

WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN: EVIDENCE FROM RURAL RUSSIA

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study is to identify the specific features and conditions of employment of rural women with different number of children. Our analysis shows that, regardless of the number of children, rural women appreciate stability and guaranteed employment. The information base of this study is the results of the comprehensive survey of living conditions of the population of the Russian Federation conducted by the Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat) by means of questionnaire survey. The study enabled to identify the degree of satisfaction of women with different number of children in the family with the conditions of their employment (wage, working schedule, duties, in accordance with their professional education) in that rural areas of the Russian Federation. The conclusion is rural women having children feel more vulnerable in the agrarian labour market and that they are discriminated on grounds of sex and child-bearing.

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Introduction

The contemporary society is such that rural women often have to choose between children or work, while most of them would prefer to combine motherhood with professional employment outside the home. As the family values and models of family relations change and partnerships get increasingly fragile, women are more and more inclined to make a professional career and be economically independent. However, pregnancy, childbirth, breastfeeding and childcare are difficult to combine with full-time employment and high workloads. The existing stereotypes and a sense of duty urge women to sacrifice their professional career, at a certain stage, in favour of family responsibilities. The more so that employers consider women with children "problem employees". This gives rise to gender discrimination resulting in low wages, career difficulties and employers' reluctance to hire women with children. The social and economic consequences of the "work or children" conflict, both for women and for the society in general, are the reduced economic activity, inadequate use of occupational skills, increased burden on the social protection system, inequality of labour market opportunities, sustained poverty, and reduced birthrate.

The purpose of the study is to analyse the specific features of employment of women with different number of children in the family. The main research tasks are the following: 1) examine the degree of differentiation of women according to the availability of paid

employment depending on the number of children in the family; 2) analyse the main characteristics of employment of contemporary rural women (such as working conditions, employment status, occupation and its matching their specialty, the value of their education for the current job) with different number of children; 3) analyse the opinions of rural women having paid employment about the conditions of implementation of their employment preferences; 4) assess the differences in the degree of satisfaction of women with children with different sides of their labour activity. The database was formed on the basis of the results of the questionnaire survey conducted by Rosstat (Rosstat, 2010).

Theoretical Approaches

The approaches that explain the specific features of women's combining employment and motherhood emanate from the basic postulates of the theory of rational choice. Their conclusions apply to both individuals (when decisions are made by the individual) and households (when decisions are made in the family). According to the neoclassical approach, hired workers and employers behave rationally, and the labour market operates efficiently. Entering the labour market, workers look for lucrative jobs analysing their competitive advantages (level of education, professional experience) and constraints (for instance, the presence of children in the family), and also their employment preferences. This approach is based on rational choice models that describe the individual behaviour of a human

in choosing the most appropriate of the available opportunities by comparing the benefits and the opportunity costs. If employment decisions are made in a household, they are also based on models of the rational choice made by members of the household by taking into account the interests of other members of the household. In labour economics there are two lines of analysing the specific features of women's combining employment and motherhood. The first one involves models of distribution of time or household production designed by Becker [1965] and Gronau [1977]. The authors emphasise that the structure of distribution of time includes the time spent on producing goods and services within the household, the leisure time and the time allocated for paid employment. The distribution of time between market employment, home production (including childcare and education) and leisure depends on the wage rates in the labour market, amounts of unearned income, home production technology and individual preferences.

Another important line of research presented in scientific literature is associated with family models of labour supply, where the decision-making unit is the household, and not the individual [Killingworth, Heckman, 1986; Berndt, 2005]. These models, in turn, are divided into three broad classes: firstly, chauvinistic models; secondly, family utility maximisation models for the given family budget constraints; and thirdly, individual utility maximisation models for the given family budget constraints.

Chauvinistic models imply that the head of a family, usually a man, makes a decision on his labour supply without taking into account his partner's income, while his partner, making a similar decision, takes into account the decision of the head of the family. As a result, the labour supply of the head of the family depends on his real wage, unearned income and leisure and consumption preferences, while his partner's labour supply depends on the real wage and working schedule of the head of the family. Egalitarian family model involves maximising the joint family utility function subject to family budget constraints. Therefore, the labour supply of each member of the family depends not only on his/her own real wage and unearned income, but also on the amount of real wages and unearned incomes of the other members of the household.

Individualistic models involve individual utility functions subject to family budget constraints. In these models the partners behave "strategically", which means that their labour supply depends on each partner's own real wage, unearned income, leisure and consumption preferences, and also on the amount of income of the other partner. Traditional neoclassical models, known as unitary, consider the household as a single unit with a common utility function. The most known of them are the Samuelson's model of family consensus [Samuelson, Solow, 1956] and the Becker's altruistic model [Becker, 1991]. The Samuelson's model of family consensus assumes that the household seeks to maximise some common utility (welfare) function of the

household. It is also assumed that this utility function results from harmonising the interests or reaching consensus between members of the household. The Becker's altruistic model presumes that there is an altruist in every household, whose preferences depend on the well-being of all the other members of the household [Becker, 1991]. In this case the household maximises the utility function, which is not agreed upon by all members of the household, like in the Samuelson's model, but the altruist's utility function. And the decision is made by only one member of the family, who takes into account the specialisation and competitive advantages of the members of the household. An important contribution of the economic theory to studying the issues of women's combining employment and motherhood has been the recognition of the importance of parental time and, especially, the time mothers spend on the upbringing of children [Becker, 1965; Pollak, Watkins, 1975]. Let us consider two competing approaches.

The first one is the model of "fixed preferences" constructed by G. Becker. It is presumed that the parents' preferences are exogenous and constant. Accordingly, differences in employment patterns and reproductive intentions of the people are explained in terms of the opportunities and budget constraints that depend on the technology used in the household, the prices of market goods (including the wage rates) and on the household's disposable resources. The labour intensity of child care and their education for a woman increases the

opportunity costs of child care relative to other sources of satisfaction of the needs, which creates an effect of substitution of spending time with children for other kinds of employment. An alternative approach is the model of changing preferences or "relative income" introduced by Easterlin [1966] and developed by Easterlin, Pollak, Wachter [1980]. According to this approach, the consumption experience gained in childhood and adolescence determines the consumption standards in the adulthood and, therefore, individual preferences are considered to be changing and endogenous. This approach, unlike the one suggested by G. Becker, allows explain variation in behaviour through differences not only in the opportunities, but in the preferences as well [Pollak, Watkins, 1993]. The theory of human capital explains employment differences through differences in the human capital stock. According to this approach, lower wages can be explained by lower productivity due to the lower level of education and the choice of less popular professions in the labour market, lower professional experience and skills because of the need to make breaks from work. If we rely on this approach, we can assume that women with many children have longer breaks from work because of the birth of children, and that their professional knowledge and skills are, consequently, poorer than that of one-child women. Women's preferences regarding certain professions, flexible working schedules and activities letting them painlessly leave the labour market for the period of birth and upbringing are explained in terms of labour

supply factors. It has been stated (Gender and Economics, 2002), that specific features of women's preferences are not entirely their own choice, but largely depend on the cultural and social values, and often discriminate women making it so that occupations are stereotypically perceived as "female" and "male". Preferences in regard of the working conditions, working schedule or individual activities are a result of assimilation of the social norms and values related to gender-labour division.

In the neoclassical theory there are approaches that explain women's preferences in choosing certain professions. For instance, according to the model of compensation for differences, women tend to avoid unpleasant and dangerous occupations, preferring that with favourable working conditions or jobs offering a set of guaranteed social benefits (health insurance, nurseries, kindergartens, etc.). From the standpoint of the factors of demand for labour, the neoclassical theory points at the fact that when hiring workers, the employers' preferences are conditional on the preferences of men and women in relation to individual professions, working conditions and schedule and wages. According to this approach, jobs requiring a higher level of education are more likely to be offered to men. It is also believed that hiring women, the employer a priori has to bear higher indirect costs associated with more frequent absence of women in the workplace or dismissal for family reasons. Women with many children are

at a "special risk". With prolonged absence of a female worker due to the illness of children, the employer has to hire and train new employees. Furthermore, women with young children legally have the right to require additional conditions in the workplace. Paid maternity leave increases the employer's costs as compared to hiring men. An important role is played by measures protecting women's rights. There, for instance, are restrictions on night work (ILO Convention #4, 1919), on sub-surface work (ILO Convention #45, 1935) or on work involving lifting heavy weights (ILO Convention #127, 1967). Unfortunately, these measures also have the opposite effect, limiting the hiring of women for certain jobs.

According to the institutional approach, the labour market is initially segmented on a number of grounds. The most well-known version of the segmentation theory is the concept of a dual labour market, according to which the labour market is divided into primary and secondary sectors. Jobs in the primary sector are considered "good" in terms of wages, working conditions, social protection and prospects for career promotion. And the primary sector is more in line with male occupations and activities. The secondary sector, on the contrary, comprises jobs with lower wages and limited career opportunities. It is more in line with female occupations and activities. The position of women with many children in the labour market is more vulnerable, and their working conditions are less favourable.

Methodology

The information base of this study is the results of the comprehensive survey of living conditions of the population of the Russian Federation conducted by the Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat) (2011). The total sample comprises 19 879 people, including 14 116 (71.0 per cent) urban and 5 763 (29.0 per cent) rural residents. Among the rural respondents, 2 493 (43.3 per cent) are men and 3 270 (56.7 per cent) women. Therefore, our further analysis of the specific features of employment of rural women will be based on the answers of 3 270 respondents. The sample includes 59.5 per cent of women of working age (15-55 years) and 39.5 per cent of women older than working age. About 61.2 per cent of rural women-respondents have one child, 31.7 per cent - two children and 7.1 per cent have three or more children. 0.8 per cent of rural women-respondents have postgraduate education, 17.2 per cent have higher or

incomplete higher education, 26.5 per cent - secondary vocational, 14.9 per cent - primary vocational, 19.7 per cent - secondary general, 21.0 per cent - basic general or lower. In addition, about 47.1 per cent of rural women are officially married, 23.6 per cent - widowed, 12.6 per cent are never married, 9.4 per cent are divorced, 5.7 per cent are unofficially married (civil marriage) and 1.6 per cent are separated. About 41.7 per cent of rural women-respondents at the time of the survey had paid employment or other gainful occupation. 81.4 per cent of them worked for enterprises or organisations with a legal status, 14.8 per cent were hired by individual entrepreneurs or individuals, 1.0 per cent were entrepreneurs without a legal status, 0.4 per cent were engaged in farming, 0.8 per cent were engaged in commercial household agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing, and 1.6 per cent worked individually providing tailoring, hairdressing or other services (Table 1).

Table 1 - Sample Characteristics

3 270 rural women–respondents, including:	
Respondents who at the time of the survey had paid employment or other gainful occupation (41.7 per cent)	Respondents who at the time of the survey did not have paid employment or other gainful occupation (58.3 per cent)
<i>1 356 people, including:</i>	<i>1 897 people, including:</i>
- employees of enterprises or organisations (or their separate sub-divisions) having a legal status – 81.4 per cent	- pensioners - 62.4 per cent
- hired workers for individual entrepreneurs or individuals – 14.8 per cent	- housewives – 11.3 per cent
- entrepreneurs without a legal status – 1.0 per cent	- students or students of full-time education - 9.8 per cent
- engaged in farming – 0.4 per cent	- seeking for a job or unemployed - 7.5 per cent
- engaged in commercial household agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing – 0.8 per cent	- on leave to care for a child - 5.9 per cent
- individuals (services in tailoring, hairdressing) – 1.6 per cent	- long-term disable - 1.7 per cent

Source: Authors construction based on the results of the comprehensive survey of living conditions of the population of the Russian Federation (Rosstat, 2011).

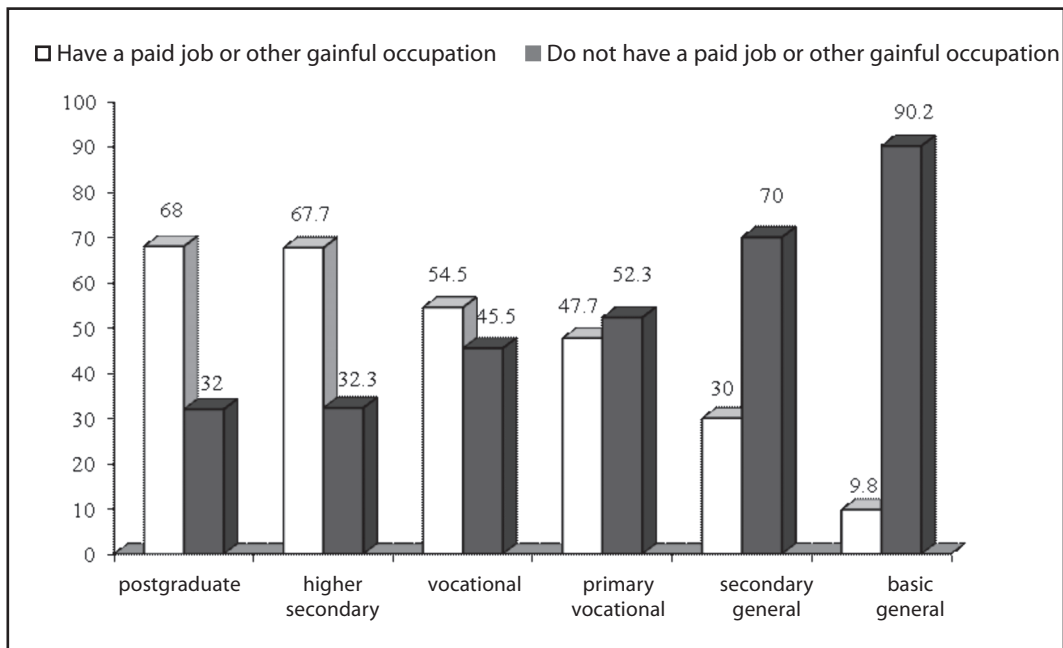
Most part of rural women-respondents who at the time of the survey did not have paid employment or other gainful occupation were pensioners (62.4 per cent), housewives (11.3 per cent), students or students of full-time education (9.8 per cent), were looking for a job or unemployed (7.5 per cent), were on leave to care for a child (5.9 per cent) or were disabled for a long time (1.7 per cent).

Findings

Analysing the answers of our rural women-respondents, we find that most of

working women have a higher level of education. Less educated rural women are more likely to stay out of job or other gainful occupation (Fig. 1). To illustrate this, about 68.0 per cent of women with higher or postgraduate education have paid jobs while from 70.0 to 90.2 per cent of rural women with secondary general and basic general education have neither paid jobs nor other gainful occupation.

Fig 1 : Distribution of Rural Women According to the Availability of a Paid Job or Other Gainful Occupation Depending on the Level of Education



Source: Authors Construction based on the results of the comprehensive survey of living conditions of the population of the Russian Federation (Rosstat, 2011).

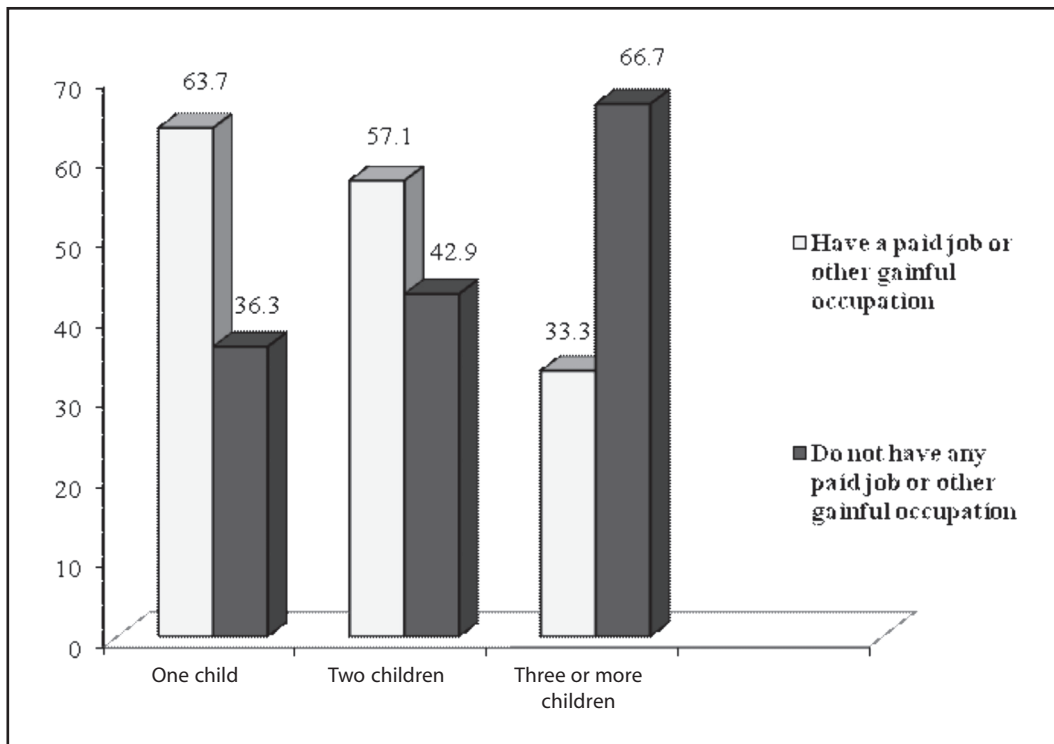
Whether a woman has children and their number are important factors of differentiation of the models of labour, reproductive and consumer behaviour, preferences and expectations. For the purpose of our study we focused on women, who at the time of the survey had children living together with them. The sample includes 802 or 24.5 per cent of such women. 59.5 per cent of them had paid jobs or gainful occupations. This fraction is higher than the average among rural women-respondents (41.7 per cent), since living together with them are usually young children (pre-schoolers or school children), students or those who recently graduated and do not have their own families yet. As a rule, women who have children living with them are younger and more often than others have paid jobs to support the welfare of their households.

The difficulty of combining employment and motherhood is traditional for

both urban and rural women. If a woman has a child, or several children, she has to spend much time taking care of them, which makes her "unattractive" for employers. Employers prefer those who can redistribute their time in favour of their working duties. In view of this, women often have to choose between employment (career) and family (children).

The results of earlier surveys show that most rural women prefer to combine motherhood and professional employment outside the home (Author 1, Author 2, 2011; 2013). 63.7 per cent of rural women-respondents with one child have a job or other gainful occupation, for two-child rural women the figure is 57.1 per cent, and for those having three or more children – just 33.3 per cent (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2 : Distribution of Rural Women According to the Availability of a Paid Job or Other Gainful Occupation Depending on the Number of Children, per cent



Source: Authors construction based on the results of the comprehensive survey of living conditions of the population of the Russian Federation (Rosstat, 2011).

Irrespective of the number of children, most women-respondents work at enterprises (organisations) with a legal status. It should be mentioned that the more children a woman has, the more she wishes to be employed by such organisations: working at enterprises (organisations) that have a legal status are 75.3 per cent of one-child rural women, 81.2 per cent of two-child rural women and 85.7 per cent of rural women having three or more children. The fraction of rural women hired by individual entrepreneurs decreases with the

number of children. This is probably because women who have many children appreciate stability and guaranteed employment. Women with one or two children can spend more time working for an individual entrepreneur, which is more gainful. Most employed women are hired for payment: 98.6 per cent of women with one child, 99.3 per cent of women with two children, and 100.0 per cent of women with many children. About 0.7 per cent of one-child and 0.7 per cent of two-child women are individual entrepreneurs. 0.3 per cent of

women with one child are individual entrepreneurs under the civil contract with some organisation, and 0.3 per cent help at enterprises or private businesses belonging to some of their relatives.

About 81.0 - 83.8 per cent of women-respondents who have paid employment work under employment contracts for an indefinite period (indefinite-term employment contracts). These conditions of employment are more stable, and the relations between the employee and the employer are more predictable.

However, the fraction of rural women employed under fixed-term contracts grows with the number of children. Employed under such contracts are 9.8 per cent of women with one child, 12.2 per cent of women with two children and 14.3 per cent of rural women with three or more children (Table 2). These employment conditions make the workers more vulnerable, and they are more dependent on the employer.

Table 2 : Distribution of Working Rural Women with Children According to the Type of Their Employment Contracts

Type of employment contract	Number of children in the family		
	One	Two	Three or more
Indefinite-term contract	82.1	83.8	81.0
Fixed-term contract	9.8	12.2	14.3
Verbal agreement without filing	6.5	2.7	0.0
Contract for performing work at home	0.0	0.0	4.8
Civil contract	1.6	1.4	0.0

Source: Authors Construction based on the results of the comprehensive survey of living conditions of the population of the Russian Federation (Rosstat, 2011).

It is important to mention that the fraction of rural women working full-time (full week) drops with the number of children in the family. The respective fractions for women with one child, two children and many children are 93.9, 87.9 and 80.0 per cent. Women with three

or more children are more often employed part-time (15.0 per cent as compared with 7.4 per cent of two-child and 3.4 per cent of one-child women). They, to a larger degree, prefer a flexible working schedule (flexitime, staggered working day, the possibility to

perform a part of their duties at home). These working conditions have been chosen by 5.0 per cent of women with many children to 2.7 per cent of women with one child. It should be mentioned that in the contemporary Russian countryside flexible forms of employment (flexible working schedule, part-time employment, working at home, etc.) are becoming more and more widespread, and they are preferred, above all, by women with children. Flexible forms of employment are provided for in the contracts signed by employers and employees, and they expand the segment of jobs adapted for part-time employment and flexible working schedules.

Flexible forms of employment are very important and convenient for women with children, allowing them efficiently distribute their time between their employment duties and family responsibilities. However, their fraction is still insignificant.

Within this study we analysed the relationship between the professional-qualification status of employment and the number of children the woman has. Most frequently, rural women have professions requiring mid-level qualifications, and work in the services sector or the housing and communal services sector. Slightly lower is the

Table 3 : Professional and Qualification Pattern of Rural Women with Different Number of Children

Profession at the main job	per cent		
	Number of children in the family		
	One	Two	Three or more
Leaders of enterprises, government or management representatives of all levels	1,9	1,9	4,8
Specialists of the highest qualification	14,7	21,4	14,3
Specialists of mid-level qualification	24,1	21,4	28,6
Workers engaged in the preparation of information and documents	6,9	6,5	0,0
Workers of the services, and housing and communal services sectors	24,7	22,7	23,8
Qualified agricultural, forestry and hunting workers	3,4	2,6	4,8
Qualified workers of large and small	5,3	4,5	0,0

(Contd...)

Table 3 (Contd...)

Profession at the main job	Number of children in the family		
	One	Two	Three or more
industrial companies, arts and crafts			
Operators, machinists and operators of machinery	1,9	0,6	0,0
Unqualified workers	16,3	17,5	23,8
Military personnel	0,9	0,6	0,0

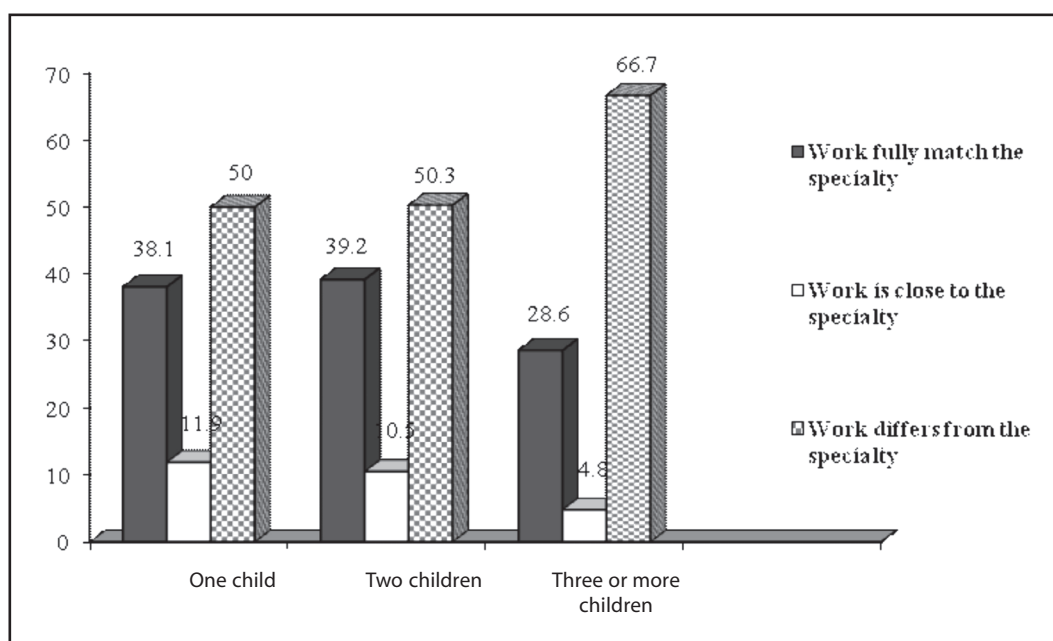
Source: Authors Construction based on the results of the comprehensive survey of living conditions of the population of the Russian Federation (Rosstat, 2011).

fraction of highly qualified specialists, especially among women with three or more children (Table 3). Among women with many children there are no specialists engaged in the preparation of information or documents, skilled workers at large or small industrial companies, operators of machinery. In the professional pattern of employment of one-child and two-child women these professions can be encountered. The fraction of women with many children is higher among unqualified workers and mid-level qualification specialists. Women with many children are more often qualified agricultural, forestry and hunting workers.

The contemporary rural labour market of Russia is such that, on the one hand, it is short of appropriate jobs for rural women with children and, on the other hand, it induces rural women to accept jobs that do not match their

specialty or level of qualification. Only about a third of rural women-respondents indicate that their current work corresponds to their specialty according to the diploma or certificate of education. And this fraction is higher among one-children (38.1 per cent) and two-child (39.2 per cent) women. At the same time, only 28.6 per cent of women with three or more children believe that their current work matches their specialty (Fig. 3). 11.9 per cent of one-child, 10.5 per cent of two-children and 4.8 per cent of women with three or more children have jobs that are close to their specialty indicated in the diploma or certificate of education. Most rural women with many children (66.7 per cent) think that their current work does not match their specialty. For women with one child and two children the fractions are 50.0 per cent and 50.3 per cent, respectively.

Fig 3 : Distribution of Rural Women According to the Degree of Correspondence of Their Current Work to Their Specialty Depending on the Number of Children, per cent



Source: Authors Construction based on the results of the comprehensive survey of living conditions of the population of the Russian Federation (Rosstat, 2011).

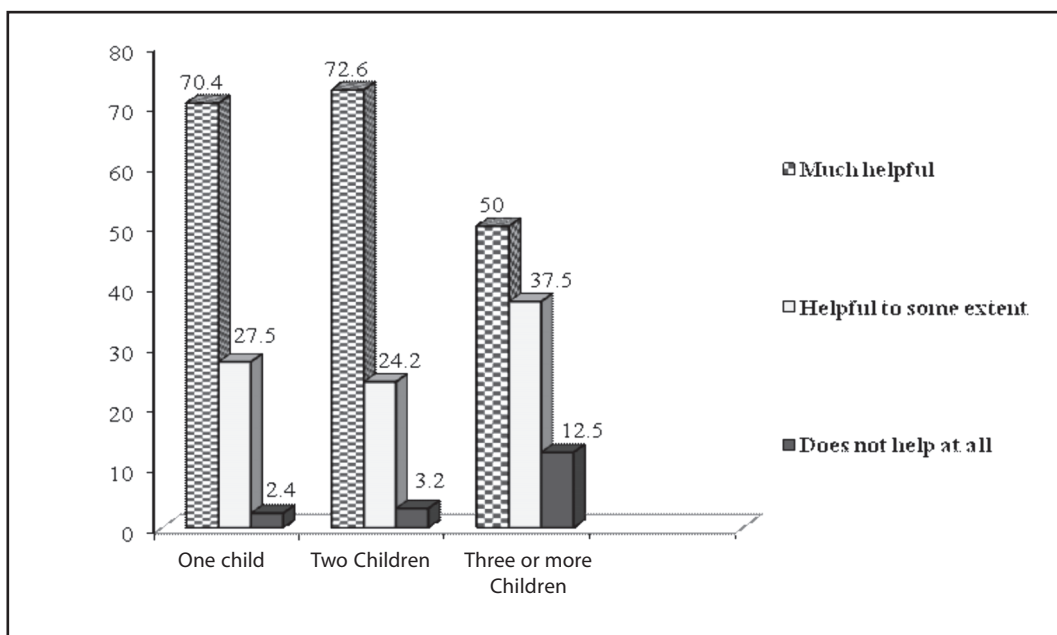
The majority of rural women-respondents did not receive any special professional training or retraining to perform their current professional duties. However, 21.3 per cent of one-child rural women, 24.4 per cent of two-children women and only 7.1 per cent of women with three or more children have undergone special professional training. At the same time, about 70.5 per cent of rural women-respondents who at the time of the survey had paid employment indicated that the education or special training they had received was much helpful in their current

work. Considerations regarding the usefulness of the education received differ considerably among women with different number of children (Fig. 4). For instance, women with one child or two children more often believe that the education or special training they received is much helpful (70.4 and 72.6 per cent, respectively). However, only 50.0 per cent of women with three or more children consider that the education received is much helpful in their current work. Among women with many children the fraction of those who think that the education received to a certain extent

helps them in their current work is higher (37.5 per cent compared to 27.5 per cent of one-child and 24.2 per cent of two-children women). Moreover, rural women with three or more

children more often than one-children and two-child women believe that the education they received is completely useless for their current work (Fig. 4).

Fig 4 : Distribution of Rural Women’s Considerations Regarding the Degree of Usefulness of the Education They Received in Their Work Depending on the Number of Children



Source: Authors Construction based on the results of the comprehensive survey of living conditions of the population of the Russian Federation (Rosstat, 2011).

Besides, only 53.8 per cent of women-respondents with one child, 56.8 per cent of women with two children and 43.8 per cent of women with three or more children are satisfied with their current jobs (Table 4). Rural women with many children more often wish to change their jobs (40.0 per cent) compared

to one-child (33.3 per cent) and two-children women (29.7 per cent). Women with one child more often believe that to implement their employment preferences they need vacant jobs, while women with many children refer to the need to have specialised education.

Table 4 : Distribution of Rural Women According to the Degree of Implementation of their Employment Preferences Depending on the Number of Children

per cent

	Number of children in the family		
	One	Two	Three or more
Have a job that I'm satisfied with	53,8	56,8	43,8
Have a job, but would like to change it	33,3	29,7	40,0
Need to undergo specialised education	5,6	2,7	13,3
Need to undergo retraining	5,6	5,4	0,0
Need help in looking for a job	5,6	0,0	6,7
Need vacant jobs	8,3	5,4	0,0

Source: Authors Construction based on the results of the comprehensive survey of living conditions of the population of the Russian Federation (Rosstat, 2011).

The results of our study show that the degree of satisfaction of rural women with children with different aspects of professional employment and working conditions are very different. Firstly, regardless of the number of children, rural women-respondents are very unhappy with the amount of their wages. Only 17.9 , 17.6 and 28.6 per cent of women with one, two, three or more children, respectively, are satisfied with the amount of their wages. This means that the aspirations and expectations of women with three or more children are low due to the limited employment opportunities in rural areas. The fractions of rural women with children who are satisfied with their working conditions (from 61.9 per cent of women with many children to 69.9 per cent of women with two children) and

with the fact that their workplaces are close to their homes (from 71.4 to 81.0 per cent, respectively) are quite similar. The distribution of rural women with different number of children according to the degree of satisfaction with different aspects of employment is presented in Table 5. As seen from the Table, compared to one-child and two-children women, women with many children are less satisfied with almost all of the working conditions. In particular, the degree of satisfaction of women with many children with the nature of their duties and their working schedule is respectively by 20.1 and 13.4 per cent lower than the sample average. As per their moral and professional satisfaction, it is by 13.2 and 31.0 per cent lower, respectively.

Table 5 : Distribution of Rural Women with Children According to the Degree of Their Satisfaction with Different Aspects of Employment,

per cent

Employment conditions	Number of children in the family		
	One	Two	Three or more
Wage	17,9	17,6	28,6
Reliability of employment	60,6	69,5	38,1
Duties performed	67,4	69,9	47,6
Working schedule	79,7	82,9	66,7
Working conditions	69,5	69,9	61,9
Distance to the workplace	72,5	81	71,4
Professional satisfaction	52,9	61,8	21,1
Moral satisfaction	66,7	56,2	50,0

Source: Authors Construction based on the results of the comprehensive survey of living conditions of the population of the Russian Federation (Rosstat, 2011).

Conclusions

The sphere of rural employment is segmented and significantly different in terms of the level of education, age, gender and number of children in the family, which are factors of labour market rigidity, making it low efficient. Minimising these differences could lead to greater economic efficiency of the labour market and social justice in the sphere of rural employment. Most women with children would like to combine employment and motherhood. However, employers are reluctant to hire women with several children, offer less qualified jobs and more rarely provide them with training or retraining than other

categories of workers. As a result, women with many children are dissatisfied with their employment, their self-esteem is low, and they are unable to provide an adequate contribution to the material well-being of their households. Our analysis shows that in general rural women who are employed or have some other gainful occupation have a higher level of education. Less educated rural women are more likely to have neither job nor other gainful occupation. Regardless of the number of children in the family, most women are employed at enterprises or organisations that have a legal status. Women with many children especially appreciate guaranteed employment and stability, while women with one child are

more often employed by individual entrepreneurs, where wages are more likely to be higher. The higher the number of children in the family, the lower the fraction of women who work full-time. Flexible forms of employment for women with children are becoming increasingly widespread in Russian rural areas, but their fraction is still insignificant. Most part of rural women-respondents did not undergo any specialised professional training or retraining to perform their employment duties. Compared to one-children and two-child women, women with many children are less satisfied with their working conditions, the nature of their duties and the reliability of their employment. That is why rural women with many children more often wish to change their jobs. All rural women, regardless of the number

of children, are dissatisfied with the amount of their wages. Women with many children are more often engaged in unqualified labour or that requiring mid-level qualification. They are also more often engaged in agriculture, forestry and hunting. The contemporary Russian labour market is such that, on the one hand, it is short of appropriate jobs for rural women with children and, on the other hand, rural women have to accept jobs that do not match their specialty or qualification. The social and economic consequences of discrimination of women with many children are the reduced economic activity, inadequate use of their occupational skills, increased burden on the social protection system, inequality of labour market opportunities, and sustained poverty.

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