Research note: Gender and educational differences in childcare time. Evidence from the Czech Republic

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Abstract

Objective: This study explores the gender and educational differences in the time spent on childcare in the Czech Republic. In particular, we ask how gender and educational gradients in parenting time intersect and whether they vary by the child’s age. We consider the time parents spend in basic, interactive and focused childcare care as a way to address the intensive parenting model.

Background: Prior research has documented an increase in parental time investment in childcare associated with changes in gender roles and the spread of norms of intensive parenting. However, it remains unclear whether educational and gender differences in parenting time are converging because of these changes and how they vary by the child’s age.

Method: Using time-use data from the Czech Household Study Panel Study—a nationally representative sample from the Czech Republic (2015)—we applied mixed regression models to analyse time spent on three types of childcare activities.

Results: The results indicate that highly educated parents allocate more time to basic and focused care, reflecting a commitment to intensive child-centred parenting. In addition, higher-educated fathers of preschoolers engage more in interactive care. Although gender disparities persist among higher-educated parents, the gap narrows for parents with children older than three years.

Conclusion: The findings underscore the importance of analysing parenting time across different activities and child ages to understand family dynamics and child opportunities.

Key words: time use, gender gap, parenting, inequality, childcare, education
1. Introduction

Over recent decades, studies have shown that mothers and fathers in developed countries have increased the amount of time they devote to childcare (Craig, Powell, & Smyth, 2014; Dotti Sani & Treas, 2016; Gauthier, Smeeding, & Furstenberg, 2004; Schulz & Engelhardt-Wölfler, 2017). This change has been linked to higher expectations of fathers’ involvement in childcare and the expansion of intensive parenting norms, which require increased investments of time, energy and financial resources in children’s social and cognitive development (Gauthier, Bryson, Fadel, Haux, & Mynarska, 2021; Hays, 1996).

Past research shows that highly educated parents spend more time on childcare than their counterparts with lower education levels (England & Srivastava, 2013; Kalil, Ryan, & Corey, 2012), and they employ a more intensive ‘concerted cultivation’ style of parenting (Lareau, 2011). Studies also suggest that the structure of parenting activities differs between parents of different education levels (Kalil et al., 2012; Vinopal & Gershenson, 2017). However, recent studies indicate the opposite: that intensive parenting norms have spread equally, regardless of socioeconomic background (Ishizuka, 2019), and findings from such countries as the United States and Sweden suggest that the educational gap in parenting time has been narrowing. Nevertheless, there is mixed evidence as to whether these trends apply only to mothers or extend also to fathers (Ellingsæter, Kitterød, & Hansen, 2022; Gao, 2022; Cha & Park, 2021; Prickett & Augustine, 2021).

Furthermore, it is unclear whether fathers’ increased involvement is substantial enough to decrease gender gaps in parenting time, as well as how the gender gap intersects with education. Even though both mothers and fathers endorse intensive parenting norms, mothers may still consider themselves as having a greater responsibility for daily childcare and the child’s development (Liss, Schiffrin, Mackintosh, Miles-McLean, & Erchull, 2013; Shirani, Henwood, & Coltart, 2012). Even more, despite highly educated fathers investing more time in childcare than lesser-educated fathers, if highly educated mothers are disproportionately endorsing intensive parenting norms, the gender differences in childcare time may persist or even increase. In fact, using data from the United States, Negraia et al. (2018) found a greater gender gap in parenting among more educated parents, particularly in developmental care and management.

Childcare demands and the nature of childcare activities vary significantly according to a child’s age due to different developmental needs. Studies have shown that educational gradients differ based on age, with the highest educational disparities observed in basic care among mothers with younger children and in teaching and management among mothers with preschool- and school-aged children (Kalil et al., 2012). In addition, the gender gap in childcare involvement might also narrow over time, as fathers of preschool- and school-aged children might feel more competent in caregiving or may develop more shared interests with their children (Negraia et al., 2018). Therefore, we believe it is important to examine the amount of time parents devote to their children beyond early childhood, as parental involvement remains significantly influential in children’s outcomes, even during adolescence (Kutrovátz & Nikolett, 2022; Milkie, Nomaguchi, & Denny, 2015).

Most studies on parental time investment have been conducted in the North American and Western European contexts, while studies from other contexts are rare. However, prior research suggests that educational inequalities in parenting vary across countries (Gracia & Ghysels, 2017; Sayer, Gauthier, & Furstenberg, 2004), but countries from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) were not included in these studies. After 1989, these countries experienced economic transformations, shifting from centrally planned to free market economies. As such, CEE countries have historically high female employment, but their views regarding the divisions of housework and childcare have been rather gender-essentialist. Overall, these countries are characterised by weak policy and cultural support for caring fathers and poor institutional support for working parents, though distinct mix of familialist policies exist among CEE countries (Szellewa & Polakowski, 2008). The Czech family policy is explicitly familialist, offering extended periods of childcare leave, typically until the child is three years old, limited support for shared childcare responsibilities between parents and a lack of childcare services for the youngest children. As a result, the country’s relatively high female participation in the labour force, typically full time, is coupled with a tendency to leave the labour market for several years after the birth of a child (Hamplová, Klimová, Chaloupková, & Topinková, 2019; Hašková & Dudová, 2017). Evidence from prior, mostly qualitative studies suggests that intensive parenting norms have become dominant in these contexts as well (Marková Volejníčková, 2018), but studies on time spent on childcare are scarce. For example, evidence from Hungary
documented an increase in the amount of time spent performing childrearing activities that is consistent with trends in Western societies (Kutrovátz & Nikolett, 2022).

Therefore, the current study addresses the gap in the research by describing educational disparities in the amount of time that Czech mothers and fathers of children aged up to 18 years devote to childcare and developmental activities. This study draws from time-use data from the Czech Household Panel Study (CHPS), a nationally representative survey from the Czech Republic conducted in 2015. To the best of our knowledge, our study is the first time-use analysis of the amount of time spent on childcare in Czechia. We address three research questions:

1. Does the amount of time that Czech mothers and fathers spend on different childcare activities vary according to their education level?
2. Does the extent of the gender gap in the amount of time spent on childcare activities differ according to parental education level?
3. Do gender and educational gradients in parenting time vary according to the child’s age?

This study contributes to existing research by drawing on a comprehensive conceptualisation of parenting time. Consistent with previous research, we distinguish between time spent on basic childcare and that spent on interactive care (playing, reading with children, etc.) (Altintas & Sullivan, 2016; Kalil et al., 2012; Musick, Meier, & Flood, 2016; Negraia et al., 2018). In addition, we also address the amount of time spent on focused care that is when a parent pays undivided attention to a child. This distinction in childcare activities is important, as different pursuits have different implications for a child’s physical development, human capital accumulation and well-being (Kalil et al., 2012; Kutrovátz & Nikolett, 2022; Milkie et al., 2015). Distinguishing the time devoted to activities aimed towards child development and focused parenting time is vital to addressing the endorsement of the child-centred intensive parenting model (Dermott & Pomati, 2016; Gautier et al., 2021; Hays, 1996; Kutrovátz & Nikolett, 2022; Yerkes, Hopman, Stok, & De Wit, 2019). It also adds to our understanding of how the educational gradient is related to parental involvement. Furthermore, the distinction between different types of parenting time is relevant to understanding gender inequalities, as mothers often engage disproportionally in routine childcare activities compared to fathers (Craig, 2006; Roeters & Gracia, 2016).

2. Data and methods

We used data from the CHPS, which concerns a nationally representative longitudinal survey that, beginning in 2015, involved repeated interviews with a sample of Czech households. The waves 1–4 included a time-use diary. Data were collected using two-stage stratified probability sampling (Kudrnáčková, 2020a). As our analysis focused on examining childcare patterns rather than trends within individuals, we used data from wave 1 (2015), which offered the largest sample size. In Wave 1, a total of 7,995 adults from 4,652 households completed time-use diaries. We limited the sample to parents who lived with children aged under 18 years, resulting in 2,031 individuals from 1,459 households. If a respondent lived with a partner, we included them only if the partner was the opposite sex to the respondent. Descriptive statistics of the sample are presented in Table 1.

The CHPS time-use diary took the form of a table with a list of 24 activity categories (see a complete list in Appendix A1) on the vertical axis and 30-minute slots (48 in total) on the horizontal axis. Respondents marked the activities performed in specified slots by drawing a horizontal line(s). While up to 15 simultaneous activities were allowed, most respondents engaged in a maximum of three activities concurrently. Notably, the diary did not distinguish between primary and secondary activities (Kudrnáčková, 2020b). This is an advantage because parents often engage in childcare simultaneously with other activities, such as housework. Some aspects of childcare, such as supervising children, may be under-reported when only primary activities are considered (Kenyon, 2010; Kitterød, 2001; Mullan & Craig, 2009).

Using data from time-use diaries, we computed the total number of minutes parents spent on childcare (coded 13), hereinafter referred to as basic care, and on playing and chatting with children (also reading, games, help with homework, taking to extracurricular activities) (coded 14), hereinafter referred to as interactive care. In the questionnaire, no additional specifications were provided for childcare. Nevertheless, as part of basic care, we consider both physical care and the supervision of children. Further, focused care was calculated as the amount of time during which basic or interactive care was the only reported activity (no other simultaneous activity). Although in some cases parents may be actively involved with a child, even
if they reported other parallel activities, we used focused care as a proxy for intensive child-centred or ‘quality’ parenting time (Kutrovátz & Nikolett, 2022).

Table 1: Descriptive statistics for the analytical sample (N = 2031)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mothers</th>
<th>Fathers</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lower</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>37.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of the youngest child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-3</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-6</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-12</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>28.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-17</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not employed</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employed/self-employed</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>93.3</td>
<td>76.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partnership status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solo parent</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married</td>
<td>63.1</td>
<td>74.8</td>
<td>68.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cohabiting</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent’s age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 34</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45+</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of children &lt;17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have a son</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>69.9</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>69.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receive child allowance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>83.9</td>
<td>81.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diary day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weekend/holiday</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weekday</td>
<td>67.0</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>69.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Data are weighted

We focus on three main independent variables: parental gender, education (low, medium [secondary school with a high school diploma] and high) and the youngest child’s age, distinguishing between infants and toddlers (0–3 years), preschool age (4–6 years), young school age (7–12 years) and adolescence (13–17 years). We also controlled for several factors that can correlate with parents’ time, as identified in previous research, listed in Table 1 (Monna & Gauthier, 2008; Negraia et al., 2018).

We applied OLS regression to examine differences in parental time in childcare. To account for the interdependence between individuals from the same household, we adopted a two-level mixed-effects approach where individuals were nested into households. First, we estimate the models (1a–c) for the time spent in each of the three childcare activities based on gender, education, the youngest child’s age and the interaction between parent’s education and gender, along with all the controls. Second, we estimate three-way interactions between parents’ education, gender and child’s age (models 2a-c). In addition, we tested the robustness of our results in subsamples of couples, controlling for partner employment status, education and age, and employed parents. We also ran analyses separately for mothers and fathers. We used data weights (Wd_diary_adult), correcting for the uniform distribution of the day of the week (Kudrnáčková, 2020a).

3. Results

Table 2 presents the first descriptive analysis, comparing the average number of minutes per day that Czech mothers and fathers allocated to childcare activities, according to parental education and child’s age. The
distribution of time spent on three childcare activities by mothers and fathers is illustrated using boxplots in Figure A1 in the appendix.

Mothers consistently spent more time on childcare than fathers, especially on basic childcare for the youngest (0–3 years), and mothers also spent an average of almost nine hours per day compared with fathers, who spent an average of less than 2.5 hours.\(^1\) Although the gap for children older than three years decreases, mothers still invest more time overall. On average, mothers devoted about 164 minutes to interactive care and about 101 minutes to focused care, while fathers devoted about 79 and 40 minutes. Note that both basic and interactive care may overlap, resulting in a total parenting time that is less than the sum of these two activities.

The findings from Table 2 show that highly educated parents generally dedicated more time to all types of childcare. Mothers with higher education levels devoted almost an hour more daily to basic childcare and about 40 minutes more to interactive and focused care compared with their lesser-educated counterparts. Similarly, fathers with higher education spent almost 40 minutes more daily on basic childcare and 24 and 9 minutes more on interactive and focused care, respectively, compared to their lesser-educated counterparts.

### Table 2: Average minutes spent per day on childcare by Czech fathers and mothers according to education level and child's age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Mothers</th>
<th>Fathers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Basic childcare</td>
<td>Interactive care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lower</td>
<td>302.3 (364.8)</td>
<td>164.6 (218.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary</td>
<td>290.9 (354.3)</td>
<td>167.7 (217.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>339.8 (348.4)</td>
<td>185.1 (217.8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Data are weighted. Means and standard errors are in parentheses. The basic and interactive care ranged between 0-1440 minutes among mothers and fathers, while time devoted to focused care ranged between 0-600 among fathers and 0-720 among mothers.

### 4. Educational differences in parenting time

To assess the educational differences in the amount of time that mothers and fathers devoted to childcare activities, we estimated three regression models (for full models M1a–c, see Table A1 in the Appendix). Figure 1 shows the educational disparities in the time that mothers and fathers spent performing the three activities with their children, as estimated from Models 1a–c. The findings have confirmed the educational gradient in parenting time. Highly educated parents devoted more time to basic childcare ($B = 34.9, p<0.05$) and focused time ($B = 19.1, p<0.01$) than lesser-educated parents. Further, mothers with a lower education level spent an average of less than 4.5 hours on basic childcare and 81 minutes on focused care, while mothers with a higher education spent about 20–25 minutes more (Figure 1). Highly educated fathers spent about 35 minutes more on basic care and 19 minutes on focused care (68 minutes in total) than those with a lower education. Conversely, there were no educational differences in the time spent on interactive care among the mothers. For fathers, those with a high school diploma spent the least amount of time on interactive care (74 minutes), while both lower and highly educated fathers spent about 23 minutes longer on interactive care.

\(^1\) The differences in minutes should be considered an approximation, as the parents reported 30-min slots and not the exact number of minutes.
**Figure 1**: Educational differences in the amount of time that mothers and fathers devote to childcare activities. Average marginal effects and 95% confidence intervals

Note: Estimated from Models 1a-c (see Table A1 in the Appendix). Controlled for: parent's age, partnership status, employment status, number of children, age of the youngest child, gender of children, receiving child allowances, and the day of collection of time use diary

5. **Gender gap in time spent on childcare activities and parents’ education**

The findings from M1a-c confirm that mothers spent more time than fathers on all parenting activities, with the largest differences in basic care (2.5 hours), differences of 45 and 32 minutes for interactive and focused care, respectively. The findings confirm that the gender gap in basic and focused care remains among highly educated parents. While highly educated fathers provided more basic and focused care than their lesser-educated counterparts, this did not reduce the gender gap, because highly educated mothers also invested more time in parenting. In examining interactive care, the most pronounced gender gap was observed among parents with high school diplomas, among whom the mothers spent approximately 1.5 hours longer daily than the fathers. In contrast, the gender gap in interactive care is lower among parents with lower and higher levels of education, reaching 45 and 62 minutes per day, respectively.

6. **Gender and educational differences across children’s ages**

To assess how the gender gap and educational differences in parenting time vary by child’s age, we estimated Models 2a–c with the interactions of parental gender, education and child’s age, as shown in Figure 2. Concerning basic childcare, even though the gender gap decreases considerably based on the child’s age, it persists beyond early childhood. Conversely, in the case of interactive and focused care, we observe a more pronounced decrease in the gender gap with the age of the child. The findings suggest a lower gender gap in focused care time among highly educated parents of preschool children, supporting the expectation of more equal involvement among highly educated parents.

When we consider the child’s age, noteworthy differences in educational gradients emerged, particularly among fathers with children aged 0–3 and 4–6 years. Highly educated fathers of preschool children devoted more than an additional hour per day to interactive care, approximately 45 minutes longer
in focused time and more than an additional hour in basic childcare than those of lower education. Similar patterns in basic and focused care were observed among fathers of the youngest children. Meanwhile, highly educated mothers with preschoolers invested approximately an additional half an hour per day in interactive care compared with mothers with moderate education levels, as well as approximately an additional hour per day on interactive care compared with mothers having lower education levels. Nevertheless, we found no positive educational gradient in basic and interactive care among the mothers of the youngest children.

**Figure 2:** Gender gap in time spent engaging in childcare activities based on education and the age of the youngest child. Average marginal effects and 95% confidence intervals

Note: Estimated from Models 2a-c (see Table A1 in the Appendix). Controlled for: parent’s age, partnership status, employment, number and gender of children, receiving child allowances, the day of collection of time use diary

Additional analyses run separately by parental gender confirmed that highly educated fathers were more involved in basic and focused childcare and that those with preschoolers also spent more time on interactive care. Particularly, fathers with sons showed more focused care than those with daughters, whereas for mothers, there was a positive educational gradient in childcare but with wider confidence intervals, suggesting a greater time variation. We observed similar gender and educational differences among employed parents and couples when considering their partner’s education and employment (results not shown).

7. **Conclusion and discussion**

The present study aimed to describe the gender and educational differences in the amount of time spent parenting in the Czech Republic, a context marked by a strong maternal care norm, that is until the child reaches three years of age. We distinguished between time spent in basic, interactive and focused childcare to address the endorsement of the intensive parenting model (Gauthier et al., 2021; Hays, 1996). Furthermore, we examined variations in gender and educational disparities throughout the stages of child developmental.

The findings suggest that highly educated fathers and mothers endorsed more time-intensive child-centred parenting and devoted more time to basic and focused care compared with parents having a lower education level. This pattern corresponds with the notion that parents with higher education endorse more intensive parenting norms and promote their children’s developmental needs more heavily. In addition, highly educated parents face fewer economic and job-related constraints in the time they can devote to their
children (Dotti Sani & Treas, 2016; England & Srivastava, 2013; Gracia & Ghysels, 2017; Gupta, Sayer, & Pearlman, 2021; Kalil et al., 2012; Sayer et al., 2004). This finding is important because the level of parental engagement affects children’s outcomes and well-being (Kutrovátz & Nikolett, 2022; Milkie et al., 2015). Although the educational differences in parenting time were stronger among fathers than mothers, the present findings do not imply a convergence of parenting time across educational levels among mothers, as found in the United States or Sweden (Ellingsæter et al., 2022; Gao, 2022; Cha & Park, 2021; Prickett & Augustine, 2021).

While highly educated fathers exhibited a higher degree of focused care and basic childcare compared with fathers with lower education levels, the gender gap in parenting time remains evident, as highly educated mothers also invested more time in parenting. Nevertheless, our findings reveal that educational gradients and the gender gap in time spent parenting vary according to the child’s age. We found that highly educated parents, especially fathers, dedicated significantly more time to interactive and focused care with preschoolers. This resulted in a narrowing of the gender gap in parenting time among highly educated parents of children older than three years. These findings suggest that factors concerning the broader societal context, such as an extended parental leave taken by mothers for up to three years after a child is born, shape parenting time dynamics. Also, an extended parental leave, which is common even among highly educated Czech mothers, might contribute to the lack of educational differences in interactive care between parents of the youngest children. Furthermore, the structure of interactive care activities may vary with the child’s age, and our data might not capture fully the educational differences in interactive care beyond preschool age. Hence, further research using more indicators of child-centred parenting of school-aged and older children is needed.

The present study has some limitations. First, our data lack information on the amount of time spent with each child in families with multiple children. Second, the data used did not enable us to distinguish the amount of time that parents were in the presence of their children besides direct childcare. Third, the analysis was restricted to the individual level, and we did not directly examine gendered divisions of childcare within households, so restricting our analysis to coupled parents who both completed the time-use diaries would reduce our sample. Future studies could assess the link between the acceptance of intensive parenting norms and participation in different childcare activities. Finally, the CHPS time-use diaries were collected before the COVID-19 pandemic, so we did not identify changes in parenting time during or after the lockdowns. However, they could provide a reference level for further analyses of pandemic-related changes in parenting time.

To conclude, despite these limitations, the present study has extended the literature that considers the interplay of gender, education and child’s age in the amount of time that parents spend engaging in different parenting activities in the Czech Republic. Studying educational differences in parental involvement is essential to understand broadly the social inequalities in family life and children’s life chances.

Acknowledgments

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Data availability statement

The study draws from data from the Czech Household Panel Survey, the wave 1 (Hamplová et al., 2024a, 2024b). These data are available in Czech Social Science Data Archive.
References


Forschungsnotiz: Geschlechts- und bildungsspezifische Unterschiede bei der Kinderbetreuungszeit: Beweise aus der Tschechischen Republik

Zusammenfassung

Fragenstellung: In dieser Studie werden die geschlechts- und bildungsspezifischen Unterschiede bei der für die Kinderbetreuung aufgewendeten Zeit in der Tschechischen Republik untersucht. Insbesondere geht es um die Frage, wie sich geschlechts- und bildungsspezifische Unterschiede in der Erziehungszeit überschneiden und ob sie je nach Alter des Kindes variieren. Wir betrachten die Zeit, die Eltern für die grundlegende, interaktive und gezielte Kinderbetreuung aufwenden, um das Modell der intensiven Elternschaft zu untersuchen.


Schlussfolgerung: Die Ergebnisse zeigen, wie wichtig es ist, die Zeit, die Eltern für verschiedene Aktivitäten aufwenden, und das Alter der Kinder zu analysieren, um die Familiendynamik und die Möglichkeiten der Kinder zu verstehen.

Schlagwörter: Zeitverwendung, Geschlechtsunterschiede, Elternschaft, Ungleichheit, Kinderbetreuung, Bildung