Natcen Social Research that works for society

Time use and parental enjoyment of domestic work and childcare in the UK

Allison Dunatchik, Robert Wishart and Svetlana Speight



Societal context: competing demands on parents' time

- Cultural shift towards more time-intensive, child-centred parenting (e.g. Hays 1996, Sullivan 1997, O'Brien et al 2015)
- Increases in maternal labour market participation
 - Maternal employment rates increased from 61.9% in 1996 to 73.7% in 2017 (ONS 2017)
- More egalitarian gender-role attitudes towards paid work and domestic work (e.g. Working Families 2017; Scott and Clery 2013)
- Normative expectations around 'a participative father' (O'Brien et al 2015)

How are parents faring in light of these competing demands?



Parental wellbeing

- Parenthood negatively associated with subjective wellbeing in developed countries (e.g. Nomaguchi and Milike 2003; Kahneman et al. 2004; Deaton and Stone 2013)
 - UK parents 8% less happy than their non-parent counterparts (Glass et al. 2016)
- Wellbeing gap commonly theorized to be due to increased exposure to stressors (e.g. Perlman 1989) as a result of parenthood
 - Financial strain (e.g. Nelson et al. 2014)
 - Work-family conflict (e.g. Nomaguchi et al. 2005)
 - Increased demands on time and energy (e.g. Nelson et al. 2014)



Research questions

- 1. How do parents feel about the childcare and domestic activities they carry out? And how does this vary by personal and household characteristics?
- 2. What is the association between fragmentation and multitasking and parental enjoyment?
- 3. How does the context around time use influence how parents experience domestic and childcare tasks?



Hypotheses (1)

H1: Parents of young children and fathers experience greater enjoyment in relation to time spent on domestic and childcare tasks

- Mothers experience childcare time as more stressful than fathers (Roeters and Gracia 2016; Musick, Meier and Flood 2016)
- Parental wellbeing tends to be higher among parents of young children (Meier et al. 2018; Pollmann-Schult 2014; Nomaguchi 2012)

H2: Fragmentation and multitasking detract from parents' enjoyment of domestic and childcare activities

- Multitasking (particularly at home) is perceived as a negative experience, esp. for mothers (Offer and Schneider 2011)
- Although Sullivan and Gershuny (2017) do not find an association between feeling rushed and multitasking and fragmentation.

Hypotheses (2)

H3: Partner presence serves as a mediating factor, making domestic and childcare activities more enjoyable

- Partner presence may provide both logistical and emotional support, insulating parents from exposure to stressors
- Fathers find childcare more stressful solo-parenting (Musick, Meier and Flood 2016) and less stressful when co-parent is present (Roeters and Gracia 2016)
- Multitasking with a spouse perceived as positive experience (Offer and Schneider 2011)



Data: UK Time Use Survey 2014/15

- Nationally representative household survey
- Sample: 1,732 parents with a child aged 16 or younger in household
 - 1,014 mothers and 718 fathers
- Outcome measure: Enjoyment of current activity
 - "How much did you enjoy this time on a scale of 1 to 7?"
 - Measure of "instant utility" (Kahneman 2004), which may accumulate over time to contribute to wellbeing
 - Measure tied to activity minimizes "filter of memory" (Kahneman 2006)
 - Likely more responsive to contextual factors than global wellbeing measures



Average enjoyment and time allocation

| | Mo | thers | Fa | Fathers | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|--|--|--|
| | Enjoyment (sd) | Min. per day (sd) | Enjoyment (sd) | Min. per day (sd) | | | |
| Core housework | 4.7* (1.1) | 154 (88) | 4.9 (1.0) | 68 (67) | | | |
| Non-routine housework | 5.1* (1.1) | 72 (70) | 4.9 (1.1) | 76 (88) | | | |
| Physical childcare | 5.4 (1.0) | 62 (81) | 5.4 (1.0) | 27 (46) | | | |
| Interactive child care | 6.1 (0.9) | 28 (41) | 6.1 (0.9) | 25 (46) | | | |
| Other childcare | 5.3 (1.2) | 17 (28) | 5.3 (1.1) | 10 (26) | | | |
| Leisure | 5.9* (0.8) | 142 (104) | 5.8 (0.8) | 153 (119) | | | |
| Paid Work | 4.8* (1.2) | 81 (120) | 4.6 (1.2) | 172 (177) | | | |
| Overall | 5.4 (0.8) | | 5.3 (0.8) | | | | |
| N | 1014 | | 718 | | | | |

^{*} Mothers' characteristics significantly differ (p<0.05) from fathers'



Model specification – Base model

$$Enjoyment_{edp} = \beta_{000} + \beta_{1}\gamma_{edp} + \beta_{2}\chi_{edp} + \beta_{3}\delta_{0dp} + \beta_{4}\lambda_{0dp} + \beta_{4}\rho_{00p} + \beta_{5}\phi_{00p} + \nu_{0dp} + \nu_{00p} + \varepsilon_{edp}$$

Episode-level variables (e):

 γ = whether activity is a domestic activity (and which type)

 χ = contextual factors (who with, whether multitasked)

<u>Day-level variables (d):</u>

 δ = multitasking and fragmentation

 λ = time spent in restorative activities and paid work

 ψ = whether weekend or weekday

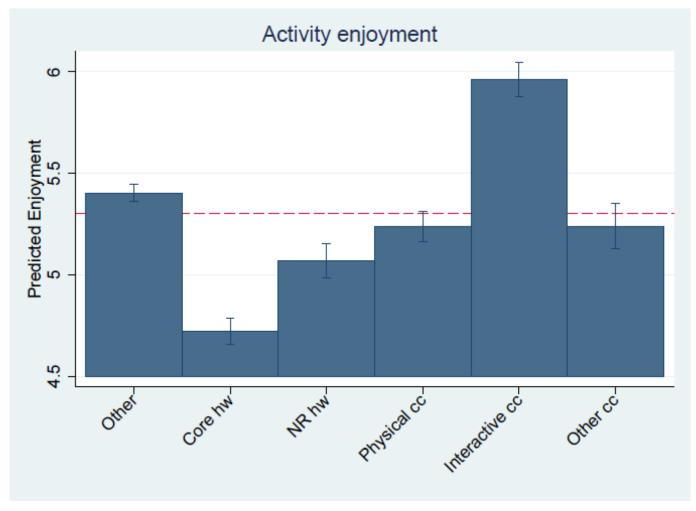
Person-level variables (p):

 ρ = socio-demographic characteristics

 φ = household composition characteristics



Base model results: activity enjoyment



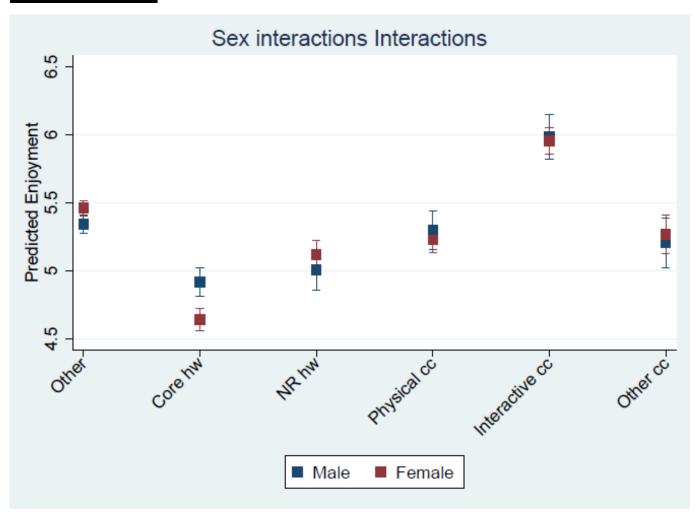


Base model: Individual-level factors

| Enjoyment | Pooled | | Mothers | | Fathers | |
|---|----------|------|---------|------|---------|------|
| 1 = not at all; 7 = very much | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE |
| Mother | 0.04 | 0.04 | - | - | - | - |
| Age | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.02 |
| Age squared | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| University degree | -0.17*** | 0.05 | -0.14* | 0.07 | -0.21** | 0.07 |
| Professional occ. (base = Routine) | -0.07 | 0.05 | -0.10 | 0.07 | -0.04 | 0.08 |
| Intermediate occ. (base = Routine) | -0.02 | 0.05 | -0.06 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.08 |
| Single (not married or cohabitating) | 0.18** | 0.07 | 0.19** | 0.07 | -0.04 | 0.23 |
| 1+ children under 5 | -0.06 | 0.05 | -0.07 | 0.07 | -0.04 | 0.08 |
| Number of children | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.04 |
| Constant | 5.50*** | 0.40 | 5.65*** | 0.60 | 5.25*** | 0.61 |
| N. of cases | 90704 | | 56401 | | 34303 | |



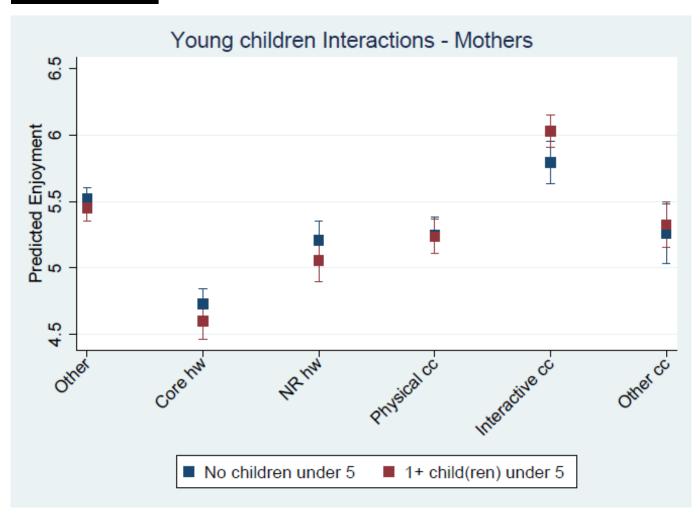
Sex interactions



- Mothers enjoy core domestic housework 0.3 points less than fathers
- Mothers also enjoy physical childcare less than fathers but magnitude is negligible



Children under 5 interactions (mothers)



- Mothers with young children enjoy interactive childcare 0.2 points more than mothers of older children
- No similar boost for fathers observed

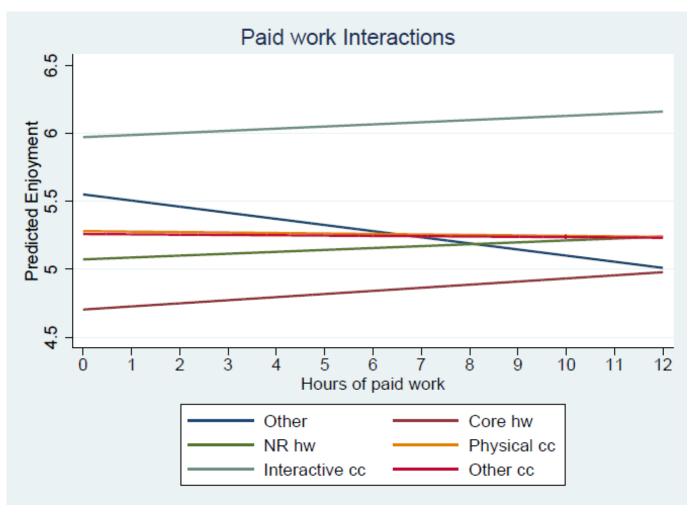


Base model: Day-level factors

| Enjoyment 1 = not at all; | Pooled | | Mothers | | Fathers | |
|---------------------------|----------|------|----------|------|----------|------|
| 7 = very much | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE |
| Hrs on paid work | -0.03*** | 0.01 | -0.03*** | 0.01 | -0.03*** | 0.01 |
| Hrs on sleep | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.02 |
| Hrs on leisure | 0.03*** | 0.01 | 0.03** | 0.01 | 0.04** | 0.01 |
| Num. episodes | -0.01* | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | -0.01 | 0.00 |
| % of day multitasked | -0.01 | 0.08 | 0.09 | 0.09 | -0.13 | 0.14 |
| Weekday | 0.04 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.08 | 0.04 |
| Constant | 5.50*** | 0.40 | 5.65*** | 0.60 | 5.25*** | 0.61 |
| N. of cases | 90704 | | 56401 | | 34303 | |



Paid work interactions



- Paid work positively associated with enjoyment of core and non-routine housework and interactive childcare
- Magnitude of effects small – between 0.1 and 0.2 per 8-hr day

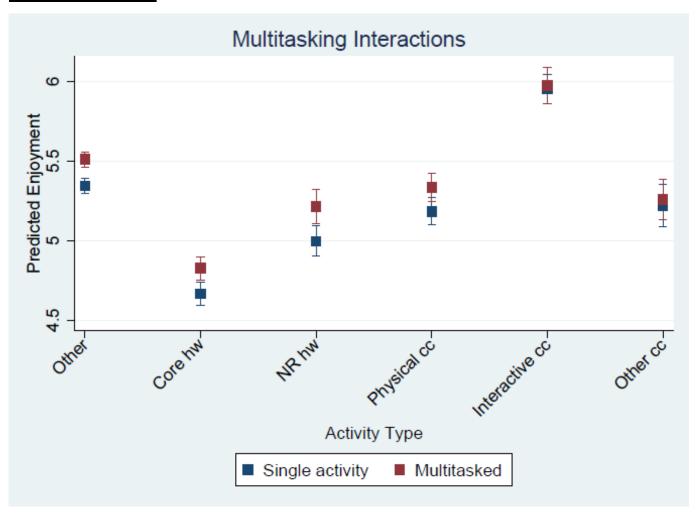


Base model: Episode-level factors

| Enjoyment 1 = not at all; | Po | Pooled | | Mothers | | Fathers | |
|---------------------------|----------|--------|----------|---------|----------|---------|--|
| 7 = very much | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | Coef. | SE | |
| Alone | -0.27*** | ¢ 0.04 | -0.30*** | 0.04 | -0.24*** | 0.07 | |
| With Partner | 0.24*** | 0.03 | 0.19*** | 0.04 | 0.26*** | 0.05 | |
| With Child | 0.07 | 0.04 | 0.02 | 0.05 | 0.12 | 0.07 | |
| Multitasking | 0.16*** | 0.02 | 0.15*** | 0.02 | 0.18*** | 0.03 | |
| Constant | 5.50*** | 0.40 | 5.65*** | 0.60 | 5.25*** | 0.61 | |
| N. of cases | 90704 | | 56401 | | 34303 | | |



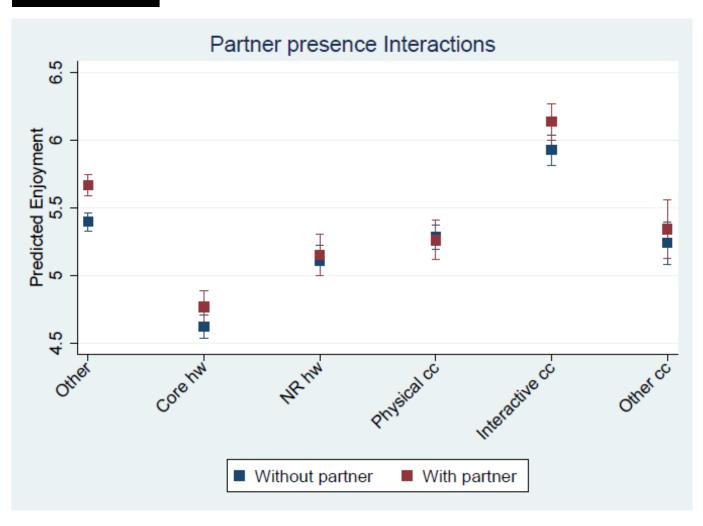
Multitasking interactions



- Multitasking boosts parental enjoyment of most activities, domestic or not, by 0.2 points
- Interactive childcare is the exception where multitasking has negligible gains



Partner presence interactions



- Partner presence associated with increased enjoyment of nondomestic activities by 0.3 points
- Among domestic activities it boosts enjoyment of core housework (0.2 points) and interactive childcare (0.1 points) only



Key findings (1)

Episode-level

- Multitasking and partner presence can be mediating factors
 - Contrary to expectations, multitasking boosts enjoyment of all activities
 except interactive childcare
 - Partner co-presence boosts enjoyment of core housework and interactive childcare

Day-level

- The greater amount of time spent in paid work improves enjoyment housework and interactive childcare
 - Effect sizes small



Key findings (2)

Individual-level

- Having a young child in the house did not affect how parents experienced domestic tasks relative to parents of older children
 - With exception of mothers, who enjoyed interactive childcare more when they had a child under the age of 5 in the household.



Next steps

- Within-couple analysis to explore the role of partner characteristics (as discussed in Sullivan 1996) and shares of time spent in domestic tasks
- Within-couple analysis of spousal co-presence vs shared activities
- Detailed examination of multitasking effects and whether results differ by the types of activities multitasked



Contact

Allison Dunatchik

E. allison.dunatchik@natcen.ac.uk



Appendix slides

Variance components and ICC

| | Pooled | | Mothers | | Fathers | |
|---------------------------|---------|------|---------|------|----------------|------|
| Base models | Est. | SE | Est. | SE | Est. | SE |
| Constant | 5.50*** | 0.40 | 5.65*** | 0.60 | 5.25*** | 0.61 |
| Individual-level variance | 0.41 | 0.02 | 0.43 | 0.03 | 0.40 | 0.04 |
| Day-level variance | 0.17 | 0.02 | 0.16 | 0.02 | 0.18 | 0.03 |
| Episode-level variance | 1.37 | 0.03 | 1.41 | 0.04 | 1.30 | 0.06 |
| Individual-level ρ | 0.21 | 0.01 | 0.21 | 0.01 | 0.21 | 0.02 |
| Day-level ρ | 0.30 | 0.01 | 0.30 | 0.01 | 0.31 | 0.02 |
| N. of cases | 90704 | | 56401 | | 34303 | |



Policy developments in UK

"Time to care":

- Maternity leave, paternity leave, shared parental leave
- Flexible working

"Time to work":

- Expansion of formal childcare
 - 15 hours per week over 38 weeks for 3-4 year olds
 - 15 hours per week for 2 year olds from low income families
 - Additional 15 hours for working families ('30 hours')
 - Support with childcare costs through tax credits





Analysis sample

| | Mothers | Fathers |
|--------------------------------|---------|---------|
| Higher degree (%) | 34.9 | 30.8 |
| Employed (%) | 70.7 | 91.7 |
| Occupational class (%) | | |
| Professional | 30.7 | 32.9 |
| Intermediate | 29.7 | 26.9 |
| Routine | 39.5 | 40.2 |
| Married/ cohabitating | 80.9 | 96.8 |
| Number of children (mean) | 1.7 | 1.8 |
| Children under 5 in the hh (%) | 44.6 | 45.6 |
| Age (mean) | 38.3 | 41.1 |
| Total (%) | 44.9 | 55.1 |
| N | 1014 | 718 |



Why study the UK context?

- Most recent evidence regarding parental time use and wellbeing focuses on the US
- Parental wellbeing is linked to policy and contextual factors
 - E.g. Institutional support for parenthood (subsidised childcare, paid time off) can reduce the happiness gap between parents and nonparents (Glass, Andersson and Simon 2016)



Project



- National Centre for Social Research (NatCen)
 - Dr Svetlana Speight (PI), Allison Dunatchik (Co-I), Robert Wishart
- Professor Oriel Sullivan Centre for Time Use Research, University of Oxford
- Working Families
- Funded by Economic and Social Research Council (Secondary Data Analysis Initiative)
- January 2018 June 2019



