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국제학석사학위논문

**Study on Time use Pattern of Married  
Women on Childcare and Housework  
in Regards to the Number and Age of  
Children**

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# **Study on Time use Pattern of Married Women on Childcare and Housework in Regards to the Number and Age of Children**

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# **Study on Time use Pattern of Married Women on Childcare and Housework in Regards to the Number and Age of Children**

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## **Abstract**

# **Study on Time use Pattern of Married Women on Childcare and Housework in Regards to the Number and Age of Children**

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This study examines how married women's childcare time differs by composition of children. It investigates how mothers' time allocation to care for their children differs in regards to the number and age of children, by analyzing time use data. Compositions of children constitute of the total number of children from no child, one child, two children, and three or more children, and the age of the youngest child in household from pre-school, elementary school, and middle and high school. For the time spent to take care of children, the code of childcare and housework are analyzed in 2009 Time Use Data in Korea. In this analytical framework the relationship between composition of children and childcare and housework was investigated. The results are in the following paragraphs.

Childcare time is affected by the age of children but not by the number of children.

Total number of children had a relationship when the age was not included in the model but when the age was put together, influence of the number disappeared. Number of children has a spurious relationship with childcare time. Mothers spent most on children in pre-school age, and the childcare time dropped drastically when the children enter school. Children in elementary school took on a lot less time for childcare, and it declined more when they enter middle and high school. Age of children is again found to be a strong determinant on mothers' time use pattern on childcare.

Both number and age of children are found to influence on housework time. More children and older children caused an increase on mothers' housework time. Preparing meals, tidying, and laundry are in particular the activities that were performed more often as the size and age of children increase. Additionally, the degree of increase by number of children is found to be larger than that of by age of children. More family members in household means more associated caring work to do as housework.

Reason that childcare time is concentrated on care for children in pre-school age is the coding system in time use data focuses on physical care for children in pre-school age. Participants generally mark off childcare when they spend time to care for young children. Time for childcare in Korea is mostly recognized as time for caring for young children.

Childcare time decreases as the children grow since mothers' time for young children's physical care decreases, but it is quite a rash conclusion to say time mothers spend to take care of their children decreases as their children age. As children age, time mothers spend on housework such as preparing meals, cleaning, and laundry increases on the other hand. Thus, time that mothers spend to care for their children does not decrease as their children mature, but it is continuously spent throughout the entire ages of children. Constant time input by mothers for childcare is needed in rearing children.

**Keywords:** Childcare, Housework, Composition of Children, Number of Children, Age of Children, Married Women, Mother, Time Use Data, Time Use Survey

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# **Chapter I . Introduction**

## **1.1. Aim of the Study**

The aim of this study is to explore how mothers' time allocation on child-rearing differs by the number and age of their children, through time use data. Time use data show how individuals spend their 24 hours a day on what activities with whom, where, and for how long. By analyzing mothers' time use data, this study aims to investigate mothers' different time use patterns for childcare by children in different compositions. Rearing children generally entails vast amount of mother's time. Korea is especially a country known for its high enthusiasm on child-rearing, and mothers in Korea generally are considered and encouraged as the primary child-carer. On this fact, this study investigates more in-depth time impact of raising children on mothers. Previous studies have indicated that configuration of children is in particular a significant determinant on their mothers' time use pattern on childcare. Thus, this study attempts to shed light on the compositive impact of the age and number of children on their mothers' time use pattern for raising children.

## **1.2. Background of the Study**

According to *Changing Rhythms of American Family Life* (Bianchi et al., 2006), parental childcare time has increased over time as the value of children has changed. Zelizer said (2006) children who were once valued for labor work in which they could contribute on

their farm and household, factory, or on the streets of the city, are now valued for the companionship they provide to their parents. They started to be valued for psychological and mental bringing much more than for physical bringing. Consequently, parents' attention moved to how to cultivate their children's talent and improve their well-being instead to gain economic benefits from their children's labor (Bianchi et al., 2006), and childcare time has increased accordingly. It was not only the change in the United States but also in other countries in the world<sup>1</sup>.

Korea is a country where child-rearing is heavily emphasized in the society that parental effort on good child-rearing is intensive. Koreans' educational zeal is notably well-known.<sup>2</sup> However, this becomes one of the reasons for low fertility in Korea. Married couple lowers the number of children they want to raise or even avoids child delivery because of heavy burden on child-rearing (Park, 2008). The number of women participating in the workforce has increased, but due to insufficient governmental support on childcare system and the prevalent perception that mothers should take care of their babies in early age, many young women are concerned and struggle with continuing their career and raising children. Reasons for low fertility in Korea are diverse and complex, but heavy emphasis on child-rearing is one of the aspects that creates a negative attitude on childbirth among Korean women. In Kim's study (2000), majority of interviewed women said burden on child-rearing is the reason for deciding not to have a baby.

Especially considering the fact that women are recognized as the primary child-carer

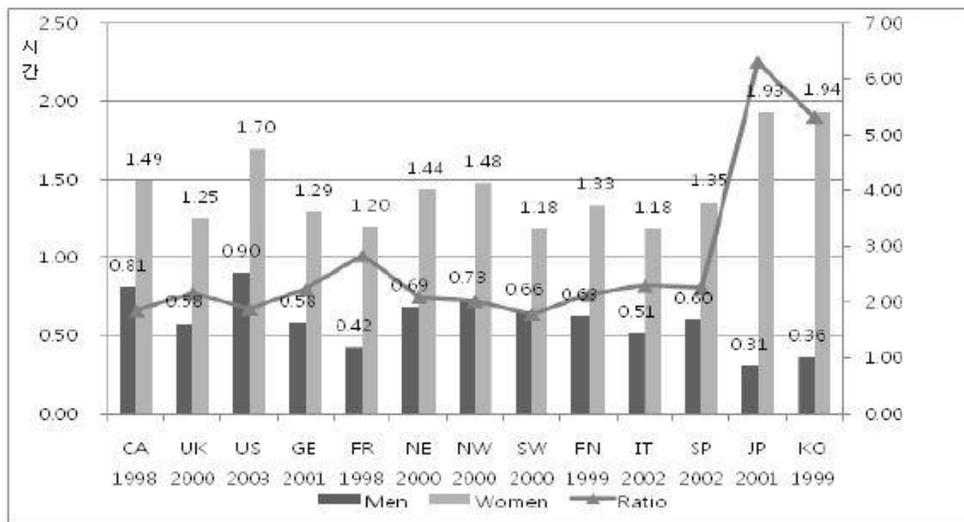
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<sup>1</sup> These countries are Canada, the United Kingdom, France, Netherlands, and Australia. Due to the limitation of data available that time, not many countries were analyzed simultaneously.

<sup>2</sup> Child education is particularly considered as a fundamental passage for success in society, so parents are devoted not only financially but psychologically and physically to providing better education to their children. OCED statistics show Korea's expenditures on child education per GDP capita ranks very high among its members. They invest on their children's education and well-being to upgrade their level of qualification (Kwon & Park, 1993; Kwon et al., 1997:45).

in Korea<sup>3</sup>, a number of women sense childcare as a burden and it affects their family planning process (Park, 2008). If women try to have less children due to heavy burden on child-rearing, would having less children in fact bring less burden on childcare? More children generally require more expenses on childcare (Nam & Jung, 2013). Then would more children require more time on childcare as well? Investigating the time impact of having children, the influence of the total number of children on mothers' time allocation for childcare might show another dimension of mothers' burden on childcare. To finding the time impact of having children, this study examines mothers' childcare time since mothers are still known to be mainly responsible for child care.

<Figure 1> Comparison of Daily Average Parental Time on Childcare by Countries in OECD



주: 돌봄노동은 아이 먹이기, 씻기기, 간호, 책 읽어주기, 놀아주기 등을 포함.  
 자료: Mutinational Time Use Survey, 생활시간조사, 일본시간사용조사 원자료, 18세 미만 자녀를 둔 24~54세 부모 표본.

Source: Yoon(2012). Each country's time use data was used for this comparative analysis. The left axis is for the average hours and the right axis is for the men as a % of women.

<sup>3</sup> Korean women still practice childcare mostly by “mothers.” 81.5% women on average replied mothers as the primary child-carer in Korea, regardless of the age of children (Woo et al., 2009).

The graph above shows that parents' childcare time in Korea is high compared to other OECD countries. This statistics with the fact that child-rearing in Korea is intensive imply that the time Korean parents spend for childcare could be a big burden in their life. Yet, this study shortens the concise evidence for the issue of childcare time since it only shows the average childcare time. It is quite hard to examine childcare time in Korea more specifically through this data. Particularly, childcare time can differ significantly by the types of children in household. Having young child or old child, and having one child or three children will make a big difference on childcare time.

Thus, from these facts this study counts both number and age as the composition of children, as taking into consideration that little research has been conducted in Korea on the relationship between specific composition of children and mothers' childcare time. This study seeks to find the compositive influence of number and age of children on mothers' childcare time. In terms of the influence of the age of children, majority of previous studies show only the impact of either pre-school age or school age. To analyze more detailed influence of different age groups of children, this study explores the influence of three different age groups of children, pre-school, elementary school, and middle and high school. Children in school age are found to be put much less care time by their mothers, but considering even among school aged children there will be difference between relatively younger age group of elementary school and the older group of middle and high school, this study attempts to see the in depth difference of time use pattern among these three age groups of children.

Time use data have a coding that is specifically for the time spent for childcare. This includes basic childcare activities such as feeding, playing, reading books, etc.<sup>4</sup> However, there are activities which are not coded as childcare but as housework, which can still be

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<sup>4</sup> Thorough list of activities is provided in Chapter III, page 22.

considered as indirect child caring activities. Preparing meals, laundry, tidying, home managing and more are the ones that can be counted as childcare. Thus, this study analyzes two activities, childcare and housework as coded in the time use data, to include both direct and indirect activities of caring for children in household.

This study uses time use data 2009 in Korea. Time use data allow an investigation into what activities individuals spend in their daily hours and how much they spend on these activities (Bianchi et al., 2006). Time use data also include various demographic and socio-economic information of the sample such as age, sex, employment status, income, etc. Analyzing time use data of married women for finding the amount of time spent for childcare will give us empirical results on mothers' actual time allocation on childcare by different compositions of their children.

## **Chapter II . Literature Review**

### **2.1. Time use Study**

#### **2.1.1. Concept of Time use Study**

Time use studies show how people use their daily time; how much time they spend on different activities in a given period. Time use studies show minimally what activities people engage week to week or day to day, and maximally what people are doing, where they are, who they are with, and how they feel minute to minute (Wendy et al., 1999).

Terms indicating how people use their equally given time vary such as time use, time budget, time allocation, time use, etc. They all mean the same, time use, but terms are chosen differently by countries and fields of academy. It is used as time budget by governments' statistics, time allocation by economics, and time use in sociology (Kim et al., 2000).

Unlike other resources such as money or energy, many difficulties exist in terms of controlling time. The exclusive way in control of time is how to allocate time that individuals can use a day and how to spend it. Time is also a crucial resource for the use of other resources. It thus has to be managed more thoroughly and scrupulously than any other resources (Moon, 1994).

Time diary, which is the most common method in collecting a bulk amount of time use data, places activities in context. All activities an individual engage a day are recorded with the starting and finishing time, and a broad range of subjective and contextual information such as where, who with, perceived satisfaction, stress, etc are collected at the same time (Wendy et al., 1999).

Time diary's strong persuasive power comes from its zero-sum trait (Son, 2005). In a given time of 24 hours a day, time that one spends engaging in a certain activity reduces the other time one can spend doing the other activities. Time diary which includes sophisticated information on the length of time on activities portrays the trade-off effect of time, which means that one is trading the amount of time for the other different type of activity. Robinson and Godbey (1999) said, "because "everybody has to be somewhere," the time diary allows us to compare activities directly in terms of the time devoted to them" (p. 16).

### **2.1.2. Historical Development of Time use Study**

Time use studies emerged in Europe in early twentieth century with industrialization by an attempt to investigating living conditions of the working class. *How Working Men Spend Their Time* (Bevans, 1913) and *Round about a Pound a Week* (Pember-Reeves, 1913) are the earliest studies on time use, the former in the United States and the latter in the United Kingdom. Since then, a volume of time use studies began to be conducted in more countries, mostly by Russia, France, Germany, and Japan (Harvey & Pentland, 1999). In 1960s time use survey went beyond the nations, and the first international comparative study on time use survey which beforehand was done separately by each country was conducted by the Hungarian sociologist Szalai in his book, *The Use of Time* (Harvey & Pentland, 1999).

In 1960s time use study began to take a leap forward. In this time of the era the world started to make rapid economic development, but at the same time people were skeptical on such change because they realized economic benefits was not a path to the life of affluence. Even though their life was richer ever, it was rather condensed with

busy schedules, not relaxed. Scholars believed social science on time use was a potential key for this riddle (Kim et al., 2000: 14-15).

Significant progress has been made in the last decades. Research topics expanded, methods for collecting data advanced, analysis strategies were diversified, and interdisciplinary collaboration increased. Time use methodology is used in a broader range of disciplines in the current era. Many different fields are now analyzing time use for various interests such as economics, business administration, gerontology, urban planning, political science and occupational therapy, nursing and medicine, recreation and physical and health education, sociology/anthropology, and psychology. Time use became an important source of understanding and examining human behavior and social concerns (Harvey & Pentland, 1999).

The first time use study in Korea was conducted in 1968, on 『Research on Conditions of Time Use』 by Sinjoo Kang, Youngsook Seo, and Boga Choi. It was a big research which sampled 5,559 people in big and small-medium sized cities<sup>5</sup> (Kim & Lee, 1988). Time use study in the beginning in Korea focused on practical purpose of finding actual conditions of housewives for simplifying housewives' work, but since the middle of 1970s research topics have been segmented and the methodologies more sophisticated (Kim & Lee, 1988). Interests now vary from research on leisure to well-being and cross-national research, etc (Moon, 1994).

In 1981, the first institution-led time use survey, 『National Time Use Survey』, was conducted by Korean Broadcasting System(KBS), and was conducted six times total until 1995. Another primary time use research is the survey on farmhouses by Rural Development Administration(RDA) since 1979, for the purpose of investigating life of

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<sup>5</sup> It investigated the time use pattern of families with children in elementary school to college. Only a descriptive analysis was taken but its significance of the research lies on the sample range that it included all family members.

farmhouses and to improving its quality. The first nationwide time use survey was conducted by Statistics Korea in 1999<sup>6</sup>, which differentiates itself from the previous surveys that were much smaller sized and specific target oriented. Since then, national time use survey has been conducted in every five years in Korea; 1999, 2004, 2009, and 2014 (Son, 2000).

### **2.1.3. Significance of Time use Study**

Looking into how individuals spend time reveals their life. Life is complex and different, but there exist certain rules or patterns. Time use study allows us to discover the embedded rules or patterns within life, and comparing them in various aspects can expand the degree of understanding on human lives, not only at the individual level but also at the society level (Han, 2004). Time use study is necessary since everyone's time use is different, and through different ways of using time their life changes (Moon, 1994).

Modes of life in the current society is ever complicated and segmented that the number of activities people ought to allocate their time on has drastically increased than in the past, upgrading the value of time as a scarce resource much more. How to utilize this scarce and pricy recourse is a crucial matter in determining the quality of life not only in the present but for the future (Han, 1991).

### **2.1.4. Types of Time**

Types of time in time use studies vary by scholars and objectives of research. Scholars using time diary method divide time into four types; paid work time, unpaid work time,

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<sup>6</sup> As the significance of nationwide time use survey rose and the awareness of the possibility of taking advantage of the survey for policy making increased, Statistics Korea set to work on developing the survey which fit the environment of Korea that also followed the international codes for cross-national comparison. About 43,000 people were sampled for the first survey in 1999.

discretionary time, and leisure time. They believe that activities reported on the time diary are classified as these four primary categories (Robinson & Godbey, 1999; Han, 2004). However, even though “four types of time” is commonly accepted, details of activities differ in sorts or numbers by purpose of research (Han, 2004).

Paid work time includes time that is paid, work for income. Yet, it then again is divided in two ways, by the decision of whether to include meal time during work or to include unpaid extra work or not (Cho et al., 2000). Unpaid work time includes time spent for household work and family care. This time is to reflect the commitments on family and household role (Robinson & Godbey, 1999). Discretionary time is the time spent for personal care. It includes activities of sleeping, eating, grooming, etc. These are required for biological necessities of human existence, and everyone needs it to function effectively in society. Free time, in other words, leisure time, is the time spent for the remaining activities except the previous three types of time that presumably involves individual’s maximum choices. Free time not only includes activities that are known as leisure such as watching TV and trip, but also includes adult education, volunteering, religious activity, and so on (Robinson & Godbey, 1999).

Activity codes in 『Time Use Survey』 by Statistics Korea also follow the four categories of time. The four major categories have a number of sub-categories of different activities. This study looks into the unpaid work time. Among activities in unpaid work time, time for childcare and time for housework are specifically selected to find the impact of the configuration of children. Details of the activities included in this study will be delineated in the next chapter.

## 2.2. Time use Study on Childcare

Compared to other time use studies, studies on childcare have not received much attention from scholars. Instead of being studied as a single topic, childcare time had often been analyzed as one of many household activities. It was studied as part of housework time (Moon, 1996). Yet, several research were done in western countries such as in the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom which show how parental time on childcare had changed over time, changes on more detailed activities in childcare, and factors that influence on patterns of childcare time. With the availability of compiled time use data, these countries analyzed how parental time spent for childcare had changed over time and sought for the causes and effects. According to these studies, childcare time has increased compared to several decades ago.

Bianchi et al. (2006) examined patterns of childcare time in different periods. They analyzed the change on childcare time from 1965 to 2000 in the United States. Parental time on childcare had increased as time went by, in spite of the fact that the number of children in household had declined.<sup>7</sup> They concluded that reasons for the increase in childcare are firstly, parents are more able to invest in childcare when they are capable, since parenthood became more voluntary; secondly, parents put more attention on their children because of more crime and an alarming awareness of the danger of children; lastly, norms about good parenting spread to the society that parents are under pressure to take care of their children more and better. This study gives decent empirical evidence on the increase of childcare time, and explains the related social changes well. This study makes it easier to understand the link between the increased childcare time and the change of the value of children.

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<sup>7</sup> Childcare time slightly decreased from 1965 to 1975, but since 1975 it had increased.

Ironmonger's research (2004) on childcare time analyzes the Australian time use data in 1997. In his study, age of children is found to be an important predictor on parental time on childcare. Age of children is correlated to the age of parents. Parents in younger age are likely to have younger children. He found that parents in older age spend less time on childcare. This also corresponds to the result that younger children take on more time to care for them from their parents. According to his research, childcare time drops drastically once children enter an elementary school. Children in school age require a lot less childcare time from their parents.

What draws different time use patterns on childcare has also been a frequent topic in childcare time studies. As Ironmonger's research shows, age of parents and age of children are the important variables. Other demographic and socio-economic factors are often times included in the analysis of childcare as well, such as the educational attainment of parents, level of their income, type of household, size of family, etc. Robinson (1977) conducted a research on how Americans use their time by analyzing data collected in 1965~66. His study shows how childcare time varies specifically by those different factors.

With the availability of data, cross-national comparative research was also conducted to see the difference of time use patterns on childcare between countries. It was found that childcare time in most of the western countries had increased over time (Bianchi et al., 2006; Craig, 2007).

In Korea, childcare had long been studied as part of housework. Since the majority of early time use studies in Korea focused on married women's housework, childcare itself was not the center of the research. Childcare was also often examined in the

research which analyzes the daily time use pattern or time constraints of married women<sup>8</sup> (Kim, 1989; Han, 1991; Park & Paik, 1997; Lee. Y. & Lee. S, 2009). Then, it began to catch scholars' attention in the recent years as the new perspective on childcare rose with the emphasis on economic value of children, the cost of raising children, and the importance of time investment on children (Folbre & Bittman, 2004; Folbre, 2008; Yoon, 2010; Song, 2011). Economic approach to conceptualize the cost of children began to actively take part in the social research area (Nelson 1996; Apps & Rees 2000; Folbre 2001; Craig & Bittman 2008; Agree et al, 2011).

Parenthood no longer “just happens” since an increasingly growing number of adults staying out of marriage and adults who choose to be childless have made parenthood optional (Bianchi et al., 2006). As children no longer “just happens to have” but now “wish to have”, ideas about good parenting evolved along with such change of the value of children and notions of what parents need to provide to meet the needs of them (Bianchi et al., 2006; Folbre, 2008).

Parents' duty to raise their children was aggravated in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century when the length of parenthood of protecting their children was extended to the older ages of children in part due to the change of the economic market more competitive than before to place a job and to be more successful for their children (Bianchi et al., 2006'; Folbre, 2008). Folbre (2008) insisted in her book *The Invisible Heart* that rearing and nurturing children had long been regarded as women's unpaid household work, of which its economic value was not easily revealed. She emphasized the importance of care work including childcare, and insisted societal and governmental reward should be provided for care workers. Some researchers have been conducting

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<sup>8</sup> Early time use studies conducted by institutions in Korea, by KBS and RDA mainly focused on housework as well (Moon, 1996).

research on calculating the time cost of child care<sup>9</sup> (Folbre 2008; Yoon, 2009; Agree et al, 2011). Craig said (2008) most of child care by their parents take place outside the market, and measuring solely the monetary expenditure misses the crucial point that children also profoundly demands their parental time. Craig (2008) insisted estimating time cost of children will broaden the implication of comparison of welfare of families in different size.

Along with these studies above, there have been studies attempting to find the difference of time use between husband and wife in order to investigate the time distribution in household and gender difference on time use (Han, 2004; Lee & Chae, 2006; Yee, 2012). Time difference between husband and wife regarding childcare is significant in most of the studies. Wife is found to allocate much more time on childcare than husband.

Most of studies on childcare or housework include composition of children as a control variable. Composition of children is a strong determinant causing different time use patterns on childcare and housework (Craig, 2006). When it comes to the composition of children, age and number are the core elements. Yet, since many of previous studies included age of children much more than number of children in their analysis, the influence of number of children is less to be found in the previous research. They found that having children in pre-school age makes a big difference in time use on childcare for mothers (Ironmonger, 2004; Park & Paik, 1997; Lee. Y. & Lee. S, 2009; Song, 2011; Kim, 2013).

In *Women, Men and Time* by Shelton (1995) showed the gender difference in time use through the time use data in the United States in 1975, 1981 and 1987. Shelton

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<sup>9</sup> Yoon applied Folbre's approach to the case of Korea, and tried to calculate the economic value of childcare time with Korean data (2009).

analyzed paidwork, housework, and leisure time between women and men and she included composition of children as independent variable. Childcare was not included in the analysis but she analyzed housework by the number of children. According to her research, mothers' time on childcare increases as the total number of their children increases. Housewives without a child spend about 28.2 hours a week for housework. Housewives with one child spend 43.8 hours and those with two children spend 51.2 hours a week. Her work shows well that the number of children has a positive relationship with mothers' time input on childcare.

Craig (2006) conducted a research on childcare with an economic approach. She tried to investigate the time cost of children through an elaborate time use analysis on parents in Australia. She used the Australian time use data in 1997, and took an in-depth analysis on childcare along with housework and total work by the configuration of children. She categorized children in different compositions; three different age groups, and three different groups of numbers in each age group<sup>10</sup>. Her finding was that in all three age groups of children similar pattern on childcare time was found; which is that childcare time increased when the number of children changes from one to two, but it decreased when there are three or more children. She applied the economies of scale theory to this causality.

This study shows the impact of the specific configuration of children on parental time for rearing children, and it included childcare time, housework time and total work time (sum of paid work and unpaid work) to see the broader aspect of the time cost of children. Yet, the result is about the Australian society. Acknowledging the fact that

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<sup>10</sup>First age group is the youngest age of children in 0~2, 3~4 as the second group, and 5~11 as the third group. Configuration of children is then divided again in each age group; one child, two children, three or more children. She had nine dummy variables for children, and the referent group is the childless couple (Craig, 2006).

people's life patterns differ by different societies, finding how childcare time changes by the composition of children in Korea is important in understanding the impact of children on their mothers' daily time in Korean context.

Korea is in particular a highly child education-motivated country as mentioned previously, and parents' monetary cost on child rearing is very high. Spending extra care for children in middle and high school age is ordinary in Korea as students in this period are considered very important for preparing for college entrance exam.<sup>11</sup> This, then, brings a subsequent question that whether parents in Korea, especially mothers, spend a substantial amount of their time in childcare as well, regardless of how old their children are and how many children they have. If childcare time mothers spend increases as the number of their children increases, having more children means they have to allocate more time caring for them. If childcare time mothers spend in Korea is continuously high throughout the ages, and extra child brings extra time increase on childcare, childbirth will be a difficult decision for married women.

In time use studies on childcare in Korea, composition of children has also often been included in the analysis. As mentioned previously, different time use patterns can be drawn by the age and number of children. Having younger children increases mothers' childcare time in general. Yet, most of previous studies split the age of children in two groups, pre-school age and school age, which is not sufficient enough to find more thorough understanding on difference by age groups. In addition, number of children has not been counted simultaneously with the age of children in the previous studies due to the methodological limitation that the time use data officially released by Statistics Korea does not have the information on the total number of children. Heo also addressed this

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<sup>11</sup> College entrance exam in Korea functions as a pivot to successfully move onto their next life stage as a college student, and is only available to take once a year. Thus, parents intensively invest in their children's education during this period (Kwon et al., 1997)

issue in her time use study on housework of dual earner households (2008) that number and age of children are the strong factors influencing on housework time, but owing to the unavailability of the proper data she could not draw the impact of children in her research.

Therefore, this research attempts to find the influence of the composition of children on mothers' time use pattern for childcare by combining both number and age of children. This research was feasible because the researcher of this study was able to get the data on number and age of children through a private contact with the Statistics Korea.

In addition, this study analyzes housework time besides childcare time, as housework also includes work that mothers spend to take care of their children such as laundry, tidying, preparing meals, etc. Craig & Bittman (2008) said counting mothers' daily housework minutes is crucial in analyzing the impact of children on their mothers' time use for caring for them.

There are in fact a number of studies on how composition of children affects mothers' housework time. Most of their result shows that having pre-school aged children makes a big difference on housework time use pattern. Han said (1991) mothers who have pre-school children spend more time on housework. However, many of these studies include childcare as part of housework, so the result is not the single impact on housework except childcare. Mothers with children in pre-school age spend much more time on housework, like childcare. Yet, like most of studies on childcare, studies on housework analyzes it by two age groups of children, pre-school and school, and number of children is rarely included in the models. Another study by McCullough et al. (1989) shows a different result. They analyzed time use in families in Utah, U.S.A. in the 1970~80s, and housework time decreased as the age of the youngest children increased (Agree et al, 2000). These show inconsistent results and it is still difficult to capture the

impact of the composition of children on housework time. Thus, this study analyzes the compositive impact of number and age of children on their mothers' time use for taking care of children, by including both childcare and housework in time use data 2009 in Korea.

## **Chapter III. Methodology**

### **3.1. Research Questions**

This research assumes married women's time use pattern on childcare and housework differs by the compositions of children, specifically by the total number of children and the age of the youngest child. Information on children's age in time use data 2009 in Korea only includes the age of the youngest child in household. Thus, age of children in this study applies to the age of the youngest child in household. In addition to two independent variables of childcare and housework, several demographic and socio-economic factors were included in the analysis to control their effect. Age of women, income status, level of education attainment, and the employment status were entered in the analysis as well. Yet, this study examines the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variables only.

As numerous previous studies have found, mothers who have younger children are expected to spend more time on childcare and housework. Impact of total number of children is on the other hand to be the opposite. More people in household would mean more work to do. The research questions and the hypothesis therefore follow as below.

< Question 1 > Time married women spend for childcare will differ by the number and age of children.

Hypothesis 1: As the number of children increases, childcare time married women spend will increase.

Hypothesis 2: As the age of children increases, childcare time married women spend will decrease.

< Question 2 > Time married women spend for housework will differ by the number and age of children.

Hypothesis 1: As the number of children increases, housework time married women spend will increase.

Hypothesis 2: As the age of children increases, housework time married women spend will decrease.

### **3.2. Data**

This research uses the 2009 time use data in Korea. This is the data which investigated how Koreans use their time on a daily basis. This data allows to observe the average life style of Koreans and to estimate the quality of life<sup>12</sup>. It serves as the base for the research in related fields, or provides implications to the public policy making related to paid work, unpaid work, welfare, leisure, culture, and so on. Time use survey is conducted in every five years. 2009 Time use survey is the third time use survey in Korea.<sup>13</sup> Unlike the other previous surveys 2009 time use survey was conducted twice a year, in March and in September to capture the seasonal variation of people's time use pattern.

The 2009 time use survey includes samples over 8,100 household and members aged 10 years or older in each household was required to record the two-day time diary set. Around 20,263 individuals' records were collected in total, and the final data includes 40,521 days of time diary from these individuals, counting two days of each.

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<sup>12</sup> Statistics Korea website: <http://kostat.go.kr>

<sup>13</sup> First survey was conducted in 1999 and second survey was conducted in 2004 by Statistics Korea.

Time use data collect individual's time-diary which records what activities they engaged, with whom and for how long in the two given days (48 hours). Time-diary method is a after-coded diary each individual records what he or she did at 10-minute intervals. Questions were created by four different categories; information on household type such as type of residence and type of residence contact, demographic data which are sex, marital status, education attainment, employment status, time diary, and questionnaires on subjective feeling such as time use satisfaction. Data on household type and demographic information were collected through a separate interview. 9 broad categories of activities were divided into 50 more specific activities, and it is broken down into 144 more specific activities.

The sample is restricted to married woman who is currently living with her husband. The range of age of married woman is limited to 19~49, a little smaller than the age of childbearing age which is 19~54. Those with age in 50~54 have comparatively a lot less children under age 18, so the study limited to age 49. Childless married women and women with children under age 18 were selected. Children under age 18 are the ones with high school at maximum. College enrolled children were omitted from this research.

The final sample includes 4,144 women. Among them 1,788 are unemployed and 2,356 are employed. Additional household data was included in the analysis along with the time use data to supplement the lacking information on the total number of children and the demographic information on children between aged 7~9 because the official time use data only include children either in pre-school age (0~6) and over 10 years old.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Extra household data was provided by Statistics Korea by an individual request.

### 3.3. Measurement

Childcare time analyzed in this research is categorized according to the Table of Activities framed by the Statistics Korea, which includes 144 specified activities total. The Family Member Caring category consists of five sub-categories, and child care for pre-school and elementary school ~ high school are used in this research to estimate time for childcare.

<Table 1> Explanation on Dependent Variables in Sub-activities

Dependent Variable		
Childcare	Pre-school children	physical care (bathing, feeding, cuddling, etc) reading books, helping with study playing nursing other
	Elementary/middle/ high school children	bathing, helping with going to school helping with school assignment and study visiting school for counseling and school activities nursing other
Housework	Cooking	preparing meals and tidying, washing dishes, cooking dessert, etc
	Tidying	tidying, arranging in order, other
	Laundry	laundry, ironing, sewing, knitting, etc
	Maintenance	plumbing, mending, washing car, related services, direct house care
	Managing	household managing, banking, etc
	Other	other

Note: this category is the official activity coding in time-diary data.

Housework, another activity used in this research along with childcare counts time from the broad category of Home Management, which includes seven sub-categories; food preps, laundry, tidying, house maintenance, shopping for products consumed for

housework, home managing, and etc. These two activities, childcare and housework are the dependent variables in this research. Total time spent on each activity a day is estimated from individuals' time diary, which records at 10 minute intervals. The following table shows the range of activities coded in childcare and housework in 2009 Time use data.

### Independent Variables

Composition of children is the independent variable, and it is divided more specifically to the number of children and the age group of children. Children under 18 years old are included in this research. The range of total number of children goes up to five groups in the raw time use data, but in this research total number of children is re-categorized into four groups; no child, one child, two children, three or more children. The childless group is the referent group and is omitted in the analysis. The rest three groups are dummy variables each; one child (yes=1); two children (yes=1); three or more children (yes=1). These three categories are used in the analysis as dummy variables of the first independent variable Total number of children.

The range of the age group of the youngest child in household consists of three group; age of 0~6(pre-school), 7~12(elementary school), and 13~18(middle/high school). If the age of the youngest child in the household is five, it belongs to the pre-school group. This only counts the age of the youngest, no matter how many children they have in their household. If there are three children, and their ages are six, fifteen, and seventeen, this household is counted as the pre-school group. The age of children does not count childless, thus the omitted category is selected from the rest of the other two groups. The referent group for the second independent variable Age of children however differs for childcare time and housework time. For childcare time, the referent group is

the middle/high school category. For housework time, the referent group is the pre-school category.

### Control Variables

Besides the two independent variables of number and age of children, four factors are entered into the models as control variables; age, income, education, and employment status. Age of sample is limited to 19~49 years old. Raw data include monthly income as 9 different categories by 500,000 won. The first category includes income ranges from 0 to 500,000 won. The last category includes income ranges over 4,000,000 won. However, this study includes income variable as a continuous variable.

Third control variable is the degree of education attainment. Demographic data categorizes the degree of education attainment into four levels, middle school degree or lower, high school degree, university or community college degree, and master's degree or higher. In this research, two categories, university or community college degree and master's degree or higher, are combined. Three categories of the degree of education attainment are entered into this analysis as dummy variables. The referent group is the middle school degree category, and is omitted from the models. The rest two categories are included as dummy variables; high school degree (yes=1), and college or higher degree (yes=1).

The last control variable is the employment status. Employment status is a very important factor that affects women's time use patterns significantly. The fact that whether she is a full-time housewife or she is full-time employed is found to influence on allocating time for other activities. Employment status is found to be a strong determinant in time use studies (Han, 1991). Amount of time unemployed mothers and employed mothers spend on childcare and housework would differ significantly as well

as the time use pattern. This study included either full-time employees or full-time housewives, and no part-time employees or second jobs were included.

Descriptive statistics that calculate the mean and the standard deviation analyze the descriptive information of the sample as seen in the table below. OLS(Ordinary Least Square) regression coefficient modeling was used in this analysis to find the relationship between independent variables and dependent variables.

<Table2> Description of the Sample (N, %)

Total		4,144(100)
Total Number of Children	0(childless)	199(11.13)
	1 Child	478(26.73)
	2 Children	920(51.45)
	3+ Children	191(10.68)
Age of Youngest Child	0~6(pre-school)	793(44.35)
	7~12(elementary school)	501(28.02)
	13~18(middle/high school)	295(16.50)
Age of Sample	19 ~ 28	155(8.67)
	29 ~ 38	838(46.87)
	39 ~ 49	795(44.46)
Income(10,000)	No income	1,647(92.11)
	Less than 50	39(2.18)
	50~100	34(1.90)
	100~150	14(0.78)
	150~200	13(0.73)
	200~250	8(0.45)
	250~300	19(1.06)
	300~350	6(0.34)
	350~400	7(0.39)
	400-500	0(0)
	More than 500	1(0.06)
Education	Middle school	108(6.04)
	High school	989(55.31)
	College	691(38.65)
Employment Status	Unemployed	1,788(43.15)
	Employed	2,356(56.85)

Table 2 contains the demographic and socio-economic information of the sample. Less than 10 percent of the unemployed are 20s and the size of 30s and 40s are similar. Half of them have two children, and those who have one child followed next. Almost half of mothers have pre-school aged child(ren) and about 30 percent have child(ren) in elementary school age. 92 percent of the unemployed women have no income. Yet, 8 percent are listed to have a monthly income, and they are found to engage in their family business unofficially, or have an unofficial part-time job. Majority of their highest education degree is the high school degree. Employed women's average age is higher than the unemployed women. About 60 percent of them lie in the 40s group. Like the unemployed, half of the employed women also have two children. Among the employed women, childless women are 5 percent higher than the unemployed women. Employed women have children at older ages. Considering their age and their children's age, women who have children at older ages tend to have employed than women at younger age and with younger aged child(ren). Yet, the largest sample belongs to the income level of 50-100, which is not an expected amount for the regular job positions. More than half of them are crowded with the level of 50-200. High school degree is seen the most prevalent among the employed group.

## Chapter IV. Findings and Discussions

### 4.1. Childcare

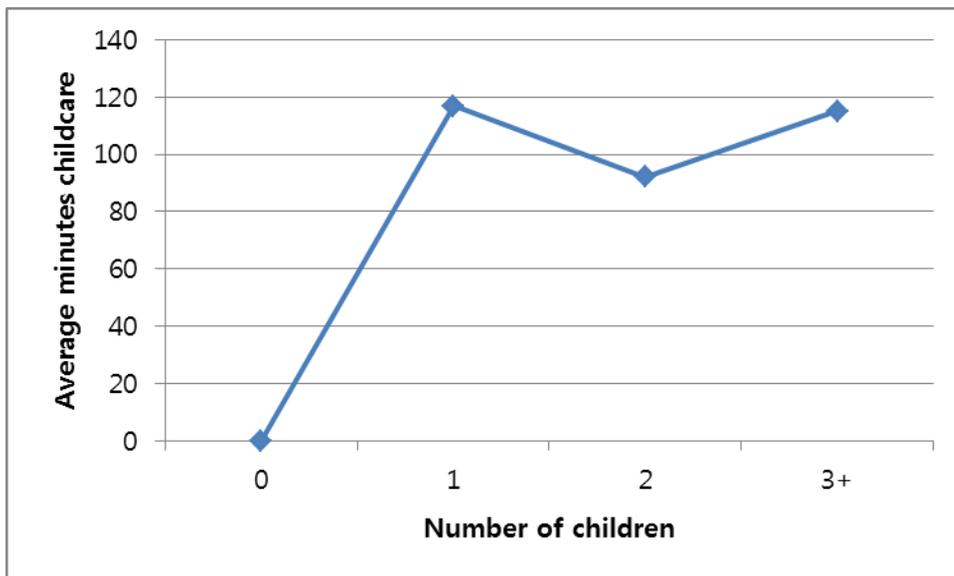
Table 3 shows average daily time in childcare by the total number of children and by the youngest age of children. In the table, the childless is included in the number groups but not in the age groups as the variable age of children analyzes women with at least one child.

<Table 3> Daily Time in Childcare by the Number and Age of Children

	Obs	Mean	Std
<i>N=4,144</i>			
<hr/>			
Total Number of Children			
0 (no child)	577	0	0
1 child	966	116.84	125.51
2 children	2,177	92.07	110.21
3+ children	424	115	113.89
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Youngest Age of Children			
0~6	1,331	195.51	124.20
7~12	1,232	66.28	70.48
13~18	1,004	20.10	32.21
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### 4.1.1. Total Number of Children

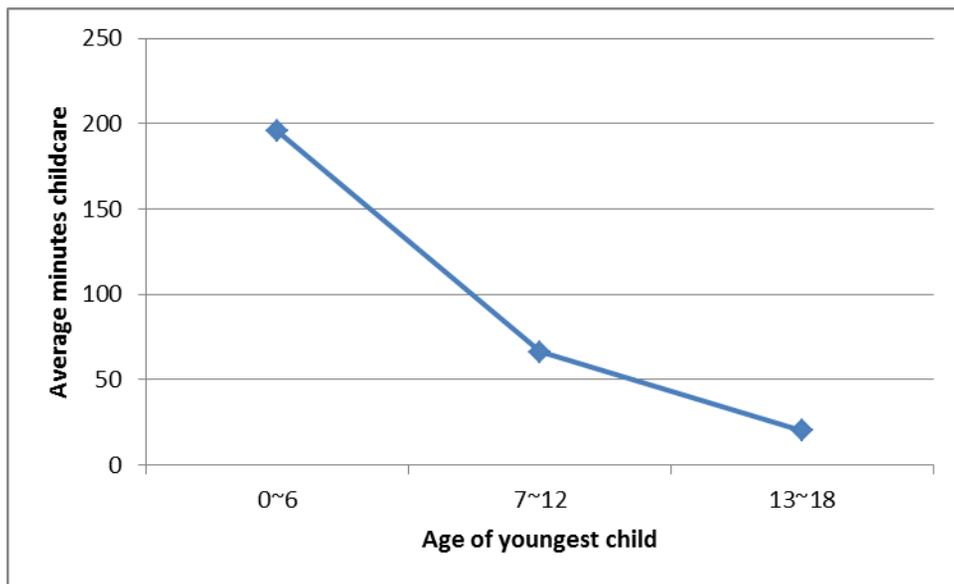
Married women who have no child have zero amount of time on childcare. This group is the referent group in the regression analysis. Those who have one child is found to spend most time on childcare. Mothers who have more than three children follow next, with only about two minutes less than the first group. Mothers who have two children is found to spend the least time on childcare, 92 minutes a day. The graph below shows this change. Childcare time is found not to be consistent by the total number of children. It decreases when mothers have two children from one child, but then increases again when the subsequent child is born.



<Figure 2> Daily Time in Childcare by Number of Children

### 4.1.2. Youngest age of children

When the youngest child in household is under pre-school age, mothers spend 195 minutes a day on childcare. It declines drastically when the child starts school. Childcare time decreases more than half when the child enters an elementary school. When the child enters an elementary school, childcare time is dropped to 66 minutes a day. When the child starts a middle school, childcare time drops down to 20 minutes a day. This is only one third of the elementary school age group. As the graph shows, childcare time declines drastically when the child enters school.



<Figure 3> Daily Time in Childcare by Age of Children

Table 4 is the result of regression coefficients of married women's daily childcare. There are three different models in analysis, and each model includes different configuration of children: Model 1 includes total number of children; Model 2 includes

youngest age of children; Model 3 includes both the total number of children and the youngest age of children. There are two data used in the regression analysis: one with childless data and the other without childless. The childless women are excluded from the second data in order to analyze the effect of youngest age of children since the three different age groups do not include no-childed married women.

<Table 4> Regression Coefficients Daily Time in Childcare of Married Women

Variable	data with “childless”		data without “childless”	
	Model 1	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Total number of children				
1 child	91.66*** (4.61)			
2 children	84.62*** (4.11)	-1.93 (3.39)		0.12 (3.12)
3+ children	108.67*** (5.55)	23.33*** (5.07)		4.86 (4.74)
Youngest age of children				
0~6 (pre-school)			119.90*** (4.80)	118.68*** (4.93)
7~12 (elementary school)			23.91*** (3.67)	23.18*** (3.76)
Education				
High school	-1.76 (5.07)	9.29 (5.97)	8.70 (5.42)	8.91 (5.43)
College or higher	21.16** (5.45)	37.86*** (6.30)	24.80*** (5.74)	25.21*** (5.76)
Income				
	-4.23** (0.81)	-4.28* (0.87)	-4.27** (0.79)	-4.28** (0.80)
Employment status				
	-66.99*** (3.56)	-74.61*** (3.85)	-64.10*** (3.52)	-64.12*** (3.53)
Age				
	-6.56*** (0.23)	-9.05*** (0.27)	-2.80*** (0.34)	-2.87*** (0.35)
Constant				
	308.13*** (11.36)	484.22*** (12.71)	190.44*** (16.43)	193.03*** (16.59)
R <sup>2</sup>				
	0.42	0.44	0.54	0.54

\*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001

Model 1 with childless data shows childcare is affected by the total number of children. Having one child increases 91 minutes on childcare than child-free women (referent group). Then, it increases less, 84 minutes when they have two children in the household, and increases again more when they have three or more children, 108 minutes. Having three or more children results in most increase in childcare. Model 1 without childless data shows a bit different result. When the childless women group is deleted and one-child women group is set as a referent group, having two children does not show a statistical significance. Having three children or more results in 21 minutes increase.

Age of the youngest child in household influences on childcare, as seen on Model 2. Having children in pre-school age leads to a 119 minutes increase than that of middle and high school age, and 23 minutes increase in elementary school. It is shown that pre-school aged children bring vast increase in childcare time.

Model 3 in which both number and age are entered, shows that number becomes insignificant and age remains strongly influential. Pre-school aged children still remains the age group that requires most time on childcare. About 118 minutes increase on taking care of children in age 0~6. Having older children decreases time on childcare than for pre-school aged children. There found a notable gap on the level of increase between the pre-school age and elementary school age. Compared to the pre-school aged children, elementary school aged children generate 23 minutes more than middle and high school aged children.

All of the socio-economic and demographic factors used in this analysis are found to be significantly related to childcare. Education is found to have a relationship on childcare, but only the college or higher degree. Compared to women with middle school degree or lower, women with degree in college or higher are found to spend 25 more

minutes on childcare. Income also affects on childcare, leading 4 minute decrease as the monthly income reduces by 500,000 won. The influence of employment status is strong. Employed women spend about 64 minutes less on childcare. Age of mothers also shows significant relationship on childcare. Younger mothers spend more on childcare, 3 minutes less as one year younger.

## 4.2. Housework

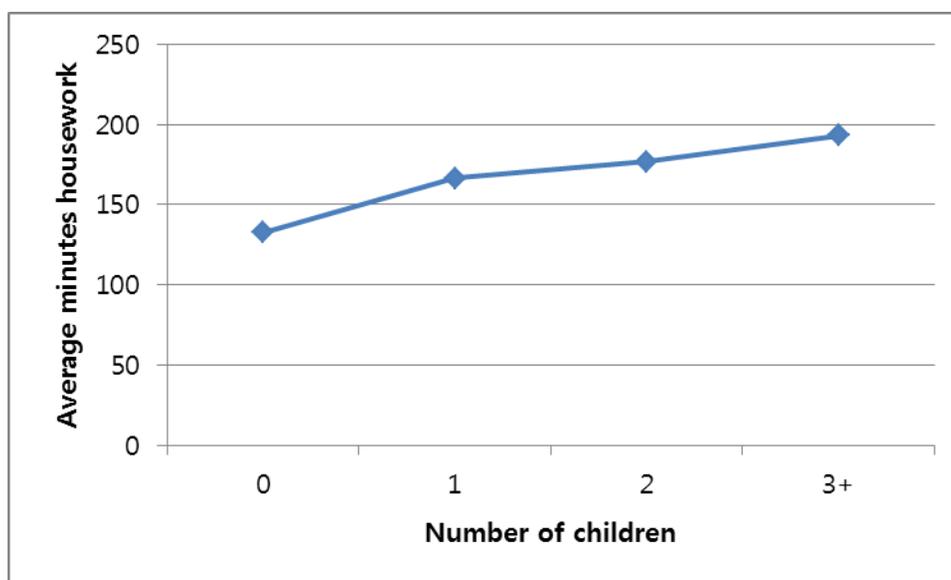
Table 5 shows average daily time in housework by the total number of children and by the youngest age of children. Unlike childcare time, married women who have no child spend time on housework. No zero amount of time is found in this analysis.

<Table 5> Daily Time in Housework by the Number and Age of Children

	Obs(%)	Mean	Std
<i>N=4,144</i>			
<b>Total Number of Children</b>			
0 (no child)	577	132.72	94.91
1 child	966	166.46	96.61
2 children	2,177	176.67	95.96
3+ children	424	192.97	98.42
<b>Youngest Age of Children</b>			
0~6	1,331	174.63	90.64
7~12	1,232	179.09	96.85
13~18	1,004	173.48	104.05

### 4.2.1. Total Number of Children

Childless women spend 132 minutes a day on housework. It increases when they have additional child to 166 minutes. Addition of each child leads to longer time on housework. Having three or more children in household results in longest housework time, 192 minutes a day. It means larger size of children takes more time for housework. More children causes more time on housework for mothers.

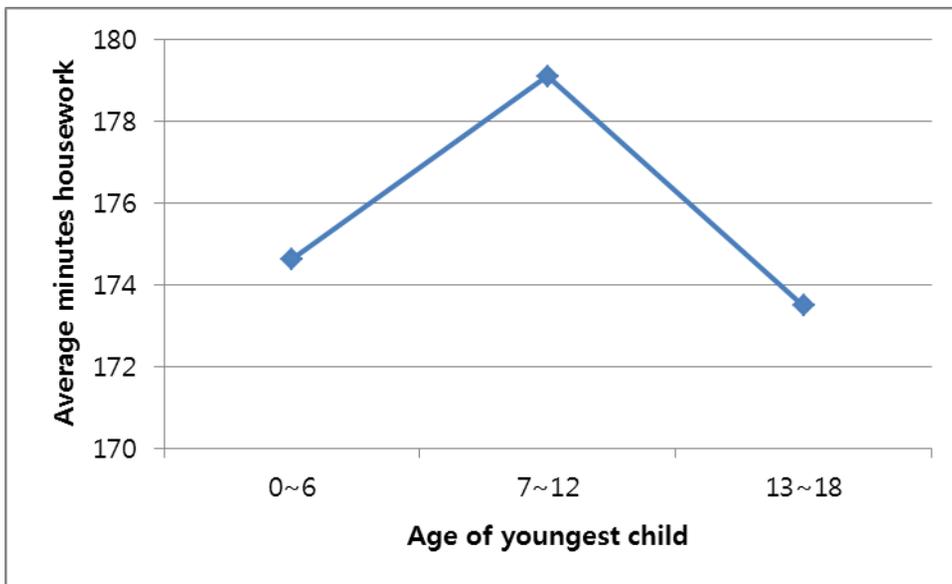


<Figure 4> Daily Time in Housework by Number of Children

### 4.2.2. Youngest Age of Children

When the youngest child in the household is under pre-school age, mothers spend 174 minutes a day on housework. Mothers spend more time on housework as their children

grow. Mothers who have children in elementary school spend 179 minutes a day, longest among the groups. spend longest time when their youngest child is in middle school and high school education. However, it decreases when the youngest child is in middle or high school. It declines to 173 minutes a day. Yet, the time difference among these three groups is not large compared to the effect of the number or the effect of them on childcare. Mothers with elementary school child as the youngest child are found to spend most time on housework.



<Figure 5> Daily Time in Housework by Age of Children

Table 6 shows the outcome of regression coefficients of married women's daily housework. The data and models devised in this table 6 equals table 4. Model 1 with childless data shows housework is determined by the total number of children. Compared to the childless, one child increases 20 minutes, 31 minutes in two children, and 45 minutes in three or more children. Model 1 without childless data shows having more children leads to increasing housework hours.

<Table 6> Regression Coefficients Daily Time in Housework of Married Women

Variable	data with “childless”	data without “childless”		
	Model 1	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Total number of children				
1 child	20.74*** (4.23)			
2 children	31.65*** (3.78)	10.63*** (3.12)		10.05** (3.14)
3+ children	45.80*** (5.10)	24.70*** (4.66)		27.01*** (4.78)
Youngest age of children				
7~12 (elementary school)			14.12*** (3.74)	15.29*** (3.76)
13~18 (middle/high school)			10.90* (4.87)	16.71*** (4.97)
Education				
High school	10.03* (4.66)	9.27 (5.48)	9.23 (5.49)	9.24 (5.47)
College or higher	6.52 (5.01)	4.11 (5.79)	4.25 (5.82)	5.86 (5.81)
Income	-10.75*** (0.74)	-10.85*** (0.80)	-10.97** (0.80)	-10.86*** (0.80)
Employment status	-76.08*** (3.27)	-75.98*** (3.54)	-76.64*** (3.56)	-77.46*** (3.56)
Age	2.38*** (0.22)	2.44*** (0.25)	1.97*** (0.35)	1.56*** (0.35)
Constant	117.36*** (10.44)	137.36*** (11.68)	157.84*** (13.60)	161.87*** (13.6)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.34	0.33	0.32	0.33

\*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001

Model 2 shows the result of influence of age of youngest child on housework. It shows that having children in elementary school leads to a 14 minutes increase, but having children in middle and high school results in slight less increase, 10 minutes. Children in elementary school age are found to result in most time on housework.

Model 3 shows the result of time use patterns when both number and age are counted. Both number and age show significant influence. As the total number of

children increases, housework time increases. Compared to one child, two children increases 10 minutes, and three or more children increases 27 minutes. Having additional child leads to undertake more housework. Age also shows the relationship. Having children in elementary school age leads to 15 minutes increase than having children in pre-school, and slight more increase, 16 minutes increases for children in middle and high school children. The age of children increases, mothers' housework time increases. Yet, from elementary school to middle and high school there is only slight increase.

Except education degree all the other socio-economic and demographic factors entered into the analysis are found to have relationship on pattern of housework time. Education is found insignificant on housework. Income influences on housework time. As monthly income decreases by 500,000 won, mothers spend 10 minutes less on housework. The result of employment status shows employed mothers spend 77 minutes less on housework. Age of mothers also matters. Older mothers spend more on housework; one year older mother spending 1.5 minute longer.

Table 7 on page 39 shows the average minutes of sub-activities of housework married women do daily. Group of child women is omitted in this table as this analysis investigates further from Model 3 in Table 6 to see more specific pictures of housework time in smaller categories. When the minutes are divided by the number and age of children, cooking is found to be the most time-taking activity in housework. Tidying follows next, and laundry after.

Housework time increases by the total number of children. In specific, cooking, tidying, and laundry are found to increase as the number of children increases. Maintenance, managing, and other show varying results.

Patterns of housework time by the youngest age of children are found diverse in sub-activities. For housework as a whole, when the youngest child enters school (7~12

age group), housework time increases. However, it decreases when the child is in age of 13~18, middle and high school. Similar pattern is found on time use for cooking; when the child is in elementary school age, mothers spend more, but spend less when their child in middle and high school age. Tidying time decreases as the children age. Laundry decreases when the child enters school, but increases again when the child enters middle and high school.

<Table 7> Daily Time in Sub-activities of Housework by the Number and Age of Children (Mean, Std)

	Obs	Housework	Sub-activities of Housework					
			Cooking	Tidying	Laundry	Maintenance	Managing	Other
Total Number of Children								
1 Child	966	166.46(96.61)	97.26(60.32)	36.93(33.33)	24.04(28.08)	3.90(11.50)	3.92(13.97)	0.40(3.24)
2 Children	2,177	176.67(95.96)	107.35(59.9)	37.20(31.30)	24.59(30.34)	4.00(11.62)	3.26(9.74)	0.30(2.65)
3+ Children	424	192.97(98.42)	115.54(62.20)	43.40(35.70)	26.58(27.66)	3.65(10.83)	3.70(10.50)	0.09(0.97)
Youngest Age of Children								
0~6	1,331	174.63(90.64)	105.18(58.32)	39.45(33.41)	24.05(28.82)	2.76(8.70)	2.84(9.04)	0.35(2.83)
7~12	1,232	179.09(96.85)	108.90(59.76)	38.35(33.09)	23.55(27.41)	4.36(11.96)	3.61(9.99)	0.32(2.64)

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13~18	1,004	173.48(104.05)	102.09(64.13)	35.16(30.18)	26.88(32.42)	4.89(13.82)	4.20(14.45)	0.25(2.57)
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Cooking, tidying, and laundry are found to take most of housework time of mothers, when it was measured both by number and age of children. Sum of the rest activities, maintenance, managing, and other are found little compared to cooking tidying, and laundry. To see the influence of children on these sub-activities regression analysis is conducted. The following table 8 on page 41 shows the result.

Mothers spend more on housework when they have more children in household. It shows mothers especially spend more when they have three or more children. Having more family members in household means there are more housework to do for mothers. Among six specific activities of housework, cooking, tidying, and laundry are found to affect on the increasing time on housework. Cooking is found to be influenced by total number of children. As the number of children increase, cooking time increases. Tidying also increases by number but only when mothers have three or more children, the increase is shown. Having three or more children than one child results in more time in cooking and tidying.

The effect of youngest age of children is also found on time for most of the activities, but in a varying degree. When the youngest child is in elementary school, cooking and tidying increase. When the youngest child is in middle and high school, laundry increases. Both maintenance and managing work increase by the age of children

<Table 8> Regression Coefficients Daily Time in Sub-activities in Housework of Married Women

Variable	Housework	Sub-activities of Housework					
		Cooking	Tidying	Laundry	Maintenance	Managing	Other
Total number of children							
2 children	10.05** (3.14)	9.10*** (2.06)	0.74 (1.18)	1.11 (1.12)	-0.08 (0.45)	-0.74 (0.44)	-0.08 (0.11)
3+ children	27.01*** (4.78)	16.94*** (3.13)	6.95*** (1.80)	3.70* (1.70)	-0.24 (0.68)	-0.05 (0.67)	-0.29 (0.16)
Youngest age of children							
7~12 (elementary school)	15.29*** (3.76)	6.91** (2.47)	3.30* (1.41)	2.00 (1.34)	1.87*** (0.54)	1.15* (0.52)	0.06 (0.13)
13~18 (middle/high school)	16.71*** (4.97)	2.70 (3.25)	2.99 (1.87)	6.80*** (1.76)	2.34*** (0.71)	1.87** (0.69)	0.01 (0.17)
Education							
High school	9.24 (5.47)	12.57*** (3.58)	1.35 (2.06)	-3.82* (1.94)	-2.77*** (0.78)	1.85* (0.76)	0.08 (0.19)
College or higher	5.86 (5.81)	11.79** (3.80)	-0.93 (2.18)	-3.68 (2.06)	-3.02*** (0.83)	1.61* (0.81)	0.08 (0.20)
Income	-10.86*** (0.80)	-7.21*** (0.53)	-2.09*** (0.30)	-1.43*** (0.28)	-0.22 (0.11)	0.08 (0.11)	0.02 (0.03)
Employment status	-77.46*** (3.56)	-38.11*** (2.33)	-19.62*** (1.34)	-13.24*** (1.26)	-3.21*** (0.51)	-2.97*** (0.50)	-0.31* (0.12)
Age	1.56*** (0.35)	1.31*** (0.23)	0.04 (0.13)	0.10 (0.13)	0.06 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.01)
Constant	161.87*** (13.6)	73.84*** (8.92)	49.32*** (5.11)	31.95*** (4.83)	5.56** (1.94)	0.63 (1.90)	0.57 (0.46)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.33	0.27	0.16	0.09	0.04	0.02	0.00

\*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001

## Chapter V. Discussions

### 5.1. Childcare

Total number of children does not affect on mother's childcare time. It showed the relationship when only the number itself was entered into the analysis, but when age was included simultaneously the relationship disappeared. Mothers' time use on childcare does not change by the total number of children. This result was also found in the study by Bianchi et al. (2006) that the number of children often becomes insignificant when the age of the youngest child is taken into account. Number of children is not related with the time use of mothers on childcare.

Age determines the patterns of mother's time use on childcare. Among three age groups having pre-school aged child increases time on childcare most, 195 minutes a day. When the child enters school(elementary school), childcare time drops sharply. Among three age groups of children, children in middle and high school age(13~18) take on least childcare time. As children age, childcare time mothers allocate decreases. Reason that longest childcare time is found on pre-school aged children is because children in this age requires most physical care from their mothers. As a number of previous studies have also found, mothers with pre-school aged children allocate their time on childcare most (Moon & Cho, 1996; Joesch, 1997; Park & Baik, 1997; Folbre & Bittman, 2004; Bianchi et al., 2006; Lee, Y. & Lee, S., 2007; Craig & Bittman, 2008; Criag et al., 2014).

Considering that children in middle and high school in Korea receive most condensed inputs on their education from their parents, the fact that this age group takes

on least childcare time is an unexpected result. Although parents tend to put extensive efforts on their children's education and qualification in this period<sup>15</sup>, the substantial time they spend on caring for them is not much. It is because children in this age are likely to spend time more outside their house, such as school, private institutions, etc. Therefore, mothers rarely engage in caring for them at home.

This study does not split childcare into more specific sub-activities like it does for the analysis on housework in finding relationship between composition of children and each sub-activity coded in childcare due to methodological limitation. Study by Lee, Y. & Lee, S. (2007) shows the average minutes of sub-activities in childcare by mothers on time use data in 2004 by Statistics Korea, and it gives a decent understanding on the distribution of childcare time in all sub-categories. Even though the data is different and the sample is different, its results are helpful to understand survey codings and responses in childcare. The figures below are from their research.

<Figure 6> Daily Time in Carework by Mothers' Employment Status

	취업주부	전업주부
미취학 아동 보살피기	16분	57분
초중고생 보살피기	11분	15분
배우자 보살피기	2분	5분
부모 및 조부모 보살피기	1분	2분
그 외 가족보살피기	2분	4분

Source: Research on daily life of married women by their employment status (Lee, Y. & Lee, S., 2007: 5)

<sup>15</sup> Parents who have children in this age tend to pay extra efforts on child rearing; they concentrate on their children's education. It is because Korean high school students take a college entrance exam on their third grade in school which is only available once a year. In order to receive high score on this test, parents put extensive care on children in this age.

Figure 6 tells that both employed and unemployed mothers spend most on caring for pre-school aged children. Caring for school aged children follows next, but the gap between them is tremendous. Compared to the category of pre-school aged children, the other category combines all three different age groups of children. This also implies that when these categories were created it was considered that caring for the school aged children is not as significant as that for pre-school aged children in terms of time use. Figure 7 below shows the average minutes in each sub-activity of childcare for pre-school age.

<Figure 7> Daily Time in Sub-activities of Childcare for Children in Pre-school by Mothers' Employment Status

	취업 주부	전업 주부
신체적 돌보기	9분	30분
책임어주기, 놀아주기	5분	22분
간호	0분	1분
기타 보살피기	1분	3분
전체	16분	57분

Source: Research on daily life of married women by their employment status (Lee, Y. & Lee, S., 2007: 5)

Figure 7 shows the average minutes in each sub-activity of childcare for children in pre-school age. As seen above, both employed and unemployed mothers spend most on physical care. This explains that pre-school aged children require most time on physical care, and the physical care itself requires more time than the entire childcare time for school aged children. These two figures tell how childcare activity in time-use survey by Statistics Korea primarily deals with childcare for pre-school aged children.

Most of all, reasons on such time use patterns on childcare mainly lie on the data itself. Childcare activity coded in time-diary in 2009 Time Use Data in Korea include

physical care and non-physical care<sup>16</sup>, Children in middle and high school age do not require mothers' much time input for physical care. These are the basic needs for young children. And non-physical care, which is defined as helping with homework and reading books for them, is mostly undertaken by the public and private institutions as children mature. Thus, mothers' time allocation to childcare declines significantly as their children grow mainly as the codings in the data primarily focus on physical care of childcare, which in general is for pre-school aged children, and also because children start to be involved with more activities outside the home as they mature.

In addition to the division of types of care, childcare time in time-diary is also divided into caring for pre-school aged children and caring for elementary, middle, and high school aged children as seen on the list on page 22 and on Figure 7. This system itself means that childcare code in time use data emphasizes on care for pre-school aged children. The rest three age groups of children are combined together. The term "childcare" in Korean time use data mainly deals with activities to take care of young children. Thus, this age-group of children shows the highest increase in childcare time from mothers in comparison to other age-groups of children.

## **5.2. Housework**

Total number of children influences on mothers' housework time. Having subsequent child leads to an increase in housework time. Having three or more children results in

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<sup>16</sup> According to the activity coding in time use data, physical care includes feeding, dressing, and bathing. Non-physical care includes helping with school homework and reading books. The exact list is on table 1, page 22.

spending most time on housework. More members in household involve more work to do. Additional analysis on sub-activities of housework show the influence more specifically.

Among sub-activities of housework, cooking, tidying, and laundry are the activities that influence on the increase on housework by total number of children. These three activities are especially the workload that are found to be affected by the number of family members in household. Especially when mothers have three or more children, they found to spend preparing meals a lot more than other housework activities.

Along with number, age also influences on mothers' time use pattern on housework. Having older child results in spending more time on housework. Craig said (2006) that as children grow, mothers allocate proportionately more time to the associated unpaid work than into actual child care, and they increase doing other portions of domestic work. In this research, cooking and tidying are found to give impact on increasing housework for mothers with children in elementary school, and laundry is found to influence on an increase in middle and high school. When a child enters elementary school, mothers spend more on preparing meals and tidying, but when a child grows more, no relationship was found on these activities. When a child is in middle and high school age, they do not increase mothers' extra housework in cooking and cleaning. This age of children increases laundry, than the pre-school age.

Compared to the increase by age of the youngest child, the increase by the total number of children is bigger. When there are two children, housework increases by 10 minutes and when there are three or more children housework increases by 27 minutes than there is one child. However, when the youngest child ages from elementary school to middle and high school, housework increases from 15 minutes to 16 minutes than child in pre-school. When it comes to mothers' spending time on housework, having a

child in either elementary school or middle and high school makes little difference. Big difference is between these two groups and the pre-school aged group.

When children starts an elementary school, degree of increase in childcare time declines significantly; on the other hand, housework time increases by the age of children. This means that even though the actual time for care decreases, time to undertake associated housework increases, therefore, keeping mothers maintain still a degree of their time for child care regardless of the age of their children. Mothers allocate their time to take care of their children continuously throughout the ranges of their children's age. One might expect that children who are older stage in school age, middle or high school, would take care of their own, such as cleaning their room by themselves and thus reducing their mothers' workload. But, this does not found to be effectively influential on mothers' actual time use pattern as the result does not show a decrease. Children under the age of 18 are the ones that mothers still have to take care of, and having older children or having more children gives more housework to do for mothers.

## **Chapter VI. Conclusion**

### **6.1. Summary**

This research investigates the time impact of the composition of children, number and age, on their mother's childcare and housework time. The results show that total number of children and the age of the youngest child in household draw different patterns on childcare time and housework time. Detailed outcomes are explained in the following paragraph.

First of all, total number of children does not influence on mothers' time use pattern on childcare. Childcare time is only influenced by the age of the youngest child. As previous studies already discovered, this study also found that mothers' childcare time is highest in pre-school aged children, and it drops drastically once children enter school. Unlike the assumption that school aged children in Korea might require more childcare time from their mothers because parental effort on child-rearing is intensive in Korea, result shows that children in elementary school, middle school, and high school require a lot less time to be taken care of. Main reasons for the result are found on the coding of childcare in the data itself. Childcare time in time use data by Statistics Korea primarily includes activities mothers (or parents) perform for pre-school aged children, mostly physical care. The lists of activities childcare include are easily recognized as "caring for young child" by the survey participants. Also, the term "childcare" in Korea is widely considered as "caring for young child." Through this study it is found that the code Childcare in time use data by Statistics Korea mainly represents childcare for pre-school

aged children. In that way, age of children turns out to be a lot stronger in its relationship with childcare time, compared to the impact of the number of children.

Secondly, for housework time both number and age of children are found to be a strong determinant. Having more children in household leads to more work to do for mothers, and having older children also results in more work to do. When children mature, mothers allocate less time on childcare, but allocate more on housework that are associated with caring for children, found mainly preparing meals, tidying, and laundry in this study. This is interpreted as older aged children require less care, especially physical care from their mothers, but require more indirect care, housework caring after them. In particular, children in elementary school take on more work on preparing meals and tidying while children in middle and high school take on more work on laundry. Another finding is mothers increase housework time more by the number of children than the age of children. Having extra member in household is found to bring more housework to do than having older children.

Although mothers' childcare time drops to the great extent when the children grow, this does not mean that mothers spend less for children. Instead, indirect care for children increases through preparing meals, cleaning, and laundry. Mothers' time allocation for childcare ultimately does not decrease by their children's age. Many of previous studies tell that pre-school aged children requires most time for childcare, but the impact of children is not only with the childcare time itself coded in time use data but also the housework time. When analyzed both, mothers' time allocation to look after children continues throughout children's ages, and it can be concluded that having children requires constant time input until they grow. Time impact of children on their mothers' daily time use is large.

## 6.2. Limitations & Implications

Childcare time that is categorized in time use data counts physical care and non-physical care for children. Yet, caring for children at home includes a range of activities beside activities which are categorized as child care in time use data. Mothers can watch TV while watching on their children, or they can participate in outdoor activities with their children. These can also be understood as child care, simultaneously involved with other activities. This, in fact, is marked as a “secondary activity” when participants fill the time-diary. Childcare time might be underestimated as this research only included the “primary activities” recorded in the time-diary. Craig & Bittman (2008) included both primary and secondary activities on childcare, and stated in their research that the effect was crucial. Yet, adding secondary activities besides primary activities did not result in a remarkable difference on both childcare and housework time in Korean time use data. Reason for this could be the poor record input of participants. In consequence, there limitation exists in estimating the precise time use of samples.

Adding secondary activities along with primary activities led to a substantial increase in total time in research conducted in Australia (Ironmonger, 2004, Craig & Bittman, 2008). As stated above, time with children can be counted in different activities, leisure as most commonly marked. Interactive child care can be in form of enjoying leisure mothers share with their children. In this regard, not being able to collect data from secondary activities in Korea time use survey leaves a question on the underestimates of childcare time.

Previous study found that a number of leisure activities mothers engage are accompanied with their children (Folbre & Bittman, 2004). Marked as leisure activities on the time-diary as primary activities, mothers in fact spend time with their children.

Leisure is found to be the time that also functions as childcare time. Although the hidden outcomes of the secondary activities did not succeed in bringing the access to more precise estimation, efforts to improve this issue on time use data should be put into for further time use survey and research.

This research only included mothers in household. More thorough results of the impact of children over their parental time use can be conducted by investigating both mothers' and fathers' time use pattern. Craig & Bittman (2008) analyzed the impact of children on their parental time in household level and by each gender. Yee's study (2012) also compared the times-use patterns on childcare between mothers and fathers<sup>17</sup>. It is recommended future studies on time impact of children in specific configuration on their parental time use pattern include both mother and father. Investigating fathers' childcare and housework time in regards to the number and age of children will allow us to find more perspectives on mothers' childcare and housework time use patterns. This enables to find time distribution on child rearing activities and its difference between gender.

Time is limited to 24 hours a day to everyone. Time is a scarce resource, and ways to use it efficiently have been the pivot in time use studies since it had started in early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>18</sup> Work and life balance issue, heavily debated for the past years, deals more about the time constraints than money resource (Craig, 2007). As time has a zero-sum function of which increasing time on one activity reduces time to spend on other activities. Married women in particular have struggled with work and life(family) conflict as in household they are usually required to commit to housework than man. Although the number of working mothers has increased, they still have primary obligations on taking care of domestic work, and this makes them have to take the second shift when they come back home from work (Song, 2014). Heavy and severe time

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<sup>17</sup> His research focused on children under age 3.

<sup>18</sup> (Gershuny, 2000).

impact of children on their mothers' daily time use will concern their well-being and quality of life. Since children is a strong determinant on mothers' time use pattern, in-depth analysis of the influence of children in various configurations on mothers' everyday life will provide more thorough insight on life balance of mothers.

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요약(국문초록)

# 자녀수와 자녀연령에 따른 기혼여성의 자녀양육시간과 가사노동시간사용에 관한 연구

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본 연구는 자녀형태에 따라 기혼여성의 자녀양육시간이 어떻게 다르게 나타나는지를 살펴보고자 했다. 기혼여성들이 자녀를 양육하는데 할애하는 시간이 총 자녀수와 자녀의 연령대에 따라 어떤 양상을 보이는지 시간 사용 데이터를 통해 밝히고자 했다. 통계청에서 2009년에 실시한 생활시간조사 자료를 통해 총 자녀수가 0명, 1명, 2명, 3명 이상일 때와 자녀의 연령대가 미취학, 초등학생, 중·고등학생일 때 어머니의 자녀양육시간과 가사노동시간 사용 양상을 분석하였다. 그 분석 결과는 다음과 같다.

첫째, 총 자녀수는 자녀 연령대 없이 총 자녀수만 고려했을 시에는

영향을 미치는 것처럼 보였으나 자녀 연령대를 함께 고려했을 때 영향력이 사라졌다. 이를 통해 총 자녀수는 엄마의 자녀양육시간에 영향을 미치지 않는다는 결과를 도출했다. 하지만 자녀의 연령대에 따라 자녀양육시간은 확연한 차이를 보였다. 미취학 자녀에게 할애하는 자녀양육시간이 제일 높았고, 이는 자녀가 초등학교를 입학하면서 급격하게 감소했으며, 자녀가 중·고등학교에 진학하면서 자녀양육시간은 더욱 감소했다. 이를 통해 자녀양육시간에 있어서는 자녀의 연령대가 매우 중요한 변수임을 다시 한 번 확인할 수 있었다.

둘째, 총 자녀수와 자녀의 연령대는 모두 엄마의 가사노동시간에 영향을 미치는 것으로 나타났다. 자녀수가 많을수록, 자녀가 성장할수록 엄마의 가사노동시간은 증가했다. 가사노동 중에서도 특히 식사준비, 청소, 빨래하는 시간이 증가했다. 자녀수가 많아질수록 증가하는 가사노동시간은 자녀 연령대가 높아질수록 증가하는 시간보다 더 크게 나타났다. 돌보아야 할 인원이 늘어날수록 엄마의 가사일이 증가했다.

자녀양육시간이 미취학 자녀에 집중되어 있는 것은 미취학 자녀 돌보기가 대부분 신체적 돌보기이고 생활시간조사에 참여한 대부분의 응답자들이 자녀양육에 할애하는 시간을 대부분 미취학 자녀의 신체적 돌보기를 위한 시간이라고 해석하여 이에 따른 높은 응답률이 만들어낸 결과라고 할 수 있다. 한국에서 자녀양육시간이란 대부분 이러한 미취학 자녀를 돌보는 행동에 드는 시간이라고 인식되고 있음을 알 수 있다.

취학 연령의 자녀를 위한 엄마의 신체적 돌봄은 점차 감소하기 때문에 자녀양육시간이 감소하는 것으로 나타났지만 이를 자칫 자녀가 성장할수록 자녀를 양육하는데 들이는 시간은 점차 줄어든다고 결론을 내리는 것은 잘못된 도출이다. 왜냐하면 자녀가 성장할수록 이들을 돌보는 데 사용되는 식사준비, 청소, 빨래와 같은 가사노동시간은 오히려 증가하기 때문이다. 이를 통해 자녀를 양육하는데 할애되는 시간은 자녀가 성장할수록 줄어드는 것이 아니라 자녀의 연령대를 불문하고 지속적으로 소비됨을 알 수 있다.

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주요어: 자녀양육시간, 가사노동시간, 자녀형태, 자녀수, 자녀연령대, 기혼여성, 시간사용, 시간사용 데이터, 생활시간조사

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