the systematic patterns of variation between male and female participants regarding the future indicate different conceptions of the future and relationalities that both reproduce and challenge contemporary gender norms. For male participants, changes in future actions emphasize the role of men and boys. Reports of future activities of women and girls did not differ significantly from their reported tasks in the present. Instead, male participants reported that they will do more than their fathers in nearly every domain, including traditionally female tasks like chores and child care. However, while male participants' intention for greater participation in care work may involve a reduction in some gender disparities, it does not mean gender equality. Male participants' selective participation in domestic chores and child care did not reduce their expectations of women's unpaid work, and 74% did not expect their future wives to work for money, reflecting a naturalization of gender segmentation in labor. Additionally, male participants' plans to increase their roles in purchasing and decision-making activities would exacerbate gender disparities in household authority. Male participants also imagined significant reductions in the tasks assigned to their sons in every domain except responsibilities, while the activities of girls would remain mostly the same. While this would foster greater equality among children in most domains, the fact that male participants expected girls, but not boys, to continue performing domestic chores effectively renaturalizes gender inequalities.

These responses suggest that male participants largely envisioned a continuation of traditional gender norms and structures where fatherhood centers around employment and authority in household purchases and decisions. Fatherhood in this model is complementary rather than co-responsible with motherhood (Franzoni, 2021; Olvera & Luna, 2019), and reflects Maupin and Hackman's (2019) findings that male adolescents do not consider the impacts of children on their educational or occupational goals. Male participants may have viewed parenthood as only one

aspect of their future lives (Haukanes & Hašková, 2020; Patterson & Forbes, 2012), and while they may have wanted more emotional closeness to their children, they did not want to radically transform the traditional gender division of labor (Chisholm & du Bois-Reymond, 1993; Gómez-Urrutia et al., 2017). This gender inequality is not explicit, but rather naturalized through discourses such as benevolent sexism, where restrictions on women's activities are framed as protecting them from the burden of greater responsibilities (Sierra de Gamalero et al., 2014). Male participants' conceptions of the future thus "do gender" by naturalizing inequitable relationships among adults while fostering gender inequality in household chores among children.

Female participants, in contrast, identify significant changes in the roles of men and women in the household, as well as the activities of girls. Female participants reported that their future spouses will increase their activities in the home overall, as well as in purchases, decision-making, and child care compared to what their fathers do now. Haukanes and Heggli (2016) found similar reports in Norway and Czechoslovakia, where girls imagined their future spouses contributing more to the household, particularly in spending time with their children. This may derive not only from co-responsible fathers being more desirable, but an attempt to denaturalize paid work by resolving the imbalances in household tasks generated when women join the workforce. At the same time, girls often expressed willingness to increase their responsibilities in domestic work to accommodate men's employment, effectively renaturalizing the gendered segmentation of labor (Haukanes & Hašková, 2020).

In our study, while female participants reported increased male participation in child care, it did not reduce their own activity in this domain. They also did not expect any significant increase in male participation in domestic chores. Rather, while female participants reported that their mothers already performed most household tasks, they themselves expected to do even more overall, in chores, child care, and employment. Female participants also expected an increase in gender inequalities in purchasing tasks, as they expected their husbands to do more in this domain. These patterns suggest a naturalization of gender divisions where women want, but do not expect, more balance in paid and domestic work (Chisholm & du Bois-Reymond, 1993; Zartler, 2015). These tempered expectations may reflect local realities, characterized by limited occupational opportunities in a gender-segmented labor market, maternalistic family policy and welfare programs, and traditional gender norms that emphasize the role of women as mothers.

Female participants' responses regarding their future roles reflected their desire to balance the distribution of household tasks in relation to their children as well as their partners. Specifically, female participants accepted greater responsibilities in chores and child care so that their daughters would not have to, fostering greater gender equality among their children by reducing inequalities in domestic tasks. Girls would still perform more chores than boys would, but significantly less than what female participants reported doing themselves. In this intergenerational relationality perspective, female participants' willingness to do more is not simply a naturalization of adult gender roles, but a denaturalization of gender inequalities among children.

These results demonstrate the tension between agency and structure in youth future orientations. While qualitative methods elicit the nuances in youth future biographies, the quantitative methods used here demonstrate that while individuals have unique experiences of the present and conceptions of the future, these reflect and reproduce shared cultural models and representations of social structures (Ross, 2004). Similar to the ways that habitus may be reproduced from the inside out by shaping dispositions and structure (Bourdieu, 1977; Ng et al., 2016), shared cultural models of the present influence individual conceptions of the future. While individuals in our study displayed an “inventive capacity” to envision change, these future orientations do not significantly challenge existing gender norms. Rather, participants “do gender” by perpetuating existing inequitable gender relationalities, naturalizing them through the epistemological fallacy of individual choice (Haukanes & Hašková, 2020; Haukanes & Heggli, 2016; Heggli et al., 2013; Patterson & Forbes, 2012).

Rather than personal choice, achieving sustained changes in gender roles may require broader movements outside the household or contexts in which students operate. Scholars suggest that time-saving technologies and increased child care services are necessary to reduce the amount of time women spend in unpaid labor, allowing them to pursue other activities, particularly money-making ventures (Dammert, 2010; Gammage, 2010). In contrast, Campaña et al. (2018) argued that sustained changes in gender norms require a redistribution of unpaid labor between men and women, not simply reducing women’s unpaid labor, while Metz and Webb (2014) suggested that changes in gender norms require a larger shift, going from a collectivist orientation and communal traditions to an individualistic orientation where there is greater value placed on individual efforts and investment in children’s education. Flores et al. (2016) suggested that this shift may be taking place among Guatemalan youth, albeit slowly.

There are several limitations to this study. First, it does not address several aspects known to influence idealized futures, such as personal satisfaction with current family roles or educational and occupational aspirations. Second, we did not ask whether both parents live in the household, and do not have data on the number of single-parent or extended family households. The format of the survey, asking for the roles of the “man”, “woman”, “boy”, and “girl”, necessarily limited the ability of participants to report other forms of family structure, relationships, and identities, potentially reinforcing heteronormative models of present and future families. We also do not have data on the employment of domestic workers, a strategy to subsidize women’s engagement in paid work that could influence the reported distribution of both household tasks now and idealized roles in the future. Similarly, while we included a question on “work for money”, we did not specify whether this employment is full-time, part-time, and so on, and it is not clear how students interpreted the term. Additionally, while the tasks included in this study were selected based on pilot research, the list is not exhaustive, and significant tasks for adults and children may have been missed. We also cannot account for response bias, particularly whether participants responded according to what they thought researchers from the United States would want. Finally, we only sampled children in-school and did not capture the realities and perceived futures of

individuals not enrolled. Future research should address how lived experiences shape perceptions of the present and desires for the future, as well as provide space for participants to identify diverse forms of family structure and identities rather than the rigid categories used in this study.

Despite these limitations, this study provides one of the few Latin American studies of children's and youth's future orientations. The quantitative methodology allows for systematic replicability and comparability that may lead to greater understanding of the influence of cultural and social context on youth future conceptions. The gendered and intergenerational relationality approach taken in this paper also challenges future studies to examine not only how children and youth envision ways to balance their own paid and unpaid work, but how gendered experiences influence their desires with regard to their future children. This is particularly true in contexts like Latin America, where gender inequalities in children's household labor may foster the goal of greater gender equality for future families.

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Appendix

Table A1. *Average Proportions for Domains in Present and Future Households*

	Male Participants				Female Participants			
	Man	Woman	Boys	Girls	Man	Woman	Boys	Girls
Present Household								
Total	0.49 ±0.18*	0.67 ±0.19+	0.17 ±0.16*	0.07 ±0.1+Δ	0.48 ±0.2* [¶]	0.75 ±0.17Δ	0.05 ±0.07* [¶]	0.22 ±0.15Δ
Chores	0.12 ±0.23*	0.86 ±0.2Δ	0.26 ±0.3*	0.18 ±0.27+	0.09 ±0.19*	0.83 ±0.24	0.06 ±0.15* [¶]	0.57 ±0.34
Child care	0.44 ±0.25*	0.79 ±0.22+Δ	0.11 ±0.16*	0.04 ±0.1+	0.43 ±0.26* [¶]	0.88 ±0.17Δ	0.02 ±0.07* [¶]	0.12 ±0.18
Employment	0.88 ±0.33*	0.37 ±0.48	0.15 ±0.35*	0.05 ±0.22+	0.86 ±0.35*	0.42 ±0.49	0.04 ±0.2*	0.14 ±0.34
Purchasing	0.68 ±0.25*	0.45 ±0.25+Δ	0.08 ±0.16*	0.02 ±0.07+	0.67 ±0.27* [¶]	0.54 ±0.24Δ	0.02 ±0.07* [¶]	0.08 ±0.15
Responsibility	0.75 ±0.36*	0.63 ±0.4+	0.09 ±0.22*	0.03 ±0.13+	0.71 ±0.38 [¶]	0.77 ±0.34	0.04 ±0.14* [¶]	0.1 ±0.23
Development	0.32 ±0.36	0.29 ±0.37	0.66 ±0.39*	0.25 ±0.37+	0.26 ±0.34	0.33 ±0.37	0.29 ±0.41* [¶]	0.63 ±0.4
Decisions	0.63 ±0.32	0.66 ±0.32+Δ	0.13 ±0.21*	0.02 ±0.08+	0.64 ±0.33* [¶]	0.79 ±0.27Δ	0.02 ±0.08* [¶]	0.11 ±0.2
Future Household								
Total	0.65 ±0.18+§	0.65 ±0.2+	0.08 ±0.11+§	0.09 ±0.12	0.55 ±0.18*§ [¶]	0.82 ±0.15§	0.06 ±0.07* [¶]	0.1 ±0.11§
Chores	0.3 ±0.34*+§	0.85 ±0.23+	0.12 ±0.22*+§	0.22 ±0.31	0.13 ±0.24* [¶]	0.94 ±0.15§	0.05 ±0.14*	0.22 ±0.31§
Child care	0.6 ±0.25*+§	0.77 ±0.23+	0.03 ±0.09§	0.03 ±0.11	0.51 ±0.25*§ [¶]	0.92 ±0.14§	0.02 ±0.07	0.03 ±0.09§
Employment	0.93 ±0.25*	0.26 ±0.44+	0.06 ±0.24	0.05 ±0.22	0.89 ±0.31* [¶]	0.51 ±0.5	0.04 ±0.2	0.05 ±0.23§
Purchasing	0.79 ±0.2*§	0.39 ±0.25+	0.03 ±0.1§	0.03 ±0.1	0.75 ±0.23*§ [¶]	0.56 ±0.24	0.02 ±0.07	0.03 ±0.09§
Responsibility	0.82 ±0.3*	0.57 ±0.41+	0.05 ±0.16	0.03 ±0.13	0.76 ±0.33 [¶]	0.81 ±0.31	0.04 ±0.15	0.06 ±0.17
Development	0.54 ±0.41*+§	0.34 ±0.38+	0.5 ±0.43*§	0.36 ±0.43+§	0.34 ±0.37*§ [¶]	0.53 ±0.41§	0.45 ±0.43*§ [¶]	0.5 ±0.43§
Decisions	0.8 ±0.26*§	0.66 ±0.34+	0.06 ±0.15§	0.05 ±0.16	0.74 ±0.3*§ [¶]	0.88 ±0.22§	0.03 ±0.11	0.05 ±0.13§

* significant within-participant gender differences in proportion scores in time at $p < .000195$ + significant between-participant gender differences in proportion scores in time at $p < .000195$ § significant within-participant gender differences in proportion scores across time at $p < .000195$ ¶ significant between-participant differences in gender disparity scores in time at $p < .000195$ Δ significant within-participant differences in gender disparity scores across time at $p < .000195$