

# The Sexual Division of Labour:

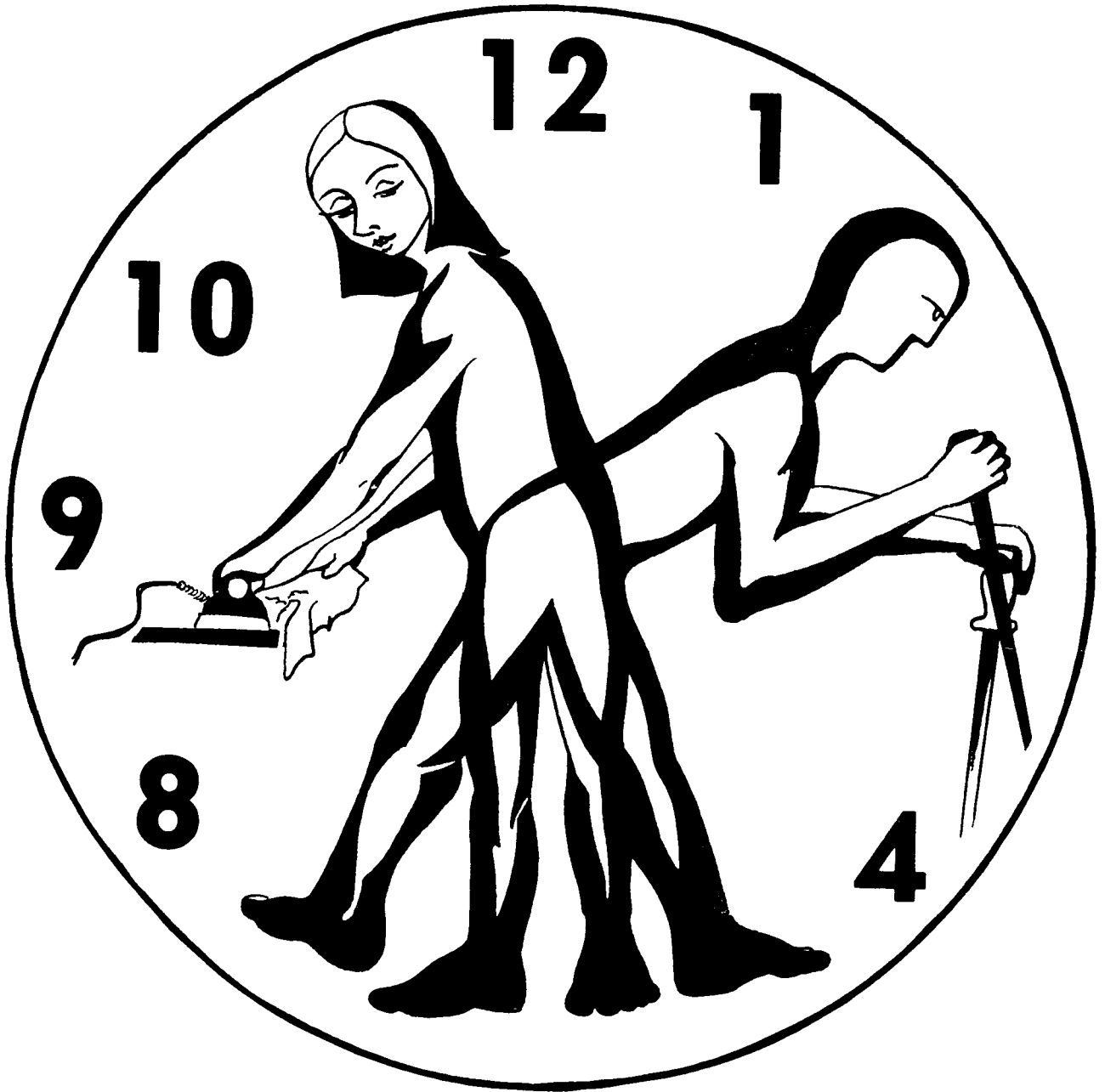
## The Use of Time

by Susan Clark and Andrew S. Harvey

Although critics of the recent women's movement have agreed that the resurgence in feminism has been uncoordinated, atheoretical and characterized by very divergent philosophies, one common underlying theme is the desire to improve women's status by lessening the effect of sex-role stereotyping.(1) Safilios-Rothschild maintains that:

Liberation of women and men requires that they act according to their wishes, inclinations, potentials, abilities, and needs rather than according to the prevailing stereotypes about sex roles and sex appropriate modes of thought and behaviours.(2)

Evidence of the channelling of people's talents and abilities, both of women and men, is well documented for all spheres of life whether one considers education,(3)paid work,(4)the maintenance of the household and care of children(5)or people's aspirations and plans for the future.(6) The recent women's movement is now over ten years old and after numerous commissions and task forces, considerable research and a whole spate of research reports and books, concern is being expressed about whether the position of women has improved significantly. In the mid-1960s the very assessment of the status of women was made difficult in many instances by the lack of research in im-



portant areas. Although it would be too optimistic to say that that situation has been completely rectified, there has been a great deal of interest in questions of direct relevance to women, and we now have a considerably stronger basis of information from which to argue. Some of the data would certainly lead one to question the assertion that women have been progressing on all fronts.(7) One area in which there has been considerable debate is that of participation by men and women in housework and child-care.

Housework has been a neglected area of study in sociology and the other social sciences. It is only recently that we have had very detailed research into the allocation of household tasks between household members. Earlier research, much of it concerned with participation in the labour force and its effects on the running of a household, has not been very precise in describing the amount of time and commitment required of couples who maintain a household, work outside the home and perhaps raise children as well. The use of time-budgets whereby people are requested to keep a very detailed account of how they spent one 24-hour period has become widely accepted as a research tool in the western countries since the mid-1960s,(8) and this allows us to analyse in far greater depth just how wives and husbands may or may not cooperate in meeting their total obligations.

Since people spend, on average, between 15 and 21 hours(9) a day in their homes, and "the family environment is the major influence in determining the quality of the next generation and is dependent upon the income, attitudes, education and capacity of parents"(10) it is apparent that the importance of research into the household unit cannot be underestimated. Indeed, if we are interested not only in whether the present generation of adult women are improving their status, but also whether future generations are going to grow up with attitudes and abilities which allow them to live their lives in greater equality than we presently do, then we have a very real interest in what children may be learning through role models in the home. The extent to which household work is seen as the 'natural' domain of one or other of the sexes and the question of whether the rigid division of labour is changing are crucial questions which have to be answered.

The evidence that women and men perform particular household tasks which are seen as appropriate to their sex is quite clear and consistent. Walker, in her study of household activities, shows that women are primarily responsible for regular house care and meal preparation, physical care of family members, after-meal clean up and marketing. Husbands do help with marketing but otherwise their contributions to the running of the home are in the areas of the care and maintenance of

the yard or garden and the equipment used in these activities, care of the car, occasional or seasonal care of the house; e.g., washing windows, redecorating or repairing furniture and equipment, and some activities concerned with the care of children such as reading to them, helping them with their homework or taking them to special events and functions.(11) The work men do in the household, therefore, tends to be of a less regular nature than that of women and often involves jobs over which there is considerable leeway in terms of when the tasks have to be performed. Similar findings on how the household tasks are shared by women and men are reported for London by Young and Willmott,(12) for Paris by Michel,(13) as well as for Poland,(14) Russia(15) and Canada.(16)

The question which has interested most of these researchers is the extent to which women may have to carry a double workload if they are in paid employment and are still considered to be responsible for a household to which other members may make only small contributions. In such circumstances women would have very long work hours and less time for leisure pursuits. This question of the double workload for women has been very important in east European countries where women have a very high participation rate in the labour force(17) and is of increasing importance to western countries as more women take on paid employment.(18)

No research reports indicate that where both husband and wife are in the labour force there is an equal sharing of the household tasks, but there is some indication that husbands do perform more household tasks if their wives work. Michel, for example, in her study of Paris argues that when women work they acquire more power with which to bargain in the family and one consequence of this is that the husbands are obliged to do more work in the household. Meissner *et al* have termed this an adaptive partnership, "in which 'the family' (i.e., marriage and the household) is a self-balancing system which adapts to structural changes and internal requirements."(19) It is this type of family which Young and Willmott consider will become more common in future decades. Basing their conclusions on interviews with nearly 2000 people from the London Metropolitan Region, they maintain that:

Husbands also do a lot of work in the home, including many jobs which are not at all traditional men's ones. . . . There is now no sort of work in the home strictly reserved for 'the wives' even clothes-washing and bed making still ordinarily thought of as women's jobs, were frequently mentioned by husbands as things they did as well. . . . But if the trend was towards it, most married couples were obviously still a long way from the state of unisex that some young people had arrived at. There were many roles which

were still primarily the prerogative of one sex or another, particularly in the classes which were not so far on in the process of change.(20)

They further state:

In London, and probably elsewhere, when wives worked outside the home, their husbands more often worked inside it. In the interests of symmetry it was only fair, as husbands and wives saw it, for the men to do more so that their wives could do less.(21)

Observations such as these would lead one to be somewhat optimistic about the position of women in the family. Changes may be slower than one would wish and the equalization of responsibility for child care and the running of the household is still a future goal for many couples, but at least the developments appear to be in the appropriate direction. For Canadian women, therefore, the conclusions Meissner et al draw from their Vancouver data are particularly disturbing.(22) In this report the authors maintain that husbands give very little additional time to the household and to their wives even if the wives are in the labour force and, in terms of developing a theory of dependent labour, Meissner et al seek to explain why the traditional division of labour in the home will be unlikely to alter very significantly.(23) Several possible explanations can be advanced for these contradictory findings and theories. Different conclusions may arise from the manner in which the studies were con-

ducted; for instance the Vancouver data is far more detailed than that of Michel. It may be that earlier reports were inaccurate about the relative workloads of men and women because the research techniques were not designed to measure the full extent of a person's participation in the household. On the other hand there is the possibility that Canada differs from other western countries in that while their family organisation is becoming more symmetrical, ours is still based on a traditional division of labour and shows no marked signs of becoming more egalitarian.

Within the Canadian context it is possible to compare the Vancouver findings with those of a very similar survey conducted in Halifax. By doing so it is possible to determine whether the conclusions based on the west coast data are supported by those from Nova Scotia. To the extent that they are, attention has then to be directed to whether or not Canada is unique in this regard or whether alternative explanations can be found which would account for why we appear to be different from other countries.

The Halifax data comes from the Dimensions of Metropolitan Activities Survey (DOMA) conducted in 1971-72 in Halifax, Dartmouth and parts of Halifax County.(24) As in the Vancouver study, respondents were asked to keep a time diary. The Halifax time budget study, however, was designed to be a replica

of the multinational project(25)and required people to keep an account of all the activities they performed, when the activities took place, where and with whom, for one 24-hour day. Sampling design, instrumentation and coding procedures were identical with those of the multinational project. The Vancouver and Halifax surveys, while not completely identical in these respects, are sufficiently similar to allow for meaningful comparisons between the east and west coasts since in both instances the assessment of wives' and husbands' contributions to the household are based on detailed time budget data.

Although the activities in which people engaged in Halifax were originally coded into 99 different categories, for the purposes of this discussion these have been reduced to just eight categories in order to make the comparisons between different groups of individuals less complex. Table 1 lists the activities which comprise each of these 8 categories. In any comparison of the activities undertaken by particular groups of people it will be very apparent that the way in which the activities are categorized is crucial to many arguments. For example, whether one set of people has more or less leisure than another depends on what activities are seen as leisure time pursuits. Household work is particularly problematic in this regard since the same activity, for example sewing, may be regarded as a work or a leisure task. Given such

problems it becomes understandable why one could easily reach different conclusions about the amount of time people spend in housework, child care or leisure.

Before moving to a comparison of the Halifax and Vancouver data, a brief description of the time and activity patterns of the Nova Scotia respondents will be given as a background for later discussions. If one takes the entire sample and compares the time expenditure of women and men, one finds that the overall hours of work and non-work do not vary between the sexes, although the manner in which the work time is spent does differ. (See Table 2). Both sexes spend 7.8 hours per average day (26) in work but for the men most of this time is spent in paid employment, whereas for the women the greater percentage of the time is taken up with household work, to which men contribute 1.5 hours. Although the non-work activities involve the same total time, 16.2 hours, again the manner in which the time is used does vary. Women, for instance, spend somewhat more time in self maintenance and in particular on sleep. This then gives them less time for leisure pursuits and they reduce the time they spend on both homecentred and other forms of leisure activities in comparison to the men.

As mentioned previously, one of the interests of researchers has been the extent to which married women in the

TABLE 1

The Eight Activity Categories Created from the Multinational Time-Budget Codes.

| ACTIVITY CATEGORY      | MULTINATIONAL CODE AND SHORT TITLE |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Regular Market Work    | (00) Regular Work                  |
|                        | (01) Work at home                  |
|                        | (02) Overtime                      |
|                        | (03) Travel for job                |
| Other Market Work      | (04) Waiting, delays               |
|                        | (05) Second job                    |
|                        | (08) Work breaks                   |
|                        | (09) Travel to job                 |
| Household Maintenance  | (54) Homework                      |
|                        | (55) Read to learn                 |
|                        | (52) Special lecture               |
| Family Care            | (56) Other study                   |
|                        | (59) Travel, study                 |
|                        | (10) Prepare food                  |
|                        | (11) Meal cleanup                  |
|                        | (12) Clean house                   |
|                        | (14) Laundry, ironing              |
|                        | (15) Clothes upkeep                |
|                        | (13) Outdoor chores                |
|                        | (17) Gardening, animal care        |
|                        | (16) Other upkeep                  |
|                        | (18) Heat, water                   |
|                        | (19) Other duties                  |
|                        | (30) Marketing                     |
|                        | (31) Shopping                      |
|                        | (34) Administrative service        |
|                        | (35) Repair service                |
|                        | (36) Waiting in line               |
| (37) Other service     |                                    |
| (39) Travel service    |                                    |
| Sleep                  | (20) Baby care                     |
|                        | (21) Child care                    |
|                        | (22) Help on homework              |
|                        | (23) Talk to children              |
|                        | (24) Indoor playing                |
|                        | (25) Outdoor playing               |
|                        | (27) Other, babysit                |
| (26) Child health      |                                    |
| (33) Medical care      |                                    |
| (42) Care to adults    |                                    |
| (29) Travel with child |                                    |
| (45) Night sleep       |                                    |
| (46) Daytime sleep     |                                    |
| (47) Resting           |                                    |

(Table 1 continued)

|                                |                              |                           |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Other Maintenance              | (43) Meals, snacks           | (40) Personal hygiene     |
|                                | (41) Personal medical        | (48) Private, other       |
|                                | (06) Meals at work           | (44) Restaurant meals     |
|                                | (32) Personal care           | (49) Travel, personal     |
| Home-centred Discretionary     | (83) Hobbies                 | (84) Ladies hobbies       |
|                                | (85) Art work                | (86) Making music         |
|                                | (91) T.V.                    | (92) Play records         |
|                                | (90) Radio                   | (93) Read book            |
|                                | (94) Read magazine           | (95) Read paper           |
|                                | (97) Letters, private        | (98) Relax, think         |
|                                |                              | (96) Conversation         |
| Non-home Centred Discretionary | (70) Sports events           | (71) Mass culture         |
|                                | (72) Movies                  | (73) Theatre              |
|                                | (74) Museums                 | (76) Party, meals         |
|                                | (77) Cafe, pubs              | (78) Other social         |
|                                | (75) Visiting with friends   | (87) Parlour games        |
|                                | (64) Religious participation | (65) Religious practise   |
|                                | (60) Union politics          | (61) Work as officer      |
|                                | (62) Other participation     | (63) Civic activities     |
|                                | (67) Misc. organization      | (68) Other organization   |
|                                | (80) Active sports           | (81) Fishing, hiking      |
|                                | (82) Taking a walk           | (69) Travel, organization |
|                                | (89) Travel, pastime         | (88) Other pastime        |
|                                | (99) Travel, leisure         | (79) Travel, social       |
|                                | (07) At work, other          |                           |



TABLE 2

The allocation of time of women and men for an average day, in hours and tenths of hours.

| TOTAL DAY   |           | WORK            |             | NON-WORK         |       |              |                  |       |     |       |     |
|-------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|------------------|-------|--------------|------------------|-------|-----|-------|-----|
| 24 Hours    |           |                 |             |                  |       |              |                  |       |     |       |     |
| Women       | 7.8       | Women           | 7.8         | Women            | 16.2  |              |                  |       |     |       |     |
| Men         | 7.8       | Men             | 7.8         | Men              | 16.2  |              |                  |       |     |       |     |
| Market Work |           | Non-market Work |             | Self-maintenance |       |              |                  |       |     |       |     |
| Women       | 2.6       | Women           | 5.2         | Women            | 11.1  |              |                  |       |     |       |     |
| Men         | 5.9       | Men             | 1.9         | Men              | 10.7  |              |                  |       |     |       |     |
| Regular     | Education | Household Care  | Family Care | Sleep            | Other | Home Centred | Non-home-Centred |       |     |       |     |
| Women       | 2.3       | Women           | 4.2         | Women            | 8.2   | Women        | 2.9              | Women | 3.0 | Women | 2.1 |
| Men         | 5.3       | Men             | 1.5         | Men              | 7.8   | Men          | 2.9              | Men   | 3.2 | Men   | 2.3 |

(N: Women 2572  
Men 2009)

labour force work longer hours than their husbands. Since our data indicate that women and men spend the same amount of time on work and non-work activities when comparisons are made between all women and all men irrespective of their employment or marital statuses, it follows that if one group of women works very long hours then another group must have a considerably easier work load. In fact this proves to be the case when comparisons are made between women according to their marital and employment statuses and the presence or absence of young children; i.e., children under 12 years. Table 3 presents a summary of this data for the women. Work hours for different groups of women vary by 3.9 hours with single unemployed women working the smallest number of hours and married employed women with no young children the longest. This latter group appears to work even slightly longer than those women who are employed and also have young children and this perhaps runs counter to common sense assumptions which would suggest that young children require more time than older children.(27) However, other factors which are not taken into consideration here, for example, the number of children in the household, may account for this minor variation in time. Essentially all married women who are also in the labour force will spend an average of 9 hours a day in work activities. The largest increases in work time for women occur when a single woman changes from being unemployed to being employed (an increase of 3 hours),

when an unemployed woman becomes a becomes a married housewife (an increase of 2.3 hours) and when the housewife has young children (an increase of 1.3 hours). Married women who have no young children and decide to enter the labour force are likely to add 2.1 hours to their work hours.

Work hours for men are generally less than for the corresponding group of women. (See Table 4). Unemployed men, whether single or married, work the least number of hours of all categories of men and women. Employed men with no young children have the heaviest workload, as did the women in the corresponding category, but the men spend .6 hours less on work than do the women. The same time differential is also found between employed men and women with young children. It is very apparent from Tables 3 and 4, however, that the distribution of work hours between market and non-market work varies very considerably between the sexes. The traditional division of labour is evident in that for all categories men spend more time on market work than women and women spend more time on non-market tasks than the men. If, for instance, one compares married employed women and men both with and without young children, one finds that the time spent by men in market work varies by only .1 hours and the time spent on non-market activities does not alter at all but stays at 1.9 hours. For women it is clear that the presence of young children does affect how they allocate their work hours. The

### Key to Tables 3 and 4

1. Women
2. Men
3. Single employed women or men
4. Single unemployed women or men
5. Married employed women or men with young children (i.e. children under 12)
6. Married employed women and men with no young children
7. Married unemployed women with young children
8. Married unemployed women with no young children
9. Married unemployed men both with and without young children

(See over)

TABLE 3

The Allocation of Time by Different Categories of Women, for an average day, in hours and tenths of hours.

## WOMEN

|    | (N)    | WORK | NON-MARKET WORK | MAINTENANCE | LEISURE | NON-WORK |
|----|--------|------|-----------------|-------------|---------|----------|
| 1. | (2572) | 7.8  | 1. 5.2*         | 1. 11.1*    | 1. 5.1* | 1. 16.2  |
| 3. | (368)  | 8.1  | 3. 2.2*         | 3. 11.0*    | 3. 4.9* | 3. 15.9  |
| 4. | (199)  | 5.1  | 4. 3.4          | 4. 12.4     | 4. 6.5* | 4. 18.9  |
| 5. | (168)  | 8.9  | 5. 4.5*         | 5. 10.6     | 5. 4.6  | 5. 15.2  |
| 6. | (573)  | 9.0* | 6. 3.7*         | 6. 10.9*    | 6. 4.1* | 6. 15.0* |
| 7. | (465)  | 8.2* | 7. 8.1*         | 7. 10.8*    | 7. 5.0* | 7. 15.8* |
| 8. | (775)  | 6.9* | 8. 6.7*         | 8. 11.3*    | 8. 5.8* | 8. 17.1* |

|    | REGULAR | EDUCATION | HOUSEHOLD CARE | FAMILY CARE | SLEEP   | OTHER   | HOME-CENTRED | NON-HOME-CENTRED |
|----|---------|-----------|----------------|-------------|---------|---------|--------------|------------------|
| 1. | 2.3*    | 1. .3*    | 1. 4.2*        | 1. 1.0*     | 1. 8.2* | 1. 2.9* | 1. 3.0*      | 1. 2.1*          |
| 3. | 5.6     | 3. .3*    | 3. 2.0*        | 3. .2       | 3. 8.1* | 3. 2.9  | 3. 2.7       | 3. 2.2*          |
| 4. | .3      | 4. 1.4*   | 4. 2.8*        | 4. .6*      | 4. 9.4* | 4. 3.0  | 4. 3.4       | 4. 3.1           |
| 5. | 4.4*    | 5. 0.0*   | 5. 3.5*        | 5. 1.0*     | 5. 8.1* | 5. 2.5* | 5. 2.8*      | 5. 1.8*          |
| 6. | 5.1*    | 6. .2     | 6. 3.1*        | 6. .6*      | 6. 8.0* | 6. 2.9  | 6. 2.3*      | 6. 1.8*          |
| 7. | 0.0*    | 7. .1*    | 7. 6.0*        | 7. 2.1*     | 7. 8.1* | 7. 2.7* | 7. 3.2*      | 7. 1.8           |
| 8. | .1*     | 8. .1*    | 8. 5.4*        | 8. 1.3*     | 8. 8.4* | 8. 2.9* | 8. 3.7*      | 8. 2.1           |

Differences in time allocation between the same categories of men and women significant at the .05 level. Statistical testing of means is by student's t test based on a pooled-variance estimate or separate variance estimate as appropriate.

TABLE 4

The Allocation of Time by Different Categories of Men, for an average day, in ours and tenths of hours.

|    |        | MEN            |      |    |      |    |                  |    |      |    |      |
|----|--------|----------------|------|----|------|----|------------------|----|------|----|------|
|    |        | WORK           |      |    |      |    | NON-WORK         |    |      |    |      |
|    |        | MARKET WORK    |      |    |      |    | NON-MARKET WORK  |    |      |    |      |
|    |        | MAINTENANCE    |      |    |      |    | LEISURE          |    |      |    |      |
|    |        | OTHER          |      |    |      |    | NON-HOME-CENTRED |    |      |    |      |
|    |        | SLEEP          |      |    |      |    | HOME-CENTRED     |    |      |    |      |
|    |        | FAMILY CARE    |      |    |      |    | NON-HOME-CENTRED |    |      |    |      |
|    |        | HOUSEHOLD CARE |      |    |      |    | NON-HOME-CENTRED |    |      |    |      |
|    |        | EDUCATION      |      |    |      |    | NON-HOME-CENTRED |    |      |    |      |
|    |        | REGULAR        |      |    |      |    | NON-HOME-CENTRED |    |      |    |      |
| 2. | 5.9*   | 2.             | 1.9* | 2. | 7.8* | 2. | 10.7*            | 2. | 3.2* | 2. | 2.3* |
| 3. | 6.3    | 3.             | 1.5* | 3. | 7.3* | 3. | 10.3*            | 3. | 2.8  | 3. | 3.1* |
| 4. | 3.0*   | 4.             | 1.7* | 4. | 9.1  | 4. | 11.9             | 4. | 3.9  | 4. | 3.5  |
| 5. | 6.4*   | 5.             | 1.9* | 5. | 7.8* | 5. | 10.7             | 5. | 3.3* | 5. | 1.7  |
| 6. | 6.5*   | 6.             | 1.9* | 6. | 7.6* | 6. | 10.6*            | 6. | 3.0* | 6. | 2.0* |
| 9. | 1.3*   | 9.             | 3.3* | 9. | 8.8* | 9. | 12.0*            | 9. | 5.0* | 9. | 2.4  |
| 2. | (2009) | 2.             | 7.8  | 2. | 2.9* | 2. | 2.9*             | 2. | 3.2* | 2. | 2.3* |
| 3. | (277)  | 3.             | 7.8  | 3. | 3.0  | 3. | 10.3*            | 3. | 2.8  | 3. | 3.1* |
| 4. | (178)  | 4.             | 4.7  | 4. | 2.8  | 4. | 11.9             | 4. | 3.9  | 4. | 3.5  |
| 5. | (447)  | 5.             | 8.3  | 5. | 2.9* | 5. | 10.7             | 5. | 3.3* | 5. | 1.7  |
| 6. | (964)  | 6.             | 8.4* | 6. | 3.0  | 6. | 10.6*            | 6. | 3.0* | 6. | 2.0* |
| 9. | (121)  | 9.             | 4.6* | 9. | 3.2* | 9. | 12.0*            | 9. | 5.0* | 9. | 2.4  |

\* Differences in time allocation between the same categories of women and men significant at the .05 level. Statistical testing of means is by student's t test based on a pooled-variance estimate or separate variance estimate as appropriate.

fact that women with young children spend nearly equal amounts of time in market and non-market work indicates that such women are more likely to hold part-time jobs in order to leave sufficient time available to meet household demands. When there are no young children the women increase their hours at market work and decrease household tasks by nearly 1 hour. The shorter market work hours of women arise mainly from the fact that more women than men are in part-time employment. Twenty-nine percent of married employed women with young children work in part-time jobs and 18% of those without young children. Less than 2% of the men in the corresponding categories are in part-time occupations.

Although attention has so far been directed towards employed women, it cannot be assumed that unemployed women are sitting at home idle. Housewives with young children put in a full 8 hour work day and even those housewives without young children are spending approximately 7 hours on work. It is really only single unemployed women and unemployed men who are very deviant in terms of their time allocation to work.

If one considers activities other than work it is obvious that those who spend the fewest hours on work have the most hours to spend on all other pursuits. Although considerable variation is found in how people allocate their time for some activities, others show quite uni-

form patterns. Women, for example, are likely to spend more time than men on total self-maintenance and in particular they spend this additional time in extra sleep. In comparison men sleep less but use slightly more time than the women on eating and personal care. The exception to this general pattern are again found among the unemployed men and single unemployed women, all of whom spend considerably longer time in sleep than do other people. It has been suggested that very long periods of sleep are an indication of the marginality of a group(28)and to the extent that men are expected to be employed, as are single women, then one could maintain that these groups are somewhat outside the norms of Canadian society. Indeed, since they have very different patterns of time use in all areas from other men and women, this may also be related to their marginal status and in fact make their marginality apparent to others. Single employed men may also seem somewhat deviant with regard to their sleep time as they average only slightly over 7 hours whereas it is customarily assumed that most people need around 8 hours sleep in order to function satisfactorily. The lack of sleep of this group cannot be attributed to the fact that they are so hard pressed for time that they have to reduce their sleep time but must be interpreted as a choice made by such men who prefer to spend extra time on leisure pursuits.

While women do not cut down on their sleep time as a response to time pres-

tures, it is noticeable that married employed women with young children, a group that does carry heavy work responsibilities spend less time on other forms of self-maintenance than anyone else. It appears that such women may try to gain time by taking shorter meal periods in particular.

When one considers leisure time pursuits, however, it is not this group of women but those who are married and employed with no young children who have the least amount of time for hobbies, entertainment and general relaxation. It is in these activities that men show considerable gains over women. Men spend at least 5 hours a day in leisure activities and this rises to over 7 hours if they are unemployed. Only those women who are not in the labour force have as much as 5 hours a day at their disposal for leisure. The pattern of leisure time use is similar for all groups except single employed males. With the exception of this group, people spend more time in home-centred leisure activities than in those activities which take them outside the home. Single working men, however, reverse this pattern. Unemployed persons, whether female or male, spend more time in home-centred activities than anyone else but it is noticeable that employed women and housewives with young children all spend less than 2 hours a day outside the home in free time activities. By contrast only those men who are employed and have young children do not spend at least 2 hours a day in non-home-centred pursuits. In

summarizing the Halifax data one would have to argue that the traditional division of labour is very much in evidence. Men are engaged primarily in market work and only incidentally in the household tasks; whereas for most women the reverse is the case. Married employed women do work longer hours than other groups although it can be argued that some women, like some groups of men, are not overburdened with work. Support for the traditional female/male roles is also found in the fact that women are generally more home centred in terms of their leisure activities and that single unemployed women spend more time on other self-maintenance activities than any group of people whereas the men in the corresponding category spend the least time of anyone.

Table 5 presents a comparison of the Halifax and Vancouver data for selected activities and groups for one week. "One job" women refers to women who are housewives and "one job" men to men who are the sole wage earners for the family. "Two job" women and men are those who belong to two income households. The pattern of time expenditure for men and women is virtually identical for the two cities. The time expenditure pattern refers to the fact that if one were to rank order the groups in terms of the amounts of time spent on particular activities then the rank ordering for Halifax would be the same as the rank ordering for Vancouver. But, although the pattern of time use is the same, the actual amounts of time spent in dif-

TABLE 5

Comparison of the time allocation of Halifax and Vancouver women and men for one week, in hours and tenths of hours.

|                        | 1 Job Women |       | 1 Job Men |       | 2 Job Women |       | 2 Job Men |       |
|------------------------|-------------|-------|-----------|-------|-------------|-------|-----------|-------|
|                        | Hfx.        | Van.  | Hfx.      | Van.  | Hfx.        | Van.  | Hfx.      | Van.  |
| Market Work            | 1.4         | -     | 45.5      | 48.7  | 35.7        | 40.9  | 42.0      | 47.6  |
| Non-market Work        | 50.4        | 46.2  | 12.6      | 9.8   | 27.3        | 22.3  | 14.7      | 10.9  |
| Total Work             | 51.8        | 46.2  | 58.1      | 58.5  | 63.0        | 63.2  | 56.7      | 58.5  |
| Sleep                  | 58.1        | 59.7  | 54.6      | 55.9  | 56.0        | 57.0  | 53.9      | 56.0  |
| Other Self-maintenance | 19.6        | 19.9  | 20.3      | 16.8  | 19.6        | 18.6  | 20.3      | 16.5  |
| Total Self-maintenance | 77.7        | 79.6  | 74.9      | 72.7  | 75.6        | 75.6  | 74.2      | 73.4  |
| Total Leisure          | 38.5        | 36.5  | 35.0      | 33.5  | 29.4        | 25.6  | 37.1      | 34.0  |
| Non-classified         | -           | 2.7   | -         | 2.7   | -           | 1.4   | -         | 2.6   |
| Total Hours            | 168.0       | 165.0 | 168.0     | 167.4 | 168.0       | 165.8 | 168.0     | 168.5 |
| N                      | 124         | 237   | 774       | 237   | 741         | 103   | 477       | 103   |



ferent activities does vary between the east and west coasts in some instances.

For both cities, women in two job families have the heaviest work load and the least amount of time for leisure, averaging at least 63 hours a week in work activities, while housewives have the fewest hours of work and the most leisure. Among the men, the single wage earners in Halifax work longer than men in dual-earning families although in Vancouver this difference is not apparent. Comparisons between the east and west coasts indicate that, with the exception of housewives, Halifax people work less, sleep less and have more time for leisure than their Vancouver counterparts. Halifax housewives work longer hours than those in Vancouver but still manage to have the greater amount of leisure time of the two groups. The comparisons of actual time differences are somewhat tentative as in some instances the Vancouver data unaccountably covers only 165 hours rather than the 168 required for one complete week. Consequently, Table 6 presents the data in terms of the percentage of time used in certain activities but these results again confirm the somewhat different lifestyles which seem to be apparent between the two cities. Because the Halifax housewives work longer hours and the women in dual earning families shorter hours than their Vancouver counterparts, the actual increase in work hours experienced by married women who enter the labour force in Nova Scotia is not as

great as in Vancouver. Vancouver women increase their weekly work hours by 10.1%, or about 17 hours in comparison to the 11.2 hours or 7.6% for Halifax women. As Meissner suggests, however, the strategies women adopt to cope with their dual obligations are to reduce their non-market work and to take on part-time paid employment rather than full-time. The amount of time both groups of women cut out of their non-market work is strikingly similar, 23.1 hours (13.7% of the total work hours) in Halifax and 23.9 hours (14.6%) in Vancouver. Nevertheless, Halifax women are still spending a greater percentage of their work hours in household work compared with the Vancouver women but they do not work such long hours in paid employment. The longer leisure hours of the Halifax women are also apparent in both categories and indeed, it is the Vancouver wife in the dual-earning family who has the least amount of free time. Having considered some aspects of women's time allocation, the crucial questions then concern men's time patterns. Married men in Halifax do more non-market work than the Vancouver men whether their wives work or not. In one income families Halifax men average 2.8 hours more than those in Vancouver and 3.8 hours more if their wives work. This brings the Halifax men's hours in household tasks up to 12.6 hours and 14.7 hours a week. In contrast to this, Vancouver men allocate more time to market work than those in Halifax, and more time to sleep. Halifax men have the largest time expenditure of any

TABLE 6

The percentage of time of one week which is allocated to activities for Halifax and Vancouver women and men.

|                        | 1 Job Women<br>Hfx. | 1 Job Women<br>Van. | 1 Job Men<br>Hfx. | 1 Job Men<br>Van. | 2 Job Women<br>Hfx. | 2 Job Women<br>Van. | 2 Job Men<br>Hfx. | 2 Job Men<br>Van. |
|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Market Work            | .8                  | -                   | 27.1              | 29.1              | 21.3                | 24.7                | 25.0              | 28.2              |
| Non-market Work        | 30.0                | 28.0                | 7.5               | 5.9               | 16.3                | 13.8                | 8.7               | 6.5               |
| Total Work             | 30.8                | 28.0                | 34.6              | 35.0              | 37.6                | 38.5                | 33.7              | 34.7              |
| Sleep                  | 34.6                | 36.2                | 32.5              | 33.4              | 33.3                | 34.4                | 32.1              | 33.8              |
| Other Self-maintenance | 11.7                | 12.1                | 12.1              | 10.0              | 11.7                | 11.2                | 12.1              | 9.8               |
| Total Self-maintenance | 46.3                | 48.3                | 44.6              | 43.4              | 45.0                | 45.6                | 44.2              | 43.6              |
| Total Leisure          | 22.9                | 22.1                | 20.8              | 20.0              | 17.5                | 15.4                | 22.1              | 20.2              |
| Non-classified         | -                   | 1.6                 | -                 | 1.6               | -                   | .8                  | -                 | 1.5               |
| Total %                | 100.0               | 100.0               | 100.0             | 100.0             | 100.1               | 100.3               | 100.0             | 100.0             |

group on self-maintenance other than sleep and, among the men, have the most free time. Women's time spent on eating and personal care does not vary very much with city or work status but for the men there is a regional variation of at least  $3\frac{1}{2}$  hours.

In the light of these data from Halifax and Vancouver what conclusions can be drawn? Men clearly are still in the stage of "helping" with the household maintenance and are not equally responsible with women for this part of the total work load even though their wives may also be in the labour force. Does this token help give support to the dependent labour hypothesis or could one interpret even the small increases in time spent on household duties by Vancouver men as an indication that couples are moving towards an adaptive partnership model? At the present time it appears that the wife does most of the adapting; she reduces her household work and leisure hours quite significantly and is more likely than her husband to hold a part-time job. Men adapt minimally to the change in circumstances caused by their wives ceasing to be full-time housewives and entering the labour force. It can be seen that the extra time they devote to household duties is to a large extent compensated for by the fact that they reduce the hours they spend in market work and therefore their total work hours alter very little. Other areas of their time expenditure are also just about un-

changed. The question of whether such data supports one or other of the hypotheses mentioned is more problematic and cannot be answered by simply using the time-budget data from these two cities. Instead one also needs much more information than we presently have about the relationship between a woman's employment and the status position of the family for instance,(29) the motivation behind women choosing to enter the labour force(30) and the relationship between these reasons and their husbands' attitudes towards equalizing the total work load.

Given that a total amount of labour has to be done to maintain the household both financially and in terms of household tasks, the tendency for women to meet their obligations by taking on part-time rather than full-time work is not necessarily undesirable. What is undesirable is that much of the part-time work available to women is low paid, insecure and presents no opportunities for career advancement. While these conditions apply and while women continue to be discriminated against in full-time work in terms of pay and opportunities, then the decision for the couple to adapt to its total work obligations by the husband working part-time, would be irrational if one is seeking to maximize either status or income, or both. The relationship between the division of labour in the family and the marketplace, therefore, is of crucial importance and a lessening of sex-role stereotyping within the family is unlikely to occur unless the employ-

ment situation changes.

What is also apparent from this time-budget data is that women's work hours are much more affected by their progression through the life cycle than are men's. Although unemployed men have very few hours of work, once they join the labour force their hours are relatively constant. The fluctuation in men's working hours is not tied to their life cycle in the same manner as it is for women since their unemployment is unusual and probably unplanned. Women, on the other hand, work relatively short hours when they are unemployed but long hours if they are married and in the labour force. It seems that women are likely to move through an orderly sequence in terms of their work hours connected with their stage in the life cycle. Thus, women move from being single and employed to being married and employed. This is often followed by a stage where a woman would be a full time housewife with young children to be followed by a return to the labour force when the children are older. With each of these stages women's total work hours fluctuate. Since, on the average, men spend more years in the labour force than do women, it is possible that throughout their lifetimes women and men spend close to the same total amount of time in work activities. If this is the case then the usual concept of the adaptive partnership model may not be appropriate if one is attempting to equalize the workloads of wives and husbands in the short run by re-

quiring men to take on additional housework. Perhaps an alternative solution would be to seek to reduce the time necessary for household maintenance by selling such services on the market and, if necessary, subsidizing them. Time on household tasks could be considerably reduced if meals at reasonable cost were available, for instance, or if people returned to using laundries rather than each household having its own private facilities. Such services would then be available to all people as a social benefit. In essence we need to industrialize housework.

Does the Vancouver time use foretell Halifax's future? To the extent that the population in Canada is becoming more concentrated in large metropolitan areas, (31) that the increase in women's employment in Nova Scotia is such that women's participation in the labour force does not equal that of British Columbia (32) and in view of the doubt placed on the assumption that work hours are decreasing, (33) then one would assume that Vancouver is more "advanced" than Halifax and does indeed predict what lies ahead for Halifaxians. Of importance here is the extent to which people's individual choices can and do effect their time use rather than being determined, for example, by the physical structure of the city which may cause people to travel long distances to work, to shop or for leisure. Given such considerations, it is apparent that any changes or dissimilarities in the distribution of work activities between women and men arise

from very complex motivations and conditions. Clearly, related improvements in the status of women are going to be equally complex to create and maintain.

NOTES

1. Jo Freeman, "The Origins of the Women's Liberation Movement," American Journal of Sociology, vol. 78, no. 4, 1973, pp. 792-811, discusses how the women's liberation movement developed in the U.S.A. and the strengths and weaknesses of its various branches; see also Linda Briskin, "The Women's Movement: Where is it Going?," Our Generation, vol. 10, no. 3, 1974, pp. 23-34.
2. Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, Women and Social Policy, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1974), p. 7.
3. Daniel Kubat and David Thornton, A Statistical Profile of Canadian Society, (Toronto, 1976), p. 124.
4. Women in the Labour Force: Facts and Figures, (Women's Bureau, Labour Canada, 1973 edition), p. 71-121.
5. See for example: Robert Blood and Donald Wolfe, Husbands and Wives: The Dynamics of Married Living (New York, 1960); Pearl Jephcott, Married Working Women (London, 1962); Andrée Michel, "Interaction and Goal Attainment in Parisian Working Wives' Families," in Family Issues of Employed Women in Europe and America, edited by Andrée Michel, (Leiden, 1971), pp.43-65; Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein, Women's Two Roles (London, 1956); Kathryn E. Walker and Margaret E. Woods, Time Use: A Measurement of Household Production of Family Goods and Services (Washington, D.C., 1976).
6. Mirra Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," American Journal of Sociology, vol. 52, Nov. 1946, pp. 182-89; "Femininity and Achievement: a basic inconsistency," chap. 3 in Feminine Personality and Conflict, ed. by J. Bardwick, E. Douvan, M. Horner and D. Gutman, (Belmont, California, 1970).
7. Hugh Armstrong and Pat Armstrong, "The Segregated Participation of Women in the Canadian Labour Force, 1941-1971," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, vol. 12, no. 4, 1975, pp. 370-384; Lynn McDonald, "Wages of Work: A Widening Gap between Women and Men," Canadian Forum, April-May, 1975, pp. 4-7.
8. The use of time-budgets as a research tool is described in "Concepts and Practices of Time-Budget Research," in A. Szalai, (ed.), The Use of Time (The Hague, 1972), pp. 1-12.
9. These figures come from the Dimensions of Metropolitan Activities Survey (DOMA) conducted by the Institute of Public Affairs at Dalhousie University, Halifax, N. S.
10. Margaret Wynn, Family Policy (London, 1970), p. 20.
11. Kathryn E. Walker, op. cit., pp. 41-42.
12. Michael Young and Peter Willmott, The Symmetrical Family (London, 1973), pp. 114-118.
13. Andrée Michel, op. cit., pp. 52-55.
14. Jerzy Piotrowski, "The Employment of Married Women and The Changing Sex Roles in Poland," in Andrée Michel, op. cit., pp. 80-82.
15. Rose M. Somerville, "The Urban Working Woman in the U.S.S.R.: An Historical Overview," in Andrée Michel, op. cit., p. 100.
16. Martin Meissner, Elizabeth W. Humphreys, Scott M. Meis and William J. Scheu, "No Exit for Wives: Sexual Division of Labour and the Cumulation of Household Demands," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, vol. 12, no. 4, 1975, pp. 424-439.
17. Evelyn Sullerot, Woman, Society and Change (New York, 1973), pp.109-118.
18. For the increase in Canadian women's participation in the labour force see Hugh Armstrong and Pat Armstrong, op. cit., p. 371.
19. Martin Meissner et al., op. cit., p. 425.
20. Michael Young and Peter Willmott, op. cit., p. 94.
21. Ibid., p. 114.
22. Martin Meissner, et al., op. cit., pp. 428-437.
23. Neither the adaptive partnership model nor the dependent labour hypothesis is very clearly explained in the article by Meissner et al. One understanding of these alternative explanations is as follows. The adaptive partnership hypothesis assumes that a couple seeks to maximize their income. Since the total income is acquired through their individual efforts in the labour force, housework itself is irrelevant to the acquisition of income. It is to the advantage of both partners, however, not to impede each other's earning power and one way of doing this would be to ensure that no one carries an unequal workload, particularly if this involves non-income producing work; i.e., housework. Therefore, one would hypothesize that the greater the percentage of market work performed by a marital partner, the less housework done by that individual and as the proportions of market and non-market work change for one partner they will create concomitant changes for the other. The dependent labour hypothesis assumes that in a dual earning family, the status position of the couple is acquired solely from the husband's occupational role and both the wife's occupational role and her household work are irrelevant to this ranking. Women have an incentive to do the housework because this labour (which is necessary to maintain the home) is used as a form of exchange for the husband's status. In fact women gain by doing the housework and thereby freeing the husbands to spend more time on their jobs since, if the husbands improve their own status, they also improve the status of the entire household. In this exchange relationship, therefore, the husband has no incentive to do the housework, and instead there is probably a disincentive to do such work. Consequently, the percentage of housework performed by women and men will not be affected by the wife's outside work activities, and the generally small amount of housework done by men will remain small despite the increase in the wife's work obligations. It is unclear why Meissner et al. suggest that only under the dependent labour hypothesis will women be more likely to enter the labour force if their husbands have low incomes, whereas the presence of young children will reduce such participation. Such factors would seem to apply equally well, if not better, to the adaptive partnership model.
24. A more detailed description of the survey can be found in D.H. Elliott, A.S. Harvey and D. Procos, "An Overview of the Halifax Time-Budget Study," paper presented at the Second Annual Colloquium of the Working Group on Time-Budgets and Social Activities, Berlin, D.D.R. October 1973 (Halifax: Dalhousie University, Institute of Public Affairs). 2,004 interviews were conducted in the DOMA Survey. The data have been weighted in accordance with the procedures followed in the multi-national survey to correct for inequities arising from (1) the fact that only one person was drawn for interviewing from a dwelling unit and (2) that more interviews were taken on some days of the week than on others.
25. A. Szalai, (ed.), The Use of Time (The Hague, 1972).
26. An average day refers to the mean durations for each activity where each of the seven days of the week enters the calculation with equal probability (.143).
27. Kathryn E. Walker and Margaret E. Woods, op. cit., pp.109-111.
28. Philip Stone, "Up Against the Wall," unpublished paper, Harvard University, 1972.
29. Margit Eichler, "Women as Personal Dependents" in Women in Canada, ed. by Marylee Stephenson, Toronto, 1973, pp.36-55. Eichler writes of the gain in independence for women who have their own source of income, but the effects this has on the total family is a largely unexplored issue.
30. Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein, op. cit., pp.79-90.
31. W.E. Kalbach and W.W. McVey, Demographic Bases of Canadian Society, Toronto, 1971, pp.98-105.
32. Women in the Labour Force, op. cit., p. 15, reports the female labour participation rate for 1972 as 30.6% in Nova Scotia and 38.0% in British Columbia.
33. Michael Young and Peter Willmott, op. cit., pp.123-147.