

Managing Work and Family

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***MANAGING WORK AND
FAMILY***

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Table of Contents

Executive Summary	iii
1 Managing work and family.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Framing the issue	1
1.3 Research focus	5
2 Data and method.....	6
2.1 ABS Time Use Survey.....	6
2.2 Methods and measures	7
3 Couple families: impact of employment–care arrangements (household type)	16
3.1 Background	16
3.2 Results.....	18
3.3 Conclusion	26
4 Couple families: impact of non-parental childcare	28
4.1 Background	28
4.2 Results.....	30
4.3 Conclusion	35
5 Sole mothers	39
5.1 Background	39
5.2 Results.....	42
5.3 Conclusion	49
6 Discussion and conclusions	51
References.....	56
Appendix A : Sample descriptions	67
Appendix B : OLS regression tables, effect of household type	70
Appendix C : OLS regression tables, effect of parental childcare	74
Appendix D : OLS regression tables, effect of marital status.....	78

Table of Figures

Figure 3.1 Household paid and unpaid hours per week by household type	18
Figure 3.2 Household type by age of youngest child.....	19
Figure 3.3 Hours per week unpaid work by household type by sex (couple households).....	20
Figure 3.4 Hours per week total paid and unpaid work by household type by sex (couple households)	22
Figure 3.5 Hours per week parental childcare by household type by sex (couple households)	24
Figure 3.6 Perceived time pressure by household type by sex (couple households).....	25
Figure 4.1 Hours per week unpaid work by weekly hours of non-parental childcare by sex (couple households)	31
Figure 4.2 Hours per week total (paid and unpaid) work by weekly hours of non-parental childcare by sex (couple households)	32
Figure 4.3 Hours per week parental childcare by weekly hours of non-parental childcare by sex (couple households)	33
Figure 4.4 Perceived time pressure by weekly hours non-parental childcare by sex (couple households)	34
Figure 5.1 Hours per week of unpaid work by weekly hours of non-parental care by family structure.....	46
Figure 5.2 Hours per week parental childcare by weekly hours of non-parental childcare by family structure	47
Figure 5.3 Perceived time pressure by weekly hours of non-parental care by family structure	48

Table

Table 5.1 Perceived time pressure by family type	44
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Executive summary

This report analyses the 1997 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Time Use Survey (TUS) in order to investigate the ways in which Australians manage to balance the competing demands of work and family. It uses four measures, three relating to the 'objective' time pressure of the total hours worked (paid work, unpaid work and childcare), and one measure of 'subjective' time pressure (feelings of being rushed or pressed for time). These measures are applied to six household types classified according to the arrangements each has made in relation to employment and childcare:

- male-breadwinner family,
- one-and-a-half-earner family,
- (standard full-time) dual-career family (woman working standard full-time hours),
- (long hours full-time) dual-career family (woman working more than 49 hours a week),
- family in which the man does not work full-time, and
- sole mother family.

The report investigates the differences between these household types, between men and women as individuals within households, and between sole mothers and married mothers. It also investigates the ways in which two key work-family policy measures – non-parental childcare and part-time work – currently affect work-family balance within Australian households.

The analysis takes two forms, a descriptive analysis which shows general patterns for each sample of households, and a multivariate analysis which provides a more detailed account of the differences between household types.

The descriptive analysis showed that, in the case of the workload for the overall sample of couple households,

- dual-career couples had the highest level of *paid work*, male-breadwinner couples had the lowest, and the one-and-a-half earner couples were between the other two;
- the *unpaid work* of the one-and-a-half-earner family was much larger than either type of dual-career family, and more closely resembled the unpaid workload of the male-breadwinner family; and
- the *total work* for the one-and-a-half-earner household was very similar to that of the (standard full-time) dual-career households, while the male-breadwinner family had a lesser total workload.

The proportion of preschool children was highest among the male-breadwinner families and lowest among the dual-earner families, with the one-and-a-half-earner families somewhere in between. This strongly suggests that the different household types are systematically associated with different life course stages.

The descriptive analysis found some differences between sole mothers and married mothers. Couple mothers had a higher workforce participation than sole mothers and their children tended to be younger, but they used less non-parental care. They were also found to spend more time than sole mothers both in unpaid and in total work. Although the results of the

multivariate analysis modified this picture somewhat (see below), couple mothers tended to report unrushed periods of time less often than sole mothers did.

The results of the multivariate analysis are as follows:

Couple households – the impact of employment–care arrangements:

On unpaid work

- Whatever their employment status and what ever the household type, women do more unpaid domestic labour than men do.
- Women's unpaid work steadily reduces as their hours of paid work rise.
- Men's time in unpaid work is not responsive to changes in women's employment hours.
- Men who do not work full-time hours do more unpaid work than other men.

On total work

- The total amount of time spent in paid and unpaid work by men employed full-time varies little by household type.
- The time women spend in total work, in contrast, increases steadily as women's hours of paid market work increase.
- As women add more paid work hours to their weekly commitments, a difference in total workload opens up between men and women.
- Women in 'male not full-time' households did the same amount of total work as the wives in male-breadwinner households and the men did much less total work than any other category of male.

On parental childcare

- In all the household types women do significantly more childcare than men.
- When women do take up paid work, they do not reduce their childcare time by an amount equivalent to their paid work hours.
- In the main, men do not increase their childcare time when their wives are employed.

On perceived time-pressure

- The lowest levels of perceived time pressure were found among women in male-breadwinner families and the highest among women in dual-career households.
- The distribution of perceived time pressure for women in one-and-a-half-earner families closely resembles that of women in dual-career households.
- Men reported slightly lower levels of time pressure than women did.
- There was a strong correlation between perceived time pressure and the age of the youngest child.

On the evidence presented here, part-time work is not an ideal solution to work-family strain. It does not reduce women's total workload, and neither does it challenge the gender order.

Couple households – the impact of non-parental childcare:

On unpaid work

- The amount of time that men spend in unpaid work is unaffected by the amount of time that children spend in non-parental care.
- There is a steady reduction in the time that women spend in unpaid work associated with the amount of time that their children spend in non-parental care, although the reduction is far less than one less hour of unpaid work for each hour of non-parental care.

On total work

- The amount of time that children spend in non-parental childcare has no impact on the total workloads of men.
- For women, there is a very small time adjustment in total workload associated with the use of non-parental care.

On parental childcare

- Men's time spent caring for their own children is not affected by the use of substitute care.
- In contrast, mothers' time in care of their own children reduces with the use of non-parental childcare, although the reduction is not very great.

On perceived time-pressure

- Fathers report no change in subjective time pressure when their children use non-parental care.
- With mothers, the use of non-parental childcare does have an effect on subjective time pressure, but rather than alleviating women's subjective time pressure, it exacerbates it.

Sole-mother households – the impact of employment–care arrangements:

There was a significant difference between the time spent in *unpaid work* by sole mothers and the time spent by couple mothers, but when employment status was included, that difference disappeared. No significant difference was found between sole and couple mothers' *total workload*, nor in the time they spent in *parental childcare*, nor in *perceived time pressure*.

Sole-mother households – the impact of non-parental childcare

There was no statistical difference in the effect of hours of non-parental care upon the *unpaid workload* or upon the *total workload* of sole and couple mothers. When employment status was controlled there was no significant difference between sole mothers and couple mothers in the amount of time they themselves spent in childcare. While couple mothers reduced their *parental childcare* time slightly as they increased their use of non-parental childcare, sole mothers increased theirs. There was no difference between sole mothers and couple mothers in their *perceptions of time pressure*.

1 Managing work and family

1.1 Introduction

This report analyses the 1997 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Time Use Survey (TUS) in order to investigate the ways in which Australians manage to balance the competing demands of work and family. It uses four measures, three relating to the 'objective' time pressure of the total hours worked (paid work, unpaid work and childcare), and one of 'subjective' time pressure (feelings of being rushed or pressed for time), thus aiming to provide a new and more comprehensive picture of how people manage work and family. By including those activities that are done simultaneously, it uses the TUS information on the full extent of the time spent in domestic labour and childcare. It investigates differences in the four measures between household types classified according to the kinds of arrangements made in relation to employment and childcare:

- male-breadwinner family,
- one-and-a-half-earner family,
- (standard full-time) dual-career family (woman working standard full-time hours),
- (long hours full-time) dual-career family (woman working more than 49 hours a week),
- family in which the man does not work full-time, and
- sole mother family.

It also investigates differences between men and women as individuals within households, and between sole mothers and married mothers, in order to identify which Australians experience the most work-family strain. As well, it investigates the ways in which two key work-family policy measures – non-parental childcare and part-time work – currently affect work-family balance within Australian households.

1.2 Framing the issue

Work-family balance has emerged in recent years as a major social issue. Mainly due to the large-scale movement of women into the paid workforce over the last fifty years, juggling work and family commitments has become difficult for many households. This has consequences at both the personal and the social level. The management of work and family is an issue of fundamental significance both to public policy and to those actually engaged in meeting the demands of work and home. Because children 'ensure the continuation and development of societies and their institutions, and contribute to future economic prosperity', raising them is not a matter of concern only to parents, but to the whole of society (OECD 2003). At the same time workforce participation is important to both national economic development and the financial security of families (OECD 2002; HREOC 2005). The OECD identifies as crucial challenges for social policy both helping parents without work into employment, and developing measures that help families balance work and home responsibilities (OECD 2002). To achieve this aim the OECD advocates a number of policy initiatives, including increasing social and economic participation, expanding choice for mothers and families, raising family income levels of at-risk households, ensuring that children enjoy a good start during their early years, and using evidence to determine which policy instruments to rely on (OECD 2005).

Despite the widespread acknowledgement that managing work and family is an issue of profound and growing importance, surprisingly little is known about the full extent of the challenges involved, and whom they most affect. This is partly because many of the difficulties occur in a dimension of life about which there has until recently been little detailed information: time. The essential difficulty of managing work and family arises because committing time to the paid work force and committing time to family care are incompatible. It is hard to do both. Employment typically involves contracting time to the labour market to the exclusion of other activities. Raising children and maintaining a home also demand exclusive devotion of time. But the supply of time cannot easily be increased, so both these activities compete for the finite 24 hours in every day. While time-demand and time-pressure are at the nub of the difficulty in managing work and family, very little of the research into this issue has studied it directly from this perspective.

A related issue is that the focus of much previous inquiry has been on ‘work’ rather than ‘family’. This imbalance of research attention means that one of the two major aspects of the problem of managing work and family has been much less visible than the other (Bittman and Pixley 1997). Relatively little investigation has been made directly into the work demands created within the family setting itself. Indeed, there has been argument over whether family responsibilities actually constitute work at all (Becker 1981; Gershuny 1999; Ironmonger 1996). Most especially, looking after children is often categorised as ‘leisure’, rather than as a work activity (Folbre 2004; Craig 2005b). There is widespread acknowledgement that unpaid domestic work is a crucial contributor to the challenge of managing work and family (Baxter 1998; Folbre 2001; Apps and Rees 2000) and growing investigation into unpaid work commitments (see for example Baxter et al. 2005; Bianchi 2004; Bittman and Wajcman 2004; Craig 2005b). However, their full magnitude, particularly when it is a question of childcare, remains obscure. A contributing reason for this is that parental childcare time is hard to measure because much of it is done simultaneously with other activities (Budig and Folbre 2004). With few exceptions (Ironmonger 2004; Craig 2002b, 2005b, 2006a, forthcoming-b.), previous studies have not investigated this dimension of family workload. As a consequence, the full time-constraints of care are not recognised.

Also, although the essential problem is in meeting the demands of *both* work *and* family responsibilities, very little previous research investigates the *combined* impact of work and care (Craig 2005b). There is a further point. Difficulty in meeting the combined demands of employment and care (work-family strain) can have two dimensions. One is objective overwork (too much to do) and the other is a subjective experience of time pressure (a feeling that too many pressing things must be completed in a day with little time for leisure or recuperation). No previous research has addressed the issue from both these angles.

A further barrier to full understanding of the problem has been that people participate in the workforce as individuals, although most live in families. The organisation of most workplaces is predicated upon a presumed ‘ideal worker’ who is an individual agent unencumbered by domestic responsibilities (Williams 2001; Nelson 1996; Charlesworth, Campbell, and Probert 2002; Pocock 2003; Strazdins et al. 2004; Lewis and Giullari 2005). Despite this, most people do live as members of households and they do have domestic responsibilities. Family context is of profound importance in shaping behaviour and in determining the amount of unpaid labour that workers perform outside their paid work hours. The degree of difficulty individuals experience in balancing work and family will be influenced by particular family circumstances such as whether or not there are children, how old the children are, and how many other adults share the responsibility for earning money and providing care.

If this is not acknowledged, important dimensions to the challenge of managing work and family will be overlooked. For example, while some researchers identify increasing overwork and growing feelings of time pressure (Schor 1991; Hochschild 1997; Presser 2003; Tausig and Fenwick 2001), others argue that these reports are misplaced because average individual working hours have not objectively increased over time (Robinson and Godbey 1997; Gershuny 2000). But this view misses the important point that average stability can mask significant changes in the way jobs and families are structured and can obscure differences between groups. Jacobs and Gerson (2004) suggest that in order to understand the growing reports of time pressure and overwork (e.g. Robinson and Godbey 1997; Schor 1991) it is necessary to study the hours of labour supplied to the market by all workers in a household. They argue that the distinctive feature of the last 50 years is the increasing proportion of families in which both husband and wife work full-time. The movement of women into the workforce has implications beyond the individual. When both members of a couple are committing time to the paid work force, pressure on the whole household is higher.

A further point is that households can be divided into categories according to how the adults within them allocate time to market work and home duties. For example, Crompton (1999) identifies four ways in which the households of married/de facto couples can arrange their commitments to employment and care. These can be classified as different employment–care regimes: male-breadwinner–female carer; male full-time–female part-time worker, part-time carer; dual-earner–substitute carer; and dual-earner–dual-carer. A further household type, lone parent families, usually form from households that previously contained two parents (Gray et al. 2002). Sole parent households will experience particular work pressures and demands.

Moreover, households are dynamic over time. It is sometimes argued that people have a strong preference for a particular household type (or employment–care arrangement), which will arise from their views and values and will remain constant over their lifetime (Hakim 2000). Others suggest that preferences as to how time is divided between work and family are not fixed but fluid (Morehead 2005). Arrangements change as needs alter, and households that conformed to one type may metamorphose into another, particularly as children grow. Therefore, the differences between household types may well be an artefact of the life course stage. The male-breadwinner family is not necessarily only associated with an older generation with more traditional views on sex roles, but is also a form strongly associated with households with preschool-age children. Family responsibilities, indicated by the presence and the age of children, might systematically differ between each of the household types described above.

However, differences *between* households are only part of the story. *Intra*-household differences are also important. The challenges of balancing work and family are not the same for all adults within a household. Most obviously, the demands are very different for men and for women. Men commit more of their total work time to the paid workforce than women do, while women commit more of their total work time to domestic labour and childcare (Craig 2002a, 2005b). Although men were expected to undertake more of the domestic chores as women entered the paid work force (Bergmann 1986; Harrington 1999), moves in this direction have been very slow (Boje 1996; Gershuny 2000; Bianchi 2004). Even when both marital partners work full-time, women perform over twice as much of the household unpaid labour as men do (Baxter, Hewitt, and Western 2005).

At least partly because gender issues are so central to the management of work and family, there is little agreement on how social policy should best address the matter. There is no

universal cross-national consensus as to which policy measures are the most effective in helping families manage work and family, or indeed, upon what actually constitutes an appropriate work–family balance. Both the desired outcomes and the most effective policy models to adopt are contested. Gender and social norms suffuse the issue. Each putative solution to the challenge of reconciling work and family interacts with a complex mixture of values, culture, structure, institutions and preferences (Pfau-Effinger 2000; Hantrais 1995).

While this means that social policy measures sit within a network of other influences, they can powerfully shape the choices couples are able to make regarding their allocation of time to market work and care (Gornick and Meyers 2003). In particular, there is an important distinction to be drawn between the policies that enable parents to care for their own children (cash transfers to home-based carers and employment-based rights, such as parental leave and part-time work), and social supports that make it possible for parents not to be full-time carers (particularly access to childcare) (Leira 2002). Some policies are designed to support women to care at home, while others are designed to support women's labour force attachment.

Non-parental childcare is designed to substitute for parental care. It is the key measure for facilitating any increase in the full-time labour force participation of women (Jaumotte 2003; Orloff 1996). A supply of affordable and accessible non-parental childcare is a common factor in countries with high full-time female participation rates (Gornick and Meyers 2003). The question is whether this is a desired outcome. Some would argue that it is. The OECD, for example, argues that mobilising the untapped labour supply of women may be the most effective antidote to the looming labour shortages projected to flow from the structural ageing of western populations. This insight is applicable to Australia. Siobhan Austen (2003) argues that Australian women are a key source of potential labour, comprising fully 64.3 per cent of total non-employed labour in 2003. Increasing Australian women's labour force 'participation to 100% would reduce the total amount of non-employed [under-utilised] labour by 44.06 percentage points, whilst an increase in the working hours of women who are currently working part time to 40 hours per week would reduce non-employed labour by 20.20 percentage points' (Austen 2003: 5).

However, there is by no means universal agreement that encouraging women into the full-time paid workforce is desirable. In many quarters there is concern that if mothers work full-time, children will receive insufficient parental care, and suffer from neglect (Leach et al. 2005; Pfau-Effinger 2000; Gornick and Meyers 2004). High levels of maternal involvement with their children are regarded as a vital contribution to child well-being. Many who value the idea of parents personally caring for their own children do not support full-time female workforce participation. Where this is the case, measures that allow mothers to remain highly involved with their children may find more policy support. Also, there is concern that mothers who work full-time may themselves be overtaxed by having to assume a dual burden (Hochschild and Machung 1989).

Flexible work scheduling, particularly part-time work, is seen as a way of ensuring mothers are both involved with their children and attached to the workforce but not overburdened. Few western nations now have many women who remain full-time homemakers all their lives, but preferences for part-time or full-time work differ markedly between countries (Rubery, Smith, and Fagan 1999). Australia is a country in which the work-care model of fathers working full-time, and mothers working part-time is widely adopted (OECD 2002; Jaumotte 2003).

So for different reasons and with different workforce outcomes in mind, non-parental childcare and part-time working hours are both mooted as policies that will assist parents to balance work and family. However, little is known about how these arrangements actually impact upon work pressure. With few exceptions (Craig 2002b, forthcoming-a) this has not been a subject of previous research.

In summary, many of the dimensions of the challenge of managing work and family are currently obscure. Little is known about the full amount of unpaid domestic work performed, the combined impact of work and care responsibilities, how the challenges of work and family vary between household types (employment–care regimes), how the challenges of work and family affect different individuals within households, and how particular social policy measures such as non-parental care and part-time work actually affect the management of work and family. No previous research has brought together all these dimensions of the question. This report is an attempt to do so.

1.3 Research focus

In order to supply new evidence on Australians' current experiences of work-family management, this report will

- provide measures of objective time pressure:
 - time spent in childcare;
 - time spent in unpaid domestic labour; and
 - time spent in all forms of work, paid and unpaid
- provide measures of subjective time pressure (feelings of being pressured and rushed for time);
- investigate how the challenges of managing work and family vary between household types (categorised in terms of employment–care arrangements);
- investigate how the challenges of managing work and family differ for men and women;
- investigate whether managing work and family is different for lone parents and for mothers in couple families; and
- provide evidence of the effectiveness (or otherwise) of two policies – part-time work and non-parental childcare – in reducing work–family strain.

2 Data and method

2.1 ABS Time Use Survey

The TUS 1997 is the most recent in a regular series of national cross-sectional household time-use surveys conducted by the ABS. The ABS TUS is an unusually detailed and comprehensive national probability survey, which has been described by the U.S. National Academy of Sciences as ‘the Mercedes of time-use surveys’ (Committee on National Statistics 2000: 30). It uses the time-diary method, recognised by international specialists to be the most accurate method of time-data collection (Andorka 1987; Juster and Stafford 1991; Robinson and Godbey 1997). The diaries are collected at four different points in time over the year, in order to capture seasonal variations in time allocation. Over 4,000 households, comprising more than 8,000 persons, were randomly selected across all Australian states and territories.

Time-use surveys are a source of information uniquely suited to address the research issues outlined above, and to yield insights into the management of work and family. Unlike most sources of statistical information, time-use data provide a research window into the private world of the home. Their unique contribution to research is to provide empirical measurement of the amount of unpaid work that is performed within households (Gershuny 2000). The TUS divides activities into nine broad categories (personal care, employment-related activities, education activities, domestic activities, childcare activities, purchasing goods and services, voluntary work and care activities, social and community interaction, and recreation and leisure). The categories are exhaustive, so every part of the day is accounted for. Among other things, this means the data can provide information on how individuals and households allocate time and labour resources to both home and employment, and it is this capability that allows this report to quantify the combined pressures of work and family commitments.

The survey requires each person aged 15 years or older resident in each sampled household to record all his or her activities over two days. Men and women from the same household complete diaries on the same day(s). This means that the TUS can provide information on how labour resources are allocated to home and work both by individuals and by households, and so facilitates investigation of individuals in the context of family. This multilevel investigation offers a fuller understanding of the dimensions of managing work and family than do surveys that collect information on only one individual in each household. It means that the present study can categorise households by the labour force participation of both adults, and compare how the management of work and family differs from one employment–care regime to another.

Activities are recorded in five-minute time blocks. This yields an average of over 30 episodes a day, a level of detail unusual by international standards (Juster and Stafford 1991; Robinson and Godbey 1997; ABS 1998). The Australian time-use surveys are also unusually comprehensive. They contain a great deal of demographic information both about individuals and about the households in which they reside. For example, the TUS gathers information on the time children spend in non-parental care (either informal care or formal care) outside the home, and this information is not found in comparable national time-use surveys in other countries.

The TUS also provides accurate information about the times activities start and finish, their location and who else was present (ABS 1998). As well, it records simultaneous (‘secondary’) activities, information which is essential to quantifying the full extent of time

commitment to family care. In addition to being asked to fill in their main activity every five minutes, respondents are asked, ‘What else were you doing at the same time?’ This information is vital to the full exploration of the research questions addressed in this report. The implications of secondary activity and its importance for calculating a full measure of time devoted to work and family are discussed more fully below.

The TUS does have some limitations. The data are cross-sectional so they can provide no information on trends over time;¹ in families with more than one child, the relevant variables record only the total parental care time and not the time spent with each individual child; and the data show only what respondents actually do, not their motivation or satisfaction. However, the survey does contain a question on the extent to which the respondents feel rushed or pressed for time, and it is the replies to that question that are used in this report as indicators of subjective time pressure. This is described more fully below.

This study uses a sub-sample of the TUS data. Households with adults other than a marital or de facto couple or a sole parent are excluded, to eliminate the potential confounding effect of other adults in the household contributing to childcare or housework. This paper treats cohabiting couples as de facto married, following the Australian government's convention. The age range is restricted to those between 25 and 54 years old. This simplifies the analysis and interpretation by removing younger full-time students and ‘early retirees’ from the investigation, and concentrating on the age range most crucial in family formation and building a career. These restrictions leave 2557 persons on which to base the main analysis in this report.

In some parts of the report, the focus of analysis necessitates further population restrictions. When the focus of the investigation is the time spent performing childcare, the sample is restricted to parents only (1308 persons). When sole parents are the focus of interest, the sample is restricted to mothers only (899 women). Because the particular interest of this report is how they compare with mothers in couple families, the results for lone mothers are discussed in a separate section so that the comparison is not confounded by the characteristics they share with single women. Men are excluded from the analysis of sole parents because there were insufficient sole fathers in the sample to yield meaningful results.

2.2 Methods and measures

Descriptive analysis

Before proceeding with the detailed multivariate analysis, the report includes two descriptive analyses showing patterns for the whole of the relevant sample (of the couple households in sections 3 and 4, and of the sole mothers and married mothers in section 5). These analyses are a necessary step in the investigation of how Australian households manage the balance between work and family. They show how couple households allocate paid and unpaid work between the spouses, which household types are more likely to have children in them, and whether there are differences between sole mothers and married mothers in workforce participation rates, time spent in childcare, use of non-parental care, and feelings of time-pressure. However, descriptive analyses are limited. Because they present averages of the whole sample population, they obscure the differences between household types and could give a false impression about the effects on household workloads

¹ The Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) Survey has recently started collecting time-use data and eventually will be a source of longitudinal data.

of part-time work and non-parental care. In order to separate out the effects of household type and life course stage on time pressures it is necessary to employ multivariate analysis.

Tables A1, A2 and A3 in Appendix A present a summary describing the characteristics of each of the sub-samples – couples, parents and mothers – used in the descriptive analyses.

Multivariate analysis

Dependent variables

Objective time pressure is calculated by quantifying total time committed to paid and unpaid work, and subjective time pressure is measured by the respondents' self-reported time stress. These calculations have four dependent variables: the hours a week spent in the three work activities outlined below (objective time pressures), and the individuals' perceptions of how rushed or pressed for time they generally feel (the subjective time pressure).

Objective time pressure: parental childcare, unpaid work, total work

The total of the time devoted to both market and non-market work is the measure of 'objective time pressure' used by this report. The intention of the concept is to capture the amount of time individuals spend in all forms of work.

The three work activities that comprise objective time pressure are:

1. Childcare (ABS codes 500-599): teaching, helping children learn, reading, telling stories, playing games, listening to children, talking with and reprimanding children, feeding, bathing, dressing, putting children to sleep, carrying, holding, cuddling, hugging, soothing, journeys and communications associated with childcare activities, supervising games and recreational activities such as swimming, being an adult presence for children to turn to, maintaining a safe environment, monitoring children playing outside the home, keeping an eye on sleeping children.
2. Domestic labour (ABS codes 400-499): housework; food or drink preparation and meal clean-up; laundry, ironing and clothes care; tidying, dusting, scrubbing and vacuuming; paying bills and household management; lawn, yard pool and pet care; home maintenance and pet care; shopping for goods and services; communication and travel associated with these activities.
3. Paid work (ABS codes 200-299): employment-related activities – main job; other job; unpaid work in family business or farm; work breaks; job search; communication and travel associated with these activities.

These coded activities are used to develop three non-exclusive measures of objective time pressure. In order of increasing inclusiveness these are: childcare; unpaid work (domestic labour plus childcare); total work (paid employment plus domestic labour plus childcare).

Using these measures allows us to look both at the contribution domestic work and childcare make to objective time pressure, and at how these combine with paid work to create a total workload. Both total workload and its composition are important to understanding work and family demands. Hours allocated to paid market work can be described as 'contracted time' and hours allocated to non-market or domestic work can be described as 'committed time' (ABS 1998). Both kinds of time are obligatory in that the activities that fall into these categories are not discretionary, but necessary parts of life. Taken together, the time allocated to both market and non-market work is the individual's (or the household's) 'total

workload'. Since there is a finite 24 hours in any day, the greater the workload the lower the time available for personal self-care activities (for example, sleeping, washing, eating) and for leisure activities, social contact, civic participation and free time (Robinson and Godbey 1997). So it is important to know how much work people are doing in total, paid and unpaid. However, precisely because some work is remunerated and some is not, it is also important to know the magnitude and distribution of the unpaid component of total workload. Therefore we look at both the composite measure of paid and unpaid work, and at unpaid work and childcare separately.

In measuring workload an important complication needs to be borne in mind. People can do more than one thing at once. This makes measuring work time, particularly unpaid work time, challenging. Many unpaid domestic activities may be done simultaneously with other, nominally non-work activities. For example, people can watch television while doing the ironing. If only the television watching is counted, and not the ironing that is being done at the same time, we underestimate the amount of work that is actually being done. Therefore including 'secondary' unpaid work activities performed at the same time as non-work activities gives a more accurate picture of total workloads (Craig 2005b). Although time-use surveys are unique among official surveys in giving relatively precise estimates of the labour time devoted to non-market production, only careful analysis, including attention to secondary activities, reveals the true nature and extent of the constraints associated with family responsibilities.

This is particularly true of childcare. Childcare is the activity most likely to be recorded as a secondary activity. About twice as much childcare is done as a simultaneous, or 'secondary', activity than is done as a main or 'primary' activity (Craig 2002a; Craig and Bittman 2005; Ironmonger 2004). Respondents to time-diaries who are in charge of children, and who undertake another activity such as shopping, much more frequently record the shopping as their main activity than the childcare they are also performing. Including secondary activity in the estimation of childcare time is important because it gives a fuller account of the amount of time parents commit to children, and of the full dimensions of their total workload. Including secondary activity in the count allows us to calculate both the time that parents actively spend in performing childcare and the time when they are available to be called upon. Counting secondary activity is essential to acknowledging the full extent of the time commitment to work and family, because it is time during which parents cannot undertake those activities which require children to be absent. Quantifying secondary activity allows recognition of the ways in which being responsible for children acts upon parents as a constraint. However, despite its importance to capturing the full extent of family time commitment, with few exceptions (Craig 2006a, 2005b, 2002b; Zick and Bryant 1996; Ironmonger 2004) earlier studies have excluded this simultaneous or 'secondary' activity from their analyses.

There is a further aspect to capturing the full dimensions of parental childcare. Childcare is a heterogeneous activity in the sense that it includes a great range of tasks. Some of these are more demanding than others, and some are more important for children's development than others. In order to capture this heterogeneity some previous research (Craig 2006a, 2005b) has categorised childcare into these four broad activity groupings:

- 1) Interactive childcare (ABS activity codes 521 and 531): Face-to-face parent-child interaction in activities: teaching, helping children learn, reading, telling stories, playing games, listening to children, talking with and reprimanding children.
- 2) Physical and emotional childcare (ABS activity codes 511 and 512): Face-to-face parent-child interaction that revolves around physical care of children, feeding,

bathing, dressing, putting children to sleep, carrying, holding, cuddling, hugging, soothing.

3) Travel and communication (ABS activity codes 57 and 58): Travel can be associated with transportation to school, visits, sports training, music and ballet lessons, parents and teacher nights. Travel time includes time spent waiting, and meeting trains or buses. Communication (in person, by telephone or written) includes discussions with a spouse, other family members, friends, teachers and child workers when the conversation is about the child.

4) Passive childcare (ABS activity code 54): supervising games and recreational activities such as swimming, being an adult presence for children to turn to, maintaining a safe environment, monitoring children playing outside the home, keeping an eye on sleeping children.

That previous research into the above subcategories of parental childcare forms the basis of certain sections of this report, namely, the discussions of the ways in which non-parental childcare affects the magnitude and composition of parental care, and of how care by sole mothers compares (in magnitude and composition) with that of couple families.

To summarise, this report presents three measures of objective time pressure.

- *Total work (paid and unpaid)*: the total number of hours spent each week in paid market work and in unpaid domestic labour combined;
- *Unpaid work*: the total number of hours spent each week in domestic activities (laundry, cooking, cleaning, gardening, home maintenance, shopping, etc.), and childcare; and
- *Parental childcare*: the total number of hours a week that parents spend caring for their children and, where appropriate, the total hours a week that parents spend in the particular childcare activities outlined above.

Secondary activity is included in the calculation of all these measures because this aspect of time commitment is so central to the management of work and family, but when a work activity is recorded as both a primary and a secondary activity the time period is counted only once. Time when the secondary activity is sleep is excluded.

Subjective (perceived) time pressure

The fourth dependent variable is subjective time pressure. In addition to measuring time spent in market and non-market work (objective time pressure) as outlined above, this report seeks to capture perceived time constraint through analysing respondents' reported feelings of *subjective* time pressure. This is a measure of individuals' own perceptions about how rushed or pressed for time that they generally feel.

Market work is demanding, and many argue that it is becoming more so (Fuchs Epstein and Kallenberg 2004). Some suggest that changes to workplace organisation, increasing employment hours and the increase in non-standard work scheduling are contributing to feelings of stress and time pressure (Fenwick and Tausig 2004; Presser 2003). Home duties are also demanding. Caring for children and running a home can be challenging tasks (Rich 1977; Oakley 1974; Hochschild and Machung 1989). There is a further issue, which is not always recognised. There is a crucial difference between doing the activity of childcare and being responsible for ensuring that a child is cared for. Most Australian states have child neglect laws that oblige parents to be responsible for children at all times until they reach

the age of ten years or more. In addition to the planning for children's activities such as school, sleepovers, ballet, music lessons, and soccer practice, parents accept responsibility for supervising their children and monitoring their activities at all times. Like workers at the fire station, parents remain 'on call' 24-hours a day, holding themselves ready to respond to any emergency, from sleep interrupted by bad dreams and outbreaks of sibling discord, to serious medical emergencies. Responsibility is constraining but, as Michelle Budig and Nancy Folbre have suggested, 'responsibility is more a state of mind' than an activity (Budig and Folbre 2004): 59). This is difficult to capture quantitatively. Measures of objective workload cannot tell us how people feel about their responsibilities.

Fortunately, the ABS TUS contains a question on how 'rushed or pressed for time' respondents generally felt, and the answers – 'never', 'rarely', 'sometimes', 'often' and 'always' – give a measure of subjective time pressure. John P. Robinson and his colleagues, at the University of Maryland and the University of Michigan, originally developed the question, and they have investigated its psychometric qualities over a period of more than 30 years (Robinson and Godbey 1997). Variants have been adopted by official statistical agencies, including Statistics Canada and the US Office for National Statistics. The measure captures feelings of harriedness and time pressure, and allows us to draw conclusions about how these relate to employment participation, the stress of combining employment with home responsibilities, and the constraint associated with childcare. Since the respondent is invited to comment on how they individually experience time pressure (rather than the household), the analysis of this measure has been conducted only at an individual level.

Independent variables

The independent variables of interest are employment–care arrangements (household type) and the use of non-parental care.

Employment–care arrangements (household type)

The first independent variable is household type categorised by the labour force participation patterns of the adults in the household.

The reason for investigating work–family management by employment–care arrangements is that the analysis of time pressure needs to take into account the employment characteristics of the household as a whole, not just of the individuals in it. As mentioned above (section 1.2), Jacobs and Gerson (1998, 2004) have emphasised the importance of studying the hours of labour undertaken by all workers in a household. They suggest that the increasing numbers of families where both husband and wife commit themselves to full-time participation in the paid workforce explains why so many American families now complain about increased time-pressure. The experience of increased time pressure is rooted in the growing proportion of couple households where both partners are in paid employment, while at the same time there has been a tendency for employed individuals to work longer hours (50 hours or more per week).

As outlined briefly above (section 1.2), Rosemary Crompton has produced a classification of possible employment–care arrangements (Crompton 1999). She suggests that couple households can now be broadly categorised into four groups, according to how they allocate time to paid work and family care. The first group is the male-breadwinner model where the husband is employed full-time and the wife specialises in 'home duties' and childcare. The second group contains what are increasingly called the 'one-and-a-half-earner' households where the husband is in full-time employment and the wife is employed part-time and also takes on part-time caring duties. The third type is the dual-earner–substitute carer model,

whereby both husband and wife are committed to full-time employment and the children are in non-parental care during working hours. The fourth type is a dual-earner–dual-carer pattern where both husband and wife share equally in employment and care. These groupings of employment–care arrangements can be used to compare the pressures of work and family across different household types. In these household types all the men are in full-time paid employment, the categories being distinguished solely by variations in the wife's hours of paid employment.

This report adopts Crompton's classification, with slight modifications and the inclusion of sole parent families, to investigate how work and family management (as shown in the measures of objective and subjective time pressure described above) is affected by household workforce participation. The household types adopted are the 'male-breadwinner family', the 'one-and-a-half-earner' family, the 'dual-career family' (separated into two subtypes), families in which men do not work full-time, and sole mother families.

For the purposes of this report, male-breadwinner families have a husband who is employed full-time while the wife is not active in the labour market. In the one-and-a-half-earner family, the husband is employed full-time and the wife is employed part-time (less than 35 hours per week). In dual-career households both the husband and the wife are in full-time paid employment. There are two types of dual-career households according to the hours the women work: i) households in which the women work standard hours (35 to 48 hours per week); and ii) households in which the women work long hours (49 hours or more). It should be noted that what distinguishes the family types described here is actually the wife's labour force status. In every one of these family types, the husband is in full-time paid employment.

Contrasting with this is a final category of couple households in which the man does not work full-time. This category has been included for the sake of completeness. However, the men within it are a disparate group (part-time workers, disabled, unemployed), and the women's workforce participation varied widely, ranging from no paid work at all to full-time employment. Because the reasons for the lack of male full-time work and the women's work hours are so varied, conclusions about this household category should be drawn with caution. It has not been included in section 4, which analyses the effect of non-parental childcare because there were almost no households with children in which the father did not work full-time in the paid work force. This suggests that Crompton's dual-earner–dual-carer model is a family form that is rarely adopted in practice in Australia. Men seem to pass through the childbearing phases of their life course maintaining a stronger commitment to full-time work than at any other stage of the life course.

Because the issues of work-family management for sole parents differ in important ways from those facing couple families, the report will contain a section specifically focusing on lone parent households. (These are comprised only of sole mothers because there were too few sole fathers in the sample to yield a meaningful analysis). It was not possible to include sole mothers in the main analysis because they shared some characteristics with single women and some with married mothers. So each analysis was conducted on all the types of couple households, and then repeated to compare the time-use patterns of sole mothers with those of couple mothers, according to their work force participation and use of non-parental childcare. These analyses are presented in section 5.

The household types are entered into the regression model as a series of dummy variables

1. Male-breadwinner–female homemaker (yes=1)

2. Male full-time–female part-time – ‘one-and-a-half-earner’ (omitted category)
3. Dual-career
 - a. Woman working standard hours (yes=1)
 - b. Woman working 49+ hours (yes=1)
4. Families in which men do not work full-time (yes=1)

In the section comparing sole mothers to mothers in couple families, household types reflect female work-force participation and are entered into the model as

1. Full-time homemaker
2. Employed part-time (omitted category)
3. Employed full-time

The sample of sole mothers was too small to allow any differentiation between those who worked standard full-time hours and those who worked long full-time hours.

Non-parental childcare

The second independent variable is hours a week spent in non-parental care. Respondents to the ABS TUS were asked to record the number of hours that the reference child usually spent in formal and informal childcare each week. ‘Formal childcare’ refers to regulated care away from the child’s home. It includes before- and after-school care centres, long day care centres, family day care (in which registered providers care for up to five preschool children in their own homes), nursery school and kindergarten centres, and occasional care centres. ‘Informal childcare’ refers to non-regulated care either in the child’s home or elsewhere. Informal care includes care provided by the child’s siblings, grandparents, another relative of the child, or any other person (ABS 1998).

Hours of formal and informal care are coded as 1-15, 16-30, 31-45 and 45 hours or more. For this report, total non-parental care was calculated by summing midpoints of the ranges for formal and informal care and creating a single continuous variable ‘hours of non-parental care’. Because non-parental care is of relevance only to families that contain children, this variable is entered into the model only for the sections that specifically address it (section 4 – couple families – and section 5 – sole and couple mothers).

Control variables

Previous research has found that certain demographic factors will independently influence time allocation to paid and unpaid work activities (Craig 2005b forthcoming-b; Bianchi 2004). Central among these is the sex of the adults in the household, and the age and number of the children (family configuration).

Sex

The sex of the parent is an important intervening variable because it has its own effect on how individuals spend time in market and household work. Domestic labour has historically been the responsibility of women. It was assumed that the opportunities that have opened up for women in the paid work force would lead to equality in the home (Bergmann 1986; Hartmann 1981). However, changes in the extent to which women participate in paid work have been much more pronounced than changes in the domestic sphere (Boje 1996). Over the last few decades, men’s domestic labour time has increased only slightly (Bianchi 2004),

and even women who work full-time are still disproportionately responsible for domestic labour (Baxter, Hewitt, and Western 2005). This is despite evidence that the *idea* of gender equity in marriage is increasingly widely supported (Bittman and Pixley 1997; Dempsey 2001). Changes in attitudes are running ahead of changes in actual behaviour. The weight of evidence is that despite huge changes in women's workforce participation, there has been little complementary adjustment in male participation in unpaid work (Bianchi 2004; Bianchi 2000; Baxter 2002). The widespread expectation that men would enter the private sphere as women entered the public has not been borne out. Domestic labor has become somewhat more gender-equal over time, not because men now do more, but because women do much less (Baxter 2002; Bianchi 2004; Bittman 1998; Dempsey 1997; McMahon 1999).

Therefore, because the sex of the parent is likely to predict very different patterns in workforce participation and domestic work, it is entered into the model as a dummy variable (male=1, female omitted). It is also interacted with both the independent variables of interest, household type and non-parental care. Results presented graphically in this report are of these interacted terms.

Family configuration

Family configuration (the age and number of children) also strongly influences time allocation to paid and unpaid work. It has a profound effect on workload, particularly unpaid workload. Previous research has found that the presence of children, and the age of the youngest child, have effects on the total household workload that significantly outweigh the effect of the number of hours a household allocates to market work (Craig 2005b). The single most important effect on workload, particularly for women, is whether there is a child in the house, and how old that child is (Craig 2005b). Family unpaid workloads are lowest when there are no children in the household. They rise dramatically when a child is born, and they steadily decrease as the child(ren) mature(s) (Craig and Bittman 2005). The number of children is also relevant for the amount of unpaid work performed, though it has less influence upon workload than the age of the youngest child (Bianchi et al. 2000; Craig 2005b). Thus it is necessary to control for the influence of family composition (that is, the age and number of children in the household) when comparing objective and subjective time pressure.

It is particularly important to control for family configuration because there is a great deal of overlap between the effect of family configuration and that of household type as categorised by household workforce participation. As discussed above, the employment-care arrangements do not in themselves say anything about whether the arrangements are fixed or transitory. They may not be the result of preferences at all, but simply an accommodation to the pressures of a particular life stage, and strongly connected to the age and number of children present in a household. The so-called 'traditional male-breadwinner family' is not necessarily a form associated with an older generation, or with having a more traditional view of sex roles, but one disproportionately adopted by households in which there are young children. In other words, the differences between these household types may well be an artefact of the life course stage.² In couples without children both the man and the woman are in paid employment, in couples with very young children (<5 years) the woman tends not to be employed at all, and in couples with older children the woman tends to work part-time. A passage through these different family forms might be thought to be a characteristic journey over the life course for many Australian women.

² Iain Campbell suggested the likelihood that the household types might be associated with different stages of the life course.

Hence, it is important to include family configuration in the model in recognition of its profound effect on workforce participation and workload and its close correlation with household type. Unless family configuration is held constant, it is not possible to isolate the effects of household type and to draw conclusions about whether or not part-time work ameliorates household workload. The age and number of children would confound the results.

In the model the age and number of children are combined into variables representing family configuration as follows: no children (yes=1), one child aged 0-4 (omitted category), one child aged 5-9 (yes=1), two children youngest aged 0-4 (yes=1), two children youngest aged 5-9 (yes=1), three or more children youngest aged 0-4 (yes=1), three or more children youngest aged 5-9 (yes=1), three or more children youngest aged 10-14 (yes=1), and three or more children youngest aged 15+ (yes=1). Because the ages and the numbers of children have different effects on the workloads of men and of women, these family configuration dummy variables are interacted with sex.

Also entered into the model as controls are other variables that have been found to independently affect time allocation to paid and unpaid work activities (Craig 2005b, forthcoming-b; Bianchi et al. 2000; Sayer, Gauthier, and Furstenberg 2004).

Respondents' educational qualifications have been included as a series of dummy variables: high school (yes=1), skilled vocational (yes=1), other (yes=1), university qualifications (omitted category). Also entered as control variables are: household income (continuous variable in dollars per week: range \$0-\$2300); respondent's age: aged 20-24 (yes=1), aged 25-29 (yes=1), aged 30-34 (yes=1), aged 35-39 (omitted category), aged 40-44 (yes=1), aged 45-49 (yes=1), aged 50-54 (yes=1); whether the male spends over 49 hours per week in paid work (yes=1); and day of the week (of which Wednesday is the omitted category).

The reference category is a married woman with one child under five who spent time doing the specified activity on a Wednesday, used no non-parental care, had tertiary educational qualifications, and was aged 35 to 39 years, in a household in which the man did not work over 49 hours a week.

Analyses were conducted using linear regression. Variables of interest were tested using the Wald test. Where variables were entered as a set of dummy variables the incremental F test was used to compare the R^2 associated with the addition of the variable under question. Analyses were conducted in SPSS version 12 and significance was tested at the 5% level.

3 Couple families: impact of employment–care arrangements (household type)

Decisions about workforce participation are fundamental to how families will experience the challenge of managing work and family (Jacobs and Gerson 2004). This section of the report presents the results of the investigation into the effects of the workforce participation and care arrangements of households on objective and subjective time pressures in couple households. Of particular interest is whether the family form in which the man works full-time and the women works part-time is associated with an amelioration of either objective or subjective time pressure, that is, with relieving work-family strain. The reason for this focus of attention is that part-time work is often regarded as a good solution to the challenge of balancing work and family.

3.1 Background

Part-time work is widely seen as a way of allowing parents to be both involved with their children and attached to the workforce. On this view, part-time work offers parents the positive economic and social benefits of employment while reducing the stresses associated with juggling work and parenting responsibilities (Murphy and Athanasou 1999; Gjerdingen et al. 2001).

While either mothers or fathers could use part-time work as a means of balancing work and family, in practice it is usually the mother who is the part-time worker within a household (Olsen and Walby 2004). It is women who most often adjust their work hours around their parenting responsibilities. Women are far more likely than men to utilise family-friendly workplace measures including part-time employment, even when those measures are offered to both sexes (Bittman, Hoffmann, and Thompson 2004; Tremblay 2004; OECD 2002). Implicit in the advocacy of the one-and-a-half-earner household is the idea that the demands of paid work and caring for children are difficult to reconcile, and that it is mothers rather than fathers who are ultimately responsible for the care of children (Stycos and Weller 1967). Theories of child development place a great deal of emphasis on the paramount importance of maternal attention and care of young children (Leach et al. 2005; Bowlby 1972; Belsky 2001; Leach 1977). Part-time work allows women to give priority to their caring role. They can earn (some) money while still meeting the social standards of ‘proper motherhood’ and retaining motherhood as their primary identity (Pocock 2003; Jallinoja 1989).

Part-time work for women is especially well supported in Australia compared with other countries. The one-and-a-half-earner household in which fathers work full-time and mothers work part-time is particularly common in this country (OECD 2002). The availability of part-time work is the measure most frequently cited by Australian employers to indicate their accommodation of family responsibilities (Earle 2002), and a high number of Australian mothers say that part-time work is their preference (Glezer and Wolcott 1999; Probert 1997). This fits with attitudinal surveys showing there is particularly strong support in Australia for the idea that mothers of preschool children should withdraw from the workforce and that mothers who work should do so part-time (Evans and Kelley 2002). In 2000, 63 per cent of employed Australian mothers worked part-time (OECD 2002).

However, part-time work as a way of balancing work and family is not without problems. A substantial body of research has found that it is associated with lower wages and poorer career prospects in the longer term (Campbell, Chalmers, and Charlesworth 2005; Rubery, Smith, and Fagan 1999; Earle 2002), and leads to a considerable loss of earnings over a

lifetime (Breusch and Gray 2003; Olsen and Walby 2004). Also, the quality of the jobs themselves is often lower. It is rare, particularly outside the public service, to find part-time jobs that are of a similar quality to full-time work (Campbell, Chalmers, and Charlesworth 2005). More often, part-time work involves lower wages, less secure employment, reduced opportunities for promotion, and less interesting work content (Rose and Hartmann 2004). Sometimes employers' expectations of work output are not reduced commensurately with employee hours. Some part-time workers forego breaks in order to get through their work in the time available (Plantenga and Hansen 1999).

There are also consequences for gender equity. Part-time work may entrench the gender division of labour by perpetuating and strengthening women's disproportionate responsibility for home duties and weakening women's workforce attachment (Whittock et al. 2002; Morehead 2005). Whether or not women actually prefer this situation is contested. Catherine Hakim argues that they do, that most women who work part-time have entirely different tastes and preferences about work than do women who are employed full-time. She says they 'transfer quickly to part-time work as soon as a breadwinner husband permits it, choose undemanding jobs "with no worries or responsibilities" when they do work, and are hence found concentrated in lower paid and lower grade jobs which offer convenient working hours with which they [are] satisfied' (Hakim, 1997:43). Others reject the view that this behaviour necessarily reflects a fixed preference, arguing that women's choices may be constrained by factors including lack of childcare, workforce discrimination, and the gendered division of domestic labour (Cartwright 2004; Morehead 2005).

Part-time work can be viewed as a compromise that gives greater time flexibility at the cost of reduced earnings and market opportunities (Rose and Hartmann 2004). However, while its merits are debated, the assumption that it does reduce time pressure appears to be largely uncontested. Even the so-called 'gloomy' view of part-time work (Hakim 1997) accepts the idea that it is a trade-off. All the views described above, whether favourable or adverse, leave unchallenged the idea that shorter hours of paid employment resolve the strain of balancing work and family, both objectively and subjectively. In other words they assume that part-time work is less demanding on mothers' time. Since every day has a finite number of hours, part-time work is presumed to objectively ease time pressure, freeing up time contracted to the labour market and making it available for home-centred activities like childcare, leisure and personal care. The presumption seems to be that the alternatives for mothers are part-time paid work or exhaustion. Part-time work is also presumed to ease the subjective experience of time pressure because it reduces the perceived competition for scarce time resources between work and family responsibilities, resolving conflicts between the emotional attachment to children and the self-esteem derived from employment and career.

However, some previous research has found that women who work part-time spend as much time on the average performing home duties and housework as women who are full-time housewives, and that they therefore work very long hours in total (Craig 2002b). Of interest is how part-time work fits into an overall workload. It may mean that women avoid having to choose between full-time homemaking and full-time employment, but only at the cost of taking on high total paid and unpaid work commitments.

Hence, a central part of this investigation into how each of the possible configurations of work and care (household type) impact upon time allocation is the question of whether or not part-time work acts as an effective ameliorator of work-family strain, as measured by objective and subjective time pressure.

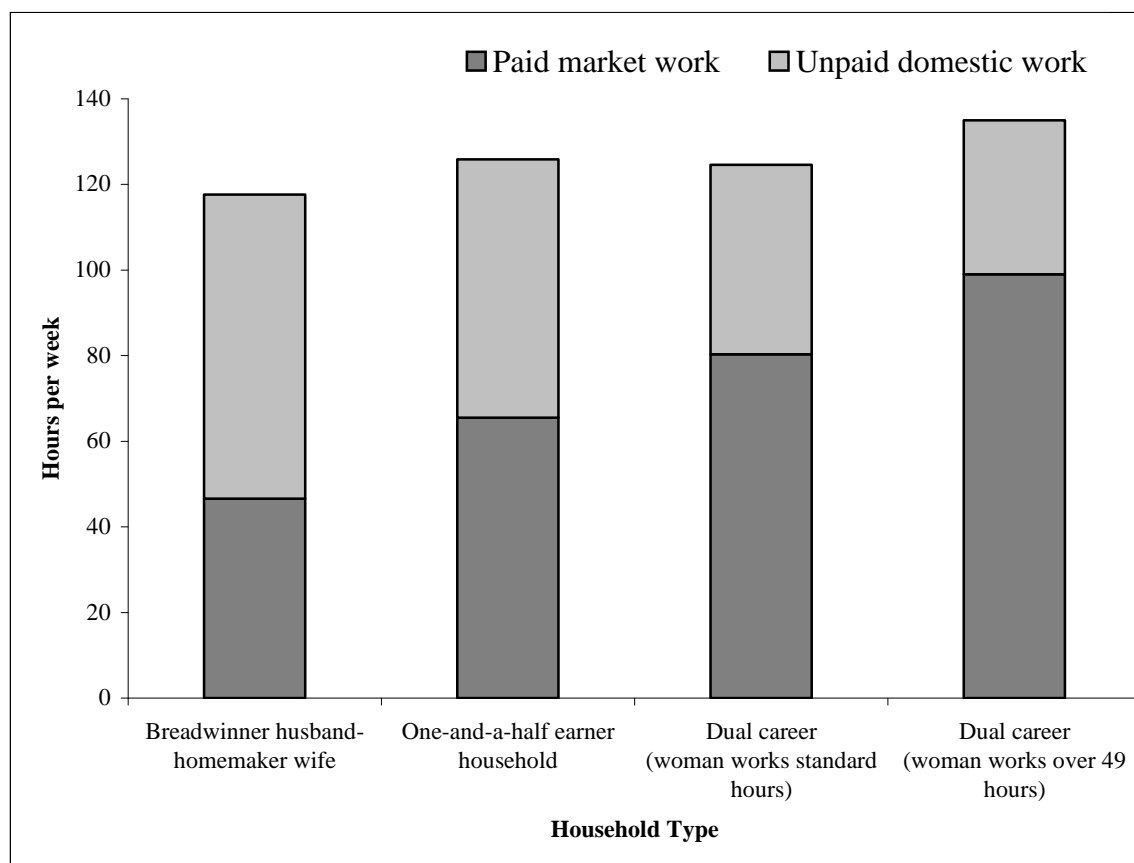
3.2 Results

In this section, a sample of couple households (with or without children) is used to investigate the first two measures of objective time pressure – time spent in unpaid work, and time spent in total work. Parental childcare (a subset of unpaid work and total work) is measured separately, and in this case the sample is limited to parents only, while the full sample is used to investigate how household type affects perceived time pressure.

Descriptive analysis

Figure 3.1 shows the mean distribution of the total combined hours that men and women spend each week in paid and unpaid work by four different household types. The sum of the households' entire market and non-market labour, that is, their total workload, is represented by the height of the bar. The husbands' and wives' combined supply of unpaid non-market labour is shown in the lighter shaded portion of the columns, and their combined supply of paid market labour is shown in the darker shaded portion of the columns. The graph shows both the total amount of paid and unpaid work performed in each household type (the whole bar), and the relative time allocation to paid work and to unpaid work in each household type (the dark and light shaded sections of the bar respectively).

Figure 3.1 Household paid and unpaid hours per week by household type

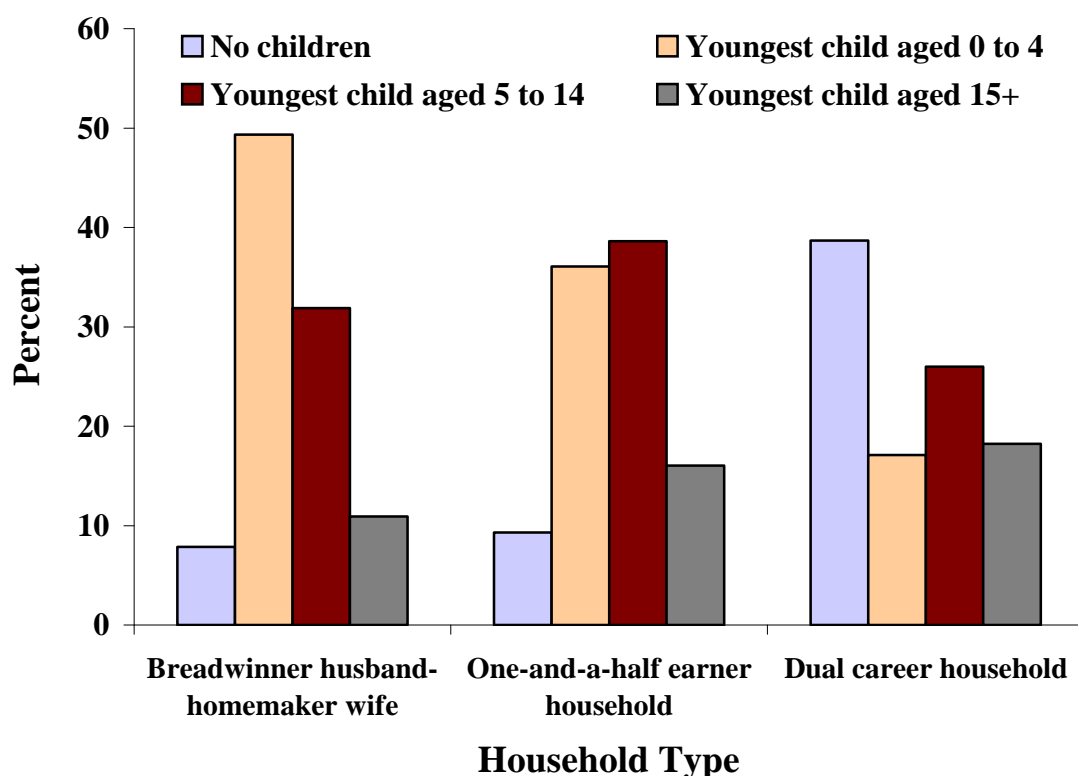


As might be expected, the household's supply of market work is greatest among dual-career couples (85 hours a week for all dual-career couples averaged), and smallest among male-breadwinner couples (47 hours a week), while the one-and-a-half earner couples occupy an intermediate position (66 hours a week).

However, our results indicate that there is not a one-to-one correspondence in the reduction of time spent in unpaid work, when there is an increase in the amount of time spent in paid work. In Figure 3.1, notice that the mean unpaid work of the one-and-a-half-earner family is much larger than either type of dual-career family and more closely resembles the mean unpaid workload of the male-breadwinner family. The average amount of time spent in unpaid work in households where the woman works part-time is 60 hours a week, which is more similar to the amount of time allocated to unpaid work in male-breadwinner households (71 hours a week), than it is to that of the dual-earner households (44 hours a week standard hours, 36 hours a week long hours).

The total workload for the one-and-a-half-earner household is very similar to that of the dual-career households in which the woman works standard hours. Both do a similar amount of work in total. Both allocate about 125 weekly hours to paid work and unpaid work combined. Only the male-breadwinner family has a lesser total workload, an average of 117½ hours. Dual-career households in which women work long hours average 135 hours total work a week.

Figure 3.2 Household type by age of youngest child



As discussed above, women's work patterns vary according to their life course stage, that is, according to whether or not they have children and according to the age of their children. This relationship is illustrated in Figure 3.2, which confirms that these employment-care arrangements are systematically associated with different life course stages. Compared with the other household types, the male-breadwinner families have the greatest proportion of couples with preschool children and the smallest proportion of those without children. The one-and-a-half earner families have a similarly low proportion of childless couples but an intermediate level of preschool children. The dual-earner couple families have the highest proportion of childless couples and lowest numbers of families with preschool-age children.

This pattern is even more pronounced in households where women work longer than 49 hours per week.

Multivariate analysis

Unpaid work

We now proceed to the results of the multivariate analysis. For the purposes of comparison with the four household types where all the husbands worked full-time, this section includes an extra household type, 'husband not full-time', in the analyses of unpaid work, total work and subjective time pressure.

Figure 3.3 shows the influence of household employment–care patterns on weekly hours of unpaid work, for both men and women aged 35 to 39 in couple households, in which there is one child aged between zero and four years, the man did not work over 49 hours a week, no non-parental care is used and the diary was filled out on a Wednesday (the reference category). It shows the amount of unpaid work performed weekly as either a primary or secondary activity by both women (broken line) and men (unbroken line), according to household type. The full results of the multivariate analysis can be found in Table B1, in Appendix B.

Figure 3.3 Hours per week unpaid work by household type by sex (couple households)

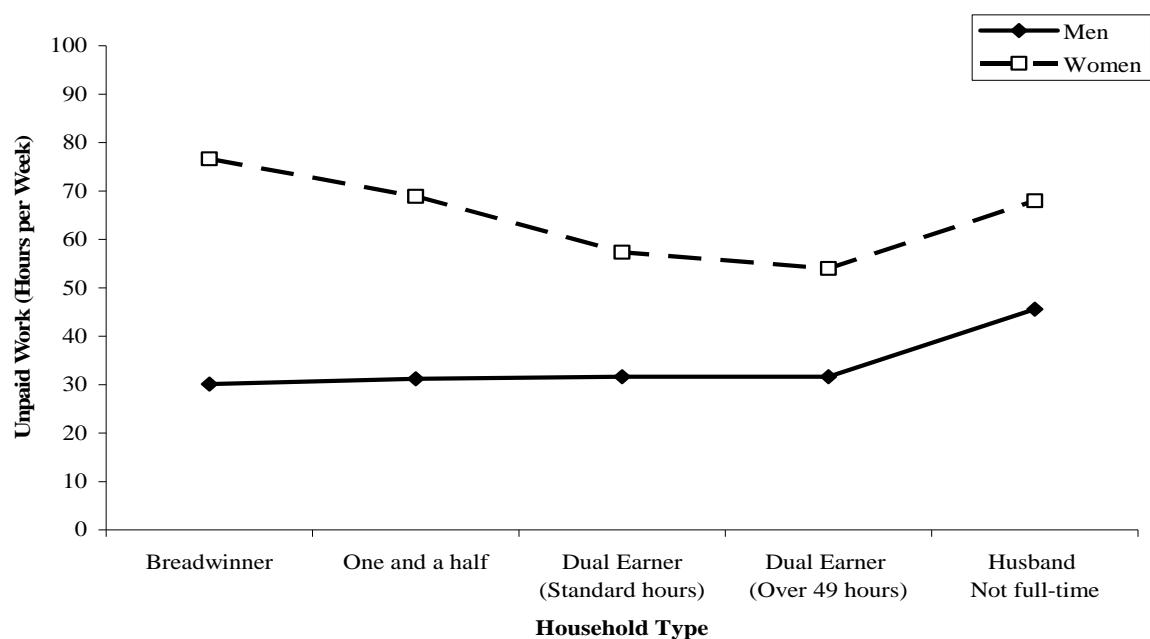


Figure 3.3 illustrates several findings. First, it confirms that women do more unpaid domestic labour than men. Whatever their employment status, women spend substantially more hours a week performing unpaid labour than men do. The difference between the sexes is greatest in male-breadwinner households, in which men average 30 hours a week unpaid work, and women average nearly 80 hours. At 50 hours a week, this is a substantial gap. The difference between the sexes is least in the dual-earner households in which women work more than 49 hours a week, and in the households in which the men do not work full-time. In both these household types, the gap between male and female unpaid hours is about 22 hours a week.

Second, it is notable that women's unpaid work varies with their hours of paid employment. It steadily reduces as their hours in market work rise. Women who are homemakers average 76½ hours of unpaid work a week, women who work part-time average just under 69 hours, women who work full-time standard hours average about 57¼ hours, and women who work over 49 hours a week average slightly less than 54 hours.

Third, men's time in unpaid work is not responsive to changes in women's employment hours. In each of the household types in which men work full-time, their allocation of time to unpaid work is about 30 hours a week, and there is almost no change with variations in women's hours of paid employment. Whether their wives are homemakers, work part-time, work standard full-time hours, or work very long hours, men put in a constant amount of unpaid work. Husband's unpaid work hours are remarkably impervious to variation in their wives' paid work hours. This means that even in households in which women are working more than 49 hours week, they are still doing over 20 hours a week more unpaid work than the men.

The last household type represented in the graph is that in which men do not work full-time hours. Men in this grouping do more unpaid work than other men, which suggests that they may raise their contribution to unpaid work if male market work is reduced. However, the gender gap still holds, with women in these households performing over 22 hours more unpaid work a week than the men do. And it should be remembered that the category contains such a variety of types of market work that the results should be interpreted with caution.

It would seem that it is the variation in each individual's own employment hours that has the most impact upon unpaid work hours. The employment hours of one's spouse has a much lesser effect, particularly for men. When men's hours of paid work are constant (all full-time), their hours of unpaid work are also constant, varying only when their workforce participation is not full-time. The women adjust their hours of unpaid work according to their type of workforce participation – as it goes up they reduce their unpaid work time – whereas the men's behaviour does not vary. There is not a movement by both men and women towards more equal sharing as a result of female labour force participation, but rather a unilateral adjustment by women. The exception is households in which men do not work full-time. When their own hours committed to the market are reduced, men do increase their hours of unpaid work. Their extra contribution does not mean that they match the unpaid work contribution of women, but that the gender gap in unpaid work time is somewhat reduced compared with all other family types (except the dual-career households in which the women are employed for over 49 hours a week).

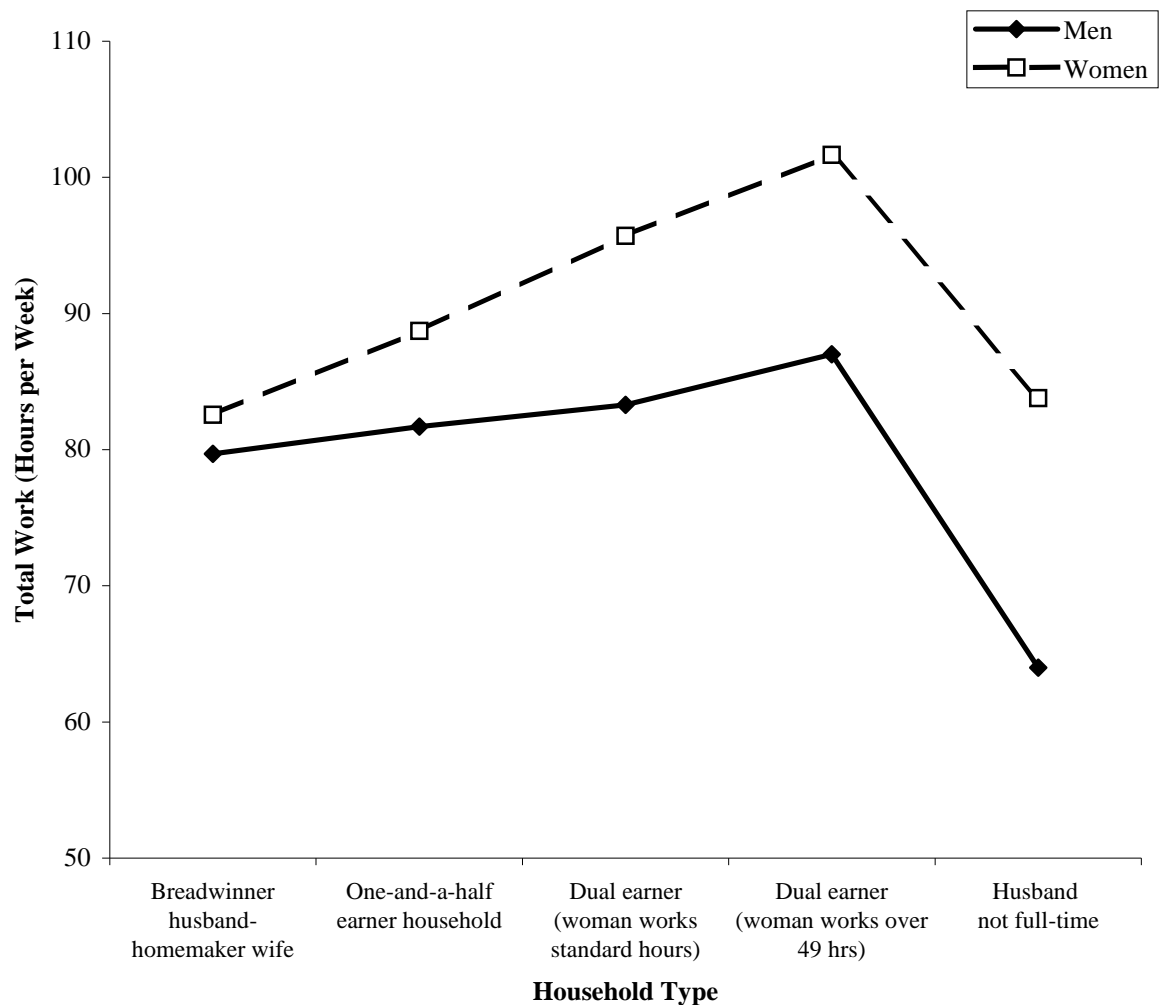
Total work

Figure 3.4 shows the influence of household employment–care patterns on weekly hours of total paid and unpaid work, for both men and women aged 35 to 39 in couple households, in which there is one child aged between zero and four years, the man did not work over 49 hours a week, no non-parental care is used and the diary was filled out on a Wednesday (the reference category). It shows the total amount of weekly work performed as either a primary or secondary activity by both women (broken line) and men (unbroken line), according to household type. The full results of the multivariate analysis can be found in Table B2, Appendix B.

Figure 3.4 reveals a difference in the effect of household type upon total work by sex. The total amount of time that men who are employed full-time spend in paid and unpaid work

varies relatively little by household type, especially in households where women are not employed for long hours. In some instances, household type had no significant effect on men's total work hours at all. There was no statistical difference between, on the one hand, the total hours of work performed by men in one-and-a-half-earner households and in the dual-earner households where the women worked standard full-time hours, and on the other, the total hours of work performed by men in male-breadwinner households. In other words, men in the first two types of household did no more work in total than men in households where women were not in the paid workforce. There was, however, a statistically significant difference between men's hours of total work in male-breadwinner households and their total hours in dual-earner households where the women worked more than 49 hours per week (P-value > 0.05). In the latter households, men averaged five hours more total work a week than men in other household types.

Figure 3.4 Hours per week total paid and unpaid work by household type by sex (couple households)



In contrast, the time women spend in total work varies considerably by household type. Total work activities increase steadily as women's hours of paid market work increase, because women who take on paid work do not shed their domestic responsibilities at a rate equivalent to the hours they take up. While there is not a simple addition of paid work to unpaid work, there is far from a one-to-one substitution of an hour of paid work for every

hour of unpaid work. This means that employed women's total workloads can be very substantial. Further, as women add more paid work hours to their weekly commitments, a difference in total workload opens up between men and women. Women in the male-breadwinner households spent on average 82 hours per week in total work; this is similar to the 79.7 hours of their male counterparts. In the one-and-a-half-earner families, women spent 88.7 hours per week in total work, eight hours more than did the males in these households. In the dual-career households where women worked standard hours, women's total work amounted to 95.7 hours a week. In dual-career households where women worked long hours women's total work amounted to 101 hours a week. Men in these households worked 83 hours and 87 hours respectively.

The results indicate that when women engage in market work, they do not abandon their domestic responsibilities. Moreover, the longer women's market hours, the greater the discrepancy between the total workload of men and of women. In a meaningful sense, women who do market work take on a dual burden. Previous research has shown that this effect is only revealed if secondary activity is calculated. If only primary activity is considered, this effect is obscured (Craig 2005b)

Households in which men were not employed full-time showed a marked difference from the pattern found in households in which men were employed full-time. Women in 'male not full-time' households did the same amount of total work as wives in breadwinner households and, despite their higher contribution to unpaid work, the men did much less total work than any other category of male. It should be remembered that the men and women in this group are disparate, and conclusions about the behaviour exhibited may not be readily generalised.

Parental childcare

This section investigates the amount of parental childcare performed in each household type. The sample is limited to those households with a child aged 12 years or less, because in the TUS non-parental childcare is only recorded for children of this age group. The question at issue here is how work-care arrangements affect the time that parents spend with their children.

Figure 3.5 shows the influence of household employment-care patterns on weekly hours of parental childcare, for both men and women aged 35 to 39 in couple households, in which there is one child aged between zero and four years, the man did not work over 49 hours a week, no non-parental care is used and the diary was filled out on a Wednesday (the reference category). It shows the amount of parental childcare performed weekly as either a primary or secondary activity by both women (broken line) and men (unbroken line) in the reference category, according to household type. The full results of the multivariate analysis can be found in Table B3, Appendix B.

Figure 3.5 Hours per week parental childcare by household type by sex (couple households)

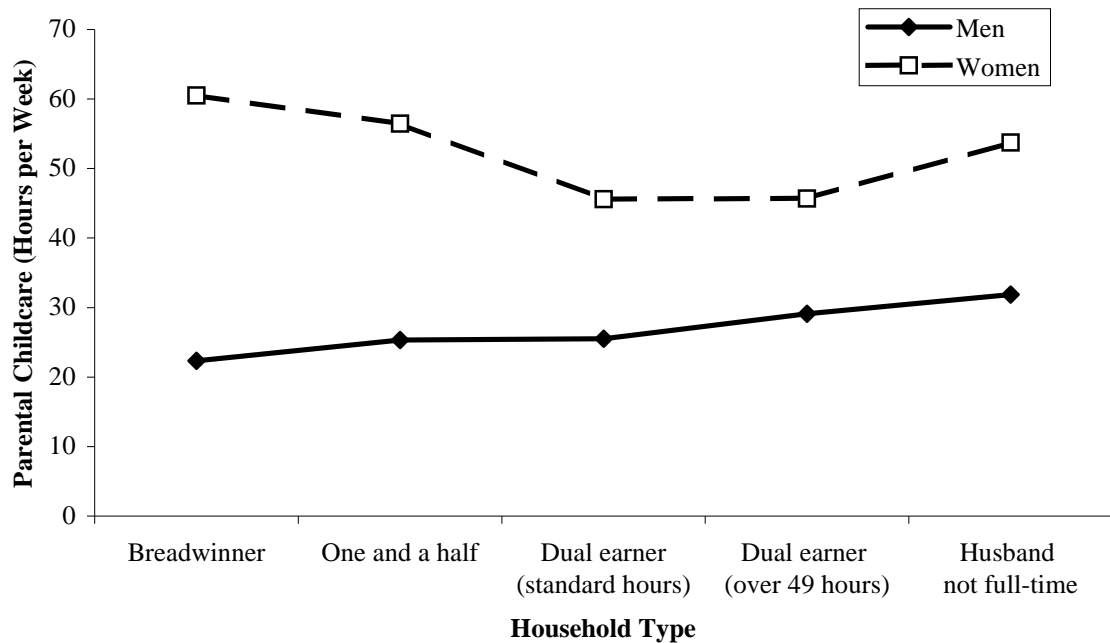


Figure 3.5 illustrates several important points. First, in all the household types women do significantly more childcare than men; second, women do not reduce their childcare time by an amount equivalent to their paid work hours; and third, in the main, men do not increase their childcare time when their wives are employed.

Childcare remains predominantly women's work regardless of their employment status. How much time women spend with children differs somewhat between the household types, but there is comparatively little impact of household type on men's time with children. In male-breadwinner households women do three times as much childcare as men and the proportion is very similar in one-and-a-half-earner households. There is no statistical difference in the male-female childcare gap between the male-breadwinner and the one-and-a-half-earner households. Women who are employed full-time and working standard hours still do twice as much childcare as the men in their households. This means that women employed standard full-time hours do 20 hours more childcare a week than men who work standard full-time hours. The men in households where the women work more than 49 hours a week do contribute slightly more time to childcare than other men do, although the women in these households still devote over 15 hours a week more to childcare activities than the men. The difference in the amount of time men and women spend in childcare persists even when men are not working full-time.

There is no statistical difference in the amount of parental childcare performed by women who are full-time homemakers and women who work part-time. Mothers employed part-time spend barely less time in parental childcare than mothers who are full-time homemakers. Mothers who are employed full-time (either standard or long hours) spend 10 hours a week less in the care of their children than mothers who are full-time homemakers. It is apparent that engaging in market work does have some limiting affect on maternal care. However, what is striking is how little that effect is. There is far less than an hour-for-hour reduction in maternal childcare when non-parental substitute care is called upon. There is

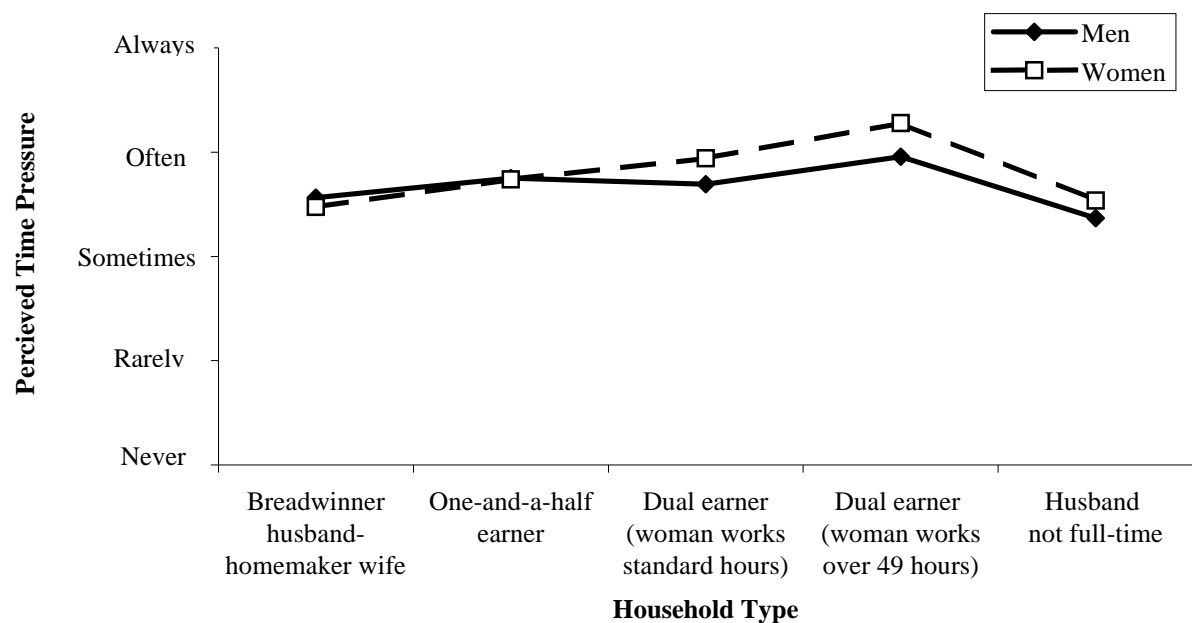
some change in hours of maternal childcare when women work full-time, but less than might be expected.

Perceived time pressure

This section investigates how employment–care arrangements impact upon subjective time pressure. Figure 3.6 shows the influence of household employment–care patterns on perceived (subjective) time pressure, for both men and women aged 35 to 39 in couple households, in which there is one child aged between zero and four years, the man did not work over 49 hours a week, no non-parental care is used and the diary was filled out on a Wednesday (the reference category). It shows the degree of time pressure reported by both women (broken line) and men (unbroken line) in the reference category, according to household type. The full results of the multivariate analysis can be found in Table B4, Appendix B. Because the questions on subjective time pressure are answered only once by each respondent, the figures represented in Figure 3.6 are drawn from one record per person.

The pattern of variation in women’s self-rated subjective time pressure between household types parallels the objective time pressures. The lowest levels of perceived time pressure were found among women in male-breadwinner families and the highest among women in dual-career households (see Figure 3.6).

Figure 3.6 Perceived time pressure by household type by sex (couple households)



Levels of subjective time pressure vary by household type. Both women and men in male-breadwinner households report the least stress. Compared with the one-and-a-half-earner and the dual-career households, the male-breadwinner households have average levels of subjective time pressure significantly lower for both sexes. There is no statistical difference in the perceived time pressure between the one-and-a-half-earner households and those dual-career households where the woman works a standard work-week. Both average a score in the ‘often’ range. The time pressure experienced in dual-career households where the wife has very long hours of paid employment, however, is significantly higher.

Although men’s perceived time pressure was not significantly different from that of women’s in the male-breadwinner and the one-and-a-half-earner households, and only

slightly less in the households where the husband did not work full-time, it was significantly lower both of the dual-earner households.

3.3 Conclusion

This section of the report has looked at how different arrangements of work and care (household type) impact upon objective time pressure (workload measured as time spent in unpaid work, total work and parental childcare) and subjective (self-reported, perceived) feelings of time pressure, in order to address the question of whether part-time work acts as an effective ameliorator of work-family strain.

Our results confirm Jacobs and Gersons' (2004) theory that to understand the growing reports of time pressure and overwork it is necessary to look beyond the hours of work of any single individual, and to study the hours of labour supplied to the market by all workers in a household. When this is done, both objective and subjective indicators of work-family strain tell a broadly consistent story. Changes in perceived time pressure mirror changes in objective total workloads. It has been claimed that average hours of work have not increased and that leisure time has not declined, and that therefore the rising levels of time pressure reported in the adult population is an 'illusion' (Robinson and Godbey, 1997). However, the analysis presented here shows that working parents' feelings of being rushed and pressed for time are supported by solid evidence showing that the households as a unit perform greater hours of work (adding together market and non-market work) than comparable single income families. Therefore, perception of growing work-family strain is rational, that is, based on real events. We have found that when both members of a couple are committing time to the paid work force, pressure on the whole household is higher.

Nevertheless, work-family strain remains a particular problem for women. It is women who are disproportionately subject to work-family strain because responsibility for childcare and housework in Australia is still predominantly 'women's work'. Household strategies for managing the time costs associated with the care of young children revolve around adaptations of mothers' hours of labour supplied to the market. Fathers' hours are relatively invariant. Even when women commit significant amounts of time to the paid workforce, they still do much more of the unpaid work and childcare than men do.

On the evidence presented here, work-family strain is not less in households where women work part-time than in households where they work standard full-time hours. The answer to the question of whether the adults in one-and-a-half-earner households suffer less work-family strain than adults in dual-career households is 'perhaps' for women and it makes no difference for men (with the exception of households where women's hours of paid employment are very long). The reduction in hours of women's market work from full- to part-time is almost offset by an increase in their unpaid workload. Withdrawing from the labour market completely (i.e. becoming a woman in a male-breadwinner family) is much more likely to reduce women's total hours of paid and unpaid work, than taking up part-time work. Recall also that women in one-and-a-half-earner families report much the same levels of time pressure as women in those dual-career households where the woman works standard full-time hours.

As a solution to balancing work and family, part-time work for women does not challenge the gender order. Men's input to housework and childcare is not higher in those households where women work part-time, and part-time work rarely offers the same career advancement as full-time work. It simply allows women to earn (some) money while still meeting the social standards of 'proper motherhood' and retaining motherhood as their

primary identity. Rather than being a mechanism through which women both pursue a career and retain substantial time to allocate to children, the primary outcome of part-time work may simply be that it allows women to give priority to their caring function (Pocock 2003).

The results in this report accord with the findings of previous research (Craig 2002b) that women who work part-time do not do so at the expense of the children's care. Mothers employed part-time barely lower their childcare time at all. This suggests that women who work part-time value time with children, and want to maintain it. They arrange their work time around their childcare commitments (Craig and Sawrikar forthcoming), and thereby substantially match the childcare inputs of homemaker mothers. Their total workloads are almost as high as those of women who work full-time. It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that they report nearly as much subjective time pressure as women who are employed full-time standard hours. While part-time work may allow mothers to emphasise family in their balancing of work and family, it does not mean that they do much less work overall, nor do they feel less exhausted.

However, even women who work full-time do not markedly lower the time they spend in care of their own children. This raises questions that are explored further in the next section of the report.

4 Couple families: impact of non-parental childcare

4.1 Background

Replacement care for children is widely regarded as a service that is essential for allowing families to moderate the difficulties they face in balancing work and family. Many see care which substitutes for mothers' time with children as fundamental to how women can manage motherhood and market work (Brennan 1998). The provision of good quality institutional childcare was seen by feminist reformers as an essential prerequisite to women's freedom to earn a living (Bergmann 1986). On this view, non-parental care is a necessary concomitant of female workforce participation, which in turn is seen as an avenue to full citizenship (Brennan 1998; Orloff 1996; Sainsbury 1996; Pfau-Effinger 2000; Bergmann 1986). Without it, mothers are unable to engage in market work at all.

In Australia in 2002, about half of all children under 12 years old used some form of childcare, either formal or informal. Formal care was used by about a quarter of Australian children under 12. Ten per cent of children used long day care, about 8 per cent attended preschool, and about 6 per cent attended after-school care programs. Three per cent used family day care, and 1 per cent used occasional care. Around a third of children used informal care, with a large majority of these (19 per cent of all children) being cared for by their grandparents. The parents of about a third of Australian children utilised a mixture of formal and informal arrangements (ABS 2002).

The quality of informal childcare is unknown and there is no enforcement of minimum standards. In contrast, formal childcare is quite highly regulated. Quality is monitored and standards enforced. The Quality Improvement and Accreditation Scheme licenses long day care centres for one-, two-, or three-year periods according to their compliance with 52 criteria.³ The Australian Federal Government makes Child Care Assistance payments to parents who use accredited centres. State governments monitor preschools, kindergartens and occasional care centres. Family day care is also a state responsibility. Local groups apply for a state government license to administer the service. They must demonstrate how they would address 156 items on a risk assessment list. Once licensed, the organisation assumes responsibility for recruiting, assessing and monitoring caregivers. The Australian formal childcare regulations are relatively demanding by world standards and therefore formal childcare is generally of high quality (Brennan 1998). The government reimburses a portion of the fees parents pay, but childcare providers can charge above the subsidy and only a certain number of subsidised places are available (Orloff 1996). As a consequence, in many parts of Australia formal childcare is both hard to access and very expensive (Pocock 2003). There are long waiting lists, particularly for the very limited places available for under-three-year-olds (Castles 2004). This makes the use of formal childcare difficult for many. Recent figures from the ABS suggest that lack of affordable and accessible childcare is a significant barrier to female workforce participation, which in 2004-2005 prevented over 250,000 women who wanted a job, or who wanted to work more hours, from doing so (ABS 2006).

Moreover, institutional childcare has not been universally accepted as a solution to problems in the management of family and work. Many Australians subscribe to the view that young

³ The initial assessment is self-administered, and is validated by peer review. If the centre fails to meet minimum standards it is given time to improve. In extreme cases, the license is revoked, which triggers an effective withdrawal of government funding because parents can no longer claim Child Care Assistance in respect of that centre.

children require full-time maternal care (Evans and Kelley 2002). As the trend to maternal workforce participation grew throughout the western world, so did the concern that as a result children would not be adequately cared for (Hewlett and West 1998; Hochschild 1997). There is continuing unease over the consequences for children of the effect of substituting the care of others for parental care (Arundell 2000; Presser 1995; Gornick and Meyers 2004). As a method of balancing work and family, out-sourcing care is presumed to facilitate women's adoption of male work-care patterns. Since men spend much less time with children than homemaker mothers, and fathers do not spend much more time with children when they have spouses who work than when they have homemaker wives, this would logically mean that children would receive less parental care overall. Those who value the idea of parents personally caring for their own children find female withdrawal from childcare problematic (Pfau-Effinger 2000; Gornick and Meyers 2004). Concern that employed mothers are depriving their children of vital maternal care is felt even by mothers themselves, who may feel ambivalence and guilt at leaving their children in the care of others (Arundell 2000).

In response to the concern over child welfare, there has been a great deal of research into the effect of non-parental care on child development and outcomes. The results are mixed, but do not indicate that non-parental care is necessarily harmful to children (Leach et al. 2005; Presser 1995; Bianchi and Robinson 1997; Zick, Bryant, and Osterbacka 2001; Han, Waldfogel, and Brooks-Gunn 2001). The effects of non-parental care vary with the age of the child. Some negative effects on behavioural and cognitive outcomes have been found if children attend long day care when under a year old, whereas older children have been found to benefit (Hoffman and Youngblad 1999; Belsky 2001; Brooks-Gunn, Han, and Waldfogel 2002; Han, Waldfogel, and Brooks-Gunn 2001). A recent longitudinal study of British children found that for babies and toddlers up to 18 months, group day care is not as good as one-on-one care. They found that children looked after at home by their mothers showed better social and emotional development than children who had been in day care. They found that other home-based care, including grandparents, childminders and nannies were (in ascending order) better than day care (Leach et al. 2005).

However, negative effects are mediated by other factors including the characteristics of the child (for example, temperament), the characteristics of the family (for example, income and parental education), and the quality of the day care institution itself (for example, having well-trained staff and high carer-child ratios) (Leach et al. 2005; Han, Waldfogel, and Brooks-Gunn 2001; Belsky 2001; Blau 2000; NICHD 1997; Shonkoff and Phillips 2000). The most important single mediator appears to be the influence of the family environment (Shonkoff and Phillips 2000). The US National Institute of Child Health and Human Development found that non-parental care does not have a detrimental effect on child outcomes unless poor quality care is combined with poor parenting (NICHD 1997). This suggests that parenting quality is not necessarily diminished concomitantly with the use of non-parental care.

Despite this finding, within the debate about non-parental childcare women's interests and children's interests are viewed as being in opposition. If non-parental care is accessed, mothers are presumed to benefit while children are presumed to lose out. The benefit that women are presumed to get is time and relief from parental duties. The underlying presumption is that the strain of balancing work and family will be reduced because substitute carers will perform much of the care of children. Like part-time work, non-parental care is viewed as a way of reducing the demands upon a mother.

Yet the presumption that using non-parental care will alleviate time pressure on mothers is unproven. There is growing evidence that mothers do not reduce the amount of time they spend with children by the same amount of time as they spend in paid work. Time-use research consistently shows that maternal childcare is reduced by far less than an hour for every hour the mother works (Nock and Kingston 1988; Bryant and Zick 1996; Bianchi 2000; Hofferth 2001; Booth et al. 2002; Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004; Sandberg and Hofferth 2001). This suggests that non-parental childcare does not completely replace mothers' time with their own children (Booth et al. 2002; Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004). It appears that women do not put children into care and then lower their own caring time by an equivalent amount, but rather substantially make up for time that children are with substitute carers. Research suggests that 'quality time', in particular, is preserved or protected (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004; Bryant and Zick 1996; Sandberg and Hofferth 2001; Nock and Kingston 1988). These findings raise questions about how non-parental care impacts on objective and subjective time pressure.

4.2 Results

This section of the report presents the results of the investigation into whether the use of non-parental care affects objective (unpaid workload, total workload, parental childcare) and subjective (perceived) time pressures in couple households with children under 12 years old. The full sample description is in Table A2, Appendix A. The regression model is the same as in section 3 with the addition of an independent variable 'weekly hours of non-parental care'.

Multivariate analysis

Unpaid work

Figure 4.1 shows the influence of the use of non-parental care on weekly hours of unpaid work (domestic work and childcare), for both mothers and fathers aged 35 to 39 in couple households, in which there is one child aged between zero and four years, the man did not work over 49 hours a week, no non-parental care is used and the diary was filled out on a Wednesday (the reference category). It shows the amount of unpaid work performed weekly as either a primary or secondary activity by both women (broken line) and men (unbroken line) in the reference category, according to hours of non-parental care. The full results of the multivariate analysis can be found in Table C1, Appendix C.

Figure 4.1 Hours per week unpaid work by weekly hours of non-parental childcare by sex (couple households)

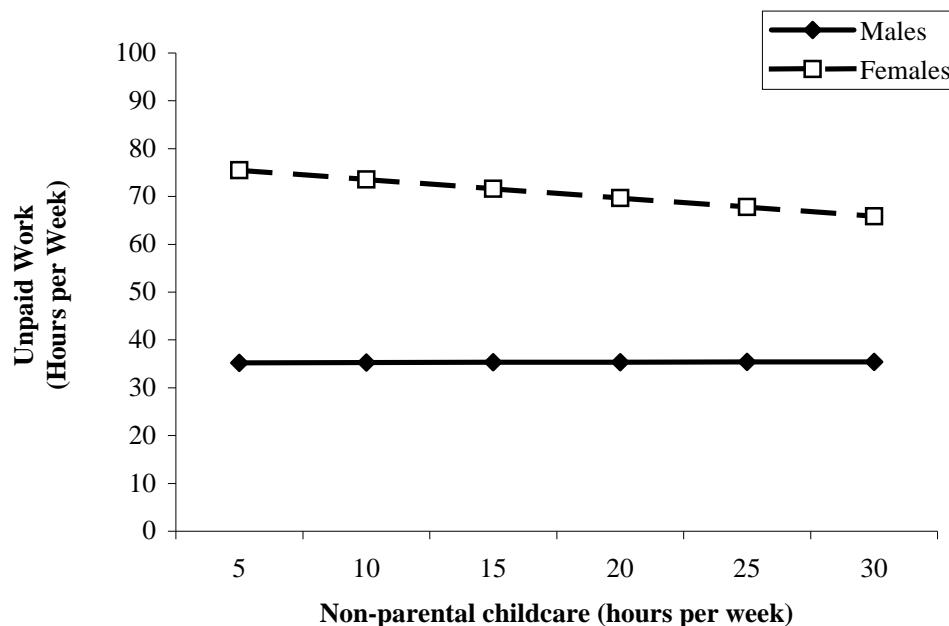


Figure 4.1 shows that the amount of time that men spend in unpaid work is unaffected by the amount of time that children spend in non-parental care. However many hours a week the children are in non-parental care, men average just over 35 hours a week unpaid work (domestic labour and childcare). This is a clear indication of the unresponsiveness of men to the childcare arrangements made in households. Male time in unpaid work does not respond to time that children spend in non-parental care. This is consistent with the finding in section 3 that male unpaid work time did not much vary with the hours that their wives worked.

There is, however, a steady reduction in the time that women spend in unpaid work associated with the amount of time that their children spend in non-parental care. This is consistent with the finding in section 3 that it is women, rather than men, who adjust their time around the needs of children. However, it is also striking that the reduction is far less than a lost hour of unpaid work for each hour of non-parental care. For every extra weekly hour their child(ren) spend in non-parental care, women reduce their unpaid work time only by about 22 minutes. So about a third of maternal unpaid work time is traded-off against non-parental childcare time, amounting to a reduction of 10 hours of unpaid work a week when 30 hours of non-parental care is used.

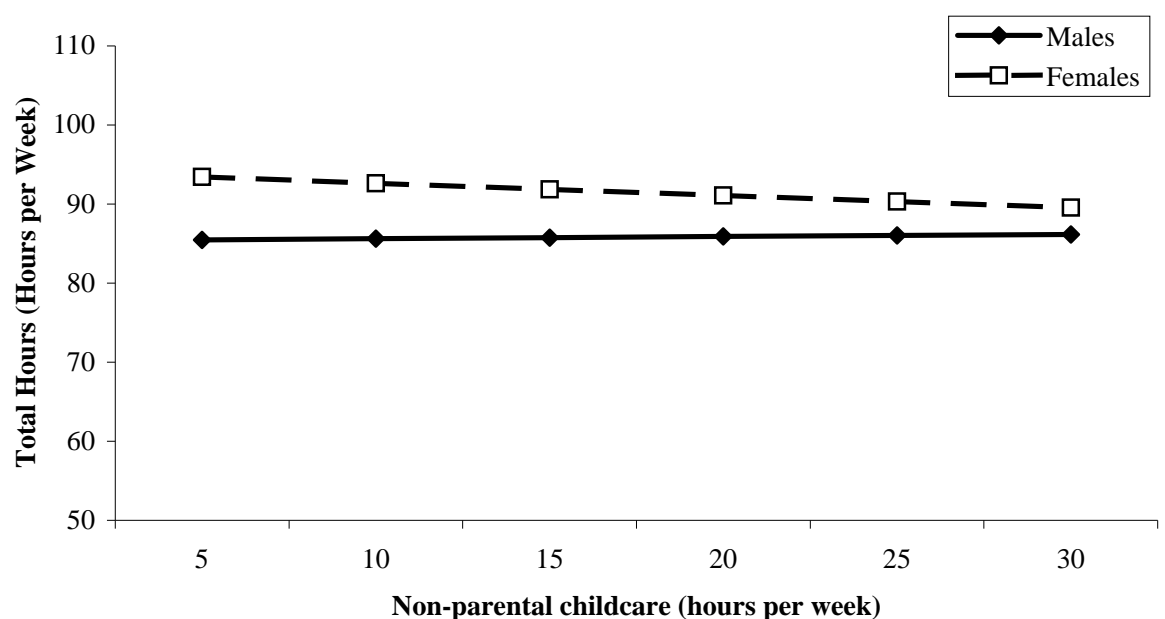
Total work

Figure 4.2 shows the influence of the use of non-parental care on weekly hours of total work (paid and unpaid) for both mothers and fathers aged 35 to 39 in couple households, in which there is one child aged between zero and four years, the man did not work over 49 hours a week, no non-parental care is used and the diary was filled out on a Wednesday (the reference category). It shows the total amount of work performed weekly as either a primary or secondary activity by both women (broken line) and men (unbroken line) in the reference category, according to the hours of non-parental care. The full results of the multivariate analysis can be found in Table C2, Appendix C.

The amount of time that children spend in non-parental childcare has no discernable impact on the amount of time that men spend in total domestic and market work. No matter how many hours a week their children spend in non-parental care, fathers' total combined work time remains constant. This is consistent with the findings for unpaid work above, and again shows that men's work time is impervious to variation in family arrangements.

For women there is a very small time adjustment in total workload associated with the use of non-parental care. As non-parental care time goes up, women reduce their total combined workload by 11 minutes of total work a week for every hour of non-parental care used. This adds up to an overall reduction of less than four hours total work a week if 30 weekly hours of non-parental childcare is used.

Figure 4.2 Hours per week total (paid and unpaid) work by weekly hours of non-parental childcare by sex (couple households)



Parental childcare

Figure 4.3 shows the influence of the use of non-parental care on weekly hours of parental childcare for both mothers and fathers aged 35 to 39 in couple households, in which there is one child aged between zero and four years, the man did not work over 49 hours a week, no non-parental care is used and the diary was filled out on a Wednesday (the reference category). It shows the amount of parental childcare performed weekly as either a primary or a secondary activity by both women (broken line) and men (unbroken line) in the reference category, according to hours of non-parental care. The full results of the multivariate analysis can be found in Table C3, Appendix C.

Figure 4.3 Hours per week parental childcare by weekly hours of non-parental childcare by sex (couple households)

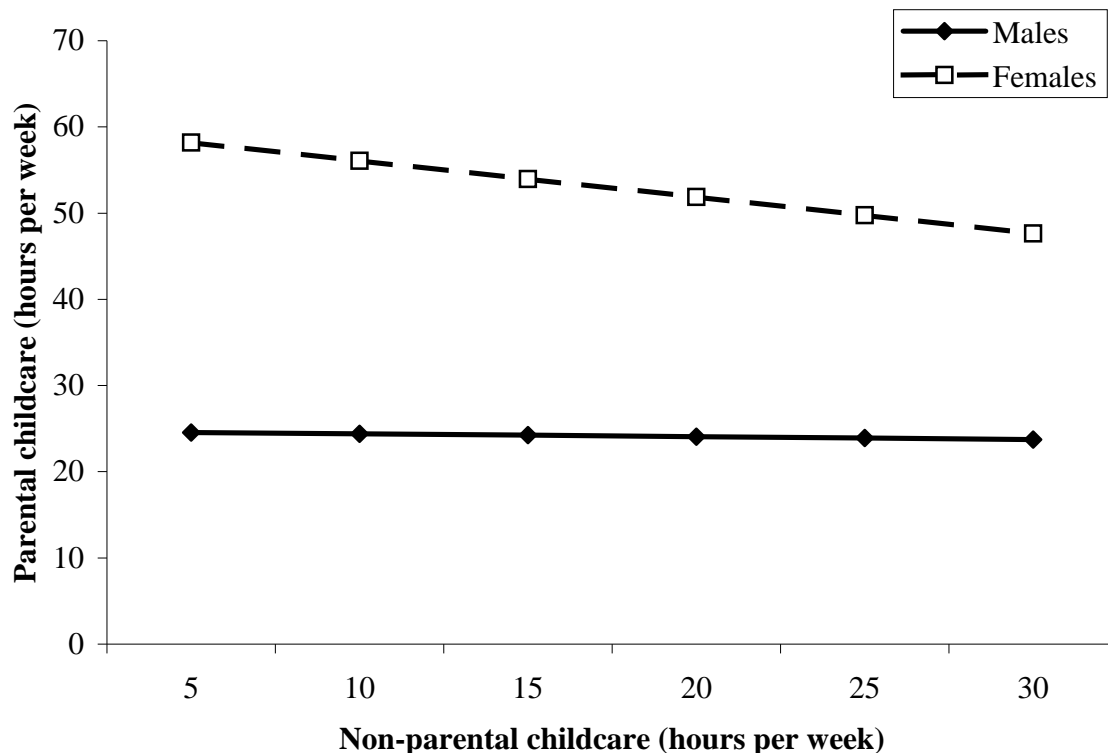


Figure 4.3 shows that men's time spent caring for their own children is not affected by the use of substitute care. Male time caring for children remains constant at about 24 hours a week, whether their children are in day care for five hours a week or for 30 hours. This is consistent with the findings above that male time in unpaid and total work does not alter when non-parental care is accessed.

In contrast, mothers' time in care of their own children *is* affected by the use of non-parental childcare. This is consistent with the finding in section 3 that it is women who take the major responsibility for the care of children, and that it is women who adjust their time around the needs of children, rather than men. Again it is evident that women devote much more time to childcare than men do, and that male domestic time is remarkably unresponsive to changes in household arrangements. It is to be expected, therefore, that the use of non-parental substitute care would have a greater impact on mothers' care than on fathers' care. It is a tool to relieve women of their responsibility for caring for their own children, by calling upon someone from outside the family to take over while they are not present.

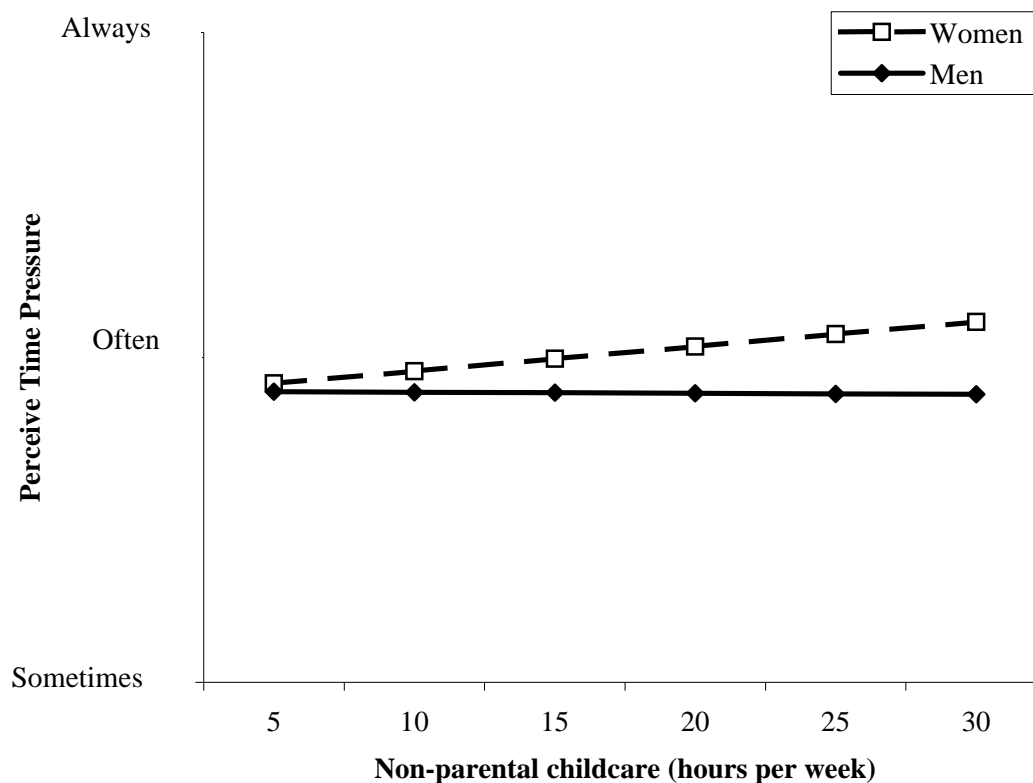
That there is no reduction in male care is not surprising, given that their workloads overall do not reduce as a result of non-parental care. Nor is it surprising that there *is* a reduction in mother care. What is notable, however, is that the reduction in maternal care associated with the use of non-parental care is not very great. As with unpaid and total work, the trade-off between non-parental care time and parental care time is much less than hour-for-hour. For every extra weekly hour their child(ren) spend in non-parental care, women reduce their parental childcare time by 22 minutes a week. Women whose children are in non-parental care for five hours a week do 58 hours of parental childcare, while women who use 30 hours

of childcare a week do 47 hours of parental childcare. So mothers who place their children in non-parental care reduce their own time with children by about a third. Given the ongoing anxiety over the possibility that replacing parental care will result in child neglect, this is a reassuring finding. It does not appear that children who are placed in day care miss out on as much maternal care as is widely feared.

Perceived time pressure

Figure 4.4 shows the influence of the use of non-parental care on perceived time pressure for both mothers and fathers aged 35 to 39 in couple households, in which there is one child aged between zero and four years, the man did not work over 49 hours a week, no non-parental care is used and the diary was filled out on a Wednesday (the reference category). It shows the degree of time pressure felt by both women (broken line) and men (unbroken line) in the reference category, according to hours of non-parental childcare. The full results of the multivariate analysis can be found in Table C4, Appendix C.

Figure 4.4 Perceived time pressure by weekly hours non-parental childcare by sex (couple households)



Fathers report no change in subjective time pressure irrespective of the amount of non-parental care that is used. Fathers are equally likely to report that they sometimes or often feel rushed or pressed for time, however many hours a week their children are in non-parental care. Their subjective feelings of time pressure are, like their objective workloads, unresponsive to the amount of childcare their children use. Thus there is correspondence between the objective time pressure experienced by fathers according to whether their

children use non-parental care, and the degree of subjective time pressure reported. Their actual time spent with children does not change, and nor do their subjective feelings.

With regard to mothers, the use of non-parental care does have an effect on subjective time pressure. This is perhaps to be expected, as women do the bulk of caring. Since it is women's time that is replaced by non-parental care, it could be predicted that the use of non-parental care will affect the subjective time pressure of women but not of men. However, the effect is the opposite of that which might have been expected. A logical expectation would be that finding others to care for your children would ameliorate subjective time pressure, but our results show that the contrary is the case. Rather than the use of non-parental care alleviating women's subjective time pressure, it actually seems to exacerbate it. The results shown here indicate that the use of non-parental care is associated with an increase, rather than a reduction, in the subjective time pressure of mothers. Significant to a p-value of >0.052 (a level only slightly over the conventional cut-off point of 0.05), women's subjective time pressure goes up as weekly hours of non-parental care use rise. Possible explanations for this somewhat counter-intuitive finding are discussed below.

4.3 Conclusion

Non-parental care, like part-time work, is at best a partial ameliorator of work-family strain. The use of non-parental childcare has no effect on men's time. It does not impact upon their time in unpaid work, total work, parental childcare or subjective time pressure. And it has mixed effects on women's time. It is associated with a modest decrease in unpaid work, total work and parental childcare, and with an actual increase in subjective time pressure. This suggests that, while non-parental childcare may operate as a mechanism to alleviate the time pressure upon women, the effects are somewhat contradictory. Having non-parental carers take over some responsibility for care relieves women of only some of the objective time burden, and exacerbates the subjective time burden.

The finding that maternal childcare is not reduced concomitantly with the use of non-parental care indicates that mothers place a high value on their commitments to children, and challenges the assumption that the use of non-parental care necessarily deprives children of vital parental care. It may help to explain why, despite the large body of research into the issue, non-parental care has not been found to be harmful to children. This may be not only because substitute care is not intrinsically damaging (as it is feared to be in some quarters), but also because of the factual inaccuracy of the assumption that children who use it are deprived of substantial amounts of maternal care (Craig forthcoming-a).

There is a further issue. Childcare is an extremely varied activity, and includes a great range of tasks and responsibilities, which have in previous research been categorised into four broad sub-groupings (set out in section 2 of this report) (Craig 2005b, 2006a). Some of these care activities are more demanding than others, some are more pleasant than others, and some are thought to be more important for childcare development than others. The finding that non-parental care does not replace maternal childcare time on an hour-for-hour basis raises the question of whether there is a pattern to the types of childcare that are preserved by mothers, and those which are delegated to non-parental carers. In other words, what parental childcare activities are actually lost when non-parental childcare is used?

Previous research into the effect of non-parental childcare on the composition of parental childcare has found that mothers give up some types of parental childcare activities to a greater extent than others (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004; Craig 2005b). There is a difference between mothers who use non-parental childcare and mothers who do not, in the

proportion of childcare time they spend in each of the four types of parental childcare. Women who allocate time away from their children protect the ‘quality time’ that is, the time spent in the most actively involved forms of childcare, and they reduce the passive, supervisory care. Hence, the maternal childcare time that is reduced in association with the use of non-parental care is mainly the time that homemaker mothers spend in non-involved, supervisory activities (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004; Craig 2005b).

A great deal of parental childcare time consists of this supervisory care that does not require the parent to be in constant interaction (Craig 2002a). As discussed in section 2, a large amount of childcare consists of keeping an eye on children, being a presence for them to turn to, and being ready to assist or provide care if called upon. Parents frequently watch and monitor children while they play, without actively engaging with them (Hofferth and Sandberg 2001). For much of the time parents simply ensure that children are safe. They are a presence for the child to turn to if needed, but they do not actively intervene unless called upon. Much of this type of childcare is done while doing something else at the same time, such as housework (Craig 2002b). It is this type of care that accounts for nearly all the difference in childcare time between women who place their children in non-parental care and women who don’t (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004). ‘Quality time activities’ are less affected. In other words, non-parental care substitutes for low intensity, supervisory activities, so a higher proportion of the time that mothers do spend with children is spent in close contact and interactive care activities.

Some childcare activities are not reduced at all when non-parental care is used. Parental care that involves interacting with children verbally does not decrease in association with the use of non-parental care (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004). Regardless of the weekly hours children spend in care outside the home, or the type of care (formal or informal) used, children enjoy the same amount of time in interactive activities with their parents. The effect of non-parental care on this aspect of parental care is minimal (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004).

This is important because it is interactive, talk-based childcare that enhances children’s sociability, cognitive ability, and educational and personal outcomes (Brooks-Gunn, Han, and Waldfogel 2002), and develops children’s human capital, promotes their intellectual and social progress, and assists in the creation of autobiographical memory (McGuigan and Salmon 2004). That this time is preserved may be why the use of non-parental care is less damaging to child development than is sometimes feared. Psychological research may have found that non-parental care is not inimical to good child outcomes (Han, Waldfogel, and Brooks-Gunn 2001; Belsky 2001; Blau 2000; NICHD 1997; Shonkoff and Phillips 2000), not only because substitute care is not in itself harmful to kids, but also because children don’t actually get less of the kind of maternal interaction time that most fosters social and cognitive maturity.

We can only speculate upon whether the action of mothers in defending this time is deliberate. Mothers may protect the time they spend in interactive activity with children because they regard it as particularly important to their children’s development, or perhaps this type of activity is retained because it is simply intrinsically more enjoyable than other types of care. We could further speculate that it may be the absence of this type of parent-child interaction that explains why a combination of non-parental childcare use and poor parenting can be detrimental to child development.

In contrast to the stability of interactive care time, the time spent in other forms of childcare is somewhat lowered when non-parental childcare is used (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre

2004). Mothers reduce time in physical interactions that consist largely of hands-on activities such as feeding and changing nappies. These activities are less amenable to rescheduling than the talking and playing activities that comprise interactive care, as some physical care activities have to be performed when the need arises. However, physical care activities are only partly delegated. Again it is striking that, although non-parental care does substitute for some maternal care, it does not do so on an hour-for-hour basis. Mothers who use non-parental care delegate between a third (informal care users) and a fifth (formal care users) of their physical care, meaning that even mothers who find non-parental substitutes for time with their children retain the majority of hands-on, high contact care (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004). This may be because much physical care such as bathing a child, or putting a child to bed are performed at the end of a traditional paid workday. Therefore, they are not suitable for delegation. Parents must perform them even after a full day's work. These latter activities, particularly if they involve talk-based interactions such as reading a bedtime story, are possibly more valued by the parents and may acquire symbolic importance (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004).

Interestingly, mothers who use informal care do less physical care than mothers who use formal care (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004). Since most informal care is performed by grandparents and other relatives (Craig 2005b), this may imply that mothers are more willing to delegate this type of high contact care to members of their family than to paid carers in a formal setting. Alternatively, the causality may run the other way. Formal day care service providers may be less willing to perform activities such as bathing children, than are the children's relatives.

So when non-parental care is used, mothers protect time in the most actively involved forms of childcare and non-parental care substitutes for low intensity activities, which means that the overall composition of maternal care is altered. One by-product of this is that the time such mothers allocate to each type of parental childcare is somewhat closer to the way in which fathers allocate their care time. While childcare remains predominantly women's work even when non-parental care is used (see Figure 4.3), the use of non-parental care brings male and female care patterns somewhat closer together (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004). Previous research has established that fathers and mothers perform somewhat different activities when they with children. Studies have found that women spend a greater proportion of their total care time in physical care activities than men do; fathers are more likely to engage in play, talking, educational, and recreational activities than in other forms of care (Craig 2002a, forthcoming; Lamb 1997; Starrels 1994; Douthitt 1988). Women spend twice to three times longer in most childcare activities (physical care, travel and communication, passive supervisory care) than men. Interactive activities are an exception to this pattern, since mothers and fathers devote nearly the same amount of time to talking and playing and instructing their children (Craig 2006b). As a result, interactive care comprises a much greater proportion of fathers' than mothers' total time in activities with children (Craig 2006b).

Therefore the gender division of labour in activities with children becomes somewhat more equal in households that use non-parental care (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004). Most of this is because some maternal physical care is transferred to non-parental caregivers, thereby increasing the proportion, though not the quantity, of the total household physical care that is undertaken by fathers. Men and women are still not doing exactly the same type of care, however. While the provision of non-parental care allows mothers to delegate some of their routine responsibilities to paid care providers, and therefore interactive activities come to represent a larger proportion of the time they spend with children, the gendered childcare task-allocation identified in previous research (Craig 2006b) appears to largely persist.

The finding in this report that women do not reduce their parental childcare time commensurate with their use of non-parental care testifies to the resilience and flexibility of maternal commitments to childrearing. Mothers appear to prioritise certain types of activities with their children and rearrange their schedules to accommodate these. As a result, use of non-parental care leads to only small reductions of parental time in activities with children. These results challenge the assumption that employment and non-parental care deny children vital parental care. This may alleviate concern over the detrimental results of day care upon children. Despite the huge concern that children might be missing out on essential care, there is actually less reduction in parental time than was widely anticipated. The expectation that women must make a choice between workforce participation and providing a high standard of care to their children has not been borne out. Women appear to resist such a trade-off.

With regard to child welfare, these results may be reassuring. But it does highlight a puzzle. Given that there are only 24 hours in the day, how do mothers who use childcare manage to maintain the time with children that they do? Previous research (Craig forthcoming-a) has found that women who use non-parental care shift the times they are together with their children to earlier or later in the day. They get up earlier and go to bed later than women in households who make no use of non-parental care. Also, it is not possible to delegate all childcare tasks. Children still have to be dressed, fed and bathed whether they attend day care or not. So mothers who use non-parental care do not give up their own care, but rather arrange their own childcare around the non-parental care. To accomplish this, they squeeze other forms of time-use, cutting down on housework, time spent in self-care activities such as bathing and grooming and, most particularly, they sacrifice any time spent in child-free recreation almost completely (Craig forthcoming-a).

Using non-parental care allows women to delegate some of parental childcare, but it also creates more time pressures. The implicit assumption within the debate about non-parental childcare that women's interests are served at the expense of children's welfare appears misplaced. Rather, it is maternal welfare that seems most at risk. At cost to their own rest, leisure and personal care time, mothers who use non-parental care ensure that their children do not miss out on their attention. Non-parental care is used to reschedule rather than to replace parental care. In addition, particularly if they are using formal care, mothers may have strict deadlines when they are to pick up their children.

The expectation that out-sourcing care will facilitate women's adoption of male work-care patterns has not proved correct. Women don't adopt male work-care patterns when they use non-parental care. Rather, they appear to adopt male work patterns but also substantially maintain female care patterns. This is the probable explanation for our apparently anomalous finding that women experience more subjective time pressure the more they use non-parental care. Like part-time work, non-parental care assists women to manage work and family, but does not obviate the considerable time stresses and pressures involved.

5 Sole mothers

Lone parents present a special case when considering work and family strain. Compared with parents in couple families, lone parents face particular difficulties in balancing their responsibilities to work and family (Scott et al. 1999; Land 2001; McLanahan 2002). All families with children face challenges in supporting them financially and in finding time to care for them, but lone parents are in an especially difficult position. In their case, providing children with financial support and finding the time to care for them fall to one individual, making each task more challenging. ‘Working single mothers face substantial and under recognized conflicts between worker and mother roles’ (Scott, et al. 1999: 23).

As a result, both objective (unpaid work, total work and childcare) and subjective (perceived) time pressure may be different for sole mothers than for mothers in couple families. Sole mothers’ workforce participation and use of non-parental care may also be subject to different constraints than are experienced by parents in couple families. This section of the report, therefore, investigates how objective and subjective time pressure compares for sole mothers and mothers in couple families according to i) their employment status, and ii) use of non-parental care.

5.1 Background

One of the many changes in family life in western countries over the last century has been an increase in the number of children who are living with one parent. This change is largely due to an increase in rates of divorce and separation, and only to a lesser extent to any increase in the numbers of unmarried women giving birth (Land and Lewis 1997; Scott et al. 1999; Ellwood and Jencks 2002; Lewis 2001). In the vast majority of cases, in both Australia and elsewhere, that sole parent is a woman (Moynihan, Rainwater, and Smeeding 2002). The increased incidence of sole parenthood is widely regarded as a matter of social concern (Saunders 2004). A major reason for this is that lone parents are more vulnerable to poverty than other families. A recent OECD report states that the average poverty rate for single parent families is three times higher than that for other families with children (OECD 2005). In Australia sole parents and their children are the family grouping most likely to be living in poverty (Branigan and Keebaugh 2005; Cassells, McNamara, and Lloyd 2005; Harding, Lloyd, and Greenwell 2001; Healey 2002; ACOSS 2000).

What is not universally agreed upon is the appropriate policy response to sole parents’ financial vulnerability. Many view the best solution to the high poverty rates of lone parents to be employment (Skevik 2005), and many countries adopt this as a primary goal of policy (OECD 2005). At the extreme, in the United States, getting sole mothers into paid work is currently such an important goal that income support for lone parents to care for their children is only available to a maximum lifetime total of five years (Scott et al. 1999). However, other countries place a higher policy priority on assisting sole mothers to care for their own children (Millar and Rowlingson 2001; Lewis et al. 2001). In these regimes, sole mothers are more likely to receive income support while the children are young, so that they can give care rather than earn income.

The dominant policy will reflect policy makers’ social and cultural position on the question of whether the state has a duty to take over some of the traditional responsibility of the male breadwinner to provide for children, or whether sole mothers should be personally responsible both to care for and to financially support their children. Policy will be informed by social views on the question of whether public support should ensure that the children of sole parents receive as much parental care as the children of couple parents, or whether the

more pressing concern is to ensure that sole parents do not receive favourable treatment (Saunders 2004). Depending on the values underlying the policy measures, a sole mother may be primarily expected to engage in market work or to care for her children, or to do both (Lewis 1999; Duncan and Edwards 1997; Millar and Rowlingson 2001).

Until recently, Australia had a combination of policy measures that suggested ambivalence regarding the relative importance of financial independence and of care provision by sole mothers (Gray, et al. 2002). Employment was encouraged but not compulsory (Brennan and Cass 2005). Sole mothers were given financial support to care for their children until they reached school-leaving age. This was a longer period of time than that available in most other countries (Saunders 2004), but the rate of support payment was low (ISAESR 2004). The policy appeared to reflect the view that caring for children was an important activity and that sole mothers should be able to be full-time homemakers if they chose, albeit at some financial sacrifice (Saunders 2004). Australian sole mothers do not participate in the paid work force to the same extent as couple mothers do (Gray et al. 2002), but the policy emphasis on the relative importance of work and care is now changing. The response to the question of whether sole mothers should be primarily mothers or primarily workers has moved progressively from supporting them to care at home, towards requiring them to take up paid work (Shaver 1998; Gray et al. 2002; McClure 2000; Brennan and Cass 2005).

Currently, under the same rules as apply to all families, Australian sole parents receive a one-off maternity payment and may be eligible for Family Tax Benefit Part A (FTBA) and Family Tax Benefit Part B (FTBB). FTBA is income-tested on joint parental income, and FTBB is income-tested only on the principal carer's income. Sole parents are eligible under the same criteria as other single-income families. They may also receive concessions on government services, childcare assistance and rent assistance. A means-tested payment, Parenting Payment Single (PPS) is payable until a sole parent's youngest child reaches 16, at a rate just under the Henderson poverty line (Brotherhood of St Laurence 2005; ISAESR 2004). The Jobs Education and Training (JET) scheme, introduced in 1987, aimed to help sole parents gain skills with which to enter the paid work force, but they were not compelled to take up employment (Brennan and Cass 2005).

The requirements were tightened in 2003. Since that time, parents on PPS with a youngest child aged between 6 and 12 have been required to attend Centrelink interviews every 12 months to discuss their plans for participation. With a child aged 13 to 16 years, they must find paid work or participate in a community activity for six hours a week. If they do not, they will be subject to financial penalty for being in breach of their eligibility for PPS (Brennan and Cass 2005). From mid-2006 there will be further changes. Sole mothers whose youngest child reaches the age of six will be required to make themselves available for 15 hours of paid work a week. Their income support will change from PPS to the even more financially constrained Newstart Allowance for jobseekers. In addition to being set at a lower rate than PPS, Newstart has a less generous earnings disregard and taper rate for part-time earnings (Brennan and Cass 2005; Harding, Vu, and Percival 2005; Centrelink 2005).

Workforce participation for sole mothers is being more explicitly promoted by government policy makers. How will this affect the ability of sole mothers to manage work and family? Lone parents have more constraints on their time because they have no partner with whom to share the care. Requiring sole mothers to take up paid work may have an impact on the work-family strain they experience. Engaging in more market work means reducing the time devoted to childcare and domestic labour. Douthitt argues that encouraging sole mothers into employment will expose them to time poverty (Douthitt 1992), and many are concerned

that if mothers are not available to care, children will be neglected (Hewlett, Rankin, and West 2002; Gornick and Meyers 2004).

There is little research on the time that sole mothers devote to childcare. Most research has focused on financial issues. Despite the importance of both aspects of parental responsibility, there is an imbalance of information. In contrast to the large body of evidence on the financial consequences of sole motherhood (Harding, Lloyd, and Greenwell 2001; Healey 2002; ACOSS 2000), there has been little research into the extent and nature of sole mothers' caring duties, and hence how they balance their work and care responsibilities.

What is known suggests that sole mothers experience more time constraint than couple mothers in some ways but not in others. A study of the time-use patterns of single-woman, couple-parent and sole-parent households investigated the question of whether sole mothers had higher total workloads than other women, and whether the amount and nature of the parental time given to children with sole parents differed from that given to children in couple families (Craig 2005c). It found that, when both paid and unpaid workloads were counted, sole mothers worked longer total hours than single women but shorter hours than partnered mothers. Sole mothers did less domestic labour and less paid work than mothers in couple families. Presumably they did less domestic labour because they did none of the caring services that married mothers provided their husbands; and they did less paid work because they lacked a spouse who made it possible to take up market work. Sole mothers also had slightly more recreation time without children present than did the mothers in couple families. Single women were found to do less housework than women in couples did, even when there were children the household. Partnered mothers averaged both more unpaid domestic labour and longer daily hours in the paid workforce than sole mothers.

A major reason for this is that sole mothers give priority to the care of their children over market work. Children of sole parents do not receive fewer total hours of parental care than do children in two-parent families (Craig 2005c). This is partly because a very high proportion of the time that fathers in two-parent families are with their children, mothers are also present (Craig 2006a). Since fathers' contribution to childcare so often overlaps with that of their wives, sole mothers manage almost to equal couple families' levels of childcare, and thereby they nearly make up for the time inputs of a resident father. In order to do this, sole mothers spend time alone with their children for many more hours a day than partnered mothers do. This means that doing something else with their time (like paid work) would entail leaving their children unsupervised. This indicates a very great constraint on their time, and could be a major reason why sole mothers spend less time in paid employment than partnered mothers (Craig 2005c).

The study also investigated how parents spent the time when they were with their children, in order to establish whether children of sole parents were receiving qualitatively different parental care than were children in two-parent families. It compared the time spent by lone mothers and by mothers in couple families in each of the subcategories of childcare: 'interactive care', 'physical care', 'low intensity care' and 'travel and communication' (described in section 2). It found that the children of couple parents received only slightly more physical care and interactive care when the (often simultaneous) input of both parents was counted. The sole mothers did more supervisory childcare simultaneously with other tasks than the partnered mothers did (Craig 2005c).

The following section looks at the question of whether the potential alleviators of work-family strain impact differently upon sole mothers than they do upon couple mothers. It compares parental time for sole and partnered mothers in different employment statuses, and

the impact of non-parental care upon the objective and subjective time pressures on sole and couple mothers.

5.2 Results

For this section of the analysis, the sample was limited to sole mothers and mothers in couple families, aged 20-54 years, with dependent children aged under 12. The population restrictions yield a sample of 776 couple mothers and 123 lone mothers. The full sample description can be found in Table A3, Appendix A

Descriptive analysis

There were substantial demographic differences between the sole and the couple mothers in our sample. The sole mothers were rather younger than the couple mothers (32.5 and 35.1 years old, respectively). The mean household income for couple mothers was \$967.10 per week, compared with \$388.30 a week for sole mothers. Sole mothers and mothers in couple families had very different patterns of workforce participation. Forty-five per cent of couple mothers were full time homemakers, compared with 63 per cent of sole mothers. Thirty-five percent of couple mothers were employed part-time, compared with 24 per cent of sole mothers, and while 21 per cent of the couple mothers in the sample were employed full-time, only 14 per cent of sole mothers were (see Table A3)

Couple mothers had a higher workforce participation than sole mothers (both full-time and part-time), despite the fact that a higher proportion also had a youngest child who was under school-age. Fifty-six per cent of the couple mothers had a youngest child aged under five, and 44 per cent had a youngest child aged between five and 12. For the sole mothers, the proportions were almost exactly reversed: 42 per cent had a youngest child less than five years old, and 57 per cent had a youngest child aged between 5 and 12 years (see Table A3). This compositional difference may reflect the fact that most sole mothers have been in partnerships which have broken down, and this means that relatively few begin their lone child-raising with very young children (Scott et al. 1999; Lewis et al. 2001; Millar and Rowlingson 2001).

Previous research using the TUS 1997 (Craig 2005c) investigated the question of whether workforce participation patterns for sole and couple mothers were associated with the age of the youngest child. It found that differences in employment participation by marital status are slightly accentuated as children get older. Both sole and couple mothers were more likely to work when their children are at school, but the workforce participation gap between them does not reduce. With children under five, 60 per cent of sole mothers did not participate in paid work, compared with 48 per cent of couple mothers with children of the same age (a difference of 12 per cent). Of those with school-age children, 48 per cent of sole mothers did no market work, compared with 34 per cent of couple mothers a difference of 14 per cent). The differences between full-time and part-time workforce participation shown in Table A3 were also associated with the age of the youngest child. Sole mothers were less likely than partnered mothers to work part-time, and they appeared not to return to the workforce as part-time workers when their youngest child went to primary school, to the same extent as mothers in couple families.

Couple mothers have a higher workforce participation than sole mothers despite a higher use of non-parental care by sole mothers. This present research is consistent with the findings of previous research (Qu 2003; Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004; Craig 2005c) that sole mothers are more reliant on non-parental care than mothers in couple families. In this sample, more couple mothers than sole mothers used no non-parental care at all (46 per cent

to 38 per cent). There were some differences in the type of non-parental care called upon by sole and couple mothers. While the same proportion (17 per cent) of sole and couple mothers used formal care, more of the sole mothers used informal care than did couple mothers (25 per cent to 21 per cent), and more of the sole mothers used a combination of both formal and informal care than did couple mothers (20 per cent to 16 per cent) (see Table A3).

That sole mothers do use more non-parental care is not unexpected. It seems logical that sole mothers would be more reliant on outside help in the care of their children than couple households who have more adult time resources available (Douthitt 1992; Lewis et al. 2001; Scott et al. 1999). The lack of another adult in the household with whom to share the responsibilities of care and earning could mean that sole parents are more dependent on extra-household childcare than partnered couples (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004). Previous analyses of non-parental childcare usage by sole and couple mothers in Australia show that this is the case; sole mothers do rely more heavily on non-parental care than couple mothers (Qu 2003; Craig 2005b; Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004).

An analysis of school-aged children found that 73 per cent of children in sole-parent families used non-parental care, in comparison to only 50 per cent of children in couple families (Qu 2003). The situation is similar with younger children. While most Australian families with children under the age of five make use of non-parental care, single mothers do rely on it more heavily than partnered couples. Bittman et al. (2004a) found that while 42 per cent of couple households used no non-parental care, less than a quarter of sole parents made no use of it at all. The type of care used also differed by family type. With children under five, similar proportions of sole parent and couple families used formal childcare (34 per cent), but sole mothers were slightly more likely than couples to make use of informal childcare (16 per cent relied on it exclusively, compared with 12 per cent of couple families). Further, sole mothers were much more likely than parents in couple households to use a combination of formal and informal care. Twenty-nine per cent of sole mothers used mixed care, compared with 13 per cent of couple families (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004).

It is grandparents who most often provide informal care (Craig 2005b; Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004). Eighty per cent of those parents (in either sole and couple families) who used informal care relied on grandparents. Sole parents are somewhat less likely than couple families to use the informal childcare assistance of 'other people' (18 per cent as against 25 per cent), but are much more likely than couples to call upon 'other relatives' to provide informal care. Forty-three per cent of sole parents used 'other relatives', compared with 14 per cent of couple families, for informal care provision (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004). It is possible that this reflects not only greater reliance on the assistance of extended family members such as siblings or aunts, but also some of the care contribution of the non-resident parent.

Family structure also influences the length of time each week that non-parental care is used (Craig 2005c). Sole parents are not only more likely to use non-parental care, but their children also average longer hours in that care. Couple households who use only formal care utilise an average of 15 hours per week, whereas sole parents who rely exclusively on formal care utilise an average of 17 hours per week. Where informal care services are used exclusively, partnered parents use an average of 22 hours a week, and sole parents an average of 12 hours a week. This is a substantial gap of 10 hours a week. Parents who use mixed forms of care have the highest weekly averages of non-parental care. For couple

households the average time duration is 28 hours and for sole parents the average duration is 45 hours a week (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004).

Parental childcare was around 40 hours a week for both the couple and the sole mothers. However, the average time spent in unpaid work and in total work varied substantially by marital status. Couple mothers averaged 64 hours a week in unpaid work activities (housework and childcare), compared with an average of 62 hours a week for sole mothers. Couple mothers averaged 77 hours a week in total work activities (market work, housework and childcare), compared with an average of just over 71½ hours a week for sole mothers. This suggests that the objective time pressure upon couple mothers is higher than it is upon sole mothers.

There are differences, too, in the perceived time pressure reported by sole and couple mothers. Eight per cent of couple mothers reported that they felt rushed or pressed for time ‘never’ or ‘rarely’, compared with 13.7 per cent of sole mothers. A similar proportion (about 32 per cent) of both groups of mothers reported that they ‘sometimes’ felt rushed. Forty-one per cent of couple mothers said they often felt rushed, in contrast to only 32 per cent of sole mothers. However, at the high end of the scale, a higher proportion of sole mothers (23 per cent) than couple mothers (18 per cent) reported ‘always’ feeling rushed (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Perceived time pressure by family type

	Couple mothers (n=776)	Lone mothers (n=123)
Never	1.0	1.7
Rarely	6.8	12.0
Sometimes	32.3	31.8
Often	41.4	31.5
Always	18.5	23.1

These descriptive results are not the end of the story, however. They cannot tell us, for example, why there is a substantial minority of sole mothers who feel extremely stressed, despite the fact that sole mothers in general have lower total workloads than couple mothers. Differences like these may result from compositional differences that either obscure or exaggerate the real differences between family type, giving a wrong impression about the effects of marital status on paid and unpaid workload. In order to isolate the effects of family type upon objective and subjective time pressure, and how it interacts with employment status and the use of non-parental care, it is necessary to employ multivariate analysis.

Multivariate analysis

The model for the multivariate analysis in this section adjusts the model described in section 2 to accommodate the smaller sample size and the focus upon sole parenthood. Marital status is the primary independent variable of interest. The dummy variable is: married/de facto (omitted category), sole mother (yes=1). Employment status is defined as: full-time homemaker – (yes=1), employed part-time – (omitted category), employed full-time – (yes=1). Non-parental care was entered as a continuous variable of total hours of non-parental care a week. Consistent with the model used in the analysis of couple households above, parents’ age, age of youngest child, day of the week, and parental education level were held constant. The number of children in each household was not included due to the small cell sizes in this sample.

Marital status was interacted with employment status, and with weekly hours of non-parental care. The graphs presented in this section show these interaction terms when significant.

Impact of employment–care arrangements

When employment status was not included in the model, there was a significant difference between the time spent in unpaid work by sole mothers and the time spent by couple mothers. When employment was included, however, the unpaid work hours of sole and couple mothers did not show any significant variation. This suggests that much of the difference between lone and couple mothers is explained by differences in employment-care arrangements. Married mothers who worked part-time spent 70 hours a week in unpaid work, and so did sole mothers. Both sole and partnered mothers who were full-time homemakers did just under 11 hours more unpaid work a week, and those who worked full-time did 14½ hours less, for a total of 55½ hours a week. The above preliminary investigation suggested that couple mothers had higher unpaid workloads than sole mothers. The multivariate findings, however, showed that this is not true when sole and couple mothers work the same hours.

Similarly, the difference found at the descriptive level between the total workloads of sole mothers and couple mothers persisted to a statistically significant extent in the multivariate analysis, but only as long as employment status was not taken into account. When the employment status was included, no significant difference between sole and couple mothers' total workload was found. Both sole and couple mothers who worked part-time spent 95 hours a week in total work. Mothers who worked full-time spent 5½ hours a week longer in both paid and unpaid work, yielding a total of 100½ hours work a week. Those who were not employed spent seven hours a week less in total work for a total of 93 hours a week. This is consistent with the results of the analysis of couple families, and suggests that there is no intrinsic difference between sole and couple mothers when they have the same patterns of workforce participation. There was also no difference in the parental childcare time of sole or couple mothers, nor in perceived time pressure.

Clearly marital status is not in itself a significant predictor of variations in any of these factors. This suggests that any differences are due to variations in demographic characteristics rather than to the differences in marital status. For example, sole mothers are on average younger and less educated than couple mothers (See Table A.3).

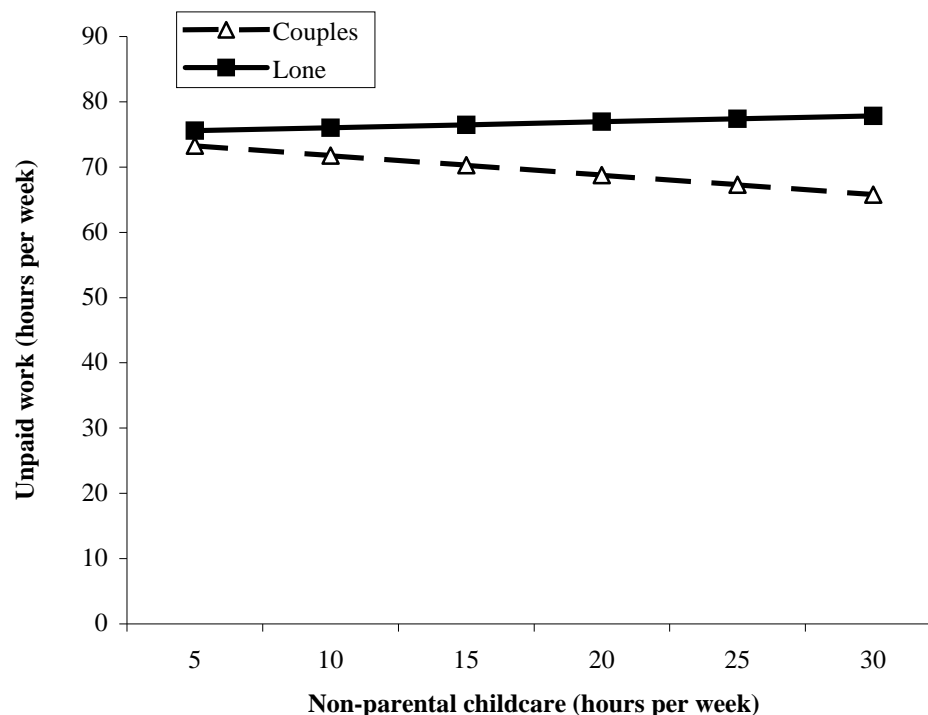
Impact of non-parental care

This section looks at the question of whether using non-parental care has a different effect on sole mothers than it does on couple mothers. How does the use of non-parental care affect their unpaid work, their total work, their parental childcare time (objective time pressure), or their feelings of being rushed and pressed for time (subjective time pressure)?

Unpaid work

Figure 5.1 shows the influence of the use of non-parental care on weekly hours of unpaid work for sole and couple mothers aged 35 to 39 who have a youngest child aged between zero and four years, no non-parental care is used and the diary was filled out on a Wednesday (the reference category). It shows the amount of unpaid work performed weekly as either a primary or secondary activity by sole mothers (broken line) and couple mothers (unbroken line) in the reference category, according to hours of non-parental care. The full results of the multivariate analysis can be found in Table D1, Appendix D.

Figure 5.1 Hours per week of unpaid work by weekly hours of non-parental care by family structure



Non-parental care has a different impact on the unpaid workloads of lone mothers and couple mothers. Unpaid work decreases for mothers in couple families, but remains the same for sole mothers. Overall, hours of unpaid work dropped by about 20 minutes for every hour of non-parental care. When marital status was included, it showed a significant difference between sole mothers and couple mothers in the time spent in unpaid labour (P-value < 0.05). Consistent with the results described in section 3 above, couple mothers reduce their unpaid work time slightly as they increase their use of non-parental childcare. Those who use five hours a week of non-parental care devote 73.27 hours a week to domestic labour and childcare, while those who use 30 hours a week devote 65.77 hours a week to domestic labour and childcare. So when they outsource 25 hours a week of care, they lose 7½ hours of unpaid work. It is apparent that mothers who use non-parental care are not relieved of an equivalent amount of home duties, and this is the case for both sole and couple mothers.

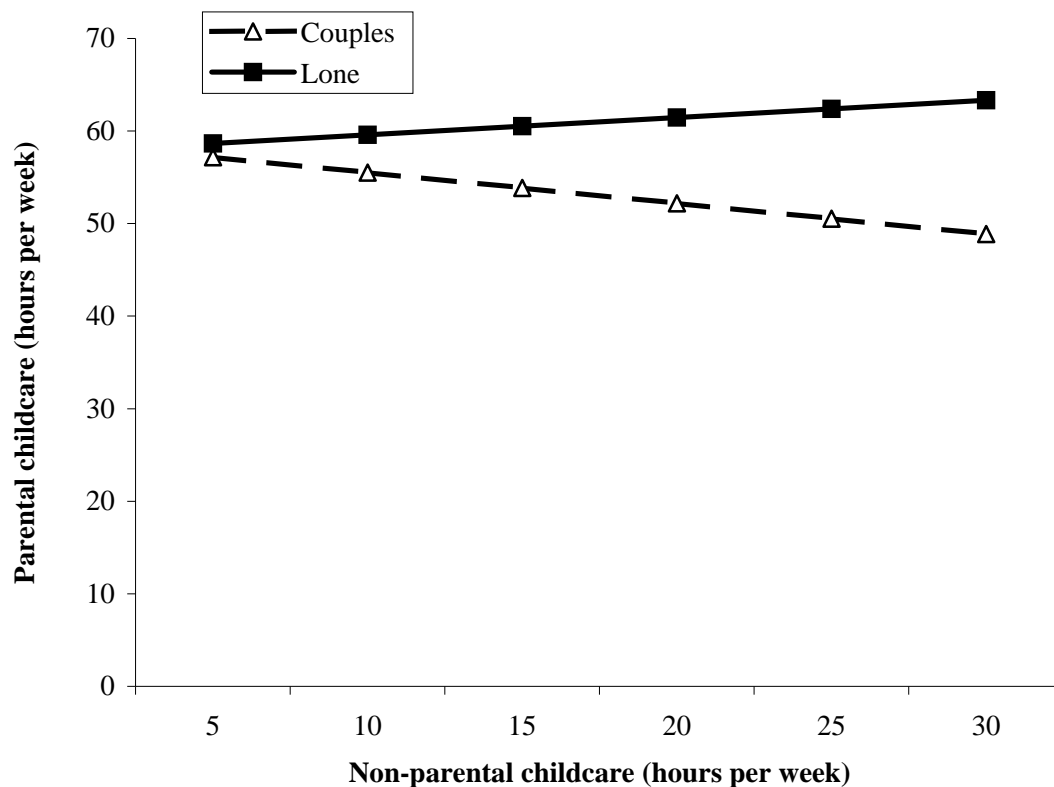
Total work

There was no statistical difference in the effect of hours of non-parental care upon the total workload of sole and couple mothers. For both groups of mothers, 30 hours of non-parental care reduces the total workload time by about four hours per week. This is consistent with the results reported in section 4. The implication is that when mothers work, whether they are married or single they perform a similar amount of hours of work in total. Sole mothers may have a different composition of paid to unpaid work, but it equals the workload of couple mothers in total. The full results of the multivariate analysis can be found in Table D2, Appendix D.

Parental childcare

Figure 5.1 shows the influence of the use of non-parental care on weekly hours of parental childcare for sole and couple mothers aged 35 to 39 who have a youngest child aged between zero and four years, no non-parental care is used and the diary was filled out on a Wednesday (the reference category). It shows the amount of parental childcare performed weekly as either a primary or secondary activity by couple mothers (broken line) and sole mothers (unbroken line) in the reference category, according to hours of non-parental care. The full results of the multivariate analysis can be found in Table D3, Appendix D.

Figure 5.2 Hours per week parental childcare by weekly hours of non-parental childcare by family structure



Overall, mothers' hours of parental childcare dropped by 0.52 hours for every hour of non-parental childcare (p-value >0.001). No difference was found between sole mothers and couple mothers when non-parental childcare was treated as a single variable, but when the term interacting marital status and hours of non-parental care was entered, and marital status was included, there was a significant difference between them.

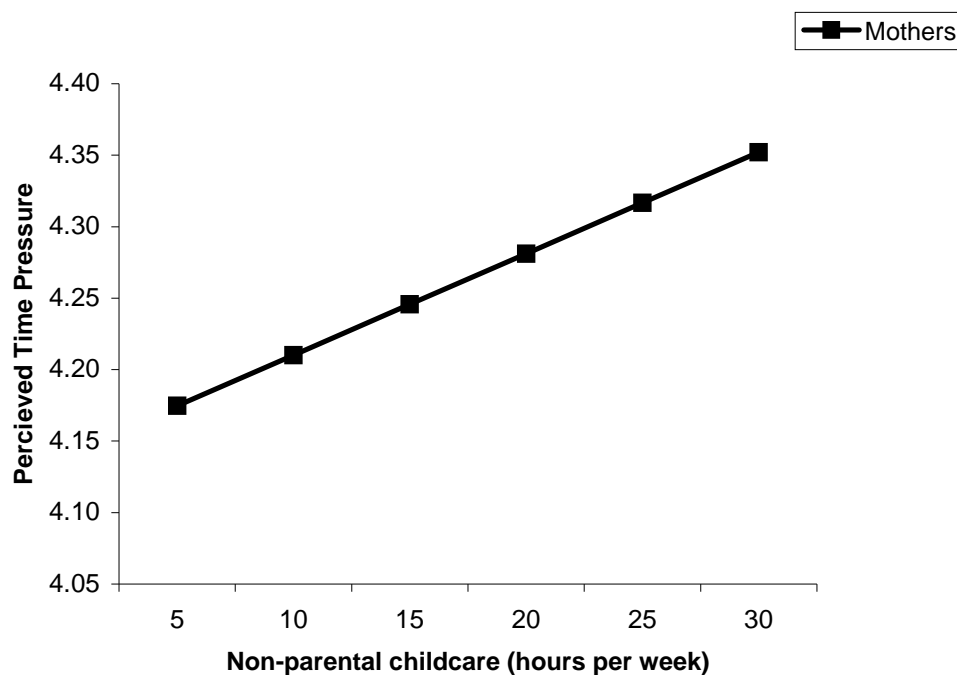
Consistent with the results in section 4 above, couple mothers reduced their parental childcare time slightly as they increased their use of non-parental childcare. Couple mothers who used five hours a week of non-parental care devoted 57.16 hours a week to childcare, while those who used 30 hours a week devoted 48.88 hours a week to parental childcare. So when couple mothers outsource 30 hours a week of care, they spend about 8¼ hours less time on maternal childcare. Again it is apparent that mothers who use non-parental care are not thereby relieved of an equivalent amount of parental childcare.

Lone mothers who used five hours of non-parental childcare a week, spent 58.7 hours weekly in the care of their own children. This is slightly higher than for couple mothers who used the same amount of care. Moreover, the use of non-parental care by sole mothers did not lead to any reduction in the time they spent caring for their own children. Mothers overall do not swap non-parental for parental care on an hour-for-hour basis, and they substantially make up for the time that they are away from their children. The results suggest that non-parental care is used to reschedule rather than to replace parental care, and that this phenomenon is even more pronounced for sole mothers than it is for mothers in couple families.

Perceived time pressure

Figure 5.1 shows the influence of the use of non-parental care on perceived time pressure for sole and couple mothers aged 35 to 39 who have a youngest child aged between zero and four years, no non-parental care is used and the diary was filled out on a Wednesday (the reference category). The full results of the multivariate analysis can be found in Table D4, Appendix D.

Figure 5.3 Perceived time pressure by weekly hours of non-parental care by family structure



There is no difference between sole mothers and couple mothers in their perceptions of time pressure in relation to the use of non-parental care, so only one line is shown in Figure 5.4. It is again striking, however, that all the women experienced an increase in time pressure with the use of non-parental care. Using non-parental care actually exacerbates feelings of being rushed and pressed for time. This subjective response may be because non-parental care does not relieve mothers of much of their objective workload, as we have shown above, and also imposes timetable constraints and deadlines for picking up and dropping off children to their alternative carers.

5.3 Conclusion

This section investigated whether sole and couple mothers experienced objective and subjective time pressures differently and found that, when workforce participation was similar, there was no difference between the two groups of mothers. Previous research had found that lone mothers do less unpaid work and less total work than couple mothers, but more childcare, and that they substantially match the combined childcare input of fathers and mothers in intact families (Craig 2005bc). The results of this investigation show that, if employment status is held constant, lone mothers do the same amount of unpaid work, total work and parental childcare as couple mothers. If sole and couple mothers have the same employment status, they are not statistically different on any of these measures. This suggests that the differences in time allocation between women who are married and single women are more to with institutional barriers or selection effects than with intrinsic differences between being partnered or not. Sole parenthood acts as a barrier to work force participation, but when the demographic profile of both groups of women is comparable, both behave the same way.

Non-parental care did have very different effects by family structure. Sole mothers spent less time in the paid workforce than partnered mothers, but they made more extensive use of non-parental childcare. Usually the higher use of non-parental care would be associated with more paid work. These results suggest a reason why sole mothers make higher use of non-parental care despite spending fewer hours in the paid workforce. Sole mothers do no less unpaid work and childcare at all when they use non-parental care. In other words, non-parental care does not relieve them of any of their domestic responsibilities in terms of total time allocated. That it doesn't implies that sole mothers need assistance in care provision, but that this is independent of their ability to enter the job market.

The multivariate analysis found no difference in perceived time pressure by family structure, but the descriptive analysis showed some interesting differences in *lack* of perceived time pressure reported by sole and couple mothers. The fact that 13.7 per cent of sole mothers reported that they felt rushed or pressed for time 'never' or 'rarely', compared with 8 per cent of couple mothers, may reflect enforced inactivity. Much of the time sole mothers are with children there is no other adult present (Craig 2005c), so they are prevented from leaving the children and from taking up paid work. However, if most of their time with children is spent supervising without active involvement, it may mean that they are more likely to suffer from having too much time on their hands, rather than feeling rushed or pressed for time.

These results support previous research that sole mothers experience stronger barriers to workforce participation than do couple mothers (Lewis et al. 2001; Millar and Rowlingson 2001). When solely responsible, even managing parental care requires assistance from non-parental carers. Sole mothers are more likely to use mixed formal and informal care, to rely more heavily on informal care arrangements, and use a multiplicity of informal care types (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004). This implies that their childcare arrangements are subject to constant change and negotiation. Their relatives are more likely to be involved in substituting for maternal care than are the relatives of couple families. This suggests that many sole mothers call on wide family support and that children of sole mothers are more likely to have contact with their relatives unmediated by the presence of their mother than children in couple families. As the time that the children of sole mothers spend in non-parental care is also longer, this suggests that their care is more of a joint extended family responsibility than is that of children in couple households.

Sole mothers are faced with particular challenges in meeting competing demands of market or home production, and this is reflected in the Australian policy approach to sole mothers, which has historically shown some ambivalence as to whether to prioritise maternal care or financial independence (McHugh and Millar 1997; Gray et al. 2002). These findings suggest that those sole mothers who do match the employment participation of couple mothers also match their unpaid work, total work and parental childcare. However, the sole mothers who currently participate in the paid workforce on the same footing as couple mothers are a small, comparatively highly educated group. Therefore they have greater earning capacity and our results probably reflect selection effects. Whether all sole mothers, including those with lower education and training, would be able to manage employment participation without lowering their care provision is not clear. Currently, faced with the competing demands of work and family, more sole mothers are choosing to preserve childcare (Craig 2005c). This may imply that many sole parents think that committing time to the care of their own children is a higher priority than contracting time to the paid work force (Branigan and Keebaugh 2005). It may be because the barriers to work force participation preclude it as an option. But whether it arises from the positive (a desire to parent), or from the negative (that they are excluded from paid work by virtue of their commitments to care), sole mothers in Australia currently provide their children with very similar amounts and types of care to that available to children in couple families (Craig 2005c).

6 Discussion and conclusions

This project has addressed the important contemporary issue of work-family balance by analysing time commitment, drawing on data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Time Use Survey (TUS) 1997. Time-use analysis is a relatively new, and potentially very informative, approach to this issue. Measuring time demand and time pressure encapsulates the difficulty of committing time both to paid work and to raising a family. This report has measured work-family strain as revealed by time pressure on two time dimensions. The first of these is objective time pressure (actual hours worked), measured as weekly hours in unpaid work, in total paid and unpaid work, and in parental childcare. The second is subjective time pressure (feelings of being rushed or pressed for time), as reported in a self-ranking scale.

The study investigated how work-family strain, as indicated by objective and subjective time pressure, is currently affected by two key work-family policy measures: part-time work and non-parental childcare. Part-time working hours and non-parental care are both mooted as policies that will assist parents to balance work and family. This report investigated how these arrangements actually impact upon work pressure within Australian households. The analysis involved quantifying the full magnitude of domestic labour and childcare time (including simultaneous activity), and the combined time demands of work and care responsibilities. The study highlighted differences between household types, between men and women as individuals within households, and between couple mothers and sole parents, to find out which Australians experienced work-family strain most acutely.

The study found that the work demands of family are at least as influential in creating objective time pressure as the work demands of employment, particularly for women. This means that looking at the combined impact of both paid and unpaid work is essential in understanding the full dimensions of work-family strain (Craig 2005b). It also highlights the limitations of regarding people as individuals in relation to the labour market. Most people live as members of families, and are subject to associated household demands. Despite this, the organisation of most workplaces assumes that employees have no domestic responsibilities. This report has shown that family environment is of profound importance in shaping behaviour and in determining the amount of unpaid labour that workers perform outside their paid work hours. It underlines the fact that the family context in which people live has as powerful an effect upon their workload as their employment status.

The family factor that has the single most profound effect upon workload is the presence or absence of children (Craig 2006a, 2002b). Having children increases unpaid workloads substantially, and as a result, the combined objective time pressure of work and family is particularly high in families with children. The impact of having a child upon objective workload is greater than the impact of varying hours of paid work. Having a child also affects subjective time pressure. Parents feel significantly more rushed and pressed for time than non-parents.

This impact on both objective and subjective time pressure occurs concurrently with the birth of the first child. The single biggest step up in workload and in perceived time pressure is that between households with no resident children, and households with one child. That is, it is the difference between one child and no children that has the most pronounced effect. The age of the youngest child is also a strong influence upon workload. Work-family strain seems to be at its greatest when there are preschoolers in the family. Although parental time pressure (either objective or subjective) is always greater than that of adults without resident children, this pressure eases progressively as the youngest child grows. The number of

children in a family also has an upward effect on workload, but it is less pronounced than the age of the youngest child. Having two or more children increases objective and subjective time pressure but does not double or treble the effect of the first-born. In other words, there seem to be some economies of scale so that having two children is not twice the work or worry of having only one child (Craig 2005b; Craig and Bittman 2005).

This report found that there is considerable congruence between the amount of work people actually do and how time pressured they feel. Broadly, both objective and subjective indicators of work-family strain tell a consistent story. Changes in perceived time pressure mirror changes in objective total workloads (which capture actual hours devoted to paid and unpaid work). Therefore, men's and women's perceptions of work-family strain are rational and reflect actual events. It has been claimed that since average hours of work have not increased and that average hours of leisure time have not declined, that the rising levels of reported time pressure in the adult population is illusory (Robinson and Godbey 1997). Others have countered that this viewpoint ignores the fact that our experiences are shaped by our domestic as well as our market arrangements, and that reports of increasing time pressure have been contemporaneous with the rise of dual-earner households (Jacobs and Gerson 2004). We found that in households in which both partners are committing time to the paid work force, objective and subjective time pressures are both higher. Therefore, the analysis presented here shows that working parents' feelings of being rushed and pressed for time are rational. This report gives solid evidence showing that they perform greater hours of non-market work than comparable single income families.

However, managing work and family continues to be especially challenging for women. This report confirmed that the pressures of work and family do not fall with equal force on both men and women. Women are disproportionately subject to work-family strain because responsibility for domestic labour and childcare is still predominantly 'women's work' (Craig 2002a, 2005b). When children are born, it is women who rearrange their labour time to accommodate the new domestic work demand. When there are children in the family, women shape their other commitments to accommodate the need for more unpaid labour. Household strategies for managing the time costs associated with the care of young children revolve around adaptations of mother's hours, rather than father's hours, of labour supplied to the market.

This means that the differences in time pressure between the household types (employment-care arrangements) reflect variations in women's behaviour. Adopting Crompton's typology, we see that employment-care arrangements are very much intertwined with life course stage and that it is women who adjust their workforce participation over their life course. The male-breadwinner family is a form strongly associated with households with preschool-age children, while part-time workforce participation for women predominates in households with slightly older children, and dual-earner couples usually have no children or their children are older. In all these cases, it is the woman's behaviour that changes. Women's work is mutable and responds to variation in family circumstance. Men's behaviour is comparatively unchanging. Therefore, work-family balance is a more immediate and pressing issue for women than for men. Men appear to contribute a stable amount of time to market work and to household work, both of which remain relatively unresponsive to changes in women's behaviour (Baxter, Hewitt, and Western 2005). Mostly, the challenge of managing work and family is a woman's issue.

When women do decide to remain in paid employment when they have young children, and thus move against what is still the dominant trend to withdraw from the paid workforce, the extra workload they face will not be matched by extra time inputs from men. The

assumption of growing sex equity partly arose from simple logic. One consequence of women's increasing time in paid employment time *should* be men's increasing domesticity (Oakley 1985). However, changes in the sphere of paid work have been much more extreme than changes in the home (Boje 1996). Over the last few decades, men's domestic labour time has increased only slightly (Bianchi 2004), and even those women who work full-time are still disproportionately responsible for domestic labour (Baxter, Hewitt, and Western 2005). Our findings show that neither women's workforce participation nor the use of non-parental childcare is associated with extra time inputs from men, except when women work very long hours. The households in which women do work very long hours are almost all childless, so this exception does not apply to time inputs to parental childcare.

This study has demonstrated that the division of domestic labour follows household type. In Australia, the issue of domestic division of labour is not explicitly addressed through public policy. The way in which people share domestic labour is seen as a private issue. Unlike part-time work or childcare, it is not widely regarded as a matter for workplace or government policy. Most countries are unwilling to intervene explicitly in the private nuclear family and its division of labour (Windebank 2001). Rhetorically it is matter of private choice as to how people divide unpaid and caring work, and the way they decide which partner will participate in the workforce and to what extent. In practice, however, there are policy incentives that favour certain types of family formation (McDonald 2004).

The Netherlands has articulated a policy preference for dual-earner–dual-carer households in which both men and women work part-time and share responsibility for raising children. The Dutch government has taken policy steps explicitly intended to facilitate sharing both paid and unpaid work more equally between the sexes. Through the 2000 Work and Care Act the Netherlands now has the stated policy intention of encouraging couples to share employment and domestic labour more equally between themselves (EIRO 2000). Some countries have also attempted to achieve equality of outcomes, not just of opportunity, by introducing policies directly targeted at increasing male involvement in care. Notable are the Scandinavian attempts to increase father's take-up of formally gender neutral parental leave, through providing a period of leave that only men can use and that is lost if it is not used (Clearinghouse 2005).

Another route to more gender equity may lie in addressing the length of the working day. Some of the results of including a residual category of men who were working less than full-time hours tentatively suggest that the way to encourage greater equity in domestic labour may be to limit male working hours. It is true that we were unable to investigate the parental childcare time of these men because there were insufficient fathers in this 'not working full-time' category. As well, there were a number of reasons why the men fell into this residual employment category, and there was no control for the workforce participation of their wives. Hence, conclusions about the behaviour of this very disparate group must be tentative. However, it was the households in which men did not work full-time that showed any sign at all of moving closer to equity in domestic labour. The implication of this is that men may only increase their hours of unpaid work if their hours of paid work are curtailed. As long as men work full-time, they are unlikely to match female time input to unpaid work. They do not add unpaid work to a full-time workload as many women currently do. This implies that if sharing is the goal, it cannot be accomplished by expecting men to join women in being overworked. In order to increase male involvement in the home, measures that reduce their commitment to paid work may be necessary. This is mooted in parts of Continental Europe. France has introduced a statutory 35-hour week.

Australian policy appears to support the male full-time, female part-time family model. A central aim in section 3 of this investigation was to establish whether the work-care arrangement that Australian families most frequently adopt (one-and-a-half-earner households) is associated with less work-family strain than other work-care arrangements. Australia is a country in which women working part-time is widely seen as a desirable solution to the demands of work and family (Pocock 2003; OECD 2002; Jaumotte 2003). Maternal workforce participation in Australia is comparatively low and most Australian households with children adopt the one-and-a-half-earner model (Charlesworth, Campbell, and Probert 2002; OECD 2005; Campbell and Charlesworth 2004). Part-time work is seen as a way of ensuring mothers are both involved with their children and attached to the workforce but not overburdened (Rubery, Smith, and Fagan 1999; Gornick and Meyers 2003). So, do adults in one-and-a-half-earner households suffer less work-family strain than adults in dual-career households?

The evidence in this report suggests that men in these households are unaffected either way, and that women in these households experience a mix of effects. For women, part-time work is associated with almost as much total objective time commitment as full-time employment. This is largely because, in addition to their employment, mothers who work part-time do almost as much unpaid work as homemaker mothers. This is particularly the case when the children are of school age. Women who work part-time are as likely as homemakers to be with their primary school children from 3 p.m. to 4.30 p.m. on school days (Craig and Sawrikar forthcoming). It appears that these women substantially fit their paid work hours around their children's timetable, that is, they work when they would not be with the children anyway because the children are at school, and thus manage to nearly equal the childcare time commitment of homemaker mothers.

The findings of this report imply that, as a means of ameliorating work-family strain, part-time work is at best a partial solution. It may facilitate mothers prioritising care, but it is not the family arrangement that most minimises strain. It is clear that mothers withdrawing from the labour market completely (i.e. becoming a woman in a male-breadwinner family) is much more likely to reduce their total hours of paid and unpaid work than is working part-time. Women who work part-time are in many respects very similar to those who work full-time. Women in one-and-a-half-earner families report the same average levels of subjective time pressure as women in dual-career households where the woman works standard full-time hours. Part-time work was associated with no less subjective time pressure than full-time work (except when the hours were very long). This suggests that while part-time work may allow mothers to emphasise family in their balancing of work and family, it leaves them as tired and stressed as mothers who work full-time.

A central question in section 4 of this investigation was: does the use of non-parental care reduce work-family strain? We found that non-parental care is also not entirely effective as a moderator of work-family strain. Non-parental care is an essential service if women are to participate in the paid workforce (Jaumotte 2003; Orloff 1996), but it is associated with surprisingly little objective reduction in time pressure. For women, unpaid work, total work and parental childcare time were slightly reduced by non-parental childcare, but by far less than an hour-for-hour basis. This is because mothers substantially made up the time that their children were in non-parental care by performing more childcare activities in the time that they were able to be with their children. Mothers reschedule childcare time rather than allow non-parental care to completely substitute for their own care (Craig forthcoming-a). This means that they spend time with their children earlier in the morning or later at night than mothers who use no non-parental care (Craig forthcoming-a). They also find time for

their children by cutting back on housework, personal care and child-free recreation (Craig forthcoming-a).

Therefore, and perhaps unsurprisingly, the use of non-parental care does not reduce mothers' subjective work pressure at all. Indeed, to an extent that falls just shy of conventional measures of statistical significance (0.052), non-parental care usage is associated with an *increase* in subjective time pressure for mothers. The more hours of non-parental care each week, the more women experience subjective time pressure. This implies that, far from alleviating female time stress, the strain of picking up the kids and then spending time in parental childcare activities that homemaker mothers are able to do during the day actually adds to it. The fact that mothers who use non-parental care also spend less time in recuperative activities including child-free recreation and personal care could also add to the subjective time pressure they experience. The feelings of time pressure may be further exacerbated by the necessity to transport children to and from the non-parental care arrangements, which is often done to a strict timetable.

The results detailed above indicate that the time adjustments and timetabling associated with using non-parental care is gendered. In contrast to mothers, fathers' objective time in unpaid work, total work or childcare was unaffected by how many hours their children spent in non-parental care. Similarly, male subjective time pressure was unaffected one way or the other by the use of non-parental care. This underlines the extent to which the issue of work-family balance is located in women's rather than in men's lives. Greater sharing of family responsibilities between men and women is the solution that many who are concerned that using non-parental care promotes gender equity at the expense of child welfare would advocate. Dividing caring family work between spouses would mean that children can receive parental care, but not at the cost of an inequitable input from men and women (Pfau-Effinger 2000; Gornick and Meyers 2004). It would also be supported by those who object to the problem of work-family balance being located only within women's lives, and not men's (Morehead 2005).

The central questions in section 5 of this investigation were: does not having a resident spouse add to work-family strain, and are the effects of employment hours and non-parental care different for sole and for couple mothers? We found that not having a spouse makes very little difference to either objective or subjective time pressure. When groups of women with similar demographic profiles are compared, sole and couple mothers' objective time pressure was pretty much the same. Nor, when they had the same work force status, was there a difference in perceived time pressure for sole and for couple mothers. Similarly, non-parental care appeared to have no different effect upon the time pressure of sole as opposed to couple mothers. However, it must be acknowledged that sole mothers are less likely than married mothers to be employed and to have tertiary education, and more likely to use non-parental care. The findings show only that marital status is in itself not a predictor of more or less work-family strain upon women.

In view of the consistent finding in this report that most family care falls to women, it is unsurprising that not having a spouse makes very little difference. The overwhelming finding of the report is that work and family management is a critical issue for women, and that the early child-rearing years are hectic. Non-parental childcare and work flexibility are essential supports in the challenge of managing work and family, but the results of this report show that they do not altogether obviate the difficulty of work-family management.

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Appendix A: Sample descriptions

Table A.1 Description of the Sample: Parents and non-parents in couple households

	Men	Women	Total
Persons	1266	1291	2557
Dairy days	2499	2559	5058
		Mean	
Unpaid work	24.2	50.4	63.6
Total work	37.0	68.1	76.1
Household weekly income (\$)			1064.5
Age (years)	38.4	36.1	37.3
		Percent of persons	
Perceived Time Pressure			
Never	2.2	1.0	1.6
Rarely	10.6	8.1	9.4
Sometimes	38.3	33.9	36.1
Often	35.3	39.4	37.3
Always	13.7	17.6	15.6
Family Composition			
No children	17.9	19.0	18.5
One Child			
0 to 4	10.1	10.1	10.1
5 to 9	4.3	4.0	4.1
Two children			
0 to 4	13.2	13.3	13.3
5 to 9	9.5	9.3	9.4
Three or more			
0 to 4	10.2	10.3	10.2
5 to 9	5.3	4.8	5.1
10 to 14	14.4	13.8	14.1
15+	15.1	15.4	15.2
Education			
High school	50.9	51.0	50.9
Skilled vocational	12.3	12.5	12.4
Undergraduate degree	21.4	21.5	21.5
Postgraduate degree	5.3	5.1	5.2
Other	10.1	9.8	10.0
Household Type			
Breadwinner	25.0	26.9	25.9
One and a half	28.6	28.2	28.4
Dual earner (woman works standard hours)	23.7	23.5	23.6
Dual earner (woman works over 49 hours)	7.9	8.4	8.1
Husband not working full-time	13.9	14.1	14.0

Table A.2 Description of the Sample: Parents in couple households

	Men	Women	Total
Persons	654	654	1308
Dairy days	1294	1300	2594
		Mean	
Unpaid work (hours per week)	27.4	64.2	45.4
Total work (hours per week)	75.4	77.7	41.6
Parental childcare (hours per week)	15.2	41.6	28.2
Household weekly income (\$)			1047
Age (years)	37.5	35.0	36.3
Non-parental care (hours per week)	9.3	9.3	9.3
		Percentage of persons	
Perceived Time Pressure			
Never	1.5	0.5	1.0
Rarely	6.0	5.0	5.5
Sometimes	35.0	30.7	32.9
Often	42.7	44.8	43.8
Always	14.7	19.1	16.9
Family Composition			
One Child			
0 to 4	16.8	17.3	17.0
5 to 9	6.9	6.6	6.7
Two children			
0 to 4	23.6	24.2	23.9
5 to 9	15.9	15.8	15.9
Three or more			
0 to 4	14.8	15.1	14.9
5 to 9	8.4	8.0	8.2
10 to 12	13.6	13.1	13.4
Education			
High school	51.0	51.3	51.1
Skilled vocational	14.1	14.1	14.0
Undergraduate degree	20.9	20.8	20.9
Postgraduate degree	5.3	5.1	5.2
Other	8.8	8.0	8.7
Household Type			
Breadwinner	38.9	41.5	40.1
One-and-a-half earner	38.9	37.3	38.1
Dual earner (woman works standard hours)	18.1	17.3	17.7
Dual earner (woman works over 49 hours)	4.2	3.9	4.0
Type of non-parental childcare			
Neither (no non-parental care used)	43.1	43.4	43.3
Formal care	17.4	17.3	17.3
Informal care	22.6	22.1	22.4
Mixed care	16.9	17.2	17.0

Table A.3 Description of the Sample: Mothers in lone or couple households

	Couple mother	Lone mother	Total
Persons	776	123	899
Dairy days	1540	237	1777
	Mean		
Unpaid work	63.8	62.0	63.6
Total work	76.8	71.6	76.1
Parental Childcare	40.7	39.1	40.6
Non-parental care (hours)	8.6	10.8	8.9
Household weekly income (\$)	967.1	388.3	882.1
Age (years)	35.1	32.5	34.7
	Percentage of persons		
Perceived Time Pressure			
Never	1.0	1.7	1.1
Rarely	6.8	12.0	7.6
Sometimes	32.3	31.8	32.2
Often	41.4	31.5	39.8
Always	18.5	23.1	19.2
Age of Youngest Child			
Youngest 0 to 4	56.0	42.9	54.1
Youngest 5 to 12	44.0	57.1	45.9
Education			
High school	52.9	61.6	54.1
Skilled vocational	12.5	12.4	12.5
Undergraduate degree	20.4	10.2	19.0
Postgraduate degree	5.1	0.0	4.4
Other	9.1	15.8	10.0
Household Type			
Not employed	45.0	62.6	47.5
Employed Part-time	34.5	23.8	33.0
Employed Full-time	20.5	13.6	19.5
Type of Care			
Neither (uses no non-parental care)	45.7	38.0	44.7
Informal	21.5	25.2	22.0
Formal	16.7	17.4	16.8
Mixed	16.0	19.5	16.5

Appendix B: OLS regression tables, effect of household type

Table B. 1 Unpaid work: parents and non-parents in couple households

		B	Std Error	t	P-value
Constant		68.91	2.27	30.34	0.000
Household income		0.00	0.00	0.67	0.501
Day of the week	Sunday	10.24	1.21	8.46	0.000
	Monday	1.88	1.21	1.56	0.120
	Tuesday	0.80	1.22	0.66	0.511
	Wednesday				
	Thursday	0.93	1.19	0.78	0.435
	Friday	3.12	1.19	2.62	0.009
	Saturday	11.15	1.24	9.00	0.000
Age	20-24	-5.24	1.79	-2.92	0.004
	25-29	-4.08	1.24	-3.29	0.001
	30-34	0.05	1.05	0.05	0.961
	35-39				
	40-44	1.31	1.08	1.22	0.222
	45-49	2.09	1.34	1.56	0.118
	50-54	2.38	1.73	1.37	0.170
Male works over 49 hours		-2.82	0.71	-3.95	0.000
Male		-37.71	2.26	-16.68	0.000
Female education	High school	-2.80	0.86	-3.25	0.001
	Skilled	-0.06	1.15	-0.05	0.960
	Other	-0.90	1.24	-0.72	0.470
	University				
Male education	High school	-3.92	0.90	-0.06	-4.339
	Skilled	-2.40	0.89	-0.04	-2.703
	Other	-3.27	1.75	-1.87	0.062
	University				
Age of youngest child	No children	-35.91	1.83	-19.59	0.000
One child	0 to 4	-2.82	0.71	-3.95	0.000
	5 to 9	-37.71	2.26	-16.68	0.000
Two children	0 to 4	4.41	1.92	2.29	0.022
	5 to 9	-10.22	2.13	-4.80	0.000
Three + children	0 to 4	4.29	2.07	2.07	0.039
	5 to 9	-10.37	2.49	-4.17	0.000
	10 to 14	-21.85	2.03	-10.74	0.000
	15+	-30.37	2.15	-14.12	0.000
Male by age of y'gest child	No children				
One child	0 to 4	18.68	2.59	7.21	0.000
Two children	0 to 4	-3.03	2.70	-1.12	0.263
Three + children	0 to 4	-5.75	2.88	-1.99	0.046
	5 to 9	4.51	3.45	1.31	0.191
10 to 14		11.21	2.67	4.19	0.000
15+		12.49	2.66	4.70	0.000
Household Type	Breadwinner	11.21	2.67	4.19	0.000
	One-and-a-half earner				
	Dual earner (std hours)	12.49	2.66	4.70	0.000
	Dual earner (over 49 hours)	7.71	1.23	6.28	0.000
	Husband not full-time	-11.58	1.24	-9.34	0.000
Male by household type	Breadwinner	-8.76	1.72	-5.09	0.000
	One-and-a-half				
	Dual earner (std hours)	12.02	1.73	6.96	0.000
	Dual earner (over 49 Hours)	15.37	2.62	5.86	0.000
	Husband not full-time	11.28	2.07	5.44	0.000

Table B. 2 Total work: parents and non-parents in couple households

		B	Std Error	t	P-value
Constant		88.72	2.44	36.42	0.000
Household income		0.00	0.00	1.19	0.232
Day of the week	Sunday	-21.19	1.30	-16.33	0.000
	Monday	-2.09	1.30	-1.62	0.106
	Tuesday	-1.93	1.30	-1.48	0.138
	Wednesday				
	Thursday	1.63	1.28	1.28	0.200
	Friday	-6.25	1.28	-4.89	0.000
	Saturday	-17.84	1.33	-13.43	0.000
Age	20-24	-5.40	1.92	-2.80	0.005
	25-29	-4.07	1.33	-3.07	0.002
	30-34	1.14	1.13	1.01	0.313
	35-39				
	40-44	0.08	1.15	0.07	0.942
	45-49	-1.15	1.43	-0.80	0.423
	50-54	-4.33	1.86	-2.33	0.020
Male works over 49 hours		2.55	0.77	3.33	0.001
Male		-7.02	2.43	-2.89	0.004
Female education	High school	-3.13	0.92	-3.39	0.001
	Skilled	-2.89	1.24	-2.34	0.019
	Other	-1.15	1.34	-0.86	0.391
	University				
Male education	High school	-2.54	0.97	-0.04	-2.619
	Skilled	-0.25	0.95	0.00	-0.264
	Other	3.99	1.88	2.13	0.034
	University				
Age of youngest child	No children	-27.27	1.97	-13.88	0.000
One child	0 to 4	2.55	0.77	3.33	0.000
	5 to 9	-7.02	2.43	-2.89	0.000
Two children	0 to 4	6.99	2.06	3.39	0.001
	5 to 9	-5.69	2.28	-2.49	0.013
Three + children	0 to 4	2.86	2.22	1.29	0.198
	5 to 9	-8.00	2.67	-3.00	0.003
10 to 14		-15.07	2.18	-6.91	0.000
15+		-23.01	2.31	-9.98	0.000
Male by age of y'gest child	No children	12.91	2.78	4.64	0.000
One child	0 to 4				
	5 to 9	8.55	3.99	2.14	0.032
Two children	0 to 4	-1.77	2.90	-0.61	0.542
	5 to 9	8.63	3.13	2.76	0.006
Three + children	0 to 4	1.45	3.09	0.47	0.640
	5 to 9	9.55	3.70	2.58	0.010
10 to 14		10.66	2.87	3.72	0.000
15+		12.13	2.85	4.25	0.000
Household Type	Breadwinner	8.32	1.26	6.62	0.000
	One-and-a-half earner				
	Dual earner (std hours)	-11.55	1.27	-9.10	0.000
	Dual Earner(over 49 hours)	-15.63	1.89	-8.25	0.000
	Husband Not full-time	-0.57	1.57	-0.36	0.718
Male by household type	Breadwinner	4.16	1.85	2.25	0.024
	One-and-a- half earner				
	Dual earner (std hours)	-5.39	1.85	-2.91	0.004
	Dual earner (over 49 Hours)	-7.64	2.81	-2.72	0.007
	Husband not full-time	-12.78	2.22	-5.75	0.000

Table B. 3 Parental childcare: parents in couple households

		B	Std Error	t	P-value
Constant		56.47	2.90	19.48	0.000
Household income	Household income	0.00	0.00	0.32	0.750
Day of the week	Sunday	5.67	1.62	3.49	0.000
	Monday	-1.02	1.64	-0.62	0.536
	Tuesday	-0.58	1.68	-0.35	0.728
	Wednesday				
	Thursday	-0.34	1.64	-0.21	0.834
	Friday	0.16	1.67	0.09	0.925
	Saturday	5.02	1.70	2.96	0.003
Age	20-24	-1.81	3.31	-0.55	0.585
	25-29	-3.10	1.66	-1.87	0.062
	30-34	0.59	1.26	0.47	0.641
	35-39				
	40-44	-1.52	1.35	-1.12	0.262
	45-49	-1.56	1.81	-0.86	0.391
	50-54	-1.37	3.36	-0.41	0.682
Male works over 49 hours		-3.12	0.99	-3.14	0.002
Male		-31.16	2.53	-12.33	0.000
Female education	High school	19.35	3.23	5.99	0.000
	Skilled	-5.99	1.18	-5.08	0.000
	Other	-0.60	1.58	-0.38	0.701
	University				
Male education	High school	-4.23	1.76	-2.41	0.016
	Skilled	-5.46	1.23	-4.42	0.000
	Other	-3.79	1.21	-3.13	0.002
	University				
Age of youngest child					
One child	0 to 4				
	5 to 9	-16.90	2.91	-5.80	0.000
Two children	0 to 4	5.77	2.06	2.80	0.005
	5 to 9	-15.80	2.33	-6.77	0.000
Three + children	0 to 4	2.30	2.26	1.02	0.309
	5 to 9	-18.34	2.69	-6.80	0.000
10 to 12		-29.14	2.48	-11.73	0.000
Male by age of y'gest child					
One child	0 to 4				
	5 to 9	-2.75	2.88	-0.95	0.340
Two children	0 to 4	-1.37	3.09	-0.44	0.656
	5 to 9	12.28	3.96	3.10	0.002
Three + children	0 to 4	12.51	3.12	4.01	0.000
	5 to 9	12.96	3.68	3.52	0.000
10 to 12		19.35	3.23	5.99	0.000
Household Type	Breadwinner	4.06	1.53	2.66	0.008
	One-and -a-half earner				
	Dual earner (std hours)	-10.88	1.81	-6.03	0.000
	Dual earner (over 49 hours)	-10.78	3.30	-3.26	0.001
	Husband not full time	-2.71	2.07	-1.31	0.191
Male by household type	Breadwinner	-7.04	2.13	-0.09	-3.310
	One-and-a-half earner				
	Dual earner (std hours)	11.08	2.49	4.45	0.000
	Dual earner (over 49 hours)	14.56	4.62	3.15	0.002
	Husband not full time	9.26	2.73	3.40	0.001

Table B.4 Perceived time pressure: parents and non-parents in couple households

		B	Std Error	t	P-value
Constant		3.74	0.09	40.96	0.000
Household income	Household income	0.00	0.00	-1.52	0.128
Day of the week	Sunday	-0.13	0.05	-2.70	0.007
	Monday	-0.12	0.05	-2.58	0.010
	Tuesday	0.00	0.05	0.09	0.931
	Wednesday				
	Thursday	-0.04	0.05	-0.84	0.401
	Friday	0.00	0.05	-0.05	0.959
	Saturday	-0.01	0.05	-0.21	0.830
Age	20-24	-0.13	0.07	-1.82	0.069
	25-29	-0.07	0.05	-1.32	0.185
	30-34	-0.02	0.04	-0.58	0.564
	35-39				
	40-44	-0.11	0.04	-2.65	0.008
	45-49	-0.16	0.05	-2.95	0.003
	50-54	-0.08	0.07	-1.13	0.259
Male works over 49 hours		0.26	0.03	8.99	0.000
Male		0.01	0.09	0.16	0.873
Female education	High school	-0.03	0.03	-0.98	0.326
	Skilled	-0.08	0.05	-1.71	0.088
	Other	-0.11	0.05	-2.30	0.021
	University				
Male education	High school	-0.06	0.04	-0.03	-1.782
	Skilled	0.01	0.04	0.00	0.247
	Other	-0.12	0.07	-1.76	0.078
	University				
Age of youngest child	No children	-0.40	0.07	-5.40	0.000
One child	0 to 4	0.26	0.03	8.99	0.000
	5 to 9	0.01	0.09	0.16	0.000
Two children	0 to 4	0.35	0.08	4.59	0.000
	5 to 9	0.16	0.09	1.82	0.068
Three + children	0 to 4	0.30	0.08	3.64	0.000
	5 to 9	0.18	0.10	1.79	0.073
10 to 14		0.20	0.08	2.43	0.015
15+		0.03	0.09	0.30	0.763
Male by age of y'gest child	No children	0.17	0.10	1.67	0.096
One child	0 to 4				
Two children	0 to 4	-0.22	0.11	-2.07	0.039
Three + children	0 to 4	-0.26	0.12	-2.29	0.022
	5 to 9	-0.20	0.14	-1.45	0.146
10 to 14		-0.08	0.11	-0.71	0.479
15+		-0.21	0.11	-1.99	0.046
Household Type	Breadwinner	-0.08	0.11	-0.71	0.479
	One-and-a-half earner				
	Dual earner (std hours)	-0.21	0.11	-1.99	0.046
	Dual earner (over 49 hours)	-0.26	0.05	-5.38	0.000
	Husband not full-time	0.20	0.05	4.12	0.000
Male by household type	Breadwinner	0.07	0.07	1.07	0.285
	One-and-a-half earner				
	Dual earner (std hours)	-0.26	0.07	-3.81	0.000
	Dual earner (over 49 hours)	-0.34	0.11	-3.18	0.001
	Husband not full-time	-0.18	0.08	-2.19	0.029

Appendix C: OLS regression tables, effect of parental childcare

Table C. 1 Unpaid work: parents in couple households

		B	Std Error	t	P-value
Constant		77.40	3.19	24.24	0.000
Household income	Household income	0.00	0.00	0.48	0.634
Day of the week	Sunday	12.13	1.79	6.76	0.000
	Monday	0.84	1.82	0.46	0.645
	Tuesday	0.08	1.84	0.04	0.964
	Wednesday				
	Thursday	-0.72	1.79	-0.40	0.689
	Friday	1.69	1.84	0.92	0.358
	Saturday	12.40	1.88	6.59	0.000
Age	20-24	-0.24	3.72	-0.07	0.948
	25-29	-5.12	1.84	-2.78	0.006
	30-34	-0.27	1.40	-0.19	0.846
	35-39				
	40-44	0.50	1.50	0.33	0.740
	45-49	-2.66	2.05	-1.30	0.195
	50-54	-0.61	3.89	-0.16	0.876
Male works over 49 hours		-4.16	1.03	-4.06	0.000
Male		-42.20	2.94	-14.35	0.000
Female education	High school	-4.68	1.28	-3.65	0.000
	Skilled	-0.19	1.69	-0.11	0.910
	Other	-2.91	1.97	-1.48	0.140
	University				
Male education	High school	-4.48	1.37	-3.28	0.001
	Skilled	-3.57	1.31	-2.72	0.006
	Other	-3.21	2.70	-1.19	0.235
	University				
Age of youngest child					
One child	0 to 4				
	5 to 9	-14.93	3.24	-4.61	0.000
Two children	0 to 4	5.01	2.25	2.22	0.026
	5 to 9	-11.57	2.62	-4.42	0.000
Three + children	0 to 4	2.10	2.57	0.82	0.414
	5 to 9	-13.85	3.04	-4.55	0.000
	10 to 12	-25.91	2.85	-9.11	0.000
Male by age of y'gest child					
One child	0 to 4				
	5 to 9	12.16	4.39	2.77	0.006
Two children	0 to 4	-5.49	3.13	-1.75	0.080
	5 to 9	3.74	3.48	1.07	0.283
Three + children	0 to 4	-5.65	3.49	-1.62	0.105
	5 to 9	8.71	4.13	2.11	0.035
10 to 12		17.62	3.72	4.74	0.000
Household Type	Breadwinner	5.90	1.61	3.66	0.000
	One-and-a-half earner				
	Dual earner (std hours)	-11.50	2.04	-5.63	0.000
	Dual earner (over 49 hours)	-13.29	3.59	-3.71	0.000
Male by household type	Breadwinner	-7.15	2.25	-3.18	0.001
	One-and-a-half earner				
	Dual earner (std hours)	10.59	2.84	3.73	0.000
	Dual earner (over 49 hours)	13.75	5.02	2.74	0.006
Hours of non-parental care		-0.38	0.06	-6.15	0.000
Male by hours of non-parental care		0.39	0.09	4.48	0.000

Table C. 2 Total work: parents in couple households

		B	Std Error	t	P-value
Constant		94.20	3.07	30.64	0.000
Household income	Household income	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.995
Day of the week	Sunday	-18.41	1.73	-10.66	0.000
	Monday	-1.58	1.75	-0.90	0.367
	Tuesday	-2.40	1.77	-1.36	0.175
	Wednesday				
	Thursday	1.01	1.73	0.59	0.558
	Friday	-5.97	1.77	-3.36	0.001
	Saturday	-14.82	1.81	-8.19	0.000
Age	20-24	-1.38	3.58	-0.39	0.700
	25-29	-4.41	1.77	-2.49	0.013
	30-34	1.29	1.34	0.96	0.336
	35-39				
	40-44	0.23	1.45	0.16	0.873
	45-49	-4.88	1.97	-2.48	0.013
	50-54	-12.62	3.74	-3.37	0.001
Male works over 49 hours		0.76	0.99	0.77	0.440
Male		-8.86	2.83	-3.13	0.002
Female education	High school	-3.98	1.24	-3.22	0.001
	Skilled	-3.36	1.63	-2.06	0.039
	Other	-3.45	1.90	-1.82	0.069
	University				
Male education	High school	-1.84	1.31	-1.40	0.161
	Skilled	-1.63	1.26	-1.29	0.198
	Other	0.73	2.60	0.28	0.780
	University				
Age of youngest child					
One child	0 to 4				
	5 to 9	-10.55	3.12	-3.38	0.001
Two children	0 to 4	6.61	2.17	3.05	0.002
	5 to 9	-6.51	2.52	-2.58	0.010
Three + children	0 to 4	1.13	2.48	0.45	0.649
	5 to 9	-8.07	2.93	-2.76	0.006
	10 to 12	-14.49	2.74	-5.29	0.000
Male by age of y'gest child					
One child	0 to 4				
	5 to 9	7.82	4.23	1.85	0.065
Two children	0 to 4	-2.85	3.02	-0.95	0.344
	5 to 9	8.81	3.35	2.63	0.009
Three + children	0 to 4	3.19	3.36	0.95	0.341
	5 to 9	12.30	3.98	3.09	0.002
10 to 12		12.84	3.58	3.59	0.000
Household Type	Breadwinner	-7.45	1.55	-4.80	0.000
	One-and-a-half earner				
	Dual earner (std hours)	1.74	1.97	0.89	0.376
	Dual earner (over 49 hours)	16.25	3.45	4.71	0.000
Male by household type	Breadwinner	5.34	2.16	0.09	2.469
	One-and-a-half earner				
	Dual earner (std hours)	-5.14	2.73	-1.88	0.060
	Dual earner (over 49 hours)	-10.23	4.83	-2.12	0.034
Hours of non-parental care		-0.15	0.06	-2.57	0.010
Male by hours of non-parental care		0.18	0.08	2.17	0.030

Table C. 3 Parental childcare: parents in couple households

		B	Std Error	t	P-value
Constant		60.30	3.05	19.79	0.000
Household income	Household income	0.00	0.00	1.04	0.300
Day of the week	Sunday	6.71	1.71	3.92	0.000
	Monday	-0.67	1.73	-0.38	0.701
	Tuesday	-1.04	1.75	-0.60	0.551
	Wednesday				
	Thursday	-0.61	1.71	-0.35	0.723
	Friday	-0.46	1.76	-0.26	0.794
	Saturday	4.77	1.79	2.66	0.008
Age	20-24	1.03	3.54	0.29	0.772
	25-29	-3.48	1.76	-1.98	0.048
	30-34	0.57	1.33	0.43	0.668
	35-39				
	40-44	-1.69	1.44	-1.18	0.238
	45-49	-5.22	1.95	-2.67	0.008
	50-54	-0.97	3.71	-0.26	0.793
Male works over 49 hours		-2.50	0.98	-2.55	0.011
Male		-35.57	2.81	-12.68	0.000
Female education	High school	-6.16	1.23	-5.02	0.000
	Skilled	-1.04	1.61	-0.64	0.521
	Other	-6.28	1.88	-3.34	0.001
	University				
Male education	High school	-3.94	1.30	-3.02	0.003
	Skilled	-2.99	1.25	-2.39	0.017
	Other	-5.42	2.58	-2.10	0.036
	University				
Age of youngest child					
One child	0 to 4				
	5 to 9	-18.88	3.09	-6.11	0.000
Two children	0 to 4	6.43	2.15	2.99	0.003
	5 to 9	-19.26	2.50	-7.71	0.000
Three + children	0 to 4	0.86	2.45	0.35	0.725
	5 to 9	-20.94	2.90	-7.22	0.000
	10 to 12	-35.01	2.71	-12.90	0.000
Male by age of y'gest child					
One child	0 to 4				
	5 to 9	15.33	4.19	3.66	0.000
Two children	0 to 4	-4.02	2.99	-1.35	0.178
	5 to 9	15.04	3.32	4.53	0.000
Three + children	0 to 4	-1.33	3.33	-0.40	0.690
	5 to 9	17.13	3.94	4.35	0.000
10 to 12		26.24	3.55	7.40	0.000
Household Type	Breadwinner	2.61	1.54	1.70	0.090
	One-and-a-half earner				
	Dual earner (std hours)	-6.84	1.95	-3.51	0.000
	Dual earner (over 49 hours)	-6.30	3.42	-1.84	0.065
Male by household type	Breadwinner	-5.60	2.14	-0.08	-2.611
	One-and-a-half earner				
	Dual earner (Std hours)	6.29	2.71	2.32	0.020
	Dual earner (over 49 hours)	5.72	4.79	1.19	0.232
Hours of non-parental care		-0.42	0.06	-7.07	0.000
Male by hours of non-parental care		0.39	0.08	4.66	0.000

Table C. 4 Perceived time pressure: parents in couple households

		B	Std Error	t	P-value
Constant		3.86	0.16	24.06	0.000
Household income	Household income	0.00	0.00	-1.25	0.212
Day of the week	Sunday	-0.24	0.09	-2.60	0.010
	Monday	-0.26	0.10	-2.72	0.007
	Tuesday	0.02	0.09	0.20	0.845
	Wednesday				
	Thursday	-0.08	0.09	-0.90	0.367
	Friday	0.05	0.10	0.51	0.613
	Saturday	-0.11	0.09	-1.21	0.228
Age	20-24	-0.01	0.18	-0.06	0.953
	25-29	-0.22	0.09	-2.33	0.020
	30-34	-0.04	0.07	-0.64	0.525
	35-39				
	40-44	-0.17	0.08	-2.32	0.021
	45-49	-0.12	0.10	-1.13	0.258
	50-54	-0.01	0.19	-0.07	0.941
Male works over 49 hours		0.21	0.05	4.00	0.000
Male		0.05	0.14	0.38	0.707
Female education	High school	-0.02	0.07	-0.28	0.779
	Skilled	0.05	0.08	0.55	0.586
	Other	-0.03	0.10	-0.28	0.778
	University				
Male education	High school	-0.03	0.07	-0.43	0.666
	Skilled	0.01	0.07	0.09	0.931
	Other	-0.20	0.13	-1.48	0.140
	University				
Age of youngest child					
One child	0 to 4				
	5 to 9	-0.11	0.16	-0.67	0.505
Two children	0 to 4	0.28	0.11	2.44	0.015
	5 to 9	0.06	0.13	0.48	0.633
Three + children	0 to 4	0.25	0.13	1.97	0.049
	5 to 9	0.11	0.15	0.73	0.466
10 to 12		0.05	0.14	0.34	0.731
Male by age of y'gest child					
One child	0 to 4				
	5 to 9	-0.04	0.22	-0.16	0.870
Two children	0 to 4	-0.19	0.16	-1.21	0.227
	5 to 9	0.03	0.17	0.20	0.842
Three + children	0 to 4	-0.27	0.17	-1.58	0.114
	5 to 9	-0.03	0.20	-0.13	0.893
10 to 12		0.02	0.18	0.10	0.919
Household Type	Breadwinner	-0.21	0.08	-2.65	0.008
	One-and-a-half earner				
	Dual earner (std hours)	0.13	0.10	1.25	0.211
	Dual earner (over 49 hours)	0.47	0.18	2.59	0.010
Male by household type	Breadwinner	-0.07	0.11	-0.03	-0.644
	One-and-a-half earner				
	Dual earner (std hours)	-0.40	0.14	-2.90	0.004
	Dual earner (over 49 hours)	-0.36	0.25	-1.42	0.155
Hours of non-parental care		0.00	0.00	1.66	0.098

Appendix D: OLS regression tables, effect of marital status

Table D. 1 Unpaid work: mothers in lone or couple households

		B	Std Error	t	P-value
Constant		74.77	3.10	24.09	0.000
Household income	Household	0.00	0.00	2.11	0.035
Day of the week	Sunday	-0.40	2.21	-0.18	0.858
	Monday	-0.61	2.22	-0.27	0.783
	Tuesday	-0.96	2.24	-0.43	0.668
	Wednesday				
	Thursday	0.26	2.18	0.12	0.906
	Friday	0.19	2.22	0.09	0.930
	Saturday	2.53	2.25	1.12	0.261
Age	20-24	-8.85	3.23	-2.74	0.006
	25-29	-4.07	2.06	-1.98	0.048
	30-34	0.04	1.69	0.02	0.983
	35-39				
	40-44	-3.21	1.85	-1.73	0.083
	45-49	-7.38	2.79	-2.64	0.008
	50-54	2.26	6.17	0.37	0.715
Age of youngest child	0 to 4				
	5 to 12	-16.95	1.61	-10.54	0.000
Education	High school	-5.84	1.55	-3.77	0.000
	Skilled	-2.85	2.10	-1.36	0.174
	Other	-0.43	2.31	-0.19	0.851
	University				
Marital Status	Couple				
	Lone	0.33	5.21	0.06	0.950
Marital Status by age of y'gest child	0 to 4 years				
	5 to 12 years	0.82	4.14	0.20	0.844
Household Type (employment)	Not working	8.94	1.53	5.83	0.000
	Part-time				
	Full-time	-14.04	1.81	-7.74	0.000
Marital status by employment	Not working	-9.61	5.84	-1.65	0.100
	Part-time				
	Full-time	-0.96	4.23	-0.23	0.821
Hours of non-parental care		-0.30	0.06	-4.97	0.000
Marital status by hours of non-parental care		0.39	0.14	2.75	0.006

Table D. 2 Total work: mothers in lone or couple households

		B	Std Error	t	P-value
Constant		96.00	2.88	33.38	0.000
Household income	Household income	0.00	0.00	0.99	0.320
Day of the week	Sunday	-13.26	2.05	-6.47	0.000
	Monday	-1.91	2.06	-0.93	0.355
	Tuesday	-1.79	2.08	-0.86	0.390
	Wednesday				
	Thursday	3.12	2.03	1.54	0.124
	Friday	-3.71	2.06	-1.80	0.072
	Saturday	-10.69	2.09	-5.12	0.000
Age	20-24	-11.77	3.00	-3.93	0.000
	25-29	-5.70	1.90	-2.99	0.003
	30-34	-1.24	1.57	-0.79	0.431
	35-39				
	40-44	-3.16	1.72	-1.84	0.066
	45-49	-4.19	2.59	-1.62	0.106
	50-54	2.87	5.73	0.50	0.617
Age of youngest child	0 to 4				
	5 to 12	-13.68	1.47	-9.29	0.000
Education	High school	-7.11	1.44	-4.95	0.000
	Skilled	-4.98	1.94	-2.57	0.010
	Other	-1.63	2.13	-0.76	0.444
	University				
Marital Status	Couple				
	Lone	0.99	4.07	0.24	0.809
Marital status by age of y'gest child	0 to 4 years				
	5 to 12 years	-3.73	3.39	-1.10	0.272
Household type (employment)	Not working	-6.45	1.42	-4.54	0.000
	Part-time				
	Full-time	2.43	1.68	1.45	0.148
Marital status by employment	Not working	9.76	5.23	1.87	0.062
	Part-time				
	Full-time	1.31	3.86	0.34	0.734
Hours of non-parental care		-0.10	0.05	-1.97	0.050

Table D. 3 Parental care mothers in lone or couple households

		B	Std	t	P-value
Constant		58.81	3.38	17.41	0.000
Household income	Household income	0.00	0.00	2.18	0.029
Day of the week	Sunday	-0.35	2.40	-0.14	0.885
	Monday	-2.13	2.42	-0.88	0.379
	Tuesday	-1.45	2.44	-0.60	0.552
	Wednesday				
	Thursday	-1.02	2.38	-0.43	0.667
	Friday	-1.63	2.41	-0.67	0.500
	Saturday	0.57	2.45	0.23	0.816
Age	20-24	-4.02	3.52	-1.14	0.253
	25-29	-1.34	2.24	-0.60	0.548
	30-34	2.07	1.84	1.12	0.261
	35-39				
	40-44	-5.85	2.02	-2.90	0.004
	45-49	-9.35	3.04	-3.08	0.002
	50-54	-0.57	6.72	-0.08	0.932
Age of youngest child	0 to 4				
	5 to 12	-24.00	1.75	-13.71	0.000
Education	High school	-10.70	1.69	-6.34	0.000
	Skilled	-3.05	2.28	-1.34	0.182
	Other	-5.82	2.51	-2.31	0.021
	University				
Marital Status	Couple				
	Lone	-1.09	5.67	-0.19	0.848
	0 to 4 years				
	5 to 12 years	1.20	4.51	0.27	0.791
Household type (employment)	Not working	5.16	1.67	3.09	0.002
	Part-time				
	Full-time	-9.15	1.97	-4.64	0.000
Marital status by employment	Not working	-4.41	6.35	-0.69	0.488
	Part-time				
	Full-time	1.98	4.61	0.43	0.667
Hours of non-parental care		-0.33	0.07	-5.04	0.000
Marital status by hours of non-parental care		0.52	0.16	3.33	0.001

Table D.4 Perceived time pressure: mothers in lone or couple households

		B	Std Error	t	P-value
Constant		3.96	0.16	24.80	0.000
Household income	Household income	0.00	0.00	0.83	0.408
Day of the week	Sunday	-0.34	0.11	-3.09	0.002
	Monday	-0.21	0.12	-1.82	0.068
	Tuesday	-0.11	0.11	-1.00	0.317
	Wednesday				
	Thursday	-0.03	0.11	-0.27	0.784
	Friday	0.08	0.12	0.71	0.478
	Saturday	-0.26	0.11	-2.30	0.022
Age	20-24	-0.39	0.16	-2.45	0.015
	25-29	-0.30	0.10	-2.85	0.005
	30-34	-0.02	0.09	-0.22	0.825
	35-39				
	40-44	-0.13	0.09	-1.37	0.172
	45-49	-0.02	0.15	-0.17	0.867
	50-54	0.25	0.31	0.81	0.418
Age of youngest child	0 to 4				
	5 to 12	-0.09	0.08	-1.07	0.287
Education	High school	-0.04	0.08	-0.44	0.657
	Skilled	0.12	0.11	1.10	0.270
	Other	-0.09	0.12	-0.79	0.430
	University				
Marital status	Couple				
	Lone	0.18	0.22	0.83	0.406
Marital status by age of y'gest child	Lone by 0 to 4 years				
	Lone by 5 to 12 years	-0.16	0.18	-0.89	0.375
Household type (employment)	Not working	-0.17	0.08	-2.25	0.025
	Part-time				
	Full-time	0.07	0.09	0.74	0.461
Marital status by employment	Not working	0.31	0.29	1.07	0.286
	Part-time				
	Full-time	-0.19	0.21	-0.89	0.372
Hours of non-parental care		0.01	0.00	2.58	0.010