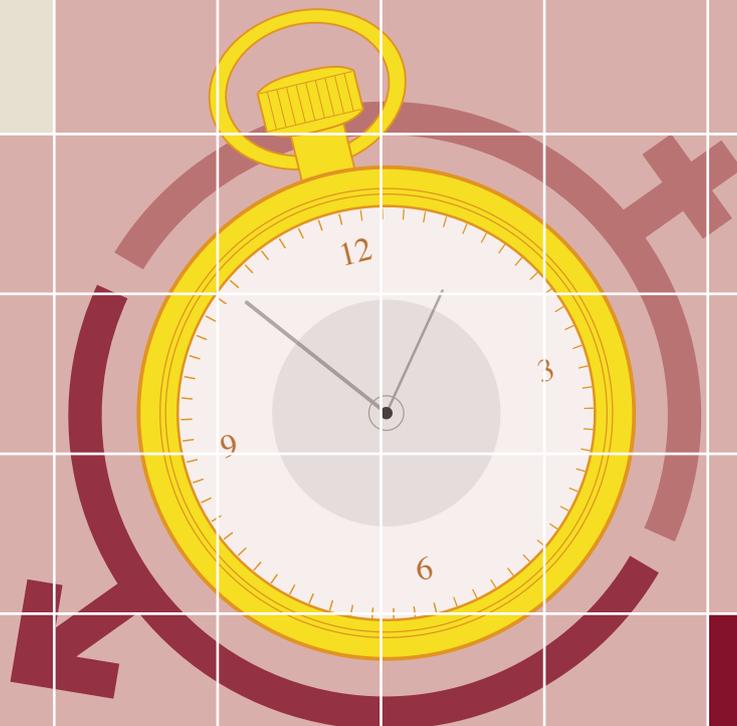


Equality
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Gender Inequalities in Time Use

The Distribution of Caring, Housework and
Employment Among Women and Men in Ireland

Frances McGinnity and Helen Russell



THE EQUALITY AUTHORITY
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The Distribution of Caring, Housework and Employment Among Women and Men in Ireland

Frances McGinnity and Helen Russell

Frances McGinnity and Helen Russell are researchers at The Economic and Social Research Institute. This research has been carried out as part of the Equality Authority/ESRI Research Programme on Equality and Discrimination.

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FOREWORD

This report is the second publication arising from the “Research Programme on Equality and Discrimination” which is being carried out by the ESRI on behalf of the Equality Authority. This examination of time-use data from the Irish National Time-Use Survey conducted in 2005 seeks to contribute to a deeper understanding of gender equality in Ireland. It examines the distribution of paid and unpaid work between men and women, the differences in the total workloads of women and men and the division of labour within couples.

The report makes a range of key findings in relation to gender inequalities in time use. The distribution of paid and unpaid work is highly gendered both in terms of time spent on paid and unpaid work by women and men and in terms of the types of unpaid work carried out by men and women. Women’s total workload is somewhat higher than men’s, with women working on average around forty minutes longer per day than men including paid and unpaid labour. In dual-earning couples the division of labour is less gendered. However, parenthood brings a reallocation of time for both men and women, leaving a more traditional division of labour.

These findings advance our understanding of the inequalities experienced by women both in the labour market and in the domestic sphere. The report has policy implications if we are to achieve full equality in practice for women and men. Particular emphasis needs to be placed on paid paternity and paid parental leave, increased availability of flexible working arrangements in male-dominated occupations, enhanced state support for childcare and policies that facilitate paid employment for women.

We are grateful to Helen Russell and Frances McGinnity for their expert work on this report and for their insights in developing the findings from the report. They have contributed to providing a report of a quality that should have significant policy impact. We are also grateful to Laurence Bond, Head of Research with the Equality Authority for his support in developing and preparing this report.

Niall Crowley
Chief Executive Officer
The Equality Authority

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Research Aims and Research Methods

Much of the research on gender inequality focuses on paid work. While yielding important insights into, for instance, the gender wage gap, such studies often neglect the importance of unpaid domestic labour. Paid work hours are carefully quantified and remunerated; work at home is unmeasured and unpaid. This study breaks new ground by examining the gender distribution of paid and unpaid work in Ireland for the first time. The research specifically seeks to answer the following questions. First, how is paid and unpaid work distributed between men and women in Irish society? Second, can we find evidence of a 'second shift' for women in the light of increasing numbers of women entering the workforce? Third, how is unpaid labour shared between couples and how does this relate to the couples' engagement in paid labour? By answering these questions, this report contributes to a deeper understanding of gender equality in Ireland. Time use and how unpaid work is shared is complex, and varies between individuals and couples: the aim of this report is to investigate whether there is systematic variation between men and women in how they use time and share work.

This report uses data from the *Irish National Time-Use Survey* conducted in 2005. This nationally representative survey utilises time-use diaries of nearly 600 households (or 1,089 individuals) to gather information on paid and unpaid labour. Time-use diaries are excellently suited to providing data on time spent on unpaid work. Research participants were asked to complete a diary for two days: one weekday and one weekend day. They were asked to indicate what activities they were involved in for each 15 minute period throughout the two days. Through this it became possible to gain valuable insights into the distribution of time spent on paid and unpaid labour in Ireland.

The Distribution of Paid and Unpaid Work

The distribution of paid and unpaid work in Ireland is very different for men and women. On weekdays, men spend on average considerably more time on paid employment than women, while women spend substantially more time on caring and household work. These gender patterns also hold for the weekend. Men continue to spend more time in paid employment, while women spend much more time on caring and domestic work. While women's and men's employment time declines at weekends, women's unpaid work and caring time remains virtually unchanged; this leads to a gender gap in time devoted to leisure at weekends.

There are further differences in the type of unpaid work that women and men carry out. In the case of childcare, men are more likely to be involved in social/emotional care while women do the bulk of the physical care/supervision. In terms of housework, women spend a far greater amount of time on core domestic tasks like cleaning, cooking and shopping, while men spend more time on house repairs and gardening. These findings are consistent with the results of other international studies.

A 'Second Shift' for Women?

The rise in women's labour market participation raises the question of whether the traditional division of labour has changed or if women have simply taken on a 'second shift'. Discussions of this 'second shift' suggest that women's greater involvement in employment has simply been added to their household work, or at

least that the typical reduction in average time spent in unpaid work is not sufficient to compensate women for increases in paid work. We find that the latter is certainly true in Ireland. Women generally reduce their time spent in household work when they have a paid job. However, this is far less than a one-for-one reduction, so even when they spend a similar amount of time on paid work as men, women are still found to do more domestic work, particularly at weekends. This is consistent with research from other countries, and helps explain the finding that women's total workload is higher than men's. Based on our estimates, women work on average around 40 minutes longer per day than men, including both paid and unpaid labour and travel time.

The Division of Labour within Couples

Until relatively recently the most common division of labour within Irish couples was based on the male breadwinner and a female homemaker. However, as a result of the rapid increase of women entering the Irish workforce, dual-earning couples now make up a majority of working age couples. Have these new arrangements ushered in a new era of work sharing between the sexes? We find that in traditional male breadwinner households the difference in overall committed time between men and women is negligible. Men in such households spend an exceptionally long time in employment while women spend very long hours in unpaid domestic work. In dual-earning couples the division of labour is not as different for men and women. In these households women do more paid work (and less unpaid work) than women in male breadwinner couples, and men do less paid work (and more unpaid work) than men in male-breadwinner couples. Dual-earner couples also spend less time on unpaid work per average day than male breadwinner couples. Nevertheless, there are still gender differences in the allocation of time to employment and unpaid tasks in dual-earner couples, with women having on average a higher workload than men. This report combines all dual-earner couples: future research should investigate how this differs within couples where both work full-time compared to couples where one works full-time, one works part-time.

Having young children leads to a much greater increase in women's unpaid workload than in men's, regardless of the woman's hours of paid work. This holds for both weekdays and weekends. Thus, the female share of unpaid work is greater among parents than in couples without children. At the same time, in couples with children, men do more *paid* work on weekdays. As is found in other countries, parenthood brings a reallocation of time for both men and women, resulting in a more traditional division of labour.

Ireland in Comparative Perspective

How does the gender division of labour in Ireland fare in international comparison? The evidence presented in this study suggests a relatively traditional (and unequal) gender division of labour in Ireland compared to other European countries, in spite of some significant changes. Although recent years have seen an increase in dual-earning couples, Ireland still has a very high proportion of male breadwinner couples compared to other EU countries. The Nordic countries, France and the UK in particular have a much higher proportion of dual earner couples. This, however, is not the only reason for the persistence of gender inequality in terms of unpaid domestic labour. We also have to take into account other factors like national policies, cultural norms and past practices to account for the rather traditional division of domestic labour in Ireland compared to other countries.

Policy Implications

What are the policy implications of this report? Cross-national research suggests that employment policies, such as the regulation of working hours and the length and eligibility conditions for parental leave, can influence the extent and division of unpaid work. Generally, our evidence suggests that where men do less paid work there is more sharing of domestic labour. Conversely, men's long hours of work are inimical to greater involvement in care and housework. Therefore, policies such as paid paternity and parental leave, as well as more flexible work options in male-dominated occupations may be policy options to increase equality in the domestic sphere. State support for childcare may not directly redress inequality in unpaid labour, but will allow women more freedom to engage in paid work where they choose to do so. This, in turn, is likely to reduce the amount of unpaid work they undertake. In general, policies which facilitate the paid employment of women are likely to reduce gender inequalities in terms of unpaid labour, even though female employees have to face an increased total work burden compared to women who are not in paid employment.

Conclusions

Overall, the findings of our time-use study suggest that the distribution of paid and unpaid work continues to vary substantially between men and women in Ireland. However, there are some significant changes. As more women than ever are joining the Irish workforce, an increase in dual-earner couples has led to a somewhat more equal gender division of unpaid labour. Nevertheless, the gendered division of domestic work has by no means disappeared, as women continue to spend more time on care and housework. This may be because domestic attitudes and practices are lagging behind in the context of the recent and rapid increase in female employment. Whether behaviour adapts to give a more equitable division of labour remains to be seen: a number of commentators would contest this, citing the resistance of domestic practices to change. In this scenario, despite increased participation in paid labour, women will continue to do the bulk of unpaid work. Only future waves of time-use data will reveal which scenario is more correct.

1. THE GENDER DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR: INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Why Study Gender Differences in Unpaid Labour?

In this study we examine the gender distribution of paid and unpaid work in Ireland. Unpaid work encompasses all the tasks and activities that go into maintaining households and their members, such as caring for children, cooking and cleaning (we discuss a more precise definition below). While these activities are fundamental to our everyday lives and make a significant contribution to the welfare of society, they are rarely the subject of empirical investigation. The nature and distribution of unpaid work is important for a number of reasons. First, these activities and their gender distribution are important in their own right in considering gender inequality. Second, studying the gender distribution of these unpaid tasks also contributes to our understanding of gender inequality in the public sphere. Third, the value of unpaid work, particularly caring, is an important issue in relation to a range of policy debates, such as provision and funding of childcare, individualisation of taxation and the employment requirements attached to benefits for lone parents. In spite of this, data on work in Ireland has, up until now, concentrated on paid labour; we know very little about the extent of unpaid work and who is doing it. Indeed, while accurate estimations of paid work have been collected for generations, unpaid work remains unquantified and largely underappreciated. This is partly because it does not involve exchange of money. Commentators have argued that unpaid work is less valued by society than paid work, even though estimates from the US suggest that almost as much time is spent by adults on caring and household work as on paid work (Robinson and Godbey, 1997). We look at the issues of paid and unpaid work through the lens of time use. Time is one of the most basic human resources and studying the way time is allocated provides an appropriate way of comparing activities both inside and outside the formal economy. Time also provides a useful dimension for examining differences between groups, in this case, between women and men.

Mainstream sociology and economics have also focused on paid work. Since the 1960s, a number of theoretical approaches have tried to redress the neglect of housework by pointing to its essentially economic character. Feminists have been concerned with the oppressive, limiting character of housework for women's role in society: socialist-feminists in particular have tried to develop a theoretical understanding of the role of domestic labour in capitalism (for example, Delphy and Leonard, 1992 and Barrett and McIntosh, 1982). The 'new home economics' which emerged within the neo-classical framework in the United States in the 1960s has applied micro-economic decision theory to housework and indeed to the full range of household activities in market economies (Becker, 1965 and 1981). Attention has also been drawn to 'love labour' or 'solidary labour' (the labour involved in building relationships with family and friends) as a form of work not captured by the term housework (Lynch, 1989). These approaches have produced a large body of theoretical literature on the household, as well as a number of valuable descriptive analyses (for example, Oakley, 1974).

In spite of theoretical debates about unpaid labour, empirical research into gender inequality has tended to concentrate on the public sphere; although, as research has shown, paid and unpaid labour are intrinsically linked (Kalleberg and Rosenfeld, 1990). True gender equality in the public sphere is unlikely to be achieved if women still do the majority of housework and caring. To the extent that women tend to do much more unpaid labour, it may come at a price interrupted labour force

attachment, in terms of lower lifetime earnings, less employment security, increased exposure to poverty, increased dependency on a male 'provider' and low marital bargaining power as well as restricted opportunities for public participation. We cannot understand gender inequalities in the public sphere without looking at the private sphere. Gender inequalities in the private sphere are also important in their own right.

Gender inequalities in unpaid labour are all the more relevant as women's participation in paid work in Ireland has increased rapidly in the last 15 years. This begs two questions: has women's unpaid work decreased in response to the rapid increase in women's paid labour? Have men increased their share of the domestic workload in parallel to women's uptake of the paid workload? We do not conduct an analysis of change over time, but can compare time spent on household work and caring among employed women and women in home duties.

There are two main debates in the research literature on the allocation of time to these different forms of activity. The first concerns the gender division of labour within couples and how this varies between couples. The second concerns the total work done by women and whether increasing labour market participation of women has led to women doing a 'second shift', that is adopting the role of both carer/homemaker and provider. These debates are discussed in Sections 1.3 and 1.4, but first it is important to discuss the measurement of unpaid labour.

1.2 Defining and Measuring Unpaid Labour

One reason for the lack of empirically informed debate on unpaid labour in Ireland is scarcity of data and the difficulties in measuring unpaid labour. Perhaps because it is not remunerated and also because of the nature of the tasks involved, people do not generally produce such reliable estimates of household work as they do of paid work. There are two issues here: the first is how to define unpaid work and second is how to collect reliable data on unpaid work.

To define unpaid work it is useful to examine first what counts as 'work' or economic activity generally. Economic acts can be defined as those which are carried out for pay, or which one can envisage being carried out for pay even if they are not so at present. Another way of saying this is that they can be performed by a unit distinct from the one who consumes the end result, that is the end result is tradable or vendable, at least in principle (Fahey, 1992). By this definition housework and childcare are economically productive since their output can be (and often is) bought and sold (in the form of domestic and child-care services, for example), though much housework and care is unpaid. Non-economic acts do not produce vendable outcomes. They may well be useful, but mainly to the person carrying them out. For example, eating, sleeping, leisure, study and personal care, as well as much of 'love labour', in Lynch's (1989) sense, count as non-economic acts.

Elsewhere it has been argued that if paying someone else to do the activity for you would not diminish its value then the task should be considered as work. However, this 'test' does not resolve the dilemma entirely. For example, the emotional element of caring and the strong norms surrounding it mean that it may not be substituted by paid care without some loss in value. However, while measurement difficulties remain, estimates using these definitions still go a long way to quantifying caring and housework.

Delphy and Leonard (1992, p. 95) argue that unpaid work should be limited to work carried out for others. Thus, cooking for one's family is counted as unpaid work;

cooking for oneself is not. Apart from the empirical difficulty of distinguishing the two in many cases (cleaning the house for whom?), this approach would also, for example, limit any analysis of unpaid housework to multi-person households. Yet it is useful to know the extent of housework done by single men and women and how this differs from housework done in couples. This links to the wider issue of how gender inequality is conceived in this report, that is the differences between men and women overall and not just between men and women in couples.

There are two main methods of collecting this data: self-reports and time-use data. In the following we consider the relative merits of both.

One way of collecting data on time spent on unpaid labour is to ask individuals direct questions about how much time they spend either daily or weekly on housework and caring (as in, for example, the European Community Household Panel survey and the European Social Survey (see Chapter 2). However, there are problems of recall using this method of data collection and self-reported accounts of domestic labour and caring often reflect aspirations rather than time actually spent. In many cases self-reports overestimate the time spent in household tasks (Shelton and John, 1996). Indeed Hochschild (1990) found that self reports of how partners allocated tasks are often inaccurate because they are influenced by gender role attitudes or what she terms 'household myths'. So, for example, in couples where there is a strong belief in egalitarian sex roles both partners tend to over-estimate the amount of time men spend on household work.

A more accurate method of gathering information on unpaid labour is to use time-use diaries. In a time-use diary the respondent (and sometimes the spouse/partner) is asked to complete a diary accounting for his/her time for a 24-hour period. The reliability and validity of time diaries have been assessed by comparing respondents' and spouses' accounts of when an activity occurred, as well as by comparing activities recorded in time diaries with those occurring when respondents reported their activity at the signal of a random beeper (Robinson and Godbey, 1997). It is generally agreed that time-use data are less susceptible to corruption by gender role attitudes. In addition, time-use diaries facilitate a detailed assessment of time spent on particular tasks, such as childcare, adult care, cooking, cleaning, etc., and also when these tasks occurred. One problem with time-use data is how to deal with activities performed simultaneously and various approaches to this problem are discussed later in the report. This report uses time-use data for estimates of paid and unpaid labour derived from the *Irish National Time-Use Survey*¹ conducted in 2005 and allows us to investigate these issues in Ireland for the first time.

While a focus on the time spent on unpaid work is very useful and has clear parallels with work on paid labour, the approach still has a number of limitations for measuring the division of unpaid labour of which the reader needs to be aware. Time spent performing an activity is not the same as measuring the number of tasks and we would expect variations in the efficiency with which tasks are carried out. However, there is no empirical evidence to suggest systematic gender differences in how efficiently tasks are performed, so this should not effect the main focus of this report, namely gender differences.² However, authors have argued that quantitative estimates of gender differences in unpaid work do not include the often invisible time women spend coordinating and managing housework tasks (DeVault, 1991).

¹ See Chapter 3 for further details of the survey.

² In any case, variation in productivity is a feature of both paid and unpaid work and is not just a problem for measuring unpaid labour.

Furthermore, the emotional labour involved in caring, much of which is carried out by women, is not measured by time-use data. It is predominantly women who deal with Hochschild's "...third shift-noticing, understanding and coping with the emotional consequences of the compressed second shift". These latter two points suggest that data on time spent on unpaid work may underestimate women's contribution to unpaid work relative to men's.

1.3 Theoretical Perspectives on the Gender Division of Unpaid Labour

While most commentators agree that within couples women do more unpaid labour than men, explanations for this diverge (Shelton and John, 1996). A number of theoretical perspectives, drawn from both economics and sociology, dominate the literature: (1) Socialist-feminist approaches (2) the specialisation perspective (3) the time availability perspective (4) the economic bargaining or relative resources perspective (5) the 'doing gender' perspective and (6) gender attitudes.

Socialist Feminist Approaches

Socialist-feminist approaches, while less amenable to empirical testing, enrich the theoretical discussion of the gender division of labour. In this body of work, industrialisation has been linked to the separation of paid and unpaid labour and the development of the role of 'housewife'. As such, unpaid labour is seen by Marxist feminists as a 'requirement' of capitalism (Delphy and Leonard, 1992). In addition, socialist feminists argue that patriarchy is causally related to the division of labour, with men benefiting, directly and indirectly, from the control of women's labour. Barrett and McIntosh (1982) highlight the oppressive nature of unpaid work, particularly housework. Socialist-feminist approaches advance the debate on unpaid labour by modifying the conceptual tools for analysing paid labour, for example, the idea of a division of labour and that unpaid labour is commodifiable (see Delphy and Leonard, 1992). For the most part, however, these approaches have not led to empirical tests of their usefulness (Shelton and John, 1996).

The Specialisation Perspective

Becker's highly influential 'new home economics' theory on the household division of labour informs the specialisation perspective (Becker, 1981). In this microeconomic model, Becker (1991) argues that husbands' traditional responsibility for breadwinning and wives' responsibility for homemaking arises from the choices and preferences of rational actors who seek to maximise the utility of the household. Should one partner earn more for any given hour spent in market work this will lead to a specialisation of roles, where one partner invests more time in producing income and the other will spend more time in non-market work. The model itself is 'gender blind'; if the woman earns more than her husband, the husband will specialise in unpaid work, though in reality this is rarely the case. Becker also argues that women have a biological advantage over men in childcare and nursing, it is, therefore, more efficient for them to specialise in tasks that can be readily combined with childcare and nursing. While, in all countries, men are more specialised in the market and women in the home, there have been a number of challenges to Becker's model. First, preferences are assumed to be stable and do not change over time, which does not fit with distinctive lifecycle differences. Second, research suggests that individuals do not always act in the household's interests and there may not be consensus in the household (Bergmann, 1995). Third, there have been criticisms of the 'biological advantage' argument. As Layte (1999) points out, while it may be true that women have a biological advantage for nursing, this may not of itself explain the division of household labour and employment. Fourth, the institutional setting is found to influence the context in which specialisation takes place. Feminist welfare state

scholarship (Daly, 2000; Sainsbury, 1994) has highlighted how social policy can increase or decrease the financial benefits of adopting the male-breadwinner/female-caregiver model.

The Time Availability Perspective

From the time availability perspective, partners are also assumed to act in the interests of the household, but here the emphasis is on time constraints. The division of labour is rationally allocated on the basis of the amount of unpaid work to be done and the amount of time available to each partner. Hence, time in housework should be strongly related to paid employment time and the number of children or other caring responsibilities. While research findings lend support to this perspective, results also show that these factors (paid employment hours and the number and ages of children) have a much stronger effect on women's unpaid labour than men's (Bianchi *et al.*, 2000). The national context can influence time availability in terms of the regulation and remuneration of paid work and for example legal limits to working hours, working time measures for families. Contextual factors also influence the caring burden: the number of children couples have (financial costs to having children, normative and cultural factors affecting fertility) the responsibility for the care of older people (state support for caring) and the costs of 'outsourcing' housework (the cost of domestic help, laundry services, eating out, etc.).

Economic Bargaining Models

The relative resources and economic bargaining models of household labour reject the notion of a single household utility and assume that partners have potentially conflicting interests (Brines, 1994). According to this perspective, the allocation of housework reflects power relations between men and women. The level of resources each partner brings to the relationship determines how much labour is completed by each partner. As domestic work is seen as inherently less desirable/attractive than paid work, the models suggest that the partner with greater resources (economic advantage within the partnership and better alternatives to the relationship) will use these resources to avoid unpaid household work. Thus, higher education and income relative to one's partner translates into more power and to the avoidance of domestic tasks. Hence, a woman with a higher personal income should do less housework than her husband. Studies find partial support for bargaining; relative income matters in most cases, except in some counter-normative situations (Bittman *et al.*, 2003). A related argument is that women are primarily responsible for domestic work because they are economically dependant and cannot bargain out of domestic work. Once again the national context can influence the resources that men and women possess (the differential rewards to paid work for women, women's choices and constraints regarding labour market participation), or their alternatives to marriage (for example the legal and cultural context of marital separation) and hence the household division of labour (for example, Breen and Cooke, 2005).

An alternative bargaining model of household labour has come from a group of researchers working on the intra-household division of expenditure. In the past ten years, work by Martin Browning and several others combine insights and data from studies of expenditure within the household and data on the intra-household allocation of time (Apps and Rees, 1997; Browning and Chiappori, 1998; Browning and Gortz, 2006). They argue that, rather than being a negative factor, unpaid work is a bargaining resource which is traded off against consumption/greater access to resources. There is thus efficient trade within the family, to the extent that the partner who works longer (total) hours or enjoys less leisure also consumes more of the family income (for example, Browning and Gortz, 2006). So far, empirical work has supported these models, in that it has found a relationship between consumption and

committed time. When women or men work longer total (paid and unpaid) hours they also tend to account for more of household expenditure, once public goods and spending on children are discounted. However, the models concentrate on leisure and expenditure and thus are most convincing for paid work (which generates income) and leisure: they generally do not distinguish between paid and unpaid work.

While there are no detailed data on individual expenditures, it is possible that any difference found in total committed time between men and women in our survey is compensated for in household consumption. However, this is not consistent with previous work on the intra-household allocation of resources, which argues that paid and unpaid work differ substantially in their implications for personal spending and control over money. The partner with less access to paid work (usually the woman) typically has significantly less spending money than the partner with a paid job. (For evidence of gender differences in access to personal spending money within the household see Vogler, 1989 and Rottman, 1994; on control over money see Rottman, 1994 and Vogler and Pahl, 1993.) This evidence calls into question the interpretation that the distribution of work in the household might be attributed to a matter of choice and personal taste, rather than power in relationships, gender role attitudes, or 'doing gender' (see below). Adjudicating between these interpretations would require very detailed information on personal income and personal spending, which is not available in the time-use dataset. Personal spending information is, in fact, rarely collected with time-use data.

The Gender Perspective

Feminist researchers from the sociological tradition have challenged the idea that the allocation of unpaid labour is simply about resources, time availability, or rational choices and stress the role of gender. A number of approaches fit into this 'gender perspective', though they differ in their assumptions and predictions about the gender division of labour. The 'doing gender' approach sees housework as a symbolic enactment of gender relations. In other words, wives and husbands display their 'proper' gender roles by the amount of housework they perform (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Brines, 1994). This explains why there is not a simple trade-off between time spent in unpaid and paid labour. So, for example, wives in female-breadwinner households will do more housework than other women to 'prove themselves' a good wife. This explains results that are inconsistent with bargaining theories or Becker's specialisation theory, for example the finding that non-employed/unemployed men do much less housework than their employed wives.

Work from this perspective also suggests that women are disadvantaged in the allocation of tasks, contributing disproportionately to routine or 'core' household tasks (for example, meal preparation, laundry, cleaning). Some authors have argued that one reason for this is that wives are reluctant to relinquish control or set high standards (Allen and Hawkins, 1999). The role of wife and mother is displayed through outcomes like having a clean house, much more than in the case of the husband and father.

Gender Attitudes

A related approach places more emphasis on gender ideology and attitudes, suggesting that men and women who hold more egalitarian gender attitudes will distribute unpaid labour more equally. Previous research finds some support for this, although, once again, attitudes are more relevant for women than for men: wives tend to be more affected by husbands' attitudes than vice versa (Shelton and John, 1996; Bianchi *et al.*, 2000). Empirical studies also tend to qualify the effect of ideology, showing that the employment situation is much more salient than attitudes

in understanding a variety of caring and other household behaviours (Gerson, 1993). In any case, it is difficult to ascertain the link between attitudes and behaviour, since individuals may adjust attitudes in line with behaviour. Indeed Gerson, in her research on men's commitment to caring and household work, argues that changes in opportunities and options preceded changes in behaviour and preferences. Nevertheless, one might expect that the dominant gender ideology in a country in relation to the role of men, women, wives and husbands and mothers and fathers is also relevant to the household division of labour. (See, for example, Bittman *et al.*, 2003 in their comparison of the US and Australia.)

Attitudes and gender ideology also play a role in the extent to which domestic labour is a source of conflict in couples (Hochschild, 1990; Layte, 1999). In couples where the gender ideologies of the couples clash (i.e. husband traditional, wife egalitarian), strain and tensions about the division of labour often arise. Even when couples share a gender ideology that clashes with economic necessity (for example, both partners believe there should be a homemaker but they cannot afford this), strains are predicted because expectations are not being met (Layte, 1999). Conflict between couples, either about domestic labour or for reasons more general, will almost certainly have an impact on how domestic work is shared.³ However, it is very difficult to collect data on conflict within couples using survey data; this in fact represents a considerable challenge for quantitative approaches (Layte, 1999).

Gershuny *et al.* (2005) develop previous work on attitudes and socialisation to provide an account of change over time in household labour. The authors propose a thesis of lagged adaptation, where increased female paid employment encourages more egalitarian childhood socialisation, eventually creating adults who are prepared to share unpaid household labour. While the time availability and resources perspective would argue that increased female labour force participation would immediately affect the gender division of labour, lagged adaptation would suggest that change in attitudes and behaviour may take generations. It will also take generations to prove or disprove the thesis.

Summary and Limitations

Discussing previous approaches that are concerned with finding empirical patterns in the gender division of labour and offering differing explanations of such patterns is not intended to downplay the considerable heterogeneity between couples in how the unpaid labour is shared; the empirical analysis will need to take account of this. Similarly the contradictions in how gender differences are actively produced and reproduced within households cannot be ignored. These contradictions are well brought out by qualitative research (for example, Hochschild, 1990) and also in theoretical writing (for example, Delphy and Leonard, 1992). These contradictions include lack of congruence between attitudes to sharing paid/unpaid work and actual behaviour; individuals holding contradictory attitudes to gender (in)equality; contradictory behaviour – some habitual actions which reinforce gender inequality, some which reduce it; and lack of consistency over time within households in behavioural patterns. The aim of this report is to investigate whether there is systematic variation between men and women, but this should not downplay the complexity of the issue.

³ Feminist scholarship such as Delphy and Leonard (1992), Barrett and McIntosh (1982) has drawn attention to conflict within couples and families.

1.4 Paid and Unpaid Labour: 'The Second Shift'?

The rise in women's labour market participation raises the question of whether the traditional division of unpaid work has changed or if women have simply taken on a dual burden or 'second shift'. These arguments are based on the observations that, as women increase their participation in paid labour, men do not appear to be undertaking a corresponding increase in domestic labour. The phrase 'second shift' was coined by Hochschild (1990), in her examination of the 'gender strategies' in ten households where the woman works outside the home. She shows that, in almost all of the households, the wife does far more domestic work than the husband, in so far that she does what amounts to a 'second shift', the first shift being her paid employment. Over one year, this second shift means that the wife does a month's extra work per year. The difficulty with this notion, as pointed out by Bittman and Wajcman (2004), is that the concept has been used ambiguously and rarely measured empirically. Some authors have treated this idea literally and assumed that increases in paid employment are simply added to undiminished hours of unpaid work. This would lead to large differences between the total work time of men and women, more like a 'double shift' for women. Others argue that the typical decrease in average time spent in unpaid work is not sufficient to compensate women for increases in paid work. This second perspective would lead to women having higher total work overall, but the difference would be relatively small.

A related notion from Jacobs and Gerson (2004) is that the spread of the dual-earner household, associated with women's increased participation in paid employment, has led to an increasing sense of time pressure. Dual-earner households need to manage a greater load of work, both paid and unpaid, than the specialised division of labour practised by male breadwinner couples. This would lead us to expect a greater total workload among dual-earner households than among male breadwinner households.

1.5 Review of Previous Empirical Studies

There is a burgeoning international literature on the division of unpaid labour between the sexes, with authors seeking to assess changes over time and to put theories about the sources of gender difference to the test. Here we provide a broad overview of the results: in Chapters 4 and 5 we discuss the findings in more detail, as they pertain to the analysis for Ireland.

From a long-term perspective a number of studies in the UK and the US have found that women's hours of household labour have declined substantially since the 1960s while men's hours have increased more marginally (Gershuny and Robinson, 1988; Robinson & Godbey, 1997; Bianchi *et al.*, 2000; Aguiar and Hurst, 2007). However there is some evidence for, the US, that the increase in men's housework stalled or even decreased between 1985 and the mid-1990s but then increased again, while the women's disinvestment from housework continued (Bianchi *et al.*, 2001; Aguiar and Hurst, 2007, Figure 2). Aguiar and Hurst (2007) further suggest that, while there was a marginal increase in men's time spent in childcare between 1963 and 1993, childcare time for non-employed women decreased over the same time period but remained constant for employed women.⁴ However, Baxter (2002) found virtually no change in men's contribution to housework in Australia between the mid-1980s and mid-1990s. Such findings led Baxter to conclude that "...the gender division of labour

⁴ There was an increase in men's childcare time of 24 minutes per week. This figure does not control for any compositional changes, for example, changes in fertility/family size.

in the home appears to be one of the most enduring patterns in modern social life” (2002, p.419).

Overall the amount of time spent on housework has declined because the increase in men’s hours has not matched the decline in women’s hours (Bianchi *et al.*, 2000). Some of the overall change is due to the contracting out of these services to non-household members, for example the use of paid or state-provided childcare, buying cleaning services and eating out/ordering in. Research on whether labour saving devices (like washing machines, dishwashers, etc.) reduce time spent on unpaid labour has tended to be more equivocal. Some authors argue that innovations in household technologies simply served to reallocate women’s time to household labour in the form of new tasks to be completed, such as toilet cleaning and upholding higher household standards, for example cleaner clothes, cleaner carpets (Shelton and John, 1996).

Despite these changes the studies unanimously report that women still spend more time on household work (housework and caring) than men and that this gender gap in men and women’s unpaid labour persists even for those in employment and regardless of women’s paid work time (Pacholok and Gauthier, 2004; Shelton and John, 1996, Robinson and Godbey, 1997). There is some debate as to the size of this gap and, as mentioned above, whether women share more of the total burden of work than men when paid work is added into the equation. Gershuny (2000) and Robinson and Godbey (1997) contend that, if both paid and unpaid work is counted, men and women’s total workloads are very similar (see also Burda *et al.*, 2007).

The studies have tested a variety of influences on both the amount of household work carried out by men and women and the division of labour between the sexes within couples. It has been found, generally, that children increase household work for women but have less influence on men’s contribution (Bianchi *et al.*, 2000; Craig, 2006; Shelton, 1992). Women’s participation in housework decreases with education while, within couples, men’s participation increases with educational level (see Pacholok and Gauthier, 2004 for a review). A number of studies have focused on the influence of relative income within couples as a test of resource theories of the division of labour. The results suggest that the smaller the gap between husbands’ and wives’ earnings the more equal the division of labour (Shelton and John, 1996). Kalleberg and Rosenfeld (1990) conducted a comparative, reciprocal analysis of paid and unpaid labour. There is also a small but growing literature on the influence of institutional structures (employment policy, family supports, etc.) on the gender division of labour (for example Hook, 2006; Pacholok and Gauthier, 2004; Breen and Cooke, 2005; Geist, 2005).

In Chapters 4 and 5 we consider whether the results for Ireland are consistent with international findings and if not, how they differ.

1.6 Structure of the Report

This report offers a major contribution to research on the gender division of labour in Ireland by addressing the following questions. First, how do we quantify the amount of time Irish men and women spend on housework and caring using time-use data. Second, can we detect gender differences in the types of caring and housework? Third, how is unpaid labour shared in couples and how does this relate to the couples’ engagement in paid labour? Finally, what about gender differences between overall work time between men and women, i.e. do we find evidence of a ‘second shift’? By answering these questions on the gender division of labour we can contribute to a deeper understanding of gender inequality in Ireland.

The outline of the chapters is as follows: Chapter 2 sketches the context for the analysis of unpaid labour, i.e. the situation regarding caring and unpaid work in Ireland. Chapter 3 provides an introduction and description of the *Irish National Time-Use Survey*, which is the data source for the report. This chapter also outlines some key concepts in measuring time use, specifically housework and caring. Chapter 4 analyses gender differences in time use, with a specific focus on housework and caring. Differences between types of caring (distinguishing childcare from adult care and different types of childcare) and types of housework (distinguishing 'core' housework like cleaning and cooking versus 'non-core' housework like DIY and shopping) are also discussed. Chapter 5 analyses the gender division of labour in couples, using a matched sample of couples from the *Irish National Time-Use Survey*.

The emphasis is on differences between couples (dual-earner couples, male breadwinner couples, female breadwinner couples and no-earner couples) in the division of labour. The chapter also highlights the effect of children on the division of labour. Chapter 6 summarises the evidence on the distribution of paid and unpaid labour in Irish society; whether or not it makes sense to talk about a 'second shift' for women and how time is allocated to paid and unpaid labour *within* Irish couples. The chapter concludes by reflecting on the implications of the recent rise in dual-earnership for the gender division of labour in Ireland.

2. EMPLOYMENT, CARING AND UNPAID WORK IN IRELAND

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter we provide the context in which our results of time use in Ireland should be interpreted. The discussion in Chapter 1 highlighted how the national context can influence patterns of time use and the gender division of time in a variety of ways. First, national context will influence time use through the prevailing employment rates and the regulation of working time. A second major source of influence are national policies that support different household working arrangements, for example supporting a traditional male breadwinner/female homemaker model, or supporting dual-earnership, or providing supports for parents and others to combine employment with caring activities. Third, and not entirely independently of the preceding influences, we would expect gender role attitudes or gender culture within countries to influence the way in which gender is enacted at the individual and household level, in the way in which men and women allocate their time to different activities.

In Section 2.2 we address the issue of employment. We outline patterns of participation in employment by men and women in Ireland and highlight how these patterns have changed over recent years. The extremely rapid transformation in women's employment has important implications for time use. However, much we might desire extra time, we are limited to 24 hours per day and, therefore, increasing participation in paid work has knock-on effects for all other activities including caring and domestic work. Trends in working time for men and women are particularly important in this context. We also compare patterns of female employment in Ireland to those of our neighbours in the EU. This provides a background for understanding cross-national differences in time use and allows us to see whether there is a greater gender differences in paid and unpaid work in Ireland than elsewhere, or if we conform to international patterns.

Section 2.3 addresses the policy context. We are particularly concerned here with policies which promote different configurations of paid and unpaid work between the sexes. Therefore, we are interested in state support for caring, both of children and the elderly and in other policies to facilitate the combination of work and family life and how Ireland compares with other European countries in this regard. The section concludes with a discussion of household working arrangements in Ireland in a comparative context.

Section 2.4 looks at prevailing gender role attitudes in Ireland. For example, do Irish people continue to see women as having the major responsibility for childcare and domestic work? What are current attitudes relating to women's, particularly the mother's, participation in employment? How have these attitudes been changing over time? Have attitudes kept pace with the rapid changes in labour market behaviour? Are gender role attitudes in Ireland more traditional or egalitarian compared to elsewhere in Europe?

2.2 The Changing Employment Context

The period since the early 1990s has seen dramatic changes in the nature of women's labour force participation in Ireland (McGinnity *et al.*, 2007). Between 1993 and 2004 the proportion of women aged 15 to 64 years at work increased from 38 per cent to 56 per cent. This represented an extra 352,000 women in paid work by

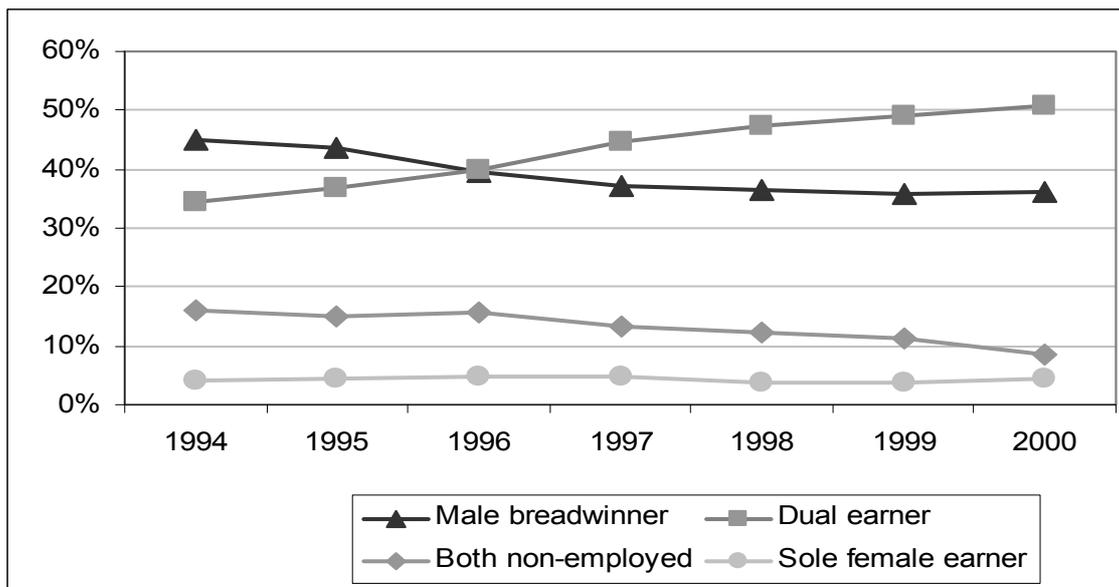
2004. Changes in employment rates were much more marked among women than men, although the proportion of men actually at work increased significantly from 64 per cent in 1993 to 76 per cent in 2004. By 2004, male employment rates were higher in Ireland than in the EU as a whole while female rates were around the EU average. Overall, the gender gap in employment in Ireland narrowed markedly from the early 1990s onwards, though significant differences remain.

Figure 2.1: Employment Rates for Population Aged 15-64 Years by Gender 1993-2004



Source: Eurostat.

Figure 2.2: The Employment Status of Couples Under 65 Years, 1994-2000



Source: Derived from Russell *et al.* (2004).

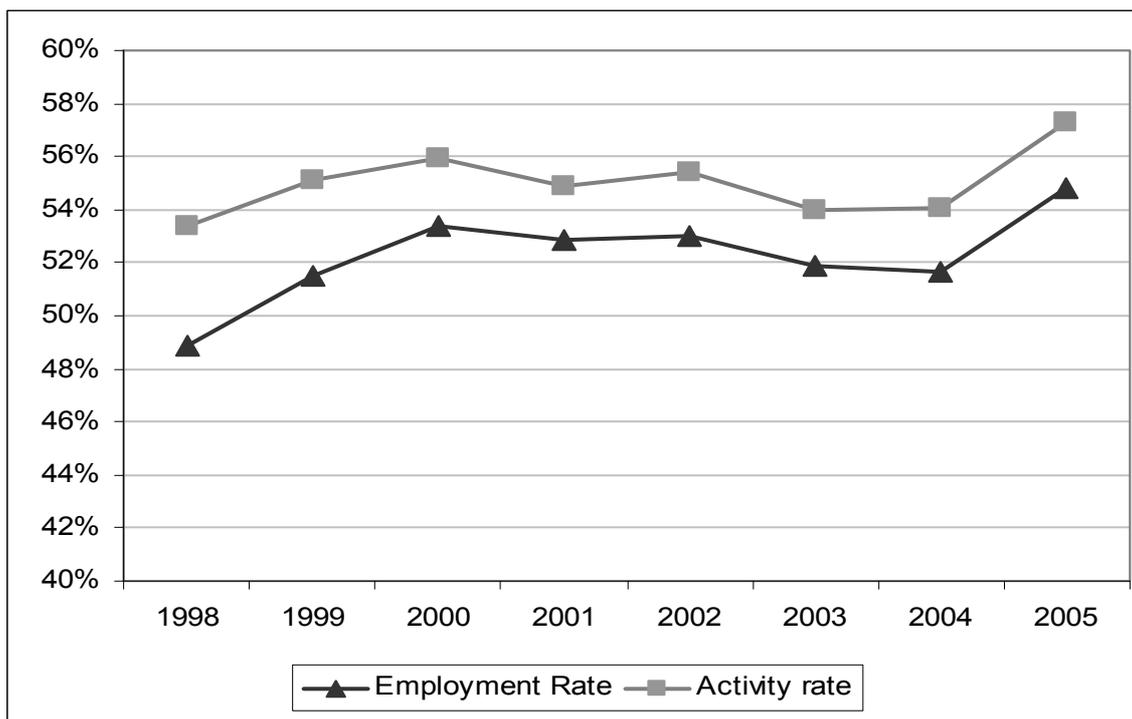
The rise in employment among married women has led to a significant shift in working arrangements among couples. In 1994, couples in which both partners were

in employment represented just 35 per cent of working age couples; by the year 2000 such arrangements were found among half of all couples (see Figure 2.2).

Involvement in paid work also varies significantly by childcare responsibilities. Among women aged 20-44 years, those without children are the group most likely to be in employment (at 85 per cent) and those with a pre-school child are least likely to be in paid employment (at 55 per cent). However, it is worth noting that the majority of mothers are now working outside the home (Central Statistics Office, 2005a), which represents a very different pattern from that of fifteen years ago, though maternal employment rates are lower than in many other European countries. In Figure 2.3 we show that the employment rate among mothers of children under five increased by six percentage points in just seven years from 49 per cent in 1998.

Looking at the dynamics of moving from full-time home duties to paid employment in the late 1990s, certain groups of women were more likely to make this transition than others. In particular, younger women with higher levels of education, those without pre-school children and those who had more recently been in employment were more likely to go back to work after being out of the labour market than other groups of women (Russell *et al.*, 2002).

Figure 2.3: Employment and Labour Market Activity Rates Among Mothers with Children <5 years



Source: CSO Quarterly National Household Surveys, Figures taken from quarter 2 of each year.

Working Hours

Surveys of the labour force and households regularly ask respondents to record their usual hours of work per week. These self-estimates of time worked are less sensitive than measures of hours of work produced via time-use diaries. For example, survey respondents would often include time during working hours that is spent on non-work activities (for example, lunch breaks, making personal telephone calls, etc.) and often exclude time spent on work activities outside their regular working hours or work

premises (for example, reading work documents on the train, working at home in the evenings). Previous research suggests that the greatest divergence between the two types of evidence occurs for people who record very high hours in regular surveys. Time-use diaries suggest that this group are more likely to intersperse their working days with non-work activities (Gershuny, 2003).

Despite the differences between the two methodologies these self-estimates of weekly work hours provide important information on differences in working hours over time and across countries due to their regular collection and common format across surveys.

Women's hours of paid work are considerably shorter than men's hours in all EU countries (for those who are in employment). Men's average work hours across the EU15 is 41.1 hours whereas the average for women is 32.5 hours. Hours of work in Ireland are close to the European averages, standing at 40.9 hours for men and 31.6 hours for women in 2005.

Table 2.1: Average Working Hours for Selected Countries 2005

	Total	Males	Females
EU15	37.3	41.1	32.5
Denmark	35.6	38.4	32.3
Germany	35.7	40.2	30.1
Spain	39.4	42.1	35.4
France	38.0	41.2	34.2
Ireland	36.7	40.9	31.6
Sweden	36.5	38.8	34.0
UK	36.9	42.0	31.2
Norway	33.8	37.0	30.2

Source: European Labour Force Survey quarter 2, 2005; New Cronos Database.

Changes in the level of women's involvement in paid employment have not reduced the gender gap in the intensity of such involvement, that is in the hours of work entailed. Among women, part-time employment grew somewhat faster than full-time employment over the period 1997 to 2005 and by 2005 almost one-third of all women in employment held part-time jobs (Central Statistics Office, 2005). On average, women tend to work shorter hours than their male counterparts 31.6 hours per week compared with 41.1 for men in 2005, although there has been a long-term decline in average hours for both men and women (CSO, 2005). Women are more likely than men to work fewer than 30 hours per week, a difference that applies controlling for marital status: 22 per cent of single women work fewer than 30 hours per week compared with 8 per cent of single men, while 42 per cent of married women do so compared with only 4 per cent of married men.

2.3 National Policies and the Gender Distribution of Employment and Caring

Compared to most European countries, childcare provision for pre-school children in Ireland is uncoordinated, variable in quality and in short supply (OECD, 2004). Ireland also has the highest childcare costs as a proportion of average earnings in

the EU15 (Expert Working Group on Childcare, 1999).⁵ Compared to other Northern European Countries and continental Europe, where there is more emphasis on state provision, state support in Ireland is indirectly provided in the form of grants to encourage private and community sector provision.⁶

The extent of maternity and parental leave in Ireland is also low compared to other European countries, though recent legislation, partly in response to an EU Directive, has improved provision. At the time of the survey, Summer 2005, paid maternity leave was 18 weeks and unpaid leave was 8 weeks. The 1998 Parental Leave Act introduced a statutory entitlement for both parents to 14 weeks of unpaid leave. The EU Directive on which the Parental Leave Act is based allowed individual countries to decide whether this should be paid or unpaid: Ireland chose to have unpaid parental leave. This lack of payment means many parents cannot afford to avail of it and also that men are less likely to avail of it. There is no legal entitlement to paternity leave (i.e. time off for the father at the birth of a child) in Ireland. Two successive increases in leave entitlements since 2005 mean that the paid maternity leave entitlement is 26 weeks and unpaid leave 16 weeks at the time of writing (2007). The Parental Leave Act also gives all employees limited paid leave for family emergencies (*force majeure* leave) – 3 days in 12 months.

Care of older people and disabled people in Ireland was traditionally undertaken in the home or community by a female relative. O'Hagan (2005) argues that state provision for such care, which comprises home help services, care assistance and respite care is characterised by under provision, inequitable access and lack of appreciation of the needs of carers. The exception is carer's leave, which allows employees to take a break of up to 65 weeks to provide full-time care for an elderly or disabled person; carers may also be entitled to a modest payment, subject to certain conditions.⁷ Some commentators have argued that carer's leave is an attempt to encourage female family members to continue to provide care in the home or community (O'Hagan, 2005). However, increasingly carers are combining paid work and caring, or would like to (Cullen *et al.*, 2004).

Irish public policy on caring has much in common with liberal welfare states like the US and the UK.⁸ Here there is a strong emphasis on market forces and individual freedom, with relatively little intervention by the State in the economic arrangements of the family and it is not seen as the government's role to provide childcare. Notably much of the extension of parental leave rights in Ireland has been on foot of EU legislation (Russell *et al.*, forthcoming, 2009). Some commentators have identified tensions in Irish government policy: employment policy explicitly aims to increase participation rates for all women, yet health/welfare policy is predicated on there being one unpaid, female adult in the home who does the caring work (O'Hagan, 2005; Cullen *et al.*, 2004).

⁵ Average childcare costs in Ireland are 20 per cent of average earnings, while the average for other EU countries is 8 per cent (Expert Working Group on Childcare, 1999).

⁶ Capital Grants are available to both Private and Voluntary Sector organisations staffing grants are available for community/voluntary sector only. These grants allow some subsidy to those availing of community/voluntary sector places but the amount of subsidy is variable and the number of places is limited. There is a very small number of directly provided childcare through the Health Boards for 'children at risk'.

⁷ The maximum period of carer's leave was extended to 104 weeks in 2006. Payments available to carers are carer's benefit, which is conditional on PRSI contributions, or carer's allowance, which is means tested.

⁸ 'Liberal welfare states' is used here in the sense of Esping-Andersen's (1990) *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*.

Firm Level Family-friendly Work Arrangements

While state policies may play an important role in easing the reconciliation of work and family life, family-friendly arrangements in firms are also important. Detailed aspects of work-life reconciliation are worked out at the level of the workplace and a rigid adherence to working hours legislation may deny employees the flexibility needed to deal with the day-to-day pressures of family life. Since legislative provision for leave and flexible working arrangements in Ireland is minimal, the degree of flexibility provided by employers is likely to be crucial to employees' abilities to balance work and other commitments. Failure to take account of these may affect important aspects of the environment in which work/family reconciliation occurs.

International evidence on the incidence of flexible working arrangements is limited and tends to come from national surveys, which, because they are not harmonised, may not be directly comparable. However, Evans (2001) reports comparative data in relation to non-statutory leave provided by employers, employer provided/subsidised childcare, the percentage of employees working flexi-time and the percentage of women working part-time on a voluntary basis. On these comparisons Ireland ranks second last (of the EU15) in relation to extra-statutory sick-child leave and parental leave, despite the fact that statutory provision is also low. Ireland ranks somewhat higher on employer additions to maternity leave (fifth from bottom), but is also low on employer-provided day-care.⁹ However three of the countries below Ireland, i.e. Denmark, Finland and Sweden, have very generous state maternity leave systems which reduces the need for employer provision (Evans, 2001). The rate of take up of flexi-time reported for employees in Ireland is 19 per cent compared to an unweighted average for the EU15 of 25 per cent.¹⁰ Similarly, the rate of voluntary part-time work among women in Ireland is reported to be slightly lower than the EU average.

Table 2.2: National Policies to Combine Work and Family Responsibilities

Policy Measure	In Ireland	How does Ireland compare?
Right to part-time work	No	Available in France, Germany, Holland, Finland, Belgium, France (Gornick and Meyers, 2003)
Childcare Provision	High costs, low subsidies.	Uncoordinated, variable and low (OECD, 2004)
Maternity Leave/Parental Leave	22 (26) wks paid maternity; 14 (16) weeks unpaid parental	Maternity medium, Parental leave low (Evans, 2001)
Older people /disabled people	Patchy and inequitable	Low (O'Hagan, 2005)

Note: Figures on maternity and paternal leave refer to when the survey was carried out: figures in brackets refer to provision at time of writing (2007).

These cross-national differences in policy (welfare, employment and family policy) are reflected in the very different household working arrangements among couples. The nine countries included in the table below fall into three distinct groups. The Nordic countries (Norway, Sweden and Denmark) have a very high level of dual earnership: in three-quarters of working age couples both partners work. France, Britain and the Netherlands constitute a second group, where around two-thirds of

⁹ Evans (2001) reports that 7 per cent of female employees with a child under 15 have employer provided day care in their firms (1995/1996).

¹⁰ Authors' calculations based on Table 11 in Evans (2001).

couples have dual-earner arrangements. Ireland is grouped with Germany and Spain where just over half of couples have dual-earner arrangements. Ireland has the second highest level of traditional male breadwinner couples among the nine countries, with one-third of couples conforming to this arrangement.

Table 2.3: Employment Status of Couples by Country (Respondent <60 Years)

	DE	DK	ES	FR	GB	Ireland	NL	NO	SW
Both Employed	56.7	74.2	51.6	65.8	61.0	55.0	66.1	74.7	77.2
Male Breadwinner	28.9	14.3	39.1	19.3	24.5	33.6	23.2	15.9	14.3
Female Breadwinner	7.5	7.3	4.4	6.3	5.7	4.4	4.7	6.2	4.3
Neither Employed	6.9	4.2	4.8	8.6	8.8	7.0	6.0	3.2	4.2

Source: ESS2 2004/5.

Note: countries in the following order – DE = Germany, DK = Denmark, ES = Spain, FR = France, GB = Great Britain, Ireland, NL = The Netherlands, NO = Norway and SE = Sweden.

2.4 Gender Role Attitudes

Changes in the actual behaviour patterns of women and men in the labour market have been accompanied by shifts in general attitudes towards ‘appropriate’ gender roles. Since the late 1980s, there has been some reduction in the prevalence of ‘traditional’ attitudes and greater support for women engaging in paid employment (Fahey *et al.*, 2005; Lück, 2005; Lück and Hofäcker, 2003). By late 2000, the vast majority (83 per cent) of adults felt that both husband and wife should contribute to household income and a minority (32 per cent) felt that pre-school children suffer if their mother works. Side by side with this shift in attitudes, however, is a continuing high value placed on the role of housewife with the majority (60 per cent) seeing it as just as fulfilling as working for pay. To some extent, men hold more traditional attitudes than women, at least on some items (such as the negative impact of mothers working on pre-school children), but these differences do not occur across the board. As might be expected, adults currently in the labour force have less traditional attitudes than those who are not (Fahey *et al.*, 2005). However, the extent to which a shift in attitudes was a response to, rather than a driving factor, in rising female employment levels over the same period is not clear.

Table 2.4: Gender Role Attitudes in Ireland 1990 and 2000

	Women		Men		All	
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
	% Agreeing		% Agreeing		% Agreeing	
Both husband and wife should contribute to household income	73	83	68	79	71	81
A job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person	59	72	62	75	61	74
A job is all right but what women really want is a home and children	55	35	62	39	59	37
A pre-school child suffers if mother works outside home	46	32	60	39	53	36
Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay	71	62	73	57	72	60

Source: Fahey *et al.* (2005).

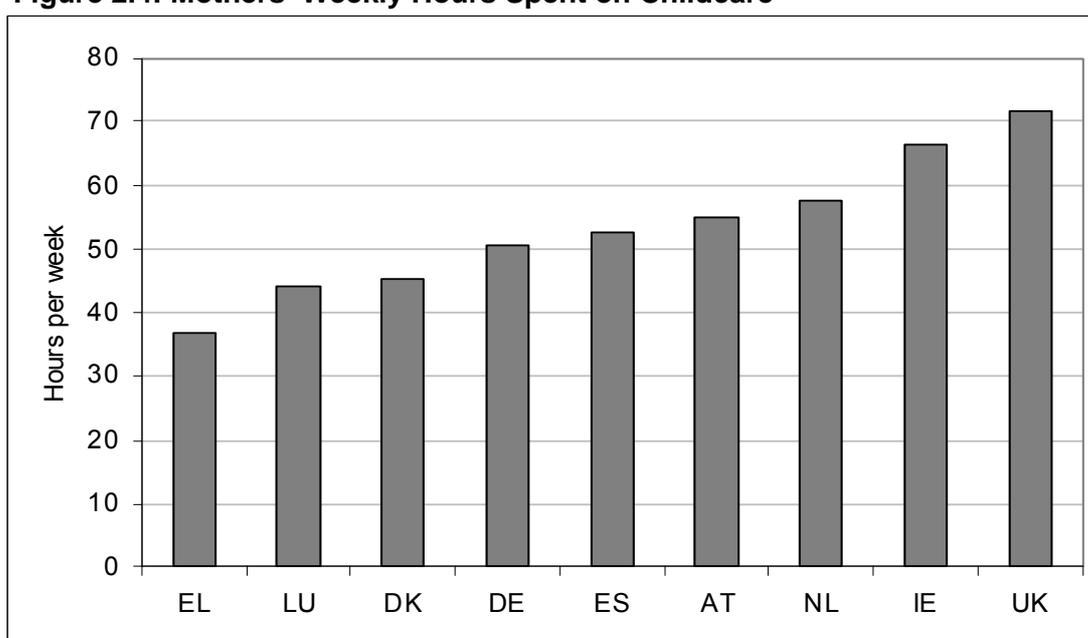
2.5 Distribution of Paid and Unpaid Work in Ireland: Evidence from Self-Report Data

There is very little previous Irish research on the domestic division of labour. This is partly due to paucity of data, in particular lack of time-use data for Ireland. Fahey (1992) examines housework but does not examine who does it, while Leonard (2004) looks at the gender division of housework among teenagers. Hannan *et al.* (1996) present nationally representative data on the gender division of housework (excluding childcare/babysitting) among school students. It shows that girls at both Junior and Leaving Certificate levels have higher levels of involvement across all tasks than boys, except for 'taking out rubbish'. Both boys and girls have higher levels of involvement if their mothers are in paid employment.

There have been no previous time-use studies among adults in Ireland. However, a number of European level surveys have asked respondents to estimate the total amount of time spent on household work and caring. These estimates tend to be more inaccurate than evidence gathered from time-use diaries (see discussion in Chapter 1 and McGinnity *et al.*, 2005). Nevertheless, they provide useful information on the situation of Irish households relative to those elsewhere in Europe.

Joesch and Speiss (2006) use self-estimates of time use from the European Community Household Panel to compare mothers' time spent looking after children. Of the nine countries included in the study Ireland has the second highest level of childcare hours among mothers, 66.3 hours per week, see Figure 2.4. The higher time commitments in Ireland are due in a small part to the socio-demographic characteristics of Irish mothers (for example, number of children, mother's age, age of children). However, it is not explained by differences in Irish women's general employment patterns (proportion working part-time, full-time, are self employed, or not in the labour force). The authors attribute country differences to variation in policies aimed at reconciling parenthood and employment.

Figure 2.4: Mothers' Weekly Hours Spent on Childcare

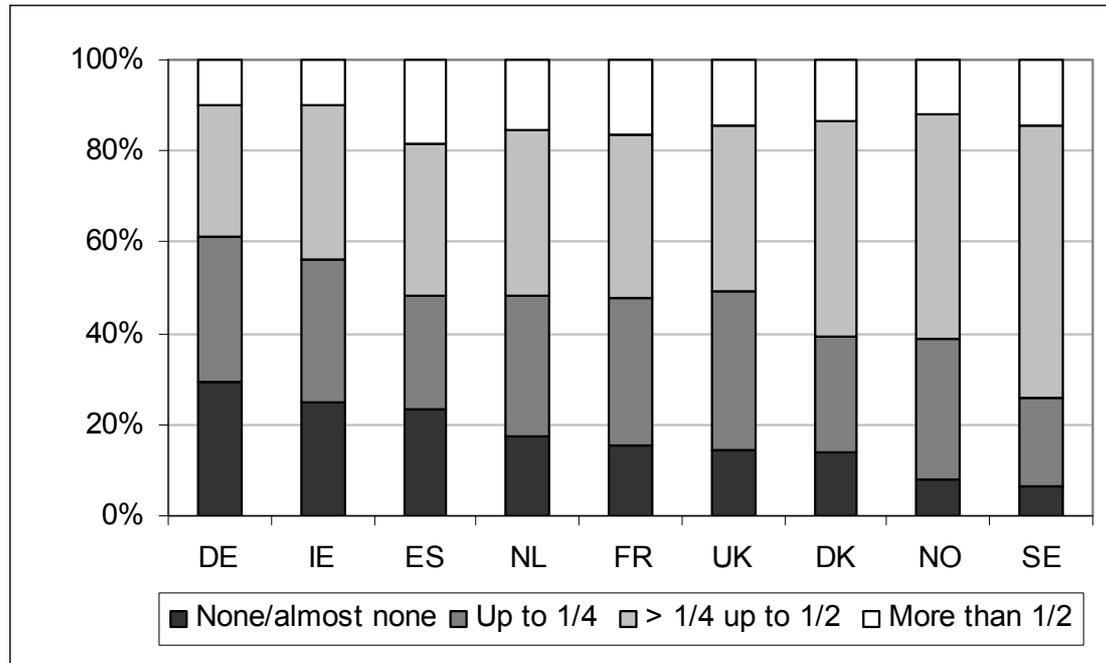


Source: Based on ECHP data in Joesch and Speiss (2006), Appendix 2.

Note: Countries in the following order – EL = Greece; LU = Luxembourg; DK = Denmark; DE = Germany; ES = Spain; AT = Austria; NL = The Netherlands; IE = Ireland; UK = United Kingdom.

The European Social Survey carried out in 2004/5 asked respondents to estimate the length of time spent on housework (not caring) on a typical weekday and a typical weekend day by the whole household. They were then asked what proportion of that housework they carried out themselves. In the graphs below we present the proportion of housework reportedly done by men in dual earning households.

Figure 2.5a: Proportion of Housework Done by Men in Dual-Earner Couples – Weekdays



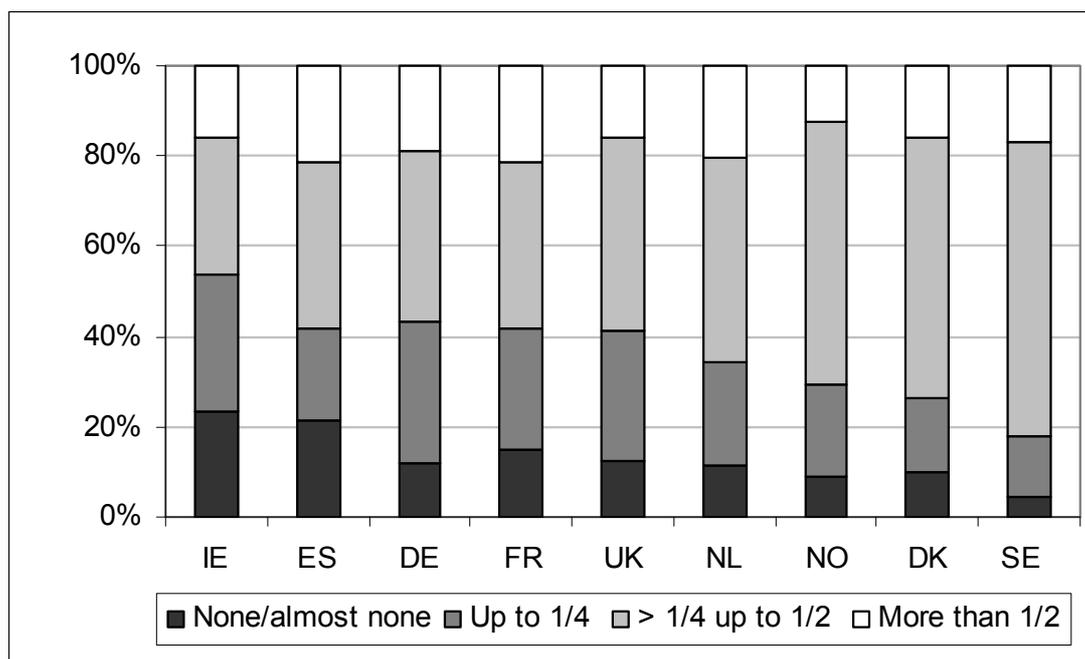
Note: Does not include childcare.

Source: ESS 2004/5.

Note: Countries in the following order – DE = Germany; IE = Ireland; ES = Spain; NL = The Netherlands; FR = France; UK = United Kingdom; DK = Denmark; NO = Norway and SE = Sweden.

Men in dual-earner households in Germany, Ireland and Spain report the lowest share of housework. Almost 60 per cent of this group in Germany and Ireland report doing a quarter or less of the housework. A quarter of men in dual worker households in Ireland report doing no housework on weekdays; this falls slightly to 20 per cent at weekends, but Irish men still remain at the bottom of the league in terms of sharing housework. From this evidence, Nordic couples are the most egalitarian with a more equal sharing of housework among couples where both partners are employed. Swedish men report doing the highest share of household work, at both weekends and on weekdays.

Figure 2.5b: Proportion of Housework Done By Men in Dual-Earner Households – Weekends



Note: Countries in the following order – IE = Ireland; ES = Spain; DE = Germany; FR = France; UK = United Kingdom; NL = The Netherlands; NO = Norway; DK = Denmark and SE = Sweden.

2.6 Conclusions

The evidence presented in this chapter highlights the fact that Irish society has experienced rapid and significant change in recent decades, change that one would expect to influence the ways in which Irish women and men use their time. The huge rise in female employment means more and more Irish women are spending a significant part of their day in paid employment and there are many more couples in which both partners are in employment.

Despite these changes in the labour market, work still has to be carried out inside the home – meals must be prepared, clothes laundered and children cared for. We might expect the changes in the public sphere of employment to have some repercussions for the time devoted to these other activities and the way in which they are divided between the sexes.

There has been a steep rise in women’s employment in Ireland, in spite of the fact that state supports for combining work and family life are relatively undeveloped compared to many other EU countries. It is not the task of this report to consider the reasons behind this apparent disjuncture between policies and women’s behaviour: one could speculate that it relates to the increased demand for labour, rising wages, rising educational attainment of women and changing attitudes (see below). However, the discussion of state policy reveals something of the gender ideology underlying state policies at the national level. In other words these policies support and incentivise a specific division of labour between the sexes that remains quite traditional.

When we examine attitudes and gender ideology at the individual level we see a much more radical shift. Even in the space of ten years there has been a large increase in the proportion of women and men supporting non-traditional gender roles.

This suggests that policy may be lagging behind public opinion as well as labour market behaviour. However, the existing self-report data on the division of housework show that this behaviour may be much more resistant to change.

The information outlined here provides the context for our analysis of time use in Ireland in the following chapters and also provides an international context which can help in the interpretation of our findings for Ireland.

3. TIME USE AMONG WOMEN AND MEN IN IRELAND: METHODS AND CONCEPTS

3.1 The Irish National Time-Use Survey, 2005

The data which form the basis of this study were collected between April and July 2005 in a single-purpose, dedicated, nationally representative survey carried out by the ESRI on behalf of the NDP Gender Equality Unit of the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform (McGinnity *et al.*, 2005). As this was a scoping study the target sample was relatively small – 1,000 adults, 500 men and 500 women.

To select a nationally representative random sample a two-staged clustered design was adopted, based on the National Electoral Register as a population frame. Interviewers attempted to recruit *all* persons aged 18 years and over in each selected household (for details on sampling procedures see McGinnity *et al.*, 2005). Each adult was asked to complete a weekday and also a weekend diary on two days specified by the interviewer.

Respondents were asked to indicate what activities they were involved in for each 15 minute period throughout the day. The activities were selected from a pre-coded list of 26 activities (these are outlined in Table 3.1 below). The diary ran from 4 a.m. to 4 a.m. the following morning broken down into ninety-six 15-minute blocks or ‘time slots’.¹¹ In recording activities the respondent was asked to tick (✓) a box for each 15-minute time slot to indicate which of twenty-six activities he/she was engaged in throughout the day. An extract from a completed diary is included in Appendix C. While a small number of respondents reported activities not covered by the list, nevertheless, in common with all light time-use diaries, the categories do impose a normative structure on people’s lives and require them to ‘fit their lives’ into 26 pre-defined categories. Respondents were permitted to record two activities per time-slot in order to capture multiple simultaneous activities – ‘multi-tasking’.¹² Respondents were also asked to specify where they were and who they were with during each time period. The diaries were essentially filled out on a self-completion basis following instruction from an interviewer. Completed questionnaires were subsequently collected by the interviewer. Accordingly the structure and content of the diary was relatively straightforward and was designed for self-completion by the respondent in the absence of the interviewer. Additional demographic and satisfaction information was collected through a self-completion questionnaire attached to the diary.

A total of 585 households participated in the survey, giving a household participation rate of just under 58 per cent of those targeted. Not everyone filled in both diaries and not all diaries that were completed by household members could be used in the analysis: diaries with more than 15 empty time-slots (2 hours) were excluded. In total 79 per cent of eligible individuals within households contributed at least one usable diary. The sample was re-weighted to represent the national population. All descriptive tables presented in this report are based on these reweighted data (see McGinnity *et al.*, 2005 for further details of reweighting).

¹¹ 15-minutes is a commonly used unit of time in time-use surveys and strikes a balance between respondent burden and detail of response.

¹² Previous research on time use shows that people often combine activities. Certain types of activity, for example childcare, are more likely to be combined than others, so confining respondents to one activity would underestimate such activities. Many recorded more than two simultaneous activities, of which we recorded up to four (see McGinnity *et al.*, 2005 for further details).

Table 3.1: Activity Categories Used in the Irish National Time-Use Survey 2005

Major Group	Activity
PERSONAL CARE/ RESTING	1. SLEEPING. 2. RESTING/RELAXING doing nothing, 'time out'. 3. PERSONAL CARE washing, dressing, toilet. 4. EATING/DRINKING/HAVING A MEAL.
TRAVEL	5. TRAVEL including travel to and from work as well as leisure and domestic travel.
PAID EMPLOYMENT OR STUDY	6. PAID EMPLOYMENT include paid and unpaid overtime, work from home, self-employment and farm work. Exclude lunch and other breaks. 7. STUDY, EDUCATION include courses, night classes, studying at home. Exclude lunch and other breaks. 8. BREAKS FROM WORK OR STUDY include tea/coffee, smoking and lunch breaks.
HOUSEWORK AND OTHER HOUSEHOLD TASKS	9. COOKING & preparing food (including making lunches), washing up. 10. CLEANING the house, doing the laundry, ironing, hoovering, tidying up. 11. HOUSE REPAIRS & maintenance, DIY, gardening.
SHOPPING AND APPOINTMENTS	12. SHOPPING, MESSAGES/ERRANDS & APPOINTMENTS shopping for food or leisure, services e.g. hairdressers, visiting doctor, paying bills.
CARING FOR OTHERS	13. CHILDCARE looking after children, physical care, supervision. 14. PLAYING AND TALKING WITH CHILDREN include reading, games, helping with homework, accompanying children to activities. 15. CARING FOR ADULTS with special needs or elderly persons, either in your home or elsewhere (e.g. help with personal care).
VOLUNTARY AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY	16. VOLUNTARY ACTIVITY for a charitable organisation, sports club or other organisation, includes meetings & informal helping outside the home. 17. RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY Attending religious services, prayer.
SOCIALISING AND GOING OUT	18. SPENDING TIME/CHATTING WITH FAMILY, FRIENDS, NEIGHBOURS including spouse. 19. PHONING/TEXTING FAMILY, FRIENDS, NEIGHBOURS include writing a letter. 20. EATING OUT/GOING TO THE PUB include going to cafes, bars, restaurants and nightclubs. 21. GOING OUT to concerts, theatre, cinema, galleries, sporting events, bookies and bingo.
SPORTS & LEISURE	22. PLAYING SPORTS, EXERCISE AND OUTDOOR ACTIVITY including playing football, walking the dog, going to the park. 23. COMPUTER/INTERNET FOR PERSONAL USE e.g. play station, x-box, surfing the net, email, using computer for leisure, shopping. 24. HOBBIES AND OTHER LEISURE ACTIVITIES e.g. playing musical instruments, playing cards, other games.
TV, RADIO, READING	25. WATCHING TV and videos/DVDs. 26. READING a book, magazine or newspaper or LISTENING to radio or music.

The data on time use was collected for weekdays and weekend days, as described above. There are good reasons for this. Time use differs systematically between weekdays and weekend days, since for most people paid work is concentrated on

weekdays. The distribution of paid and unpaid work varies substantially between weekdays and weekend days. Weekday time use allows us to investigate the division of paid and unpaid labour where paid work is substantial. Weekends are interesting precisely because paid work plays such a minor role, so it is useful to examine unpaid work in the absence of paid work. For most of this report, time use is presented separately for weekdays and weekend days using the data as collected.

However, for some key tables and for the models, it is of interest to know about time use for the 'average day' (i.e. the daily average of weekday and weekend time use) and the gender differences in this 'average day'. This is done in two ways. For the descriptive tables on individuals in Chapter 4 time use for an 'arithmetic average day' is constructed, simply taking the average time use across weekdays and weekend days at the aggregate level. This makes maximum use of the information available. For example, men spend, on average 34 minutes per weekday on caring, 53 minutes per weekend day (see Table 4.1). On the 'average day' men spend 39 minutes caring, that is $((34*5)+(53*2)/7=39$. For statistical testing of the gender differences and for the models in Chapter 4, all estimates in Chapter 5 and Appendix Table A2 a different strategy is adopted. Here the daily average of each individual (couple) who filled out a weekday and weekend diary is calculated and then a weighted average of this is taken. The models, statistical testing and the female share are calculated using individuals and thus individual values are required. An individual man might spend 45 minutes per weekday caring, 1 hour 15 minutes on a weekend day. His *personal* daily average across the week is 54 minutes. An individual average for the whole sample is then taken. The differences in the estimates are negligible. They arise simply because the samples are different (a smaller sample filled out both diaries) and this is not fully corrected by the weighting.

3.2 Concepts and Measures of Time Use

The overall measurement of unpaid labour was discussed in Chapter 1. Here we discuss in detail the activity categories used in the analysis. The 26 activity categories outlined in Table 3.1 are grouped into eight broad areas of activity for the purposes of our analyses:

- Caring
- Employment and study
- Household work
- Travel
- Personal care and eating
- Leisure, civic/religious activity
- Sleep
- Unspecified time use (missing information).

Caring

The care categories combines time spent on three types of caring activities. The first activity refers to the physical care and supervision of children. This type of activity is likely to be more common for younger children. The second type of childcare includes playing, talking with and other interaction with children, including reading, helping with homework and accompanying children to activities. These distinctions are based on international time-use surveys, which routinely separate different types of childcare activities. For example, the UK Time-Use Survey 2000/01 distinguishes six types of childcare activity: 1. Physical care and supervision. 2. Teaching the child (for example, helping with homework). 3. Reading, playing and talking with child. 4. Accompanying child. 5. Travel escorting child to school or other activity. 6. Other childcare (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2005). The first category is the same as

that used in the Irish survey and the other activities are covered in our second childcare category with the exception of childcare related travel which is not identified in the Irish time-use survey.

The third type of caring activity included in the questionnaire was adult care, 'caring for adults with special needs or older people, either in your home or elsewhere'.

Housework

This measure counts time spent on four of the original 26 activities: cooking/food preparation, cleaning/laundry, DIY/gardening, Shopping/errands/ appointments (see Table 3.1 for a full description of the categories). These activities are sometimes grouped into two categories: core/routine domestic work (cooking, cleaning, clothes care) which are carried out regularly and tasks that are undertaken on a more occasional basis such as DIY, gardening, 'odd-jobs' and shopping (see Gershuny, 2003). Shopping is normally treated as unpaid work in studies of time use, however some distinguish shopping for food and shopping for leisure. Our data does not allow us to make such a distinction.

Employment and Study

This measure combines time spent on paid employment (including unpaid overtime and work from home but excluding breaks) and time spent on education (including time at lectures/classes and study at home or elsewhere). These are often combined in time-use studies. The education time is very small compared to employment for most adults, the exception being students.

Travel

All travel, except travel as work, is included in this category. Those who travelled as part of their work, for example delivery men, sales people, were instructed to record this time as paid work rather than travel. Respondents were not asked the purpose of their journey, hence we do not distinguish between travel to work, travel to leisure, or travel related to childcare/domestic work.¹³

Personal Care and Eating

This category simply combines time spent on personal care activities such as washing and dressing and time spent on eating/drinking (either at home or away from home).

Leisure and Civic Activity

This measure combines eleven different leisure activities including both active and passive forms of leisure and encompasses more formal/organised activities as well as informal activities. The 11 activities are: resting; breaks from work; chatting (face-to-face); phoning/texting; going to restaurants/pubs, etc.; going to concerts/theatre/cinema etc; sports/exercise; computer/internet for personal use; hobbies; watching tv/dvds; reading/listening to radio or music. For most of our analyses we also include group religious activity and civic activity (voluntary work and informal helping).

¹³ It would be possible to devise a strategy to distinguish types of travel based on the activities that come before and after travel spells in the time diary. For example, travel that is preceded by a home based activity and followed by a work activity might be defined as 'travel to work'. However, since commuting is not a core concern here we have not undertaken this rather time-consuming task. Furthermore, it would be difficult to apportion travel time that has multiple purposes (for example, dropping children to school on the way to work).

In grouping activities in this way we have followed normal conventions in time use research. However, the boundaries between these categories of activities are sometimes blurred. For example, gardening, DIY and shopping have been counted as household tasks, whereas in some instances and for some individuals these might be seen as leisure activities. The distinction depends on individual motivation and perspective. It is impossible to establish this motivation from the time-use questionnaire. Moreover the distinction can be difficult to establish even for the individual involved. Some time spent in childcare could count as caring: some could count as leisure.

3.3 Treatment of Multiple Activities

Respondents were permitted to record multiple activities within each time slot to reflect the reality that individuals often carry on more than one activity at a time. It was important not to limit respondents to a single activity since previous research has found that this leads to a considerable under-estimation of the time spent in childcare and household work, as these are often done in conjunction with other activities (Ironmonger, 2004).

Many people recorded multiple activities in their diaries. Table 3.2 investigates the time spent each day doing two or more activities among different groups. In general women are more likely to record multiple activities, as are the 25-44 year old age group and those in home duties. The results suggest that much of the variation in 'multi-tasking' is linked to stage in the life-cycle, i.e. women with young children and not linked to differential reporting of such multi-tasking.

Table 3.2: Multi-tasking: Time (hh:mm) Spent Each Day Doing Two or More Activities Simultaneously

		Weekday hh:mm	Weekend hh:mm
All		2:30	2:41
Sex	Male	1:52	2:11
	Female	3:07	3:03
Age group	18-24 years	2:27	2:14
	25-44 years	2:51	3:13
	45-64 years	2:24	2:26
	65+ years	1:47	1:51
Principal Economic Status	Employed	2:23	2:45
	Self-employed	1:58	2:03
	Student	2:39	2:10
	Unemployed	2:18	2:33
	Sick/Disabled	3:05	3:24
	Home Duties	3:57	3:50
	Retired	1:40	1:28
	Other & Training	1:17	1:22
Children	No children	1:59	2:02
	Children	3:23	3:46

Note: Time is recorded as hours and minutes in this table and throughout the report. Time is not decimal.

The main types of activity which are recorded in combination with other activities are resting, chatting, childcare, playing/interacting with children and passive leisure activities like TV and radio. Multiple activities are most common in the evening, but also common at lunchtime. They are rarely recorded during the night, when people are sleeping.

The figures on participation presented below report the proportion who record *any* activity either as a primary activity or in conjunction with some other activity. In the following chapter we also present the *total time* recorded for each pursuit either as a primary activity or in combination with another activity. This should be seen as the *upper estimate* of time spent on a particular task. However, a problem with this approach is that spells of multiple activities are essentially double (or triple) counted so that the total time in a given day will add to more than 24 hours, which is a logical impossibility.

In order to limit the total time to 24 hours we impose alternative definitions of 'main' activity by prioritising certain activities. This allows us to compare the results with surveys which allow only single activities or require respondents to define their main activity. The definition of which activity should be considered the main activity is in some senses arbitrary. However, some activities are more likely to be secondary than others. For example, listening to the radio and watching TV are often background activities. We are also concerned not to underestimate paid work time, care and household work. Others have argued that leisure activities combined with non-leisure activities should not be quantified as leisure, which is another effect of the priority we adopt.

We incorporate these considerations into our priority listing which imposes the following order: 1. childcare and adult care, 2. employment and study, 3. housework and shopping, 4. travel, 5. personal care and eating, 6. leisure and voluntary activity, 7. sleeping and 8. unspecified time use. If two or more activities are recorded in a time-slot priority is given to the activity that appears first in the list. For example, if care and travel are recorded together, care is defined as the main activity; if employment and leisure (e.g. listening to radio) are recorded together employment is recorded as the main activity.

Since these priorities are imposed by the researcher rather than the respondent we also test alternative priority settings to see if results differ (see McGinnity *et al.*, 2005). In the current study we also test a further treatment of multiple activities. If more than one activity appears in a time slot we split the time between activities. Details of this approach and some illustrative results are outlined in Appendix A. Overall, using these 'split times' results in less time spent on unpaid work and more time spent on leisure.

4. GENDER DIFFERENCES IN TIME USE IN IRELAND: CARING, HOUSEWORK AND EMPLOYMENT

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter we describe the patterns of time use among women and men in Ireland. We are particularly interested in the allocation of time to paid work and unpaid work (namely household work and caring) across the sexes. It is important to examine the distribution and extent of caring and domestic work for a number of reasons. First, these activities are important in their own right and make a very significant contribution to the welfare of society, but are rarely quantified and made visible. Second, studying the gender allocation of caring and domestic work time is important because it contributes to our understanding of gender inequalities, not only in the private sphere but also in the public sphere. In particular, the persisting gender inequalities in paid employment, in relation to pay, gender segregation in occupations and differential involvement in flexible work need to be understood in the context of the highly gendered distribution of unpaid labour. In this chapter we will first outline the overall patterns of time use among men and women in Ireland; we will then focus in more detail on patterns of caring and household work across different groups.

A key issue outlined in the review of research literature is whether women are experiencing a 'second shift'. It was argued that such a situation could arise if women's increasing participation in paid employment was not matched by a commensurate drop in their unpaid work time or a greater sharing of unpaid work by men. In order to address this issue we analyse overall workloads and levels of committed time amongst men and women in Ireland, using a number of different measures of this concept.

We begin the analysis by looking at the broad patterns of time use on weekdays and weekend days across the sexes (Section 4.2). In Section 4.3 we investigate the total amount of paid and unpaid work time among women and men. We also compare the total committed time, ending the section by modelling committed time. This analysis will show whether there is evidence of a second shift, among women and conversely a gender gap in leisure, as is suggested in some of the research literature. The analysis of total workload provides the context for a more detailed discussion of caring and household work activities. In Section 4.4 we look at gender differences in caring and how these differences vary by age group, presence/age of children and employment status. In Section 4.5 we look in detail at household work. In both these sections we also consider whether the household work/care engaged in by men and women differs in *type* as well as quantity.

We conclude the empirical analysis by constructing regression models of unpaid work to investigate how time spent on caring and household work varies by age group, presence and age of children, education and other relevant factors (Section 4.6).

4.2 Typical Days for Women and Men

We begin our analysis of time use by looking at how people's 24-hour day is divided across seven main activity groups outlined in Chapter 3. This gives us a sense of how caring, household work and employment fit into the overall time budget (Table 4.1). The results are presented separately for weekdays and weekend days as

patterns of time use vary across the week. We also calculate an average across the week, based on the weekday and weekend estimates. In order to limit the total time to 24 hours, where respondents undertake more than one activity at once, we impose a definition of which is the 'main' activity as was outlined in the previous chapter (an alternative 'split minutes' measure is outlined in Appendix A). For many of the time-use estimates in this report we are interested in whether the gender differences reported are statistically significant, that is, whether, given the sample of men and women in the time-use dataset, we can be confident that the differences would not have been generated by chance. Gender differences are tested for statistical significance using tests described in Appendix B at the end of this report. Exact significance values are rarely reported: instead, following conventions in the literature, we report that the significance value was less than certain key thresholds, denoted by stars in the tables (** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$).

The results highlight the importance of housework and caring within people's daily activities. Taking the population as a whole we find that on weekdays the amount of time spent on caring and domestic work is only 48 minutes less than time spent on employment and education. While on weekend days the time devoted to housework and caring (3 hours 45 minutes) far exceeds that spent on employment and education (1 hour 23 minutes). Daily (or average day) estimates of housework and caring are almost exactly the same as the average time spent on paid work (3 hours 31 minutes versus 3 hours 25 minutes). Therefore, despite the overwhelming research focus on the paid sphere, we find that these unpaid activities are at least equivalent to employment and education in time expenditure. The figures in Table 4.1 also highlight how time devoted to caring, housework and employment/education compare to other activities. Sleep accounts for the largest proportion of time of any of the activities (weekly average of 8 hours 14 minutes), followed by leisure activities,¹⁴ which account for around 5 hours on weekdays and 7 hours on weekends, giving an daily average of 5½ hours.

Once we move a way from the overall average we find that the allocation of time to activities varies for men and women. On weekdays men spend considerably more time on paid employment/study than women (men record 3 hours more time than women on this activity), while women spend substantially more time on caring and household work (2 hours more on caring and 1 hour 28 minutes more on housework). These gender patterns also emerge for the weekend. Men continue to spend longer in paid employment/study, while women spend twice as much time on caring and household work. However, while there is a sharp drop in men's hours of employment at the weekend, women's hours of unpaid work (caring and housework) continue unabated, which results in a gender gap in the time devoted to leisure at the weekends. The gender differences in paid and unpaid work are statistically significant on weekdays, weekends and for the average day. There is a gender gap in leisure for this average day which is also statistically significant. Taking this average day, women spend less time travelling than men and this difference is also significant. There are no significant gender differences in time spent over the week on sleeping and in personal care.

¹⁴ This figure also includes voluntary and religious activity but these account for a small proportion of time within this broad category. Leisure includes both active leisure such as physical activity/going out and passive leisure (for example, watching TV, doing nothing, reading).

Table 4.1: Average Time (hours: minutes) Spent on Main Activities, Weekdays Weekends and Average Days

	Unpaid Work		Paid Work	Travel	Other				Total
	Care	House work	Emp. and Study	Travel	Personal Care and Eating	Leisure and Vol/Relig. Act	Sleep	Unspec. Time Use	
	hh:mm	hh:mm	hh:mm	hh:mm	hh:mm	hh:mm	hh:mm	hh:mm	hh:mm
Weekday									
All	1:33	1:53	4:14	1:07	1:47	4:58	8:05	0:22	24:00
Male	0:34	1:08	5:46	1:18	1:49	5:09	7:57	0:19	24:00
Female	2:31	2:36	2:44	0:57	1:45	4:48	8:13	0:25	24:00
<i>Significance</i>	***	***	***	***	n.s.	*	*	*	
Weekend									
All	1:40	2:05	1:23	0:56	2:00	6:57	8:38	0:20	24:00
Male	0:53	1:31	1:52	1:03	1:60	7:41	8:39	0:20	24:00
Female	2:24	2:36	0:56	0:50	2:01	6:15	8:37	0:20	24:00
<i>Significance</i>	***	***	***	*	n.s.	***	n.s	n.s	
Average Day									
All	1:35	1:56	3:25	1:04	1:51	5:32	8:14	0:21	24:00
Male	0:39	1:15	4:40	1:14	1:52	5:52	8:09	0:19	24:00
Female	2:29	2:36	2:13	0:55	1:50	5:13	8:20	0:23	24:00
<i>Significance</i>	***	***	***	***	n.s.	***	n.s	*	

Notes: Asterisks refer to statistical significance of gender differences using Anova (see Appendix B at end of this report for further details). ***p<0.001; **p<.01; *p<.05. Figures based on weighted data. For further details of categories see chapter 3. Where multiple activities were recorded we apply the following priority setting to decide the main activity: 1 caring, 2 employment and education, 3 housework and shopping, 4 travel, 5 personal care and eating, 6 leisure and voluntary activity, 7 sleeping, 8 unspecified. Average day estimates are calculated using the formula ((weekday*5) plus (weekend*2)/7) at the average or aggregate level: statistical tests are applied to the sample who filled out both a weekday and weekend day diary. See Section 3.1 for further discussion.

These broad observations form the basis of our detailed analysis of gender differences in time use in the rest of the chapter. We now consider participation in these activities before considering gender differences in free time and committed time.

Participation in Activities

The average time use estimates above are a function of both time spent on an activity and the proportion of people participating in this activity. Here we look at the proportion recording *any* involvement in the seven main activity groups (Table 4.2).¹⁵ It is important in interpreting the average time spent on any activity among a subgroup to know the proportion that does not participate in the activity at all. Previous time-use research suggests that the participation rates will be influenced by the length of the time slots (Hook, 2006). Five-minute time slots are likely to pick up very short spells of activity which longer time slots might miss and so increase participation rates. This is more likely to apply to occasional activities of short duration (for example, personal care, putting on a load of washing) but will have less impact on activities such as employment which are unlikely to be confined to such short bursts of activity during a diary day.

¹⁵ Information on the proportion of women and men participating in each of the 26 activities is available in McGinnity *et al.* (2005), p.8.

The figures on participation record any relevant activity regardless of whether it is the only activity recorded in the time slot or whether it is combined with another activity. This means that the figures would be higher than those recorded in a survey that collected only information about primary activity.¹⁶

On weekdays just over 60 per cent of the population participate in employment or education for at least one time slot; three-quarters of men and just under half of women. These employment participation levels reflect the fact that the survey includes respondents over the age of 65 years. Participation in employment or study activity is substantially lower on weekend days with just 28 per cent of respondents recording any such activity.

Only one third of the population participate in caring activities on weekdays and weekends, but the figures are 48 per cent for women and 23 per cent for men. Participation in housework is much more widespread with 70 per cent of respondents participating on weekdays and 75 per cent on weekend days. Again there are strong gender differences: 89 per cent of women participate in housework on weekdays compared to 51 per cent of men. On weekend days the proportion of men participating increases to 62 per cent while women's participation level stays the same, leading to reduction in the gender difference. These gender differences are explored in greater detail later in the chapter and form an important element of the differing patterns of time use among Irish men and women.

Table 4.2: Proportion Participating in Activity During Diary Day

	Weekday			Weekend Day		
	Men	Women	All	Men	Women	All
Any Employment/study	74.2	48.5	61.2	32.6	23.0	27.7
Any Care	23.1	47.9	35.7	25.8	43.4	34.7
Any Housework	50.7	88.7	70.0	61.5	88.0	74.9
Any Travel	80.0	68.6	74.2	66.8	63.1	64.9
Any Sleep	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Any Personal care/eating	96.6	99.2	97.9	96.9	99.6	98.3
Any Leisure	99.9	99.6	99.8	99.9	99.7	99.8

Almost three-quarters of respondents record some travel activity on weekdays. The level of participation in travel falls slightly at weekends to 65 per cent. The level of participation in the three remaining activities is close to 100 per cent. Everyone records some sleep in their diary and almost everyone records leisure. Given that we have included such a wide range of leisure activities (and civic/religious activity) into one category it is not surprising that almost all respondents report some involvement.¹⁷ Participation in personal care/eating is marginally lower among men than women. Of men 3 per cent do not record any such activity in their diaries. It is unlikely that these respondents were fasting for the day but rather that they spent less than 15 minutes on these activities and so did not record it.

¹⁶ This is an important distinction when comparing Irish results with those for other countries.

¹⁷ If we separate voluntary/religious activity from leisure activity, participation in leisure remains at 99 per cent. However, participation in voluntary/religious activity is significantly lower: 17 per cent for weekdays, 35 per cent for weekend days.

4.3 Gender Differences in Total Workload, Committed and Free Time

In this section we examine whether the men and women differ in terms of their total workload and in the level of committed and free time. While the allocation of time between paid and unpaid work has consequences in terms of gender equality in the workplace, gender differences in total workload or committed time is important in that it may reveal gender inequalities in access to free or uncommitted time. Overall workload is a central issue in the dual burden or 'second shift' debate, which argues that women have a higher workload and less leisure than men. Because we are concerned with the total day we must utilise the priority settings to define a main activity in the case of multiple activities. These priorities were outlined in the previous chapter. If we did not make such an adjustment we would end up with people having more than 24 hours worth of activities in the day.

Our measure of total workload combines the time spent on paid work/education, caring and household work. Our measure of committed time is somewhat broader in that it includes time spent on travel. Uncommitted time therefore includes leisure, personal care, eating and sleeping. Some measures of committed time exclude travel, while others allocate travel depending on its purpose. We have included travel with committed time because the majority of time spent on travel is linked to employment, especially on weekdays.¹⁸

Others use narrower definitions of 'free' or uncommitted time. Bittman and Wajcman (2004) restrict free time to leisure time. Accordingly sleeping, personal care and eating are included with committed time. This definition has the advantage of being closer to concepts of leisure. However, the non-leisure category under this definition is more diffuse and time spent on activities such as sleeping, eating and personal care beyond some minimal level is more discretionary than time spent on employment, commuting or childcare.

Note that once the priorities are set, time spent in paid and unpaid work is treated as 'equivalent', that is, one hour of housework is equivalent in time terms to one hour of paid work.¹⁹ While some might question whether one hour of housework has the same value as one hour of paid work, as the latter may be more demanding, it is not clear that this is the case. There is considerable variation in the demands of work, both paid and unpaid, both between individuals and even for the same individual across time. Having argued in Chapter 1 that housework and care should be treated as work, they are treated as equivalent to paid work.

The wide gender differences in housework and caring shown above are reflected in a large difference in men and women's unpaid work time (Table 4.3). The total time on *paid work* is the reverse of this pattern, with men spending substantially more time on this activity than women, particularly on weekdays.

When we add employment to unpaid work we find that women have a marginally higher workload on weekdays (24 minutes more than men), but this difference is not statistically significant and if we take the broader committed time measure that includes travel there is no gender difference.

¹⁸ This will lead to misclassification of a small amount of travel-time which is associated with leisure activities. It would be possible with extensive programming to distinguish travel according to the activities that immediately precede and follow travel-spells if travel or commuting was of central interest.

¹⁹ This is consistent with all the literature which uses time-use data to analyse paid and unpaid work.

Table 4.3: Gender Differences in Committed Time, Main Activities (hh:mm)

	Total Employed		Total Unpaid (caring + housework)		Total Workload		Total Committed (inc. travel)	
	hh:mm		hh:mm		hh:mm		hh:mm	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Weekday	5:46	2:44	1:42	5:08	7:28	7:52	8:46	8:49
<i>Significance</i>	***		***		n.s.		n.s.	
Weekend	1:52	0:56	2:25	5:01	4:17	5:57	5.20	6.47
<i>Significance</i>	***		***		***		***	
Average Day	4:40	2:13	1:54	5:06	6:34	7:19	7:47	8:14
<i>Significance</i>	***		***		**		n.s.	

Note: Asterisks refer to statistical significance of gender differences using Anova (see Appendix B at end of this report for further details), ***p<0.001; **p<.01; *p<.05. In cases of multiple activities we impose priorities to define the 'main activity'. Average estimates across the week are calculated using the formula ((weekday*5) plus (weekend*2)/7). Statistical tests for this average are carried out on those who filled out both a weekday and a weekend day diary.

However, at weekends where there is greater evidence of a double burden for women. Women record 1 hour 40 minutes more total work time than men. Using the broader committed time measure women record 1 hour 27 minutes more committed time. Consequently, women have significantly less free time at weekends. Taking the average day, we find substantially more paid work for men and much more unpaid work for women. On an average day women's total workload (including travel) is 45 minutes higher and this difference is significant, amounting to 5 hours 15 minutes extra work per week. If we include travel the gender difference in committed time on the average day is not significant.

Using the split times as a way of allocating activities (see Appendix A at end of this report for a discussion of split times), we find an even smaller average difference in committed time of 8 minutes per day (Table A2). This is because using split times results in less time being counted as unpaid work, where unpaid work is combined with other activities. The disadvantage in using split times is that it ignores lessons from the time-use research literature on the way people combine activities, which is that there tends to be one 'main activity' and one or more secondary activities. For example, using the splitting time slot technique means that background activities such as listening to the radio (a secondary activity) while driving (the primary activity) will be accorded equal priority, rather than giving driving the priority. It is for this reason that calculating time use using priorities is preferred in this report.

Models of Total Committed Time

We now move on to assessing gender differences in total committed time using regression modelling. This allows us to test the hypothesis that women do a second shift of paid work and domestic work, which results in a gender gap in free time. By calculating regression models we can analyse the influence of each factor, holding all other characteristics constant. So, for example, we can examine whether an *employed* young person with no children has less committed time compared to an older employed person with no children. The estimates above show that there was little difference in committed time between men and women on weekdays. However, these results did not take into account differences in the characteristics of men and women.

We see from Table 4.4 that on weekdays, when age, employment status,²⁰ family status, adult care responsibilities and education are controlled for, women are found to have 24 more minutes of total committed time than men (and therefore 24 minutes less free time).

The effects of employment status are significant for both women and men but the magnitude of these effects are much greater for men. The amount of committed time decreases with age for women, with those aged over 45 years having less committed time than those aged under 25 years, when employment and family status are held constant. The age effect is not significant for men.

Table 4.4: OLS Model of Minutes of Total Committed Time: Weekdays

	All		Men		Women	
	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.
(Constant)	514.5	.000	539.1	.000	499.2	.000
Female	24.2	.050				
25-44 years	-9.2	.691	11.5	.729	-26.2	.421
45-64 years	-51.3	.041	-16.1	.651	-82.4	.021
65 years plus	-129.6	.000	-74.7	.102	-173.2	.000
Self-employed	50.7	.005	36.3	.112	70.3	.030
Student	-100.7	.001	-85.8	.046	-97.5	.014
Unemployed	-362.2	.000	-372.8	.000	-343.8	.000
Home-duties	-74.5	.000	-311.6	.004	-60.3	.003
Retired	-175.7	.000	-231.3	.000	-122.4	.000
Other not employed	-139.9	.000	-236.6	.000	-31.5	.436
Inter/Junior Cert. level	28.8	.105	49.2	.057	9.8	.690
Leaving Cert. level	30.5	.080	27.4	.285	35.9	.132
Post-secondary	32.3	.064	24.4	.344	36.1	.128
Youngest child <5yrs	184.1	.000	131.7	.000	218.6	.000
Youngest child 5-10yrs	112.8	.000	96.0	.015	120.6	.000
Youngest child 11-18	65.0	.001	44.5	.147	71.1	.007
Child(ren) <18 age missing	85.9	.001	40.3	.301	118.9	.000
Married/Cohabiting	30.0	.093	-5.4	.830	83.0	.001
Separated/widowed	-26.0	.319	-52.8	.291	16.1	.624
Adult Carer	59.3	.001	30.9	.295	74.9	.000
Adjusted R ²	.427		.424		.456	
N	1,022		479		542	

Notes: Committed time = employment/education + caring + housework + travel.

In cases of multiple activities we impose priorities to define the 'main activity'. Results which are statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ are highlighted in bold.

Reference categories – male, 18-24 years, employee, primary level education, no children, single, not caring for an adult.

Children can increase total committed time by increasing the volume of caring and housework but also by increasing financial pressures thereby leading to a rise in paid work time. In the joint model children under the age of 5 are associated with an extra 184 minutes of committed time. The separate models for men and women show that

²⁰ We cannot include employment time in these models since this is a constituent part of the dependent variable.

children have a weaker impact on men's total committed time. Therefore, while there is evidence that men with children increase their amount of *paid* work time²¹ this is not equivalent to the very large increase in women's *unpaid* work associated with children. Having a partner increases total committed time for women by 83 minutes but has no discernable impact on men's committed or free time. Caring for an adult also has a significant influence on committed time for women only.

At weekends the gender difference in committed time is wider than on weekdays. On average women have 70 minutes less free time than men on weekend days, holding employment status and family status constant. Employment has a weaker influence on committed time on weekend days since time spent on paid work and education are much lower, so patterns of time use are much more similar across the groups. Only the unemployed and retired are distinctive, recording much lower committed time than employees.

Table 4.5: OLS Models of Total Committed Time Weekends

	All		Men		Women	
	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.
(Constant)	211.7	.000	218.1	.000	266.3	.000
Female	70.1	.000				
25-44 years	53.5	.059	78.4	.050	34.9	.392
45-64 years	66.3	.033	111.5	.011	22.5	.617
65 years plus	32.0	.410	79.6	.154	-13.7	.804
Self-employed	37.9	.093	35.2	.215	69.2	.091
Student	-13.0	.716	-9.6	.855	-0.6	.991
Unemployed	-214.8	.000	-192.2	.001	-241.2	.002
Home-duties	39.6	.099	-198.1	.214	35.2	.163
Retired	-60.9	.029	-64.1	.130	-57.5	.121
Other not employed	-64.4	.058	-111.2	.018	-9.3	.854
Inter/Junior Cert. level	53.6	.016	56.5	.079	54.5	.078
Leaving Cert. level	64.4	.003	51.1	.112	73.7	.014
Post-secondary	55.7	.011	83.1	.010	27.8	.351
Youngest child <5yrs	229.8	.000	149.9	.001	285.7	.000
Youngest child 5-10yrs	138.6	.000	119.8	.012	145.2	.000
Youngest child 11-18	81.8	.001	59.3	.113	93.6	.004
Child under 18, age missing	96.9	.003	20.5	.664	172.2	.000
Married/Cohabiting	-30.2	.166	-68.6	.024	21.5	.503
Separated/widowed	-52.6	.100	-65.4	.258	-10.5	.798
Adult Carer	91.1	.000	90.0	.016	94.6	.000
Adjusted R ²	.224		.128		.277	
N of cases	1,024		483		540	

Notes: Committed time = employment/education + caring + housework + travel.

In cases of multiple activities we impose priorities to define the 'main activity'. Results which are statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ are highlighted in bold.

Reference categories – male, 18-24 years, employee, primary level education, no children, single, not caring for an adult.

²¹ Men with children under 18 years record an average of 6 hours 47 minutes paid work time on weekdays compared to 5 hours 17 minutes among men with no children under 18 years. Figures are calculated with priority settings.

The presence of children continues to exert a strong influence on total committed time on weekend days. For women the increases in committed time are notable for children in all age groups; for men the rise in committed time is confined to children under the age of ten years. An interesting gender difference is that having a wife or partner is associated with a reduced total workload for men on weekend days, but there is no such effect for women.

If we estimate a model of ‘average day’ committed time, using a sample of those who filled in both weekday and weekend diaries (see Table A4.1), these results are confirmed. The presence of children exerts a strong influence on committed time and the effect is greater for women than for men. The effect of employment status is also highly significant. On average, women have 39 minutes more committed time than men. This difference is statistically significant.

4.4 Unpaid Work: Patterns of Caring

Having looked at overall committed time, we now examine two of its constituent parts in more depth: caring and housework.²² As before, the first step in our analyses is to describe the proportion of different groups recording any involvement in caring activities (Table 4.6). Only a minority of the population are involved in any caring

Table 4.6: Participation in and Time Spent on Caring Activities on Weekdays and Weekend Days (%)

	Weekday			Weekend		
	Childcare 1: Physical Care Supervision	Childcare 2: Play, Talk Homework, etc.	Adult Care	Childcare 1: Physical Care Supervision	Childcare 2: Play, Talk Homework, etc.	Adult Care
	% Doing Activity			% Doing Activity		
Men	12	15	3	13	17	5
Women	35	31	12	28	29	8
All	24	23	8	21	23	6
<i>Significance</i>	***	***	***	***	***	n.s.
	Time among those who participate (hh:mm)			Time among those who participate (hh:mm)		
Men	1:55	1:51	2:47	3:22	2:25	1:43
Women	5:16	2:11	3:34	6:21	2:45	3:42
All	4:25	2:04	3:25	5:27	2:38	3:01
<i>Significance</i>	***	n.s.	n.s.	***	n.s.	*
	Average Time All (hh:mm)			Average Time All (hh:mm)		
Men	0:14	0:17	0:05	0:26	0:25	0:05
Women	1:50	0:40	0:25	1:49	0:48	0:18
All	1:03	0:29	0:16	1:08	0:37	0:12
<i>Significance</i>	***	***	***	***	***	**

Note: If two activities are recorded simultaneously the time is recorded for both activities. Therefore the total time includes care as a primary activity and as a secondary activity. Stars refer to statistical significance of gender differences using Pearson’s chi-square test for the proportion participating and Anova for the time spent (see Appendix B for further details), ***p<0.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

²² We do not conduct a detailed analysis of paid employment as this has been treated extensively elsewhere.

activity on their diary days. Just under one-quarter of respondents report the two types of childcare activity on weekdays. The first type of childcare refers to the physical care and supervision of children, more likely for younger children. The second type of childcare includes playing, talking with and other interaction with children, including reading, helping with homework and accompanying children to activities.²³ Only 8 per cent of adults report any adult care. At weekends the proportion reporting physical care of children falls slightly to 21 per cent and the proportion involved in other forms of childcare remains the same at 23 per cent. Involvement in adult care falls marginally at the weekends to 6 per cent.

Gender differences in caring are substantial (Table 4.6). As we saw in Table 4.2, women are much more likely to report caring activities than men. Around one-third of women report the two types of childcare activities on weekdays compared to 12 per cent of men for physical childcare and 15 per cent for other childcare. Interestingly, the proportion of women reporting physical childcare drops on weekends but the proportion of men involved does not increase substantially. All differences in participation in caring are statistically significant ($p < 0.001$).

Involvement in adult care is also gendered, with 12 per cent of women engaged in this activity on weekdays compared to 3 per cent of men. This gender difference narrows at weekends and is not statistically significant. Patterns of participation in childcare and adult care also differ by age, employment status and presence/age of children (further details available from the authors).

In the bottom two sections of Table 4.6 we report figures on the *time* spent on these three types of caring among women and men. The first set of results calculates the average time spent on the activity for those who participate. The second set of results calculates the average time for the whole population group, i.e. taking into account those who record zero minutes as well as those who participate in the activity. The figures are reported in the format of hours and minutes per day. We do not distinguish here whether the activity was carried out on its own or in conjunction with some other activity. Therefore, caring carried out as a primary activity is given equal weight to caring carried out with another activity: the figures should, therefore, be seen as an *upper estimate* of the time spent on caring. In some cases, where individuals carried out two caring activities simultaneously, the time slot is counted for both activities.

Among participants there are persistent gender differences in the time spent on physical caring. For example, on weekdays the average time spent on physical childcare by women who participate in this activity is 5 hours and 16 minutes compared to just under 2 hours for participating men. The gender difference is much narrower for social care/playing; on weekdays, female participants record just 20 minutes longer on this activity than male participants. Of those who participate in social care/playing, gender differences are not significant on weekdays or weekend days. Gender differences in adult care are greater than for playing, for those who participate, though these are more cautious estimates as the numbers participating are low.²⁴

The final set of figures in Table 4.6 show the average time spent on caring activities across all men and women. These figures are a function of both the proportion

²³ See Chapter 3 for a discussion of measuring the two types of childcare.

²⁴ The small numbers participating also explains why rather large differences in terms of time (i.e. 2 hours at the weekend) are only marginally statistically significant.

participating and the time spent by participants as described above. Across all women (including those with and without children) the average time spent on physical care of children is 1 hour 50 minutes per day and the time spent playing/reading/ accompanying children amounts to 40 minutes per day on weekdays. For men, the average times are considerably lower at 14 minutes and 17 minutes respectively. On weekend days men's childcare time increases (to 25 minutes for each type of childcare). Women's time spent on physical care and supervision remains the same on weekend days and the 'social' care increases by 8 minutes. Taking all men and women, gender differences in caring are substantial and significant for both types of caring, both on weekdays and weekend days.

On average, adult care accounts for only 5 minutes of men's diary days on both weekdays and weekend days. For women, the average time amounts to 25 minutes on weekdays and 18 minutes on weekend days. These low figures are primarily due to the fact that over 90 per cent of respondents did *no* adult care.

Gender Differences in Caring by Employment Status and Age of Children

Our results show that there is a wide overall gender difference in caring. However, does the size of this gap vary across different groups?

Gender differences persist within employment status groups (Table 4.7 and Table 4.8). Employed women spend an average of 2 hours on physical care and 47 minutes on social childcare, compared to around 20 minutes on each type of care amongst employed men. (It should be noted that the average hours of paid work for employed women is shorter than for men.) It is noteworthy that those in employment spend somewhat longer than average on the two forms of childcare on weekdays and weekend days, suggesting that there is a significant group who are combining paid work and caring.

Table 4.7: Gender Differences in Caring: Weekdays (hh:mm)

hh:mm	Childcare 1: Physical Care Supervision		Childcare 2: Play, Talk, Homework, etc.		Adult Care	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
All	1.50	0.14	0.40	0.17	0.25	0.05
Employed	2.03	0.19	0.47	0.23	0.23	0.02
Home Duties	2.29	-	0.49	-	0.43	-
Retired	0.29	0.03	0.11	0.09	0.02	0.07
Other not employed	0.54	0.03	0.19	0.01	0.16	0.16
Under 5 years	6.45	1.09	1.48	1.09	0.06	0.00
5-10 years	3.15	0.31	1.31	0.56	0.06	0.01
11-17 years	2.04	0.12	0.28	0.09	1.07	0.00
Under 18 age missing	2.32	0.16	1.29	0.28	0.14	0.06
No children <18 years	0.20	0.03	0.13	0.04	0.20	0.08

Similar gender differences are recorded among retired women and men and 'other not employed'. However, a very significant difference between the sexes is that 28

per cent of women specialise in care and household work as full-time home-makers, whereas less than 1 per cent men fall into this category. Unsurprisingly, this group of women record more care than any other employment category, but interestingly the time spent on social childcare is the same for employed women and those engaged in home duties.²⁵

Comparing the care activities of mothers and fathers on weekdays (Table 4.7), we see that while fathers are engaged in higher levels of caring activity than other men they still spend significantly less time on caring than mothers. Care time is highest among parents of children under 5 years. On weekdays mothers spend an average of 6 hours 45 minutes on physical childcare and 1 hour 48 minutes on social childcare (note that some of this time involves caring combined with another activity.) Fathers with children under 5 years spend 1 hour 9 minutes on each of these care activities on average, so gender differences among this group of parents are much greater for physical care than social care. On weekdays care time levels among parents decline with the age of the youngest child, but nevertheless remain substantial especially among mothers. Time spent on physical care halves for both parents of 5-10 year olds compared to the under 5s, but time spent on social care does not fall as dramatically.

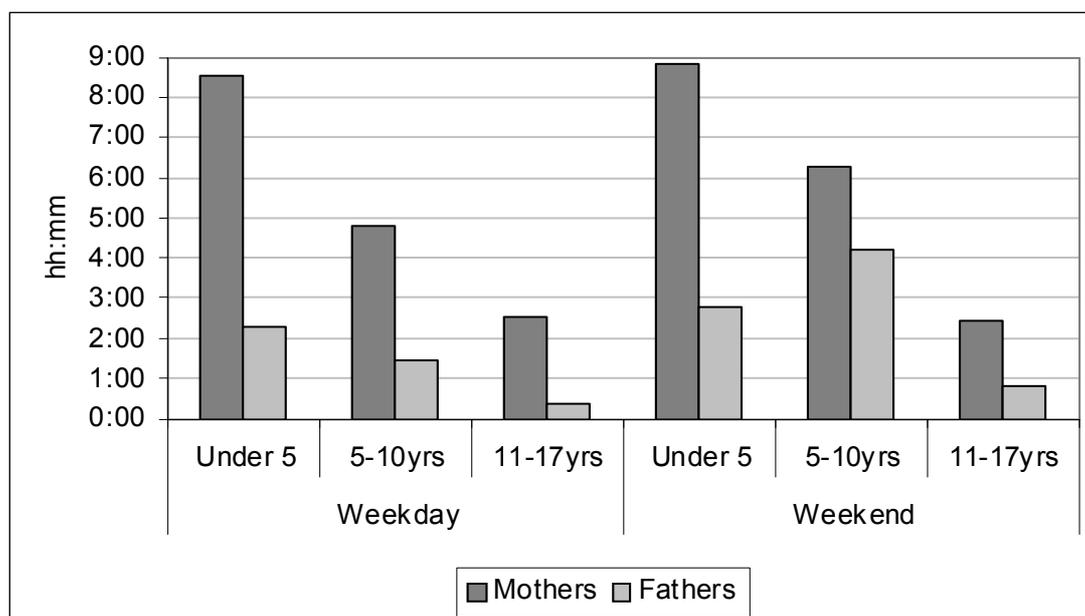
Table 4.8: Gender Differences in Caring: Weekend Days (hh:mm)

hh:mm	Childcare 1: Physical Care Supervision		Childcare 2: Play, Talk, Homework, etc.		Adult Care	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
All	1.49	0.26	0.48	0.25	0.18	0.05
Employed	1.56	0.36	1.03	0.31	0.07	0.02
Home Duties	2.37	0.00	0.45	0.00	0.48	0.00
Retired	0.05	0.03	0.06	0.11	0.05	0.22
Other not employed	1.02	0.06	0.35	0.12	0.08	0.01
Under 5 years	6.23	1.42	2.28	1.03	0.07	0.00
5-10years	4.11	2.17	2.08	1.55	0.02	0.01
11-17years	1.52	0.11	0.34	0.39	0.49	0.05
Under 18 age missing	3.21	0.21	1.49	0.29	0.18	0.07
No children <18 years	0.10	0.02	0.08	0.06	0.19	0.06

Differences in the caring time of mothers and fathers persist at weekends, especially for parents of very young children (see Figure 4.1 for a graphical representation of these results). However, the gender difference narrows for parents of 5-10 year olds at weekends. This occurs because father's caring time increases more than mother's caring time at weekends among this group. The gap also narrows for parents with children aged 11 to 17 years as fathers increase their caring time, particularly time spent on social care.

²⁵ This may be due to differences in age profile – i.e. homemakers also include older women with no children under 18 years.

Figure 4.1: Time Spent on Childcare Activities Among Mothers and Fathers by Age of Youngest Child



Note: Excludes group for whom we do not know age of children. Combines time on the two childcare activities. Includes time spent combined with another activity.

4.5: Unpaid Work: Patterns of Household Work

In the following tables we provide a detailed analysis of the distribution of housework in Irish society. If we recall from Chapter 3, our measure of household work consists of four main activities: cooking/food preparation, cleaning/laundry, DIY/gardening, Shopping/errands/ appointments. The first two activities are sometimes defined as core or routine domestic work because of the regularity with which they must be carried out.

Our participation figures show that the proportion of people involved in these activities is considerably higher than the proportion involved in caring. Almost half of the population participate in the two core household tasks on both weekdays and weekend days (see Table 4.9). Just over 20 per cent of people report involvement in house maintenance/gardening on weekdays and weekend days and 37-38 per cent of people spend at least some time on shopping/errands.

These overall patterns disguise strong gender differences in participation, on both weekdays and weekend days. For example, only 19 per cent of men report any cleaning on weekdays compared to 71 per cent of women and this situation remains largely unchanged on weekend days. Similarly, less than one-third of men report any participation in cooking/food preparation on weekdays compared to 74 per cent of women. Again the proportions involved change only marginally at weekends, demonstrating that these core tasks remain largely the responsibility of women even at weekends. Similar gender differences emerge for shopping/errands with close to 50 per cent of women participating in these activities on both weekdays and weekend days compared to 22 per cent of men on weekdays and 29 per cent on weekend days. For all of these tasks the gender differences are statistically significant. The gender difference is much narrower for house maintenance and gardening on weekdays and is only marginally significant ($p < 0.05$). This is the only type of household work that is engaged in by a higher proportion of men than women. On

weekend days, 29 per cent of men engage in this activity compared to 16 per cent of women.

Patterns of participation in household work activities also differ significantly by age, employment status, presence of children and marital status (details available to the authors). Participation in household work is not as sensitive to age of children as participation in caring, although those with children under 18 are more likely to be involved in cleaning, cooking and shopping than those with no children under 18 years.

Again, we present two sets of figures on the length of time spent on domestic work activities: one for participants only and a second for all men and women including those who record no time on these activities in their diaries. We can see that the time differences between men and women who participate in these activities are modest but statistically significant, except in the case of shopping. For example, on weekdays the difference ranges from 8 minutes for shopping to 47 minutes for cleaning. The very wide gender differences for women and men overall, described next, are, therefore, mostly due to the higher proportion of men who do not participate in housework activities at all.

Table 4.9: Participation in and Duration of Housework: Weekdays and Weekend Days

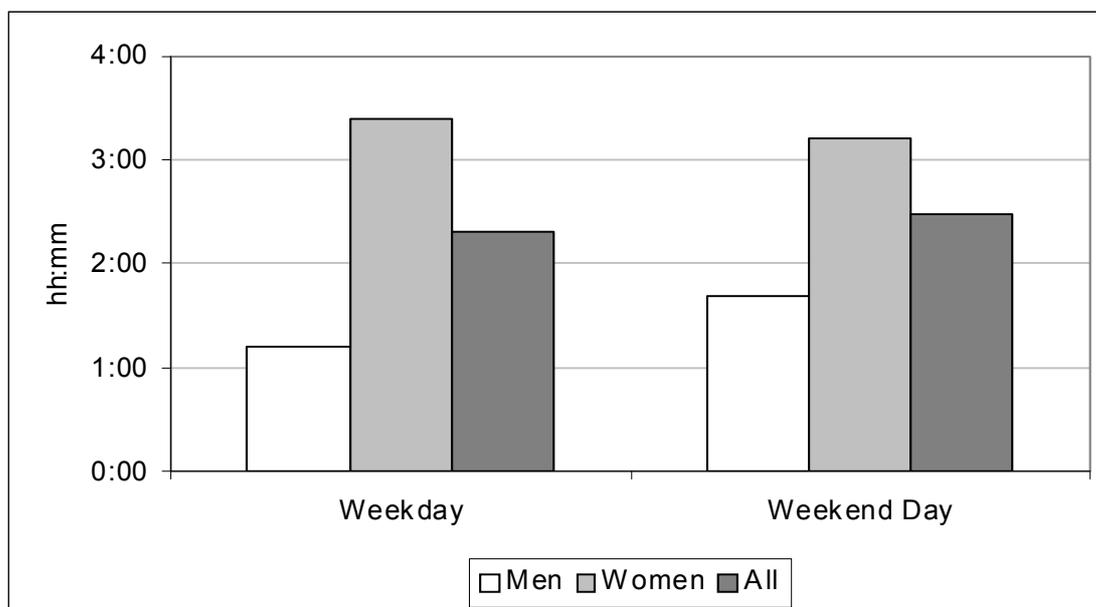
	Weekdays				Weekend Day			
	Clean	Cook	DIY	Shop	Clean	Cook	DIY	Shop
	% participating				% participating			
All	46	52	21	37	45	50	22	38
Men	19	29	23	22	22	32	29	29
Women	71	74	19	52	67	67	16	46
<i>Significance</i>	***	***	*	***	***	***	***	***
	Time Spent by Participants (hh:mm)				Time Spent by Participants (hh:mm)			
All	1:39	1:23	1:40	1:19	1:19	1:29	2:15	1:43
Men	1:02	0:55	2:01	1:13	0:56	0:55	2:35	1:33
Women	1:49	1:33	1:15	1:21	1:29	1:39	1:39	1:49
<i>Significance</i>	***	***	***	n.s.	***	***	**	**
	Time Spent All (hh:mm)				Time Spent All (hh:mm)			
All	0:45	0:43	0:21	0:29	0:39	0:40	0:30	0:39
Men	0:12	0:16	0:28	0:16	0:18	0:12	0:44	0:27
Women	1:18	1:09	0:14	0:42	1:00	1:07	0:15	0:50
<i>Significance</i>	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Note: If two activities are recorded simultaneously the time is recorded for both activities. Therefore, the total time includes care as a primary activity and as a secondary activity and should, therefore, be seen as an upper estimate of time spent on housework. Asterisks refer to statistical significance of gender differences using Pearson's chi-square test for the proportion participating and Anova for the time spent (see Appendix B at end of this report for further details) ***p<0.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

Across all respondents, women spend around four times longer on average than men on cooking/food preparation on weekdays (1 hour 18 minute compared to 12 minutes) and five and a half times longer on weekend days. Women spend about six and a half times longer on cleaning than men on weekdays but this ratio declines to 3:2 on weekend days because women reduce their time on this activity at weekends while men spend a little longer on this task. The ratio of female to male time spent on 'DIY' is less than one showing that men spend more time on this activity. Women spend approximately two and a half times longer on shopping/errands than men on weekdays but the ratio narrows at weekends to just under two. When the total time

spent on domestic tasks is calculated (including time spent on multiple activities) women are found to spend a total of 3 hours 23 minutes on these activities on weekdays and 3 hours 13 minutes at weekends, while the figures for men are 1 hour 12 minutes on weekdays and 1 hour 41 minutes on weekend days. All differences in housework time for the overall sample are statistically significant (see Table 4.9).

Figure 4.2: Total Housework Time (hh:mm) Among Women and Men: Weekdays and Weekend Days



Note: Counts time spent as primary or combined activity, so is an upper estimate of housework time.

Gender Differences in Total Housework Among Sub-Groups

In Table 4.10 we examine whether the overall gender differences in total housework time are repeated within sub-groups. Women are found to do more housework than men in all age groups (on weekdays and weekend days). The gender difference in housework time also persists within each employment status. The greatest divergence occurs among the employed. On weekdays employed women spend three times longer on housework than employed men (which amounts to around 1 hour 50 minutes extra time). The ratio declines to 1.8 on weekends but this still translates into employed women spending 1 hour and 20 minutes more on housework than employed men. The narrowest gap occurs between women and men who are retired.

The presence of young children is associated with increased housework time for both men and women. Fathers with children aged under 5 years record the highest allocation of time to housework of any of the male groups examined, spending an average of two and a half hours on these tasks at weekends. However, even with such increased levels of involvement among fathers the differences between men and women's housework time do not disappear.

On weekdays the narrowest gap occurs for those with children aged under 5 years and those with no children, but even among these groups women are doing twice as much housework as men. The widest gap between men and women's domestic work time occurs among those who have children aged 5 to 10 years and those who have children under 18 years but do not record the age. In general, the divergence

between fathers' and mothers' housework time is narrower at the weekend than weekdays, this is because fathers are doing more paid work on weekdays.

Table 4.10: Gender Differences in Total Housework Within Sub-Groups

	Weekday		Weekend Day	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
All	3.23	1.12	3.13	1.41
18-24	1.06	0.32	1.30	0.51
25-44	3.33	0.51	3.34	1.47
45-64	4.19	1.30	3.57	2.04
65+	3.45	2.30	2.54	1.37
Employed	2.45	0.51	3.11	1.48
Home Duties	5.18	(2.28)	4.14	(1.50)
Retired	3.30	2.54	2.60	1.52
Other not employed	1.50	1.14	1.39	1.09
Under 5 years	3.42	1.25	3.39	2.33
5-10 years	4.17	0.55	4.05	1.56
11-17 years	4.20	1.09	4.02	1.46
Under18 age missing	4.06	0.49	4.09	1.16
No children <18 years	2.57	1.13	2.45	1.31

Note: Counts time spent as primary or combined activity, so is an upper estimate of housework time.

(): estimate unreliable due to small numbers.

4.6 Models of Unpaid Work

In this section we examine the factors that influence the level of unpaid work (caring and housework)²⁶ undertaken by women and men. As above, by calculating regression models, we can analyse the influence of each factor, holding all other characteristics constant. One of the key questions we ask in this analysis is whether there is a significant difference in the amount of time women and men spend on household work when they are doing the same amount of *paid* work. We do this by including a control for the number of minutes in paid work on the same diary day. We also examine whether the effects of factors such as presence of children vary between men and women, by testing interactions between these characteristics and gender.

Our first model examines time spent on caring and housework on weekdays. We find that women spend an average of 112 minutes more than men on household work when we hold the time spent in paid work constant and control for a range of other factors such as education, age of children and partnership status²⁷.

Those in the 25 to 44 year age group are found to spend significantly more time on household work than those under 25 years, but otherwise age is insignificant. Family characteristics have a strong influence on unpaid work time; those with children under 5 spend 220 minutes more on these tasks than those with no children under 18 years. Having children aged 5 to 10 years increases the unpaid workload by 132 minutes and having children aged 11 to 17 years increases it by 52 minutes,

²⁶ We also use the term household work to denote these two activities taken together.

²⁷ The gender difference in unpaid work is wider than that for committed time because men spend longer on paid work than women. Paid work models, not shown, produce a negative coefficient for being female, indicating that women do less paid work than men; controlling for other factors.

compared to those with no children. Having a partner also increases the domestic workload by 42 minutes compared to those with no children who are single. Responsibility for the care of an adult²⁸ also adds significantly to the amount of unpaid work, to the tune of 71 minutes on weekdays.

The coefficient for time in paid employment shows that each minute of work leads to a reduction of just under half a minute (.4) in household work. So, for example, an hour of paid work on the diary day leads to a reduction in the amount of unpaid work of 24 minutes.

Table 4.11: Regression Model of Minutes Per Day Spent on Unpaid Work (Caring Plus Housework): Weekdays

	Base Model		Base Model Plus Interactions	
	B	Sig	B	Sig
(Constant)	153.8	.000	149.4	.000
Female	112.2	.000	106.5	.000
25-44 years	46.3	.009	34.7	.039
45-64 years	29.9	.122	16.6	.366
65 years plus	-10.3	.654	-14.4	.506
Inter/Junior Cert. level	11.4	.456	5.1	.726
Leaving Cert. level	1.8	.904	-4.5	.749
Third level	-16.7	.260	-13.8	.324
Child <5 years	219.7	.000	98.7	.000
Child 5-10 years	131.7	.000	41.7	.165
Child 11-17 years	52.3	.003	-21.7	.361
Under 18 age missing	88.3	.000	9.8	.741
Married/cohabiting	42.2	.005	31.9	.068
Separated/widow	3.2	.886	17.8	.416
Care for adult	70.8	.000	64.2	.000
Time in employ/ed	-0.4	.000	-0.3	.000
Female, Child < 5 years			203.7	.000
Female, Child 5-10 years			137.8	.000
Female, Child 11-17years			127.0	.000
Female, Child age missing			137.6	.001
Female employment time			-0.3	.000
Female, married/cohabiting			49.4	.020
Adjusted R ²	.530		.583	
N of cases	1,022		1,022	

Note: In cases of multiple activities we impose priorities to define the 'main activity'. Results which are statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ are highlighted in bold.

The second model in Table 4.11 tests whether the results we found for key characteristics (presence of children and age, employment time and marital status) are the same for men and women. In this model the coefficients for the interactions (for example, 'female, child <5 years') show the additional effect of these

²⁸ This information is taken from the personal questionnaire rather than the time-use diary.

characteristics for women. The effect of the coefficient 'child <5 years', known as the main effect, now refers to the effect for men. We find three important differences. First, the interaction between gender and children shows that having children (in each of the age categories) has a much stronger effect on women's unpaid work time than men's on weekdays. For men, having only young children under age 5 has a significant effect on household work time (leading to an increase of 99 minutes).

Second, the interaction between gender and marital status shows that, for men, having a partner increases unpaid work by 32 minutes, all else being equal; whereas for women an additional 49 minutes is added to this effect (leading to a total effect of 81 minutes for women).

Third, the interaction between employment time and gender reveals that women's unpaid work time is more responsive to their paid work time than men's, i.e., for every minute in paid work the reduction in unpaid work is greater for women (-.6 versus -.3 for men). This result is consistent with international research which shows that men's caring and household work is not as closely linked to paid work time as women's (Bianchi *et al.*, 2000).

Table 4.12: Regression Model of Minutes Per Day Spent on Unpaid Work (Caring Plus Housework): Weekend Days

	Base Model		Base Model Plus Interactions	
	B	Sig	B	Sig
(Constant)	24.19	.285	44.99	.057
Female	125.32	.000	78.63	.000
25-44 years	68.60	.001	66.95	.001
45-64 years	56.55	.014	52.94	.019
65 years plus	45.07	.084	38.77	.130
Inter/Junior Cert.	17.14	.353	18.13	.315
Leaving Cert.	37.51	.038	36.12	.041
Third level	15.39	.385	13.59	.434
Child <5 years	250.86	.000	156.70	.000
Child 5-10 years	184.29	.000	132.40	.000
Child 11-17 years	77.55	.000	22.85	.434
Under 18 age missing	109.45	.000	-7.55	.833
Married	34.43	.058	28.80	.184
Separated/widow	-1.24	.963	16.49	.535
Care for adult	86.65	.000	87.33	.000
Time in employ/ed	-0.27	.000	-0.19	.000
Female, Child <5 years			166.91	.000
Female, Child 5-10years			80.94	.075
Female, Child 11-17yrs			94.07	.015
Female, Child age missing			224.05	.000
Female employment time			-0.18	.005
Female, married/cohabiting			28.76	.270
Adjusted R ²	.384		0.414	
N of cases	1,024		1,024	

Note: In cases of multiple activities we impose priorities to define the 'main activity'. Results which are statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ are highlighted in bold.

The results for unpaid labour on weekend days are rather similar to those for weekdays. Women spend 125 minutes longer on caring and housework than men when other factors are constant, including time in paid employment (for the diary day).

Parents with children under 5 years spend an extra 251 minutes on household work than childless people (over 4 hours). Again the influence of children is stronger for women than men. For men, children under 5 years add an extra 157 minutes to unpaid work time but for women the additional time amounts to 324 minutes.²⁹ Having children aged 11 to 17 years has no effect on men's unpaid work time on weekend days.

Each extra minute in paid employment leads to a reduction of one-quarter of a minute in unpaid work. However, this relationship is stronger for women (-.4 minutes) than for men (-.2 minutes). It should be remembered that the amount of time spent in employment is much lower on weekend days and is zero for the majority of respondents.

One difference from the weekday results is that having a partner has an equal impact on men's and women's household workload at weekends, since the interaction between sex and marital status is insignificant.

We also estimate a model of unpaid time per average day for those who filled in a weekday and weekend day diary (Table A4.2). On this average day, women spend almost 2 hours more per day on unpaid work, even after controlling for the amount of time spent in paid work. Having children of all ages has a much greater impact on women's time use than it does on men's. As we found in the weekday model, the interaction between employment time and gender reveals that women's unpaid work time is more responsive to their paid work time than men's i.e., for every minute in paid work the reduction in unpaid work is greater for women (-.6 versus -.3 for men).

4.7 Conclusions

Studying patterns of time use highlights the importance of caring and unpaid housework in people's daily lives. While the focus of much economic analysis and official statistics is almost entirely on paid work, we find that these unpaid activities are at least as significant in terms of time use. However, even the most cursory glance at the figures shows that the allocation of time to these different activities is highly differentiated by gender. The chapter set out to describe these differences in detail since they have not been quantified previously in the Irish context (see Chapter 1 for discussion).³⁰

There are wide gender differences in both the proportions participating in caring, housework and employment and in the time devoted to these activities on weekdays and on weekend days. On weekdays, men spend on average 3 more hours than women on employment, while women spend 3 hours 28 minutes more on caring and housework than men. Only 50 per cent of all adult men record doing any housework on weekdays and 23 per cent report caring activity, while the respective figures for women are that 89 per cent participate in housework and 48 per cent in care activities. These gender differences in time spent on household work vis-à-vis

²⁹ This figure comes from adding the interaction effect 167 to the main effect 157 minutes.

³⁰ Our previous work on the time-use data has outlined the broad parameters of time-use for women and men but did not spell out in detail the results for caring and household tasks.

employment have significant consequences for women's access to (independent) income and status, since these activities are not financially rewarded, nor do they command a high level of social status and this is especially true of housework. While we present the daily averages of time use across the week, examining gender differences in paid and unpaid work on weekdays and weekend days separately is interesting precisely because they differ markedly.

From a time availability perspective we would expect the gender gap in time spent on domestic work to narrow at weekends, but this does not occur to any great extent. While there is some increase in men's caring and housework time, the time devoted by women to these activities is still much greater. The relatively small increases in male time devoted to caring and housework at the weekends does not match the drop in paid employment which decreases by just under 4 hours. Men continue to do more paid work than women at weekends but the difference is narrower than on weekdays. These results mean that the gender division of labour persists at the weekends despite the opportunity afforded for these tasks to be divided more equally in the context of lower time constraints. It is likely, therefore, that other processes are at play, such as 'doing gender' or bargaining/exchange. This question is considered again in the next chapter when we investigate time use within couples.

One of the key questions we addressed in the chapter was whether there are gender differences in the total workloads of women and men resulting in gender inequality in the allocation of free time, or whether men and women specialise in different tasks resulting in similar workloads, (but with potentially rather different access to rewards and status). This hypothesis has been set out in discussions of women's 'dual burden' or 'second shift', which suggest that women's greater involvement in employment has simply been added to their household work, or at least that men's involvement in housework and caring has not increased to match women's uptake of paid work.

Our results suggest that, while our evidence does not support the idea of a 'second shift' for women in Ireland, many women appear to work an extra weekend shift. The raw data show no gender difference in total committed time on weekdays, taking a daily average across the week (paid work/education + unpaid work + travel time), but there is a gap of 1 hour 28 minutes at weekends. Our models show that, when family, age and employment status are held constant, women put in an extra 24 minutes of committed time on weekdays and an extra 70 minutes on weekend days, which taken over the week amounts to 39 minutes per day, or around 4½ hours per week. This is likely to be an upper estimate of women's extra committed time: estimates using split times (see Appendix A) suggest a smaller gender gap in committed time than those reported in this chapter (see Table 4.3 and Table A2).

Examining unpaid work in more depth, we find that the level of non-participation among men accounts for a large part of the gender difference in the allocation of time to housework tasks; and among those who actually participate in cooking and shopping the gender differences are much narrower. This is also true in the case of 'social' caring for children. Men are less likely to participate, but when they do the time spent is similar to that of female participants. This is not true of the physical care of children: here there are large gender differences in time spent among those who participate.

This leads us to the differences in the type of tasks that women and men do. In the case of childcare, men are more likely to be involved in social care/playing, while women do the bulk of the physical care/supervision. For example, on weekend days women spend about 20 minutes more than men on social care but 3 hours more than

men on physical care. These results suggest, perhaps, that fathers allocate more time to social childcare while women continue to have responsibility for the more routine tasks.

Similar differences emerge when we examine the type of household work carried out by men and women. Women spend a far greater amount of time on the core domestic tasks of cleaning, cooking and shopping, while men's contribution comes much more in the form of house repairs and gardening. These patterns are also common in international time use studies, where it is pointed out that the tasks typically carried out by women are generally more time-consuming and are less flexible (for example, Lennon and Rosenfeld, 1994; Hochschild, 1990.).

When we estimate models of unpaid work time, we find that women's allocation of time to caring and housework is altered by their involvement in paid work. Paid work is not added to an undiminished unpaid workload; rather, time in employment leads to reduced allocation to unpaid work, although this is far less than a one-for-one reduction. We find, in common with studies in other national settings, that women's unpaid work is more responsive to their time in employment than men's, but this does not result in an equal contribution to unpaid work amongst men and women employed for the same number of hours. Even controlling for the time in paid work women are found to do significantly more unpaid household work than men (112 minutes on weekdays and 125 minutes on weekend days, giving an average of 114 minutes more per day). These differences are accentuated by the presence of children, since having young children leads to a much greater increase in women's unpaid workload than men's regardless of their paid work hours.

APPENDIX

Table A4.1: OLS Models of Total Committed Time, Average Day

	All		Men		Women	
	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	sig.
(Constant)	429.3	0.000	462.8	0.000	421.4	0.000
Female	39.1	0.001				
25-44 years	5.5	0.792	22.1	0.432	-1.9	0.950
45-64 years	-19.0	0.406	10.9	0.722	-43.8	0.196
65 years plus	-90.4	0.002	-37.3	0.340	-131.2	0.002
Self-employed	50.9	0.002	38.5	0.052	72.5	0.018
Student	-80.8	0.002	-75.4	0.041	-65.2	0.079
Unemployed	-322.9	0.000	-321.8	0.000	-311.5	0.000
Home-duties	-40.3	0.022	-289.3	0.008	-30.7	0.106
Retired	-137.4	0.000	-180.5	0.000	-99.2	0.000
Other not employed	-121.8	0.000	-220.0	0.000	-5.5	0.889
Inter/Junior Cert. level	36.9	0.024	40.0	0.078	33.9	0.145
Leaving Cert. level	33.4	0.037	18.0	0.423	45.6	0.043
Post-secondary	38.1	0.017	32.3	0.151	37.9	0.089
Youngest child <5 years	197.2	0.000	128.8	0.000	241.0	0.000
Youngest child 5-10 years	115.3	0.000	104.6	0.002	115.8	0.000
Youngest child 11-18 years	73.8	0.000	54.6	0.041	77.0	0.002
Under 18 age missing	87.2	0.000	33.2	0.312	133.6	0.000
Married/Cohabiting	12.0	0.462	-22.9	0.289	64.9	0.008
Separated/widowed	-32.4	0.169	-57.2	0.173	13.0	0.671
Adult Carer	74.6	0.000	53.3	0.044	84.5	0.000
Adjusted R ²	.448		.437		.485	
N of cases	958		447		510	

Notes: Committed time = employment/education + caring + housework + travel. In cases of multiple activities we impose priorities to define the 'main activity'. The model is estimated for sample who filled in both a weekday and a weekend diary. Results which are statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ are highlighted in bold.

Table A4.2: Regression Model of Minutes per Day Spent on Unpaid Work (Caring plus Household Work): Average Day

	Base Model		Base Model plus interactions	
	B	Sig	B	Sig
(Constant)	123.1	0.000	117.7	0.000
Female	114.2	0.000	105.8	0.000
25-44 years	49.1	0.004	43.3	0.006
45-64 years	39.8	0.032	29.3	0.093
65 years plus	3.9	0.859	0.5	0.979
Inter/Junior Cert. level	14.0	0.344	8.2	0.556
Leaving Cert. level	9.3	0.517	3.0	0.822
Third level	-7.8	0.579	-4.0	0.763
Child <5 years	233.8	0.000	112.6	0.000
Child 5-10 years	145.7	0.000	71.3	0.013
Child 11-17 years	61.9	0.000	-11.2	0.622
Under 18 age missing	89.7	0.000	-0.2	0.993
Married	34.1	0.019	28.3	0.091
Separated/widow	-1.8	0.934	13.7	0.502
Care for adult	80.7	0.000	74.1	0.000
Time in employ/ed	-0.4	0.000	-0.3	0.000
Female, Child <5 years			203.2	0.000
Female, Child 5-10 years			111.7	0.002
Female, Child 11-17years			123.7	0.000
Female, Child, age missing			167.7	0.000
Female employment time			-0.3	0.000
Female, married/cohabiting			42.5	0.035
Adjusted R ²	.537		0.595	
N of cases	958		958	

Note: In cases of multiple activities we impose priorities to define the 'main activity'. Model is estimated for the sample who filled in both a weekday and a weekend diary. Time spent in paid employment is taken from the weekday diary. This is much more substantial for most individuals in terms of time and results in a better fitting model than using weekend paid employment. Results which are statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ are highlighted in bold.

5. THE GENDERED DIVISION OF LABOUR WITHIN COUPLES IN IRELAND

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 2 we saw how there has been a dramatic rise in women's participation in paid employment in Ireland in the last 15 years. What are the consequences of this for the division of work in the home: does women's participation in the labour market lead to a more equal gender division of labour, both in terms of total workload and the division of unpaid work? Is there simply more work for both parties to absorb? While we cannot compare change over time, we can compare the division of household labour among more traditional 'male breadwinner/female homemaker couples' with couples where both partners are working 'dual-earner couples' and infer how changes in paid employment by women affect work in the home. Considering other couples – both non-conventional couples where the woman is the sole breadwinner and 'no-earner couples' where neither is engaged in paid employment – allows further insights into unpaid work and caring.

To investigate how paid and unpaid work is gendered in Ireland we need to examine not just overall time spent in paid and unpaid work but how this work is divided between couples living in the same household (Layte, 1999). Because the time-use data is household data it allows us to link men and women in couples and investigate how unpaid work is shared among them.

Analysing couples can thus shed light on the two related research questions in this report: first, the total workload of women and whether increasing labour market participation of women has led to women doing a 'second shift', adopting the role of both carer/homemaker and provider; second, the gender division of unpaid labour within couples and how this is related to engagement in paid employment and the life-cycle, particularly childcare commitments.

The base sample is of 294 heterosexual couples either married or living together as if married, where both partners filled out at least one weekday or weekend day diary.³¹ In all of the couples both partners were over 18 years.

Married and unmarried couples are not distinguished here and throughout the chapter where reference is made to 'husband' or 'wife' this does not imply that the couple are necessarily married, but is a useful way of distinguishing female and male partners.

There were 277 couples where both partners filled out a weekday diary, 267 where both filled out a weekend diary. This sample of couples was weighted to be representative of couples in Ireland using data from the Quarterly National Household Survey and all descriptive analysis in this chapter is based on weighted data.³² Table 5.1 presents summary characteristics of the couples.

³¹ Of potential couples 104 were excluded because only one partner filled out a diary and one homosexual couple was excluded from the analysis. A further 7 couples were excluded because one partner had filled out a weekend day and the other a weekday.

³² Weighting was carried out using information on couples from the Quarterly National Household Survey for the first quarter of 2005, obtained from the Central Statistics Office. Further details of weighting can be provided on request from the authors.

Table 5.1: Profile of Couples in the Time-Use Survey

		Frequency	%
Couples' employment status	Dual-earner couple	137	46.5
	Male breadwinner	81	27.5
	Female breadwinner	14	4.7
	No earner couple	62	21.2
	All couples	294	100
Age of youngest child	No children under 18 years	148	50.4
	Youngest child 0-4 years	55	18.8
	Youngest child 5-10 years	33	11.2
	Youngest child 11-17 years	31	10.5
	Child under 18 no age	27	9.1
	All couples	294	100
Adult care	Adult care	41	13.8
Age of oldest partner	18-34 years	44	14.8
	35-44 years	79	27.0
	45-64 years	123	42.0
	65 years plus	47	16.2
	All couples	294	100
Couples' highest education	Primary	29	10.0
	Lower secondary	37	12.6
	Higher secondary	74	25.3
	Cert. Dip. inc. PLC	70	24.0
	Third level	83	28.2
	All couples	294	100

Source: Weighted data from Irish National Time-Use Survey, 2005. Figures do not always sum to 294 because of rounding error.

Couple characteristics, based on their employment status, are calculated using self-reported primary economic status from the individual questionnaire. As can be seen from Table 5.1, almost half of the couples were 'dual-earner couples', that is where both partners recorded employed as their primary economic status. Somewhat less than one third of them are 'male breadwinner couples', that is where the husband is employed and the wife is not. Less than 5 per cent are 'female breadwinner couples', where only the wife is working. Couples where neither partner is employed make up 21 per cent of the sample. Note that this is a sample of all adult couples, including those over 65 years.³³ Children's ages are taken from the household grid. We distinguish children from 0-4 years (babies/toddlers/preschool), primary school-age children (5-10) and teenagers/secondary school children (11-17). For a number of couples we know they have children under 18 years but the ages are missing and these are included in the category 'Child under 18 years no age'. About half the couples have children under 18 years. At least one partner records caring for an adult in or outside their own home in about 14 per cent of couples. The age of the

³³ Given the small number of cases, further distinctions in couples' employment status were not made, but 'retired' is clearly an important category which falls under 'non-employed'.

oldest partner reflects the broad age profile of the couples: 42 per cent are in the category 45-64 years and 16.2 per cent are over 65 years. The couples highest education takes the (self-reported) education level of the more highly educated partner: this classification places more couples in the higher education categories than either the husband's or the wife's education. In almost 30 per cent of the couples there is at least one partner with third level education. In only 10 per cent of couples is the highest education primary level or equivalent.

5.2. The Gender Division of Labour Among Couples: Paid Work, Unpaid Work and Total Committed Time

This section examines the gender division of labour among couples in Ireland. The focus is paid work, unpaid work and total committed time; how much time couples spend on each of these activities, how this time is divided up between the partners and whether this division of labour varies among different kinds of couples.

Unpaid labour is divided into housework and care. For this chapter, care is both types of childcare plus adult care and housework includes all housework, including cooking, cleaning, DIY and shopping.³⁴ As discussed in Chapter 1, unpaid work is generally undervalued and underappreciated relative to paid work. Total committed time includes both paid and unpaid labour and travel.³⁵ High total committed time or workload means less time for leisure and very little discretion over time use. It also results in little time for recovery from work and caring demands. All estimates of time used in this chapter are based on the following priorities for defining the main activity: 1. childcare and adult care, 2. employment and study, 3. household, 4. travel, 5. personal care and eating, 6. leisure and voluntary activity, 7. sleeping and 8. unspecified time use (see Chapter 3 for more details).

Table 5.2 presents the husband's hours, the wife's hours, the total time spent by the couple and the female share of the total time. Note that these average times spent on various activities include those who report zero time spent on them.³⁶ The female share is calculated as the proportion of the activity carried out by the female partner and is used to measure the extent of sharing. The female share is only calculated for couples where at least one partner records the activity. For example, couples where neither partner records care are excluded from the calculation of the female share of care.

Of the 10½ hours (on average) spent in paid employment by couples on weekdays, (about 2 hours 20 minutes of which is travel), just over 6½ of these are done by the husband and 3 hours 43 minutes by the wife, amounting to a 35 per cent female share of paid work.³⁷ The division of unpaid labour is very different: of the average 8 hours 18 minutes spent on unpaid work by couples, 6 of these are by the wife and 2 by the husband, giving a female share of unpaid work of 74 per cent. If one takes the 'total committed time' in couples, that is paid and unpaid work including travel, husbands do an average of almost 9 hours and wives nearly 10 hours. So, while the

³⁴ Chapter 4 gives a further breakdown of time spent on specific types of housework and caring.

³⁵ See Chapter 4 for a further discussion of the concept of total committed time.

³⁶ Thus a low average could be a result of a large proportion of the sample spending a relatively short period of time on an activity or a small proportion of the sample spending a long period of time on the activity. See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the proportion of people engaged in various activities.

³⁷ We have included travel with paid work (and committed time) because the majority of time spent on travel is linked to employment, especially on weekdays. This will lead to misclassification of a small amount of travel time which is associated with leisure activities, especially on weekends. Travel time is specified in the discussion.

female share of paid employment in couples is about one-third, the female share of both housework and care is very high, giving a female share of total committed time at just over one-half (54 per cent) on weekdays.

Table 5.2: Allocation of Time Within Couples: Weekends, Weekdays and Average Days

	Husband's Hours (Average) (hh:mm)	Wife's Hours (Average) (hh:mm)	Total Time Spent by Couple (Average) (hh:mm)	Female Share*
WEEKDAYS				
Paid employment (inc education and travel)	6:42	3:43	10:25	0.35 (N=259)
Unpaid work (housework and caring)	2:10	6:09	8:18	0.74 (N=273)
Total committed time (paid and unpaid work, including travel)	8:52	9:52	18:43	0.54 (N=277)
WEEKEND DAYS				
Paid employment (inc education and travel)	2:30	1:39	4:09	0.39 (N=219)
Unpaid work	3:02	6:21	9:22	0.70 (N=258)
Total committed time (paid and unpaid work, including travel)	5:31	8:00	13:31	0.61 (N=266)
AVERAGE DAY**				
Paid employment (inc education and travel)	5:31	3:11	8:42	0.37 (N=242)
Unpaid work	2:28	6:15	8:43	0.72 (N=250)
Total committed time (paid and unpaid work, including travel)	7:59	9:26	17:25	0.55 (N=250)

Source: Weighted data from Irish National Time-Use Survey, 2005.

Notes: Number of cases is 277 for weekdays, 267 for weekend days, 250 for average across week, unless otherwise reported. *The female share is calculated for each individual couple and the average of this taken. This is not the same as taking the average of women's hours divided by the average of the total hours. The female share is only calculated for couples where at least one partner records the activity. **Note average day is based on couples where both partners filled out both diaries. The average time use across the week is calculated for each individual ((weekday*5) plus (weekend*2)/7). This is to allow calculation of the female share on the average day.

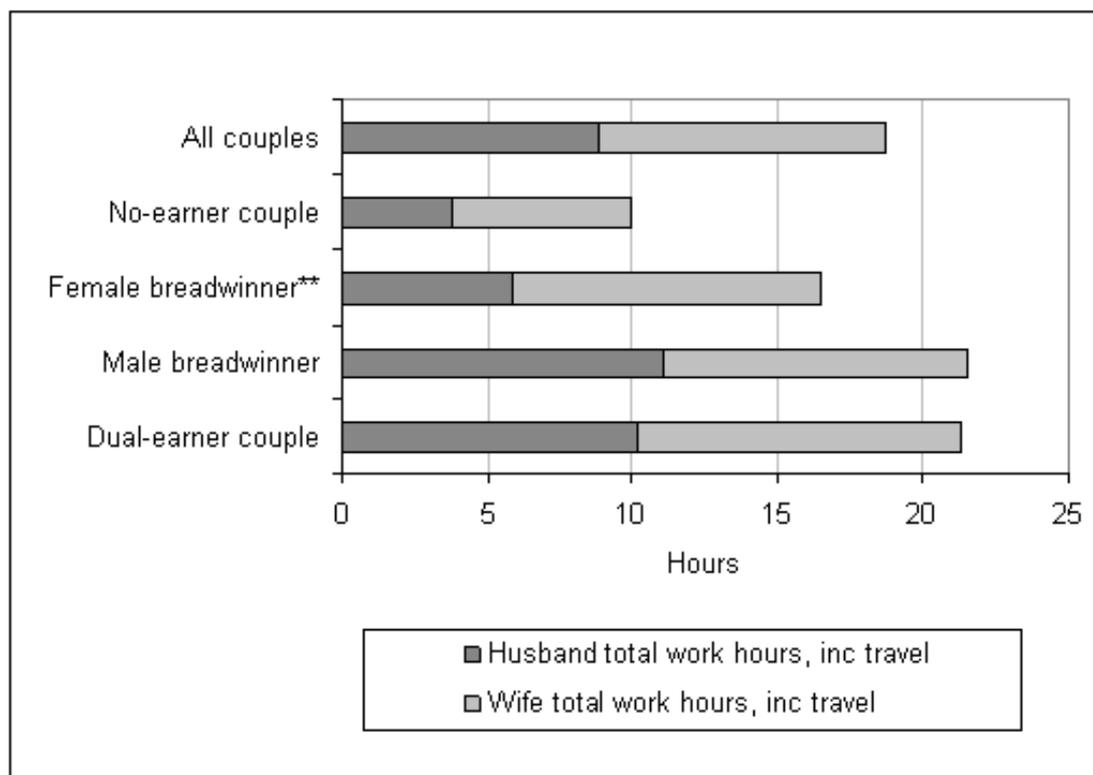
At weekends, couples spend much less time on paid employment: just over 4 hours (including 2 hours of travel). Once again, about one third of this is done by the wife. Men increase their time on unpaid work while women's unpaid work remains largely unchanged, giving a slightly lower female share of housework than on weekdays (70 per cent). Overall, as time spent on unpaid labour is similar but paid work falls significantly, women account for a much greater proportion of committed time at weekends than on weekdays, 8 hours for women versus 5 hours 31 minutes for men, giving a female share of 61 per cent. These patterns within couples echo the findings for the full sample in the last chapter. Standard deviations are not presented in detail here, but the reader should note that these averages conceal wide variations

between couples in paid work, unpaid work and committed time, on both weekdays and weekend days.

The Division of Labour Among Different Couples

How do these patterns vary according to the employment status of the couples and which couples have the highest committed time? Figure 5.1 shows total committed time for different couples on weekdays. Here we see that both dual-earner couples and male breadwinner couples have substantially more committed time on weekdays – over 21 hours compared to an average of just under 19. This is out of a total of 48 hours, as each partner has a time budget of 24 hours, of which they spend 15-16 hours sleeping. This compares to a total committed time of 10 hours in couples where neither partner is in paid employment (no-earner couples). At 21 hours and 51 minutes the total committed time for male breadwinner couples is slightly higher than for dual-earner couples (21 hours, 29 minutes), though the difference is small, (particularly given the overall time commitment among both groups). The difference is that for male breadwinner couples the male partner shoulders somewhat more of the total committed time (41 minutes more); in dual-earner couples the woman’s total committed time is greater than the man’s (by almost an hour). Women in dual-earner couples have the highest committed time of all women on weekdays, very similar to men with the most committed time, those in male breadwinner couples. Given that total workload is rather similar for dual-earner couples and male breadwinner couples, this does not support Jacobs and Gerson’s (2004) proposition that dual earners will have a greater work burden than male breadwinner couples. Reasons for this are discussed below when we consider the balance of paid and unpaid work in these couples.

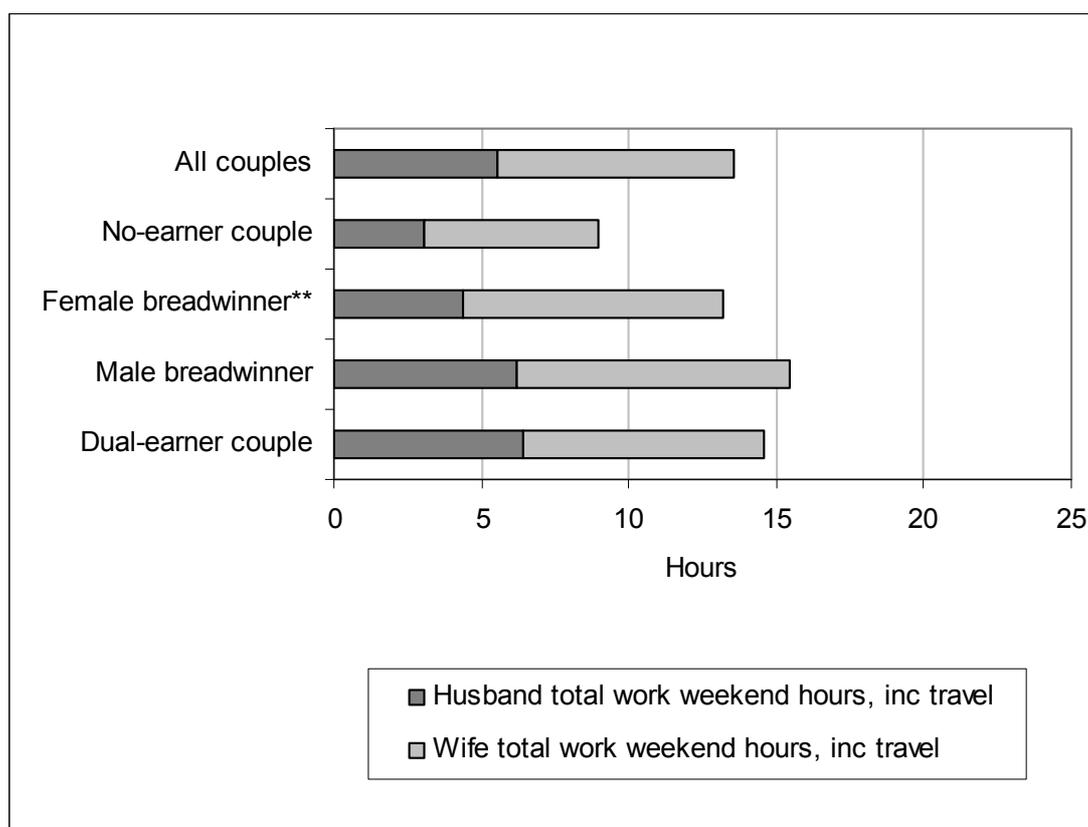
Figure 5.1: Couples’ Total Committed Time by Couple Type, Weekdays



Note: **Number of cases is small (19) for female breadwinner couples.

At the weekend committed time falls for all couples, as expected, with the average now just under 14 hours. At weekends the male breadwinner couples clearly have the most committed time, (15½ hours), which is almost one hour more than dual-earner couples. Men in dual-earner couples have similar levels of committed time to men in male breadwinner couples, but women in these couples have more committed time than women in dual-earner couples. This is despite the fact that a similar proportion of both couples have children – though male breadwinner couples tend to have more children.³⁸ For male breadwinner couples the gender division of committed time found on weekdays is reversed: women have just over 3 hours more committed time than their husbands.

Figure 5.2: Couples' Total Committed Time by Couple Type, Weekend Days



Note: **Number of cases is small (19) for female breadwinner couples.

Investigating how committed time breaks down into paid and unpaid work, Table 5.3 presents couples' paid and unpaid work on weekdays, weekends and daily average across the week for male breadwinner and dual-earner couples, the two of most interest for our substantive questions. In Table 5.3 we see that the time spent on paid and unpaid labour between men and women looks more similar in dual-earner couples than in the more traditional male breadwinner couples. To the extent that there are an increasing number of dual-earner couples in Ireland, the gender division of labour is changing. However, women in dual-earner couples still do more unpaid work and less paid work than their husbands.

³⁸ 62.3 per cent of dual-earner couples and 63.7 per cent of male breadwinner couples have children. The age profile of the youngest child is very similar, though male breadwinner couples tend to have more children, for example one quarter of them have 3 or more children, as opposed to 15 per cent of dual-earner couples.

But why is total committed time not much higher among dual-earner couples than among male breadwinner couples, as predicted by Jacobs and Gerson (2004)? One reason is that on weekends dual-earner couples do less unpaid work on average than male breadwinner couples (almost 2 hours less unpaid work). Secondly, men in dual-earner couples do less *paid* work than men in male breadwinner couples, which also helps explain why the total work burden of dual-earner couples is not higher.

On weekend days, male breadwinner couples continue to have higher committed time than dual-earner couples. From Table 5.3, we see that this is mostly accounted for by the fact that women in male breadwinner couples do much more unpaid work than women in dual-earner couples. The gender difference in unpaid labour at weekends for dual-earner couples is just over 2½ hours; for male breadwinner couples it is almost 5½ hours. From a time availability perspective one would expect the gender differences to narrow at the weekend. However, this is not the case and as in Chapter 4, we interpret this as evidence consistent with both ‘doing gender’ (i.e. that men and women display their gender roles in the amount of domestic work they do) and bargaining/resource theories (that the man, who has greater resources in male breadwinner couples, will use these resources to avoid unpleasant domestic work). It is in dual-earner couples that the gender difference is the smallest, suggesting that there is a more equal gender division of *unpaid* labour.

Table 5.3: Couples, Paid and Unpaid Work: Comparing Dual-earner and Male Breadwinner Couples

	Husband Paid Work, Inc. Travel	Wife Paid Work, Inc. Travel	Husband Unpaid Work	Wife Unpaid Work	Husband Committed Time	Wife Committed Time	Couples Committed Time
	hh:mm	hh:mm	hh:mm	hh:mm	hh:mm	hh:mm	hh:mm
WEEKDAY							
Dual-earner couple	8:01	6:07	2:09	4:60	10:10	11:07	21:17
Male breadwinner	9:24	1:26	1:42	8:59	11:06	10:25	21:31
WEEKEND							
Dual-earner couple	2:47	2:08	3:36	6:01	6:23	8:09	14:33
Male breadwinner	3:12	0:54	2:58	8:23	6:10	9:17	15:27
AVERAGE DAY							
Dual-earner couple	6:33	5:07	2:42	5:23	9:15	10:29	19:44
Male breadwinner	7:48	1:20	2:02	8:55	9:50	10:15	20:05

Note: For convenience we have included travel time with work hours. Some of this will be domestic travel so the graphs will slightly overstate the paid work time and underestimate unpaid work time.

5.3 Modelling the Gender Division of Labour

Which type of couples have the most egalitarian division of labour? Up to this point we have explored the distribution of total work – paid and unpaid – among men and women and in different groups. While the graphs highlighted a number of important associations it could not take into account the complex inter-relationships between potential influences. For example, differences between couple types in how the total

work burden is shared may be due to different levels of education within the couples. In this section we employ multivariate modelling techniques that allow us to test the impact of these factors simultaneously. This means that the independent impact of each characteristic of couples can be identified more clearly, while taking account of the influence of other relevant factors. We estimate multivariate models of total committed time and unpaid work. For modelling we do not use the female share, but an alternative measure of 'gender equality', namely the gender gap. The gender gap is simply the woman's time minus the man's time, calculated separately for each couple. If the woman does more (unpaid) work than her husband, the gender gap in (unpaid) work will be positive. If the man does more (unpaid) work, the gender gap will be negative. The variation in the gender gap lends itself more readily to modelling than the female share (which just varies from 0 to 1).³⁹ In each case we estimate men's total time spent on the activity, women's total time and the gender gap separately and how these are affected by a range of factors. Investigating all three measures allows us to tease out how different factors influence the gender division of labour. For example, the gender gap in unpaid work could be higher because women are doing more work or because men are doing less. This is the strategy followed by Bianchi *et al.*, 2000.

Drawing on the theoretical explanations of the gender division of labour and our own expectations, we include characteristics expected to influence total committed time and unpaid labour, drawn from the time-use data set. As the survey was not particularly focused on the gender division of labour, information on two potentially important influences, namely gender role attitudes and partners' earnings, was not collected. As such these should not be seen as 'comprehensive' or 'causal' models but more exploratory in nature.

The first characteristics included relate to caring demands. We include age of couple's youngest child, distinguishing children under the age of 5 years, children aged 5-10 years and children aged 11-17 years and including a category for children where we don't have full information on the age. The reference category is couples with no children. From bargaining/relative resource models (see Chapter 1) we would expect that the higher the partner's resources, for example, education, the lower the share of unpaid work. To examine bargaining models empirically we measure whether the wife's or husband's education is higher (wife's and husband's education the same is the reference category). Age of oldest partner is used to investigate whether behaviour in younger couples is more egalitarian (age 35-44 years is the reference category). The relative resource models suggest that professional men will do less housework (Shelton and John, 1996). Highest class professional is included as a covariate (highest class non-manual or manual is the reference category).

Sharing the Total Work Burden

First we investigate total committed time among men and women in couples and the gap between the two.

Table 5.4 presents linear regression models of total committed time for husbands and wives on weekdays, to investigate the factors associated with a high workload for men and women in couples. The third model is gender gap in total committed time, to look at how the total work burden is shared. A primary purpose of these models is to investigate variations between couple types in this regard. This captures

³⁹ Other models tested for unpaid labour were: the log of the female share; a logistic transformation of the female share; female share used to create 'egalitarian couples' (female share=0.4-0.6), modelled using a logistic regression and the gender gap as a proportion of total unpaid work.

time availability but also the gender perspective for expectations on ‘non-traditional’ couples, particularly female breadwinner couples. The reference category is male breadwinner couples, often seen as the ‘traditional’ couples in Ireland.

For men, we see that employment status has the strongest effect on total committed time during the week.⁴⁰ From the constant we see that in male-breadwinner couples, the reference category, men have 10 hours 35 minutes total committed time, other factors held constant. Dual-earner men have slightly lower committed time (37 minutes less), but they do not differ significantly from their male-breadwinner counterparts. Men in female breadwinner couples and no-earner couples both have substantially less committed time (3 hours 47 minutes less and 4 hours 40 minutes less respectively).

Table 5.4: Linear Regression Models of Total Committed Time (Minutes), Weekdays

	Husband		Wife		Gender Gap	
	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.
(Constant)	635.0	0.000	557.9	0.000	-77.1	0.406
Youngest child under 5 years	95.0	0.032	238.5	0.000	143.4	0.011
Youngest child 5-10	86.5	0.048	143.1	0.001	56.6	0.308
Youngest child 11-17	66.0	0.054	71.7	0.032	5.7	0.896
Under 18 years, age missing	66.1	0.167	124.3	0.008	58.2	0.339
Either partner records adult care	-69.4	0.045	5.7	0.866	75.0	0.088
Wife’s education higher	-8.8	0.738	33.0	0.199	41.8	0.213
Husband’s education higher	-27.9	0.388	-28.0	0.374	-0.1	0.999
Couples highest education in years	0.9	0.866	-4.3	0.423	-5.2	0.456
Oldest partner under 35 years	-12.0	0.791	-6.6	0.880	5.3	0.926
Oldest partner 45-64	-66.5	0.055	-9.5	0.777	57.0	0.195
Oldest partner over 65	-109.9	0.027	-76.0	0.115	33.9	0.590
Highest class professional	8.5	0.757	18.8	0.485	10.3	0.771
Ref: Male breadwinner						
Dual-earner couple	-36.8	0.199	52.2	0.061	89.1	0.015
Female breadwinner couple	-226.8	0.000	96.3	0.043	323.1	0.000
No-earner couple	-280.2	0.000	-80.6	0.043	199.6	0.000
N of cases	267		267		267	
Degrees of Freedom	15		15		15	
Adjusted R ²	0.43		0.34		0.11	

Notes: The reference categories are the following – couple with no children; neither partner cares for an adult; oldest partner 35-44 years; highest class non-manual or manual; male breadwinner couple. Results which are statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ are highlighted in bold.

⁴⁰ Hours of paid employment are not included in these models as they are too highly correlated with committed time, the dependant variable.

Young children increase men's total committed time during the week and the younger the child the more the work: 1½ hours extra work for fathers of under 5 year olds, somewhat less for primary school age children and 1 hour if the youngest child is a teenager (the latter effect marginally significant). While statistically significant, the effect of children on men's total committed time is much lower than the effect of paid employment, as we might expect. Finally, total committed time is lower for older men than for the 35-44 years age group, for the 45-64 years age group but especially for men over 65 years.

For women, total committed time varies by couple type, though not as much as for men. Women in dual-earner couples have 52 minutes more total committed time than women in male breadwinner couples, though the difference is only marginally significant. Female breadwinners have even more total committed time (1 hour and 37 minutes more than male-breadwinner women), while women in no-earner couples have 1 hour and 21 minutes less committed time than women in male breadwinner couples. For women, having children is the most salient factor influencing total committed time; women with a youngest child under 5 years have almost 4 hours more total committed time per weekday than women without children, even controlling for employment status. Mothers of primary school age children also do approximately 2½ hours more than non-mothers. The effect of older children on total committed time is less than that of younger children.

On weekdays, therefore, paid work has the strongest influence on the total work burden for men, while having children has the strongest influence for women. What about the gender gap in total committed time? The constant in this model tells us that in the reference category, prime-age male breadwinner couples with no children, the gender gap, at -77, is in favour of men, who have 77 minutes more total committed time, though this is not statistically significant.

In dual-earner couples the story is different: here the woman has slightly more committed time than her husband (12 minutes more, see Table 5.4).⁴¹ Where couples spend little or no time on paid work (no-earner couples), the woman has quite a bit more committed time than her husband (2 hours more on average). Women in female breadwinner households do 4 hours more than their husbands, holding other factors constant. Having any children under 5 means the woman has almost 2 hours more committed time than her husband than women with no children do. Why do non-earning men not do more work in these couples, given that they have the time? These findings lend support to the gender perspective discussed in Chapter 1. In both male breadwinner couples and dual-earner couples, where the man is working, the gender gap in total committed time is less.

Table 5.5 presents the model for total committed time on weekend days. Note that total committed time at weekends is not as well explained as for weekdays (the adjusted R² or model fit statistics are lower than for the weekday models). The constant shows that the volume of total committed time for the reference category is also much lower than for the same group during the week; this is particularly true for men. This is what we would expect.

For men, we see that children have more of an impact on men's total committed time than on weekdays, for example men with a youngest child under 5 have over 3 hours committed time work than men without children: during the week these men have 1½

⁴¹ Following the gap model in Table 5.4, the gap for dual-earner couples is calculated as the sum of the reference category, male breadwinner couples, (-77.1) plus the coefficient for dual-earner couples (+89.1), resulting in a gap of 12 minutes more for women in dual-earner couples.

hours extra committed time. Children also have an even greater impact on women's total committed time on weekend days than on weekdays. For example, a woman whose youngest child is under 5 has almost 5 hours more committed time than women without children, compared to just under 4 hours more during the week.

Table 5.5: Linear Regression Models of Total Committed Time (Minutes), Weekend Days

	Husband		Wife		Gender Gap	
	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.
(Constant)	198.9	0.038	402.6	.000	203.6	0.039
Youngest child under 5 years	191.7	0.000	294.7	.000	103.0	0.064
Youngest child 5-10 years	157.5	0.006	182.8	.001	25.2	0.664
Youngest child 11-17 years	82.9	0.056	97.5	.027	14.6	0.743
Under 18 years, age missing	43.5	0.457	154.5	.008	111.0	0.066
Either partner records adult care	32.9	0.452	81.6	.067	48.7	0.281
Wife's education higher	-45.0	0.186	-31.0	.373	14.1	0.688
Husband's education higher	-23.1	0.569	5.9	.753	29.0	0.488
Couples highest education in years	5.7	0.427	-1.9	.749	-7.6	0.304
Oldest partner under 35 years	-77.6	0.169	0.5	.991	78.1	0.179
Oldest partner 45-64 years	47.4	0.266	4.4	.911	-43.0	0.328
Oldest partner over 65 years	25.7	0.691	-98.7	.085	-124.5	0.063
Highest class professional	-3.2	0.929	45.0	.228	48.2	0.196
Ref: Male Breadwinner						
Dual-earner couple	48.2	0.196	-43.6	.471	-91.9	0.017
Female breadwinner couple	-16.1	0.803	95.5	.135	111.6	0.094
No-earner couple	-96.4	0.083	-18.8	.929	77.6	0.175
N of cases	255		255		255	
Degrees of Freedom	15		15		15	
Adjusted R ²	0.133		0.208		0.068	

Notes: The reference categories are the following: couple with no children; neither partner cares for an adult; oldest partner 35-44; highest class non-manual or manual; male breadwinner couple. Results which are statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ are highlighted in bold.

Regarding variations between different types of couple, men in dual-earner couples have somewhat more total committed time than men in male breadwinner couples, though this difference is not statistically significant. However, combined with the fact that their female partners have somewhat less committed time, the gender gap in committed time (most of which is unpaid work) is less among these couples. Dual-earner couples share the total work burden more equally than all other couples on weekend days. This is true even accounting for differences between the couples in terms of children, educational background and age. It should also be noted that on

weekends, in contrast to during the week, in male breadwinner couples, the reference category, women do 3 hours 20 minutes more total work than men.

Taking the daily average across the week, i.e. combining weekend and weekday results (Appendix Table A5.1), we see a negligible gender gap in total committed time for male breadwinner couples. Women in dual-earner couples have about 50 minutes more committed time than their husbands, but here too the difference between men and women (the gap) is not significant. The couples in Ireland where the woman has substantially more committed time than her husband are the female breadwinner couples and the no-earner couples.

Overall, these models of the gender gap, while explaining some of the variation, leave a lot unexplained (see 'adjusted R^2 for the gender gap models in Tables 5.4, 5.5 and A5.1). This suggests that other factors play a role in variations in total work among couples, for example: wage differences between partners in the case of paid work, different 'standards' in the case of housework, or indeed tastes and preferences for work, money and leisure, as suggested by Browning and Gortz (2006).

Sharing Unpaid Labour

Turning now to unpaid work (i.e. housework and care combined), Table 5.6 presents the results of the models of unpaid work: husband's unpaid work time, wife's unpaid work time and the gender gap in unpaid work. For the 'average day' models we include variables measuring the amount of paid work during the diary day for both men as women, since in previous work on the topic these have been shown to be strongly associated with both the amount of unpaid work and the gender gap in unpaid work (Shelton and John, 1996; Pacholok and Gauthier, 2004; Gershuny *et al.*, 2005). We therefore do not include couples' employment status as it is too highly correlated with time spent on paid work. For the weekend models we use couples' employment status, as paid employment time does not have such an influence on time use at the weekend and we are interested in the behaviour of different couple types.

For men there is a clear and significant effect of paid work hours on minutes of unpaid work on weekdays. For each minute more paid work, a man does one-third of a minute less unpaid work. His wife's paid employment does not affect his hours of unpaid work in this model. Having a child under 5 years also means that men on average, do more unpaid work.

Women with higher hours of paid work do less unpaid work: for each extra minute of paid work during the week, the woman does two-thirds of a minute less unpaid work. Note the effect of paid employment hours on unpaid work is stronger for women than for men: the amount of unpaid work women do is more sensitive to their paid hours of work than is the case for men, consistent with previous findings (Bianchi *et al.*, 2000). Also, if we look at the gender gap in unpaid work, which is not far off 5 hours (289 minutes) for the reference category, we find that each extra minute of paid work a man does increases the gap by 0.38 of a minute. For example, if he does one hour more paid work, this increases the gender gap in unpaid work by 23 minutes. Conversely for women, each extra minute of paid work reduces the gender gap by 0.70 of a minute, i.e. 1 hour extra paid work means 42 minutes less of a gender gap in unpaid work. So 'her' paid work has more of an affect on how a couple shares domestic work than 'his'. In addition, if the woman does 1 extra hour of paid work, she only does 42 minutes less unpaid work, so increasing paid employment will mean an increase in total work for women.

Once again, the presence of children of all ages has a strong influence on time spent in unpaid labour for women, even controlling for hours of paid employment. Children of all ages affect a mother's unpaid work time to a much greater extent than they affect a father's unpaid work time. For example, on weekdays having a youngest child under 5 years increases a man's unpaid work time by 2 hours, but a woman's by over 5 hours. This results in the presence of children of all ages increasing the gender gap in unpaid work (see gender gap model). This suggests that couples follow more traditional roles when children are present and that the greater time commitment does not lead to increased sharing of unpaid labour. This replicates a finding in many other countries (Bianchi *et al.*, 2000; Craig, 2006; Pacholok and Gauthier, 2004).

Table 5.6: Linear Regression Models of Unpaid Work (Minutes), Weekdays

	Husband Unpaid Work		Wife Unpaid Work		Gender Gap, Unpaid Work	
	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.
Constant	176.6	0.000	465.52	0.000	288.95	0.000
Husband's paid employment mins (from weekday diary)	-0.3	0.000	0.07	0.138	0.38	0.000
Wife's paid employment mins (from weekday diary)	0.1	0.171	-0.65	0.000	-0.70	0.000
Youngest child under 5 years	121.1	0.000	315.38	0.000	194.26	0.000
Youngest child 5 to 10 years	64.7	0.029	198.47	0.000	133.76	0.004
Youngest child 11 to 17 years	10.0	0.662	106.05	0.001	96.04	0.007
Under 18 years, age missing	33.3	0.302	124.94	0.006	91.60	0.068
Either partner records adult care	-14.4	0.540	21.38	0.515	35.75	0.327
Wife's education higher	6.0	0.738	14.56	0.560	8.60	0.756
Husbands education higher	-19.9	0.362	-17.77	0.561	2.12	0.950
Couples highest education (years)	1.3	0.723	-8.85	0.086	-10.15	0.076
Oldest partner under 35 years	41.0	0.175	-25.41	0.547	-66.41	0.157
Oldest partner 45-64 years	-3.2	0.892	-3.48	0.915	-0.29	0.994
Oldest partner over 65 years	26.7	0.403	-25.07	0.575	-51.78	0.297
Highest class professional	-18.9	0.314	9.12	0.728	27.98	0.336
N of cases	267		267		267	
D of Freedom	14		14		14	
Adjusted R ²	0.32		0.52		0.45	

Notes: The reference categories are: couple with no children; neither partner cares for an adult; wife and husband's education the same; oldest partner 35-44 years; highest class non-manual or manual. Results which are statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ are highlighted in bold.

The models for the weekend investigate how different couple types share unpaid labour (Table 5.7). For men there are basically no differences in the amount of unpaid labour by couple type (except that the small number of men in female breadwinner couples do more unpaid work than men in male breadwinner couples). For women, those in dual-earner couples do considerably less unpaid work than other women, most notably women in male breadwinner couples. The gap in unpaid work for the reference category, male breadwinner couples, is approximately 5 hours at weekends. In both dual-earner and female breadwinner couples, the gap in unpaid labour is much smaller than for male breadwinner couples and this finding is statistically significant. Of most interest for us, is that the gap between men and

women's unpaid work in dual-earner couples at the weekend is 2 hours 40 minutes less than in male breadwinner couples.

Young children (under 10 years) increase men's unpaid work time at the weekend. The magnitude of the effect of children on women's unpaid work is much greater than for men. The result is that children increase the gap in unpaid work at weekends as they do on weekdays. (Only in parents of 5-10 years olds is the impact on the gap smaller and not significant).

Table 5.7: Linear Regression Models of Unpaid Work (Minutes), Weekend Days

	Husband Unpaid Work		Wife Unpaid Work		Gender Gap, Unpaid Work	
	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.
Constant	83.44	0.283	389.48	0.000	306.05	0.003
Youngest child under 5 years	131.86	0.003	308.28	0.000	176.41	0.002
Youngest child 5-10 years	149.10	0.001	233.23	0.000	84.13	0.159
Youngest child 11-17 years	25.02	0.478	158.54	0.000	133.52	0.004
Child under 18 years, d/k age	-25.53	0.592	201.01	0.001	226.54	0.000
Either partner records adult care	-14.00	0.695	47.44	0.268	61.44	0.185
Wife's education higher	-86.60	0.002	-51.62	0.121	34.98	0.331
Husband's education higher	-50.97	0.124	-13.33	0.737	37.64	0.380
Couples highest education (years)	8.93	0.129	-4.35	0.537	-13.28	0.082
Oldest partner under 35 years	-44.68	0.331	30.11	0.585	74.79	0.210
Oldest partner 45-64 years	-51.84	0.136	-35.14	0.399	16.70	0.711
Oldest partner over 65 years	-101.10	0.056	-98.14	0.122	2.96	0.966
Highest class professional	4.31	0.884	63.57	0.073	59.26	0.122
Ref: Male breadwinner						
Dual-earner couple	20.90	0.491	-136.57	0.000	-157.47	0.000
No-earner couple	32.67	0.470	-38.48	0.478	-71.15	0.225
Female breadwinner couple	130.32	0.014	-53.56	0.397	-183.89	0.008
N of cases	256		256		256	
D of Freedom	15		15		15	
Adjusted R ²	0.15		0.27		0.13	

Notes: The reference categories are the following: couple with no children; neither partner cares for an adult; wife and husband's education the same; oldest partner 35-44 years; highest class non-manual or manual. Results which are statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ are highlighted in bold.

The resource/bargaining perspective argues that the partner with the most resources in the relationship uses his/her resources to avoid unpaid work. Because we did not have data on individual earnings we were not able to test this perspective fully. However, we found no evidence that the gap is smaller in couples where women have higher education than their husbands, once we account for other factors in the models. From both weekday and weekend models we see that among more highly educated couples the female share of total work on weekends is slightly lower (significant at the 10 per cent level only), but this is more plausibly explained by the fact that highly educated couples are likely to have more liberal gender role attitudes conducive to sharing their workload.

In Table A5.2 we present a model of daily unpaid work averaged across the week for couples who filled out both diaries. Here we model paid work done on the weekday diary, as this is when most paid work is done.⁴² The pattern found in the weekday model is confirmed: women's paid work has more of an impact than men's and children increase the gap in unpaid work substantially. In this model we also find that in couples with higher education the gap in unpaid work is slightly though significantly smaller, possibly indicating a role for gender attitudes, as noted above.

5.4 Conclusions

The two research questions at the beginning of this chapter were first, the total workload of men and women within couples and whether increasing labour market participation of women has led to women doing a 'second shift'. Second, the gender division of unpaid labour within couples and how this is related to engagement in paid employment and the life-cycle, particularly in relation to child care commitments. Using a matched sample of couples we investigated total work burden or total committed time and how this breaks down into paid and unpaid labour for all couples on weekdays and weekend days and for different couple types.

Distinguishing between different couple types, we found high total workloads for both male breadwinner couples and dual-earner couples. Dual-earner couples are doing less housework and contracting out caring and men are doing less paid work during the week than their male breadwinner counterparts (Table 5.3). Therefore, the total workload is not higher than that of male breadwinner couples, as predicted by Jacobs and Gerson (2004). Dual-earner couples are certainly doing more paid work (in total) than male breadwinner couples, but their overall work is not significantly higher. In future research it would be interesting to distinguish dual-earner couples into 'dual-earner, both full-time' and 'dual-earner, one part-time, one full-time', in order to investigate whether the workloads of dual-earner full-time couples are higher than male breadwinner couples.

We also look at the distribution of total workload between men and women within different couple types. It is men in male breadwinner couples who have a higher workload on weekdays; this is evident from the descriptive statistics (Table 5.3) and also from the committed time models for weekdays (Table 5.4). But women in male breadwinner couples have more committed time than their partners at the weekend, most of which is unpaid work. This leaves women in male breadwinner couples having slightly more committed time if we take a weekly average (Table 5.3).

Unmodelled results show that in dual-earner couples women have a higher total workload than men – about 1 hour more on average on weekdays and almost 2 hours more at weekends. This reduces to 12 minutes on weekdays, 1 hour 42 on weekends, when we control for the presence and age of children, education and age. (the reference category in the models are couples with no children). The unpaid models suggest that this is because as women enter paid employment they reduce their time in unpaid work, but this is not an hour for hour reduction, so women in these couples end up doing more total work. Thus, time availability plays a role in gender division of labour, but our results show that paid employment hours and ages of children (see below) have a much stronger effect on women's unpaid labour than men's.

⁴² The alternative strategy of modelling couple types was rejected as there is so much variation in paid work on weekdays within couple types. The 'average across the week' consists of 5 weekdays and 2 weekend days.

We found total work time on average somewhat higher among women on weekdays, by about 1 hour, giving a female share of total work of 54 per cent. On weekend days women's total work time is about 2½ hours more than men, giving a female share of 61 per cent.

Can we call this extra work a 'second shift'? Across the week, women are recording about 1½ more total work per day than men (Table 5.2). But this varies by couple type. Dual-earner women are shouldering some extra work burden (1 hour and 15 minutes more total work per day across the week than their husbands), male-breadwinner women less than half-an-hour. The couples where women do substantially more work are female breadwinner couples (small in number) and no-earner couples (where neither partner engages in paid work).

Regarding the division of labour, women in couples do about one-third of the paid labour both on weekdays and weekend days. Conversely women do 72 per cent of unpaid labour across the week. It would be interesting to distinguish the sharing of care and housework, but a detailed distinction between the two forms of unpaid labour was beyond the scope of this chapter.

Examining the division of labour by different couple types, we found that husbands in dual-earner couples do less paid work than husbands in male breadwinner couples and they also do more unpaid work, especially at weekends, than men in male breadwinner couples. Conversely, women in male breadwinner couples do more unpaid work and less paid work than women in dual-earner couples. Overall, the gender difference in unpaid work in dual-earner couples is less. So, to the extent that household employment patterns are changing, we might expect more equal sharing of paid and unpaid work. If this changing configuration of paid and unpaid work effects greater gender equality, given that the former is high-status and remunerated whereas the latter is not, the shift to dual-earner couples may bring about more gender equality within couples.

In no-earner couples, where paid employment plays a very small role in time use, we might expect that men and women share unpaid labour equally. In these couples we find that men are doing somewhat more housework/caring than working men but women still do a much higher share of unpaid work and thus a higher share of total work. These results are strongly suggestive of a role for gender ideology in the division of unpaid labour. In this regard, gender role attitudes of the couples would have been a useful addition to the models but was not available on the dataset.

The presence and age of children has a strong impact on both total and unpaid work. Caring demands, in terms of time, are much higher for very young children and both men's and women's time use is more affected by younger children (under 5s). The presence of children has a much greater impact on the time use of women than that of men. To the extent that children are associated with more unpaid work, this task falls disproportionately on women. That parenthood brings a reallocation of time for both men and women, widening the gap between paid and unpaid labour and leaving a more traditional division of labour in couples with children, replicates a finding in many other countries (Bianchi *et al.*, 2000; Craig, 2006; Pacholok and Gauthier, 2004).

APPENDIX

Table A5.1: Linear Regression Models of Total Committed Time (Minutes), Daily Average Across the Week

	Husband		Wife		Gender Gap	
	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.
Constant	510.4	0.000	526.7	0.000	16.4	0.849
Youngest child under 5 years	138.5	0.000	257.8	0.000	119.3	0.016
Youngest child 5-10 years	121.5	0.003	148.0	0.000	26.5	0.598
Youngest child 11-17 years	74.8	0.019	79.4	0.016	4.6	0.908
Child under 18 years, age missing	81.3	0.061	131.6	0.004	50.3	0.355
Either partner records adult care	-34.7	0.279	38.1	0.252	72.7	0.071
Wife's education higher	-7.8	0.748	19.4	0.443	27.3	0.374
Husband's education higher	-16.7	0.572	-1.0	0.973	15.7	0.674
Couples highest education in years	0.2	0.967	-5.9	0.273	-6.1	0.348
Oldest partner under 35 years	-36.7	0.362	1.9	0.963	38.7	0.445
Oldest partner 45-64 years	-25.8	0.405	0.9	0.977	26.7	0.493
Oldest partner over 65 years	-50.3	0.277	-82.1	0.088	-31.8	0.584
Highest class professional	17.5	0.502	38.5	0.156	21.0	0.523
Ref: male breadwinner						
Dual-earner couple	-4.5	0.864	32.6	0.235	37.1	0.264
Female breadwinner couple	-192.0	0.000	69.2	0.151	261.2	0.000
No-earner couple	-235.4	0.000	-68.1	0.097	167.2	0.001
N of cases	241		241		241	
Degrees of Freedom	15		15		15	
Adjusted R ²	0.45		0.366		0.097	

Notes: The reference categories are the following: couple with no children; neither partner cares for an adult; oldest partner 35-44 years; highest class non-manual or manual; male breadwinner couple. Results which are statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ are highlighted in bold.

The daily average combines weekday and weekend day results.

Table A5.2: Linear Regression Models of Unpaid Work (Minutes), Daily Average Across the Week

	Husband Unpaid Work		Wife Unpaid Work		Gender Gap, Unpaid Work	
	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.
Constant	128.79	0.008	435.52	0.000	306.7	0.000
Husband's paid employment mins. (from weekday diary)	-0.21	0.000	0.06	0.181	0.3	0.000
Wife's paid employment mins. (from weekday diary)	0.04	0.221	-0.52	0.000	-0.6	0.000
Youngest child under 5 years	123.88	0.000	316.54	0.000	192.7	0.000
Youngest child 5-10 years	91.22	0.002	201.12	0.000	109.9	0.014
Youngest child 11-17 years	5.59	0.801	110.36	0.001	104.8	0.003
Child under 18 years, age missing	20.85	0.499	146.89	0.001	126.0	0.009
Either partner records adult care	-16.82	0.463	30.92	0.352	47.7	0.182
Wife's education higher	-17.46	0.312	0.05	0.998	17.5	0.515
Husband's education higher	-35.08	0.095	-9.69	0.749	25.4	0.437
Couples highest education (years)	5.14	0.158	-8.89	0.092	-14.0	0.014
Oldest partner under 35 years	16.82	0.551	-10.12	0.804	-26.9	0.540
Oldest partner 45-64 years	-13.46	0.542	-4.75	0.882	8.7	0.800
Oldest partner over 65 years	5.99	0.844	-49.95	0.258	-55.9	0.240
Highest class professional	-16.14	0.387	28.45	0.293	44.6	0.126
N of cases	241		241		241	
D of Freedom	14		14		14	
Adjusted R ²	0.26		0.50		0.44	

Note: The reference categories are the following: couple with no children; neither partner cares for an adult; wife and husband's education the same; oldest partner 35-44; highest class non-manual or manual. Results which are statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ are highlighted in bold.

The daily average combines weekday and weekend day results.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This study has addressed the issue of gender differences in paid and unpaid work (caring and housework) in Ireland. Research on gender inequality in Ireland and elsewhere has tended to focus more on gender differences in paid labour than on the division of unpaid work. Caring and domestic work is less visible because it takes place in the private sphere and has been undervalued compared to employment because it does not involve the exchange of money and because it is predominantly undertaken by women. However, it is important to examine the extent and distribution of caring and domestic work for a number of reasons. First, these activities are important in their own right and make a very significant contribution to the welfare of individuals and society. Second, studying the allocation of caring and domestic work is important because it contributes to our understanding of gender inequalities in the public sphere and provides us with a greater understanding of gender inequality in Ireland. Our research draws on the first national survey of time use in Ireland. This provides us with extremely detailed information about the way in which Irish women and men use their time and allows us to quantify the amount of time allocated to activities in the domestic sphere in a representative way for the first time. Note that the data are constructed to confer high priority to caring, paid work and housework. These estimates are thus to be understood as 'maximum' estimates of time spent on unpaid work in Ireland.

Irish women's participation in paid employment has increased dramatically over the last ten to fifteen years. Irish society has changed from one in which the majority of prime age women were not active in the labour market to one where the majority are involved in paid work. This is equally true of mothers who have increased their employment rate from 49 per cent to 55 per cent in the space of seven years. These changes have potentially profound implications for society, for family life and for gender relations.

However it might be argued that changes in other spheres have not kept pace with the rising rate of female employment. The organisation of paid work has not changed so dramatically. It is also regularly argued that social policy, for example in the field of childcare and family leave provision, have lagged behind the changes in women's labour market behaviour.

In this study we examine the important issue of behaviour in the domestic sphere and relations between partners in the light of these changes. As our data relate to only one point in time we could not specifically address changes in time use, however, it was possible to examine the time allocation of different individuals and couples. Women who combine paid work and caring are in the front-line of this social revolution. Therefore, we have been particularly interested in how this group allocate their time to activities in the public and private sphere compared to men with children and compared to women not in employment. We are also particularly interested in dual-earner households, who are also in the vanguard of societal change. Are paid and unpaid tasks divided more equally within these households? Is the total amount of work shared more evenly? Finally, what about couples where there is little or no paid work – do we find equal sharing of unpaid work here?

With these issues in mind our study focused on three main questions:

1. What is the distribution of paid and unpaid labour across men and women in Irish society?
2. Is there evidence that the increasing employment participation of women has led to a 'second shift' or 'double burden' for women? Is the total (paid plus unpaid) workload different for women and men?
3. How is time allocated to paid and unpaid labour within Irish couples?

6.1 The Gendered Distribution of Paid and Unpaid Work

Taking the population as a whole we find that on weekdays the amount of time spent on caring and domestic work is only 48 minutes less than the time spent on employment and education, while on weekend days the time devoted to housework and caring far exceeds that spent on employment and education. Therefore, despite the overwhelming research focus on the paid sphere, we find that these unpaid activities are at least equivalent to employment and education in terms of time use.

The distribution of paid and unpaid work is highly gendered: on weekdays men spend considerably more time on paid employment/study than women, while women spend substantially more time on caring and household work. These gender patterns also emerge for the weekend. Men continue to spend longer in paid employment/study, while women spend twice as much time on caring and household work. However, while there is a sharp drop in men's hours of employment at the weekend, women's hours of unpaid work (caring and housework) continue unabated, which results in a gender gap in the time devoted to leisure at the weekends.

There are also differences in the type of tasks that women and men do. In the case of childcare men are more likely to be involved in social/emotional care, while women do the bulk of the physical care/supervision. In terms of housework, women spend a far greater amount of time on the core domestic tasks of cleaning, cooking and shopping, while men's contribution comes much more in the form of house repairs and gardening. These patterns are also common in international time-use studies (e.g. Lennon and Rosenfeld, 1994; Hochschild, 1990) and are consistent with the gender perspective outlined in Chapter 1, which suggests that women are disadvantaged in the allocation of tasks, contributing disproportionately to routine household tasks.

6.2 The Second Shift?

One of the key questions we addressed in this report was whether there are gender differences in the total workloads of women and men resulting in gender inequality of free time, or whether men and women specialise in different tasks resulting in similar workload, (but have potentially rather different access to rewards and status). This hypothesis has been set out in discussions of women's 'dual burden' or 'double shift' which suggest that women's greater involvement in employment has simply been added to their household work, or at least that men's involvement in housework and caring has not matched women's uptake of paid work.

Clearly women's allocation of time to caring and housework is altered by their involvement in paid work, as predicted by the time availability perspective in Chapter 1. Paid work is not added to an undiminished unpaid workload; rather, time in employment leads to reduced allocation to unpaid work, although this is far less than

a one-for-one reduction. In both our analysis of time use among all men and women in Ireland and time use among couples, we find that, in common with studies in other national settings, that women's unpaid work is more responsive to their time in employment than men. However, this does not result in an equal contribution to unpaid work amongst men and women employed for the same number of hours. Even controlling for their time in paid work women are found to do significantly more unpaid household work than men.

Our results indicate that, for the sample as a whole, women's committed time is 39 minutes higher on an average day than men's (following our results from Chapter 4). International findings on total work tend to find a smaller gap in total work between men and women (see Gershuny, 2000; more recently Burda *et al.*, 2007). The estimates presented in the analysis chapters should be treated as upper bounds of time spent on unpaid work. Gender differences in total work using split times, an alternative methodology, show negligible gender differences in total work, though we argue that split times are not the best representation of how people use their time (Appendix Table A2). However, if we consider the accumulation of time over the year this difference between men and women becomes more substantial. Indeed, 39 minutes per day amounts to women in Ireland having one extra month of committed time per year.⁴³ This may have some implications for quality of life, since those who have most committed time and least free time are found to be subject to greater time pressure and lower life satisfaction (McGinnity and Russell, 2007).

6.3 The Division of Labour Within Couples

Until relatively recently the most common division of labour within Irish couples involved the male breadwinner and a female homemaker who did not participate in employment. Since 1997, the dual-earner household has overtaken this traditional arrangement with over 55 per cent of working age couples falling into this category in 2004. Nevertheless, we saw in Chapter 2 that, compared to other EU countries, Ireland still has a relatively high proportion of male breadwinner households and levels of dual-earner households are far below those in France and the Nordic countries.

Have these new arrangements ushered in a new era of sharing of paid and unpaid work between the sexes? We find that in households operating the traditional division of labour, differences in overall committed time between men and women are negligible. Men in male breadwinner households spend an exceptionally long time in employment/study compared to other groups: women in these couples spend very long hours in unpaid work. The division of paid and unpaid labour between partners in dual-earner households is less sharply gendered than in male breadwinner households. In dual-earner households women do more paid work (and less unpaid work) than women in male breadwinner couples and men do less paid work (and more unpaid work) than men in male-breadwinner couples. Dual-earner couples also spend less time on unpaid work per average day than male breadwinner couples. Nevertheless, there are still gender differences in the allocation of time to employment and unpaid tasks in these couples.

In no-earner couples, where paid employment plays a very small role in time use, we might expect that men and women share unpaid labour equally. In these couples we find that men are doing somewhat more housework/caring than employed men but

⁴³ If women do 39 extra minutes per average day (see Table A4.1), this amounts to 14,235 minutes per year or 237 hours more total committed time than men per year.

women still do a much higher share of unpaid work. Evidence from these couples demonstrates that unpaid labour is not divided equally between men and women, even where neither partner is working. The results from no-earner couples are strongly suggestive of a role for gender ideology in the division of unpaid labour, with men and women conforming to sex roles in the amount of unpaid work they do.

6.4 Children and the Domestic Division of Labour

This report has clearly found that children are a 'gendered time constraint', that is the effect of children on women's time is larger than the effect on men's time. Having young children leads to a much greater increase in women's unpaid workload than men's regardless of women's paid work hours. This is true on weekdays and on weekend days. Thus, the female share of unpaid work is greater among parents than in couples without children. In addition, on weekdays, in couples with children, women do more unpaid work *and* men do more paid work. Thus, parenthood brings a reallocation of time for both men and women, leaving a more traditional division of labour in couples with children, as found in many other countries (Bianchi *et al.*, 2000; Craig, 2006; Pacholok and Gauthier, 2004). Further work would be needed to investigate the effect of having children on the division of housework and care time separately.

In addition, international studies of the gender division of labour have demonstrated the influence of both gender role attitudes and individual earnings, which could not be investigated in this report as the data was not collected. These would be useful additions to future time-use surveys in Ireland and could be incorporated into future work on the gender division of labour.

6.5 Ireland in Comparative Perspective

How does the gender division of labour compare to that of other countries? This report finds that in Ireland the gender division of paid and unpaid labour is more equal in dual-earner couples than in more traditional male breadwinner couples. While the proportion of dual-earner couples has risen rapidly in the last 15 years, we saw in Chapter 2 that, of the nine countries compared, Ireland still has the second highest proportion of male breadwinner couples, second only to Spain. The Nordic countries, France and the UK have a much higher proportion of dual-earner couples. From this we would expect the gender division of labour to be more traditional in Ireland than in most European countries. That said, we also saw in Chapter 2 that, at least according to self-estimates, the gender division of unpaid labour varies across countries even among dual-earner couples, so we cannot simply read off the gender division of unpaid labour from the gender division of paid labour. Hook (2006), in an international comparison of men's unpaid labour using time-use data, also argues that national policy configurations influence time spent on unpaid labour. We would also expect cultural norms and past practices to play a role. However, both results from the self estimates, which are generally consistent with time-use estimates, national policy configurations and norms/past practices would all suggest a relatively traditional (and unequal) gender division of labour in Ireland compared to other European countries, even if this is changing. This report has emphasised patterns of time use and patterns in the gender division of labour. However, it is worth emphasising at this juncture that there is wide variation between men and women in Ireland in their use of time and how it is distributed within couples.

6.6 Policy Implications: Are These Processes Amenable to Policy Change?

The purpose of this report was not to assess explicitly the impact of policy on the gender division of labour. However, we can draw some policy implications from our findings. Cross-national research suggests that employment policies such as the regulation of working hours and the length and eligibility conditions for parental leave have important influences on the extent and division of unpaid work (Hook, 2006). It is useful here to distinguish whether policies reduce the overall work burden, or reduce gender inequality, or both. Researchers and policymakers have identified increasing men's family time as a strategy for increasing gender equality and child well-being and decreasing work/family conflict and the care deficit (Gornick and Meyers, 2003; Hochschild, 1997; Hook, 2006; Margolis *et al.*, 2000). Our evidence suggests that, in general, where men do less paid work there is more sharing of domestic labour. Conversely men's long hours of work are inimical to shared care and housework. We would expect that policies to reduce paid work by men and increase their involvement in care should increase equality in the domestic sphere. Such policies would include paid paternity and parental leave and more flexible work options in male-dominated occupations. State support for childcare may not directly redress inequality in unpaid labour, but in allowing women to engage in paid work, where they choose to do so, will reduce the burden of care which falls on women. Note also that policies which facilitate the paid employment of women will, in general, reduce gender inequalities in the gender division of unpaid labour. However, this increased sharing of domestic labour comes at a price for women, namely an increased total work burden compared to non-working women.

6.7 Future Prospects

Our results suggest that couples' division of domestic labour does respond to changes in the wife's employment status. Thus, the increasing labour market participation of women and the concomitant increase in the proportion of dual-earner couples relative to male breadwinner couples in Ireland is likely to have led to a somewhat more equal gender division of labour. It has also led to less care and housework being carried out in the home. Whether men's adaptation is simply slower and men's and women's unpaid labour will converge in a process of lagged adaptation as suggested by Gershuny *et al.* (2005), will only be revealed by the analysis of subsequent time-use studies. It is plausible that in a society where there has been a recent and rapid rise in women's labour market participation, domestic attitudes and practices might lag behind. Whether they adapt to give a more equitable division of labour remains to be seen. A number of commentators would contest this, citing the resistance of domestic practices to change. In this scenario, despite increased participation in paid labour, women will continue to do the bulk of unpaid work. Only future waves of time-use data will reveal which scenario is more correct.

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APPENDIX A: ALTERNATIVE CALCULATIONS OF TOTAL TIME USE

Split Time Slots

Here we take an alternative approach to calculating the time spent on different activities than that applied in the main body of the report. Instead of assigning a priority to one activity in the case of simultaneous activities (multi-tasking), we divide the time slot between the activities. Therefore, if two activities are recorded in one 15 minute time-slot we allocate 7.5 minutes to each task, if three activities are recorded at once we allocate 5 minutes to each and so on.

This method has the advantage that it involves no assumptions by the researcher as to which is the main activity. However, the disadvantage of this approach is that it ignores lessons from the time-use research literature on the way people combine activities. For example, using the splitting time slot technique means that background activities such as listening to the radio while eating breakfast will be accorded equal priority to other activities. Leisure combined with some other activity e.g. travel, employment will be counted as leisure even though its combination with such activities is likely to make it a less 'pure' form of leisure. Sleep is assigned part of the time slot even if it is recorded with something else

The presentation of results using alternative treatments of multiple activity allows us to assess the consequences of adopting different measurement approaches for our main results. No one measure can be considered definitive.

Table A1: Time Spent on Each Activity; Splitting Time Slots

	WEEKDAYS			WEEKENDS		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Sleep	8:00	8:19	8:10	8:42	8:43	8:43
Rest	0:47	0:48	0:47	0:59	0:54	0:57
Personal Care	0:34	0:42	0:38	0:37	0:46	0:41
Eating	1:11	1:04	1:07	1:16	1:14	1:15
Travel	1:19	0:58	1:08	1:01	0:50	0:56
Employment	5:03	2:15	3:38	1:44	0:47	1:15
Study	0:29	0:27	0:28	0:11	0:10	0:10
Breaks	0:28	0:20	0:24	0:08	0:07	0:08
Cooking	0:14	0:53	0:34	0:15	0:48	0:32
Cleaning	0:11	1:01	0:36	0:11	0:56	0:33
DIY, gardening	0:26	0:12	0:19	0:41	0:13	0:27
Shopping	0:14	0:35	0:25	0:24	0:44	0:34
Childcare: supervision	0:10	1:06	0:38	0:16	1:02	0:39
Childcare: play, read	0:12	0:24	0:18	0:17	0:27	0:22
Adult Care	0:04	0:15	0:09	0:03	0:12	0:08
Voluntary Work	0:08	0:10	0:09	0:10	0:04	0:07
Religious activity	0:05	0:06	0:05	0:17	0:19	0:18
Chatting/mixing	0:32	0:49	0:41	0:58	1:12	1:05
Phoning	0:09	0:14	0:11	0:13	0:14	0:13
Pubs/Restaurants	0:23	0:10	0:16	1:17	1:02	1:10
Concerts, sports events	0:08	0:06	0:07	0:17	0:20	0:18
Sport outdoor activity	0:21	0:18	0:20	0:41	0:18	0:29
Computer (personal use)	0:11	0:05	0:08	0:11	0:05	0:08
Other Hobbies	0:07	0:06	0:06	0:13	0:09	0:11
TV	1:48	1:44	1:46	2:07	1:34	1:50
Reading/radio	0:28	0:32	0:30	0:29	0:29	0:29
Unspecified time-use	0:19	0:25	0:22	0:20	0:22	0:21
TOTAL	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00
Total committed	8:22	8:06	8:13	5:03	6:09	5:36
Total paid+unpaid	7:03	7:08	7:05	4:02	5:19	4:40

Table A2: Time Spent on Grouped Activities, 'Average Day': Split Minutes

	MEN	WOMEN	ALL
	hh:mm	hh:mm	hh:mm
Daily average free time split minutes (leisure+unspecified)	6.37	6.13	6.25
Daily average personal care and eat split minutes	1.48	1.50	1.49
Daily average sleep split minutes	8.12	8.26	8.19
Daily average travel minutes split minutes	1.14	0.56	1.05
Daily average unpaid (care+housework)	1.41	4.25	3.04
Daily average employment and education split minutes	4.28	2.10	3.18
TOTAL	24.00	24.00	24.00
Total committed (average day)	7.23	7.31	7.27
Total paid+unpaid (average day)	6.09	6.35	6.22

Note: Based on individuals who filled out both a weekday and weekend day diary, weighted.

The average day combines the weekend and weekday results.

APPENDIX B: ON STATISTICAL TESTING: COMPARING MEANS

For many of the time-use estimates in this report we are interested in whether the gender differences reported are statistically significant, that is, whether, given the sample of men and women in the time-use dataset, we can be confident that the differences would not have been generated by chance. There are two common approaches to formally comparing means drawn from different samples (in this case men and women). In this report we use Anova, essentially an analysis of variance, in preference to the independent T-Test, as Anova is more flexible in terms of the number of groups and allows testing of 3 or more groups where relevant. In practice, the results do not differ when both approaches are used.

Anova is essentially an analysis of variance. Below we present the results of the test on the weekday data shown in Table 4.3. The first table presents the means of time use in 15 minute time slots. The second table presents the results of the four tests. The results for each test are divided into between-group effects (effects of interest, gender differences) and within group effects (i.e. potentially unsystematic variation in the data). The 'F' statistic below, or 'F ratio' is the ratio of the variation due to gender differences and the variation explained by unsystematic factors. The F statistic is 'assessed' using the degrees for freedom for both between group (systematic) and within group (unsystematic) variation and a significance value is generated. Exact significance values are rarely reported: instead we report that the significance value was less than certain key thresholds, denoted by stars in the tables (**p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05). (See Agresti and Finlay, 1997 for details of the theory of these tests; Field, 2005 for the implementation of these tests using SPSS).

Time-use Weekdays, 15 Minute Time-slots

Mean

Gender	Total Employment and Education	Total Care & Housework Weekday - care priorities	Total Work	Committed Time Weekdays
Male	23.0955	6.7947	29.8902	35.0847
Female	10.9195	20.5211	31.4406	35.2441
Total	16.9170	13.7599	30.6769	35.1656

ANOVA Table

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Total employment and education* gender	Between Groups (Combined)	37,907.797	1	37,907.797	160.860	.000
	Within Groups	240,605.967	1,021	235.657		
	Total	278,513.764	1,022			
Total Care and Housework Weekday - care priorities* gender	Between Groups (Combined)	48,176.348	1	48,176.348	248.345	.000
	Within Groups	198,063.025	1,021	193.989		
	Total	246,239.374	1,022			
Total work* gender	Between Groups (Combined)	614.637	1	614.637	2.463	.117
	Within Groups	254,765.679	1,021	249.526		
	Total	255,380.315	1,022			
Committed Time Weekday* gender	Between Groups (Combined)	6.499	1	6.499	.025	.875
	Within Groups	269,225.305	1,021	263.688		
	Total	269,231.803	1,022			

APPENDIX C: PART-FILLED DIARY

A. ACTIVITY GROUP			4.00 am				5.00 am			
			15	30	45		15	30	45	
PERSONAL CARE /RESTING	1	SLEEPING	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
	2	RESTING/RELAXING doing nothing, 'time out'								
	3	PERSONAL CARE washing, dressing, toilet								
	4	EATING/DRINKING/HAVING A MEAL								
TRAVEL	5	TRAVEL including travel to and from work as well as leisure and domestic travel								
PAID EMPLOYMENT OR STUDY	6	PAID EMPLOYMENT include paid and unpaid overtime, work from home, self-employment and farm work. Exclude lunch and other breaks.								
	7	STUDY, EDUCATION include courses, night classes, studying at home. Exclude lunch and other breaks.								
	8	BREAKS FROM WORK OR STUDY include tea/coffee, smoking and lunch breaks.								
HOUSEWORK AND OTHER HOUSEHOLD TASKS	9	COOKING and preparing food (including making lunches), washing-up								
	10	CLEANING the house, doing the laundry, ironing, hoovering, tidying up								
	11	HOUSE REPAIRS and maintenance, DIY, gardening								
SHOPPING AND APPOINTMENTS	12	SHOPPING, MESSAGES/ERRANDS and APPOINTMENTS shopping for food or leisure, services e.g. hairdressers, visiting doctor, paying bills								
CARING FOR OTHERS	13	CHILDCARE looking after children, physical care, supervision								
	14	PLAYING AND TALKING WITH CHILDREN include reading, games, helping with homework, accompanying children to activities								
	15	CARING FOR ADULTS with special needs or elderly persons, either in your home or elsewhere (e.g. help with personal care)								
VOLUNTARY AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY	16	VOLUNTARY ACTIVITY for a charitable organisation, sports club or other organisation, include meetings & informal helping outside the home								
	17	RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY Attending religious services, prayer								
SOCIALISING AND GOING OUT	18	SPENDING TIME/CHATTING WITH FAMILY, FRIENDS, NEIGHBOURS including spouse								
	19	PHONING/TEXTING FAMILY, FRIENDS, NEIGHBOURS include writing a letter								
	20	EATING OUT/GOING TO THE PUB include going to cafes, bars, restaurants, nightclubs								
	21	GOING OUT to concerts, theatre, cinema, galleries, sporting events, bookies, bingo								
SPORTS & LEISURE	22	PLAYING SPORTS, EXERCISE AND OUTDOOR ACTIVITY including playing football, walking the dog, going to the park								
	23	COMPUTER/INTERNET FOR PERSONAL USE e.g. play station, x-box, surfing the net, email, using computer for leisure, shopping								
	24	HOBBIES AND OTHER LEISURE ACTIVITIES e.g. playing musical instruments, playing cards, other games								
TV, RADIO, READING	25	WATCHING TV and videos/DVDs								
	26	READING a book, magazine or newspaper or LISTENING to radio or music								
B. WHO WERE YOU WITH? Tick all that apply.		No-one/I was alone								
		Spouse/partner	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
		Own children under 18	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
		Other person or people I know well								
C. WHERE WERE YOU?		At home	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
		Away from home								

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