



The Time Cost of Parenthood: An Analysis of Daily Workload

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By Lyn Craig

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Abstract

This paper uses the 1992 Time Use Survey by the Australian Bureau of Statistics to calculate the amount of time that parenthood adds to daily time commitment, and the impact of parenthood on the daily division of household labour. Because child care is most often performed simultaneously with other tasks, this paper includes secondary activity in calculating the time cost of children. It demonstrates that across the range of variation in labour force status, the time cost of parenthood is high; however, the impact of motherhood on total time commitment and on the proportion of work that is unpaid, is greater than the impact of fatherhood.

1 Background

Before the separation of workplace from home life that emerged with the industrial revolution, children had been an economic benefit to families (Caldwell, 1982; Fukuyama, 1999; Gilding, 1991). Now, parenthood is a major cause of financial disadvantage, with the extra expense of parenthood having been shown to be an indicator of poverty (Neave, 1995). Non-parents fare better economically than parents (Folbre, 1994; McDonald, 1990; McDonald, 1997).

The cost of children can be calculated in various ways. The financial costs can be calculated directly, by adding up the amount spent to feed, clothe, educate and entertain children. Indirect costs include life style choices that take children's needs into consideration, such as type and area of housing. Replacement costs quantify the amount needed to replace the labour of child raising. Opportunity costs calculate the wages foregone by those who care for children (Bradbury, 1992; Joshi, 1990; Lovering, 1984; McDonald, 2000; Whiteford, 1986). The economic penalty for devoting time to children goes beyond immediate wages unearned. Time out of the workforce has long term downward effects on employability and superannuation benefits. Studies estimate that, depending on factors including the accessibility of formal child care, mothers lose 60 per cent of lifetime earnings compared to childless women (Davies and Joshi, 1992; Joshi, 1998; Powell, 1997).

These cost calculations are useful, but there is a dimension that remains elusive: the cost of children in time. Time use studies have been of particular use in quantifying unpaid work, because of its invisibility to other data collection methods. Surveys of time use are a relatively recent form of data collection, and provide a valuable adjunct to traditional statistical information regarding income, household expenditure,

employment patterns, housing and demographics. They complement other forms of data collection 'by providing the most accurate current estimates of all unpaid work and family care that takes place in society, and giving an otherwise unavailable glimpse of all the things that people do' (Robinson and Godbey, 1997: 288-9).

There is a body of work that uses time use studies to calculate the amount and division of domestic labour (Baxter, 1993; Bittman, 1992; Bittman and Matheson, 1996; Folbre, 1994; Gershuny and Brice, 1994; Hochschild, 1997; Pahl, 1984; Schor, 1991; Shelton, 1992; Dempsey, 1997; Robinson and Godbey, 1997). These studies include child care in their calculations, but there are indications that child care has been significantly underestimated because it is often done at the same time as other activities (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1994; Bittman and Pixley, 1997). This has a significant effect on 'time as it is lived' (Gershuny and Sullivan, 1998). For example, taking children shopping is qualitatively different from shopping alone, and having to perform other tasks with child care makes the supervision of children more difficult. Both activities may be more onerous when combined.

Recording simultaneous activity also captures more of the subjective experience of constraint and responsibility associated with care of children (Sullivan, 1997). Even leisure time spent in the company of children, although it may be pleasurable, requires vigilance and attention. A picnic, for example, in the company of a child is very different from one without the responsibility of supervision (Grace, 1999).

Also, counting only the main task conceals the 'density' of activity. Simultaneous performance is often of more than one work task at a time, not just for the sake of efficiency, but because some tasks, such as cooking dinner and comforting a crying child, cannot be rescheduled

(McMahon, 1999). If it were done in paid employment, this higher output would be regarded as improved productivity.

This paper therefore addresses a research gap by including secondary activity in an analysis of the impact of children on total time in paid and unpaid work and the division of labour in the household. It investigates whether and how the time commitment to children varies on the basis of sex and of employment status.

2 Methodology

The 1992 Time Use Survey

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

The survey provided one column for respondents to record their main activity, and another column to record other activities undertaken simultaneously. Main activities are referred to as 'primary activities' and activities done at the same time are called 'secondary activities'.

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

Previous time use analyses amalgamated the ten broad activity categories into four. These are 'contracted time', being paid work and education; 'committed time', being domestic labour, purchasing and child care; 'personal time', being necessary self care tasks including sleeping eating washing and dressing; and 'free time', being leisure, socialising and

voluntary community activity. This paper adopts these definitions, but follows the established convention of using the more colloquial terms of paid and unpaid work when referring to contracted and committed time (Bittman, 1998).

This analysis seeks to answer the series of questions addressed below:

How much time does being a parent take?

This paper compares the time spent as a main activity by parents and by non-parents in each of the ten broad activity categories. It adds together time in paid and unpaid work to allow comparison of total workload.

Is the amount of time that children take obscured because so much child care is done at the same time as other activities?

This paper compares the time spent by parents and non-parents in each of the ten broad activity categories when both main ('primary') and simultaneous ('secondary') activities are counted. However, the activity most frequently recorded with child care as a secondary activity was sleeping. Time in sleep cannot uncontentiously be regarded as work, and this study is comparing parents' and non-parents' total time in paid and unpaid work. Also, the response was inconsistent and therefore inclusion of this time would skew the results of an analysis. It was therefore decided to exclude from the analysis time in which child care was recorded as a secondary activity to sleep.

Does parenthood affect the division of labour between the sexes?

Those who argue that equity of total contribution matters most (for example Tapper, 1990) see the persistence of the division of labour on sex lines as unproblematic. Concentrating on the total, however, 'deflects attention from the important difference between paid and unpaid work – namely that some work is rewarded with pay (and hence the status and power that this confers) while some is not' (Bittman and Matheson,

1996). This study seeks to find out what effect, if any, parenthood has on the division of labour between the sexes. Of interest is whether motherhood increases women's social disadvantage.

This study compares the time parents and non-parents spend in the activities that constitute paid and unpaid work. While the mean time in the separate activities is presented, overall division of labour is operationalised as the proportion of total work time that is paid.

This paper is unable to follow the convention of previous analyses that have compared free time across groups (Bittman, 1992; Bittman, 1998; Bittman and Matheson, 1996), because leisure is a residual category, being the time left over from the other types of time use. When only primary time use is calculated, it is possible to see what part of the 24-hour day is available for leisure. This approach is not possible when both primary and secondary activities are included, as the overlapping time spent will not neatly total to 24 hours.

Is the amount of child care or the division of labour between the sexes affected by the parents' work force status?

Women are entering the work force in increasing numbers, but despite expectations that this would lead to a more equitable division of domestic labour they are still doing the bulk of the household tasks. 'Whatever paid work they undertake, with very few exceptions, women remain responsible for domestic labour and child care' (Bittman, 1998). This study will look at whether and how variation in labour force and parental status affects total time in paid and unpaid work for men and women.

The data are averaged into a representative 24 hour period which includes both weekend and weekdays, and therefore the amount of time in paid work may appear low. However this is necessary if unpaid work is to be fully represented. Child care does not fit the parameters of a paid work

day, with much of the labour occurring out of work hours and on the weekends (Grace, 1999; Tapper, 1990). In order to establish the paid and unpaid work time of full-time employed parents on an average working day, there is also analysis of the time use data from working days only.

Data

The 1992 Time Use Survey data were in three large separate data sets. The first contained data on households. The second contained a record of all activities of five or more minutes duration for each of the 8300 individuals surveyed. The third data set provided a record of two 24 hour periods for each person. This gave extensive personal demographic details and showed the total time they spent in primary activity in each broad activity category on each of the days surveyed.¹

Sample

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

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

The inclusion of children under the age of 15 years only was because the Time Use Survey coding on household types was divided on this basis. Also, there is some evidence to suggest work participation patterns for mothers with children over 15 years do not differ much from those of childless women (Joshi, 1990).

Variables

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

Each new variable was created by calculating the duration of all episodes recorded on the 'activity' file in the combinations that were of interest to this study. To create variables that included both primary and secondary activity, the amount of time recorded as a primary activity or as a secondary activity in each activity of interest was totalled. The duration of any overlap in which the same activity was conducted simultaneously as both a primary and secondary activity was calculated. To avoid double counting this period was included once only.

Proportion variables were calculated by dividing the total of the variable of interest, for example 'total contracted and committed time' into the sub-variable of interest, for example 'paid work'.

Working Datafile

Each new variable was transferred into a working 'person file' which contained the sample for this analysis. This process was repeated for each variable, and a database that provided a record of the characteristics of each person in the sample and details of their time use on a representative 24 hour period was created.

Data presentation

The statistical analysis uses SPSS 6.1. Data are presented in the form of descriptive statistics, comparing mean time in minutes per day, or proportions of time spent in different types of activity. Full tables are included in Appendix 1. Time appears in the tables in mean minutes per day. These figures are converted into hours per day when they are discussed in the text. Some comparisons are presented as figures in the body of the text.

3 Findings

Comparisons by parental status

Comparison of total work time as a primary activity by sex and parental status

Table A1 presents the average time spent in minutes per day as a main activity in each of the broad activity categories by parents and non-parents, and by men and women. The variables were present in the person level dataset of the Australian Bureau of Statistics 1992 Time Use Survey, except for 'committed and contracted time' which allows comparison of total work time. It was created for this analysis by combining the categories of paid and unpaid work.

All parents average a larger amount of work than non-parents. Mothers work, either paid or unpaid, a total of nine hours a day, and fathers 9.2 hours a day. Childless women work in either paid or unpaid work an average of 7.13 hours a day, while childless men work an average of 7.27 hours. Thus parenthood adds about two hours of work a day for both fathers and mothers, and the similarities between fathers and mothers in terms of total work time per day are greater than those between men and women.

Comparison of total work time including secondary activity by sex and parental status

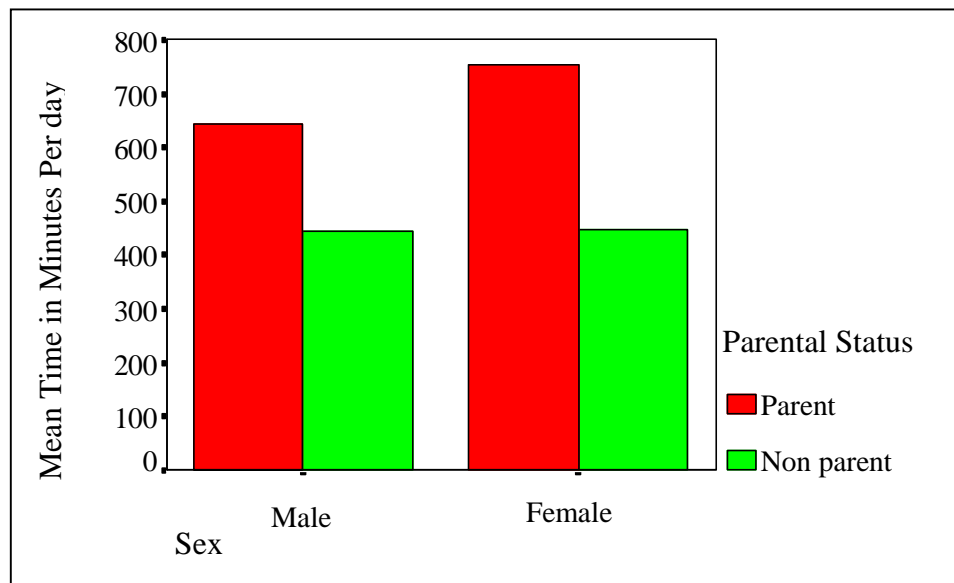
Table A2 presents the average time spent in minutes per day in each of the broad activity categories by parents and non-parents, men and women. This table includes both primary and secondary activity, and all the variables in it were created for this research in the manner described above.

The difference between total time in work by parents and non-parents is even more marked when secondary activities are included in the count. Childless men average a total of 7.42 hours a day in paid and unpaid work, and childless women average a very similar 7.45 hours a day. Fathers average a total 10.7 hours a day in paid and unpaid work, and mothers 12.58 hours. So while the inclusion of secondary activity leaves the total work time of non-parents as very similar, it accentuates the difference between parents and non-parents, and also reveals a disparity in the total work time of fathers and mothers.

It is apparent that parents undertake more than one activity at a time more frequently than do non-parents of the same sex. Fathers average 6.64 hours a day in secondary activity, childless men 5.7 hours. But all women average more secondary activity than men of either parental status. Childless women average 6.7 hours a day in secondary activity and mothers, at 9.3 hours, do by far the most of all.

The bulk of this secondary activity is child care. For all parents, child care is more often recorded as a secondary than as a primary activity. Fathers average 50 minutes child care a day as a primary activity, compared with 2.22 hours a day if child care as both a secondary and primary are counted. Mothers average 2.7 hours a day in primary child care, and 6.05 hours a day if both primary or secondary activities are counted.

Figure 1: Total paid and unpaid work time (primary and secondary activity) by sex and parental status (N = 5398)



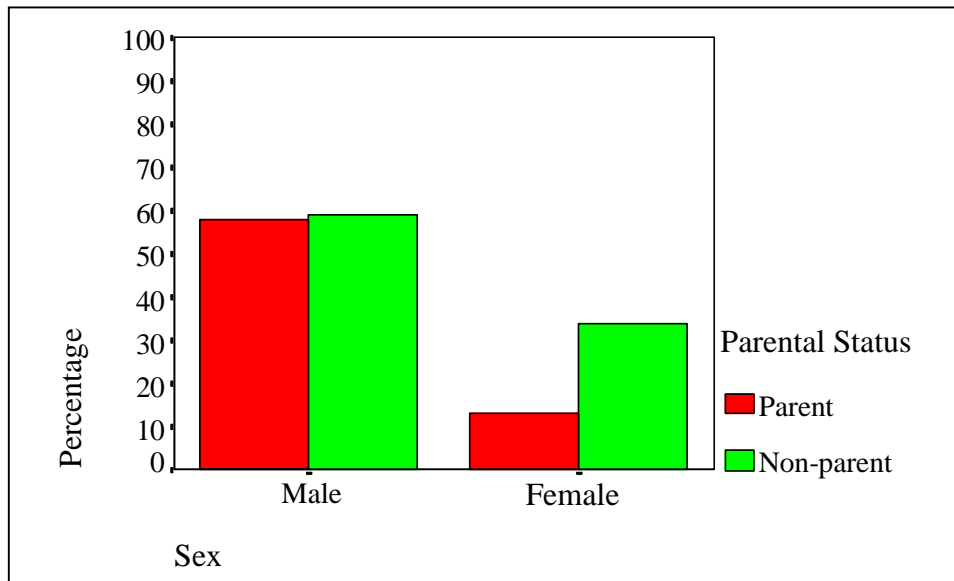
Data source: 1992 Time Use Survey, Australian Bureau of Statistics

For both parents and non-parents, there is clear division of labour on the basis of sex. Mothers average a total of 4.76 hours a day in unpaid work other than child care, and childless women 4.52 hours a day. In contrast, fathers average a total of 2.1 hours a day in domestic tasks and shopping, and childless men 2.8 hours. Parenthood appears to increase the time women spend in domestic labour and shopping and reduce the time men spend in those tasks.

Conversely, parenthood increases male and reduces female time in paid employment. Fathers average 6.2 hours a day in paid work, childless men 4.4 hours a day. Mothers average 1.64 hours a day in paid work, compared to childless women's 2.5 hours.

When child care is included, fathers average a total of 5.6 hours a day in unpaid work, and mothers average 10.8 hours a day. So while parenthood adds to the work totals of both mothers and fathers, it accentuates the division of labour. Fatherhood makes much less difference than motherhood to the proportion of paid to unpaid work: 58 per cent of fathers' combined work time is paid, and 59 per cent of non-fathers'

Figure 2: Proportion of total work time (primary and secondary activity) that is paid by sex and parental status (N = 5398)



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

combined work time is paid. In contrast, 13 per cent of a mother's combined work time is paid, compared with 34 per cent of a childless woman's work. It is apparent that the women in both samples average more unpaid work than paid work, but that motherhood increases both the amount and the proportion of unpaid work. In this respect motherhood causes greater differences between women than fatherhood does between men.

Comparisons by employment status

This section looks at the way employment status affects workloads for parents and non-parents. The information is in Tables A3 to A6. All the tables present time in minutes per day in each of the broad activity categories, including both primary and secondary activity. Table A3 compares the time of fathers across employment status, Table A4 the time of non-fathers across employment status. Table A5 compares the time of mothers in different employment categories, and Table A6 the time of non-mothers.

Effect of employment on total work time

The most obvious finding is that the total work times of all parents are on average higher than non-parents no matter which category of employment is examined. However, women's workloads are in all cases higher than men's and the differences between the totals for women are more pronounced than those between men. They also follow a different pattern. The total work time of fathers is progressively less for those employed full time, part time, unemployed and not in the labour force. This pattern is reflected at much lower totals in a similar pattern, for childless men and childless women. Mothers are very different.

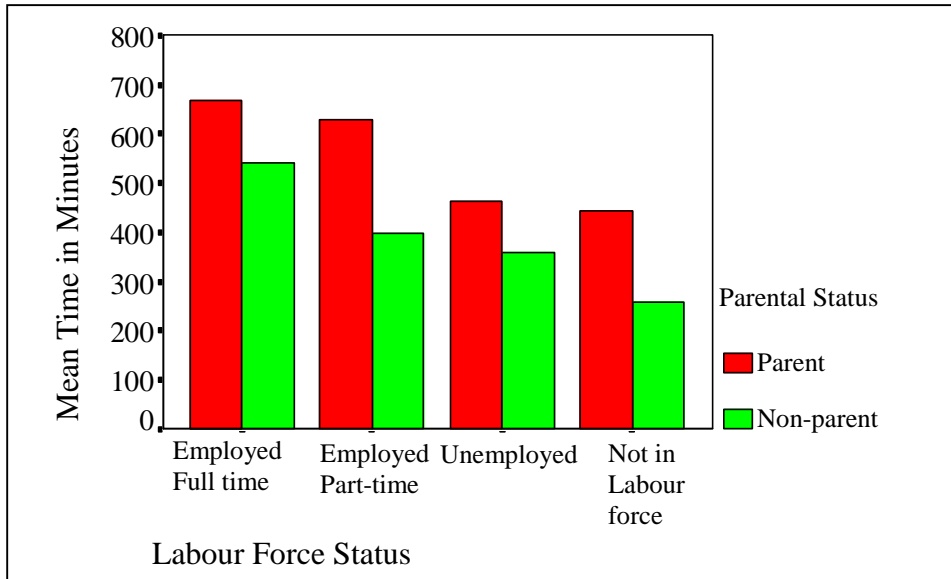
It is mothers who work part time who have the highest total paid and unpaid work time, and those who are not in the labour force have almost the same total work time as those in full time employment. For men, the strongest influence on time use patterns is their work force status. In contrast, motherhood has a stronger effect on women's time use than their type of employment.

Comparison of full time workers

Table A7 presents time in minutes spent on an average working day in each of the broad activity categories, including primary and secondary activity, by people who are employed full time, varying by sex and parental status.

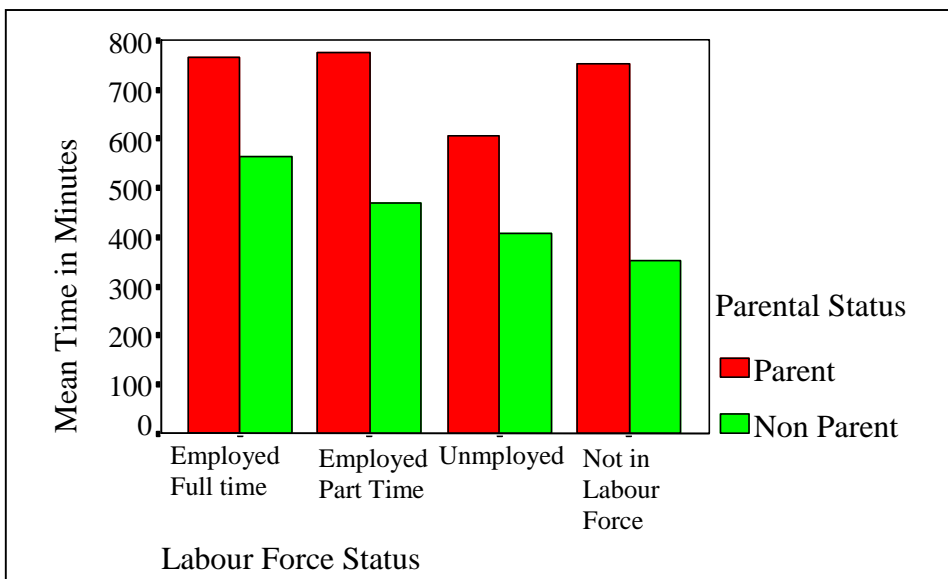
As with the aggregated figures for both samples, in some respects the time use patterns of full time employed men are remarkably similar whether or not they are parents. Fathers employed full time average 1.4 hours in domestic acts and shopping, and 9.1 hours in paid work a day, and childless men average 1.5 hours in domestic acts and shopping and 8.9 hours in paid work a day. However, fathers employed full time

Figure 3: Total paid and unpaid work time of men (primary and secondary activities) by labour force status and parental status (N = 2568)



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

Figure 4: Total paid and unpaid work time of women (primary and secondary activities) by labour force status and parental status (N = 2830)

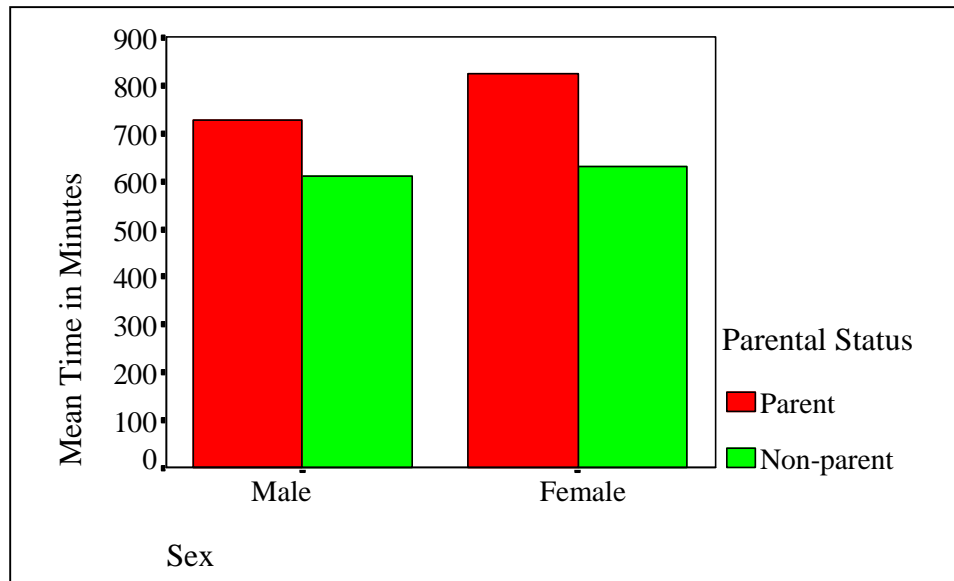


Data source: 1992 Time Use Survey, Australian Bureau of Statistics.

average longer total paid and unpaid work, by adding an average of 1.6 hours in child care per day

The time use of full time employed mothers and full time employed non-mothers is more differentiated both in total time and in task allocation.

Figure 5: Total work (including primary and secondary activity) of full time employed people on a working day by sex by parental status (N = 2629)



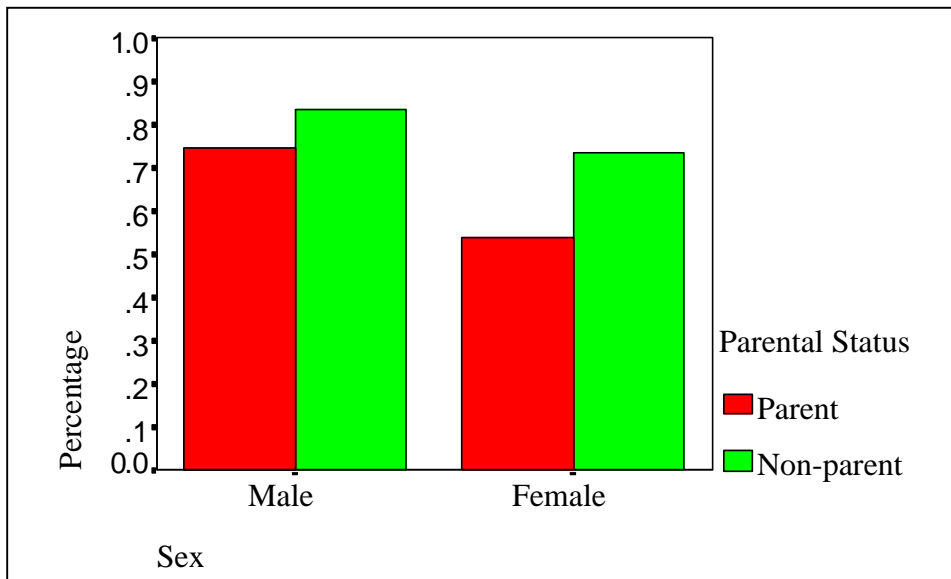
Data source: 1992 Time Use Survey, Australian Bureau of Statistics

The mothers average three hours a day in domestic acts and shopping, and 7.36 hours in paid work compared to non-mothers' 2.4 hours a day in domestic acts and shopping, and 8.25 hours in paid work. In addition, mothers employed full time average 3.4 hours in child care per day and have the highest total working day of all categories.

Full time employed parents work long hours on the days they attend their jobs. Mothers in this category work for 13.8 hours a day in total paid and unpaid work, non-mothers 10.9. Fathers work 12.2 hours a working day, and non-fathers 10.56. Again, it is apparent that childless people of both sexes work similar total hours to each other. Both mothers and fathers work longer hours than their childless counterparts but the difference in total work between women is more pronounced than that between men. Fathers average 1.64 hours a day more than non-fathers, and mothers 2.9 hours longer than non-mothers.

Looking at the division of labour also shows a significant difference between the time use of mothers and childless women employed full

Figure 6: Proportion of total work (including primary and secondary activity) of full time employed people on a working day by sex by parental status that is paid (N = 2629)



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

time. Only 54 per cent of total paid and unpaid work time of the mothers is paid, compared to 73 per cent of the non-mothers' work time. There is also a difference in the proportion of full time employed men's paid and unpaid work, with 75 per cent of the fathers' total work time being paid compared with 83 per cent of the non-fathers' work.

4 Conclusion

This paper has looked at the effect of parenthood on time use patterns, and demonstrated that it adds a significant amount to the time commitment of both men and women. Parents of both sexes spend more time in total paid and unpaid work than non-parents do. The increased workload is especially apparent when secondary activity is included in the count of time spent in child care.

The effect of parenthood is, however, different for each sex. Motherhood adds more to the workload of women than fatherhood adds to the workload of men. Also, parenthood deepens the division of labour

between the sexes. For these reasons the life style of mothers is more different from other women than the lifestyle of fathers is from other men. This study finds that across all labour force status, women typically perform more child care than their male counterparts. The findings would support the view that whatever time commitment is required by women's paid employment, they are more likely to retain responsibility for child care than are men. Women who combine full time work with motherhood have very long working days, doing more of the total child care and having a higher ratio of unpaid to paid work than do their spouses. This may be why relatively few women attempt this option. Seventeen per cent of the mothers in the sample used in this study were employed full time, compared with 85 per cent of the fathers.

Of the sample used in this study, 38 per cent of mothers were not in the work force. However, this study found that mothers at home spend as much time over a week working as those who are in full time employment. Women at home, who are conventionally regarded as not really working, are doing as much work as employed mothers, and more of their time is spent in simultaneous activity. Employed women do less secondary activity. However, they do more secondary activity than men employed full time. This presumably is because of the greater time they spend with children out of working hours, during which their simultaneous activity increases. This fits with anecdotal reports by mothers who find their time at work less pressured and busy than their time at home with children, because they can exercise more discretion over what they do, and can concentrate on one task at a time.

Part time work for women is high in Australia in comparison to other countries (Neave, 1995; Pocock, 1995; Shaver, 1995) and 40 per cent of the mothers in this study work part time. Some suggest that part time work is the way for women to have economic independence without an

overwhelming workload (for example Gittins, 1999). This study shows, however, that part time work does not reduce a mother's work commitment. Mothers who work part time have the highest total workload and the highest amount of secondary activity. It seems that mothers who are employed part time try to do the full job of child care in a shorter time frame by doing more things at once. This study found that mothers who work full time average the highest total workload on a weekday, but that when time use includes all days of the week, mothers who work part time have the longest working hours. Part time work is lower paid and more precarious than full time employment (Bittman and Pixley, 1997; Neave, 1995). It may be that in trying to fulfil the dual demands of work and motherhood, women who work part time are getting the worst, rather than the best, of both worlds.

In summary, the time cost of parenthood is very high for both sexes, but the time cost of motherhood, both in total time and in proportion of work that is unpaid, is higher than the time cost of fatherhood. Even when secondary activity is included in the analysis, the total paid and unpaid workload of fathers varies with employment status. In contrast, it is whether or not a woman is a mother that has the greatest impact on her workload. Women at home and women who work full time have similar total workloads, and women who work part time have the highest workloads of all.

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Appendix 1

Table A1: Mean minutes per day, averaged over 7 days, spent as primary activity in broad activity categories by sex and parental status

	Male		Female	
	Parent	Non-parent	Parent	Non-parent
Time in active leisure	39	55	34	55
Time in child care	50	3	161	7
Time in domestic acts	98	122	217	206
Time in education	8	8	7	8
Time in paid work	371	263	98	151
Time in passive leisure	159	215	143	196
Time in personal care	586	623	599	635
Time in purchasing	28	42	57	56
Time in social acts	71	84	97	98
Time in community activity	30	26	25	27
Committed and contracted time	555	437	541	428

Table A2: Mean minutes per day, averaged over 7 days, spent in either primary or secondary activity in broad activity categories by sex and parental status

	Male		Female	
	Parent	Non-parent	Parent	Non-parent
Total time in active leisure	46	63	38	69
Total time in child care	133	5	363	14
Total time in domestic acts	103	126	227	215
Total time in education	8	8	8	9
Total time in paid work	371	263	99	153
Total time in passive leisure	374	442	366	472
Total time in personal care	614	648	620	658
Total time in purchasing	28	42	58	56
Total time in social acts	71	85	99	99
Total time in community activity	30	27	26	28
Total committed and contracted time excluding time sleeping	644	445	755	447
Proportion of total work time that is paid	.58	.59	.13	.34

Table A3: Mean minutes per day, averaged over 7 days, spent by fathers in either primary or secondary activity in broad activity categories by parental and labour force status

	Employed full time	Employed part time	Unemployed	Not in labour force
Total time in active leisure	44	65	55	46
Total time in child care	124	167	187	187
Total time in domestic acts	99	131	163	189
Total time in education	9	3	11	0
Total time in paid work	414	290	57	35
Total time in passive leisure	364	379	453	463
Total time in personal care	606	634	663	713
Total time in purchasing	26	38	43	33
Total time in social acts	69	62	98	62
Total time in community activity	25	35	82	12
Total committed and contracted time excluding time sleeping	667	630	462	445

Table A4: Mean minutes per day, averaged over 7 days, spent by non-fathers in either primary or secondary activity in broad activity categories by parental status by labour force status

	Employed full time	Employed part time	Unemployed	Not in labour force
Total time in active leisure	49	77	74	90
Total time in child care excluding time sleeping	3	2	6	9
Total time in domestic acts	94	123	214	180
Total time in education	4	22	46	6
Total time in paid work	404	215	42	9
Total time in passive leisure	408	443	492	508
Total time in personal care	625	673	656	690
Total time in purchasing	36	35	49	55
Total time in social acts	78	72	122	95
Total time in community activity	17	30	37	46
Total committed and contracted time excluding time sleeping	543	398	358	260

Table A5: Mean minutes per day, averaged over 7 days, spent by mothers in either primary or secondary activity in broad activity categories by parental status by labour force status

	Employed full time	Employed part time	Unemployed	Not in labour force
Total time in active leisure	38	38	30	37
Total time in child care	272	347	284	433
Total time in domestic acts	172	234	239	244
Total time in education	4	6	3	12
Total time in paid work	270	129	15	2
Total time in passive leisure	332	362	427	376
Total time in personal care	606	609	636	635
Total time in purchasing	49	59	65	60
Total time in social acts	73	102	120	105
Total time in community activity	29	24	26	27
Total committed and contracted time excluding time sleeping	768	774	607	752

Table A6: Mean minutes per day, averaged over 7 days, spent by non-mothers in either primary or secondary activity in broad activity categories by parental and labour force status

	Employed full time	Employed part time	Unemployed	Not in labour force
Total time in active leisure	45	63	54	91
Total time in child care	9	14	16	19
Total time in domestic acts	152	205	282	263
Total time in education	11	9	17	6
Total time in paid work	339	198	32	2
Total time in passive leisure	364	379	453	463
Total time in personal care	410	465	503	521
Total time in purchasing	635	641	658	682
Total time in social acts	54	44	61	62
Total time in community activity	14	34	28	37
Total committed and contracted time excluding time sleeping	564	470	407	352

Table A7: Mean minutes per working day spent in either primary or secondary activity in broad activity categories by people who are employed full time and parental status

	Male		Female	
	Parent	Non-parent	Parent	Non-parent
Total time in active leisure	27	31	19	29
Total time in child care	98	1	204	3
Total time in domestic acts	65	65	141	111
Total time in education	5	4	6	12
Total time in paid work	551	539	442	495
Total time in passive leisure	333	371	272	363
Total time in personal care	578	594	574	605
Total time in purchasing	19	26	40	37
Total time in social acts	47	58	43	68
Total time in community activity	19	11	29	12
Total committed and contracted time excluding time sleeping	738	634	832	658
Proportion of total work time that is paid	.75	.85	.53	.76

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

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