

# 가족형태가 부의 자녀양육시간과 결정요인에 미치는 영향

Effects of Family Type on the Extent and Determinants of Fathers' Child Care Time

이화여자대학교 가정관리학과  
강 사 허경옥

Dept. of Home Management Ewha Womans Univ.

Lecturer : Kyungok Huh

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## 〈요 약〉

### 가족형태가 부의 자녀양육시간과 결정요인에 미치는 영향

기혼여성의 취업증가로 인해 아버지의 적극적인 자녀양육 참여가 요구되어 왔다. 또한 이 같은 요구는 부의 참여가 기혼여성, 자녀의 성장발달등 가정전체에 미치는 영향이 중요하다는 인식과 함께, 부의 자녀양육시간 연구는 중요한 사회적 관심사로 동시에 연구대상으로 대두되었다. 이 같은 변화속에서, 실제 가정생활에서 부의 자녀양육시간은 개개인에 따라 큰 차이를 나타냄에 따라, 어떤 개인적, 가정적, 또는 사회인구적 요인들이 양육시간량을 결정하는가를 연구하는 것은 그 의미가 있다.

현대가정의 또 하나의 커다란 변화는 미혼부 증가, 이혼 증가로 인한 편부의 증가, 재혼 증가로 인한 계부의 증가 등 가족형태의 다양화에 있다.

본 연구에서는 이 같은 변화를 반영하여, 각기 다른 가정형태에서의 부의 자녀양육 참여시간을 비교 분석하였다. 또한 부의 자녀양육 시간량 관련요인을 조사하기 위하여 노동시장의 근로시간, 개별적 인적 자원, 역할관념, 가정환경등의 효과를 검증하였다.

본 연구에서 사용된 자료는 미국 위스콘신대학내 (University of Wisconsin-Madison), 인구 및 생태센터 (Center for Demography and Ecology) 에서 1988년에 실시한 설문조

사 및 면접조사로써, “전국 가족 및 공동거주체 조사” (National Survey of Family and Households)에서 추출했다.

연구결과에 따르면, 가족형태가 부의 자녀양육시간에 미치는 효과는 큰 것으로 검증되었다. 각 그룹간 비교에서 편부가정의 부는 여타의 가정내의 부모보다 더 많은 시간을 자녀와 놀아주고, 야외활동 및 과제물 도와주기 등에 할애한 것으로 나타났다. 반면 계부는 여타의 가정내의 부모보다 더욱 적은 시간을 자녀와 함께 하였다.

부의 자녀양육시간 결정요인 분석 결과에 따르면, 직장에서의 노동 시간, 교육수준, 자녀 연령이 큰 효과를 나타내는 것으로 밝혀졌다. 부의 직장 근로시간이 적을수록 교육수준이 높을수록 자녀양육 참여시간은 높은 것으로 나타났다. 또한 어린자녀를 가진 아버지일수록 자녀와 함께하는 시간이 긴 것으로 나타났다.

## I. Introduction

Given the contemporary movement of more than 75% of married women with young children into the labor force (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1987) and the changing roles of mothers and fathers in the family, more attention has been given to the father's contribution to child care (Spitze, 1987). Many scholars have criticized the importance of the fathers' active participation in childrearing for family members, including children (Lamb, 1981; Russell & Radin, 1983), the father himself (Aldous, 1974), wife (Hochschild, 1989; Kessler & McRae, 1982), and the family as a whole (Barnett & Baruch, 1986; Hochschild, 1989). Changes in social norms, the increasing labor participation of married women with children, and the re-evaluation of fathering have resulted in greater expectations for fathers' contributions to rearing children than before.

It is notable that fathers differ in the extent of their participation in child care. The sharing of child rearing has recently become more of a voluntary activity for fathers. In other words, the extent of fathers' child care time depends on their willingness to take part in it and on what is happening in many other aspects of life within and outside the family (Cherlin, 1988). Thus, many researchers have begun to explore what

leads some fathers to become highly involved, others to increase their involvement, and still others to participate only infrequently (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Palkovitz, 1984). Consequently, identifying the determinants of the amount of fathers' child care time represents an interesting research topic.

In research area on fathers' child care time or the division of child care tasks, many previous studies focused solely on intact families. Only a few studies (e.g., Demo & Acock, 1993; Thomson, McLanahan, & Curtin, 1990; 1992) emphasized the significance of family structure in explaining fathers' participation in childrearing. Although diversity in family forms is more common today than before, the potential effects of family type on the extent of child care have not considered.

Single parent families, stepfamilies, and cohabiting families with children now represent a sizable proportion of families (Zinn & Eitzen, 1990). Not only has the rate of cohabitation risen, but the number of cohabiting couples with children has also increased (Bumpass & Sweet, 1989). As the divorce rate has risen, stepparents in remarried families, and one-parent families have become more numerous (Zinn & Eitzen, 1990). In particular, the consideration of single fathers has become necessary because more men are now seeking custody of their children (Downey & Powell,

1993).

Given these trends, considerable attention must be given to fathers' time allocation in connection with family diversity. Fathers may allocate time for childrearing in a manner unique to the resources and constraints of each particular family type. Little is known about the differences in child care time of fathers in different family forms.

Therefore, this study was to investigate the effects of family type on the amount of child care time of fathers. In other words, an interesting question was that of whether the level of fathers' involvement in child care differs by family type. Child care time was compared among fathers from different family types : cohabiting fathers, fathers from intact families, stepfathers from remarried families, and single fathers. In addition, the factors determining the extent of fathers' time spent in child care were investigated. To investigate what factors affect the child care time of fathers, the effects of several aspects of individual and family characteristics were tested.

## II. Literature Review

### Fathers' Child Care Time across Family Types

Given general characteristics of cohabitating couples having more liberal attitudes toward family life and being more unconventional (Huston, McHale, & Crouter, 1986 ; Newcomb, 1986 ; Tanfer, 1987), some studies tested the effect of these non-traditional attitudes on the division of domestic work (e.g., housework and child care). In other words, researchers have examined whether cohabiting relationships differ significantly from traditional marriages in the division of housework and child care tasks.

Many researchers have found evidence that cohabiting couples are traditional in terms of dividing domestic work responsibility along sex lines (Stafford,

Backman, & Dibona, 1977 ; Yllo, 1978). This evidence indicates that even if more egalitarian attitudes are expressed by cohabitators, it is quite a different matter in participating in child care tasks. Menaghan and Parcel (1990) also reported that women perform more child care tasks than men in cohabiting relationships. As an interesting finding, the comparison of the division of domestic work between married and cohabiting couples differed by gender. Shelton & John (1993) concluded that while cohabiting and married men differed in no significant ways as to the type and amount of family work they perform, cohabiting women had less responsibility than married women.

Given that stepparenting is difficult and complex, many researchers have examined the differences in parenting between biological parents and stepparents, studying such variables as parent-child relationship, parenting style, amount of interaction, and involvement in child care tasks. Many previous researchers reported that stepparents are less likely to feel comfortable when relating to their stepchildren (Furstenberg & Nord, 1985 ; Santrock & Sitterle, 1987). Stepfathers spent less time in childrearing than biological fathers (Furstenberg & Nord, 1985 ; Thomson, McLanahan, & Curtin, 1990). These results may be explained in connection with the assumption that stepparents may struggle with cultural stereotyping and uncertainty regarding stepparenting. Indeed, Bray (1988) reported that stepfathers were more likely to experience some "role ambiguity" (Bray, 1988).

In the study of single parents' time in child care, a major interest is that single parents may reallocate time for caring for children in a manner different from that of parents in two-parent families, given the time constraints and the absence of spouses. In this research topic, many studies (e.g., Douthitt, Zick, & McCullough, 1990 ; Mauldin & Meeks, 1990) focused more on single mothers' time allocation in child care than that of single fathers, although the number of custodial

single fathers has increased (Downey & Powell, 1993).

In the previous studies, a consensus was that single fathers regarded as primary caretakers were more likely to perform a substantial portion of child care. Thomson and her colleague (1990) found that custodial single fathers spent more time in childrearing than did fathers from two-parent families.

As reviewed above, in the research on fathers' child care time in connection with family type, many studies (exception: Demo & Acock, 1993; Thomson et al., 1990; 1992) focused more on the comparison of time between two groups, for example cohabiting versus non-cohabiting fathers, stepfathers versus biological fathers, and single fathers versus fathers from two-parent families. Not many studies compared fathers' time across several different family types. In addition, some studies (e.g., Stafford et al., 1977; Yllo, 1978) were dated. Moreover, many studies had sampling weaknesses: nonrepresentative samples, small size, and convenience samples (See review of Coleman & Ganong, 1990). These limitations provide an incentive for this study to use a representative sample to reexamine the differences in child care time of fathers across four groups of family types.

#### Determinants of Fathers' Child Care Time

A variety of determinants influencing the amount of fathers' child care time have been investigated. Major determinants were associated with the domain of market work, role ideology, individual resources, family situation, and ages of fathers and children. A brief review of previous studies which have focused on these determinants of fathers' child care follows.

##### 1. Market Work

The significance of the paid work condition has been emphasized as an indicator of time constraints or time

availability influencing the level of fathers' time allocation in child care. Bronfenbrenner and Crouter (1982) stressed parental work as the most important factor influencing the amount of parents' child care time. Regarding the impact of fathers' employment, fathers' involvement in caring for children generally decreases when they are highly involved in their jobs (Feldman, Nash, & Aschenbrenner, 1983; Volling & Velsky, 1985). Several authors also reported that fathers with a great amount of paternal involvement spend fewer hours in paid work (Bergen, 1990; Coverman, 1985; Feldman et al., 1983; Grossman, Pollack, & Golding, 1988; Nock & Kingston, 1988).

##### 2. Role Ideology

As an ideological factor, sex-role attitude has been regarded as an important determinant explaining the variation in fathers' child care time. Sex-role attitude refers to the individual's ideas concerning work and family, maternity and paternity, breadwinners and homemakers, and sex roles associated with a wide range of activities. Regarding the effect of sex-role ideology, positive effects were reported in the studies of Barnett and Baruch (1987), and McHale and Huston (1984), but no effects were found in the studies of Bergen (1990), Coverman (1985), Geerken and Gove (1983). Regarding fathers' beliefs and attitudes about fathering, those who believe that a father's involvement is important to his child's development tend to become more involved with their own children (Palkovitz, 1984; Russell, 1982).

##### 3. Individual Resources

The effects of resources (e.g., income, education, and occupational prestige) have been investigated as a base of negotiating power in the division of domestic work, including child care. The results regarding the impact of these resource variables have been inconsistent. Gronau (1976) and Riley (1985) found that a father's

high education was associated with an increase in his time spent in child care. This implicitly indicates that raising children is considered an investment in human resources and an important task for educated fathers. However, no effect of education was found in the study of Bergen (1990). Concerning the variable of occupation, several studies found that more involved fathers tend to have less prestigious occupations (Levy-Shiff & Israelashvili, 1988 ; Volling & Belsky, 1985). In contrast, Riley (1985) found that fathers with white collar occupations are more likely to share routine child care tasks and school-related matters. On the other hand, no effects of education and occupations on time spent in child care have reported (Condran and Bode, 1982, Coverman and Sheley, 1986).

#### 4. Family Situation

Family situation reflects the different amount of load and capability associated with child care tasks across different family environments. Major family situational indicators were employment status of wives, number of children, and presence of extended family members.

The importance of wives' employment status is clearly derived from the fact that wives' work creates a demand for her husbands' active participation in child care. In other words, the employment status of wives is a factor in the family situation that determines the amount of load.

There has been a controversy over the effect of wives' employment on fathers' share of child care activities. Some studies indicated that the fathers of working wives are more involved in child care chores (Barnett & Baruch, 1981 ; Bergen, 1990 ; Crouter, Perry-Jenkins, & Huston, 1987 ; Pleck, 1977). This conclusion implicitly assumes that fathers take more responsibility for child care when wives work outside the home. On the other hand, many time-use studies found that fathers in dual-earner families do not equally share child care tasks. In other words, women's

lack of time availability due to their employment do not increase their husbands' child care time (Ferree, 1988 ; Shelton, 1990). Given the results of these controversy, it is worthwhile to use a representative sample to reexamine the effects of wives' employment.

As another indicator of family situation, the effect of number of children has examined. The number of children in a family is associated with the load of child care that must be performed by fathers. Coverman (1985) found the positive effect between the number of children and fathers' child care time.

In addition, it is possible that the presence of adult relatives substitutes for parental child care responsibility and decreases fathers' participation in childrearing. Not many studies consider such potential effect. Bergen (1990) found no effect of the family structure determined by the existence of other family members.

#### 5. Age

The effects of age have been frequently investigated. Regarding the age of fathers, in general older fathers may spend less time in child care. Coverman (1985) reported that younger men who have preschool age children tend to participate more highly in child-care activities than do older men.

As reviewed, there have been inconsistent, even contradictory empirical conclusions regarding the determinants of fathers' child care time. Thus, it is necessary to use representative sample to fully understand the relationship between fathers' time allocation in child care and family type.

### III. Data and Method

#### Data and Sample Selection

The data employed in this study were taken from the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) conducted in 1987-1988 by the Center for

Demography and Ecology, University of Wisconsin-Madison. The national NSFH survey of 13,017 respondents included a main cross-section sample of 9,643 households with an oversampling of minority respondents, single parents, cohabiting persons, recently married couples, and parents with step-children. The NSFH administers self-reports for each parent to obtain information on the amount of time spent in rearing children. The focal child was randomly selected from a group of children with whom fathers reported spending time.

To achieve the goals of this study, a subsample of four groups of fathers was selected. For this study, the four groups were defined by the father's current marital status. In addition, a group of stepfathers were added because the stepparent-child relationship may be different from the biological relationship, especially in the light of child care time. The number of subsamples, groups of fathers, for the major analyses were 1,970 for fathers from intact families, 185 for cohabiting fathers, 222 for stepfathers, and 112 for custodial single fathers.

#### Measurement of Child Care Time

Fathers' time spent in child care was measured by the sum of their time spent in three specific child care tasks : i) playing at home, ii) activity outside home

(at parks, museums, zoos, picnics, movies, sports, etc.), and iii) helping with reading or school projects. Time spent in the three types of tasks was manipulated by a weekly metric, given that frequency measurement is not sufficient to assess the exact amount of child care time. The manipulated coding scheme for the three child care tasks was never (0), once a month (0.25), several times per month (0.75), once a week (1), several times per week (3), and almost every day (7). Finally, a single measure of fathers' child care time was constructed by summing responses to the three items on child care tasks, with high scores reflecting greater child care time. Cronbach's alpha coefficient for these three items was 0.72, indicating acceptable internal consistency.

#### Measurement of Independent Variables

1) Market work as an indicator of time constraints was measured by work hours per week in paid labor market.

2) Role ideology was measured by sex-role attitude. The level of traditionality in sex-role attitude was measured by five survey items asking for the extent of agreement or disagreement.<sup>1)</sup>

3) Individual resources was indicated by income, education, and occupation. Annual income before taxes was separated into the following categories : less than

1) Five questions follow :

- (1) It is much better for everyone if the father earns the main living and the mother takes care of the home and family,
- (2) Preschool children are likely to suffer if their mother is employed,
- (3) If a husband and a wife both work full-time, they should share household tasks equally,
- (4) Parents should encourage just as much independence in their daughters as in their sons, and
- (5) Children have fewer problems with two natural parents than with one natural parent and one step-parent.

For the survey questions (1), (2), and (5), response choices were coded as follows : 1 for strongly agree, 2 for agree, 3 for neutral, 4 for disagree, and 5 for strongly disagree. In contrast, for survey questions (3), and (4), strongly disagree was coded as 1, disagree as 2, and so forth. Thus, higher scores indicate more liberal and non-traditional attitudes toward sex role. Cronbach's alpha for role ideology was 0.71.

\$5,000, \$5,000 to \$10,000, \$10,000 to \$20,000, \$20,000 to \$30,000, \$30,000 to \$40,000, \$40,000 to \$50,000, and above \$50,000. In addition, total years of education completed, and occupation as a dummy variable (professional coded as 1, non-professional coded as 0) were used as indicators of individual resources.

4) Family situation was indicated by the number of children, the presence of extended family members or relatives as a dummy variable, and wives' paid work hours per week in the labor market. Regarding the variable of wives' work hours, the difficulty was with the absence of such a variable in single-father families. Thus, a separate analysis was performed to test the effect of wives' employment while excluding a group of single fathers.

5) Ages included in this study were ages of fathers and children.

#### IV. Results

Table 1 contains means of fathers' child care time and characteristics for the four groups of fathers selected. Regardless of family type, fathers worked more than 41 hours a week. Their annual income before taxes was about \$17,000 to \$27,000. Overall, total years of education was about 12 years. Average age of fathers and children was about 32 to 38 and 7 to 11 years old, respectively. Average number of children in the family was almost two. It was notable that very few families live with extended family members or relatives (6% for single fathers & 3% for cohabitating families).

##### Family Type Effects

In the analysis evaluating the family type effect on fathers' child care time, an Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was first performed. As shown in Table

2, the results of the ANOVA indicated that the between-group mean difference of fathers' time with children for family type was significant.

In investigating the independent family type effect, an Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) was performed while controlling family and sociodemographic effects. Table 3 contains the results of ANCOVA. The results indicated that after controlling for all characteristics, family type is associated significantly with fathers' child care time. Although the gap that exists after other differences between the four groups of fathers have been taken into account is smaller than the gap that exists when these characteristics are not controlled, the family type effect was still significant.

##### Comparison of Child Care Time across Family Types

To investigate the statistical significance of the mean values of child care time across the four family types, the Duncan test was performed as a post hoc analysis. The results of the Duncan test provided three major findings, shown in Table 4.

First, single fathers spent more time in child care than did other groups of fathers. The mean child care time for single fathers was significantly higher than that of other groups of fathers.

Second, there were no differences in fathers' child care time between cohabiting fathers and fathers from intact families. There were no statistically significant mean differences in child care time performed among them, although these two groups of fathers had significantly higher scores in their child care time than did stepfathers.

Finally, as seen in Table 4, stepfathers had significantly lower scores in child care time than did the other three groups of fathers. Stepfathers spent the least time in childrearing.

〈Table 1〉 Characteristics of Four Groups of Fathers Selected

Variables	N	Mean	SD
Ages			
fathers' age			
cohabiting fathers	220	31.67	8.22
fathers (intact family)	2,366	35.70	8.38
stepfathers	236	37.48	8.89
single fathers	116	38.96	7.40
child's age			
cohabiting fathers'	286	7.00	5.19
intact fathers'	2,727	7.35	5.69
stepfathers'	248	11.62	4.28
single fathers'	116	10.82	4.80
Family Situation			
number of children			
cohabiting families	286	1.93	1.19
intact families	2,727	2.00	1.06
families with stepfather	250	1.92	1.00
single father families	116	1.62	0.75
presence of extended members (presence=1)			
cohabiting families	286	0.03(F=8)	0.19
intact families	2,727	0.05(F=136)	0.23
families with stepfather	250	0.04(F=10)	0.20
single father families	116	0.06(F=6)	0.25
work hours of wives(weekly)			
cohabiting families	173	34.90	6.36
intact families	1,654	31.12	5.89
families with stepfather	163	36.16	2.59

Note : F indicates frequencies.

〈Table 2〉 Family Type Effect on Fathers' Child Care Time (ANOVA Test)

Source of Variation	DF	F ratio	F Prob.
Main Effects (Family Types)	3	14.70	0.0000

Note : Sample size was : 185 for cohabitating fathers, 1,970 for fathers from intact families, 222 for stepfathers, and 112 for single fathers.



〈Table 3〉 Family Type Effect on Fathers' Child Care Time (ANCOVA Test)

Factors	F value	P values	R square
<u>Covariates</u>			
work hours	11.63	0.00	0.1551
sex-role attitudes	2.63	0.10	
annual income	0.09	0.76	
education	8.60	0.00	
occupation	0.05	0.82	
number of children	2.64	0.10	
extended members	0.13	0.71	
wives' work hours <sup>a</sup>	3.13	0.07	
age	0.02	0.86	
child's age	157.87	0.00	
<u>Main Effects</u>			
family type	6.35	0.00	

<sup>a</sup> : For the analysis, a group of single fathers was excluded, because of the absence of the variable of wives' work hours.

〈Table 4〉 Fathers' Child Care Time across Family Type (Duncan Test)

Family Type	unadjusted			
	N	MEAN	DMR	F value
Cohabiting Fathers	185	7.05	b	14.70
Fathers from intact	1,970	6.67	b	
Stepfathers	222	4.67	c	
Single Fathers	112	8.12	a	

Note : The result from Duncan test indicated that these groups are significantly different at  $p < .0083$  (0.05/6).

#### Determinants of Fathers' Child Care Time

As shown in Table 3, the results produced by ANCOVA also reveal the effects of five dimensions of factors on the amount of fathers' child care time. Overall, the explanatory power of the several variables employed in this model was not great in accounting for the variation in fathers' child care time : R square (15.51%) for this model was not high. This result is consistent with the findings of Bergen (1990) and Kyungok Huh (1994). Huh (1994) stressed that

individual factors and family characteristics were extremely influential in explaining the extent of child care time of women rather than that of men.

Table 3 provides that significant variables for the level of fathers' child care time are fathers' work hours in the labor market, sex-role attitude, education, and age of children.

In light of these five dimensions of factors, results indicated that paid work hours indicating time availability determined the variation in fathers' child care time. This conclusion is consistent with those of

many previous studies, for example, that of Bergen (1990), who found that time availability determined by the parental work domain is the most significant influence on the level of fathers' child care time. This finding indicates that if fathers have more available time, they will spend more time with their children.<sup>2)</sup> The effect of sex-role attitude was not significant. No effect of role ideology on the extent of fathers' child care time is consistent with the results of previous studies (i.e., Bergen, 1990 ; Stafford et al., 1977).

Among individual resources, only the effect of education was strongly supported as an influence on the variation in fathers' child care time. The more educated the fathers, the more time they allocated to child care.<sup>3)</sup> These results are consistent with those of previous studies by Farkas (1976) and Gronau (1976). On the other hand, it was found that fathers' child care time was not affected by income and occupation.

All factors indicating family situation were not supported as explanations for the variation in fathers' participation in childrearing. Neither the number of children nor the presence of relatives was significant. Furthermore, wives' work hours as a factor demanding their husbands' participation in child care responsibility was not a significant factor. Although the difference was not statistically significant, fathers were found to spend more time in child care when their wives' work hours in the labor force increased.<sup>4)</sup> No effect of wives' employment was consistent with the results obtained by Ferree (1988) and Shelton (1990).

Age of children was found to be a significant influence on the level of fathers' child care time.

## V. Discussion and Conclusions

In this study differences in the amount of fathers' child care time were compared by family type. The amount of fathers' child care time was found to vary by family type. The significant family type effects found in this study are consistent with those reported in previous empirical research by Thomson, McLanahan, and Curtin (1990, 1992). These authors found a significant relationship between family structure and the amount of fathers' time allocation in child care. They concluded that family structure had a significant effect on parental time allocation in child care.

The extent to which differences existed between single fathers and the others supports Thompson, McLanahan, and Curtin's (1990) explanation that single fathers are predominantly primary parents in childrearing, whereas other groups of fathers may act as "secondary" parents. The absence of mothers may give single fathers no choice but to be actively involved with their children. On the other hand, the presence of spouses (mothers) may facilitate the development of a traditional division of parental roles, which apparently produces low levels of fathers' participation in child care (Jeong, 1993).

The finding of this study, no significant differences in the division of child care tasks between cohabiting couples and married couples, is generally consistent with those of previous empirical studies (e.g., Stafford et al., 1977). This study leads one to conclude that cohabiting fathers are fairly traditional in their participation in childrearing, regardless of whether their attitudes are non-traditional. In other words, even if

2) The author further employed Multiple Regression analysis to investigate the direction of effects for the several variables that were the exact variables used for ANCOVA. The Regression results not reported in this paper revealed a negative relationship between fathers' work hours and their child care time

3) The Regression results not reported in this paper revealed a positive relationship between education and fathers' child care time.

4) The Regression results revealed a positive relationship between wives' work hours and fathers' child care time.

it is true that cohabitators are generally unconventional compared with non-cohabitators, they are not so when it comes to caring for children as a daily routine.

Stepfathers spent significantly less time in caring for children than did other groups of fathers. The lower level of stepfathers' child care time may possibly be explained by the difficulty of stepparenting. In addition, it can be further explained by the context of the complexity of remarried family relations. Remarried fathers may be required to spend time adapting to new relationships after remarriage, for example, father-new wife relations, father-stepchild relations, and father-newborn child relations (Jeong, 1993).

The difficulty of stepparenting may be also applicable for the extent of care time of cohabitating fathers. Although this study did not distinguish whether cohabitating father-child relationship was biological, some cohabitating fathers may be stepfathers, given the trend that many cohabitating couples marry after they have a baby. Thus, this may be associated with the result that cohabitating fathers' child care time was not greater than that of other groups of fathers whereas their time was greater than that of stepfathers.

Concerning the determinants of fathers' child care time, fathers' paid work hour was a significant indicator. Fathers' child care time is largely a response to the level of their time constraints. No effect of the role ideology hypothesis plausibly suggests that many fathers were not structuring their child care tasks by force of conscious ideology. It implicates that fathers' child care time is not affected by their attitudes concerning maternal employment, work and family, or the paternal role.

Regarding the effect of education, the finding of this study is consistent with those of several previous studies. For example, Farkas (1976) and Gronau (1976) found a significant effect of education. According to Gronau, more educated men spent less time on housework, but more time on child care. This

may indicate that time spent on children is regarded by educated fathers as more important than any kind of domestic work.

Regarding the variable of wives' employment, a lack of effect was found. Fathers' child care time was determined by their own paid work hours, but not by their wives'. The interpretation of this finding reflects the different nature of market work for women and men. Men's market work conditions affect their child care time, but the effect of women's market work is complex. A possible reason for this complexity may be associated with cultural differences in parental role expectations. For example, a lack of time availability for mothers does not increase their husbands' sharing in child care, given the different structural or cultural expectations between mothers and fathers : mothers are expected to assume primary responsibility for child care tasks. As a consequence, working mothers may try to schedule their work to accommodate the demands of child care rather than to demand sharing of such tasks with their husbands.

In conclusion, the analysis of variations in fathers' child care time revealed that time availability is an important determinant. In addition, neither the effect of individual resources (education) nor demographic characteristics (age) can be rejected, although not all variables were significant. Only one dimension is not sufficient to illuminate the complexity of fathers' participation in childrearing. A combination of the multidimensional determinants or factors used in this study helps explain the variation in the amount of fathers' child care time.

## VI. Recommendations

This study investigated the family type effect and determinants of fathers' time allocation in childrearing. An attempt was made to overcome problems in previous studies, such as conceptual weakness, inade-

quate measurement of variables, and inadequate modeling. However, this study had several limitations. First of all, the quality aspects of child care tasks performed were not considered in this study as variables affecting fathers' participation. For example, the nature of child care itself imposes important restrictions in terms of time demands, skill, choice, and discretion. Besides the frequency or time required for a task, what specific child care tasks fathers performs, when fathers perform them, and the conditions under which they perform them can have considerable effects (Thompson & Walker, 1989). For example, regarding discretion as to when to perform child care activities, fathers may be more likely to care for their children after dinner rather than during the busy morning time. There are qualitative and choice differences between child care given in the morning and after dinner, but such qualitative differences are ignored in this study.

Unfortunately, NSFH data do not allow us to assess the emotional or quality content of performance of child care. Thus, future work needs to be done to assess the quality aspects of task performance in fathers' child care activity.

Second, regarding the determinants of fathers' child care time, this study neglected some important potential factors, such as social class, social networks, and cultural differences. Thus, future study is suggested to address other potential factors not considered in this study. In addition, for future research, the effects of other aspects of parental work domains on parental child care activity can be investigated. For example, other aspects of work domain include work pressure, commitment to work, work and family conflicts, opportunity at work, authority in the workplace, level of workload, and satisfaction or dissatisfaction with work.

Finally, additional longitudinal research is required to fully understand the changes in fathers' time allocation in child care over time. In addition,

longitudinal studies would be beneficial in discovering valuable information about the unfolding of lives through intact family, cohabiting family, stepfamily, and single family configurations. Furthermore, longitudinal designs help to fully understand the causal effects of certain factors on the father's participation in child care. Fortunately, subsequent NSFH data will be collected by the Center for Demography of Ecology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Thus, we expect that further analysis based on longitudinal data of NSFH will be available in the future.

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