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Beyond Employment

Working time, living time

Cristina Carrasco and Maribel Mayordomo

ABSTRACT. The compilation of economic statistics, and particularly those relating to labour, directly reflect the prevailing perspective of the economics discipline, and are manifested in abstractions in the form of models entirely and exclusively focused on market production. In the majority of labour surveys and statistics, thus, domestic work is neither economically relevant nor does it even have the status of 'work'. The aim of this article is to suggest new ways for studying the working time and living time of women and men, on the basis of a non-gendered methodological proposal implemented in the city of Barcelona – a non-androcentric labour force survey that incorporates both domestic and market work.

KEY WORDS • domestic work • labour force surveys • living conditions • women's work • working time

Introduction

The spatial-temporal dimension

All human activity has a spatial-temporal dimension, but the ways in which human activity is related to time and space have changed greatly throughout history as a consequence of new technologies and social change affecting living and working conditions. The beginnings of the capitalist era led to the development of a new relationship between human activity and time (also space), giving rise to a new form of civilization (Thompson, 1967/1995). The increasingly widespread use of clocks and new patterns of work in a specific place (the factory) were the major characteristics of this change.

Such a change in work patterns was made possible, above all, by important

technological innovations that removed a dependence on climate variations and natural processes. A crucial role was undoubtedly played in this change by the large-scale use of fossil energies, which permitted many activities to be performed continuously and independently of seasonal and daily solar changes (Cipolla, 1978). As innovation led to new uses for fossil fuels, the continuity in work times found new applications; for example, new kinds of lighting meant that activities could be carried out at night. Nonetheless, technical conditions alone were not sufficient to effect such a radical change on life. Many of these changes were made possible by social conditions, which, for example, obliged a large proportion of the population to accept substantial extensions to their working day under the authoritarian supervision of third parties. This enlarged duration in productive time can only be explained by the particular aims that motivated a sector of the population – those who had the control over basic production decisions – to develop activities that went beyond the temporal limits in which work had traditionally been performed.

The history of a capitalist society, therefore, is in part a history of change in the spatial-temporal dimension of human activity. This change has not been willingly and favourably accepted by all the members of the population, as it has generated costs and advantages that vary according to individuals. It is, therefore, a story of conflict whether in regard to the use of time and space, institutional regulations, or imposed or negotiated restrictions on the duration in time of the productive process. It is also a conflict in which the logic of capitalist production has been persistently confronted with the real-life needs of men and women.

This last conflict, however, is not accounted for in the economics discipline, which has restricted its studies to market production, thereby rendering invisible any other work or production necessary to sustain a population. The interest in time studies in economics is exclusively confined to an analysis of the productive organization and timing in industrial/capitalist production. What is termed 'economic efficiency' is associated with rationalization processes and efforts to control time. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the specific phenomenon of the commercialization of time occurs in industrial societies, and from this perspective, time that is not marketable (that is to say, that cannot be transformed into money) is 'lost or wasted time' (Adam, 1999).

More particularly, from mainstream economics, time has been treated as a 'scarce resource' and homogenous in nature. This views time in the simplistic terms of quantity. Time as a homogenous product has a market price dependent on the value of the 'human capital' represented by an individual and is assigned to different activities at the individual level. Non-marketable time (which, as far as work is concerned, is women's time) is rendered invisible and is only acknowledged insofar as it has a marketable equivalent.

However, far from being homogenous, real time for individuals is character-

ized by important differences that prevent it from being considered as perfectly exchangeable in terms of one hour for another. The cause of this heterogeneity is related to different situations: the natural life cycle of human beings, the customs, habits and social conventions for satisfying specific human needs (those which have a high relational component, e.g. eating patterns), and the collective character of many social activities.

Of the social activities, many of these take place in the family environment. Here, dependence is obvious in that an important proportion of the activities that correspond to the space concern caring and relationships, requiring in many cases a shared presence and often conditioned by the stage in the life cycle. On the other hand, there are also activities that do not necessarily have to take place in the home, including education, participation in collective and institutional life, family relations, leisure and so on, all of which require an important degree of interpersonal contact.

Thus, the area of action of each person and their capacity to develop a satisfactory life are conditioned both by the time available to them (in terms of number of hours and distribution), over and above the working day in the labour market, and by their obligations in different spheres of activity,¹ with greater levels of satisfaction available to those who have a working schedule that fits in satisfactorily with other activities. However, the situation is quite different for women than men: it is widely acknowledged that the time spent on caring and life-maintenance activities is determined not just by the working schedule, but primarily on the basis of gender.

The lack of recognition for different definitions of time other than quantifiable time represents yet another manifestation of inequality between men and women. Measured time, which focuses on time dedicated to work in the labour market – transformed in our industrialized societies into money-time – takes precedence over other kinds of time in male productive organization. According to this logic, the more qualitative aspects of time are fuzzy, that is, those corresponding to the female experience and related to life cycles and caring activities (Del Re, 1995; Adam, 1999).

Work time and care activities

Since the 1980s – from the feminist studies and gender approaches – new ways of approaching time and work studies have been explored.² These bypassed the old androcentric focus on the marketplace, and recognized the existence of other times and work; these exist in the shadows of economic activity, cannot be calculated in monetary terms and yet are absolutely essential for the continuance of life. These are times and work occupied in providing care and affection, maintaining, managing and running the home, and enjoying relationships and leisure. And unlike measured and paid time, these are times that are lived, given

freely and generated, and are, moreover, difficult to quantify and therefore non-convertible to money.

Among the different aspects tackled from these new perspectives, one of particular relevance concerns the different dimensions manifested by time. One kind of time is objective, is capable of being measured and quantified, and regulates the different activities of individuals. An important element of this objective time is that in capitalist societies it is convertible to money. But there is also a work time that has, in addition to the quantifiable dimension, a more subjective dimension, one that is more difficult to measure, which is the time used for no particular activity, or which is used in performing invisible tasks, but which also require the concentration and energies of the individual (Folbre, 1994, 1995; Del Re, 1995; Himmelweit, 1995; Murillo, 2001). Moreover, there is a second dimension of this subjectivity that incorporates much more intangible aspects, represented by the subjectivity of the individual and materialized in the experiences lived by this individual. These are related to desires in relation to how a life is organized and the relationships that make sense of daily life: a significant time that represents the social character of the experience, and which is never entirely divorced from this experience (Himmelweit, 1995; Vantaggiato, 2001).

And so, when people take decisions about their way of life and, in particular, about their working life, they take into account all these dimensions of time. But in this decision-making process important differences arise between women and men.³ Decisions by women in relation to the organization of their working times (both market and domestic work) generally take into account the well-being of the other members of the household, a result of her 'availability', of having to attend to the needs of others. The opposite occurs with men, who – whether consciously or unconsciously – assume that these are the women's responsibilities. Employment opportunities for women are therefore restricted by the different social forces that map out their boundaries: the patriarchal tradition, the family environment (dependants in the home, financial status, possible help networks that she can create or participate in), public supply of care services, and the regulations and characteristics of the labour market.

In this respect, studies in relation to the organization of time and work for women and men are conducted from two entirely different perspectives, which we could denominate as *ex-post* and *ex-ante*. *Ex-post* studies analyse real situations, considering the organization of times as the result of decisions that are highly conditioned by the factors listed earlier, and, in the case of women in particular, by the family. Time-use studies have, in this case, made decisive contributions.⁴ They have rendered non-remunerated work more visible by highlighting the significant differences that exist between women and men in the way they use their time. The results point to the most objective dimension of time, how this time is used and distributed between different activities, and how

people make 'adjustments' to their particular circumstances. These studies do not inform us, for example, about availability to accept specific kinds of employment or about preferences for different employment patterns.

A study of time and work from the *ex-ante* perspective, however, precisely aims to analyse expectations, alternative projects, and the paths that individuals wish to follow. The aim is to reflect the subjective dimension of individuals and their desires for certain kinds of activity and relationship not subject to an unavoidable reality. In order to represent these more subjective aspects of time organization, more qualitative methodologies have been developed for these *ex-ante* circumstances (Maruani et al., 2001; Oechsle and Geissler, 2003).

Nowadays, organizing time and work is particularly complex, and especially so for women with responsibilities in both the home and work spheres, each of which corresponds to different concepts of time. This new situation (with an uncertain future), which affects the lives, work and well-being of women above all, is the consequence of two processes: changes to the organization of both production and work ('flexibilization processes'), and changes in the structure of the home resulting from increased participation by women in the workplace (Davies, 1994; Floro, 1995; Jurczyk, 1998; O'Reilly and Fanagan, 1998; Rubery et al., 1998; Recio, 2002; Rubery, 2002; Tjildens, 2002).

Consequently, a combined analysis of the different dimensions of time and work is crucial to the study of living and working conditions for women and men today. This is our intention, but we first have to accept the limitations of existing labour statistics.

Time use studies

In the majority of labour surveys and statistics, domestic work has no economic relevance; it does not even have the status of 'work'. There are, in fact, no official statistics that measure domestic family work (in other words, there is no official recognition of this work), although periodic data is collected in order to produce official statistics on the labour market (of which the most important in Spain is the *Encuesta de Población Activa*, [the Spanish LFS]).⁵ These statistical data merely reflect labour market activity; the rates and indices measure only what happens in the marketplace; and the classifications perpetuate the same gender bias (Carrasco and Mayordomo, 2000). Such surveys, moreover, do not reflect the range of activities performed by individuals, nor do they reflect the fact that work times (individual and economic) are allocated of necessity to domestic work as well as to employment. Such a division of time and labour has historically been based on gender, which has, in turn, contributed to the development of gendered strategies and opportunities in terms of participation both in the labour market and in domestic activities.

Time use studies mark an inflection point in the analysis of time and works.

Although there were some earlier studies, it was primarily from the 1960s, a time of particularly strong industrial growth, that time use studies and research became generalized.⁶ Commencing in Canada and Australia and later taken up in other industrialized countries and in South America, over the last two decades a number of time use studies have been implemented by public statistics offices, using information to analyse different uses of time and associated social problems, and to create satellite accounts on domestic production.⁷

Time use studies have important advantages over labour studies in that they reflect the many activities that people perform. Nonetheless, they have limitations in regard to capturing the different dimensions of time. These limitations concern, first of all, the more subjective aspects of time, related to affections, relationships and emotional support; secondly, issues such as responsibilities; and finally, the problems of the simultaneity of activities that normally render care work invisible (Carrasco et al., 2003; Budig and Folbre, 2004; Bittman et al., 2004).

However, in our opinion, there is yet another, more relevant, limitation: time use surveys are not labour surveys. Their aim is not to analyse different kinds of work or domestic family work in particular, but to assess how time is distributed between different activities throughout a given day, and the work performed in the home is not categorized as an economic activity. The results provided by the time use studies enable an analysis of specific aspects of both kinds of work, but do not usually contain information on certain aspects of domestic family work (such as organization and management), nor are they as exhaustive as the labour surveys in terms of information on the labour market.

These methodological limitations have led us to develop an alternative proposal: a work survey that includes different kinds of work. This would open up new lines for studying work and other times. Above all, this methodological approach recognizes that the activities performed in the home are work, and both kinds of work – labour market work and domestic family work – are treated at the same economic level.

A Non-androcentric Labour Force Survey: a Methodological Proposal⁸

The statistical information was obtained from a pilot survey carried out in Barcelona in 2000, called the *Non-androcentric Labour Force Survey* (in Spanish, the EPA-NA; see CES, 2004). The survey sample was selected in two stages. The units of the first stage were the censal sections of the city of Barcelona. These sections were stratified to provide a wide sociological description of the population (with regard to age, educational levels, emigration, labour situation and socio-professional level). Afterwards, the distribution of the strata considered as well the different districts of the city of Barcelona. The

units of the second stage were the households. Households were picked out randomly from the electoral census, and then, the information of people usually living in the household was collected.⁹

Rather than an exhaustive dataset, this pilot survey was implemented to test a particular methodology and a way of collecting and analysing the information relative to labour (both domestic and market work). Our aim was to carry out a labour survey which, unlike official surveys on labour market, would account for non-remunerated activities performed in the home. Required was a statistical framework that would be capable of measuring the total workload borne by both women and men; in other words, an integrated framework in which it would be possible to observe the relationship between remunerated and non-remunerated work and analyse – from an all-encompassing and realistic perspective – the functioning of the labour market, the life styles and reproductive habits of individuals and, finally, the division of labour by sex. This approach draws on information on all the activities undertaken by individuals, with a particular focus on working times, organization problems, ‘reconciliatory solutions’, the effects of employment flexibility and so on, taking into account differences between women and men.

The proposed survey was devised, not as a mere extension of the usual labour force surveys, but with a view to redrawing the conceptual and methodological bases for the traditional surveys – in terms both of the concept of work itself and the adoption of an overall perspective on results interpretation. The basic structure of the survey was as follows:

- 1) A household questionnaire;
- 2) An individual questionnaire comprising:
 - a) General data;
 - b) Education and training;
 - c) Activities;
 - c1) Paid work;
 - c2) Domestic and care work;
- 3) A diary questionnaire on activities.

The *household questionnaire* compiled information on a set of family variables and on tasks related to care of children, ill or elderly members of the family. In order to ensure international comparability, the individual questionnaire collected the information on employment, according to the criteria of the traditional LFS. Notwithstanding, this *individual questionnaire* of EPA-NA introduced a radical change of perspective in relation to who is considered to be active and how. An initial question in regard to the number of hours spent – during the week prior to the interview – on paid work, work in the family business, domestic work, study and voluntary work was used as the basis for a classification of the population according to the different activities performed.

This kind of population distribution meant the elimination of the restrictive conceptualization of activity as referring exclusively to paid labour. Individuals were identified not so much in terms of a single *active/non-active* dimension but according to multiple dimensions, such as *active/inactive in the labour market*, *active/inactive in the home*. Moreover, this approach allowed for combinations between the dimensions (for example, being active at market but inactive at home). Finally, more specific information on time use was collected in a *diary questionnaire* completed by all individuals aged 16 or over living in each household. Noted in this diary questionnaire were activities (for 30-minute intervals) carried out for the 24 hours of the day prior to the interview. In this way, detailed information was obtained, subsequently organized in terms of five categories, as follows:

- a) Personal care;
- b) Paid work and studies;
- c) Domestic work;
- d) Free time and leisure time;
- e) Travelling time.

The results of the EPA-NA will be used in the following sections to exemplify how more complete information on work times than is typical can be provided. As we said, this pilot survey was conceived as a methodological test. In fact given the limited sample size, some results lack quantitative accuracy. However, the data have significance in qualitative terms, since they illustrate how the analysis of the labour market can be enriched when the sphere of the remunerated activity is crossed.

For this reason, our aim will be more focused on developing new perspectives for exploring data rather than on obtaining specific results that can be extended to the entire population.

Work Times and Life Times

Women, men and the life cycle

An analysis of the behaviour of men and women throughout the human life cycle is fundamental to any study of the effects of work times on either sex.¹⁰ Both the availability of individuals and their time distribution possibilities vary depending on responsibilities in terms of caring for others. Having small children and/or elderly or ill persons in their charge naturally restricts an individual's possibilities for making time for other activities, in particular if the timing of such activities is incompatible with care obligations. For this reason the responsibilities assumed by individuals – both women and men – in terms of

care activities will enormously determine their participation and relative position in the labour market.

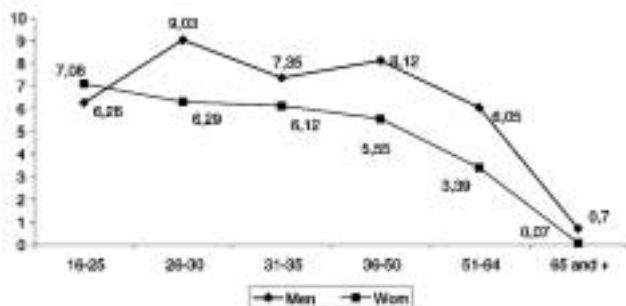
In relation to age, the information shows that although in the younger age brackets women work somewhat more than men, for all the other age brackets men dedicate substantially more time than women to paid employment (see Figure 1: a.1 and b.1).¹¹

That said, the time dedicated by women to paid work continues to be high in the 31–35 age bracket; in other words, it is precisely at a time when people are likely to have small children in their care that levels of female participation reach their highest levels (Figure 1: c.1). What would appear to be relevant is that women in Barcelona dedicate a significant number of hours to work outside the home, which would indicate the interest of the new generation of women in participating in the labour market.

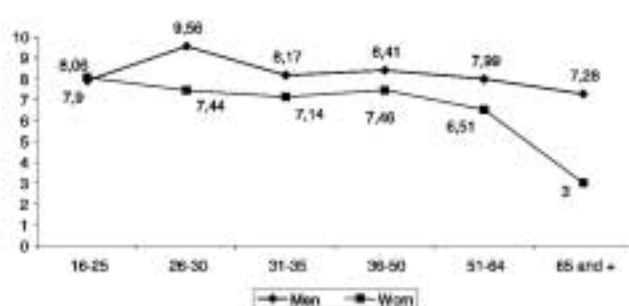
On the other hand, data on domestic work would suggest that men in Barcelona do not participate in domestic work to the same extent as women. It can be observed that, for all age brackets, women participate more in, and dedicate more hours per day to, domestic work than men (Figure 1: a.2, b.2 and c.2).¹² Moreover, evolution over the life cycle is very different depending on sex. Thus, while high levels of participation in domestic work – close to 100 per cent – are evident for women aged 31 and over, similar levels are only attained by men from the age of 65 onwards. Indeed, it is at around age 30 – when individuals leave home in order to live with partners and have children – that the differences between women and men are most marked: at this life cycle stage, 15 to 30 per cent of men perform absolutely no domestic work (Figure 1: c.2), and those that do it dedicate only the half of the time than women do (Figure 1: b.2). This would contradict the traditional view that women are ‘dependent’ on their husbands; the above information would indicate the opposite – that men, in fact, are ‘care dependent’ on women.

These data would suggest that men begin to participate in domestic work when they terminate their participation in the labour market (i.e. when they retire). It is during periods when the combination of both types of work is most complicated – when there are children in the home – that men’s level of participation in domestic work is lowest. In contrast, the rhythm of work of women responds to what we could call a ‘natural rhythm’ (ruled by need): they work more in proportion to the number of dependents in the home. After this life cycle stage, their level of participation falls, but begins to increase again to a maximum reached – like for men – after retirement. It must be remembered that the labour force participation rate for women presently aged 50–55 in general has been low, so it is quite possible that their level of participation in domestic work remains the same throughout their lives. The case of retired or elderly women may be different on account of an increased level of participation in domestic work in the form of caring for grandchildren. (In Spain, it is

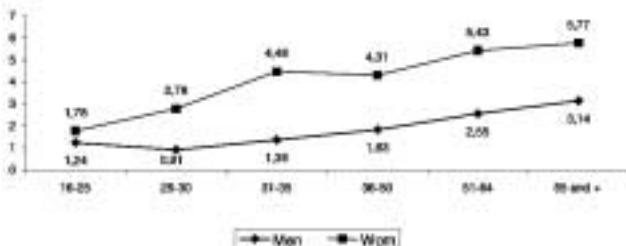
a.1) Hours of paid work (social time)



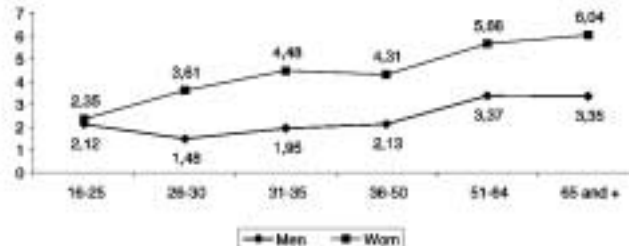
b.1) Hours of paid work (time per participant)



a.2) Hours of unpaid domestic work (social time)



b.2) Hours of unpaid domestic work (time per participant)



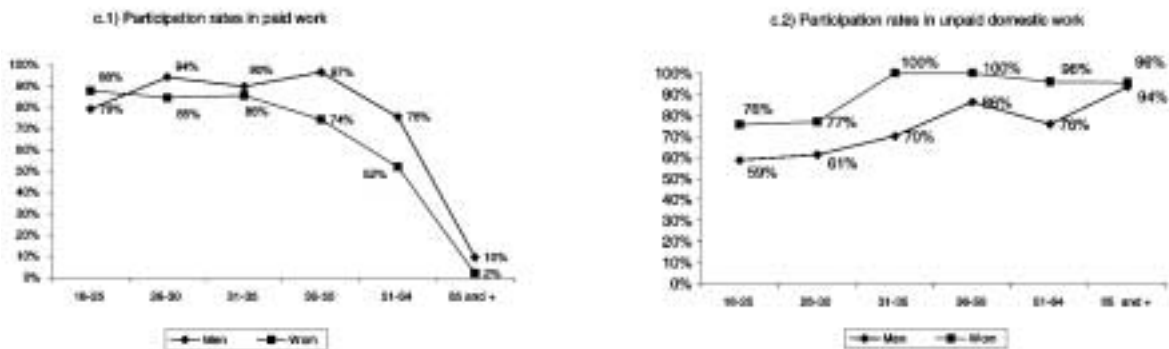


FIGURE 1

Social time^a, time per participant^b and participation rate^c in paid and unpaid domestic work, by age group

^a Social time represents the average number of hours per day spent on a specific activity by the entire population of the study.

^b Time per participant indicates the number of hours per day spent on a specific activity by the population that performs that particular activity.

^c Participation rates in the labour market and in domestic work represent the percentage of individuals who spend at least an hour a week doing either kind of work.

grandparents who largely compensate for deficiencies in public child care facilities.)

Analysis by age and household type indicates different behavioural patterns for men and women. First of all, although the level of participation by women in the labour market is increasing, they continue to bear most of the burden of domestic work, and particularly in the life cycle phases involving young children. Since the participation of men in the labour market is unaffected by their life cycle stage, however, it can be concluded that age is not a determining factor in terms of the performance of domestic work, although it may be so in terms of incorporation into the labour market. Increasingly, gender differences in labour force participation are being eroded (even if not the forms of participation), yet gender differences in regard to domestic work are maintained.

In order to further explore gender differences throughout the life cycle, it is suitable to examine the time dedicated to work according to household type. This information is summarized in Table 1.¹³

First, the information with regard to the labour market shows that participation for men living in single-person households is greater than for equivalent women, a fact which can be attributed to the number of elderly women living alone. Male levels of labour market participation are also far greater for couples without children, which may be attributable to a large proportion of couples aged 50 or over whose children have left home; this generation is also one, moreover, with a low female labour market participation rate. Differences in labour market participation in terms of gender are reduced, on the other hand, for couples with children, which would corroborate our previous claim that labour market participation is significantly higher among younger generations of women, even among those with children in the home. That said, the number of hours dedicated by women to paid work continues to be lower than for men.

Second, and although the sample cannot be considered as entirely representative of this kind of household, Table 1 also reflects the fact that women in single-mother households or in households with children and other dependents dedicate more hours to the labour market than men. Men in single-father households work considerably fewer hours than women in single-mother households, and their participation in the labour market is also lower. As for households with children and/or other dependents, women in these households not only work more hours in the market than men in the equivalent situation, but also dedicate more hours to remunerated work than women in any other kind of household. It is possible that, in considering overall hours, the number of hours dedicated by men is relatively small because all the members of the household (including young people and adults) are counted; curiously enough, however, women in these same conditions spend, both overall and per participant, a significant number of hours to work in the labour market.

Third, in relation to domestic work, Table 1 shows that male and female

TABLE 1
Social time, time per participant (hours) and participation rates (%) in different kinds of work, by household type

	Women			Men		
	Social time	Per participant		Social time	Per participant	
		%	time		%	time
<i>Paid work</i>						
Individual	1.84	32	5.70	2.86	44	6.44
Couple without children	1.45	19	7.59	3.02	36	8.46
Couple with children	2.35	35	6.70	3.70	45	8.20
Father and children	2.00	100	2.00	2.50	40	6.25
Mother and children	5.20	65	7.95	2.00	25	8.00
Couple with children and others	3.08	39	8.00	0.97	13	7.75
Total	2.42	36	6.83	3.59	43	8.31
<i>Domestic work and care</i>						
Individual	4.71	94	4.41	3.01	100	3.01
Couple without children	5.14	100	5.14	2.56	91	2.83
Couple with children	5.06	90	4.55	1.87	71	2.64
Father and children	2.00	100	2.00	2.77	100	2.77
Mother and children	2.63	85	2.23	0.17	25	0.67
Couple with children and others	4.39	85	3.72	4.40	88	5.02
Total	4.78	91	4.36	2.14	77	2.77
<i>Total work</i>						
Individual	6.55			5.87		
Couple without children	6.59			5.58		
Couple with children	7.41			5.57		
Father and children	4.00			5.27		
Mother and children	7.83			2.17		
Couple with children and others	7.47			5.37		
Total	7.20			5.73		

levels of participation generally exceed 85 per cent. Nonetheless, in the case of males living in households composed of a partner and children, the fact that male participation in domestic work is so low comes as something of a surprise, given that homes with children generally have the highest levels of domestic activity. This fact may be due to the presence of male children who do not participate in domestic work, but would indicate that daughters, unlike sons, are required to participate in domestic work (as the 'work of women'). It is also

interesting to note that while women living alone perform, on average, less domestic work than women living with partners, for men the reverse is true: men living alone do more domestic work than men living with partners. In other words, a move from living alone to living with a partner implies, for women, an increase both in participation in, and the number of hours dedicated to, domestic work, whereas for men the reverse is true on both counts.

Finally, in regard to the overall burden of work (final section of Table 1), it can be observed that women do more hours of work than men, irrespective of the kind of household, with the number of hours dedicated to domestic activity in single-person households of either sex being the most similar. The most important gender difference in terms of the overall burden of work occurs in households composed of couples with children or with children/other dependents. The data would indicate that a disproportionately large percentage of all the work related to the care of individuals continues to be considered women's work, with men only performing greater proportions of these tasks when they live alone. Women in a household, moreover, assume responsibility for both the work of male children as well adult males, a situation which supports the notion of men as dependent on women.

In brief, the analysis by household type points to, on the one hand, the important difference between men and women according to life-cycle stage. Women increase their domestic activity when there are dependents in the home – mostly children – which (as commented earlier) amounts to 'natural' behaviour. This requires a differentiation between women, since their problems in terms of time distribution and use will vary according to their life-cycle phase.¹⁴ For men, however, life-cycle stage makes little difference: essentially, it does not affect the amount of domestic work they do.

Participation in the labour market and in domestic work by men and women in couples

Another important aspect of our analysis was to consider the relationship between the activity of an individual and that of the other members of a household. Our approach was to analyse the participation of women and men who live as couples, whether with or without children. With a view to assessing what happens when men and women are in a similar employment situation,¹⁵ the number of hours dedicated to remunerated and non-remunerated work by each half of the partnership was considered in relation to the labour market situation of each.¹⁶

Table 2 depicts the average number of hours dedicated to the labour market and to domestic work by men and women living as couples, taking into account the employment circumstances of each and of the couple (shaded and non-shaded parts of the table, respectively). This allows us to compare work times

TABLE 2
Social time and time per participant (hours per day) dedicated to work according to the employment situation of the individuals and of the couple

Employment situation	Domestic work and care				Paid work				Total work	
	Men		Women		Men		Women		Men	Women
	Social time	Time per participant	Social time	Time per participant	Social time	Time per participant	Social time	Time per participant	Social time	Social time
<i>Couple without children</i>										
<i>Women of couple</i>										
Not employed	2.92	3.23	5.52	5.52	1.29	9.00	0.00	0.00	4.21	5.52
Full-time employed	3.35	3.35	4.41	4.41	4.06	8.13	3.84	7.69	7.41	8.25
Over-employed	1.88	1.88	3.50	3.50	5.00	10.00	4.50	9.00	6.88	8.00
<i>Men of couple</i>										
Not employed	3.51	3.69	5.86	5.86	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.51	5.86
Full-time employed	2.49	2.74	3.74	3.74	4.38	8.03	2.84	7.58	6.87	6.58
Over-employed	0.70	0.88	3.94	3.94	6.00	10.00	4.25	8.50	6.70	8.19
<i>Couple with children</i>										
<i>Women of couple</i>										
Not employed	2.22	2.89	6.78	6.95	3.95	8.49	0.14	3.00	6.17	6.92
Part-time employed	2.87	3.45	5.48	5.48	4.08	8.17	2.83	5.66	6.95	8.31
Full-time employed	2.22	2.62	2.95	2.95	7.27	8.59	6.88	7.50	9.49	9.83
Over-employed	2.46	3.45	4.18	4.88	1.36	9.50	2.75	6.42	3.82	6.93
<i>Men of couple</i>										
Not employed	3.04	4.29	4.83	5.04	0.52	12.50	1.07	6.40	3.56	5.90
Part-time employed	2.00	2.00	5.44	5.44	4.89	5.71	3.89	6.81	6.89	9.33
Full-time employed	2.41	2.96	5.74	5.74	5.35	8.03	2.92	6.11	7.76	8.66
Over-employed	2.00	2.54	6.39	6.64	6.11	9.51	1.45	5.39	8.11	7.84

for each member of the partnership maintaining the labour market situation constant, whether of the individual or of the couple.¹⁷ Thus, the shaded part of the table allows us to calculate, for example, the daily number of hours dedicated to domestic activity by women in couples without children when these are working full-time (4.41), and of men in a similar situation (2.74). In the non-shaded part of Table 2 we can observe, for example, a difference between the hours of remunerated work in the labour market by women whose partners are working part-time (6.81), compared to the hours dedicated to remunerated work by men whose partners are employed part-time (8.17).¹⁸ Given the sample size, this part of the table ended up being just slightly useful. Nevertheless, it has been included (without a more in-depth analysis) because we consider that this kind of data can help to uncover the gender bias of the work times. Particularly, it can be helpful in order to reject the idea of men not performing domestic activities because they are over-employed in the labour market; especially if we find that time dedicated to the domestic activities by the over-employed women is superior to that of the men.

According to the individual employment situation (see the shaded part of Table 2), the first point of interest is in relation to the time spent on domestic work; women – with the exception of those who live as couples with children and who are unemployed or over-employed – participate 100 per cent in domestic work (for this reason the average overall hours and the average hours per participant spent on domestic work is the same). In other words, practically all women – unlike men – who live as part of a couple participate in domestic activity. In addition it can be observed that for men who live as part of a couple, participation in domestic activity is reduced when there are children. Among these cases, of note is the fact that men with children who are not employed participate in domestic activities at the rate of 70.9 per cent. The question remains: what do these fathers do with their time?

If we focus on the number of hours spent on domestic work, of note is the fact that in couples without children, unemployed women perform 49.6 per cent more domestic work per participant (57.3 per cent on average) than the unemployed men in couples. The gender difference in terms of time spent on domestic work is further marked among couples with children: in these households, unemployed women perform, on average, 62 per cent more domestic work than unemployed men. This is probably due to the fact that unemployed men living in households without children are, for the most part, retired; these tend to increase their share of domestic work only when they leave the labour force. In turn, the difference between couples – whether with or without children – increases when the hours spent on domestic activity by women who are employed part-time or who are over-employed are compared to the hours dedicated by men in these same employment situations. In fact, in couples without children, over-employed men perform almost no domestic work (less than one

hour a day), which would indicate that the women perform all domestic tasks. On the other hand, women who live in couples and experience the same employment situation as their partners (over-employed) perform 3.5 hours of domestic work daily. This would indicate that over-employed women carry out practically all the domestic work, even when there are no dependents in the household (this notion of non-dependents should be qualified, however, as the data indicate – once again – that there are ‘dependents’, namely men).

Obviously, we need to take into consideration the fact that the number of hours dedicated to employment by men is greater than those dedicated by women, and for all the employment situations described in Table 2. Nonetheless, the overall burden of work continues to be generally greater for women, given that the difference in favour of men in terms of hours in remunerated work is smaller than the difference in favour of women in terms of hours spent on domestic work (see the last two columns of Table 2).

Work Time Organization: Towards a New Analytical Methodology

In this section we describe a methodology for studying the organization of time based on time bands. This method permits a day in the life of individuals to be reconstructed; it therefore reveals gender differences with respect to the organization and distribution of time (and in particular, the time dedicated to employment in the labour market and domestic work). More specifically, it allows us to observe possible inequalities between men and women in relation to difficulties in performing and combining both kinds of work.

This analysis can be applied to different sectors of the population in order to reconstruct their time schedules over the period of a single day and to analyse, insofar as is possible, the behaviour of different members of a household in regard to work. In our own case, the sample size acts as a restricting factor in terms of the application of this type of analysis. Nevertheless, our main aim was to explore a method for analysing the effects of the processes of flexibilization and the times of work on the well-being of the population, and not specifically to realize an exhaustive analysis in quantitative terms.

The time-band methodology

In order to reconstruct a ‘work day’, two aspects were considered: the time spent by individuals on different activities throughout a day; and the percentages of men and women who participated in these activities during six time bands. Subsequently, this information was crossed with variables representing work time aspects – such as the working day, type of employment contract, or the difficulty in combining different types of work – with a view to clarifying

the effects on the lives of women and men; this would enable the application of policies to correct gender inequalities and segmentation in the labour market.

In regard to the time spent by individuals on different activities, we designed summary graphs to depict the overall time dedicated by women and men in couples to employment, domestic work and leisure, reproducing the distribution and use of time by women and men throughout a day.¹⁹

By way of an example, the situation of men and women was analysed bearing in mind the presence or absence of dependents. As indicated by Figure 2, differences in time distribution and use by women and men exist even when there are no dependents in the household; when there are dependents, the differences are more marked. Indeed, if we distinguish the population on the basis of whether or not there are dependents in a household, of note is the fact that men perform more work in households with dependents – particularly in the time bands 7–10 am and 5–10 pm – and reduce their leisure time accordingly (part of which is now allocated to employment and domestic activity).

Nonetheless, an element of note in terms of male participation in the labour market is the fact that, with dependents in the household, the time dedicated by men to their employment increases slightly, although it continues to be almost the same – both in terms of distribution throughout the day and in number of hours – as the average for men overall or for men without dependents. The picture for women with dependents in the home is very different, however; the time dedicated to employment falls (17 per cent), basically from about 3 pm; in other words, the time distribution changes. This may reflect the situation of women who work part-time or whose timetable is not ‘split’ into pre-lunchtime and post-lunchtime segments (as is traditional in Spain). Nonetheless, the facts reflect an ‘adjustment’ on the part of women in employment so as to be able to care for dependents.

In regard to the time dedicated to domestic work, and in addition to the fact that they are represented in all time bands, these women are the only population group who dedicate a far greater proportion of time to domestic activity than to employment in the time band 4–9 pm. This fact – as well as being a potential source of conflict – reflects to some extent the double identity of women as both carers and professionals, and points to potential difficulties in regard to organizing employment and domestic activities.

For the second analysis, that is, the proportion of individuals who participate in employment and domestic work throughout a day, we evaluated the percentage of individuals who live as part of a couple and whose work is exclusively labour-market work (only LMW) or who perform only domestic work (only DW), and also the percentage who perform one of these activities combined with the other (combined LMW, or combined DW).²⁰

Figure 3 shows the proportions of men and women living as couples and who are either in employment (part a) or who perform domestic activities (part b).

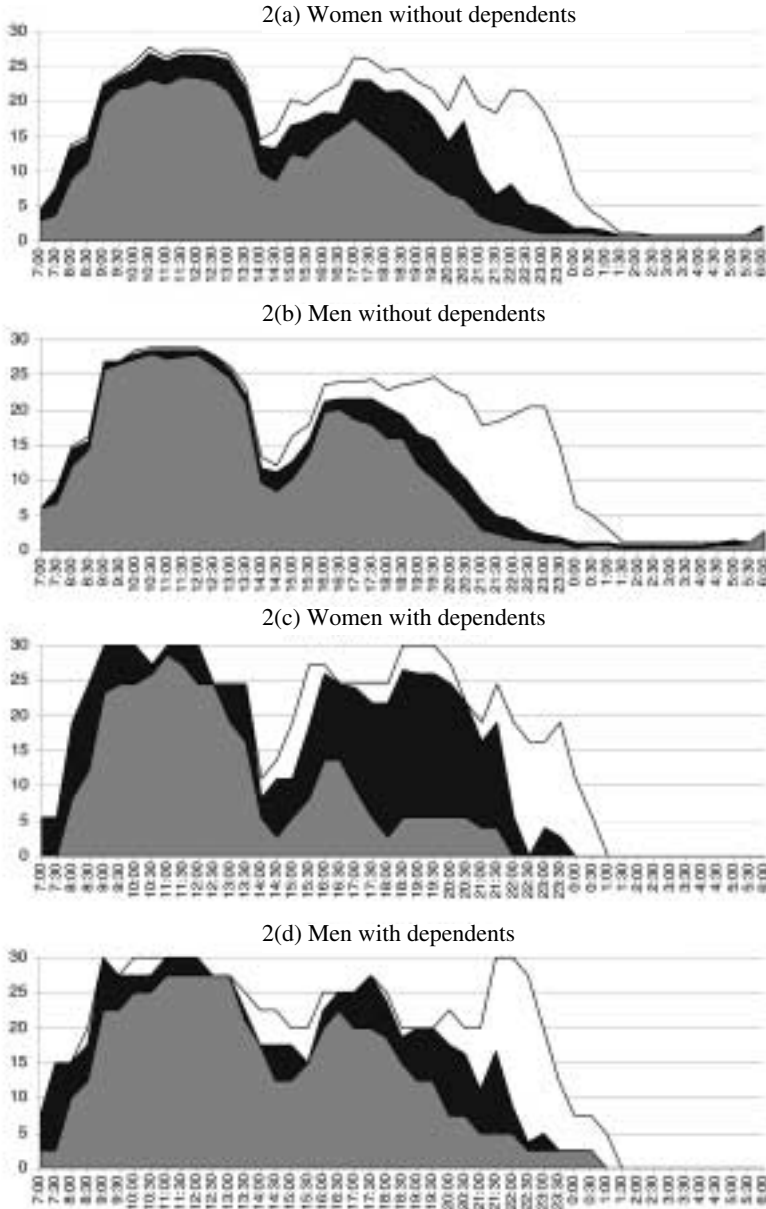
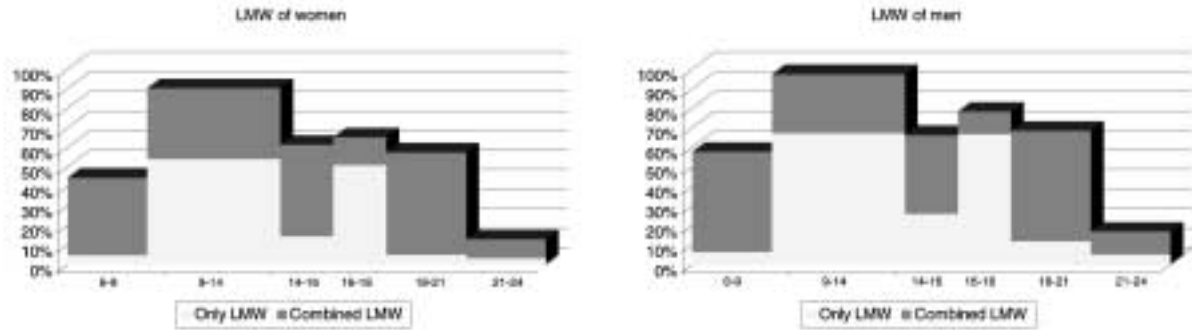


FIGURE 2

Daily distribution of work and leisure times for men and women with and without dependents (social time)

a) Labour market work



b) Domestic work and care

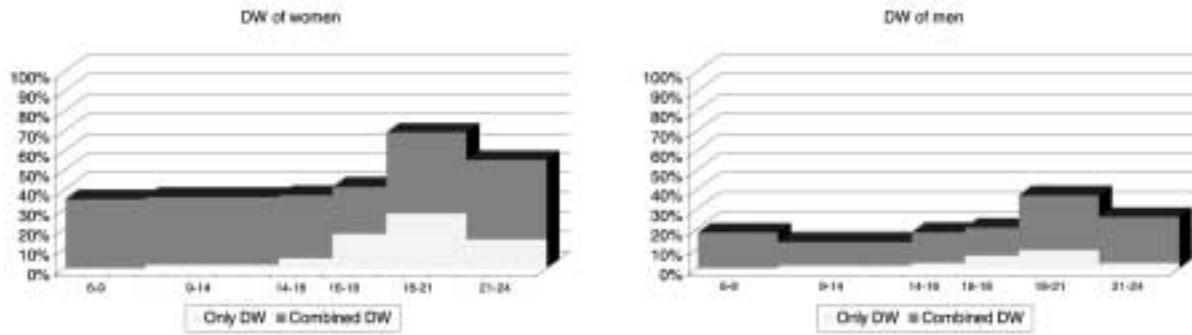


FIGURE 3
 Participation in labour market work and in domestic work (only or combined work) by men and women in couples, by time bands (%)

The light-coloured areas refer to the those who exclusively work in the labour market, and the dark-coloured areas, the proportion of individuals who combine this with other work, leisure or other personal activities.

It can be observed that women and men behave differently in terms of labour, as commented previously. First of all, of note is the fact that, unlike the labour market, there are no fixed time bands for domestic work. People perform domestic activities throughout the entire day and often in combination with another activity. This reveals one of the distinctive traits of this kind of work: that it has no timetable and almost never ends.

Second, it can be observed that the greatest participation in domestic work is during the late-afternoon–evening–night period (starting at about 4 pm), reflecting the fact that care activities respond to the presence of children in the household at these times. The time band in which both sexes spend most time on domestic activities – whether exclusively or simultaneously – is precisely 6–9 pm, although the levels of dedication are much higher for women than for men.

Also worthy of comment is the vast difference according to gender in terms of participation in domestic work from 9 pm to midnight; despite the fact that during this time band, women and men in couples participate approximately to the same degree in the labour market, female participation in domestic work is much higher. In this time band, 52.1 per cent of men compared to 18.3 per cent of women enjoy leisure time; a situation which supports the notion, transmitted by the economists, that time is distributed between employment and leisure.

Taking the data in Figures 3a and 3b together, that is, combining participation in the labour market and in domestic work, it can be asserted that the basic activity for men is in the labour market, with domestic work playing a secondary role. For women, however, the day up to 4 pm is divided equally between both kinds of work. Thereafter, and as their participation in the labour market diminishes, women's dedication to domestic work begins to increase. Therefore, the behaviour of couples in relation to work continues to uphold traditional patterns, with women assuming responsibility for most of the domestic work.

Time bands and work times in specific situations

The above methodology can also be used to study specific situations, such as analyses by sector, type of working day and so on. By way of example, we will examine one particular case: time bands in relation to difficulties in combining responsibilities.

Our questionnaire contained two questions in relation to combining remunerated and non-remunerated work. In both questions the respondents were asked to rate the difficulties they experienced on a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 representing maximum difficulty.²¹ In regard to the question: 'Do you find it difficult to combine paid work with domestic work?' a far higher proportion of women than

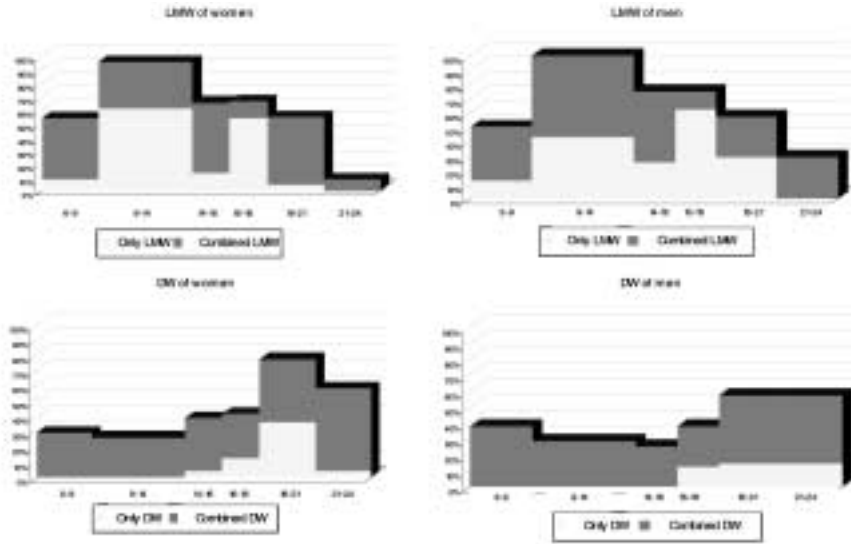


FIGURE 4(a)
Participation in labour market work and in domestic work (only or combined work) by men and women in couples who responded in the affirmative to the question: ‘Do you find it difficult to combine paid work with domestic work?’, by time bands (%)

men answered in the affirmative (75 per cent v. 25 per cent). In response to the question: ‘Do you find it difficult to combine non-typical working time with domestic work?’²² the difference between men and women was less marked, although women answering in the affirmative still predominated (60 per cent v. 40 per cent). This reduction in rating by women when asked about times and not in general may indicate a situation *ex-post*, that is, women may already have made the necessary adaptations to their work timetable. Be this as it may, the proportion of women (and of men) who responded in the affirmative to both questions was relatively low, which may also reflect, rather than a desire, a fact and the only possible reality.

When this information is combined with the time-band analysis (Figures 4a and 4b), a curious fact comes to light: the time bands for females who responded affirmatively to both questions were very similar – which is reasonable, given that it can be inferred that we are dealing with the same segment of the population. Nonetheless, the situation is not quite the same for men.

For women – but not for men – the greatest percentages for exclusive labour market employment lie within the typical (Spanish) time bands (i.e. the ‘split’

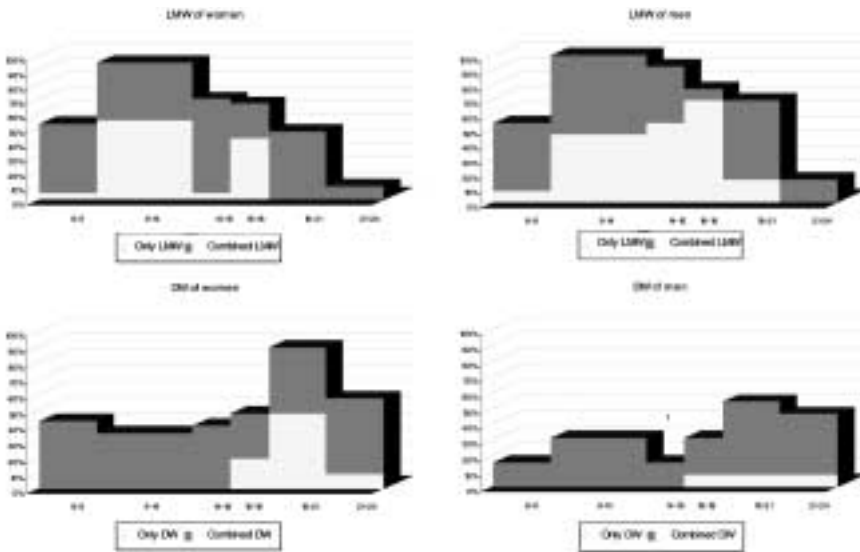


FIGURE 4(b)

Participation in labour market work and in domestic work (only or combined work) by men and women in couples who responded in the affirmative to the question: ‘Do you find it difficult to combine non-typical working time with domestic work?’, by time bands

day, 9 am to 2 pm and 4 to 6 pm). For women performing domestic work exclusively, on the other hand, the highest levels of participation occur from 6 to 9 pm, although high levels of participation are also evident from 4 to 6 pm and from 9 pm to midnight. Moreover, for all the time bands considered, women show relatively significant levels of participation in domestic work combined with another activity. As would be expected, therefore, women concentrate an important level of domestic work in the time bands starting at 4 pm, and particularly from 6 to 9 pm. The fact that they have a double workload is clear, as once they finish one job they start another (not to mention the overlapping that occurs in other time bands).

Men have different levels of participation in the labour market in certain time bands, with significant levels of participation (substantially greater than for women) in the 2 to 4 pm and 6 to 9 pm time bands, with the latter time band being a possible source of conflict in terms of combining responsibilities. Nonetheless, it is when the percentages of men working in these time bands are highest that the fewest men declare themselves as having difficulties in combining responsibilities. Remember, also, that this time band is the one in which

women perform most domestic tasks to the exclusion of any other work. In short, then, this information is evidence of a gender classification in circumstances when we could theoretically suppose a greater degree of equality, that is, among individuals living as couples with both partners participating in the labour market.

Conclusion

Our study confirms that conventional labour market statistics are restricted in the information they provide on work times, and in particular, on the situation of women. Their major limitation is the absence of information on domestic work in labour force surveys. As demonstrated earlier, an analysis of participation levels in the labour market is intimately related to participation levels in domestic work. For this reason, the only way to analyse activities with a view to implementing suitable policies is to be able to rely on information that describes the overall workload of men and women. Moreover, such an analysis should not merely quantify data but should also include information on content and distribution in time. Although the need for information on *all* work – whether paid or unpaid – is obviously useful for any study on work, it is particularly so in view of the new forms of work; these tend to be characterized by range and variability, which in turn, intensifies problems for individuals in organizing and performing care activities. Our proposed survey methodology represents an improvement over the typical labour force surveys in that it provides information on both types of work as well as permitting an analysis according to specific variables. Moreover, the inclusion of a diary on time use reveals important information on how individuals organize their day, on differences between men and women and on different employment sectors.

We emphasize that this is a pilot project, which means that we will not be able to make inferences about behaviour in the population, nor, therefore, draw comparisons with the rest of Spain or with other countries. The information contained in the *Encuesta de Empleo del Tiempo* of Spain (and also similar studies for other EU countries) will enable us in the future to make comparisons between the EU countries using some of the methodologies developed in this study. Nonetheless, we wish to underline the fact that our proposal is not for a survey on time use, but for a work survey that applies a concept of work that goes beyond employment. The difference is significant. A time use survey conceptualizes work in the traditional, official way, by assuming it to be synonymous with employment and by failing to acknowledge any work that is not remunerated. Moreover, a survey of this kind normally includes a time use diary but does not include questions on work carried out in the home. This limits the usefulness of the information obtained, particularly in regard to more subjective

aspects to do with organization, management, preferences and so on. Our proposal shifts the perspective of the analysis; by categorizing all kinds of work in the same category, an analysis is possible that goes beyond the study of time use.

In conclusion, we consider the development of surveys along the lines of the proposed methodology to be crucial to a true analysis of what it really means – particularly for women – to endeavour to combine participation in the labour market with domestic responsibilities, and how this fact conditions the life of both women and men.

Notes

This article represents part of a research funded by the Women's Institute in Madrid, 'Instituto de la Mujer de Madrid', under the title 'Tiempos, trabajos y flexibilidad: una cuestión de género'.

1. Naturally, there are other aspects that condition satisfaction and quality of life, such as income and health. Here we refer only to questions affecting time use.
2. Fundamental references in work studies from a gender approach are Boserup (1970), Balbo (1978), Tilly and Scott (1978) and Durán (1988). For an extensive compilation of articles on this subject see Borderías et al. (1994), Himmelweit (1995), Leccardi (1996) and Adam (1999).
3. These aspects have provoked an important debate from the gender perspective. See, for example, Maruani et al. (2001) and Odith (2003).
4. Many contributions have been made, particularly by the sociology discipline. In addition to the mandatory works by Szalai (1972) and Gershuny and Jones (1987), the article by Goldschmidt-Clermont and Pagnossin-Aligisakis (1996) is particularly important at the international level. Work on the subject includes that by Anderson, Bechhofer and Gershuny (1994) Volume 2:3. As far as Spanish authors are concerned, the most important works have been instigated by the Institute of Women (among them see Durán (1988), Izquierdo, del Rfo and Rodríguez (1988), Ramos (1990), Prats et al. (1995), Colectivo IOE (1996), Alvaro (1996), the CIS (Centre for Sociological Studies), and the surveys by CIRES (1992), Durán (1991) and Ramos and Romo (1998). Studies that have been commissioned by statistics offices include, the *Encuesta de Presupuesto de Tiempo* (Time Allowance Survey) carried out by Basque Statistic Office/EUSTAT from 1993 every five years, and the *Encuesta de Empleo del Tiempo* (Time Use Survey, 2002–3) (carried out by the Spanish Statistics Institut/INE).
5. Spain has just produced its first Time Use Survey (*Encuesta de Empleo del Tiempo 2002–3*) following the EUROSTAT guidelines for implementation the time use surveys in EU. This EET includes questionnaires and a time use diary. The results make available important information on the use of time, although, unfortunately, the questionnaire excludes domestic work.
6. Of the more recent studies, one of the most valuable was one carried out in Italy and edited by Picchio (2003). This study goes beyond time use by adopting a perspective based on living standards.

7. Some of these institutional studies include those of the OECD (1995), Ironmonger (1996, 2000), the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2000), Statistics New Zealand (2001), Statistics Canada (2003) and Statistics Netherlands (2004).
8. The survey methodology, implementation and results are fully described in CES (2004).
9. The final size of the sample – after ruling out households with members who had not answered the questions fully – was 251 households and 679 individuals (360 women and 319 men). Among them, 73 were less than 16 years old.
10. In a gender analysis of labour, there are some other significant variables such as the educational level, the occupational category and the socioeconomic level. However, given the purpose of this study, we have only developed a life cycle approach (based on the variables age and household type).
11. Although the information on work outside the home at weekends is an important element in terms of studying flexibilization processes, the sample size restricted the exploitation of the diary to the information on weekdays.
12. In order to maintain the analogy with participation in the labour market, 'participation' in domestic work is defined as having spent 'at least one hour' on domestic work in the week prior to the survey. This is a somewhat questionable criterion, nonetheless, as it is not very difficult to spend one hour on domestic work.
13. For the analysis of working times by household type, data on activities was recorded by all members aged 16 and over. For household-type analysis, it is essential to keep in mind that the female participation rates as well as the number of hours dedicated to the activity by women (measured as social time or as time for participant) include all women of 16 years or over, living at home. For this reason, for instance, we find positive results for women who are living in households formed by fathers and children (in fact, those women are the daughters). The same remark is applied to the columns that refer to men's work.
14. Presumably, inside every household type, the working times of women will vary depending on their educational level. We did not do this kind of analysis because we were mainly looking for differences by gender and not between women.
15. The categories of the labour market follow the international definitions and the LFS criterion.
16. Other situations could also be considered, such as the working time performed by each half of the couple, crossed by the different market situations in which both people can be involved. This kind of analysis has been developed in Carrasco et al. (2004).
17. The table only includes labour market situations in which data were available, as follows: for couples without children (upper part of Table 2) – *unemployed*, *employed full-time*, and *over-employed* – and for couples with children (lower part of Table 2) – the above plus *employed part-time*.
18. This information is included in the table without an in-depth analysis, as the size of our sample limits its value.
19. The time intervals used, based on the diaries completed by respondents, were 30 minutes. For a complete description of the methodology, see Carrasco et al. (2004), which indicates how, when two activities overlap, time is shared out among them in equal proportions.
20. In order to perform this analysis, the blocks of activities were regrouped and more or less typical time bands were established, namely, 6 to 9 am, 9 to 2 pm, 2 to 4 pm, 4 to 6 pm, 6 to 9 pm and 9 pm to midnight. A larger sample should include nocturnal

time bands in the observation (from midnight to 6 am), with a view to observing the activities of individuals employed during unsocial hours. An explanation for the criteria used is provided in the original report deposited at the Instituto de la Mujer (Women's Institute).

21. For these graphs it was assumed that values of 3 to 5 indicated difficulties in combining both responsibilities. The reduced size of the sample indicated this as the most appropriate procedure, although it would have been more logical to set a cut-off point at 3.
22. That question embraced for non-typical working time as usual, i.e. to work on Saturdays, Sundays, or some night, to have some turnovers and to do some overtime.

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