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## **The role of men in family childcare in Russia: socio-demographic profiles of egalitarian and traditional men**

### **Introduction**

The modern gender revolution leads to dramatic changes in our life, including family life. The slowest changes are observed in the men's role in childcare and domestic tasks (Bernhardt 2004). This has led to incomplete gender revolution, incoherence in the levels of gender equity in individual-oriented and family-oriented institutions and, as a result, to fertility decline (McDonald 2000). Time use variations by gender are the driver of gender transition in fertility for low-level fertility countries (Kalabikhina 2009).

Prospects of demographic development and maintain a relatively high fertility depends on the availability of gender policy (Oláh 2011), and especially the involvement of men in child care and household work. The welfare systems begin to depend on gendered time use policy (Galvez-Munoz et al. 2011). Men's participation in child care and domestic tasks influences the positive cross-country correlation between female labor force participation and fertility. Women living in countries where men participate more in home production are better able to combine having children with market work, leading to greater participation in the labor force at relatively high fertility levels (de Laat and Almudena 2011). Men with egalitarian attitudes have higher fertility aspirations than their traditional counterparts in contemporary Europe (Puur et al. 2008). Gender equity concept is also more relevant to explaining fertility behavior of Russian population even more than social capital (Sinyavskaya and Tyndik 2010).

To develop gendered demographic policy in context of men involving in childcare and domestic tasks it is necessary to investigate which patterns of male participation in child care we have in present time and which men have a more egalitarian or more traditional family behaviour in Russia?

This paper is devoted to the role of men in the childcare and children's upbringing in Russian families. The goal of the research is to figure out the factors determining the men's participation in the children's upbringing and care in Russian families and to draw the picture of the socio-demographic profiles of egalitarian and traditional men which are determined by time use and child care variables.

### **Data and method**

Data: Macrodata: Rosstat Time Use Survey 1990, Rosstat Time Use Survey 2010. Microdata: Gender and Generation Survey (GGS Russia); Russia Longitudinal Monitoring Survey (RLMS).

Methods: descriptive statistic, multivariate, factor, cluster analysis.

### **First preliminary evidence from time use macro statistic**

According to Rosstat Time Use Survey 2010, generally men spend less time in absolute figures for childcare and upbringing than women, regardless of domicile (see Table A-1 in Appendix). During weekend time use by gender more egalitarian than

during working days (see Tables A-2a, A-2b). This is a widespread phenomenon in the majority of countries.

Nevertheless we can see that men spend almost the equal amount of time as women for education and communication with children. If we observe the relative numbers of childcare, measured in percentage of childcare within the general household work<sup>1</sup> we can see not even convergence process, but men sometimes will spend relatively more time. In this case we can find that men spend approximately the same percentage of time or even higher (in case of education and socialization) not only as a percentage for the childcare, but for absolute figures as well.

If we take a look at the general situation with the childcare (see Table A-3) we will see, that for urban employed men childcare (especially education and socialization) is more intensive part of house-keeping than for women.

It is also interesting to take a look at the comparison of leisure and childcare time (see Table A-4). For leisure time we can find that women have generally (1 or 1,5 hours) less leisure than men, that is why it is not surprising when we get the results like 11-14% for women and 3-6% for men. For urban men in generally the absolute spent time for childcare is equal to the time of telephone talks and less than sport games.

Urban and rural population spend different amount of time, both absolute and relative on childcare (see Tables A-3, A-4). Working status lead to more frequent contacts with children in relative figures (in absolute nothing is changed). Generally the mentioned situation is possible because of the more intensive household work for unemployed men.

Working status combined with age profiles of the respondents play an important role in special ageing groups (see graph A-1). The results are robust if we compare absolute figures: at the age of 18-24 and 55-59 the absolute number of hours spent with children for men is 1-54 and 0-34 against 0-56 and 0-29 among women. At the more intensive in case of childcare age 30-44 the absolute numbers are less for men. First of all, it is debatable that the observed phenomenon is only a relationship between fathers and children (the age periods are not so fruitful for child-bearing). Probably men in this period spend more time with their younger brothers (18-24) and small grandchildren (55-59). This means that family status and the number of family members also plays an important role in case of family childcare, education and upbringing.

For unemployed persons this effect does not work (see graph A-2). The comparison of employed and unemployed people by gender gives us a really huge difference. Mainly the situation exists because unemployed women at the reproductive period are generally unemployed due to maternity.

Analyzing the results more in detail we can go to the main hypothesis. Apart from intuitive stages of life circle and household structure also domicile and employment play an important role in the process of men's involvement into childcare system. Urban men spend not significantly more time in absolute figures with their children, however because of the less number of house-keeping responsibilities spent more time with them in relative figures. The effect of city can be either positive one (to busy for childcare) or negative one (they have an opportunity to spend more time, but do not do it). Working status (and/or education) should have a positive effect on the time spend with children.

That is empirical observation, that can be checked on micro data and then there are different possible theoretical interpretation for such situation, depending on the results for control variables (including variables of attitudes and intentions).

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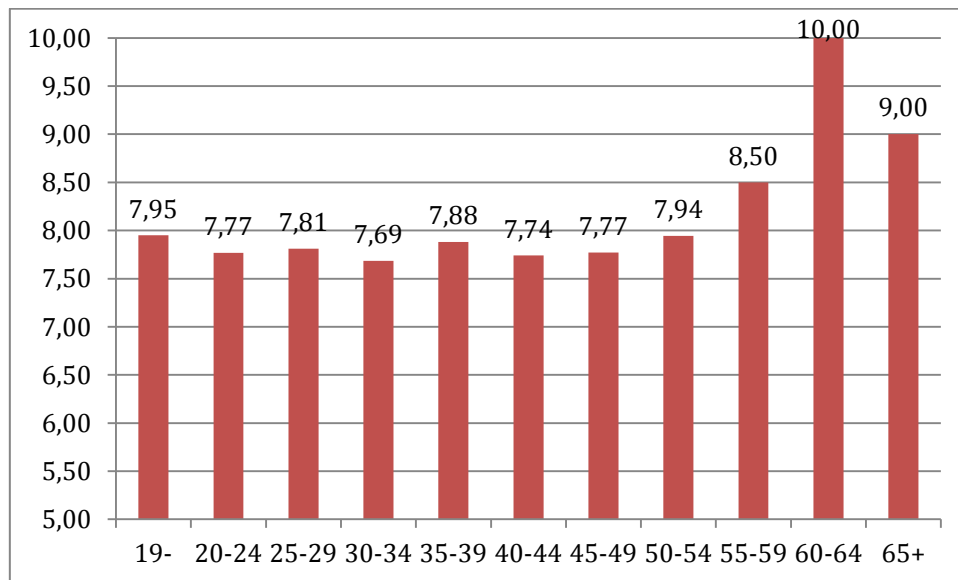
<sup>1</sup> Methodology of this TUS develops the childcare as a part of household work.

### Descriptive statistic

The satisfaction of the childcare responsibility distribution crossed with different variables indicating social and demographic status.

According to graph 1 there is no significant differences in satisfaction between the age groups of the respondents.

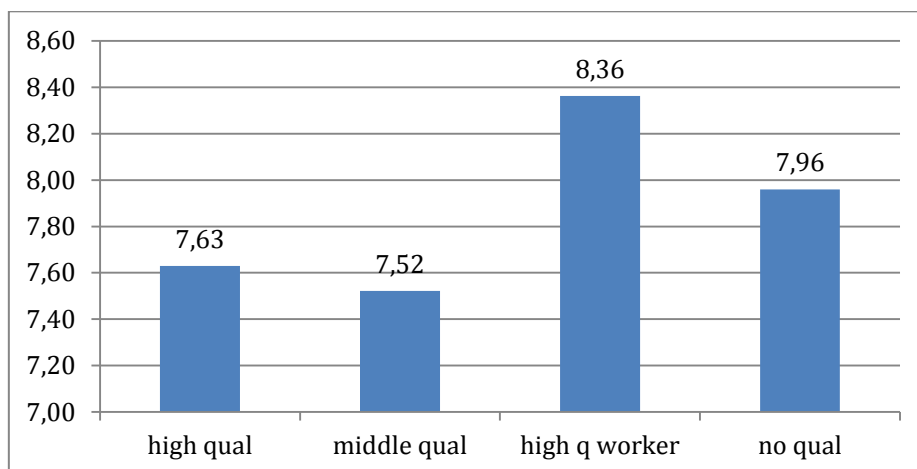
Graph 1. Satisfaction of the childcare responsibility distribution (mean) in line with different age groups (both genders)



The number of respondents at the age 55 and older is generally small, that is why we can see such significant differences.

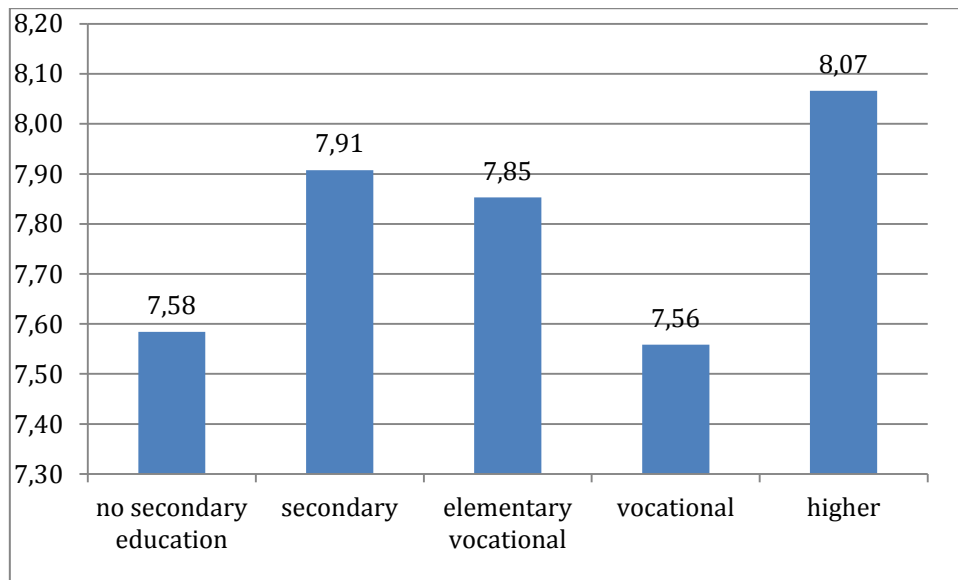
The highest satisfaction can be found in the families of highly qualified workers and the lowest one in the families of middle qualified specialists (see graph 2). The results can be interpreted differently.

Graph 2. Satisfaction of the childcare responsibility distribution (mean) in line with qualification (both genders)



As for education, the worst situation with satisfaction is in families where respondents do not have secondary education and have vocational education (generally there is a big educational gap between these 2 categories). The most satisfied are respondents with higher education.

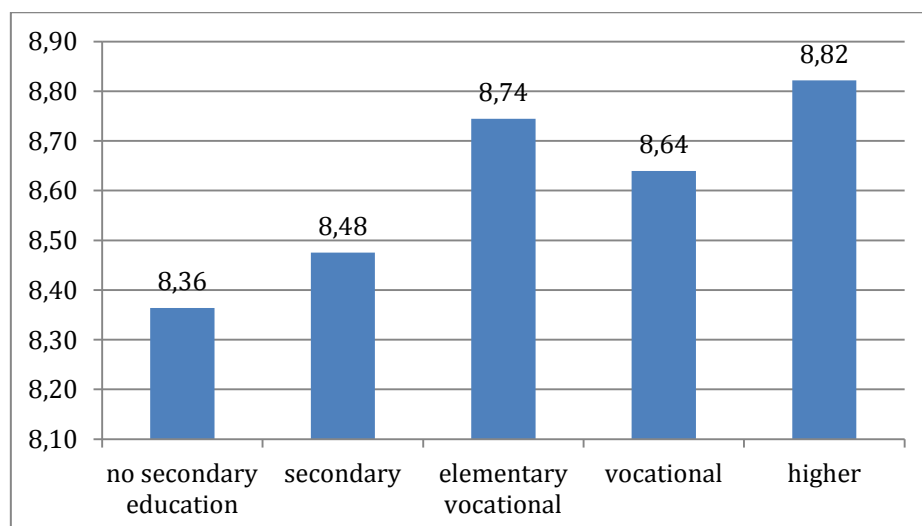
Graph 3. Satisfaction of the childcare responsibility distribution (mean) in line with education (both genders)



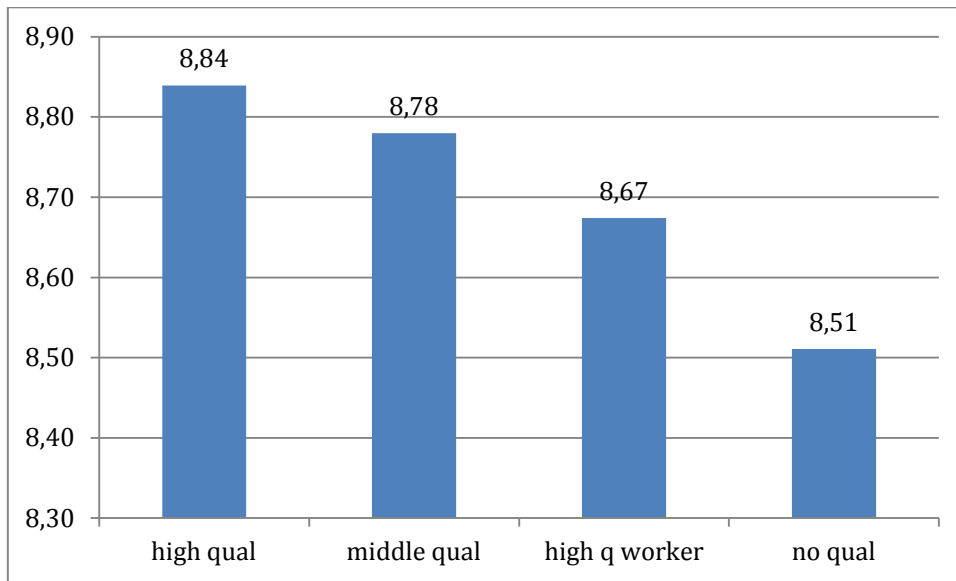
According to our hypotheses and based on the family time budgets, we expect that the results for different genders will not be the same for qualification and educational status. Actually the gender gap in satisfaction is 1,5 (mean satisfaction for men is 8,66 and for women – 7,11).

For men the distribution looks really smooth both for qualification and education. In education the trend is the higher level corresponds to the higher satisfaction (apart from some violations in case of vocational education). For qualification satisfaction goes down with the lower level of qualification (see graph 4 and 5).

Graph 4. Satisfaction of the childcare responsibility distribution (mean) in line with education (male)

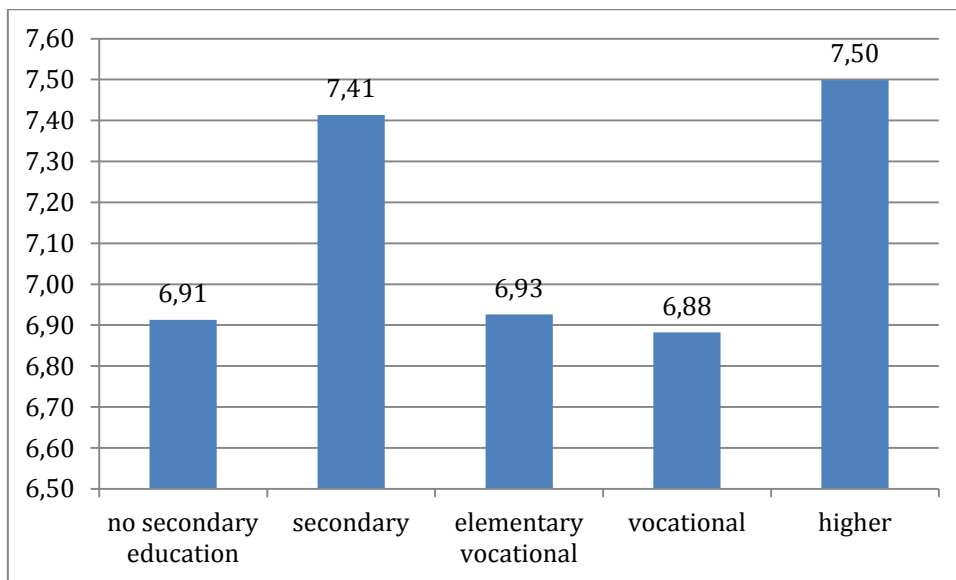


Graph 5. Satisfaction of the childcare responsibility distribution (mean) in line with qualification (male)

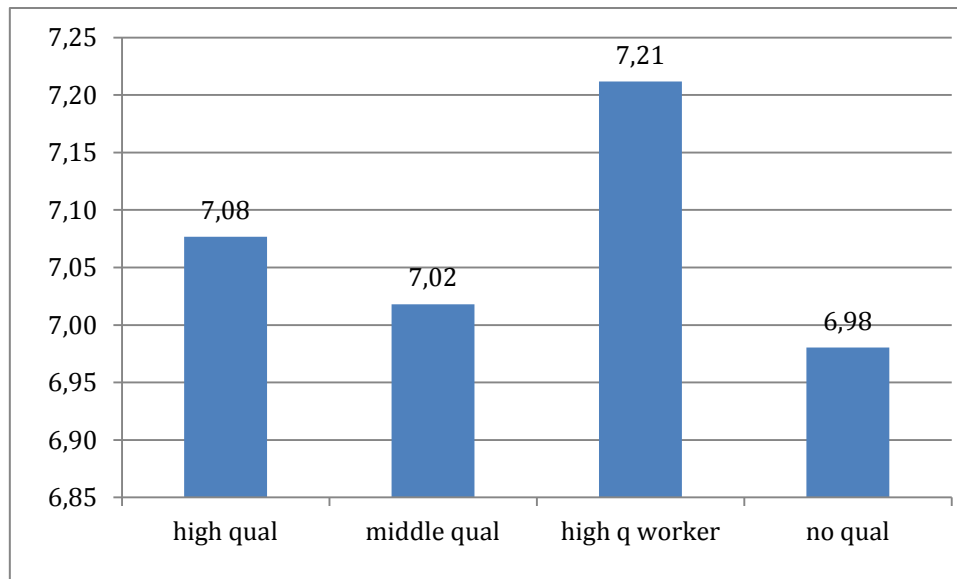


For women we can see better satisfaction for the respondents with higher and secondary education. Generally women are responsible for such a peculiarly U-shaped distribution in Graphs 6 and 7. Especially it is true in case of qualification. It can be explained by the more intensive work in labor market that is correlated with educational and qualification level.

Figure 6. Satisfaction of the childcare responsibility distribution (mean) in line with education (female)



Graph 7. Satisfaction of the childcare responsibility distribution (mean) in line with qualification (female)



There are also serious differences between level of satisfaction in rural and urban area. For men there is 8,79 and 8,3 (the gap is almost 0,5). For women they are 7,3 and 6,68 (even higher than for men –more than 0,6).

### Model

For modeling we use the “Gender and Generation Survey” data (1<sup>st</sup> wave - 2004). We use information only about households with 2 partners (generally wife and husband) and children younger than 14 years old.

As a dependant variable we use the satisfaction of the childcare responsibility distribution (the scale varies from 0 – completely dissatisfied to 10 – completely satisfied). Because of the scale is long enough we modeling by means of OLS regressions.

Our aim is to find the influence of the social and economic status of the both partners on the dependant variable.

#### *Universal control variables<sup>2</sup>:*

- Domicile - rural: a dummy variable, where urban=0, rural=1. (Rural). Rural area demonstrated some interesting results during the analysis of crosstab distributions and family time budgets.
- Age of the respondent (Age). It can be an indirect indicator for the age and birth order of children (parents can be more experienced and responsible in childcare, because they are dealing not with the first child). It is also an indicator of generations, there is a hypothesis that the model of family roles equality appears in younger generations of the Russians.
- Existence of small children (at the age 3 and younger) – not for all models (Small)
- Somebody (not respondent or partner) regularly helps to solve the childcare problems in the household (Help)

<sup>2</sup> Hereinafter in brackets we will indicate the acronym of the variable in our tables.

- If the household hire or use the services of the baby-sitters (BS). Actually the number of such households was so small that we finally excluded all the models with such variables from the model.
- If at least one of the partners has an opportunity to send children to the industry or authority-sponsored kindergarten (Kindgar). Generally in 2004 there was not so acute shortage in kindergartens, but parents who can use the opportunity of sponsored services were in favor.

All the control variables could according to our hypotheses significantly influence the patterns of childcare behavior.

#### *Main explanatory variables*

First of all we check the labor market status. For example (if one of the partners is permanently employed or women is a housewife) the duration of the week in hours (intensiveness of the labor for both partners). We analyze the model for qualification of partners expressed into the professional status of partners and the highest professional status in the household. For education we check the gap between partners in education and the highest educational level reached by the most educated partner. We also took into account the income, the variable was standardized by the price of lowest level of consumption. Sometimes we mix the models for getting extra robustness check.

Finally we received the following *independent variables*.

- Respondent is a housewife – only for models with women-respondents (H\_wife)
- Partner has a permanent job (Part\_perm)
- Respondent's working week duration (Resp\_week)
- Partner's working week duration (Part\_week)
- Respondent's professional status (Resp\_prof). Professional status varies from 1 to 4 (where 1 is the highest level)
- Partner's professional status (Part\_prof)
- Highest professional status in the household (4 dummies): manager or high qualification specialist (Status\_high), middle qualification specialist (status\_middle), high qualified worker (worker\_high), low qualified worker (worker\_low)
- Respondent's education (Resp\_educ). Educational status varies for 1 to 5 (where 5 is the highest status – higher or uncompleted higher education).
- Partner's professional status (Part\_educ)
- There is a gap between educational level of respondent and partner (Educ\_gap)
- Income per family member standardized by price level (Income)

We will separate regressions for men and for women to get better, than including gender dummy results.

First models (Table 1) are for women. According to the previous results we claim see that women are generally involved into the household working process and now we can see the determinants of their satisfaction of childcare duties distribution.

We could find the following results. The length of the working day (intensiveness of the market work) for partner increases the satisfaction. However the stronger effect is given by just including into the model the fact of partner's (men's) permanent employment and income of the family members, because of the variables the significance of intensiveness disappears. So the fact of higher income and in some cases just employment of the partner gives woman satisfaction of the family labor distribution.

The same situation is observed with the partner's working week duration. May be in this cases men just do not have time to help and woman understand it. However, with increasing working time length woman is less satisfied with duties distribution, which is intuitive as well, because she had to work both running the house (in our case we are looking at the children care) and in the labor market.

Table 1. Satisfaction of the household labor distribution. Women's model. GGS 2004  
Russia



Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model8	Model9
Constant	7,79	7,47	8,03	6,62	7,96	7,05	7,76	8,01	7,69
<i>Controls</i>									
Kindergart	Unsign	0,43*	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	0,47*
Help	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign
Age	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign
Rural	-0,51***	-0,42***	-0,53***	-0,53***	-0,51***	-0,39***	-0,5***	-0,53***	-0,33**
<i>Main variables</i>									
H_wife	0,3								
Part_week	0,006*	-0,007	0,007**		0,006*		0,007**	0,007**	0,005
Resp_week		-0,007**	-0,007**		-0,008**		-0,007*	-0,006*	-0,008**
Part_perm		1,25***		1,67*		0,9***			
Part_prof				-0,1					
Resp_prof				0,08					
Status_high					0,19				
status_middle					0,12				
worker_high					0,28				
worker_low					-0,12				
Resp_educ						-0,000	0,007		
Part_educ						0,062	0,07		
Educ_gap								-0,035	
Income									0,000***

Hereinafer: \*\*\* - 1% of significance, \*\* - 5%, \*-10%. For control variables "Unsign" means insignificant.

Generally we can say that if the man is associated with a bread-winner in the family, woman works with greater pleasure running the childcare in the household. There is also a strong negative effect of the rural area to the satisfaction (even controlling for education and income).

The second model is devoted to regressions constructed for men. For them we actually have used almost the same variables like housewife variables. The variable “respondent (woman) has a permanent work” was included into the model instead. We also included another variable into the model – if the child/children in the household is/are small (lower than 3 years in the period), it has abbreviation “*small\_ch*” in our tables (see *independent variables* list). The inclusion is explained by the larger number of such households in the sample. However we reduced some of the models from our table, because the results were far from significance.

Table 2. Satisfaction of the household labor distribution. Men’s model. GGS 2004 Russia

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Constant	8,77	8,67	8,74	8,66	9,62
<i>Controls</i>					
Kindergart	Unsign	0,43*	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign
Help	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign
Age	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign
Rural	-0,51***	-0,504***	-0,43***	-0,49***	-0,48***
<i>Main</i>					
Part_week	-0,000		-0,002	-0,000	-0,014**
Resp_week	-0,000		-0,002	-0,001	-0,002
Part_perm		-0,125			
Resp_perm		0,068			
Part_prof					-0,025
Resp_prof					-0,032
Resp_educ				0,084*	
Part_educ				-0,036	
Income			0,000		
Small_ch	-3,73**	-3,82**	-3,58**	-3,55**	-3,73**

For men we see the following situation. We can hardly interpret if there is any positive effect of the working week duration (for respondent it is completely insignificant, for partner there are some effects if we control for professional status). Controlling for professional status we have received a dropping satisfaction with growing number of respondent participation in the labor market. It might be associated with the redistribution of the duties to men. The small children occurrence decrease strongly and significantly the satisfaction for men, it can be for the same reason as a previous situation. As for control variables we should mention the high role and significance of the rural area with the same sign as it used to be for women.

The problem of all models is that R-square is low in all cases (it varies from 1,5 to 2,7).

To clarify our hypotheses we should involve the direct distribution of the duties in the house into the model as a determinant and control if something will be changed.

#### *Duties distribution*

We include the following information:

- Who dress and undress children (the scale for everything is from 1 – always respondent to 5 – always partner) (Dress)
- Who brings children to bed (Bed)
- Who stays at home with sick children (Sick)
- Who plays with children (Play)

- Who helps children with the homework (Homework)
- Who lead the children to school or to baby-sitter (Send)

We exclude from the sample the cases where children do such deals themselves.

After including these factors into the model we found some extra changes for women (see table 3). First and furthest the effect of age appears sometimes and income effect disappears. The effect of respondent's work in labor market (intensiveness) as well as the effect of partners permanent employment is kept significant.

Women are more satisfied if the partners help them in helping children with homework and bringing children to bed.

To sum up we should say that generally satisfaction in childcare duties and the total satisfaction of the family duties distribution (Total\_sat) are strongly correlated. Including satisfaction of the family duties we destroy all the control factors effects (even a rural one) and the R-square jumps to the 0,5. However the explanatory power is really low, because we do not solve the problem, but just change the focus of research to the predictors for the total satisfaction now.

Table 3. Satisfaction of the household labor distribution (incl. duties distribution). Men's model. GGS 2004 Russia

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Constant	7,71	6,89	7,96	7,4	1,53
<i>Controls</i>					
Kindergart	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign
Help	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign
Age	-0,033**	-0,028*	Unsign	-0,031*	Unsign
Rural	-0,72***	-0,6***	-0,71***	-0,059***	Unsign
<i>Main</i>					
Part_week			0,005		
Resp_week			-0,019***		
Income				0,000	
Part_perm		0,725***			
Dress	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign
Bed	0,11**	Unsign	0,102*	0,105*	Unsign
Sick	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign
Play	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign
Homework	0,092*	0,098*	0,104**	Unsign	Unsign
Send	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign
Total_sat					0,71***

For men the effect of total satisfaction is almost the same as for women, but nothing can beat rural dissatisfaction. For the main variables there is still some negative effect of partner's (woman's) employment.

However men are mostly satisfied with childcare duties if they mostly play with children and in some cases stay with them at home due to their sickness and bring them into bed. On the other hand men prefer not to lead their children to school.

Table 4. Satisfaction of the household labor distribution (incl. duties distribution). Men's model. GGS 2004 Russia

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	8,89	8,88	4,25
<i>Controls</i>			
Kindergart	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign
Help	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign

Age	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign
Rural	-0,66***	-0,26***	-0,26***
<i>Main</i>			
Part_week	-0,005		
Resp_week	-0,005		
Resp_perm		-0,125	
Part_perm		-0,309*	
Dress	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign
Bed	Unsign	Unsign	0,098**
Sick	Unsign	Unsign	-0,012**
Play	-0,018***	-0,018***	-0,012***
Homework	Unsign	Unsign	Unsign
Send	0,08**	0,084**	Unsign
Total_sat	Unsign	Unsign	0,518***

### Some conclusions

Apart from intuitive stages of life circle, household structure, domicile, and employment play an important role in the process of men's involvement into childcare system. The most satisfied with child care distribution respondents are the ones with higher education and qualification. There are also serious differences between level of satisfaction in rural and urban area. Parents who can use the opportunity of sponsored or relative's services were in favor.

According to our models women are generally involved into the household working process. The length of the working day (intensiveness of the market work) for partner increases the satisfaction. However the stronger effect is given by just including into the model the fact of partner's (men's) permanent employment and income of the family members. The fact of higher income and in some cases just employment of the partner gives woman satisfaction of the family labor distribution.

The same situation is observed with the partner's working week duration. If the man is associated with a bread-winner in the family, woman works with greater pleasure running the childcare in the household. In Russia, perhaps, we have more often economic exchange pattern instead of gender display pattern (Brines 1994).

There is also a strong negative effect of the rural area to the satisfaction (even controlling for education and income). Generation effect is not significant in difference from macro data Rosstat 1990, 2010 (may be we deal with both generation attitudes and real housework distribution which we could investigate in future).

Controlling for professional status in men's model we have received a dropping satisfaction with growing number of respondent participation in the labor market. It might be associated with the redistribution of the duties to men. The small children occurrence strongly and significantly decreases the satisfaction for men. As for control variables we should mention the high role and significance of the rural area with the same sign as it used to be for women.

After including childcare duties distribution factor into the model we found some extra changes for women: the age effect appears and income effect disappears. The effect of respondent's work in labor market (intensiveness) as well as the effect of partners' permanent employment is kept significant. Women are more satisfied if the partners help them with children's homework and bringing children to bed. For men the effect of total satisfaction is almost the same as for women, but nothing can beat rural dissatisfaction. For the main variables there is still some negative effect of partner's (woman's) employment. However men are mostly satisfied with childcare duties if they mostly play with children and in some cases stay with them at home due to their sickness and bring them into bed. On the other hand men prefer not to lead their children to school.

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## Appendix

Table A-1. Time for Childcare (in hours – minutes). Rosstat 2010 TUS

	Men (all)		Women (all)		Men (employed)		Women (employed)	
	urban	rural	urban	rural	urban	Rural	urban	rural
Childcare	0-13	0-09	0-30	0-33	0-14	0-09	0-21	0-24
<i>Physical care and custody</i>	0-05	0-03	0-19	0-22	0-05	0-03	0-13	0-12
<i>Education and communication</i>	0-08	0-06	0-11	0-10	0-09	0-06	0-08	0-12

Table A-2a (men) Time use by different days of the week (hours-minutes and percent). Rosstat 2010 TUS

	Average per day	By different days of the week				
		Working day	Day before the day off	Day off	Day off	
					1 <sup>st</sup> day off	2 <sup>nd</sup> day off
		Hours-minutes				
Childcare	0-09	0-09	0-02	0-12	0-13	0-10
<i>Physical care and custody</i>	0-03	0-03	0-00	0-04	0-06	0-03
<i>Education and communication</i>	0-06	0-06	0-01	0-08	0-07	0-08
		Percentage of house-keeping				
Childcare	5,2	6,3	1,3	5,0	5,8	4,3
<i>Physical care and custody</i>	1,8	2,2	0,4	1,7	2,5	1,1
<i>Education and communication</i>	3,3	4,1	1,0	3,2	3,3	3,2

Table A-2b (women) Time use by different days of the week (hours-minutes and percent).  
Rosstat 2010 TUS

	Average per day	By different days of the week				
		Working day	Day before the day off	Day off	Day off	
					1 <sup>st</sup> day off	2 <sup>nd</sup> day off
	Hours-minutes					
Childcare	0-33	0-38	0-27	0-26	0-23	0-30
<i>Physical care and custody</i>	0-22	0-26	0-19	0-17	0-16	0-19
<i>Education and communication</i>	0-11	0-12	0-08	0-09	0-07	0-11
	Percentage of house-keeping					
Childcare	11,3	13,6	10	8,1	7	9,1
<i>Physical care and custody</i>	7,7	9,3	7	5,3	4,8	5,8
<i>Education and communication</i>	3,6	4,3	3	2,8	2,3	3,4

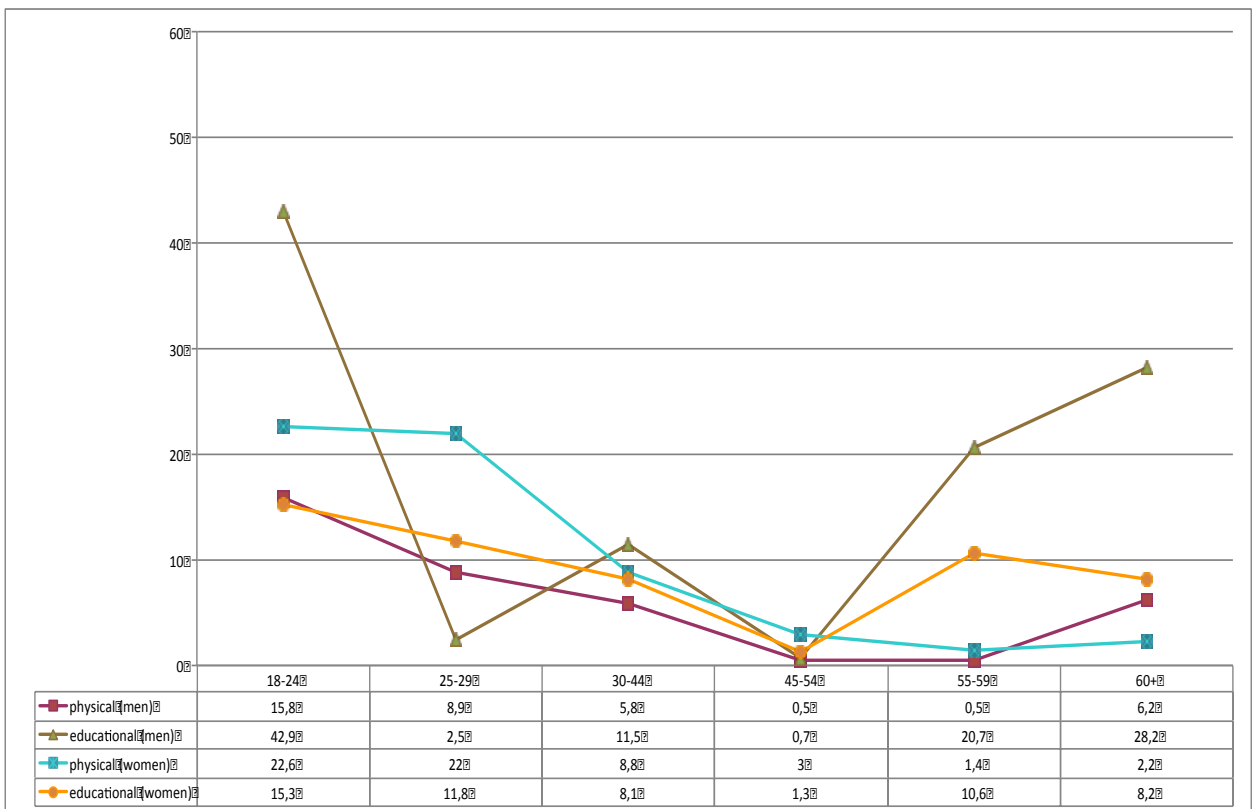
Table A-3. Child care by the domicile, % of total household work. Rosstat 2010 TUS

	Men (all)		Women (all)		Men (employed)		Women (employed)	
	urban	rural	urban	rural	urban	rural	urban	rural
Childcare	11,7	5,1	13,5	11,3	15,1	7,0	12,3	10,3
<i>Physical care and custody</i>	4,3	1,8	8,5	7,7	5,7	2,2	7,4	5,3
<i>Education and communication</i>	7,5	3,3	5,0	3,6	9,4	4,9	4,9	5,0

Table A-4. Childcare by the domicile in comparison of leisure time, % of leisure time. Rosstat 2010 TUS

	Men (all)		Women (all)		Men (employed)		Women (employed)	
	urban	rural	urban	rural	urban	rural	urban	rural
Childcare	4,6	3,4	12,6	14,5	5,9	4,2	11,4	14,4
<i>Physical care and custody</i>	1,8	1,1	8,0	9,6	2,1	1,4	7,0	7,2
<i>Education and communication</i>	2,8	2,2	4,6	4,4	3,8	2,8	4,3	7,2

Graph A-1. Type of child care (physical and educational) by unemployed men and women (age profiles), % of childcare of concrete type in household work. Rosstat 2010 TUS



Graph A-2. Type of child care (physical and educational) by employed men and women (age profiles), % of childcare of concrete type in household work. Rosstat 2010 TUS

