

The Rush Hour: The Quality of Leisure Time and Gender Equity

Author/Contributor:

Bittman, Michael; Wajcman, Judy

Publication details:

Working Paper No. 97
SPRC Discussion Paper
1447-8978 (ISSN)

Publication Date:

1999

DOI:

<https://doi.org/10.26190/unsworks/229>

License:

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/au/>

Link to license to see what you are allowed to do with this resource.

Downloaded from <http://hdl.handle.net/1959.4/34055> in <https://unsworks.unsw.edu.au> on 2023-12-07

THE RUSH HOUR
THE QUALITY OF LEISURE TIME
AND GENDER EQUITY

by Michael Bittman and Judy Wajcman

SPRC Discussion Paper No. 97
February 1999

ISSN 1037 2741
ISBN 7334 0555 X

Michael Bittman is a Senior Research Fellow at the Social Policy Research Centre. Judy Wajcman is a Professor with the Sociology Program, Research School of Social Sciences, at the Australian National University. The authors would like to acknowledge the valuable advice offered by Frank L. Jones in preparing this draft. Claire Atkinson assisted at many stages in preparing the data for the analysis.

The Social Policy Research Centre (formerly the Social Welfare Research Centre) was established in January 1980 under an Agreement between the University of New South Wales and the Commonwealth Government. In accordance with the Agreement the Centre is operated by the University as an independent unit within the University. The Director of the Centre is responsible to the Vice-Chancellor and receives advice in formulating the Centre's research agenda from a Management Board.

SOCIAL POLICY RESEARCH CENTRE DISCUSSION PAPERS are intended as a forum for the publication of selected research papers on research within the Centre, or commissioned by the Centre, for discussion and comment in the research community and/or welfare sector prior to more formal publication. Limited copies of each DISCUSSION PAPER will be available on a first-come, first-served basis from the Publications Officer, Social Policy Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Sydney NSW 2052 [tel: (02) 9385 7800]. A full list of DISCUSSION PAPERS can be found at the back of this DISCUSSION PAPER.

The series is indebted to Diana Encel for her continuing editorial contribution.

As with all of the Centre's publications, the views expressed in this DISCUSSION PAPER do not reflect any official position on the part of the Centre.

Tony Eardley
Editor

Abstract

The distribution of leisure time between the sexes is contested. Becker's theory of specialisation suggests that there is an underlying gender equity in leisure, while the competing view suggests that women are now bearing a 'dual burden' as both family providers and family carers. Using indicators of the quantity and quality of leisure, drawn from the Multinational Time Budget Data Archive and the Australian Time Use Survey, this paper finds some support for both views. Although men and women have similar quantities of free time, when the quality of leisure is considered the gap between sexes re-emerges.

1 Introduction

Time scarcity and the paucity of leisure time are at the centre of discussions about the quality of contemporary life (Schor, 1991; Nowotny, 1994; Adam, 1995; Hochschild, 1997; Robinson and Godbey, 1997). A number of recent developments contribute to this concern. Standard working hours, which assumed a 40 hour week over five working days, are no longer the norm. The increasing incidence of dual-earner families has spawned a vast literature on the 'dual burden' or the 'second shift'. Working patterns are increasingly dominated by a drive for 'flexibility' that can create severe difficulties for those seeking to combine work and family life.

All these developments appear to be placing increased pressure on leisure time. According to most evidence, people feel more harried and that their leisure time has become scarcer (Linder, 1970; Frederick, 1995; Robinson and Godbey, 1997). This is especially the case for women, who juggle work, family and leisure (Bryant and Zick, 1996). Indeed, it has been suggested that women are suffering from time poverty (Vickery, 1977; Hochschild and Machung, 1989; Schor, 1991; Hochschild, 1997). The fear has been that, following the emergence of the dual-earner family as the norm, women will simply add a shift of paid employment to their existing responsibilities for housework and child care. This problem has come to be known by various names: the 'dual burden', the 'double burden', the 'double day' and the 'second shift'. There is now talk of a gender gap in leisure.

The emergence of the dual-earner family and the potential problem of the double burden are in tension with contemporary expectations governing the modern intimate relationship. A standard assumption of current sociology is that modern Western personal relationships are based on the central value of egalitarianism (Cheal, 1991; Giddens, 1992; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 1995). However, the uneven distribution of unpaid work (housework, child care and shopping) allocated according to gender, creates theoretical difficulties for this claim (Lopata, 1971; Oakley, 1974; Coverman and Sheley, 1986). A way of recovering the claim about equality is through an emphasis on the idea of partnership and a concentration on the quantities of 'total work' - that is, the combination of paid and unpaid working time (Becker, 1985; Berk,

1985). In order for the thesis about the dominance of the modern egalitarian family to be credible, an important corollary of the argument for gender equity in total work time would be gender equity in free time.

Indeed, in a recent article, Nancy Fraser has argued that gender equity needs to be re-conceptualised as a 'complex notion comprising a plurality of distinct normative principles' (1997: 26). One of the seven key principles that she proposes as crucial to gender equity concerns the distribution of leisure time. We agree that this is an important dimension of equality and consider that an empirical investigation of the issue is overdue.

This article presents evidence for the existence of a gender gap in free time. We do this by drawing on data from time use surveys worldwide. First, we assess gender equity in relation to total work time and, secondly, we explore gender equity in 'primary' free time. We then go on to present innovative measures of the quality of leisure. This will enable us to re-evaluate the issue of gender equity in leisure. In doing this, we hope to add a new dimension to the appraisal of progress towards equality between the sexes in contemporary society.

2 Mixed Blessings: Pure and Constrained Leisure

The time use literature distinguishes between various classes of time use which are believed to be fundamentally different in character. Typically, it is argued that time must be allocated between four categories: paid work, unpaid work, self-care and free time (Aas, 1982; Robinson and Godbey, 1997: 11-16).

Paid work time is time committed to income producing activities in the market place, such as working for a wage or the time spent by self-employed persons in their business activities. In its broadest sense it also includes the time spent commuting to work, breaks at work and, more controversially, voluntary work and time spent in formal study. The label 'unpaid work time' reflects the obligatory character of unpaid work. It includes child care, food preparation, house cleaning, laundry, household management, gardening, house maintenance and repairs, car care and shopping. Self-care or 'personal' time is associated with the maintenance of bodily functions: sleeping, eating, washing, grooming, dressing and

medical treatment. Free time is a residual category. It is the time that remains after maintaining one's body in a healthy and socially acceptable state, contracting time to the market, and meeting domestic and family responsibilities. Free time encompasses both time devoted to activities undertaken explicitly for leisure, and discretionary uses of available time such as religious and civic activities. The emerging standard is to assign travelling time to its associated purpose.

In practice, most sociological interest has focused on the distribution of paid work, unpaid work and leisure time. The concept of total work time combines the time spent in paid and unpaid work. It has been well established that there is a sexual division of labour in relation to these two types of work. There are competing interpretations of this sexual division of labour; one interpretation is that the sexes complement each other and another interpretation argues for non-complementarity. Becker (1985) has proposed a theory of comparative advantage to explain why men 'specialise' in paid work and women in unpaid work. Feminists have contested this interpretation, asserting that the sexual division of labour is rooted in a system of unequal power between men and women (England, 1982; Berk, 1985; Connell, 1987; Pateman, 1988; Oppenheimer, 1997). According to feminists, unpaid work is assigned according to gender and not by the operation of some rational allocation of resources.

The rise of the dual-earner family has disturbed the traditional pattern of specialisation (Oppenheimer, 1994). Women are increasingly assuming what has hitherto been regarded as the male role, that of provider. Given the assignment of family responsibilities by gender, this raises the spectre of a dual burden, or 'second shift' for women, especially mothers, as men are not assuming a corresponding increase in domestic labor (Hartmann, 1981; Hochschild and Machung, 1989).

The difficulty with the concept of the 'second shift', despite the large literature on the subject, is that it has been used ambiguously. Many authors have treated this concept in a very literal manner, assuming that women's increased hours of paid employment would simply be added to an undiminished quantity of time spent in unpaid work - practically a quantitative doubling (Meissner et al., 1975). Others argue that the typical decrease in average time spent in unpaid work is not sufficient to

compensate women for the increased hours of paid work. The result is an unfair excess burden on women compared to men.¹

A strong test of these two hypotheses about the dual burden is to use 'total work' time as an indicator of equity. If the first hypothesis is correct, there should be a large difference between the average total work time of men and women. If the second hypothesis is correct, there should still be a significant difference between the average total work time of men and women, although one would expect the difference to be relatively small. Surprisingly little research has been published on the quantity of 'total work' time undertaken by men and women. We will present a systematic analysis of total work time drawing on time use data from advanced societies around the world.

It is often assumed that the obverse of total work time is leisure time. Focusing on the idea of leisure illuminates from a different angle the issue of time equity between the sexes. Since sleeping, eating and grooming - the activities categorised under self-care - are practically constant, it makes sense to talk about a choice between work (both paid and unpaid) and leisure. It is possible to view leisure as a direct source of satisfaction, that is to say that people with similar quantities of leisure time enjoy a similar quality of life.

There is mounting evidence that an increasing proportion of Americans perceive their lives as 'rushed' and feel that they do not have enough time to fit everything in. A related finding is that Americans report feeling subject to more 'stress' from time constraints. To complete the picture of increasing time poverty, people agree with the proposition that they have 'less free time than in the past' (Robinson and Godbey, 1997: 230).

1 By contrast, some other theorists accept the 'second shift' as a metaphorical concept because men never assume direct responsibility for domestic and family tasks. However, this apparent 'equality' in the burden of all types of work masks a deep inequality in responsibility for domestic tasks that Rydenstam (1994) uncovers by event history analysis. This reminds us of the core issue at stake: do women's family responsibilities result in social disadvantage? If it can be shown that in most Western countries men get paid for 65-70 per cent of all their primary work time while women get paid for only 30-35 per cent of theirs, then the equality of 'total' work time seems largely irrelevant.

Women's specialised responsibility for child care suggests that women have a distinctive experience of time, one that is fundamentally different from men's. Historians have drawn our attention to the link between the development of clock time and the industrial organisation of labour (Thompson, 1967; Landes, 1983). Since men 'specialise' in paid employment, it has been argued that their subjective lives are ruled by linear clock time. Feminist social scientists have conceptualised women's time as predominantly cyclical or task oriented (Kristeva, 1981; Forman and Sowton, 1989; Nowotny, 1994; Adam, 1995; Glucksmann, 1998). The working times of women as wives and mothers, it is argued, cannot be captured by perspectives that 'separate work from leisure, public from private time, subjective from objective time, and task from clock time' (Adam, 1995: 95). Research on women's caring and emotional work in particular has shown the limits of a linear conception of time (Gilligan, 1982; Hochschild, 1983; Larson and Richards, 1994). Women's work typically involves coordinating multiple activities, 'sequencing and prioritizing of certain times' (Adam, 1995: 95). The implication of this perspective is, therefore, that women's experience of leisure is also distinctive and is difficult to disentangle from multiple and overlapping activities. Emphasising the qualities of women's leisure time, then, suggests a reformulation of the concept of a gender gap in leisure. The crucial issue is not just that women may have less primary leisure time, but that women's leisure time may be qualitatively 'less leisurely' than men's.

Much of the writing about women's experience of time has been philosophical in orientation and, in so far as it has drawn on empirical research, this has been of a qualitative nature. Evidence typically comes from small scale studies, research designs that emphasise depth and are not intended to be statistically representative (Morris, 1990; Rubin, 1995; Glucksman, 1998). Indeed, it is often claimed that it is impossible to capture the specificity of women's relationship to time using mass survey techniques. This article examines these propositions about women's distinctive experience of time. Its original contribution lies in demonstrating how quantitative information, gathered by mass survey techniques, can be used to investigate the lived experience of free time.

Data

The data for the analysis in this article comes from two sources - the Multinational Time Budget Data Archive and the Australian Bureau of Statistics 1992 Time Use Survey (ABS, 1993). All the data analysed here are collected by the time diary method. Thirty years of research has shown that the highest validity and reliability in the measurement of time spent in all activities is achieved by using time diaries, which are now used around the world (Hill and Stafford, 1985; Niemi, 1993; Pallié, 1993; Robinson and Gershuny, 1994; Baxter and Bittman, 1995; Goldschmidt-Clermont and Pagnossin-Aligisakis, 1995; Robinson and Godbey, 1997).

The evaluation of hypotheses about gender equity in total work and free time rests on an analysis of the Multinational Time Budget Data Archive (Gershuny, 1990), with later Australian surveys added in a comparable form.² The entire Multinational Archive produces a pooled data set containing 128 931 cases drawn from 36 surveys conducted in 19 countries and covering the period from 1961 to 1992. In this paper we use a subset of this archive, restricted to the most recent surveys conducted in ten OECD countries, yielding a pooled database of 46 933 respondents. Table 1 sets out the information about nation, date and sample size for each component survey of Multinational Time Budget Data Archive.

The multinational archive is restricted to the age range 20-59 years and contains information about 20 categories of primary activities (Gershuny, 1990), which are derived from the Szalai standardised activity classification. This standardised activity classification was originally developed for the comparative study of time use in 13 nations, conducted under the directorship of the Hungarian statistician, Alexander Szalai, and has become the basis of all contemporary activity classifications. (Szalai et al., 1972).

2 Legislation about the confidentiality of official surveys precludes unrestricted access to the Australian Bureau of Statistics 1987 and 1992 Time Use Surveys.

Table 1: Modern Western Subset of the Multinational Time Budget Archive^(a)

Survey	Number of diary days
Australia 1992	9602
Canada 1992	6347
Denmark 1987	2389
Finland 1987	10 276
Italy 1980	2118
Netherlands 1985	2348
Norway 1981	3410
UK 1985	1996
USA 1985	2270
Sweden 1991	6178
Total	46 933

Note: a) These budgets cover only people aged 20-59.

A test of the claims made about women's distinctive experience of leisure time requires a data set which contains high quality information about simultaneous activities, the number of activity episodes and the existence of background family care responsibilities. This information is not available in the pooled Multinational data set. Only some surveys collect information about simultaneous activities and fewer still make any claims for the reliability of this information. The exception is the 1992 Australian Time Use Survey.

The first full-scale national time use survey in Australia collected time diaries on designated days from a random sample of households at four separate periods over the calendar year (with the aim of capturing seasonal variation). Two-day diaries were completed by all persons over the age of 14 years in selected households. Based on five minute time intervals, the diaries asked respondents to record their main activity, report 'what else' they were doing at the same time, note the location of the activity and others present during the activity. The final sample contained 13 937 diary days, with activities classified into a more refined 75 activity code capable of aggregation into the standardised Szalai codes. Simultaneous activities were reported in more than a third of all activity episodes. The mean number of episodes per day is 31.8 on Day One and 30.2 on Day Two. Experience has shown that the average of the number of episodes is a good indicator of the quality of diary data

(Juster, 1985; Robinson, 1985). The high average number of episodes per day (over 30) indicates higher than usual data quality (ABS, 1993).

Measures

Primary Activities. To test the competing propositions about the women's dual burden and its detrimental effects on the available quantity of free time, we draw on diary information about the respondent's main, so-called primary, activity in ten OECD countries. The measures used cover average weekly hours spent by men and women in both paid and unpaid work activities (that is, total work hours); the average share of unpaid work hours undertaken by women; and average amount of free time available to both men and women.

The concept of leisure is usually defined by contrast with constrained activities. In labour economics, leisure is treated as the opposite of paid work. In popular discourse, leisure is conceived of as free time, time at one's own disposal, or 'pure leisure'. The difficulty with relying on *quantitative* measures of primary leisure is that it presumes all leisure is homogeneous, that is, *pure leisure*. All the measures presented so far rely on this basic assumption. Therefore the findings we present about gender equity in primary total work time and in primary leisure time are subject to this qualification. We have been provoked into considering alternative, more sophisticated measures of time spent in leisure.

Combined Activities. As we noted above, people frequently engage in more than a single activity at the same time - that is, there are simultaneous activities. The point here is that a leisure activity, with no distracting accompanying activities to constrain it, is different from a leisure activity that is accompanied by a constraining activity. Constraining activities do violence to the very concept of leisure.

Pure leisure can be differentiated from varying degrees of constrained or contaminated leisure. What we are attempting to do by distinguishing degrees of leisure is to capture varying qualities of how leisure is experienced. It is precisely these qualities of the leisure experience that lie at the heart of feminist commentary on the gendered nature of leisure. Women's distinctive experience of leisure is said to result from an unequal responsibility for the care of others, including socio-emotional

work. These responsibilities involve coordinating multiple and overlapping activities that contaminate pure leisure. To date, such discussion has run ahead of the facts. Our contribution to this debate is to show the way that large survey data can be employed to capture these qualitative aspects of leisure.

Time use surveys typically collect information about a primary activity (which the respondent describes as their ‘main’ activity) and a secondary activity (that is, a simultaneous activity accompanying the primary activity). This provides the opportunity to consider activity combinations. For the purpose of this analysis we have grouped all activities into four broad classes: paid work, unpaid work, self-care and leisure. Each primary activity, therefore, can be of four kinds. Sometimes there is no secondary activity. Otherwise each kind of primary activity can be combined with a secondary activity drawn from one these four major groups. This is demonstrated in Table 2.

Table 2: Possible Combinations of Leisure Activities and Other Major Activities

Primary activity	Secondary activity
Leisure	No activity
Leisure	Leisure
Leisure	Paid work
Leisure	Unpaid work
Leisure	Self-care

Interrupted Leisure. The experience of leisure changes substantially according to its fragmentation. The often reported finding that people feel their leisure time is not only scarce but more harried implies leisure has become more fragmented. Two people can experience the same aggregate of leisure time but those with more fragmented leisure, consisting of a greater number of leisure episodes of shorter duration, may justifiably feel more rushed.

In this study we use duration of the longest leisure episode as one indicator of fragmentation. Highly fragmented leisure is indicated by short duration for the longest episode while, conversely, unbroken periods of leisure indicate a higher quality of leisure.

Another indicator of the fragmentation of leisure time, aside from the *length* of the longest episode of leisure activity, is the sheer *number* of leisure activity episodes. Once again, concentrating on similar total leisure times may divert attention from significant differences in the quality of leisure. Leisure time which is unceasingly disrupted by the intercession of a great number of non-leisure activities is of lower quality than uninterrupted leisure. A higher number of leisure episodes to achieve a comparable total of leisure indicates leisure of a lower quality. Once again, an increase in the number of separate leisure episodes may provide an explanation for the high proportion of the population reporting of feelings of being ‘rushed’.

Adult Leisure. The proportion of adult leisure time devoted to adult leisure activities is another key indicator of the quality of leisure.³ This measure is related to our measure of pure leisure, that is, that leisure, properly understood, is activity free of constraints. In our second measure we were concerned with how pure leisure could be contaminated by combination with simultaneous activities involving constraint. Here we are concentrating on a different aspect of the leisure activity situation, that is, the presence or absence of children for whom one is responsible. For the purpose of this study, background responsibilities have major significance for our conceptualisation of the quality of leisure.

3 This idea is inspired by economists’ experience with equivalence scales. As part of the process of determining the costs of children, economists have compared the expenditure of households with and without children. Obviously households with young children have extra expenditure, they spend more on children’s goods (baby food, nappies, dummies, children’s clothing, specialised furniture, toys) than households without children. However, the simple assumption that the average cost of a child can be derived by subtracting the average cost of a couple from the average cost of a couple with a child produces anomalous results - in many instances the costs of children are negative (Douthitt and Fedyk, 1988). Households with young children, for example, spend far less on restaurant meals. However, as Rothbarth (cited in Deaton and Muellbauer, 1980) pointed out, what this simple comparison inadvertently captures is the effect of income constraint. If the aim is to achieve an equivalent standard of living for each household type then a proper procedure should ensure that the comparison is not contaminated by income constraints. He proposed that the best way to achieve this is to ensure that both types of household consumed a similar quantity of adults goods, typically operationalised as things like tobacco and alcohol.

Responsibility for the welfare of children involves an obligation to respond to their physical needs and demands. There is also increasing emphasis in Western culture on spending ‘quality time’ with children, that is, devoting undivided attention to their activities. This means that parents are under a more or less permanent injunction to modify their own leisure preferences in order to focus on activities that are desirable for children. On this basis, a measure of the amount of leisure time spent with children present in the background indicates an important aspect of the adult quality of leisure experienced by women and men who are parents.

One could argue that leisure activity without children in the background indicates a purer quality of adult leisure. This is the most contentious of our three measures of the quality of leisure as, from another point of view, it might be argued that the best leisure is achieved when playing with one’s own children. However, the fact that parents derive considerable pleasure from attending to their children’s needs does not detract from the argument that they may, at the same time, be experiencing an adult leisure deficit.

3 Results

The Quantity of Total Work and Free Time

Total Work Hours (as primary activity). Women continue to be responsible for the majority of hours devoted to unpaid work (see Table 3). Their share of unpaid work hours ranges from 70 per cent in gender equity conscious Sweden to 88 per cent in ‘familistically’ oriented Italy (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Sainsbury, 1996). Women’s mean share of unpaid work hours across the pooled sample drawn from surveys in ten different nations is 76 per cent. Despite the highly gendered specialised nature of unpaid work, there is no substantial difference in men’s and women’s primary total work hours.

Across the pooled data set the mean hours of work, both paid and unpaid, fall marginally above or below 50 hours per week, for women and men respectively. The final column in Table 3 shows the difference between

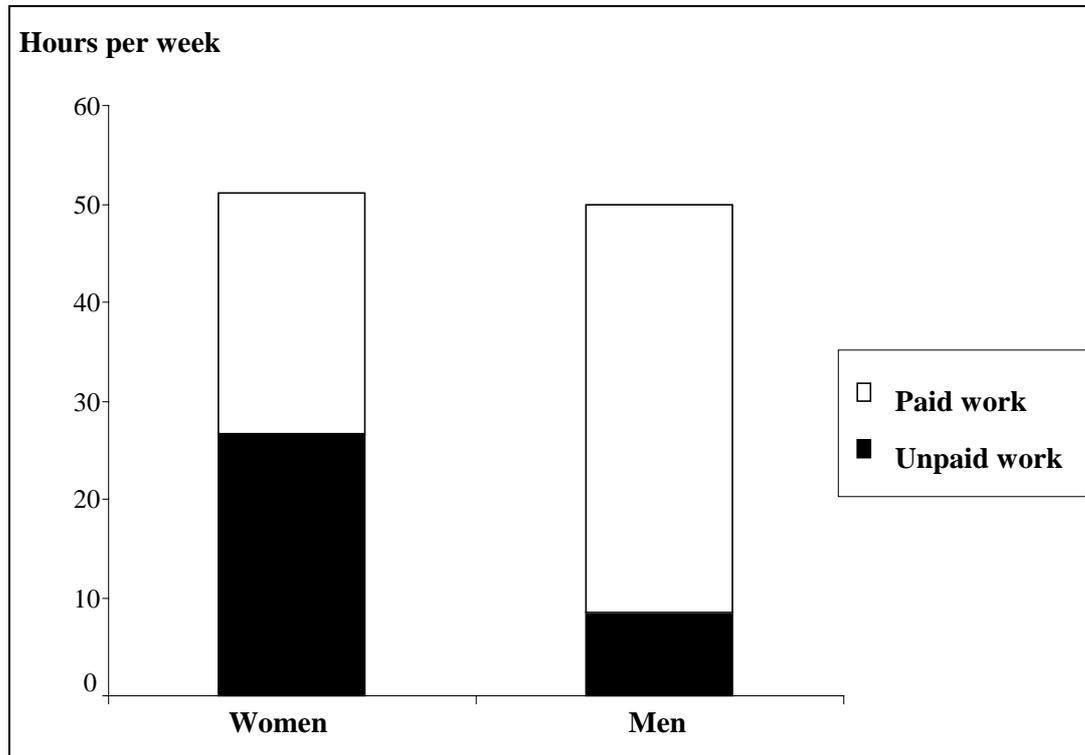
Table 3: Total Work Burden, Based on Primary Activity Only, by Sex

	Female share of unpaid work time (%)	Total work (weighted mean hours per week)		Unmatched dual burden (hours per week)
		Female	Male	
Australia 1992	77	49.65	50.06	-0.42
Canada 1992	75	52.42	50.26	2.16
Denmark 1987	72	50.34	52.40	-2.06
Finland 1987	74	50.81	46.36	4.44
Italy 1980	88	56.22	51.36	4.86
Netherlands 1985	77	42.08	44.88	-2.80
Norway 1981	77	50.21	49.03	1.18
UK 1985	76	47.32	46.28	1.04
USA 1985	74	52.57	54.81	-2.24
Sweden 1991	70	56.33	55.18	1.16
For pooled database	76	51.20	49.84	1.36

women's and men's mean hours of total work, indicating the extent to which women's hours of total work are in excess of men. In six countries, women's mean hours of total work are greater than those of men. The gender difference in total work hours ranges from a maximum of less than five hours in Italy to 1 hour 2 minutes in the UK. In Australia, Denmark, the Netherlands and the USA, women's mean primary weekly hours of total work are actually less than those of men. Australia represents the point of near parity between the total work hours of the sexes, with a male excess of 25 minutes per week, while in the Netherlands men work an extra 2 hours 48 minutes per week. Across all the data in the pooled sample women spend on average 1 hour 22 minutes longer in a combination of paid and unpaid work than men. This difference is surprisingly small (see Figure 1).

Weekly Hours of Primary Free Time. Free time is in many ways the mirror image of total work time. As might be expected from the finding of a very narrow sex difference in primary total work time, a similar pattern is found in the distribution of free time.

Across all countries, the average weekly hours of free time are roughly equivalent to the standard weekly hours of full-time (paid) work. Table 4

Figure 1: Mean Hours of Paid and Unpaid Work by Sex

shows that Denmark and the Netherlands are the only countries where the mean weekly quantity of primary free time exceeds 40 hours per week. At the other end of the scale, the average free time for Italian women, Swedish women, and men from the USA is closer to 30 hours per week. For the remainder, the mean weekly primary free time falls in the range 34 to 39 hours.

The final column in Table 4 shows the difference between men's and women's mean hours of free time. Although men's hours of free time are greater than those of women in the same survey sample, this difference, on average, is not large. In Australia, Norway and the USA, for those aged 20 to 59 years, women's average free time exceeds that of men, although only by less than an hour and a half per week. The Netherlands, Australia and Norway all come within a fraction of an hour of complete parity between the sexes in average primary free time. Italian men are exceptional, enjoying more than six and a half hours (or 21 per cent) more free time than Italian women, but the more typical pattern in these seven countries is for the sex difference in mean free time to be less than

Table 4: Mean Primary Free Time by Sex

Survey	Men	Women	Gender gap in free time (men-women)
Australia 1992	36.38	36.63	-0.25
Canada 1992	39.24	35.96	3.28
Denmark 1987	44.39	42.17	2.22
Finland 1987	37.01	35.28	1.72
Italy 1980	37.51	30.91	6.61
Netherlands 1985	41.66	41.51	0.14
Norway 1981	36.34	36.69	-0.35
Sweden 1991	35.73	32.79	2.94
UK 1985	37.52	36.06	1.46
USA 1985	32.84	34.14	-1.30
USA 1965	31.36	30.59	0.78
For pooled database	34.43	31.78	2.65

half that of the Italians. On average, across all the data in the pooled sample, men only enjoy an extra 8.3 per cent free time when compared with women.⁴ This is a slim foundation on which to build the case for women's double burden. On the basis of the raw quantity (the number of hours) of primary leisure time, men and women seem remarkably similar. However, this says nothing about any possible differences in the quality of leisure. It is to this issue that we now turn.

The Quality of Leisure

Combined Activities. We now move on to consider the quality of leisure. As we noted earlier, we draw upon the Australian data because it is the only data set capable of supporting this level of detailed analysis. Other national data sets do not have sufficiently reliable detail about secondary activities, a fact indicated by a lower average number of episodes per day.

The first of the three measures of the quality of leisure concentrates on the 'purity' of leisure. From the total of 432 011 activity episodes in the Australian 1992 sample, 11 3092, or 26 per cent, are episodes where the

4 Although the difference in means is statistically significant ($P < .0005$, with 46 931 df using a t-test) this is largely an artifact of the large sample size

respondent describes their ‘main’ or primary activity as leisure. More than half of all primary leisure episodes are simple ‘pure leisure’ with no other secondary activity. An additional one-third of primary leisure episodes consists of intense pure forms of leisure where a primary leisure activity is combined with a secondary leisure activity.

A better method for describing the incidence of particular qualities of leisure activities is to explore the proportion of diary days that contain any record of that combination of activity. Table 5 is a frequency table showing the proportion of diaries in which the various leisure combinations appear.

Table 5: Frequency of Combinations of Leisure Activities and Other Major Activities

Primary activity	Secondary activity	Percentage of diary days
Leisure	No activity	91.20
Leisure	Leisure	74.38
Leisure	Paid work	1.11
Leisure	Unpaid work	28.08
Leisure	Self-care	27.68

As might be anticipated, some combinations of activities are prevalent while others are rarely found. Most diaries (91 per cent) report simple, unaccompanied pure leisure activity. Nearly three-quarters of the diaries contain evidence of intense forms of leisure activity, where one leisure activity is combined with another leisure activity. Among the ‘leisure with leisure’ category, 95 per cent of these intense episodes involve passive leisure as the background activity, with leisure conversation (39 per cent), listening to the radio (21 per cent), television or video consumption (17 per cent) the most common secondary activities.

At least one episode of primary leisure combined with secondary self-care activities is reported in 28 per cent of the diaries. The most typical forms of this mixed activity involve eating (75 per cent), drinking alcohol (seven per cent) or smoking (seven per cent) in combination with a primary leisure activity. In descending order, grooming or attending to personal hygiene, health care, sleep and sexual activity are the background activities of primary leisure in the less frequently reported

combinations. Activities are classified as belonging to self-care when the activity involves an element of attending to personal physiological needs.

A substantial proportion (28 per cent) of diaries contain reports of primary leisure combined with unpaid work. In these cases, domestic responsibilities are the demands of care which intrude upon the primary leisure activity and might be considered the prototypical form of contaminated leisure. The most frequent background activity of this type is child care. Seventy one per cent of all episodes of this type include child care responsibilities - while half consist of passive child minding, the remainder require adults to interact directly with children.

The different character of leisure experienced by men and women is summarised in Table 6. Despite the appearance of equality of aggregate leisure time, on the basis of two of three measures, the table shows that men, on average, enjoy a higher quality of leisure than women. Let us examine each of these in turn.

Table 6: Quality of Leisure Measures by Sex

Measure of Quality	Mean for Men	Mean for Women	Significance ^(a)
Combinations ^(b)			
Leisure with no other activity (hours per week)	24.36	21.06	***
Leisure with leisure (hours per week)	18.29	18.94	*
Leisure with unpaid work (hours per week)	8.23	9.75	***
Interrupted leisure			
Number of leisure episodes (per day)	6.34	7.37	***
Maximum length unbroken pure leisure (hours per day)	1.70	1.40	***

Notes: a) *Indicates t-test on the difference in the means, $P < .05$ and *** indicates $P < .0005$

b) The other combinations (leisure with self-care and leisure with paid work) produce results that are less meaningful theoretically and are so infrequent as to be practically inconsequential.

Turning first to the issue of what accompanies primary leisure time, there is a clear patterning by gender. More than 61 per cent of men's leisure is pure leisure, with no accompanying activity. On average, men spend

more than 24 hours per week in pure leisure. By contrast, little more than half of women's leisure is pure leisure. Women, on average, spend 21 hours per week in pure leisure activities. The difference in mean hours of pure leisure is highly significant and cannot be attributed to sampling error. The obverse is also true, women experience a higher proportion of their leisure time contaminated by combination with unpaid work.

Interrupted Leisure. In the context of roughly equivalent aggregate leisure times, the average number of leisure episodes offers a direct indicator of more fragmented leisure. By contrast, the average maximum length of episodes of pure leisure indicates leisure in its most relaxed and comfortable form.

On both these measures, the quality of men's leisure is higher than that of women. Even in leisure, women feel significantly more harried than men, as indicated by a significantly higher number of leisure episodes. The interrupted character of women's leisure is also captured by the significantly shorter duration of their maximal episode of pure leisure. Bearing in mind the likelihood that more of women's leisure episodes than men's will be contaminated with unpaid work, the cumulative effect of these differences between the genders is more profound than it may appear at first sight. In other words, women's leisure is more likely to be interrupted, to involve episodes of shorter duration, and to be associated with unpaid work.

Adult Leisure. Adult leisure can be defined as time spent in a pure leisure activity or an intense leisure activity (leisure with leisure) without the presence of children. By contrast, family leisure represents 'pure' and 'intense' leisure spent in the company of children. Across the entire population (including households without children below the age of 15), more than four-fifths of all, otherwise unconstrained, leisure time is adult leisure time. However, overall, women have significantly lower average weekly hours of adult leisure (see Table 7).

Disaggregating this population according to the age of their youngest child shows a large gulf between those households with a child under the age of ten and the rest of the population. The gulf between parents with young children and those with mature children or no children at all is

Table 7: Adult Leisure by Age of Youngest Child

Youngest child	Valid number	Proportion of leisure which is adult leisure (%)	Adult leisure (hours per week)		t-test for Equality of Means
			Male	Female	
Entire population	9544	82.74	35.20	31.39	0.000
No children	6948	95.69	42.79	39.51	0.000
10-14 years	727	75.74	25.34	24.86	0.768
5-9 years	717	44.81	9.79	9.02	0.476
2-4 years	552	43.23	5.53	5.39	0.995
< 2 years	600	48.59	7.72	2.63	0.000

much more profound than any difference between the genders.⁵ More than 95 per cent of all (pure and intense) leisure time among those with no children under 15 years of age is adult leisure. Among people whose youngest child is between ten and 14 years of age, more than three-quarters of all pure and intense leisure is adult leisure. However, where youngest children are below the age of ten, the balance between adult and family leisure changes dramatically. Both parents spend less than half their pure and intense leisure time exclusively in the company of adults. Put the other way around, the majority of their time is family leisure. Moreover, these proportions are surprisingly stable until the youngest child reaches the age of ten.

Among those without children, the average weekly hours of adult leisure is the equivalent of a full-time work week. For parents whose youngest child is in their early teens, this average falls by more than ten hours per week. However, among parents of pre-teens, the mean figure for weekly hours of adult leisure is less than a quarter of the hours available on average to those without children. The lowest level is found among the mothers whose youngest child is not yet two years of age, who average a meagre 2 hours 38 minutes of adult leisure per week.

5 When considering the average proportion of (pure and intense) leisure, that is, adult leisure, the difference between the genders is small and is not statistically significant, but this masks some real gender differences in the absolute amounts of adult leisure.

However, an analysis of the average weekly hours of adult leisure also reveals a relatively consistent pattern of gender difference. For each category of the age of youngest child, women's mean hours of adult leisure are lower than those of men. The gender gap in average weekly hours of adult leisure is statistically significant among the parents of very young children and for those without children under the age of 15. Fathers of children below the age of two years enjoy, on average, almost three times more weekly hours of adult leisure than the mothers of these children. The uneven distribution of this scarce resource is truly striking. Among those without children, in the sense described here, the mean weekly hours of adult leisure of both genders are more substantial but the difference of 3 hours 17 minutes per week is, nevertheless, notable. Among parents with a youngest child in age range of two to 14 years, gender differences are small.

These results are consistent with the finding that men experience children as an opportunity to play, while women are more likely to experience children as the occasion for unpaid work. When their youngest child is less than two years old, mothers devote an average of over 30 hours per week to primary, direct child care. The average for fathers is eight hours per week. More than half (15 hours per week) of women's mean time spent in caring for these young children is spent on their physical care, in tasks such as carrying, comforting, feeding, changing, dressing, bathing, and tending to injuries and ailments. Almost a third of men's eight hours of child care is spent in playing with children. While women spend more hours than men playing with very young children, less than a sixth of their time spent in child care involves playing with children. Weekly hours of primary child care fall dramatically as the youngest child matures. However, the proportion of women's child care devoted to play remains less than half that of men until the child reaches the age of ten.

From this analysis of adult leisure in relation to family leisure, two main points arise. Firstly, women are relatively disadvantaged by the distribution of adult leisure, although the major difference is between parents of young children and all other adults. When we consider family leisure, however, a more marked gender difference does emerge. Here, women are significantly disadvantaged by their uneven responsibility for the physical care of children. The data show that fathers are mostly with

their children in a context of play and have fewer direct care responsibilities than mothers. If there are benefits to be gained from the company of children, as many economists believe (Deaton and Muellbauer, 1980), then it would seem that they fall disproportionately to men. In terms of gender equity, while the distribution of adult leisure may be an issue, the nature of the time spent with children remains the larger inequity.

4 Conclusion

This article has re-examined the idea that women have less free time than men. The belief that women suffer from a ‘double burden’ or ‘second shift’ has often been interpreted literally by sociologists, implying that women entering paid employment simply add these hours to their existing hours of housework and child care. However, the analysis of time use in ten OECD countries shows that, when paid and unpaid working time are added together, there is only a small difference in the average ‘total work time’ of men and women. As might be expected on the basis on a relatively even distribution of total work time, the mean number of hours of primary leisure time of men and women is also remarkably similar.

How then can this finding of apparent gender equity in the objective circumstances of leisure be reconciled with the subjective impression of increased time pressure among women? We believe that the paradox is, in part, the result of a narrow concentration on the quantity of leisure time. Feminist scholars have claimed for some time that women have a distinctive experience of leisure that is difficult to disentangle from multiple and overlapping activities. However, their argument has largely remained unsubstantiated because of their insistence that only qualitative techniques can capture this experiential dimension of time. We have set out to demonstrate here that quantitative information gathered by mass survey techniques can be used to investigate the lived experience of time.

Furthermore, we show that these data lend support to the feminist claim of gender difference in relation to time. Measures based on comparing the sum of time spent in episodes of primary leisure disregards the constraining nature of women’s unpaid family responsibilities and makes

the consequences invisible. Using our more sophisticated measures about the quality of leisure time, we show that men do have more high quality leisure than women.

Men have many more hours of pure leisure uncontaminated by combination with unpaid work. In addition, men's leisure is less likely to be interrupted than women's. The fragmentary character of women's leisure lowers its quality. Fragmented leisure, snatched between work and self-care activities, is less relaxing than unbroken leisure. It is likely that this fragmented leisure will be experienced as more rushed and therefore increase self-reported stress. Indeed, it may well be that the contemporary view of increased 'time pressure' has more to do with this fragmentation than with any measurable reduction in primary leisure time.

The results of the more detailed analysis of leisure confirm that the social cleavage between parents and non-parents is as important as gender differences. The leisure of parents is oriented around family activities, especially when children are young. Nevertheless, women have less adult leisure than men in comparable situations. Women are further disadvantaged by their disproportionate responsibility for the physical care of children. Women spend more time physically caring for children than playing with them. By contrast, the time fathers spend with their children, is more likely to be in the context of play rather than care. In sum, a gender gap in leisure emerges.

The findings of this study remind us that throughout advanced societies, families still exhibit a pattern of specialisation on the basis of gender. The large body of empirical evidence assembled in this article indicates that women continue to bear primary responsibility for family care. Unpaid work, especially housework and child care, continues to be 'women's work'. Given the different value accorded to paid work and unpaid work in these societies, specialisation by gender has social costs for women. Women pay a price in both earnings and the quality of leisure. When the characteristics of the leisure are considered, the apparent equity in leisure time between men and women disappears.

We agree with Nancy Fraser (1997) that an important dimension of gender equity concerns the distribution of leisure time. To date, this issue has received elaborate theoretical treatment, on the basis of *a priori*

suppositions and little effort has gone into the testing them against empirical evidence. This article has shown that time use surveys represent a rich source of information, capable of capturing not only the quantity of leisure time but also key aspects of its quality. The results of the analysis suggest that there continues to be a gender gap in leisure.

References

- Åas, Dagfinn (1982), 'Designs for large scale Time Use studies of the 24-hour day', in Zahari Staikov, ed., *It's About Time, Proceedings of the International Research Group on Time Budgets and Social Activities*, Bulgarian Sociological Association, Sofia, 17-53.
- Adam, Barbara (1995), *Timewatch*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (1993), *Time Use Survey Australia: User's Guide*, Cat. No. 4150.0, ABS, Canberra.
- Baxter, Janeen and Michael Bittman (1995), 'Measuring time spent in housework: a comparison of two approaches', *Australian Journal of Social Research*, 1, 21-46.
- Beck, Ulrich and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim (1995), *The Normal Chaos of Love*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Becker, Gary S. (1985), 'Human capital, effort, and the sexual division of labor', *Journal of Labor Economics*, 3, 33-58.
- Berk, Sarah Fenstermaker (1985), *The Gender Factory: The Apportionment of Work in American Households*, Plenum, New York.
- Bryant, W. Keith and Cathleen D. Zick (1996), 'Are we investing less in the next generation? Historical trends in time spent caring for children', *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 17, 365-92.
- Cheal, David J. (1991), *Family and the State of Theory*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- Connell, Robert W. (1987), *Gender and Power*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Coverman, Shelley and Joseph F. Sheley (1986), 'Change in men's housework and child-care time, 1966-1975', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 48, 413-22.
- Deaton, Angus and John Muellbauer (1980), *Economics and Consumer Behaviour*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

- Douthitt, Robin A. and Joanne Fedyk (1988), 'The influence of children on family life cycle spending behavior: theory and application', *Journal of Consumer Affairs*, 22, 220-48.
- England, Paula (1982), 'The failure of human capital theory to explain occupational sex segregation', *Journal of Human Resources*, 17, 358-70.
- Esping-Andersen, Gøsta (1990), *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Forman, Frieda J. and Caoran Sowton, eds (1989), *Taking Our Time: Feminist Perspectives on Temporality*, Pergamon, Oxford.
- Fraser, Nancy (1997), 'After the family wage: a postindustrial thought experiment', in Barbara Hobson and Anne Marie Berggren, eds, *Crossing Borders Gender and Citizenship in Transition*, Swedish Council for Planning and Coordination, Sweden, 21-55.
- Frederick, Judith A. (1995), *As Time Goes By ... Time Use of Canadians*, General Social Survey, Statistics Canada, Ottawa.
- Gershuny, Jonathon (1990), *The Multinational Longitudinal Time Budget Data Archive*, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, Dublin.
- Giddens, Anthony (1992), *The Transformation of Intimacy*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Gilligan, Carol (1982), *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Glucksman, Miriam A. (1998). "'What a difference a day makes": a theoretical and historical exploration of temporality and gender', *Sociology*, 32, 239-58.
- Goldschmidt-Clermont, Luisella and Elisabetta Pagnossin-Aligisakis (1995), *Measures of Unrecorded Economic Activities in Fourteen Countries*, Occasional Paper No. 20, Human Development Report Office, New York.
- Hartmann, Heidi (1981), 'The family as the locus of gender, class and political struggle: the example of housework', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 6, 366-94.
- Hill, C. Russell and Frank P. Stafford (1985), 'Parental care of children: time diary estimates of quantity, predictability, and variety', in F. Thomas Juster and Frank P. Stafford, eds, *Time, Goods, and Well-Being*, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 415-37.

- Hochschild, Arlie R. (1983), *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Hochschild, Arlie R. (1997), *The Time Bind*, Henry Holt and Company, New York.
- Hochschild, Arlie. R. and Anne Machung (1989), *The Second Shift*, Viking, New York.
- Juster, F. Thomas (1985), 'The validity and quality of time use estimates obtained from recall diaries', in F. Thomas Juster and Frank P. Stafford, eds, *Time, Goods, and Well-Being*, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Kristeva, Julia (1981), 'Women's time', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 7, 16-35.
- Landes, David S. (1983), *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Larson, Reed and Maryse H. Richards (1994), *Divergent Realities. The Emotional Lives of Mothers, Fathers, and Adolescents*, Basic Books, New York.
- Linder, Staffan B. (1970), *The Harried Leisure Class*, Columbia University Press, New York.
- Lopata, Helena Z. (1971), *Occupation: Housewife*, Open University Press, New York.
- Meissner, Martin, Elizabeth W. Humphrey, Scott M. Meis and William Scheu (1975), 'No exit for wives: sexual division of labour and the cumulation of household demands', *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 12, 424-39.
- Morris, Lydia (1990), *The Workings of the Household*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Niemi, Iris (1993), 'Systematic error in behavioural measurement: comparing results from interview and time budget studies', *Social Indicators Research*, 30, 229-44.
- Nowotny, Helga (1994), *Time: The Modern and the Postmodern Experience*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Oakley, Ann (1974), *The Sociology of Housework*, Martin Robertson, London.
- Oppenheimer, Valerie Kincaide (1994), 'Women's rising employment and the future of the family in industrial societies', *Population and Development Review*, 20, 293-342.

- Oppenheimer, Valerie Kincaide (1997), 'Women's employment and the gain to marriage: the specialization and trading model', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23, 431-53.
- Pallié, Bernie (1993), *Estimating the Volume of Unpaid Activities in Canada, 1992: An Evaluation of Data from the General Social Survey*, General Social Survey Working Paper No. 10, Statistics Canada, Ottawa.
- Pateman, Carole (1988), *The Sexual Contract*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Robinson, John P. (1985), 'The validity and reliability of diaries versus alternative time use measures', in F. Thomas Juster and Frank P. Stafford, eds, *Time, Goods, and Well-Being*, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 33-62.
- Robinson, John P. and Jonathon Gershuny (1994), 'Measuring hours of paid work: time-diary vs. estimate questions', *Bulletin of Labour Statistics*, 1, xi-xvii.
- Robinson, John P. and Geoffrey Godbey (1997), *Time for Life: The Surprising Ways Americans Use Their Time*, Penn State University Press, University Park.
- Rubin, Lillian B. (1995), *Families on the Fault Line: America's Working Class Speaks about the Family, the Economy, Race, and Ethnicity*, HarperPerennial, New York.
- Rydenstam, Klas (1994), Who Takes Care of the Housework After Work, paper presented at the XIIth World Congress of Sociology, Bielefeld, Germany,
- Sainsbury, Diane (1996), *Gender Equality Reforms and Welfare States*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Schor, Juliet B. (1991), *The Overworked American: The Unexpected Decline of Leisure*, Basic Books, New York.
- Szalai, Alexander, Phillip E. Converse, Pierre Feldheim, Erwin K. Scheuch, and Phillip J. Stone (1972), *The Use of Time: Daily Activities of Urban and Suburban Populations in Twelve Countries*, Mouton, The Hague.
- Thompson, Edward P. (1967), 'Time, work-discipline and industrial capitalism', *Past and Present*, 38, 56-97.
- Vickery, Clair (1977), 'The time-poor: a new look at poverty', *Journal of Human Resources*, 12, 27-48.

SOCIAL POLICY RESEARCH CENTRE DISCUSSION PAPERS

◆ No longer available.

◇ Published in Journal (list follows)

1. ◆◇	The Labour Market Position of Aboriginal People in Non-Metropolitan New South Wales	Russell Ross	August 1988
2. ◆	Welfare Fraud, Work Incentives and Income Support for the Unemployed	Bruce Bradbury	August 1988
3. ◆◇	Taxation and Social Security: An Overview	Peter Whiteford	August 1988
4. ◆◇	Income Inequality in Australia in an International Comparative Perspective	Peter Saunders & Garry Hobbes	August 1988
5. ◆◇	Family Size Equivalence Scales and Survey Evaluations of Income and Well-Being	Bruce Bradbury	December 1988
6. ◆◇	Income Testing the Tax Threshold	Peter Whiteford	December 1988
7. ◆	Workers' Compensation and Social Security Expenditure in Australia: Anti-Social Aspects of the 'Social' Wage	Don Stewart & Jennifer Doyle	December 1988
8. ◆	Teenagers in the Labour Market: 1983-1988	Russell Ross	December 1988
9. ◆	A Legacy of Choice: Economic Thought and Social Policy in Australia, the Early Post-War Years	Paul Smyth	May 1989
10. ◆◇	The 'Family Package' and the Cost of Children	Bruce Bradbury	May 1989
11. ◆	Towards an Understanding of Commonwealth Social Expenditure Trends	Peter Saunders	May 1989
12. ◆◇	A Comparative Study of Home and Hospital Births: Scientific and Normative Variables and their Effects	Cathy Boland	July 1989
13. ◆	Adult Goods and the Cost of Children in Australia	Bruce Bradbury	July 1989
14. ◆◇	Some Australian Evidence on the Consensual Approach to Poverty Measurement	Peter Saunders & Bruce Bradbury	July 1989
15 ◇	Income Inequality in Australia and New Zealand: International Comparisons and Recent Trends	Peter Saunders, Garry Hobbes & Helen Stott	September 1989
16. ◆◇	Trends in the Disposable Incomes of Australian Families, 1982-83 to 1989-90	Bruce Bradbury, Jennifer Doyle & Peter Whiteford	January 1990

17.◇	Selectivity and Targeting in Income Support: The Australian Experience	Peter Saunders	February 1990
18.◆◇	How Reliable are Estimates of Poverty in Australia? Some Sensitivity Tests for the Period 1981-82 to 1985-86	Bruce Bradbury & Peter Saunders	February 1990
19.◆◇	The Labour Supply Behaviour of Single Mothers and Married Mothers in Australia	Russell Ross & Peter Saunders	July 1990
20.◆◇	Income Poverty Among Aboriginal Families with Children: Estimates from the 1986 Census	Russell Ross & Peter Whiteford	July 1990
21.◇	Compensating Low Income Groups for Indirect Tax Reforms	Peter Saunders & Peter Whiteford	August 1990
22.◆◇	Reflections on the Review of the Home and Community Care Program	Peter Saunders	August 1990
23.◆◇	Sole Parent Families in Australia	Peter Saunders & George Matheson	September 1990
24.◇	Unemployment, Participation and Family Incomes in the 1980s	Bruce Bradbury	September 1990
25.◆◇	Employment Growth and Poverty: An Analysis of Australian Experience, 1983-1990	Peter Saunders	September 1990
26.◆	Gender, Social Policy Regimes and the Welfare State	Sheila Shaver	November 1990
27.	A Probit Analysis of the Factors Influencing Labour Market Success of Aborigines in New South Wales	Russell Ross	November 1990
28.◆◇	Efficiency and Effectiveness in Social Policies: An International Perspective	Peter Saunders	December 1990
29.	Take-up of Family Income Supplement in 1986 - A Research Note	Peter Whiteford & Jennifer Doyle	February 1991
30.◇	An Ever-Rising Tide? Poverty in Australia in the Eighties:	Peter Saunders & George Matheson	May 1991
31.◇	Are Immigrants Over-Represented in the Australian Social Security System?	Peter Whiteford	March 1992
32.	Measuring the Cost of Children	Bruce Bradbury	May 1992
33.◇	The Impact of Family Assistance Changes on Patterns of Unemployment Benefit Receipt	Bruce Bradbury	August 1992
34.◇	Recent Trends in the Size and Growth of Government in OECD Countries	Peter Saunders	September 1992

- | | | | |
|-------|--|--|----------------|
| 35.◇ | Noncash Income, Living Standards, Inequality and Poverty: Evidence from the Luxembourg Income Study | Peter Saunders et al | November 1992 |
| 36.◆◇ | The Mixed Economy of Support for the Aged In Australia: Lesson for Privatisation | Peter Saunders & Michael Fine | November 1992 |
| 37. | The Welfare Interpretation of Family Size Equivalence Scales | Bruce Bradbury | November 1992 |
| 38.◇ | Body Rights, Social Rights and the Liberal Welfare State | Sheila Shaver | December 1992 |
| 39.◇ | Unemployment and Income Support: Challenges for the Years Ahead | Bruce Bradbury | May 1993 |
| 40.◇ | Married Women's Earnings and Family Income Inequality in the Eighties | Peter Saunders | May 1993 |
| 41. | Women and the Australian Social Security System: From Difference Towards Equality | Sheila Shaver | June 1993 |
| 42. | Male Wage Inequality Before and After Tax: A Six Country Comparison | Bruce Bradbury | June 1993 |
| 43.◆ | The Fragmented Structure of Community Support Services: A Community Case Study | Michael Fine | June 1993 |
| 44.◆◇ | The Recognition of Wifely Labour by Welfare States | Sheila Shaver & Jonathan Bradshaw | August 1993 |
| 45. | Postmodernism and Social Policy: A Great Leap Backwards? | Peter Taylor-Gooby | September 1993 |
| 46.◇ | Making Ends Meet in Australia and Sweden: A Comparative Analysis of the Consensual Approach to Poverty Measurement | Peter Saunders, Björn Halleröd & George Matheson | October 1993 |
| 47.◆ | Economic Adjustment and Distributional Change: Income Inequality and Poverty in Australia in the Eighties | Peter Saunders | November 1993 |
| 48.◆◇ | Poverty and Inequality: Social Security in Australia in the 1990s | Peter Saunders | May 1994 |
| 49.◇ | Rising on the Tasman Tide: Income Inequality in Australia and New Zealand in the 1980s | Peter Saunders | June 1994 |
| 50. | A New Approach to the Direct Measurement of Consensual Poverty | Björn Halleröd | October 1994 |
| 51. | The Distribution of Welfare: Inequality, Earnings Capacity and Household Production in a Comparative Perspective | Peter Saunders Inge O'Connor & Timothy Smeeding | November 1994 |
| 52.◇ | Immigrants and the Distribution of Income: National and International Comparisons | Peter Saunders | November 1994 |

53.◇	The Role, Value and Limitations of Poverty Research	Peter Saunders	November 1994
54.◇	The Use of Replacement Rates In International Comparisons of Benefit Systems	Peter Whiteford	February 1995
55.◇	Two Papers on Citizenship and the Basic Income	Peter Saunders & Sheila Shaver	April 1995
56.◇	Improving Work Incentives in a Means-tested System: The 1994 Australian Social Security Reforms	Peter Saunders	May 1995
57.◆	Corporatism in Australia	Peter Kriesler & Joseph Halevi	May 1995
58.	Universality and Selectivity in Income Support: A Comparative Study in Social Citizenship	Sheila Shaver	May 1995
59.	Household Semi-public Goods and the Estimation of Consumer Equivalence Scales: Some First Steps	Bruce Bradbury	May 1995
60.◇	Wage and Income Inequality in Two Welfare States: Australia and Sweden	Peter Saunders & Johann Fritzell	August 1995
61.◆	The Changing Mix of Welfare in Health Care and Community Support Services	Michael Fine	August 1995
62.◇	Evaluation and Research in Social Policy	Peter Saunders & Michael Fine	December 1995
63.◇	Unpacking Inequality: Wage Incomes, Disposable Incomes and Living Standards	Peter Saunders	December 1995
64.◆◇	A Challenge to Work and Welfare: Poverty in Australia in the 1990s	Peter Saunders	December 1995
65.◆◇	Social Policy and Personal Life: Changes in State, Family and Community in the Support of Informal Care	Sheila Shaver & Michael Fine	December 1995
66.	Household Income Sharing, Joint Consumption and the Expenditure Patterns of Australian Couples and Single People	Bruce Bradbury	May 1996
67.	Explaining Changes in the Social Structure of Employment: The Importance of Geography	Boyd Hunter	June 1996
68.	Liberalism, Gender and Social Policy	Sheila Shaver	July 1996
69.	Redistribution by the State in Austria	Alois Guger	October 1996
70.	Economic Crisis and Social Policy in Finland in the 1990s	Hannu Uusitalo	October 1996

- | | | | |
|-----|--|--|---------------|
| 71. | Sole Mothers in Australia: Supporting Mothers to Seek Work | Marilyn McHugh & Jane Millar | November 1996 |
| 72. | 'All Else Confusion': What Time Use Surveys Show About Changes in Gender Equity | Michael Bittman & George Matheson | November 1996 |
| 73. | Are the Low Income Self-employed Poor? | Bruce Bradbury | December 1996 |
| 74. | Social Policy in East Asia and the Pacific Area in the Twenty-First Century: Challenges and Responses | Peter Saunders | December 1996 |
| 75. | Dawning of a New Age? The Extent, Causes and Consequences of Ageing in Australia | Peter Saunders | December 1996 |
| 76. | Poverty, Choice and Legitimacy | Peter Saunders | March 1997 |
| 77. | The Restructuring of the Canadian Welfare State: Ideology and Policy | Maureen Baker | June 1997 |
| 78. | Developing Policy Planning and Research Capabilities in the Asia Pacific | Peter Saunders | October 1997 |
| 79. | New Relations of Welfare in the Contracting State: The Marketisation of Services for the Unemployed in Australia | Tony Eardley | October 1997 |
| 80. | Coordinating Health, Extended Care and Community Support Services: Issues for Policy Makers and Service Providers in Australia | Michael Fine | October 1997 |
| 81. | How do the Elderly in Taiwan Fare Cross-Nationally? Evidence from the Luxembourg Income Study Project | Peter Saunders & Timothy M. Smeeding | April 1998 |
| 82. | An Australian Model for Labour Supply and Welfare Participation in Two-adult Households | Guyonne Kalb | June 1998 |
| 83. | The Land of the Lost Long Weekend? Trends in Free Time Among Working Age Australians, 1974-1992 | Michael Bittman | June 1998 |
| 84. | Defining Poverty and Identifying the Poor: Reflections on the Australian Experience | Peter Saunders | June 1998 |
| 85. | An Equivalence Scale for Time | Michael Bittman & Robert E. Goodin | July 1998 |
| 86. | The Changing Boundary Between Home and Market: Australian Trends in Outsourcing Domestic Labour | Michael Bittman, Gabrielle Meagher & George Matheson | July 1998 |
| 87. | Incomes, Incentives and the Growth of Means Testing in Hungary | Gerry Redmond | August 1998 |

- | | | | |
|------|--|----------------------------------|---------------|
| 88. | Economic Insecurity | Lars Osberg | October 1998 |
| 89. | Household Budgets and Income Distribution Over the Longer Term: Evidence for Australia | Peter Saunders | October 1998 |
| 90. | Global Pressures, National Responses: The Australian Welfare State in Context | Peter Saunders | October 1998 |
| 91. | Working But Poor? Low Pay and Poverty in Australia | Tony Eardley | November 1998 |
| 92. | Extension Amidst Retrenchment: Gender and Welfare State Restructuring in Australia and Sweden | Sheila Shaver | December 1998 |
| 93. | Using Budget Standards to Assess the Well-Being of Families | Peter Saunders | December 1998 |
| 94. | Later Life, Gender and Ethnicity: Changing Theory for Social Policy Research | Gail Wilson | December 1998 |
| 95. | Social Participation and Family Welfare: The Money and Time Costs of Leisure | Michael Bittman | February 1999 |
| 96. | The Increasing Financial Dependency of Young People on Their Families | Judy Schneider | February 1999 |
| 97. | The Rush Hour: The Quality of Leisure Time and Gender Equity | Michael Bittman & Judy Wajcman | February 1999 |
| 98. | Women and Retirement Income in Australia: Social Rights, Industrial Rights and Property Rights | Merrin Thompson | May 1999 |
| 99. | The 'Dutch Miracle': Employment Growth in a Retrenched but Still Generous Welfare System | Uwe Becker | May 1999 |
| 100. | Tax Theory and Targeting: A Survey | Bruce Bradbury | May 1999 |
| 101. | Home and Away: Reflections on Long-term Care in the UK and Australia | Melanie Henwood | June 1999 |
| 102. | Australian Attitudes to Unemployment and Unemployed People | Tony Eardley and George Matheson | June 1999 |
| 103. | The Costs of Children: Budget Standards Estimates and the Child Support Scheme | Marilyn McHugh | July 1999 |
| 104. | Tax-benefit Policies and Parents' Incentives to Work: The Case of Australia 1980-1997 | Gerry Redmond | July 1999 |
| 105. | The Responsibility for Child and Aged Care: Shaping Policies for the Future | Michael Fine | August 1999 |

SOCIAL POLICY RESEARCH CENTRE REPRINTS

The following Discussion Papers have been published in journals or books. Where indicated, Reprints of the articles are available from the SPRC at the cost of \$2.00 each. To order reprints, quote the Reprint number and attach a cheque or money order made out to the Social Policy Research Centre. Send orders to:

The Publications Officer
Social Policy Research Centre
University of New South Wales
Sydney NSW 2052
Australia

DP No.	Published as	SPRC Reprint No. (if applicable)
1.	Russell Ross (1988), 'The Labour Market Position of Aboriginal People in Non-metropolitan New South Wales', <i>Australian Bulletin of Labour</i> , 15(1), December, 29-56.	48
3.	Peter Whiteford (1989), 'Taxation and Social Security: An Overview', <i>Australian Tax Forum</i> , 6(1), 2-39.	49
4.	Peter Saunders and Garry Hobbes (1988), 'Income Inequality in an International Comparative Perspective,' <i>Australian Economic Review</i> , 3rd Quarter, 25-34.	47
5.	Bruce Bradbury (1989), 'Family Size Equivalence Scales and Survey Evaluations of Income and Well-being', <i>Journal of Social Policy</i> , 18(3), July, 383-408.	52
6.	Peter Whiteford (1989), 'Taxation Reform and the Tax Threshold', in John G. Head, ed., <i>Australian Tax Reform in Retrospect and Prospect</i> , papers presented at a conference organised by the Centre of Policy Studies, Monash University, Conferences Series no. 8, Australian Tax Research Foundation, Sydney, 219-47.	
10.	Bruce Bradbury (1989), 'The "Family Package" and the Cost of Children', <i>Australian Social Policy</i> , 1(12), Winter, 21-51.	59
12.	Cathy Boland (1989), 'A Comparative Study of Home and Hospital Births: Scientific and Normative Variables and Their Effects', in <i>Celebrating a Revolution in Birth: Proceedings of 10th National Homebirth Conference</i> , Sydney, 19-33.	
14.	Peter Saunders and Bruce Bradbury (1991), 'Some Australian Evidence on the Consensual Approach to Poverty Measurement', <i>Economic Analysis and Policy</i> , 21(1), March, 47-73.	62
15.	Peter Saunders, Helen Stott and Garry Hobbes (1991), 'Income Inequality in Australian and New Zealand: International Comparisons and Recent Trends', <i>Review of Income and Wealth</i> , 37(1), March, 63-79.	47

DP No.	Published as	SPRC Reprint No. (if applicable)
16.	Bruce Bradbury, Jenny Doyle and Peter Whiteford (1993), 'Trends in the Disposable Income and Housing Costs of Australian Families', Greg Mahoney, ed., <i>The Australian Economy under Labor</i> , Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 137-158.	71
17.	Peter Saunders (1991), 'Selectivity and Targeting in Income Support: The Australian Experience', <i>Journal of Social Policy</i> , 20(3), 299-326.	
18.	Bruce Bradbury and Peter Saunders (1990), 'How Reliable are Estimates of Poverty in Australia? Some Sensitivity Tests for the Period 1981-82 to 1985-86', <i>Australian Economic Papers</i> , 29(55), December 154-81.	60
19.	Russell Ross and Peter Saunders (1993), 'The Labour Supply of Sole Mothers and Married Mothers in Australia: Evidence from the 1986 Income Distribution Survey', <i>Australian Economic Papers</i> , Vol. 32, June, 116-133.	
20.	Russell Ross and Peter Whiteford (1992), 'Poverty in 1986: Aboriginal Families with Children', <i>Australian Journal of Social Issues</i> , 27(2), May, 92-111.	61
21.	Peter Saunders and Peter Whiteford (1990), 'Compensating Low Income Groups for Indirect Taxes', <i>Australian Tax Forum</i> , 7(4), 443-64.	
22.	Peter Saunders (1990), 'Reflections on the Review of the HACC Program', in A. Howe, E. Ozanne and C. Selby Smith, eds, <i>Community Care Policy and Practice: New Directions in Australia</i> , Public Sector Management Institute, Monash University, Victoria, 201-12.	63
23.	Peter Saunders and George Matheson (1991), 'Sole Parent Families in Australia', <i>International Social Security Review</i> , 44(3), 51-75.	
24.	Bruce Bradbury (1992), 'Unemployment, Participation and Family Incomes in the 1980s', <i>Economic Record</i> , 68(203), December, 328-42.	73
25.	Peter Saunders (1991), 'Employment Growth and Poverty: An Analysis of the Australian Experience 1982-1990', in Michael Johnson, Peter Kriesler and Anthony D. Owen, eds, <i>Contemporary Issues in Australian Economics</i> , The Economic Society of Australia, Macmillan, Australia, 105-33. (Also excerpts in <i>ACTCOSS News</i> , 5 October, 12-14.)	
28.	Peter Saunders (1991), 'Efficiency and Effectiveness in Social Policies: an International Perspective', in T. P. Hardiman and Michael Mulreany, eds, <i>Efficiency and Effectiveness in the Public Domain</i> , Institute of Public Administration, Dublin, 78-117.	

DP No.	Published as	SPRC Reprint No. (if applicable)
30.	Peter Saunders and George Matheson (1991), 'An Ever Rising Tide?: Poverty in Australia in the Eighties', <i>Economic and Labour Relations Review</i> , 2(2), December, 142-71.	67
31.	Peter Whiteford (1991), 'Are immigrants over-represented in the Australian social security system?', <i>Journal of the Australian Population Association</i> , 8(2), November, 93-109.	
33.	Bruce Bradbury (1993), 'Family Assistance and the Incomes of Low Wage Families', <i>Social Security Journal</i> , March, 1-18. and Bruce Bradbury (1993), 'Family Assistance, Replacement Rates and the Unemployment of Married Men', <i>Australian Bulletin of Labour</i> , Vol. 19, No. 2, June, 114-132.	70
34.	Peter Saunders (1993), 'Recent Trends in the Size and Growth of Government in OECD Countries', in Normal Gemmill, ed., <i>The Growth of the Public Sector: Theories and International Evidence</i> , Edward Elgar, Aldershot, 17-33.	
35.	Timothy M. Smeeding, Peter Saunders, John Coder, Stephen Jenkins, Johan Fritzell, Aldi J. M. Hagenaars, Richard Hauser and Michael Wolfson (1993), 'Poverty, Inequality and Family Living Standards Impacts Across Seven Nations: The Effects of Noncash Subsidies for Health, Education and Housing', <i>The Review of Income and Wealth</i> , Series 39, No. 3, September, 229-256.	
36.	Peter Saunders and Michael Fine (1992), 'The Mixed Economy of Support for the Aged in Australia: Lessons for Privatisation', <i>Economic and Labour Relations Review</i> , 3(2), December, 18-42.	69
38.	Sheila Shaver (1993), 'Body Rights, Social Rights and the Liberal Welfare State', <i>Critical Social Policy</i> , Issue 39, Winter 1993/94, 66-93.	72
39.	Bruce Bradbury (1993), 'Unemployment, and Income Support: Challenges for the Years Ahead', <i>Economic Papers</i> , Vol. 12, No. 2, June, 14-31.	
40.	Peter Saunders (1993), 'Married Women's Earnings and Family Income Inequality in the Eighties', <i>Australian Bulletin of Labour</i> , Vol. 19, No. 3, 3-22.	
44.	Sheila Shaver and Jonathan Bradshaw (1995), 'The Recognition of Wifely Labour by Welfare States', <i>Social Policy and Administration</i> , Vol. 29, No.1, March, 10-25.	
46.	Peter Saunders, Björn Halleröd and George Matheson (1994), 'Making Ends Meet in Australia and Sweden: A Comparative Analysis Using the Subjective Poverty Line Methodology', <i>Acta Sociologica</i> , Vol. 37, No. 3, 3-22.	

DP No.	Published as	SPRC Reprint No. (if applicable)
48.	Peter Saunders (1993), 'Poverty and Inequality: Social Security in the 1990s', in J. Disney and L. Briggs, eds, <i>Social Security Policy: Issues and Options</i> , papers from the Conference, 'Social Security Policy: The Future', November, AGPS 29-48.	
49.	Peter Saunders (1994), 'Rising on the Tasman Tide: Income Inequality in Australia and New Zealand', <i>Social Policy Journal of New Zealand</i> , Issue 2, July, 97-114.	
52.	Peter Saunders, 'The Immigrant Dimension of Income Inequality' in J. Neville, ed., <i>As the Rich Get Richer: Changes in Income Distribution</i> , Committee for the Economic Development of Australia (CEDA), Sydney, 66-86.	
53.	Peter Saunders (1995), 'In Defence of a Poverty Line', <i>Just Policy</i> , No. 4, September, 9-16.	
54.	Peter Whiteford (1995), 'The Use of Replacement Rates in International Comparisons of Benefit Systems', <i>International Social Security Review</i> , Vol. 48, No.2/95, 3-30.	
55.	Peter Saunders (1995), 'Conditionality and Transition as Issues in the Basic Income Debate', in <i>Income Support in an Open Economy: Basic Income Seminar</i> , Victorian Council of Social Service and the Good Shepherd Youth and Family Services, Melbourne, 51-62.	
56.	Peter Saunders (1995), 'Improving Work Incentives in a Means-Tested Welfare System: The 1994 Australian Social Security Reforms', <i>Fiscal Studies</i> , Vol. 16, No. 2, May, 145-70.	
60.	Johan Fritzell and Peter Saunders (1995), 'Wage and Income Inequality in Two Welfare States: Australia and Sweden', in F. Engelstad, R. Kalleberg, A. Lura and L. MjØset, eds, <i>Comparative Social Research, Volume 15: Institutional Aspects of Work and Wage Determination</i> , JAI Press, Greenwich, CT, 187-229. Also in <i>Comparative Social Research Yearbook</i>	
62.	Peter Saunders and Michael Fine (1997), 'Evaluation and Research in Social Policy', <i>Australian Journal of Social Research</i> , Vol. 3, No. 1, January, 75-94.	
63.	Peter Saunders (1996), 'Unpacking Inequality: Wage Incomes, Disposable Incomes and Living Standards', in <i>The Industry Commission Conference on Equity, Efficiency and Welfare, Conference Proceedings</i> , AGPS, Canberra, 225-55.	
64.	Peter Saunders (1996), 'Poverty in the 1990s: A Challenge to Work and Welfare', in P. Sheehan, B. Grewal and M. Kunnick, eds, <i>Dialogues in Australia's Future: In Honour of the Late Professor Ronald Henderson</i> , Centre for Strategic Economic Studies, Victoria University of Technology, Melbourne, 325-50.	

65. Sheila Shaver and Michael Fine (1996), 'Social Policy and Personal Life: Changes in State, Family and Community in the Support of Informal Care' in Aged and Community Care Division and Office of Disability, Department of Human Services and Health, *Towards a National Agenda for Carers, Workshop Papers*, No. 22, AGPS, Canberra, 19-36.