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Parenting-allocated time in families of the Ural Russian region: amounts and determinants

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This study aims to measure the time allocated to child raising using parents' self-assessment and the criterion of subjective time sufficiency or insufficiency. We surveyed 545 Russian parents from the Ural region and used factor analysis to identify the main determinants that affect the self-assessment of time allocated to parenting. We found that parents in the Russian Ural region believe they do not spend enough time with their children. Reasons for the insufficient amount of time allocated to parenting are the following: overload of labor duties at home and at work, psychological causes of intergenerational interaction, external reasons – studies, poor health, the need to care for other relatives and so on.

Keywords: Parenting. Parental labor. Time-consuming. Time-costs. Time allocation. Family studies. Russia.

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Introduction

In the modern world, parenting is a highly labor-intensive activity. In economically developed countries, this is primarily due to the high requirements for this activity and its results (FAIRCLOTH, 2014). Since the 1960s, scientists began to speak of developing the child's human capital as a long-term investment process (BECKER, 1988). The modern family invests a significant amount of resources in children – finances, labor and, of course, time (BAGIROVA, 2017). The reasonableness and effectiveness of these investments determine not only the future of human capital in the long term (HASHIMZADE, 2020; SALEHI-ISFAHANI; TAGHVATALAB, 2018), but also the current well-being of families in the process of creating this future (VYALSHINA, 2017).

The problem of availability of parenting resources can lead to a number of socio-economic consequences (HASHIMZADE, 2020). Having children becomes an unjust burden for marginal social groups of parents who do not have the necessary amount of socio-economic resources (NOMAGUCHI; MILKIE, 2020), which, in turn, becomes one factor of social tension (MANNING, 2019).

We focused our study on the choice of a time resource for parenting due to the following reasons: Parents' distribution of time between the labor market and family significantly affects social processes and socio-economic development of the country (BIANCHI, 2011). An increase in the time allocated to parenting is connected with the ideology of the so-called intensive parenting as an image of parent behavior (BAKER, 2019). The doctrine of intensive parenting has spread in recent years in many countries, having several negative consequences for both children and parents (ADAMS, 2020; SCHIFFRIN *et al.*, 2014). As a result, it forms a common opinion that parenting requires sacrifice, expenses, huge responsibility and so on. This makes the very idea of parenthood poorly compatible with other life values – career, relationships, self-realization (DIDKOVSKAYA *et al.*, 2020; KOCH, 2020), which negatively affects the prevailing reproductive norms in society. In countries with negative demographic projections, this could lead to an even more substantial decline in fertility rates.

One way to reduce the time each parent allocates to parenting is to distribute the load between spouses (or partners) (KALABIKHINA; SHAIKENOVA, 2019). This method allows parents to ensure each of them can redistribute their time in favor of other activities. At the same time, the distribution of responsibilities in the family has its limitations (biological, gender, cultural and others), which can significantly differ in different countries. In our opinion, one of the tasks of social science and family studies could be to find a balance in this area. This balance is of great importance for the Russian Federation because, on one hand, there is a gender imbalance in parental dedication, and on the other hand, a demographical crisis arises (BAZUEVA, 2010; KALABIKHINA; SHAIKENOVA, 2019), part of a more general family institutional crisis (VERESHCHAGINA; BANDURIN; SAMYGIN, 2016).

Most studies in parenting time costs focus on objective measurements – absolute (the number of hours spent on childcare per day, week) (SCHULZ; ENGELHARDT, 2017; ENGLAND; SRIVASTAVA, 2013; KOROLENKO; KALACHIKOVA, 2019; TONKIKH, 2018a) and relative (the share of time spent on childcare in the total amount of time, or in comparison with other activities) (TONKIKH, 2018b). However, time allocated to parenting can be measured through both objective and subjective indicators. In this case, objective indicators include hours, minutes, shares and more, whereas subjective indicators may include the parents' assessments of the sufficiency of time they spend with children, the degree of their satisfaction with this amount of time. We believe subjective indicators are equally important in the study of time costs since satisfaction with the distribution of time significantly impacts family relationships and other aspects of life (MAKARENTSEVA; BIRYUKOVA; TRETYAKOVA, 2017; DIMITROVA; TONKIKH, 2020). Therefore, this is the option we favored in our work.

Many researchers stress the relevance of subjective perception of time (NADOBNIK; DURCZAK; LAWRYNOWICZ, 2021), due to the importance of perceptions in socio-demographic behaviors (NEYER; LAPPEGARD; VIGNOLI, 2013). Thus, equal amounts of time devoted to children can be subjectively evaluated and perceived as different due to the complexity of the time phenomenon in social sciences (FLAHERTY, 2011). This fact was clearly proven in studies of social time in family, including institutional, gender and interpersonal time (GOLEVA, 2019). Moreover, the empirical data confirms the incompleteness of gender transition, when rudimentary sociocultural reasons persist along with the economic reasons for splitting the home labor between partners (KALABIKHINA; SHAIKENOVA, 2019). This causes a different perception of sufficiency for men/women's contribution to home labor.

The motivation of this paper is to study the self-assessment of the sufficiency of parenting time costs in Russian families and to identify the determinants of subjective assessment of the time parents spend on children. Self-evaluations of time with children can affect overall parenting satisfaction, and this, in turn, is important for quality performance of parenting functions, a possible increase in the birth rate in Russia. The main research question in our study is: "How do parents assess the sufficiency of the time spent with children?". Thus, the fundamental difference between our work and most other studies lies in the fact that we did not study the actual time parents spend on childcare, but instead focused on another – subjective – assessment of this time: the parents' self-assessment of its sufficiency. In other words, we were not interested in an objective, but in a subjective indicator of parenting time costs. Our hypothesis is that this indicator indirectly reveals the system of parenting values, and, to some extent, shows satisfaction with the parenting process which is the innovative aspect of this paper. Moreover, our study was not solely aimed at revealing a particular picture of the distribution of time in parenting. Above all, we were interested in the reasons that could influence the self-assessment of parenting time costs and the reasons for the insufficiency of this time. The hypothesis our study suggests is that the self-estimation of time costs for parenting is not high enough; parents

with different socio-demographic characteristics have different ideas about the subjective reasons for the insufficiency of this time.

To achieve these goals we used the database of all-Russian sociological survey “Monitoring the demographic well-being of the population of Russian regions”. During this survey, 5616 people were questioned all over Russia (Database of the scientific project “Demographic well-being of Russia”, 2020). In this paper, we analyzed a single Russian region – the Sverdlovskaya region, where the authors collected all the data in 2020. A questionnaire survey was conducted among the population of reproductive age (18-49 years old) living in 64 urban and rural settlements. More precise data about this survey can be found in the section “Data and methods”.

Literature review

Time allocated to parenting is a widely researched topic in social sciences. Most of the works on this subject are structured according to the determinants studied. In other words, time allocated to parenting is analyzed in relation to gender, education, work schedule, age of children, territory of residence, system of life values, income level, et cetera.

However, several researchers note that the identified determinants do not allow us to clearly predict the amount of time allocated to parenting (RENK *et al.*, 2003). Thus, they only reflect certain trends and conditions that affect the distribution of time in parenting.

Summarizing the existing points of view, we can say that the determinants of time allocated to parenting can be considered from two perspectives: the structural (compositional or contextual) point of view (a general increase in the participation of women in the workforce, a decrease in the birth rate, an increase in the level of education, income and other factors) (NEILSON; STANFORS, 2014), and the point of view of the dynamics of behavioral practices of a given society (which are influenced by accepted norms of gender behavior, value systems, cultural discourse among others) (SAYER *et al.*, 2004).

Let us consider the influence of the most significant determinants in detail.

First of all, we note that almost all studies on the time allocated to parenting address the issue of gender distribution of parental load (DOMINGUEZ-FOLGUERAS, 2015; RENK *et al.*, 2003; SCHULZ; ENGELHARDT, 2017; ENGLAND; SRIVASTAVA, 2013; ADDABBO; CAIUMI; MACCAGNAN, 2012; NEILSON; STANFORS, 2014; USDANSKY; PARKER, 2011; KUSHNER *et al.*, 2014; CANO, 2019). Thus, most researchers believe that gender is a key determinant in the distribution of time allocated to parenting.

Interestingly, even though European society seeks to increase the participation of fathers in childcare (KUSHNER *et al.*, 2014; CANO, 2019), an equal distribution of childcare between spouses has not been achieved yet (FERNANDEZ-LOZANO, 2019; EVERTSSON, 2014). Both public opinion and mothers themselves are much more likely to impose responsibility for child-related activities on women (RENK *et al.*, 2003; RIGGS; BARTHOLOMAEUS, 2018). Consequently, women still bear the main burden of caring for

a child (ABRIL *et al.*, 2015; GJERDINGEN; CENTER, 2005; POLLMANN-SCHULT, 2016) often to the detriment of other activities, such as pursuing a career (SCHUELLER-WEIDEKAMM; KAUTZKY-WILLER, 2012; MAGNUSSON; NERMO, 2016) or education (LEBERT; ANTAL, 2016). Meanwhile, many studies prove that fatherhood, on the contrary, is positively related to wage levels (MAGNUSSON; NERMO, 2016; PETERSEN; PENNER; HOGSNES, 2014). However, positive shifts are taking place in this area. Thus, Cano (2019) says that men started to engage more in physical care for children in recent decades, which had been a prerogative of women before (CRAIG *et al.*, 2014). At the same time, the further development of trends to the equal participation of spouses in childcare strongly depends on the differences in political and economic conditions and cultures of a particular country.

There are similarities as well as differences between Russia and other developed countries – in terms of the distribution of parenting functions according to gender roles. In Russia, the more “traditional” distribution of household duties between spouses remains (BAZUEVA, 2010; SHAIKENOVA, 2019; KABAİKINA; SUSHCHENKO, 2017), and women spend significantly more time on childcare than men (KARAKHANOVA; BOLSHAKOVA, 2018; MAKARENTSEVA; BIRYUKOVA; TRETAKOVA, 2017). The traditional leading role of mothers in parenting affects the overall structure of women’s employment (TONKIKH, 2018b; KABAİKINA; SUSHCHENKO, 2018; ROZHDESTVENSKAYA, 2019), development of marital relationships (SAVENYSHEVA, 2017) and gender socialization of children (ARAKANTSEVA, 2010).

At the same time, it should be noted that “gender time” in the family has significant differences. Thus, “female time” in the family is characterized by cyclicity and consistency with the children’s lifestyle - mothers take care of their children continuously. Men regard the time spent with children as “separate,” as an interruption or fragmentation of their individual time. On the one hand, this is due to the parents’ work schedule. The parent (usually the mother) who spends more time at home is naturally perceived as “constantly” present in the lives of children (GOLEVA, 2019). However, other studies on the amount of time allocated to children showed that fathers who are not participating in the workforce do not seek to use the freed-up time to raise children (KOROLENKO; KALACHIKOVA, 2019). Therefore, even when the structure of employment changes, the distribution of roles in parenting remains the same. This distinguishes Russian fathers from, for example, American ones, who start spending more time with children when they lose their jobs (BAUER; SONCHAK, 2017).

Sociological studies in Russia show that mothers devote 20-30% of their “active” time per day exclusively to children (TONKIKH, 2018b). Their development and domestic work is carried out by combining or simultaneously performing various functions (TONKIKH, 2018a). According to empirical data, women spend 4.7 hours on weekdays and 8.9 hours on weekends on children in absolute terms (KOROLENKO; KALACHIKOVA, 2019), while young families spend up to 11 hours per day (SYCHEV; FOFANOVA; YAKINA, 2012).

Comparing Russian data with the results of studies in other countries, we can conclude that Russian mothers spend a lot of time on childcare (between 5.4-6.8 hours per day)

(KARAKHANOVA; BOLSHAKOVA, 2018; KOROLENKO; KALACHIKOVA, 2019). For example, women in Germany, Iran, Mexico, Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia spend about 1-2 hours per day on childcare (SALEHI-ISFAHANI; TAGHVATALAB, 2018; SCHULZ; ENGELHARDT, 2017; CAMPANA *et al.*, 2020), in the USA – from 2 to 6 hours per day, according to various sources (ENGLAND; SRIVASTAVA, 2013; BAUER; SONCHAK, 2017). At the same time, Russian parents tend to spend more time with children on weekends, while European parents do the opposite (SCHULZ; ENGELHARDT, 2017; KOROLENKO; KALACHIKOVA, 2019). This data, of course, cannot be considered complete due to different methods of estimating time costs; we consider them only as indicative estimates. However, international studies show that Russian women experience a more significant imbalance and lack of time to perform family duties than European women (DIMITROVA; TONKIKH, 2020).

Parents' level of education is another significant determinant of parental time budget highlighted by researchers (SCHULZ; ENGELHARDT, 2017; ENGLAND; SRIVASTAVA, 2013; USDANSKY; PARKER, 2011; ALTINTAS, 2015; DOTTI-SANI; TREAS, 2016; CRAIG, 2006). It is proved that the higher the level of education of parents, the more time they devote to children, especially to activities related to children's development (SCHULZ; ENGELHARDT, 2017; ALTINTAS, 2015; DOTTI-SANI; TREAS, 2016). This is explained by the various cultural concepts of parenting prevalent among well-educated people, especially women, whose education affects both the duration of childcare and the care practices (ENGLAND; SRIVASTAVA, 2013). Furthermore, it is noted that the parents' education influences both the children's degree of involvement in certain activities and the diversity of their interests in Russia (ARTEM'EVA; NAZIMOVA, 2017). On the other hand, parents' studies have an impacts on parenting time, especially in students' families and among young people.

Parental income, which is associated with education level, is also a determinant of time allocated to parenting (HASHIMZADE, 2020; ENGLAND; SRIVASTAVA, 2013; NEILSON; STANFORS, 2014). This determinant is complex and should be considered in conjunction with other conditions - education, distribution of roles in the family, parents' life values, etc. Usdansky and Parker (2011) found that the impact of relative earnings on the time women spend on housework (including spending time with children) depends on their level of education and parental status. In general, the structure and nature of employment also affect the distribution of time devoted to parental responsibilities (CANO, 2019). Parents with flexible working hours have more opportunities to organize their life in order to spend more time with their families (CAMPANA; GIMENEZ-NADAL; MOLINA, 2020). Some government employment policies may have an impact too. For example, parental leave for fathers' forces men to spend more time with their children (DUVANDER; JOHANSSON, 2019).

In Russia, the effect of income on the amount of time allocated to parenting is also different. For example, American researchers have proven that wealthy parents in America spend more time with children. This is because they outsource some of their other functions, which allows them to free up more time to spend with family (ENGLAND; SRIVASTAVA, 2013). In Russia, on the contrary, the richer the parents, the less time they spend with

their children. This is because wealthy parents usually work hard to ensure high family incomes (KOROLENKO; KALACHIKOVA, 2019). This difference between wealthy Russian and American parents can be explained by the more scarce availability of outsourcing services in Russia. Even in large cities, such services are not common, and, therefore, the practice of using these services is uncommon as well. Indeed, the data obtained in different regions may not reflect all the details. Nevertheless, they allow us to judge some general trends characteristic of the two countries.

In their study, Bauer and Sonchak (2017) also distinguish race, age of children and marital status of parents as determinants of the distribution of parenting time. According to them, married fathers, including white men and men with higher education, spend more time with children (BAUER; SONCHAK, 2017). At the same time, Bauer and Sonchak's study did not confirm similar determinants for mothers. In addition, some studies report that health conditions significantly impact the distribution of duties between partners (KALABIKHINA; SHAIKENOVA, 2019).

Another determinant in the distribution of time is the gender of children (LUNDBERG, 2005). Salehi-Isfahani and Taghvatalab (2018) found that fathers spend (a little) more time raising children if they have sons aged 6-11 years. However, the authors themselves state that such preferences apply only to men.

Age of children is another significant determinant highlighted in social studies on parenting time costs in Russia (KOROLENKO; KALACHIKOVA, 2019). It seems natural that young children require more direct attention from parents. As children gain independence, the need for constant care for them decreases. In addition, parental leave ends when children grow up, and the return to work makes parents spend less time at home.

Other researchers include the following factors in the list of determinants that affect parental behavior (including the distribution of time in parenting): genetic characteristics, intergenerational experience (the experience of parents in their parent families) (HASHIMZADE, 2020; CONGER *et al.*, 2009), as well as the overall impact of the social norms of a particular culture (BAUER; SONCHAK, 2017; JOESCH; SPIESS, 2006; HOOK; WOLFE, 2013).

It can be noted that characteristic features of parenting identified by foreign colleagues have a tendency to aggravate in Russia. For example, in Russia, there is an even greater imbalance of maternal time (DIMITROVA; TONKIKH, 2020), an even smaller role of fathers in raising children (KOROLENKO; KALACHIKOVA, 2019), an even larger share of time spent on children in parent's overall time structure (KARAKHANOVA; BOLSHAKOVA, 2018; SYCHEV *et al.*, 2012) relative to some other countries (ENGLAND; SRIVASTAVA, 2013; CAMPANA *et al.*, 2020).

Most of the determinants mentioned above could be revealed through the analysis of a social-demographic image of a respondent. At the same time, some factors that cause the insufficiency of time allocated to children are to be additionally clarified during the research. We considered the following groups of such factors: 1) external reasons (studies, poor

health, the need to care for other relatives); 2) labor reasons (reasons associated with time-consuming professional or domestic work); 3) psychological reasons associated with the unwillingness of parents or children to spend more time with each other («other reasons»).

Data and methods

In this study, we used a questionnaire survey conducted among the population of reproductive age (18-49 years old) living in 64 urban and rural settlements of the Ural region of Russia (Sverdlovsk Oblast). The survey in the area was carried out within the framework of the all-Russian sociological survey “Monitoring the demographic well-being of the population of Russian regions”. During this survey, 5616 people were questioned all over Russia (Database of the scientific project “Demographic well-being of Russia”, 2020). The survey was performed in January-February of 2020 before the Covid-19 pandemic and lockdown changed household arrangements and time allocation. The Sverdlovsk Region is a large Russian region with a high level of economic, cultural and social activity. It is a developed industrial region with a population of 4.3 million. The demographic problems of the region are those typical of the Russian Federation. Over the past decade, there has been a steady excess of the number of deaths over the number of births, an increase in the natural decline in the population; reduction in the proportion of women of reproductive age in the population - both in the region as a whole and separately in urban and rural areas; negative dynamics of the total fertility rate (from 1.78 in 2015 to 1.59 in 2020); an increase in the number of divorces and a decrease in the number of marriages; postponement of first births (a resident of the Sverdlovsk region averagely first becomes a mother at the age of 27, the birth of a second child most often occurs at the age of 31). Speaking of ethnical composition and the balance between urban and rural population, the Sverdlovsk region can be considered as typical Russian region.

A sample of the Sverdlovsk Region was constructed based on the statistical data on the population of reproductive age (1, 876, 861 people) and population distribution by age, gender and type of settlement (urban/rural). We used an online survey in this study; however, in settlements with low Internet coverage, respondents were asked to fill printed questionnaires. The questions in online and offline questionnaires were identical. The local authorities helped to organize the recruiting of respondents, e.g., sociologists questioned people in facilities that are hard to access without government support. Such a mixed-mode data collection has a number of benefits compared to traditional methods. The total number of respondents was over 800 people. Of these, we selected respondents with children. The sample size (4% error with the reliability of 0.954) was 545 people.

The distribution of socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1
Distribution of socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

Characteristics	Parents (N=545)		Characteristics	Parents (N=545)	
	N	%		N	%
Gender			Level of education		
Male	207	38.0	Secondary general (school only)	12	2.2
Female	338	62.0	Professional (college / technical school)	102	18.7
Age of parents			Higher professional (university)	380	69.7
18-29	54	9.9	Postgraduate professional (academic degree)	41	7.5
30-39	238	43.7	No answer	10	1.8
40-49	253	46.4	Employment structure		
Marital status			Employees of state budgetary organizations and enterprises	298	54.7
Registered marriage	417	76.5	Employees of private enterprises	177	32.5
Unregistered marriage	38	7.0	Self-employed	10	1.8
Widowed	13	2.4	Business owners	6	1.1
Divorced	65	11.9	Unemployed	20	3.7
Never married	11	2.0	No answer	34	6.2
No answer	1	0.2	Area of employment		
Number of children			Education	138	25.3
1 child	230	42.2	Industry	85	15.6
2 children	263	48.3	Public administration	73	13.4
3 children	46	8.4	Trade and service	53	9.7
4 children and more	6	1.1	Construction	49	9.0
No answer	0	0.0	Agriculture	44	8.1
Age of children			Social sphere	42	7.7
Under 3	85	(1) 15.6	Healthcare	11	2.0
4-6	121	22.2	Other areas	50	9.2
7-12	288	52.8	No answer	0	0.0
13-17	187	34.3	Type of settlement		
18 and over	207	38.3	Urban	478	87.7
No answer	19	3.5	Rural	67	12.3
Sex of children			No answer	0	0.0
Boy/boys	186	34.1			
Girl/girls	181	33.2			
Boy(s) and girl(s)	171	31.4			
No answer	7	1.3			

Source: Prepared by the authors.

(1) The sum exceeds 100% because the number of children can be more than 1 for each couple of parents.

Table 1 shows that not all respondents answered all questions. We excluded respondents who did not answer the questions about gender, age, area of employment and type of settlement from the sample because these are key parameters which we controlled while creating the sample. Table 1 also shows we surveyed more women than men (62% and 38%, respectively). Mostly mature people in a registered marriage were

included in the sample. Moreover, almost half of the surveyed families had two children, the average number of children per respondent was 1.5. The majority of respondents had higher education (including an academic degree) (77.2%), more than half were employed in public institutions. At the same time, the distribution by employment was quite ample, with a slight bias towards the areas of education (25.3%) and industry (15.6%).

Let us note three key limitations of our study: 1) we understand that as children grow up, the time costs for parenting can change. The same stands for satisfaction of parents with the time spent with children. Among respondents, 38% of parents had children aged 18 and older. Although 15.8% of parents (from the abovementioned 38%) have at least one more child aged under 18, we should take into account 22.2% of parents which have only children of 18 and above; 2) A noticeable sample shift exists to respondents with higher education and scientific degrees. This parameter was not included in the list of controlled parameters during the respondents' recruitment; 3) Despite the fact that the general sample correctly indicated the actual gender distribution in population aged 18-49 for the Sverdlovsk region, in the parents' sample, which was analyzed in our study, the proportion of women exceeded that of men. In addition, the questionnaire we used was limited in size. Therefore, we did not measure other possible determinants that could be potentially significant for parenting-allocated time. Such determinants may include, for example, health indicators of children, the availability of help from relatives, confessional and national variety, distance of residence from the place of work of parents, and others.

The questionnaire contained a wide range of question types (open, closed) with various scales (quantitative, nominal, and ordinal). Most of the questions were presented in tabular form. The question of allocating time to children was formulated as follows: "In your opinion, how much time do you devote to children?", with the following answer options (scale from 1 to 5): 1) "Significantly more than I would like"; 2) "Slightly more than I would like", 3) "As much as I would like"; 4) "Slightly less than I would like", 5) "Significantly less than I would like"; 6) "Hard to say". Further, we asked respondents to clarify the reasons for the insufficiency of time allocated to children: "If you devote less time to children than you think is necessary, then to what extent is this due to the following reasons?". Proposed reasons contained the following response options: "parents' unwillingness", "overwork, overtime", "poor health", "studying", "caring for other family members", "overload with household chores", "children's unwillingness to communicate", "other". We asked the respondents to evaluate each of the proposed reasons on a five-point scale, where "1" meant that this reason had practically no value, and "5" meant that this reason was very significant.

We applied the following analysis methods: descriptive statistics, correlation analysis (DAVIS; BLAKE, 1956; DUNCAN, 1966), factor analysis (CATTELL, 1952; PETROVIC, 2013). To assess the suitability of variables for factor analysis, we used Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity and Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy. Principal Component Analysis was used as the Extraction Method. We determined the number of factors using Scree Plot and determined the orthogonal component rotation using the Varimax method. We used nonparametric statistics to assess the statistical significance of differences of variables in groups of respondents (Kruskal Wallis Test and Mann-Whitney U). We used SPSS 22.0.

Results and discussion

Self-assessment of the sufficiency of time allocated to children

The survey results showed that average self-assessments of the sufficiency of time allocated to children are biased towards its deficiency (Table 2). 57,9% of respondents expressed some degree of insufficiency of time allocated to their children (compared with the desired amount of time) (values 1 and 2 indicated this fact). As the table shows, most respondents answering this question say that they spend less time on children than they would like. In addition, descriptive statistics reveal some differences in men’s and women’s evaluations.

TABLE 2
Descriptive statistics on the sufficiency of time allocated to children

Indicators	Mean	Std Dev	Mode	Median	20 Percentile	60 Percentile	90 Percentile
Self-assessment of the sufficiency of time allocated to children (scale from 1 to 5)							
Total	2.01	1.202	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	3.00
Men	1.83	1.203	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	3.00
Women	2.13	1.188	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	4.00

Source: Prepared by the authors.

Self-assessment values of the sufficiency of the time allocated to children are associated with several objective socio-demographic variables: gender, age, level of education and marital status of respondents. This is evidenced by the results of the application of nonparametric tests given in Table 3. Note that the self-assessment of the sufficiency of time allocated to children is not related to other significant demographic variables: number of children, type of family, number of marriages (Table 3).

TABLE 3
Kruskal Wallis Test and Mann-Whitney U Test

Groups of respondents	N	Mean rank	Mann-Whitney U Test			Kruskal Wallis Test		
			U	Z	Asymp. Sig	Chi-Square	df	Asymp. Sig
Gender								
Female	207	327.72	40915.000	-2.761	0.006**			
Male	338	288.86						
Age of the parents								
18-29	54	217.49				46.703	2	0.000**
30-39	238	323.47						
40-49	253	345.32						
Level of education								
Secondary general (school only)	12	216.62				12.750	3	0.005**
Professional (college / technical school)	102	324.13						
Higher professional (university)	380	280.82						
Postgraduate professional (academic degree)	41	237.24						
Marital status								
Registered marriage	417	334.18				56.577	4	0.000**
Unregistered marriage	38	261.97						
Widowed	13	312.10						
Divorced	65	343.49						
Never married	11	176.07						
Number of children								
1	230	268.86						
2	263	251.21						
3	46	227.47				4.039	3	0.133
4	6	213.35						
Type of family								
Complete nuclear family	440	268.42						
Complete extended family	37	269.16				0.075	3	0.995
Incomplete nuclear family	48	271.79						
Incomplete extended family	12	278.63						
Number of marriages								
First marriage	415	253.87						
Second marriage	82	262.88				0.425	2	0.809
Third marriage or more	12	240.17						

Source: Prepared by the authors.

** p<.01.

Next, we analyzed respondents' opinions on the reasons for the insufficiency of time allocated to children. All these reasons have proven to be highly correlated with each other (Table 4).

TABLE 4
Correlation matrix among seven variables for the sample of Russian respondents (N = 545)

Variables (the reasons for the insufficiency of time allocated to children)	Parents' unwillingness	Overwork, overtime	Poor health	Studying	Caring for other family members	Overload with household chores	Children's unwillingness to communicate
Parents' unwillingness	–						
Overwork, overtime	.442**	–					
Poor health	.632**	.498**	–				
Studying	.652**	.483**	.682**	–			
Caring for other family members	.670**	.483**	.712**	.793**	–		
Overload with household chores	.505**	.604**	.583**	.554**	.586**	–	
Children's unwillingness to communicate	.704**	.478**	.611**	.701**	.688**	.559**	–

Source: Prepared by the authors.

*p<.05. **p<.01.

Note: The question about the reasons for the insufficiency of time implied the possibility of formulating own answer. Several times the respondents indicated the reason that was not suggested in the questionnaire (for example, the child's workload in various extracurricular activities).

Table 4 shows that most variables have some correlation with each other ranging from $r_s = 0.442$ for Variables 1 and 2 to $r_s = .793$ for Variables 4 and 5. Due to relatively high correlations among items, this would be a good candidate for factor analysis.

The possibility of applying factor analysis is confirmed by two statistical tests. Bartlett's Test of Sphericity, which is calculated according to the sample, is 16994.71 ($df = 21$; $\alpha = 0.000$); Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy is 0.8787. These values confirm the suitability of factor analysis to describe the relationships between variables.

Table 5 presents the matrix of rotated components. We have highlighted the highest factor loadings in this table, on the basis of which the reasons for the sufficiency of the time were assigned to the first, second, or third factors.

TABLE 5
Rotated component matrix

Reasons	Components		
	1	2	3
Parents' unwillingness	.245	.165	.873
Overwork, overtime	.185	.874	.201
Poor health	.703	.339	.250
Studying	.785	.181	.290
Caring for other family members	.814	.235	.257
Overload with household chores	.340	.801	.168
Children's unwillingness to communicate	.365	.233	.758

Source: Prepared by the authors. Extraction method: principal component analysis.

Rotation method: varimax with Kaiser normalization.

Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

Therefore, the factor analysis revealed the following groups of reasons that caused the insufficiency of time allocated to children (Table 5):

- component 1 – external reasons (studying, poor health, the need to care for other relatives);
- component 2 – reasons associated with time-consuming professional or domestic work – we called this group of reasons “labor”;
- component 3 – psychological reasons associated with the unwillingness of parents or children to spend more time with each other.

It is worth noting that Principal Component Analysis performed on women and men samples separately, resulted in similar outcomes (see Table 6). All the components appeared to be relatively stable. The only possible exception is the variable «Children’s unwillingness to communicate» in men’s sample. However, it is highly correlated with both first and third components.

TABLE 6
Rotated component matrix

Reasons	Men			Women		
	Components			Components		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Parents' unwillingness	.301	.167	.896	.252	.187	.849
Overwork, overtime	.144	.902	.266	.206	.865	.180
Poor health	.607	.367	.384	.693	.343	.227
Studying	.816	.215	.210	.779	.145	.305
Caring for other family members	.800	.254	.298	.835	.219	.197
Overload with household chores	.532	.721	-.003	.275	.815	.227
Children's unwillingness to communicate	.648	.167	.526	.285	.231	.804

Source: Prepared by the authors.

Thus, the results of our study suggest the following. More than half of the respondents we surveyed (57.9%) indicated the insufficiency of the time they spend with their children. At the same time, more than 40 percent do not indicate insufficiency in the time they spend with their children. We identified three components which could explain this level of satisfaction regarding time spent with children. For each respondent, we calculated the factor evaluations for every factor and further used these estimations as new variables. Table 7 gives the descriptive statistics for these factor evaluations, calculated for all questioned parents.

The key statistically significant differences in the components’ values for various groups of parents are shown in Figures 1-4.

TABLE 7
Descriptive statistics on factor evaluation

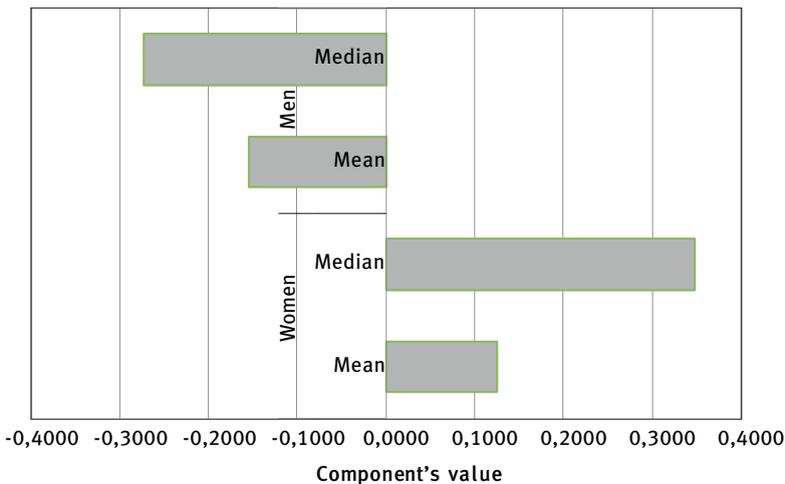
Components	Mean	Std Dev	Median	Minimum	Maximum
Component 1	.000	1.000	-.298	-3.157	4.343
Component 2	.000	1.000	.042	-1.414	2.224
Component 3	.000	1.000	-.273	-2.714	4.801

Source: Prepared by the authors.

The first of these determinants is gender. It is worth mentioning that women experience dissatisfaction regarding the time spent with children less often than men (see Table 3). At the same time, with regard to the reasons for the dissatisfaction, women are more likely than men to name their workload as a reason for the insufficient time they spend with children (Figure 1). Men are more likely to associate this with psychological issues (Figure 2; It should be noted that we did not focus much on different signs for mean and median values in the men group because these are abstract values of the level of expression of the certain factor. The more important point is that the mean value calculated for men is higher than mean value for women. The same stands for median values as well. These comparisons highlight the fact that the expression of psychological reason is higher for men.

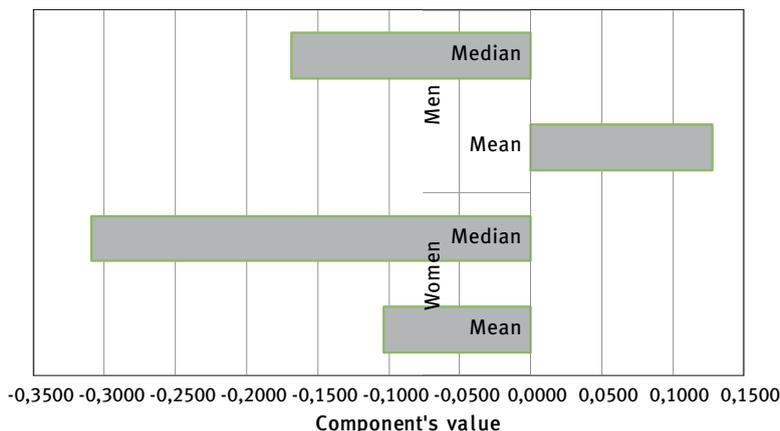
Women, which generally experience more satisfaction by time spent with children, are highly pressed by overwork, both in domestic and professional labor. Hochschild and Machung (1989) mentioned this phenomenon as a “second shift. The dissatisfaction of fathers regarding the time spent with children has a different nature. The key reason here is in-family intergeneration relationships, including the «generation gap» - the breaking of continuity of generations as well as lack of demand in parents’ experience due to the rapidly changing social and economical conditions.

FIGURE 1
Significance of “labor” reasons: gender differences



Source: Prepared by the authors.

FIGURE 2
Significance of psychological reasons: gender differences



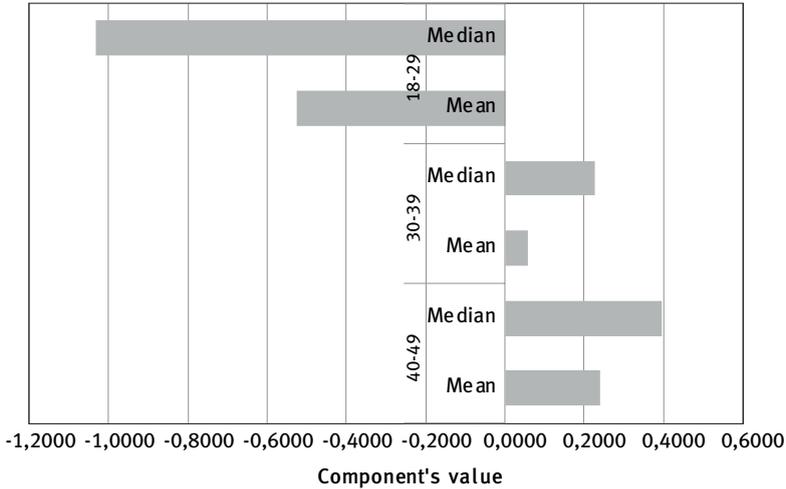
Source: Prepared by the authors.

Age of parents is the second identified socio-demographic determinant related to the insufficiency of time allocated to children. On the one hand, according to our data, the sufficiency of time allocated to children increases with age of parents (Table 3), but on the other hand – while the age of parents increases, the “labor reasons” for dissatisfaction increase as well (Figure 3).

According to many sources, caring for young children naturally requires more time (ENGLAND; SRIVASTAVA, 2013; RENK, 2003; KOROLENKO; KALACHIKOVA, 2019). However, our results show that the age of parents is a statistically significant determinant of parents’ satisfaction of time allocated to children. We discovered that the degree of dissatisfaction increases with the age of parents despite the fact that the labor load increases as well. It should be noted that no other components exhibit significant differences for groups of parents of various ages.

We can assume that at the 40-49 year old parent group children usually become old enough to continue their studies at university (often in another city), get a job and start creating their own family. Thus, parental time consumed by children obviously decreases. On the other hand, many people reach the peak of their professional career by the age of 40-49. Therefore, even if they still live with their children, they are forced to devote more time and effort to their job. Career development, which happens together with the aging of parents, new professional tasks and children’s growth, cause parenthood to fade to the background, and parents feel satisfied with the time spend with the children.

FIGURE 3
Significance of “labor” reasons: age of the parents’ differences

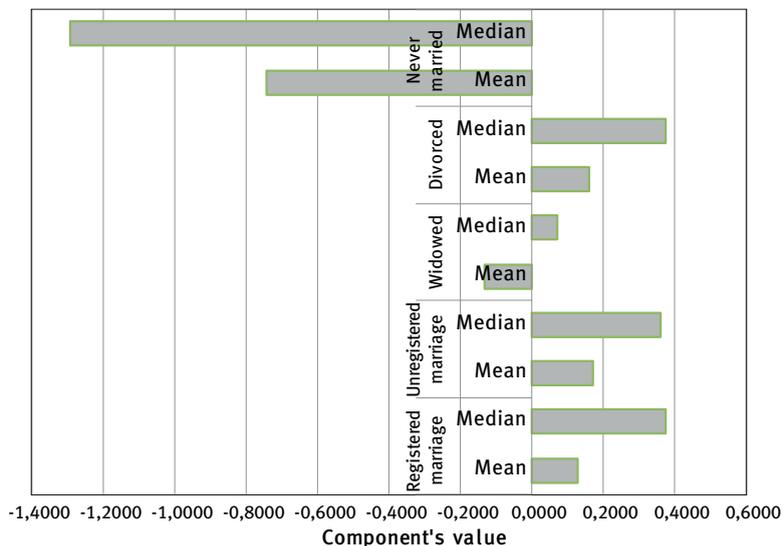


Source: Prepared by the authors.

Marital status is the third significant determinant of parenting time distribution (it is generally shown in Table 3, while the majority of labor reason of dissatisfaction for parents with various marital status is shown in Figure 4). Curiously, both officially married and divorced people experience almost the same level of insufficiency of time allocated to children. For married people, this may be due to the increase in domestic activities, but both can spend time with the child and take care of other family members, living together. With regard to divorced people, this may be due to the need to work harder to feed their families (when children stay with the respondent), or separate living with children determines the smaller amount of time spent together. It should be noted that our research does not focus on different signs for mean and median in this case either, because we compare medians and means separately in various groups of respondents selected by marital status. The fact that we obtain similar results during the comparison of means and medians increases the relevance of our analysis.

A group of never-married people with children is also worth mentioning. They assess the significance of professional or domestic workload for communication with children noticeably lower than everyone else does. We assume that this is due to the value system of this category of respondents, where family is not a key achievement in life. This may explain their reluctance to marry in some cases.

FIGURE 4
Significance of “labor” reasons: differences in marital status



Source: Prepared by the authors.

Moreover, we identified one general socio-demographic determinant that confirms the relationship between level of education and parenting culture (see Table 3) (ENGLAND; SRIVASTAVA, 2013). We were able to discover only a general trend towards an increase in satisfaction with the time spent with children, as the level of parental education grows. Nevertheless, the possible reason behind this trend was not revealed. We can suggest that more educated parents spend more time with children placing more importance on raising them, which points to a higher level of responsibility and concern. This can be reflected in higher level of subjective satisfaction. This result is partially connected with common knowledge about the education of parents determines the culture of parenting (CANO, 2019; ALTINTAS, 2015; DOTTI-SANI; TREAS, 2016).

Thus, we were able to determine three groups of reasons: external reasons (studies, poor health, need to care for other relatives); reasons associated with time-consuming professional or domestic work – we called this group of reasons “labor”; psychological reasons associated with the unwillingness of parents or children to spend more time with each other. Our hypothesis is partly confirmed. We revealed that assessments of the sufficiency of time allocated to children clearly depend on socio-demographic determinants. The added value and implications of the finding is that our results generally broadened our understanding of the determinants of time distribution in parenting and their causes. We found that in Russian society, parents have a widespread opinion that they do not spend enough time with their children. The psychological reasons of dissatisfaction are more pronounced in men, and labor reasons are more important to women. As for married and divorced people, the importance of labor dissatisfaction reasons increases with the age of the parents.

Conclusion

The study investigated the sufficiency of time devoted to children as perceived by parents of Russia's industrial Sverdlovskaya region. The results of our analysis revealed three groups of reasons for the insufficient amount of time allocated to parenting, as well as significant differences in the severity of these causes in different socio-demographic groups of respondents. These reasons can be classified into the following groups: overload with professional and domestic work (more often chosen by women, older parents and married people), psychological causes of intergenerational interaction (more often chosen by men), external reasons (their significance does not differ for different groups of respondents). Women are more likely than men to mention their workload as a reason for the insufficient time they spend with children, while men more likely to associate this with psychological issues. At the same time, the significance of workload increases with age: the older the respondents, the more strongly they feel the time allocated to children is sufficient. Finally, never-married people value the significance of professional or domestic workload for communication with children noticeably less than all others.

The hypothesis of our study was that the self-estimation of time costs for parenting is not high enough; parents with different socio-demographic characteristics have different ideas about the subjective reasons for the insufficiency of this time. We suggest that the results of measuring the distribution of time allocated to parenting may differ significantly in communities that with various social, cultural, and economic conditions. In this regard, it is of great interest to conduct similar surveys in other countries (or in different parts of Russia) and compare the results. This, in turn, would allow to identify other significant objective and subjective determinants of time allocated to parenting, as well as to clarify the degree of their influence and significance. Another area of future research is to consider subjective perceptions of time allocated to future parenting as one of the potential determinants of fertility. In our opinion, the influence of this factor, as well as other dimensions of parental labor, can be considered in conjunction with other subjective determinants of fertility.

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Resumo

Tempo alocado para a paternidade em famílias da região Ural da Rússia: quantidades e determinantes

Este estudo tenta medir o tempo alocado aos filhos por meio da autoavaliação dos pais e do critério de suficiência subjetiva ou tempo insuficiente. Foram pesquisados 545 pais russos da região dos Urais e utilizou-se a análise fatorial para identificar os principais determinantes que afetam a autoavaliação do tempo alocado pelos pais. Verificou-se que os pais nas regiões russas dos Urais têm uma opinião comum de que não passam tempo suficiente com seus filhos. As razões para o tempo insuficiente alocado à educação dos filhos são as seguintes: sobrecarga de tarefas em casa e no trabalho; causas psicológicas de interação intergeracional; e razões externas, como estudo, saúde precária e necessidade de cuidar de outros parentes.

Palavras-chave: Paternidade. Tempo. Custos de tempo. Alocação de tempo. Estudos familiares. Rússia.

Resumen

Tiempo asignado a la crianza en familias de la región Ural de Rusia: cantidades y determinantes

Este estudio intenta medir el tiempo asignado a los niños por medio de la autoevaluación de los padres y del criterio de suficiencia subjetiva o de insuficiencia de tiempo. Se encuestaron 545 padres rusos de la región de los Urales y se usó el análisis factorial para identificar los principales determinantes que afectan la autoevaluación del tiempo asignado a la crianza de los hijos. Descubrimos que en las regiones rusas los padres tienen la opinión común de que no pasan suficiente tiempo con sus hijos. Las razones para la cantidad insuficiente de tiempo asignado a la crianza de los hijos son la sobrecarga de deberes laborales en el hogar y en el trabajo, causas psicológicas de la interacción intergeneracional, o razones externas como estudio, mala salud o necesidad de cuidar a otros familiares.

Palabras clave: Crianza. Tiempo. Costos de tiempo. Asignación de tiempo. Estudios familiares. Rusia.

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