

## PSC Discussion Papers Series

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Volume 22 | Issue 2

Article 1

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1-22-2008

# Models of Earning and Caring: Trends in Time-use

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### Recommended Citation

Beaujot, Roderic; Liu, Jianye; and Ravanera, Zenaida (2008) "Models of Earning and Caring: Trends in Time-use," *PSC Discussion Papers Series*: Vol. 22 : Iss. 2 , Article 1.

Available at: <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/pscpapers/vol22/iss2/1>

**Models of earning and caring:  
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Discussion Paper no. 08-02

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January 22, 2008  
revised with correct Table 5 on 7 July 2008.

On the web in PDF format: <http://sociology.uwo.ca/popstudies/dp/dp08-02.pdf>

Paper presented at Session on Earning, Caring and Public Policy, Symposium of the Population,  
Work and Family Policy Research Collaboration, Ottawa, 13-14 December 2007.

The authors wish to acknowledge funding from Human Resources and Social Development  
Canada.

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## Models of earning and caring: Trends in time-use

*Abstract:*

*Families may be defined as people who share resources and care for each other. These earning and caring activities have undergone change, especially in terms of the de-linking of gender to their division in families. After considering the basis of change in families, in the economy and in models of earning and caring, this paper updates the average hours of paid and unpaid work of women and men, based on the time use surveys of 1986, 1992, 1998 and 2005. The focus is on gender as well as marital, parental and employment status over the life course. Total productive activity, increases for both men and women over the categories of “unmarried no children” to “married no children” to married parent.” We also identify five models of the division of work: complementary-traditional, complementary-gender reversed, women’s double burden, men’s double burden, and collaborative (or shared roles). While the complementary-traditional model is declining, it still represents a third of couples. Women’s double burden is the second largest category, representing 27% of couples in 2005, with men’s double burden representing another 11%. The shared roles account for about a quarter of couples. We propose that equal opportunities in the broader society are relevant to this change, as is social policy and the aspirations for relationships based on mutuality and sharing rather than complementary roles. Besides the push for equality of opportunity in access to education and work, there has been push for change at work in the direction of work-life balance, and change in men’s involvement in housework and child care.*

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Families may be defined as *people who share resources and care for each other* (Beaujot, 2000; Beaujot et al., 2005). These *earning and caring* activities have undergone much change, especially in terms of the de-linking of gender to their division in families. The concepts of caring and earning are tightly connected and they are also linked over generations, through various transfers in care, income and other resources. Families that are suffering are typically having trouble in one of these domains. Thus, measuring the risks associated with caring and earning, is a useful way to understand family problems, to analyze the broader social and systemic bases for the difficulties, and to look for areas of policy intervention. In particular, the alternate models for the division of earning and caring imply differences in areas of policy intervention.

In the first three sections, we present theories and findings about changes in family and employment, and point to their influence on models of earning and caring. The subsequent sections present our analysis of data from time-use surveys that document some of the important elements of stability and change in the patterns of earning and caring. We conclude with a discussion of the implications of our findings particularly for policies.

### **1. Family change**

Family change has been studied in terms of structural and cultural questions (Hamilton, 1978; Crompton, 2006). Harris (1983) and Burgess et al. (1963) have focused on the de-institutionalization of the family and the movement from institution to companionship. Thornton

(2001), Giddens (1991, 1999) and Roussel (1989) speak of changed ideals including “pure relationships” and “projet de couple.” For instance, Bradshaw and Hatland (2006) summarize the central features of the changes in eight Northern European countries as long-term sub-replacement fertility, cohabitation instead of marriage, values and beliefs giving priority to the individual over collectivities, and the struggle of women for equality and autonomy. With fewer structural constraints, there is greater differentiation of families, along with the valuation of diversity and pluralism.

## 2. Employment change

Discussions of employment change since the mid-1970s have focussed on the impact of globalization and technology, including the 24/7 economy, deregulation and the growth of non-standard work (Rinehart, 1996; Krahn et al., 2007; Presser, 2003). This has meant more reliance on the “self” rather than the organization, along with more flexible and less secure employment. Thus the two-career family is seen as a means to handle the risks, to avoid poverty, or to establish secure middle class levels of consumption (Oppenheimer, 1997; Coltrane, 1998).

The trend toward convergence in women’s and men’s employment ratios has slowed since the early 1990s as men’s employment has stopped declining and there are more modest increases in women’s employment (Figure 1). While the 2006 employment ratios are 67.7 for men and 58.3 for women, the average hours of work per week remain significantly different at 36.8 hours for men and 29.3 for women.

The overall increase in the employment ratio has been most noteworthy, from 50.2 per 100 in 1961 to 63.0 in 2006 (Beaujot et al., 2007). This employment change is probably a function both of greater demand for workers in a service economy, and a greater supply of workers that include persons seeking flexibility to accommodate their family responsibilities. Besides the material/structural questions, cultural/ideological questions are also relevant in explaining the trends in the world of work, including the value placed on self-reliance, on the two-income family, and on paid work for both women and men. With these changes, the manner in which men and women use their time has been fundamentally altered.

## 3. Models of earning and caring

Durkheim (1960 [1893]: 60) saw complementary roles or *organic* solidarity as a basis for holding families together. He thought that if we “permit the sexual division of labour to recede below a certain level ... conjugal society would eventually subsist in sexual relations pre-eminently ephemeral.” The alternative of *mechanical* solidarity was not envisaged as a means of family solidarity. Nonetheless, the de-institutionalization of the family might be seen as a movement from organic to mechanical solidarity, from institution to companionship (Burgess et al., 1963), from instrumental to expressive relationships (Scanzoni and Scanzoni, 1976), or from living up to external norms to a “projet de couple” (Roussel, 1989). Instead of seeing mechanical and organic solidarity as mutually exclusive alternatives, Beaujot and Ravanera (2007) propose a two-fold classification wherein there is *no relationship* when neither mechanical nor organic solidarity exists, a *companionship* or pure relationship when based only

on mechanical solidarity, a *dependent* or instrumental relationship when based only on organic solidarity, and a *collaborative* model when based on both.

A strong gender differentiation between paid and unpaid work brings dependency and the potential for exploitation. Nonetheless, the dependence of one person on another is a prime characteristic of family life. Finch (1989: 167) observes that husband/wife and parent/child relations can tolerate substantial periods of one-way flow. Dependency is part of most relationships, and relationships based on instrumental interdependency are more stable. Thus, Nock (2001) proposes the concept of “marriages of equally dependent spouses.”

Gender differentiation or complementary roles can be an efficient way of dividing work. Becker (1991) proposes that it is inefficient to have more than one person in a unit dividing their time between market and household production, because different forms of capital are needed for these two forms of production. While this may be an efficient strategy, it is also a high risk strategy when marriages are not stable (Oppenheimer, 1997). There is a stronger basis for the Becker model when household production is a full-time activity, but this is no longer the case. Values are changing in the direction of establishing more equal relationships in order to reduce differentiation by gender, to reduce risks, and to establish relations based on companionship rather than dependency (Beaujot, 2006).

That is, one can identify various distinctive “models” of family life, including the traditional breadwinner model, the dual earner family, as well as other “models” of family that involve greater or lesser degrees of gender egalitarianism. The study of family models has paid much attention to the transition from a breadwinner model, to dual-earner families. As indicated above, family models need to consider both paid and unpaid work, along with their division by gender (Becker, 1991; Oppenheimer, 1997, Beaujot, 2000). When the focus is on domestic work, the literature is prone to conclude that the change has been from the homemaking model to women having a double burden; that is, the change in women’s labour force participation has not been accompanied by an equal change in the division of unpaid work, giving women a double burden. Although these are clearly important family models, they can mask other distinctions and changes with regard to the division of paid and unpaid work (Beaujot and Liu, 2005).

The changes associated with gender, family and work have brought widespread and persistent diversity in family models. While there is agreement in the terms to use for the “old” models, such as “breadwinner” or “neo-traditional,” the new models are given a variety of labels, including “companionship,” “collaborative” and “post-gender,” with others opting simply to call them “new families” in contrast with “old families.”

#### **4. Trends in time-use in paid and unpaid work**

Canadian trends are found to follow that of other similar countries. For instance, Gershuny and Sullivan (1998) observe a decline in women’s time in domestic work since the 1960s and an increase in men’s time since the 1970s, findings that are similarly discussed in a subsequent article by Sullivan (2000) entitled “Division of Domestic Labour: Twenty years of change?”

Since the time-use calendar is only gathered for one 24 hour period, the specific day chosen can often be atypical for the respondent, depending on the day of the week and the time of the year. However, averages over categories of population should randomize these unique situations.

We start with the time use in various categories of activities for the entire 24 hours of the calendar day, showing also the total productive activity (that is, paid work and education plus unpaid work). Paid work here includes not only education but time spent commuting to and from work. Similarly, unpaid work includes housework, child care, home maintenance, along with elder care and volunteer work, as long as they are done as primary activities.

For the total population, the difference between men and women in total productive activity has been at most 0.1 hours per day in each of the four surveys (Table 1). At the same time, this total activity has increased by 0.6 hours, from 7.5 hours in 1986 to 8.1 in 2005. There is also an increase for the employed population: for men, the total productive activity has increased from 9.0 hours in 1986 to 9.6 in 2005, and for women it has increased from 9.2 to 9.8 hours.

For the entire population, in 1986 women's paid work plus education represented 58.9% of men's time in these activities, compared to 72.2% in 2005. For unpaid work, men's time in 1986 represented 46.3% of women's time, compared to 62.8% in 2005. The differences are smaller in the employed population, but they are still in the same direction, with women doing 87.3% as much paid work as men, and men doing 71.4% as much unpaid work as women, in 2005.

In another comparison over these four Canadian time-use surveys, Turcotte (2007) studied the "time spent with family." He used the sub-sample of persons who worked at least three hours on the observation day and who live with a spouse or child. This study finds that workers are spending less time with family, at 250 minutes per day in 1986 compared to 206 minutes in 2005. There is also a decline in time spent with friends, while the time spent alone has increased. It is found that the increase in hours worked is the main reason for the decrease in family time. For instance, 17% had worked 10 or more hours in 1986 compared to 25% in 2005. Watching television was often family time, but the increase in watching alone was the second factor responsible for the reduction of time spent with family, as was the greater prevalence of eating alone.

While the average family time has declined, there were very small gender differences in family time for these workers who lived with a spouse or child. Excluding sleep and personal time, the averages were 248 minutes for women and 250 for men in 1986, compared to 209 minutes for women and 205 for men in 2005 (Turcotte, 2007: 5). The change in both paid work and housework shows converging trends (Table 2). For instance, the duration of paid work was 12.0% higher for men than women in 1986 compared to 10.6% in 2005. Men's time in housework increased while women's declined, but women did 3.11 times as much as men in 1986 and 1.84 times in 2005. Not all forms of unpaid work are measured here, and there are some two hours missing from the average 24 hour day, nonetheless adding paid work and housework shows small average differences, with the total of these two forms of work being 2.2% higher for women in 1986 and 2.0% higher for men in 2005.

## **5. Time-use by gender, marital, parental and family status**

In summarizing the situation in the United States especially in the 1960s, Hartmann (1984) concluded that husband's time in domestic work was not much affected by the paid work hours of wives nor by the number of children. In contrast, the first substantive article written on the 2005 Canadian time-use survey is entitled "Converging gender roles" (Marshall, 2006)." For instance, among dual-earner couples, there are several sub-categories where the wife's proportion of total time is very close to 50% (Marshall, 2006: 15). When both are working full-time, the average for husbands is 6.6 hours of paid work and 1.4 hours of housework, while that of wives is 5.9 hours of paid work and 2.1 hours of housework, for a total of 8.0 hours for men and 8.1 hours for women. When the wife's income is \$100,000 or more, there is complete symmetry with an average of 6.6 hours of paid work and 1.6 hours of housework. In none of the categories is the wife's proportion of housework under 50%, while it reaches 71% when wife is working part-time and husband is working full-time. Marshall concludes that, although time-stressed, with women having more stress than men, employed parents are satisfied with life overall.

Table 3 returns to the whole population, showing the paid and unpaid work in 1986, 1992, 1998 and 2005 for ages 15-44 and 45-64, in four categories of marital and parental status. The married here include cohabiting, and "parents" are persons living with children under 18 years of age. The remainder of this description is based only on the 2005 data. The total productive activity increases for both men and women over the categories of "unmarried no children" to "married no children" to married parent." At ages 45-64, the highest total work occurs for the lone parents. Over the categories of unmarried no children, married no children and married parents, there is an increase in paid work for men, an increase in unpaid work for women, with a smaller increase in unpaid work for men. Compared to the married parents, young male lone parents do more unpaid work, and the men lone parents at ages 45-64 also do more paid work. In this same comparison for women, at younger ages the married are doing more paid work and less unpaid work than the lone parents, but at older ages it is the lone parents who are doing more paid work.

In essentially all categories of marital and parental status, within the two age groups, men do significantly more paid work and women do significantly more unpaid work. The exception is at ages 15-44 where the unmarried men with no children do only 5.9 hours of paid work and 1.4 hours of unpaid work, compared to averages of 6.3 and 2.0 hours for women. The gender differences for these young unmarried with no children were in the same direction in 1998, but not as noticeable. At both age groups, it is unmarried men with no children who have significantly less total productive activity, compared to other categories in the population. Children clearly bring more differences in the paid and unpaid work of men and women. At the same time, it is in the persons who are in relationships that we find the most similarities in average total work, whether they are parents or not.

Table 4 uses ages 30-54 to consider family status (distinguishing persons in husband-wife families from those who are not in husband-wife families), work status (both full-time, two employed but not both full-time, one employed), and presence of children (child 0-5, child 6-18, no child). The following is based only on the 2005 data. For the entire population aged 30-54, the averages of total productive time are identical at 9.5 hours for women and men. There is also the same average of 9.5 hours when there are two employed but not two full-time; however, in this

category women have more total activity when there are either children 0-5 or no children, while men have a higher average when there are children aged 6-18. The total productive time is highest when both are employed full-time and there is a child aged 0-5 years, with an average of 11.4 hours for men and 11.2 hours for women. Although they are both working full-time, in this category where there is at least one child under 6, women's average paid work is 5.5 hours while that of men is 7.6 hours, with women doing 5.7 hours of unpaid work compared to 3.8 for men.

Particularly noteworthy in Table 4 is the greater variability of women's unpaid and paid work over these categories of family, parental and employment status. For both genders, the lowest hours of unpaid work occurs when they are not in husband-wife families, but employed full-time with no children, where men's average is 2.2 hours of unpaid work and women's average is 3.0 hours. However, except in the case where men are lone parents, and either employed part-time or not employed, men's hours of unpaid work varies only between an average of 2.2 to 3.9 hours. In comparison, women's unpaid work averages vary between 3.0 and 8.5 hours over the categories of this table. With the exception again of male lone parents who are either employed part-time or not employed, women's hours of paid work also varies more than that of men over the categories of Table 4. Clearly, women accommodate more than men to the variability in the time-needs for paid and unpaid work over the life course. As Kempeneers (1992) concluded, women have more of the responsibility for the meshing of the changing needs of production and reproduction. This could be interpreted as a strategy of couples to gain efficiency with only one person responsible for making the accommodations, which corresponds to a model proposed by Becker (1991). This could also be seen in another way, that is, patriarchy and capitalism exploit women's labour, an interpretation proposed by Hartmann (1984).

## **6. Trends in models of division of earning and caring**

In order to derive measures of the relative amount of paid and unpaid work done by men and women in specific families, we compare the broad estimates of time use in major categories of activity over the previous week, where respondents were asked to provide estimates both for themselves and their spouse/partner. The categories that were used here are: hours worked, hours of housework for the household, hours spent maintaining/improving house/yard/automobile, and hours caring for household children. These last three categories are combined to measure unpaid work.

We then combined the hours of each of paid and unpaid work for respondent and spouse, noting the relative amount done by each. Compared to the spouse, the respondent could do more, less or the same amount of hours of each of paid work and unpaid work. The literature tends to use the range of 40% to 60% of the total as representing the same amount. For instance, Feree (1991) uses the label of "two-housekeeper households when husbands do more than 40% of the housework. Similarly, Sullivan (2004) uses the 40/60 cut off to indicate parity in domestic labour time. We have adopted this range of 40% to 60% of the total as representing the same amount of either paid or unpaid work. We are measuring this only for respondents where neither partner is retired nor a full-time student. There is a 11.0% sample loss here of persons who did not respond to these questions on weekly estimates for self and spouse.



These data are not available in 1986, but they have been produced for 1992, 1998 and 2005 (Table 5). While earlier tables show considerable similarity between women and men in the total time spent in productive activities, It is noteworthy that there are people in all the cells of this 3 x 3 table. Nonetheless, in 2005 only 4.3% of respondents indicate that they do more paid work and also more unpaid work than their spouse, and another 4.1% indicate that they do less paid work and less unpaid work than their spouse or partner. The total who indicate that they do the same amount of paid work is 46.6%, and 26.6% indicate that they do the same amount of unpaid work. These proportions have increased since 1992 when 41.7% did the same amount of paid work and 22.6% did the same amount of unpaid work. The proportion doing the same amount of both paid and unpaid work also increased, from 13.9% of respondents in 1992 to 17.5% in 2005.

It is possible to collapse the nine cells into five models. In the complementary-traditional model, the man does more paid work and the woman does more unpaid work (top right cells). In the complementary-gender-reversed model the woman does more paid work and the man does more unpaid work (bottom left). In the women's double burden, the woman does the same amount, or even more, paid work and more unpaid work (two top cells to the left). In the husband's double burden, he does the same amount, or even more, paid work and more unpaid work (two bottom cells to the right). Then the cells in the middle are collapsed into "shared roles" because they do the same amount of unpaid work. This gives priority to unpaid work in determining shared roles, which corresponds to the literature.

Using the total over male and female respondents, there has been some change in the relative predominance of the various models (Table 6). The complementary-traditional has declined in importance but it remains the largest category, representing a third of couples in 2005. Women's double burden is the second most important model, representing 26.8% of couples in 2005. Men's double burdens have increased the most, to 10.7% of couples, and the shared roles have also increased to 26.5% of couples. The complementary-gender-reversed has increased since 1992, but represents only 3.0% of cases in 2005. These results clearly confirm the diversity of existing models for the division of paid and unpaid work.

## **7. Discussion**

Questions of gender equity in paid and unpaid work have been central to social inquiry over the last half century. With the large change in women's labour force participation, issues turned to occupational segregation and pay equity. The unequal division of unpaid work has been called a second shift or a double burden that represented a stalled revolution in the direction of gender equity. Due in part to the attention given to this research, we could say that important changes have occurred, yet large differences remain. We propose that by 2017, there would be a greater proportion of couples who could be described as following a "shared" model if only because many of those who would form unions in the next decade are young people, who compared with their forebears, have greater preference for parity in time spent on unpaid work. However, the magnitude of increase would depend on several factors. Certainly, there will be a proportion of couples who would choose the complementary-traditional models no matter the structural conditions. But for many others, decisions on sharing of paid and unpaid work would depend on

policy issues including equality of opportunity in access to education and work, conditions that would facilitate work-life balance, and opportunities for greater involvement of men in housework and child care. Given that the diversity of models is likely to persist, a key policy challenge is to accommodate the diversity not only in families but in models of sharing of paid and unpaid work.

In terms of the equal access to education and work, the largest changes have occurred in education, where women's participation is now higher than that of men, and where only the areas of Engineering/Applied Sciences and Mathematics/Physical Sciences remain male dominant (Andres and Adamuti-Trache, 2007). In observing that the class differences in educational opportunities have declined much less than the gender differences, one can propose that, at least to some extent, the equal opportunities are a function of families treating their sons and daughters equally in this regard (Wanner, 1999, Finnie et al., 2005).

The gender differences in access to education and work are complex, but the differences in flexibility and work/life balance probably plays a significant role in the choice of occupations and fields of study. For instance, Ranson (1998) observes significant differences across occupations, with much more flexibility in teaching and health fields than in business or engineering. A greater alignment across occupations, in terms of potential for work/life balance, would enable women and men to enter fields corresponding to their interests and skills, rather than corresponding to the potential for given occupations to accommodate families. Some fields have profited little from the expansion of post-secondary education, in part because these fields are less attractive to women.

As with education, it can be argued that the interest for a more equal sharing of housework and child care plays an important role. There are aspirations for models other than complementary roles. One might say that the critique of the "heterosexual nuclear family" is not a critique of heterosexual nor of nuclear, but of the traditional division of work that has occurred in such families. There are aspirations for more symmetry and mutuality and for models based on sharing rather than complementarities (Beaujot, 2006). At the same time, there is lack of structural supports for gender egalitarianism in households (Reynolds, 2007).

Research time-crunch indicates that paid work hours are particularly significant, that the complementary-roles model is subject to higher stress, and that women have more stress than men (Beaujot and Andersen, 2007). By supporting the "equal roles" model, there would be support for the type of family model that many would prefer, and it would maximize the lifetime paid-work hours of women and men, with less "burn-out" and aspirations for early retirement. Research on the loss of literacy skills indicates that this loss is higher for persons who are not in the labour force (Willms and Murray, 2007). By minimizing the labour force withdrawals associated with family questions, there would be less deterioration of skills.

Many calls have been made for changes in the availability of publicly supported child care as a means to achieve equal opportunity. While child care needs to be part of the picture, equally important is the encouragement of men's participation. Equal opportunity to parental leave may be particularly important in setting up family arrangements encouraging a more equal sharing child care. Experience in the federal public service suggests that a higher replacement rate for

parental leave is key to men's greater participation. Besides supporting families at this intensive stage, a higher replacement rate would enable the sharing that would permit women's earlier return to the labour force.

Both work and parenting have become particularly absorbing institutions in terms of time use (Gauthier et al., 2004). When asked if they would prefer to work shorter hours for less pay, the same hours for the same pay or more hours for more pay, the Workplace and Employee Survey indicates that there are more who would want to work more hours than those who would want to work fewer hours (Heisz and LaRochelle-Côté, 2007: 26). However, data from the United States indicates there has been a decline in the proportion of mothers who prefer full-time work (PEW Research Center, 2007). In as much as society profits from time intensive parenting, there is need for changed expectations on the intensity of paid work and its distribution over the life course.

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**Figure 1. Employment rate and average worked hours, by sex in Canada (1976-2006)**

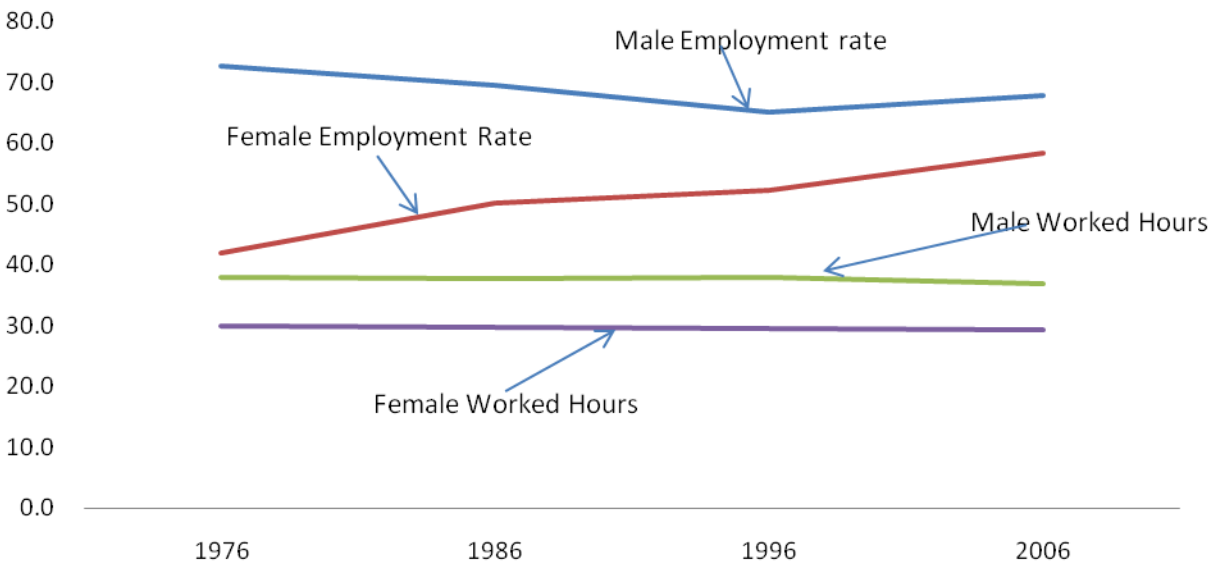


Table 1. Time use (average hours per day) of total population and employed persons, 1986, 1992, 1998, and 2005

	Population 15+							
	1986		1992		1998		2005	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total productive activity	7.5	7.4	7.7	7.8	8.0	8.0	8.1	8.1
Paid work and education	5.6	3.3	5.1	3.3	5.2	3.5	5.4	3.9
Unpaid work	1.9	4.1	2.6	4.5	2.8	4.5	2.7	4.3
Personal care	10.8	11.2	10.3	10.8	10.3	10.6	10.5	10.8
Leisure/free time	5.7	5.3	6.0	5.5	5.7	5.3	5.5	5.0
Total	24.0	24.0	24.0	24.0	24.0	24.0	24.0	24.0
	Employed person							
Total productive activity	9.0	9.2	9.1	9.4	9.5	9.7	9.6	9.8
Paid work and education	7.2	6.0	6.8	5.9	6.9	5.8	7.1	6.2
Unpaid work	1.8	3.2	2.3	3.5	2.6	3.9	2.5	3.5
Personal care	10.2	10.6	9.9	10.3	9.8	10.1	10.0	10.3
Leisure/free time	4.8	4.2	5.1	4.3	4.7	4.2	4.4	3.9
Total	24.0	24.0	24.0	24.0	24.0	24.0	24.0	24.0

Note: the sample size is 19597 for total and 10890 for employed in 2005.

Source: Ghalam, 1993: 53; Devereau, 1993: 14, Harvey, Marshall, and Frederick, 1991: 31.

Statistics Canada, General Social Survey (Time Use), 1986, 1992, 1998, 2005.



Table 2. Time use (average minutes per day) for workers living in families

	1986	1992	1998	2005
<b>Men</b>				
Work time	525.6	548.4	555.8	558.0
Housework	32.4	44.5	48.4	49.9
Personal time	484.0	469.5	473.8	490.3
Meals time	60.3	54.0	47.9	47.6
Travel bus/car	67.5	70.2	72.7	72.2
Travel walking	4.9	3.9	4.0	2.2
Social activity	24.0	16.2	14.5	10.7
Reading	19.4	17.4	14.1	10.4
TV	104.6	100.1	95.1	86.6
Other	117.5	115.8	113.8	112.0
Total	1440.0	1440.0	1440.0	1440.0
<b>Women</b>				
Work time	469.4	483.9	490.3	504.4
Housework	100.9	97.6	99.0	91.7
Personal time	504.5	504.7	506.8	514.3
Meals time	59.2	50.2	38.6	41.4
Travel bus/car	64.7	65.2	71.8	73.1
Travel walking	6.0	7.6	5.8	4.1
Social activity	20.5	14.7	14.2	12.1
Reading	16.3	17.4	15.9	10.5
TV	76.7	73.2	68.9	69.1
Other	121.9	125.5	128.9	119.3
Total	1440.0	1440.0	1440.0	1440.0
<b>Total</b>				
Work time	505.8	522.7	528.5	536.1
Housework	56.6	65.7	69.5	67.0
Personal time	491.2	483.5	487.5	500.2
Meals time	59.9	52.5	44.0	45.1
Travel bus/car	66.5	68.2	72.3	72.6
Travel walking	5.3	5.3	4.8	3.0
Social activity	22.7	15.6	14.4	11.3
Reading	18.3	17.4	14.8	10.4
TV	94.7	89.4	84.2	79.4
Other	119.0	119.7	120.1	115.0
Total	1440.0	1440.0	1440.0	1440.0

Notes: This is based on persons who worked at least three hours on the observation day and who lived with a spouse or child.

Source: Turcotte (2007: 11) and other tabulations from the same author.

Table 3. Average daily hours in paid work and unpaid work, for population 15-64, by sex, age, marital and parental status, Canada, 1986, 1992, 1998, 2005

	-----1986-----								-----1992-----								
	Men				Women				Men				Women				
	Total	Paid	Unpaid	N	Total	Paid	Unpaid	N	Total	Paid	Unpaid	N	Total	Paid	Unpaid	N	
<b>15-44</b>																	
Unmarried no children	7.3	6.1	1.2	1381	8.0	6.2	1.8	1029	7.4	6.0	1.4	122	8.2	6.0	2.2	835	
Married no children	8.2	6.3	1.9	473	8.4	5.1	3.3	469	9.4	7.2	2.2	401	8.9	5.5	3.4	454	
Married parents	9.3	6.8	2.5	1236	8.9	2.9	6.0	1367	9.7	6.4	3.4	106	9.6	3.2	6.4	1209	
Unmarried parents	9.4	7.4	2.0	36	8.4	3.6	4.8	230	8.1	3.7	4.4	29	8.9	3.2	5.6	211	
<b>45-64</b>																	
Unmarried no children	7.1	4.7	2.4	188	7.3	3.0	4.3	276	7.6	4.5	3.0	171	7.2	3.1	4.1	247	
Married no children	7.1	4.7	2.4	625	7.0	1.9	5.1	704	7.6	4.7	2.9	637	7.6	2.5	5.0	705	
Married parents	8.4	5.8	2.6	383	8.3	2.7	5.6	237	9.0	5.5	3.5	325	8.7	3.6	5.2	186	
Unmarried parents	-	-	-	6	8.4	3.1	5.2	25	8.5	6.1	2.4	11	8.7	3.9	4.8	26	
<b>Total</b>	8.0	6.0	2.0	4328	8.2	3.8	4.4	4338	8.4	5.9	2.5	386	8.6	4.0	4.6	3872	
													3				
-----1998-----								-----2005-----									
<b>15-44</b>																	
Unmarried no children	7.5	5.9	1.6	1470	7.8	5.7	2.2	1023	7.4	5.9	1.4	2522	8.2	6.3	2.0	1973	
Married no children	9.2	7.0	2.3	448	9.0	5.6	3.4	496	8.9	6.6	2.4	897	9.1	5.6	3.5	875	
Married parents	10.2	6.7	3.5	1139	9.9	3.5	6.3	1261	10.5	7.1	3.4	1734	9.9	3.7	6.2	1860	
Unmarried parents	9.2	5.2	4.1	49	9.6	3.8	5.8	272	9.9	6.2	3.7	72	9.8	4.9	4.9	409	
<b>45-64</b>																	
Unmarried no children	7.0	4.2	2.8	242	7.7	3.3	4.4	350	7.5	4.8	2.7	513	7.9	3.7	4.2	730	
Married no children	7.8	4.6	3.2	808	7.7	2.8	4.9	838	8.1	5.1	3.0	1688	8.0	3.4	4.6	1784	
Married parents	9.7	6.4	3.3	418	9.6	4.3	5.3	263	9.6	6.6	3.0	858	9.7	4.3	5.4	522	
Unmarried parents	9.2	7.2	2.0	21	9.2	4.9	4.3	48	11.0	7.3	3.7	49	10.5	5.8	4.7	137	
<b>Total</b>	8.6	6.0	2.7	4596	8.7	4.2	4.5	4551	8.6	6.1	2.5	8333	8.8	4.6	4.3	8291	

Notes:

1. Statistical significance indicates how the specified category differs from the reference category (unmarried, no children) for a given sex and age group.
2. Significance level is shown under the relevant number: \*: < 0.05, \*\*: < 0.01, \*\*\*: < 0.001.
3. Married includes cohabiting.
4. Parental status refers to the presence of children aged 0-18 in the household.
5. “-”: fewer than 10 cases.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Surveys of 1986, 1992, 1998, and 2005

Table 4. Time use (average hours per day) in paid and unpaid work by sex, family status, employment status, and presence of children, persons aged 30-54, Canada, 1992, 2005

	Men			Women		
	Paid	Unpaid	Total	Paid	Unpaid	Total
<b>1992</b>						
<b>H-W families</b>						
Both FT	6.5	2.9	9.4	6.0	4.1	10.1
Child 0-5	6.4	3.7	10.2	4.9	5.8	10.6
Child 6-18	6.4	2.9	9.3	5.5	4.4	9.9
No child	6.8	2.3	9.2	7.3	2.9	10.2
Two employed	6.6	2.8	9.4	3.0	6.1	9.1
Child 0-5	6.3	3.5	9.8	1.9	7.9	9.8
Child 6-18	6.5	2.8	9.3	3.5	5.9	9.4
No child	7.1	2.1	9.2	3.0	5.1	8.1
One employed	6.1	3.0	9.0	1.2	6.8	8.0
Child 0-5	6.3	3.7	9.9	0.5	8.9	9.4
Child 6-18	5.8	3.0	8.7	1.4	6.4	7.8
No child	6.2	2.2	8.4	1.4	5.8	7.1
<b>Not in H-W families</b>						
Employed FT	7.0	1.7	8.7	5.7	3.2	8.9
Child 0-5	--	--	--	5.2	4.7	9.9
Child 6-18	6.0	3.2	9.2	5.3	3.9	9.2
No child	7.1	1.6	8.7	5.9	2.9	8.7
Employed PT or not employed	2.3	2.9	5.2	1.6	5.2	6.7
Child 0-5	--	--	--	0.5	7.6	8.2
Child 6-18	0.0	3.7	3.7	1.5	6.3	7.8
No child	2.5	2.8	5.2	1.8	4.0	5.8
Total	6.1	2.8	8.9	3.7	5.2	8.9
<b>2005</b>						
<b>H-W families</b>						
Both FT	7.1	3.0	10.2	6.3	4.1	10.4
Child 0-5	7.6	3.8	11.4	5.5	5.7	11.2
Child 6-18	7.5	3.0	10.5	6.3	4.3	10.6
No child	6.6	2.7	9.3	6.5	3.4	9.9
Two employed	6.6	3.0	9.5	3.9	5.6	9.5
Child 0-5	6.3	3.9	10.2	4.2	6.8	11.0
Child 6-18	7.0	2.7	9.8	3.1	5.9	9.1
No child	6.1	2.4	8.5	4.8	4.2	9.0
One employed	6.6	3.1	9.7	1.8	6.7	8.4
Child 0-5	7.6	3.3	11.0	0.9	8.5	9.4
Child 6-18	6.4	3.0	9.4	2.0	6.6	8.6
No child	5.7	2.9	8.6	2.3	5.1	7.4
<b>Not in H-W families</b>						
Employed FT	7.0	2.3	9.3	6.8	3.4	10.2
Child 0-5	6.7	3.5	10.2	6.0	5.2	11.2

Child 6-18	7.9	3.0	10.9	7.3	4.0	11.3
No child	6.9	2.2	9.1	6.6	3.0	9.6
Employed PT or not employed	1.9	2.8	4.7	1.7	5.4	7.2
Child 0-5	0.0	7.5	7.5	2.2	6.9	9.1
Child 6-18	0.9	6.8	7.7	2.1	5.8	7.8
No child	2.0	2.5	4.5	1.5	5.0	6.5
Total	6.5	2.9	9.5	4.6	4.9	9.5

Note: - = less than 5 cases; FT = full time; PT = part time; H-W = husband-wife; two employed – excludes cases where both are working full-time; child 6-18 excludes cases where there are children 0-5; no child=no children under 19; total includes cases of husband-wife families where neither are employed, and cases of marital status not stated. The total sample is 4163 cases in 1992 and 8695 cases in 2005.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Surveys (time use) in 1992 and 2005.

**Table 5** Predominance of models of husband-wife families in terms of the relative proportion of paid and unpaid work by sex, Canada, 1992, 1998, 2005

Compared to husband, wife does	Compared to husband, wife does								
	-----1992-----			-----1998-----			-----2005-----		
	M_P	S_P	L_P	M_P	S_P	L_P	M_P	S_P	L_P
More unpaid									
Men	1.9	19.3	41.7	1.6	19.2	39.5	1.9	21.0	33.2
Women	3.6	28.1	45.3	4.2	28.6	38.7	7.0	24.2	32.6
Total	2.8	23.7	43.5	2.9	23.9	39.1	4.3	22.5	32.9
Same unpaid									
Men	2.9	16.3	8.5	1.4	17.6	8.8	2.8	18.6	7.5
Women	2.4	11.5	3.8	2.7	12.8	4.3	2.7	16.2	5.0
Total	2.6	13.9	6.1	2.0	15.2	6.6	2.8	17.5	6.3
Less unpaid									
Men	2.1	5.1	2.3	2.4	4.9	4.5	2.9	6.3	5.7
Women	1.2	3.2	1.0	3.1	4.5	1.2	3.2	6.9	2.3
Total	1.7	4.1	1.6	2.7	4.7	2.9	3.1	6.6	4.1

**Notes:**

1. For each year, the cells show the distribution of couples into nine categories (3 X 3), according to men's responses, women's responses, and total responses.
2. This table excludes couples where either (1) at least one is a full-time student, (2) at least one is retired.
3. The sample size is 3518 (men: 1743, women: 1775) in 1992, 3595 (men: 1793, women: 1802) in 1998, and 8360 (men: 4387, women: 3973) in 2005.
4. The sex of respondent is shown. This respondent provided an estimate of weekly time used for both themselves and their spouse).
5. Both married and cohabiting couples are included.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, General Social Surveys (time use) in 1992, 1998, and 2005.

Table 6. Models of the division of paid and unpaid work, 1992, 1998, 2005

Model type	1992	1998	2005
<b>Male respondents</b>			
Complementary-traditional	41.7	39.6	33.2
Complementary-gender-reversed	2.1	2.4	2.9
Women's double burden	21.2	20.8	23.0
Men's double burden	7.4	9.4	12.0
Shared roles	27.7	27.8	28.9
Total number of cases	1743	1792	4388
<b>Female respondents</b>			
Complementary-traditional	45.2	38.7	32.5
Complementary-gender-reversed	1.2	3.1	3.2
Women's double burden	31.7	32.8	31.1
Men's double burden	4.2	5.7	9.2
Shared roles	17.7	19.8	23.9
Total number of cases	1776	1801	3973
<b>Total respondents</b>			
Complementary-traditional	43.5	39.1	32.9
Complementary-gender-reversed	1.7	2.7	3.0
Women's double burden	26.5	26.8	26.8
Men's double burden	5.8	7.6	10.7
Shared roles	22.6	23.8	26.5
Total number of cases	3518	3595	8360

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Surveys (time use) in 1992, 1998, and 2005.