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CARING DIFFERENTLY:
A TIME-USE ANALYSIS OF
THE TYPE AND SOCIAL
CONTEXT OF CHILD CARE
PERFORMED BY FATHERS
AND BY MOTHERS

By Lyn Craig

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CARING DIFFERENTLY

A TIME-USE ANALYSIS OF THE TYPE AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF CHILD CARE PERFORMED BY FATHERS AND BY MOTHERS

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Abstract

This paper analyses the 1992 Time Use Survey by the Australian Bureau of Statistics in order to compare contextual aspects of time spent with children by mothers and by fathers. The research finds that when mothers are with children they are more likely to be in sole charge, to perform onerous or routine tasks, and to do other activities at the same time, than are fathers. The paper argues that these findings imply that the experience of child care is qualitatively different for men and women.

1 Background

In the western world in the last few decades, women have entered the workforce in increasing numbers. In Australia, female work force participation rates stand at about 65 per cent (Bittman, 1998 16; Gray and Chapman, 2001; Shaver, 1995) Motherhood is no longer a barrier to employment. Over 60 per cent of women in paid work have children under 14 at home (Pocock, 1995: 103).

The principle of gender equity is being increasingly incorporated into employment conditions and social policy (Cass, 1995; Shaver, 1995). Implicit in gender-neutral social policies is an assumption of a more flexible and potentially more equal marital partnership (Cass, 1995; O'Connor, Orloff, and Shaver, 1999; Shaver, 1995). It was widely expected that as women took up paid work outside the home, men would take up unpaid work within the home (McMahon, 1999: 11). This expectation has proved unfounded. Studies of the division of domestic labour show that women continue to do the great bulk of unpaid work (Baxter, 1993; Bittman, 1992; Bittman and Matheson, 1996; Dempsey, 1997; Gershuny and Brice, 1994; Hochschild, 1989; Pahl, 1984; Robinson and Godbey, 1997; Schor, 1991; Shelton, 1992).

Time Use Methodology

Investigation into domestic labour relies on the methodology of time use. Domestic labour is economically uncounted, allowing the time and work it requires to be obscured (Bittman and Pixley, 1997; Cass, 1995; Folbre, 1994; Hochschild, 1989; Oakley, 1981; Schor, 1991; Waring, 1988). Time use studies provide a valuable adjunct to traditional statistical information regarding income, household expenditure, employment patterns, housing

and demographics. They complement other forms of data collection ‘by providing the most accurate current estimates of all unpaid work and family care that takes place in society, and giving an otherwise unavailable glimpse of all the things that people do’ (Robinson and Godbey, 1997: 288-89).

Criticisms of time use

While time use studies are the best way of finding out about unpaid work, they have been criticised as providing a superficial and shallow picture of daily life (Gershuny and Sullivan, 1998). In attempting to count what has previously been overlooked, time use data has often measured what is easiest to measure: the overall time spent in each task. Although very useful in quantifying unpaid labour, it has been suggested that this perpetuation of the ‘time is money’ equation obscures differences in the way time is experienced by each sex (Sullivan, 1997). Simply adding women as subjects of study does not obviate masculine bias (Ferber and Nelson, 1993; Nelson, 1996). Most time use studies have not investigated the social context of activities, the duration of episodes of activity, or the combinations of different activities, which are ‘crucial to the understanding of the meaning and lived experience of time’ (Sullivan, 1997). For example, ‘time-use in hours per week glosses over the difference between urgent and non-urgent work, and between providing help and taking responsibility’ (McMahon, 1999: 19). Also, recording only the main task conceals the ‘density’ of activity. Child care often requires the simultaneous performance of more than one work task at a time, not just for the sake of efficiency, but because some tasks, such as cooking dinner and comforting a crying child, cannot be rescheduled (McMahon, 1999: 20). If it were done in paid employment, this higher output would be regarded as improved productivity.

There is some force in these objections to time use study. However, these faults can be ameliorated by seeking contextual information, and by examining that information more fully (Gershuny and Sullivan, 1998). Time diaries improve on previous methods of time use analysis such as retrospective estimates of time use (Robinson and Godbey, 1997), and more recent surveys have asked for information on simultaneous activities and social context.

Previous studies

Studies incorporating these improvements have been able to use the quantitative method of time use to reveal qualitative differences in the demands of household tasks performed by men and by women. They have been able to build on previous research that shows differences in the amount of domestic labour by identifying differences in the circumstances or manner in which it is performed. Male tasks are disproportionately those such as lawn mowing which can be done at the man's discretion, whereas women's are typically those such as cooking, which must be done at a particular time (Baxter, 1993; Bittman and Matheson, 1996; Dempsey, 1997; McMahon, 1999). Further, even when both partners participate in an activity such as laundry, men are more likely to assist than to manage the whole job. There is a difference between having full responsibility for a job, and giving occasional help. 'The superintendence of a household, even when in other respects not laborious, is extremely onerous to the thoughts' (Mill in Pujol, 1992: 29). The role of helper is far less demanding. It has been found that in many cases male help with domestic labour is not obligatory and routine, but a matter of choice (McMahon, 1999: 19). Men may help with tasks, but the 'job' remains the woman's responsibility. If she cannot elicit assistance, she must do it herself (Dempsey, 1997).

Parenting

Despite the lack of equity in domestic labour, many continue to predict or advocate more active male involvement in parenting (Cass, 1995; Folbre, 1994; Neave, 1995; Tapper, 1990). There is evidence that men want to spend more time with their children (Russell et al., 1999). In a development reminiscent of the discourse on motherhood in the mid-1950s, experts are advocating more direct paternal involvement (see for example Biddulph, 1988; Biddulph, 1994). The concept of ‘father hunger’ has joined ‘maternal deprivation’ in the public discourse on the needs of children (Gunn, 1999). The benefits to children of paternal involvement are asserted, as is the potential for male liberation. There has been a surge of books written by fathers about their parenting experiences (McMahon, 1999: 116-49).

Involvement in fatherhood, however, does not seem expected to match involvement in motherhood. Most of the recent personal accounts of fatherhood that emphasise the emotional benefits to fathers and children do not depict situations in which men are the primary care givers (McMahon, 1999: 146). There does not seem to be a view that the need of children for their fathers will only be satisfied by the full time care that remains the social ideal of motherhood. This appears to mirror the situation with regard to domestic labour, where an unequal contribution by men is often regarded by couples as fair (Bittman and Pixley, 1997; Dempsey, 1997) and raises the question as to whether other aspects of parents’ time with children also differ on sex lines.

It is established that fathers spend considerably less time in child care than do mothers (Bittman and Pixley, 1997; Craig, 1999). This study seeks to use time use study to investigate whether parental care is also subject to qualitative differences in type and context according to sex.

2 The 1992 Time Use Survey

This paper presents the results of a secondary analysis of the 1992 Time Use Survey data collected by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. This survey selected a national sample of 4950 randomly chosen households. All those aged over 15 years in the selected households completed a time use diary that recorded all activities of more than five minutes duration.

The 1992 survey provided one column for respondents to record their main activity, and another column to record other activities undertaken simultaneously. Main activities are referred to as ‘primary activities’ and activities done at the same time are called ‘secondary activities’. It also asked respondents to record who was with them at the time of each activity.

There were 990 activities, divided into ten broad categories: labour force activities, domestic activities, child care, purchasing goods and services, sleeping, eating and personal care, education, voluntary work and communication, social life and entertainment, passive leisure and active leisure.

The focus of this paper is on those aspects of the 1992 Time Use data that show the way in which the labour of parenthood is divided, and the social context in which mothers and fathers conduct child care. It seeks to answer a number of questions:

Do men have more discretion as to when to be with children than women do?

This study investigates whether the more discretionary tasks of child care, such as playing, are divided differently between the sexes.

The research required the creation of new variables which subdivide child care into seven categories: physical care, care of sick children, teaching, helping or reprimanding, playing with children, passive child care, communication associated with children, and travel for or with children.

The study calculates the time spent in these subcategories, including secondary activity, by mothers and by fathers.

Do men have more choice about which child care tasks they do than women have?

Time with children can be enormously pleasurable. It has been suggested that men may be ‘skimming off the cream’ by spending a disproportionate amount of the time they are with children in activities involving play (Saracens in McMahon, 1999: 21). An earlier study argued that

Fathers only really compete with mothers for the pleasure of being able to play, read or talk to their children. Most of the irksome tasks of child care are pretty well exclusively left to their wives (Bittman, 1992: 46).

This study analyses the categories of child care outlined above to see how the pleasant aspects of child care are divided between the sexes.

Do women do more tasks simultaneously with child care than men do?

Child care is easier when other tasks do not intervene. This study looked at whether women do more tasks simultaneously with child care than men do, and what those tasks are. It compares by sex the amount and type of secondary activity being done when child care is recorded as a primary activity.

Does the social context of child care differ for men and women? Are fathers able to regard time with children as optional because mothers cannot?

In addition to the active labour involved in child care, someone must be with young children at all times or arrange a replacement. If this is disproportionately the responsibility of one parent, they will have less freedom of movement than their partner.

Research into domestic labour suggests that if one partner does most of their time in a particular task whilst their spouse is present, it is likely to mean that the spouse has primary responsibility for that task (Sullivan, 1997). So it is of interest to see if there are differences between mothers and fathers in the amount of child care that is conducted in isolation. If someone else is present, the tasks can be divided more readily and responsibility shared. Also, a parent who is rarely in sole charge of children is likely to remain a ‘helper’ when they are present.

In order to establish which parent retains the main responsibility for child care, this study compared the amount and proportion of time that mothers and fathers spend in any activity with children aged 0-11 years, and the amount of time they spend alone with children aged 0-11 years. It also compares the amount and proportion of time their spouse is present when they are engaged in child care of children up to the age of 15 years. These age parameters were chosen to accord with the coding categories in the 1992 Time Use Survey.

The study compared these variables by sex across employment type, age of the youngest child in the household, and the number of children in the household, to see whether and how these factors influenced the responsibility for and relative isolation of child care.

Data

The 1992 Time Use Survey data were in three separate data sets. The first contained data on households. The second contained a record of on all activities of five or more minutes duration for each of the individuals surveyed. The third data set provided a record of two representative 24-hour periods of time use by each person. This gave extensive personal

demographic details and showed the total time they spent in primary activity in each broad activity category on each of the days surveyed.¹

Sample

In this analysis, the household type ‘married or de facto couple with children under 15 only’ is compared with the household type ‘married or de facto couple only’. The first group, ‘parents’, provide a sample of 2783. Their ages range from 19 to 68 years. Married or de facto couples were chosen as the units of analysis because they allow the clearest sex comparison. The control group is also of married or de facto couples only, in order that the strong effects of coupledness on time use patterns (Baxter, 1993; Bittman, Meagher and Matheson, 1998; Dempsey, 1997) do not obscure time use patterns of relevance to parenthood. To further ensure a meaningful comparison, the ‘non-parents’ group (N=2615) excluded those falling outside the age parameters found in the ‘parent’ sample.

Variables

Because the 1992 time use data had not been previously used to analyse secondary activity and the social context of child care, few of the existing activity variables on the ‘person file’ were of relevance. It was therefore necessary to conceptualise and create new variables original to this research.

Each new variable was created by calculating the duration of all episodes recorded on the ‘activity’ file in the combinations that were of interest to this study. To make variables that included both primary and secondary activity, the amount of time recorded as a primary activity or as a secondary activity in each activity of interest was totalled. The duration of any overlap

1 For a copy of the survey and time diaries and full coding see 1992 Time Use Survey Australia Users Guide, Australian Bureau of Statistics.

in which the same activity was conducted simultaneously as both a primary and secondary activity was calculated. To avoid double counting this period was included once only.

The social context of child care was established by calculating the total length of episodes that a respondent spent in any activity, primary or secondary, while also recording that they were with children aged 0-11 years, and whether their spouse was present.

To establish what was being done at the same time as child care, it was necessary to calculate the duration of episodes of secondary activity in each activity category, while child care was recorded as a primary activity.

Proportion variables were calculated by dividing the total of the variable of interest, for example 'total child care' into the sub-variable of interest, for example 'total child care with spouse present'.

Working Datafile and Data Presentation

Each new variable of interest was transferred into a new file and then merged into a working 'person file' which contained the sample for this analysis. This process was repeated for each variable, and a database that provided a record of the characteristics of each person in the sample and details of their time use on two representative 24-hour periods was created. The statistical analysis used SPSS 6.1.

Data are presented in the form of descriptive statistics, comparing mean time in minutes per day, or proportions of time spent in different types of activity. Full tables are included in Appendix 1. In the tables, time appears in mean minutes per day. These figures are converted into hours per day when they are discussed in the text. Some comparisons are presented as graphs in the body of the text.

3 Findings

Comparison of types of child care done by mothers and by fathers

For this analysis, child care is divided into seven categories as outlined above. Table A1 compares time spent in minutes per day in each of the child care categories, averaged over seven days and including both primary and secondary activity, by fathers and by mothers.

Both the amount of child care and the type of care given differ on sex lines. Mothers average 2 1/2 waking hours a day in passive child care, 2 hours 6 minutes a day in physical child care, 1 1/2 hours a day in playing with children, and 19 minutes a day in travelling for child-related purposes. Child-related communication, caring for sick children and teaching, guiding or reprimanding children take three minutes, seven minutes and 11 minutes a day respectively.

Fathers average 59 minutes a day in passive child care, 32 minutes a day in physical child care, 40 minutes a day playing with their children, and seven minutes a day in travelling with or for children. Child-related communication, caring for sick children and teaching helping and reprimanding children take less than one minute, two minutes, and three minutes a day respectively.

Proportionately, 70 per cent of men's average child care is spent in either passive child care or in playing with their children, compared with 60 per cent of women's child care time.

Comparison of what mothers and fathers are doing at the same time as child care

Table A2, presents the time spent in minutes per day, averaged over seven days, in each broad activity category while child care is recorded as a secondary activity, by mothers and by fathers.

Of their total waking child care of 6 hours 50 minutes a day, women do child care as a simultaneous activity for 4 hours 12 minutes a day. The activities done at the same time are domestic labour (1 hour 12 minutes), other types of child care (50 minutes), passive leisure (40 minutes), personal care excluding time asleep (31 minutes), socialising (22 minutes) and shopping (14 minutes). Fathers spend 1 1/2 hours of their total 2 hours 20 minutes waking child care a day as a simultaneous activity. The major categories recorded were passive leisure (29 minutes), domestic labour (19 minutes), and personal care (14 minutes).

For both sexes about 60 per cent of total child care time is spent in simultaneous activity. However for men a higher proportion of this time is spent with passive leisure, such as watching television, as the primary activity. If this is deducted, women spend 52 per cent of their child care time in simultaneous activity, and men spend 44 per cent.

Comparisons of the social context of time with children for mothers and fathers

Tables A3 to A6 present the time spent in different social contexts, averaged over seven days, including both primary and secondary activity, by fathers and mothers as they care for children.

Both mothers and fathers spent more time in the company of their children than was recorded as child care, but mothers spent more time than fathers. Fathers spent much less time than mothers alone with children, both in total time and as a proportion of that time. Similarly, a much higher proportion of the time that fathers spent in child care was with their spouse present than was the case for mothers. Tables A3 to A6 show that; with some minor differences, this pattern was consistent across employment types, age of the youngest child and number of children in the family.

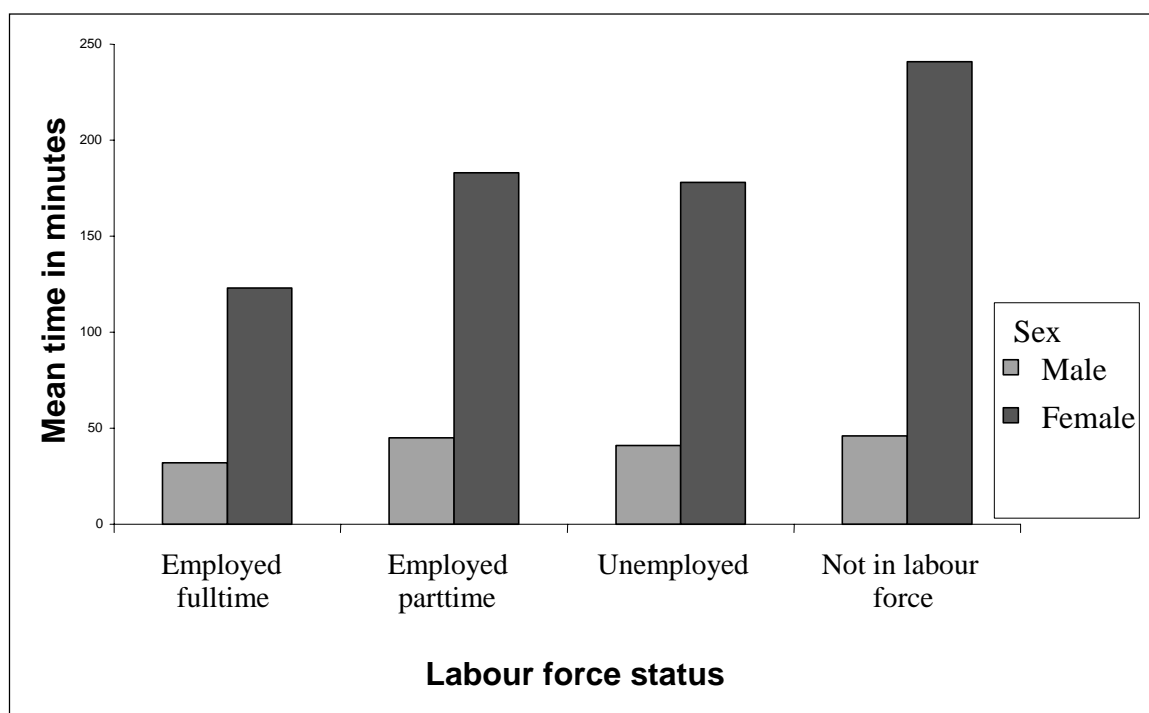
Comparison of responsibility for child care across employment types (Tables A3 and A4, Figures 1 and 2)

Full time employed fathers were alone with their children an average of 32 minutes a day, which was seven per cent of the total time they spent in the company of children. Of the time they spent in child care, 74 per cent was in the company of their spouse. In contrast, full time employed women were alone with children an average of two hours a day, 22 per cent of their total time with children. They spent 53 per cent of their time in child care with their spouse present.

This pattern was similar for the other employment categories, in which average male time alone with children ranged from 40 to 46 minutes a day. This represented between nine per cent and six per cent of the fathers' total time with children. The fathers averaged between 66 per cent and 74 per cent of their recorded child care with their spouse present.

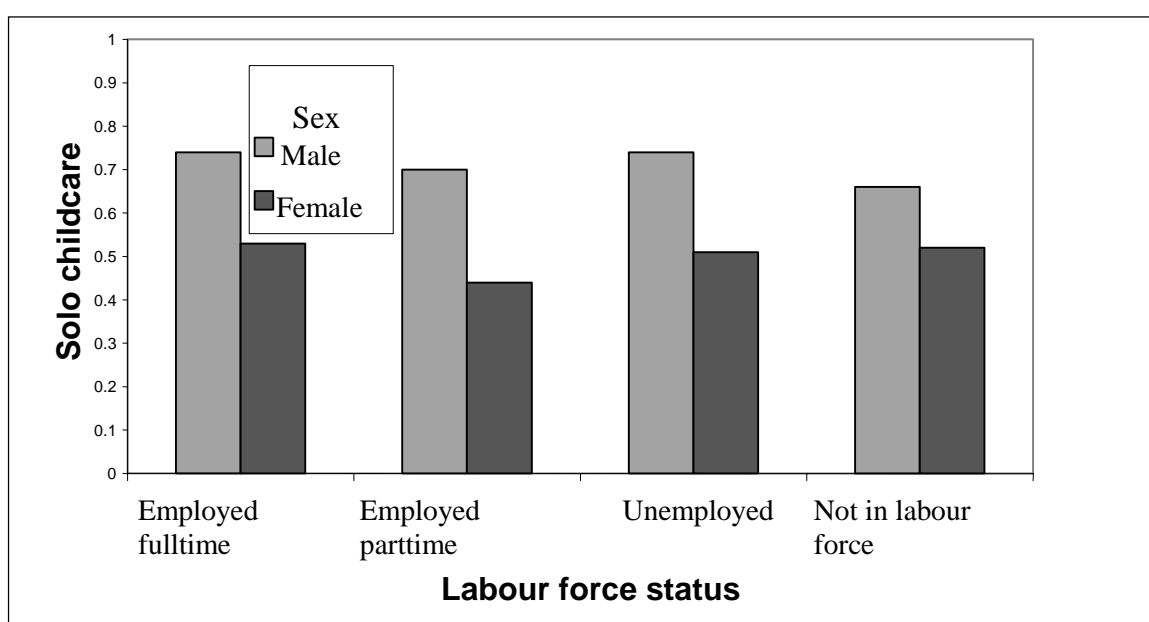
There was only slightly more variation in the patterns for mothers in different types of employment. Unemployed women and those employed part time were alone with children 2 hours 50 minutes and three hours a day respectively, 26 per cent and 27 per cent of their total time with children. Although women who are not in the labour force were alone with their children for the longer period of four hours a day, at 29 per cent this represents a similar proportion of the total time. Their spouses were with them for between 44 per cent and 52 per cent of their total time in child care.

Figure 1: Total time of parents (primary and secondary activity) alone with children by sex and employment status (N=2783)



Data source: 1992 Time Use Survey, Australian Bureau of Statistics

Figure 2: Proportion of total child care by parents (primary and secondary activity) during which the spouse is present by sex and employment status (N=2783)



Data source: 1992 Time Use Survey, Australian Bureau of Statistics

Comparison of responsibility for child care by age of the youngest child (Tables A5 and A6)

The younger the child, the greater is the time commitment of mothers. Mothers with a youngest child aged 0-1 years spend an average of 14 1/2 waking hours a day in their company; mothers with a youngest child of 2-4 year olds are with them 12 3/4 waking hours; and mothers of 5-9 year olds are with them for 10 hours and 12 minutes.² The proportion of time that women spend alone with children is 30-33 per cent until age five, after which there is a drop at school entry age to 20 per cent. The proportion of women's time in child care with their spouse present ranges from 52 per cent to 45 per cent, with no clear pattern related to the age of the child.

The time that fathers spend with their children is also higher the younger the child. They spend 8 1/2 hours, eight hours, and 7 hours 24 minutes in the company of their 0-1, 2-4 and 5-9 year olds respectively. However, the proportion of time fathers are alone with their children ranges between six and nine per cent and shows no clear relationship to the youngest child's age. In contrast, the proportion of the time that fathers spend in child care with their spouse present decreased steadily as their youngest children grew older, going from 81 per cent for 0-1 year olds, 72 per cent for 2-4 year olds, and 66 per cent for 5-9 year olds.

Comparison of responsibility for child care by number of children in the household (Tables A7 and A8)

For mothers, the time requirements of children increase by about an hour a day per extra child. The biggest single change in the time commitment of motherhood comes with the first child. The mothers of one child average 10 1/2 waking hours a day in their company, of which over 3 1/2 hours are

² The figures for 10-14 year olds are not comparable, as the category includes children who are older than 11 and are therefore not included in the 1992 ABS Time Use Survey coding of social context.

alone. The mothers of two children average 11 hours 42 minutes with them, of which 3 hours 42 minutes are alone. Mothers of three spend 12 1/2 hours with them, 3 1/2 hours alone. Mothers of four spend 13 hours 48 minutes with them, of which 4 hours and 48 minutes are alone.

Secondary activity increases with the number of children from 8 1/2 hours when there is one child, nine hours for two children, 10 hours and 12 minutes for three children. It then drops to 9 hours 48 minutes for four children and further to 8 hours 56 minutes for five children.

The proportion of time that mothers are alone with children ranges from 30 per cent for one child, to 24 per cent for three children. Mothers of five are alone with them for 21 per cent of their child care time. The proportion of time that child care is conducted in the presence of a spouse decreases slightly but steadily as the number of children rises, from 51 per cent to 42 per cent.

Fathers spend 36 minutes, 32 minutes, 41 minutes, 1 hour, and 1 hour and 12 minutes a day alone with children when they have one, two, three, four and five children respectively. The proportion of time alone with children ranges from seven per cent to nine per cent until four children, when it jumps to 12 per cent, and to 15 per cent for five children. The proportion of child care with the spouse present ranges from 77 per cent to 71 per cent for one to three children, then falls to 56 per cent and 52 per cent for four and five children respectively.

Summary of Findings

Fathers and mothers do different total amounts of child care. They also do different types of child care and proportionately different amounts of child care at the same time as other activities. The social context of the child care is different for mothers and fathers. With few exceptions, this remains

constant across employment status, age of youngest child and number of children in the family.

This paper looked at whether male involvement in child care was affected by men's employment status, the age of the youngest child, or the number of children in the family. Some differences were found; time with children rose by about half an hour a day from a base of two hours for fathers employed full time to three hours for unemployed men. The younger the child the more time fathers spend with them, with youngest children under one year old claiming an hour more of their fathers time than youngest children five – nine years old. Male involvement increases when there are four children in the family, although in this study it dropped again at five children. Across the same variables, mother's involvement, although in all cases higher in total than that of their male counterparts, showed similar comparative increases.

Most striking, however, is the way responsibility for the job of child care stays similar for each sex despite variation in labour status, age of youngest child, and number of children. Across all the categories looked at, no group of fathers averaged more than 10 per cent of their time with children alone. In contrast, no group of mothers spent less than 22 per cent of their time with children alone. Much more of fathers' time with children is with their spouse present than is the case for women. For all groups of men, about 75 per cent of their child care is with their spouse. Across all categories, women averaged about half of their child care with their spouse present.

Studies of domestic labour found that the unpaid work that men do is not only less time consuming but also that the tasks are more able to be done at the man's discretion (Baxter, 1993; Bittman and Pixley, 1997; Dempsey, 1997; Shelton, 1992). This study finds that this pattern is also true of child care. The social context of fathering shows it to be more discretionary and

less isolated than mothering. Of the child care they perform, fathers do a higher proportion than mothers of those aspects of child care, such as play, that do not need be done at a particular time. They are much less often in sole charge of children, and a higher proportion of their time in child care is with their spouse present. This implies that to the extent they are involved with children, men typically 'help with the tasks' rather than being 'responsible for the job' (McMahon, 1999; Sullivan, 1997).

Further, the type of child care fathers do is arguably less onerous than that of mothers. Men spend proportionately more of their child care (70 per cent) in the tasks of passive child care and play care than do women. Of their active child care, 47 per cent is play care, compared with 35 per cent for mothers. Also, fathers undertake proportionately fewer work tasks simultaneously with child care, making their time with children arguably both more pleasant and less productive than is that of mothers.

4 Conclusion

This research adds to a body of work that shows that domestic work and the family has a different impact on men and women. Previous studies have shown that women spend much more time caring for children than men do. This study has identified, investigated and discussed a further major aspect of difference between the sexes. Women have more restricted choice as to whether to perform child care, when to do it, which tasks to perform and whether or not to do other things at the same time than do men. Fathers are more likely to have someone to take over, to be able to avoid the less pleasant and more urgent tasks, and rarely do other tasks at the same time as child care. From these data it appears that the job of child care is qualitatively different for women than for men.

Such differences are ignored and obscured by social policies and workplace practices which treat people as individuals (Cass, 1995; Edwards and

Margery, 1995; Grace, 1999; O'Connor, Orloff and Shaver, 1999). The female experience of child care differs from the male, and consequently, the challenge of combining paid work and parenthood is different for mothers and fathers. 'If equal treatment in the labour market is predicated on an infrastructure of difference, the unequal division of family responsibilities will perpetuate occupational segregation and limit women's opportunities to pursue economic citizenship' (Cass, 1995: 54).

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Appendix 1

Table A1: Mean minutes per day, spent in either primary or secondary activity in each activity category of child care by sex

	Fathers	Mothers
Total time in child related communication	1	3
Total time in passive care of children while awake	59	154
Total time in physical care of children	32	127
Total time playing with children	40	92
Total time caring for sick children	2	7
Total time teaching or talking to children	3	11
Total time in travel for or with children	7	19
Total time in child care	144	413

Table A2: Mean minutes per day, spent in each broad activity category while child care is recorded as a secondary activity category by sex

	Fathers	Mothers
Active leisure with child care as a secondary activity	5	9
Awake personal care with child care as a secondary activity	14	31
Overlap of primary and secondary child care	10	49
Domestic labour with child care as a secondary activity	19	73
Education with child care as a secondary activity	0	1
Passive leisure with child care as a secondary activity	29	40
Paid work with child care as a secondary activity	4	6
Purchasing with child care as a secondary activity	3	14
Social life with child care as a secondary activity	7	22
Voluntary work with child care as a secondary activity	3	6
Total	94	251

Table A3: Time, including primary and secondary activity, spent with children by fathers, in different social contexts by labour force status

	Employment Status			
	Employed full time	Employed part time	Unemployed	Not in labour force
	Mean minutes per day			
Any activity with children 0-11 years excluding time sleeping	433	456	640	588
Any activity alone with children 0-11 years excluding time sleeping	32	45	41	46
Total child care excluding time sleeping	125	167	188	187
Total child care with spouse present excluding time sleeping	93	118	139	124
	Proportion			
Proportion of time with children alone	.07	.09	.06	.07
Proportion of child care with spouse present	.74	.70	.74	.66

Table A4: Time, including primary and secondary activity, spent with children by mothers, in different social contexts by labour force status

	Employment Status			
	Employed full time	Employed part time	Unemployed	Not in labour force
	Mean minutes per day			
Any activity with children 0-11 years excluding time sleeping	556	668	688	811
Any activity alone with children 0-11 years excluding time sleeping	123	183	178	241
Total child care excluding time sleeping	272	347	285	433
Total child care with spouse present excluding time sleeping	146	156	147	228
	Proportion			
Proportion of time with children alone	.22	.27	.26	.29
Proportion of child care with spouse present	.53	.44	.51	.52

Table A5: Time, including primary and secondary activity, spent with children by fathers, in different social contexts by age of youngest child

	Age of youngest child in household		
	0-1	2-4	5-9
	Mean minutes per day		
Any activity with children 0-11 years excluding time sleeping	515	486	449
Any activity alone with children 0-11 years excluding time sleeping	33	45	31
Total child care excluding time sleeping	169	143	113
Total child care with spouse present excluding time sleeping	138	104	75
	Proportion		
Proportion of time with children alone	.06	.09	.06
Proportion of child care with spouse present	.81	.72	.66

Table A6: Time, including primary and secondary activity, spent with children by mothers, in different social contexts by age of youngest child

	Age of youngest child in household		
	0-1	2-4	5-9
	Mean minutes per day		
Any activity with children 0-11 years excluding time sleeping	870	765	613
Any activity alone with children 0-11 years excluding time sleeping	267	252	118
Total child care excluding time sleeping	525	379	255
Total child care with spouse present excluding time sleeping	275	173	127
	Proportion		
Proportion of time with children alone	.30	.33	.20
Proportion of child care with spouse present	.52	.45	.50

Table A7: Time, including primary and secondary activity, spent with children by fathers, in different social contexts by number of children in the household

	Number of children under 15				
	1	2	3	4	5
	Mean minutes per day				
Any activity with children years 0-11 excluding time sleeping	415	446	497	531	462
Any activity alone with children 0-11 years excluding time sleeping	31	30	34	66	70
Total child care excluding time sleeping	104	134	150	193	116
Total child care with spouse present excluding time sleeping	76	104	108	108	62
	Proportion				
Proportion of time with children alone	.09	.07	.07	.12	.15
Proportion of child care with spouse present	.73	.77	.71	.56	.52

Table A8: Time, including primary and secondary activity, spent with children by mothers, in different social contexts by number of children in the household

	Number of children under 15				
	1	2	3	4	5
	Mean minutes per day				
Any activity with children 0-11 years excluding time sleeping	633	703	756	832	462
Any activity alone with children 0-11 years excluding time sleeping	189	198	183	243	180
Total child care excluding time sleeping	304	359	414	446	470
Total child care with spouse present excluding time sleeping	155	181	202	187	200
	Proportion				
Proportion of time with children alone	.30	.28	.24	.29	.21
Proportion of child care with spouse present	.51	.50	.48	.42	.42

Data source for all tables: 1992 Time Use Survey, Australian Bureau of Statistics.

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