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# Models of Earning and Caring: Trends, Determinants and Implications

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# Models of earning and caring: Trends, determinants and implications

## *Notice:*



## *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 Statistics Canada 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.*

*We also identify five models of the division of work: complementary-traditional, complementary-gender reversed, women's double burden, men's double burden, and 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 show that life course considerations, as well as structural and cultural factors, are determinants of these alternative models of earning and caring. In particular, the complementary-traditional and women's double burdens are more likely for older persons, and for persons with young children. Alternative models are more common when women have higher relative resources, for younger persons, and for persons living in Quebec and in urban areas. The indicators of well-being and social support show mixed results across models. Nonetheless, the shared roles model is high on measures of happiness and life satisfaction for both women and men.*

*We propose that equal opportunities in the broader society are relevant to the relative predominance of models of earning and caring, as is social policy and the aspirations for relationships based on mutuality and sharing rather than complementary roles.*

## *Keywords*

time use, paid work, unpaid work, family models

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# *Executive Summary*

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.

This paper on patterns of time-use and the models of division of work in families, their determinants and implications, has four main sections. The first section follows the patterns of stability and change in average hours of paid and unpaid work over the Statistics Canada time use surveys of 1986 to 2005. The second section looks at the predominance of alternate models for the division of paid and unpaid work in families. The third section analyzes the determinants of these alternate models, and the fourth section considers some of the consequences of these models of the division of work. We conclude with a discussion of the implications of our findings.

## *Time-use in productive activities:*

For the total population, the time-use in productive activities, both paid and unpaid, has increased from 7.5 hours per day in 1986 to 8.1 hours in 2005. For persons living in families who worked at least three hours on the observation day, there was an increase of 32.4 minutes for men and 35.0 minutes for women in work and commuting time between 1986 and 2005. Most sub-categories of unpaid work, including elder care, civic and voluntary activity, and housework, increase over ages for both women and men, reaching a peak at ages 65-79. However, child care hours are at their highest when paid work is also high, that is at ages 25-44. Total productive activity increases for both men and women over the categories of "unmarried no children" to "married no children" to "married parent."

For the total population aged 30-54, women clearly do more unpaid work but men's unpaid work increased by 0.1 hours while women's declined by 0.3 hours over the period 1992-2005. The results from other countries show similar patterns of more housework for women than men, but an increase in men's time in unpaid work.

Another generalization is that of greater variability for women than men in time use patterns over the life course. This is seen in the patterns over age, and also in the patterns across various marital and parental statuses. This greater variability for women in effect means that they take greater responsibility not only for unpaid work but also for the variable nature of the needs for unpaid work over the life course.

The suggested explanations of these trends include both structural and cultural factors. Focusing on men, Coltrane (1995) sees accommodations to women's status as co-providers, with men coming to depend on women's income to establish middle class standing. He also sees new

cultural ideals of sharing and of less rigid gender attitudes regarding household tasks. There is also family change itself, including remarriage and later marriage, which promote alternative arrangements in the division of work. In their study of "unconventional families" using qualitative approaches, Fox and Fumia (2001) also find that the alternate division of work is largely a question of deliberate strategy on the part of these families. Comparing across countries, Hook (2006) finds that men's unpaid work time is related to the average hours of women's employment, but also to cultural indicators like the length of parental leave and men's eligibility for parental leaves.

## *Relative predominance of models of earning and caring*

When the division of paid and unpaid work is considered in couples, this shows that the complementary-traditional model, with men doing more paid work and women doing more unpaid work, is declining but it remains the largest category at some 33% of respondents living in couples where neither is a full-time student nor retired. The shared roles, where the unpaid work that each does is within 40 to 60 percent of the total unpaid work, is a growing category, now representing over a quarter of couples. The relative numbers of persons in women's double burdens is stable and also represents over a quarter of couples. Men's double burden and complementary-gender-reversed couples are increasing, but this still represents only ten and three percent of respondents respectively.

## *Determinants of models of earning and caring*

The analysis of the relative predominance of the augmented complementary-traditional arrangements (that is complementary-traditional plus women's double burden), compared to other models of earning and caring, shows that life course questions as well as structural and cultural considerations are relevant. The presence of children is a major determinant, as men with children under five, and women with children under 18, are more likely to be in the augmented complementary-traditional arrangements, and men with children 5-18, along with women with no children under 18, are more likely to be in the augmented shared-roles model (including shared roles, men's double burden and complementary-gender-reversed). Men with higher personal and relative resources are also more likely to be in augmented complementary-traditional, as are men from rural areas, while men with no religion are more likely to be in the other models. Conversely, women with higher personal and relative resources are less likely to be in augmented complementary-traditional, and older women are more likely to be in these traditional arrangements.

The results within categories of presence of children by age, also show the importance of life course, structural and cultural considerations. For instance, among those with no children under 18, older men are more likely to be in augmented complementary-traditional arrangements. Among men with very young children, those in rural areas and with languages other than English or French are more likely to be in augmented complementary-traditional arrangements. For

women with children under five, those living in Quebec are less likely to be in augmented complementary-traditional arrangements.

As Brines (1994) had proposed, much of the determinants of sharing unpaid work involve factors associated with paid work, including the relative resources of spouses. Life course considerations are also relevant, including the greater numbers in augmented shared-roles arrangements among younger respondents. The differences across rural and urban areas, and between Quebec and other provinces, suggests that the availability of child care facilities may also be important in promoting alternate arrangements.

## *Implications of models of earning and caring*

The differential implications of the models across questions of stress, health, life satisfaction, belonging and social cohesion, show that the differences are typically small and there is no clear "winner" across the models of the division of paid and unpaid work. The complementary-traditional model is high on stress for men, while it is low on stress for women, but women in this model are more likely to want to work more paid work hours. The women's double burden model is showing high stress and low life satisfaction for women. While it is high on stress for men, with a proportion of men wanting to work less hours, the shared roles model receives high indicators on happiness and life satisfaction for both men and women, especially on the indicator of "satisfaction with your life as a whole right now," and men are high on volunteering in this model. The men's double burden is low on stress for women but showing indicators of poor health for men. The complementary-gender-reversed is associated with poor health and happiness indicators for men, and women have good health but high stress, with women wanting to work less and men wanting to work more. These mixed results probably help explain the variety of models, each with their advantages and disadvantages. At least if one takes happiness and life satisfaction as an indicator, the shared model seems to have the more positive, or less negative, implications for both men and women.

## *Discussion and implications*

While the indicators of well-being show mixed results across the models of division of work, it is important to observe that both women and men have high "satisfaction with your life as a whole right now" when they are in the shared roles model. The study of determinants suggests that the augmented shared-roles model is more likely when women have more resources and for persons who are less traditional orientation (for instance, less religious). While families in all models need to receive policy support, a preference for the "shared roles" model would correspond with the type of family model that many would prefer, it would maximize labour supply, and it could reduce the deterioration of skills that results from longer-term withdrawals from the labour force. Further, women would be less vulnerable in the event of separation, divorce or death of spouse.

Given the reduced risks of the shared model, along with its advantages in terms of gender equity and in maximizing labour force participation by all adults, it is useful to discuss the factors that would promote this model. These factors include equality of opportunity in access to education and work, conditions that would facilitate work-life balance, and promoting greater involvement of men in housework and child care.

There remain significant differences in the occupational distribution of women and men, in spite of the greater participation of women in post-secondary education. The occupational differences in flexibility and work/life balance probably play a significant role in the choice of occupations and fields of study. 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. Greater gender parity in occupations and wages would promote the shared model as men are more likely to participate in unpaid work when their wife or partner earns high personal income.

There is lack of structural supports for gender egalitarianism in households. From our finding that the augmented shared-roles model is more common in Quebec and in urban areas, we can speculate that the extent of child care facilities plays a role. While child care promotes equal involvement in paid work by alleviating the family burden, it is also important to specifically promote men's participation in child care and unpaid work. Equal opportunities to parental leave may be particularly important in setting up family arrangements encouraging a more equal sharing of child care. Other research suggests that a higher replacement rate for parental leave encourages men's participation (Marshall, 2003). Besides supporting families at this life course stage where there are strong demands, a higher replacement rate would enable the sharing that would permit women's earlier return to the labour force.

## *Areas for further research*

There is clearly room for further analysis of the patterns of time-use and the models of division of work in families, their determinants and implications. The analysis has focused on couples in mid-life, where neither is a full-time student nor retired. There is room to focus on the earlier and later stages of life, and to study persons who are not in couples and lone parents. It would also be useful to separate the various sub-categories of unpaid work, especially to identify the time spent in elder care. Analyses of intensity or multi-tasking would clearly be useful. Qualitative research is important in interpreting the models of division of work, including the interpretations given by participants, and the "sense of justice" that they associate with their experience. The study of determinants needs to more closely identify the structural and cultural supports and constraints associated with various models, including more attention to work-related factors. Specific implications (for instance on stress, health and happiness) need to be studied in more depth using multivariate analysis, and the implications on children should be brought into the analysis.

# Models of earning and caring: Trends, determinants and implications

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, including change in their division in families. The purpose of this paper is to follow the change in hours of paid and unpaid work, to look at the alternate models for the division of this work in families, along with the determinants and implications of alternate models of the division of work. Time use in paid and unpaid work, and the division of this work in families, are important in understanding accommodations that need to be made in the workplace and in social policy.

After a review of family change, change in work patterns and alternate models for the division of paid and unpaid work in families, this paper has four substantive sections. The first section follows the patterns of stability and change in average hours of paid and unpaid work over the Statistics Canada time use surveys of 1986 to 2005. The second section looks at the predominance of alternate models for the division of paid and unpaid work in families. The third section analyzes the determinants of these alternate models, and the fourth section considers some of the consequences of these models of the division of work. We conclude with a discussion of the implications of our findings.

## *1. Literature review on family change, change in work patterns and models of earning and caring*

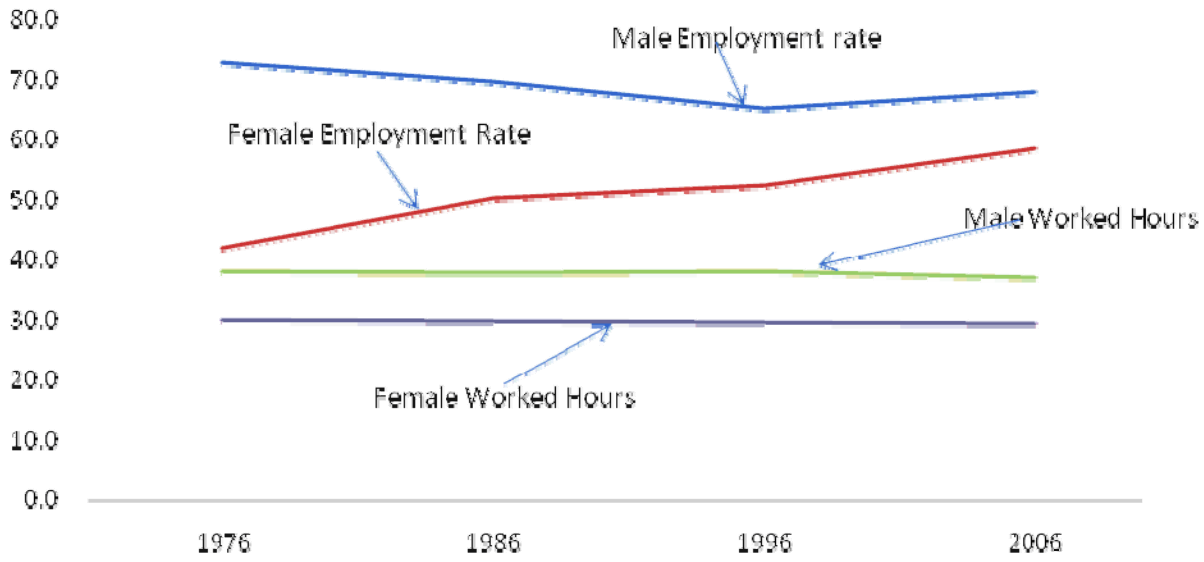
### *1.1. Family change*

Family change has been studied in terms of structural and cultural questions (Hamilton, 1978; Brines, 1994; Sullivan, 2004; Crompton, 2006; Sayer, 2005). 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, Crompton (2006) finds that couple working arrangements are shaped both by institutional constraints like labour market regimes, and by attitudinal factors on questions like employment of mothers and gender equality. On the basis of eight Northern European countries, Bradshaw and Hatland (2006) summarize the central features of the family changes 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.

## *1.2. 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 (Hunsley, 2008). 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).

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




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 52.2 per 100 persons aged 15+ in 1951 to 63.0 in 2006 (Beaujot et al., 2007: 9). 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. Presser (2003) points to technological change, globalization and family change as underlying the move to a "24/7 economy." 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 (Nevitte, 1996). With these changes, the manner in which men and women use their time has been fundamentally altered.

## *1.3. Models of earning and caring*

Durkheim (1960 [1893]: 60) saw complementary roles or organic solidarity (solidarity through a division of labour) 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 (solidarity through a common sense of identity) 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 complementary roles 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."

# 2. Average hours of paid work, unpaid work and total productive activity over the life course

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

Since the time-use calendar is only gathered for one 24 hour period, the specific day chosen can often be a-typical 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. See Box 1 for data sources.

**Box 1 Statistics Canada time-use data, 1986, 1992, 1998 and 2005**

The data used here are from time-use diaries that were collected in the Statistics Canada Canadian General Social Surveys of 1986, 1992, 1998, and 2005. These are representative samples of the Canadian population, with sizes of 9,946, 9,815, 10,749, and 19597 respectively. The core content of time use cycle 19 (2005), cycle 12 (1998), cycle 7 (1992) and cycle 2 (1986), provides data on the daily activities of Canadians. Question modules were also included on unpaid work activities, cultural activities, social networks and participation in sports.

The target population of the nineteenth cycle of the General Social Survey in 2005 consisted of all individuals aged 15 and over living in a private household in one of the ten provinces, excluding: (1) residents of the Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut; (2) full-time residents of institutions. For sampling, the target population was divided into geographic strata. Households were selected using a Random Digit Dialing method that gave each telephone number in a stratum an equal chance of being selected. Households without telephones were therefore excluded. There is evidence, however, that persons living in such households represent less than 2% of the target population. Interviews were not conducted by cellular telephone so persons with only cellular telephone service were also excluded; again, this group makes up a very small but growing proportion of the population, less than 5% (December 2005). One person aged 15 or older was randomly selected from each selected household to participate in the survey. Respondents were interviewed in the official language of their choice and interviews by proxy were not allowed. Data for Cycle 19 of the GSS were collected in 11 monthly samples from January to November 2005 with data collection for the November sample extending until mid-December. The sample was evenly distributed over the eleven waves to counterbalance as much as possible the seasonal variation in the information gathered. The overall response rate during collection for Cycle 19 was 58.6%.

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.

**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.

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 on the observation day in 1986 compared to 25% in 2005. The increased time spent commuting to and from work, at least in the larger cities, is part of the increase in work time (Turcotte, 2006). 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.

This similarity in total productive activity for persons working is also observed in other countries. For instance, Feree (1991) had observed for the United States that in two-earner marriages the overall workload of men and women is similar. For parents, Bianchi et al. (2006) summarize that the total productive time is roughly equal between mothers and fathers in two-earner families. However, fathers on average do 60% of the paid work, while mothers do 60% of the unpaid work.

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

| | **1986** | **1992** | **1998** | **2005** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Men** | | | | |
| 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 |
| **Women** | | | | |
| Work time | 469.4 | 483.9 | 490.3 | 504.4 |
| Housework | 100.9 | 97.6 | 99.0 | 91.7 |

| | 1986 | 1992 | 1998 | 2005 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 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 |
| **Total** | | | | |
| 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 |

**Note:** 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.

## *2.2. Time-use by gender, age, 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

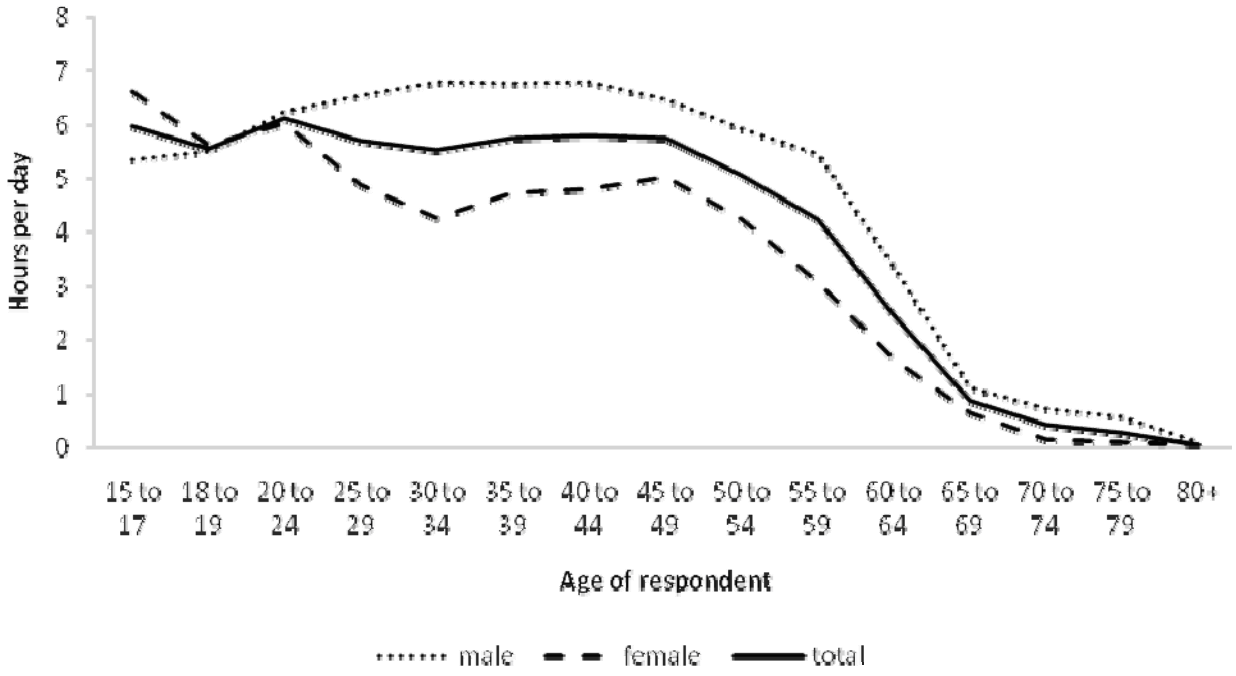
and husband is working full-time. Marshall concludes that, although time-stressed, with women having more stress than men, employed parents are satisfied with life overall.

**Figure 2** Paid, unpaid, and total work time by age, 2005


**Source:** CANSIM: Labour, The labour market activities of the Canadian population: employment and unemployment; hours of work and work arrangements.

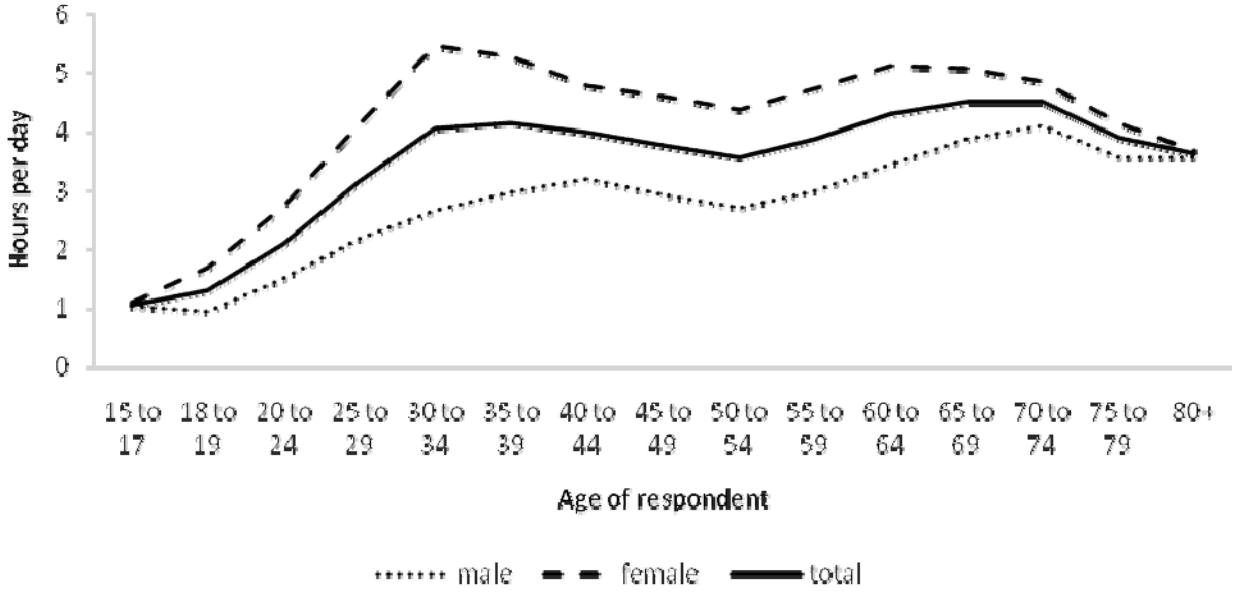
Returning to the entire population, Figure 2 shows patterns of paid and unpaid work by age for 2005. These measures are using the broad definition of paid and unpaid work, including education and time spent driving to and from work. Total productive activity has the familiar inverted-u pattern with highest amount of work at ages 30-49. Paid work amounts to an average of some six hours per day or 40 hours per week to age 45-49, then there is a decline. Unpaid work increases to age 30-34, and again as of age 50-54 to reach their highest levels at ages 65-74 when hours of paid work are declining. It is also noteworthy that the average hours of unpaid work reach a high point at ages 30-34 where childcare is most intense, but the hours of paid work are slightly depressed at this age group. Both at ages 30-34 and at ages 55 and over, tradeoffs can be observed between paid and unpaid work.

**Figure 3 Paid work time by sex and age, 2005**



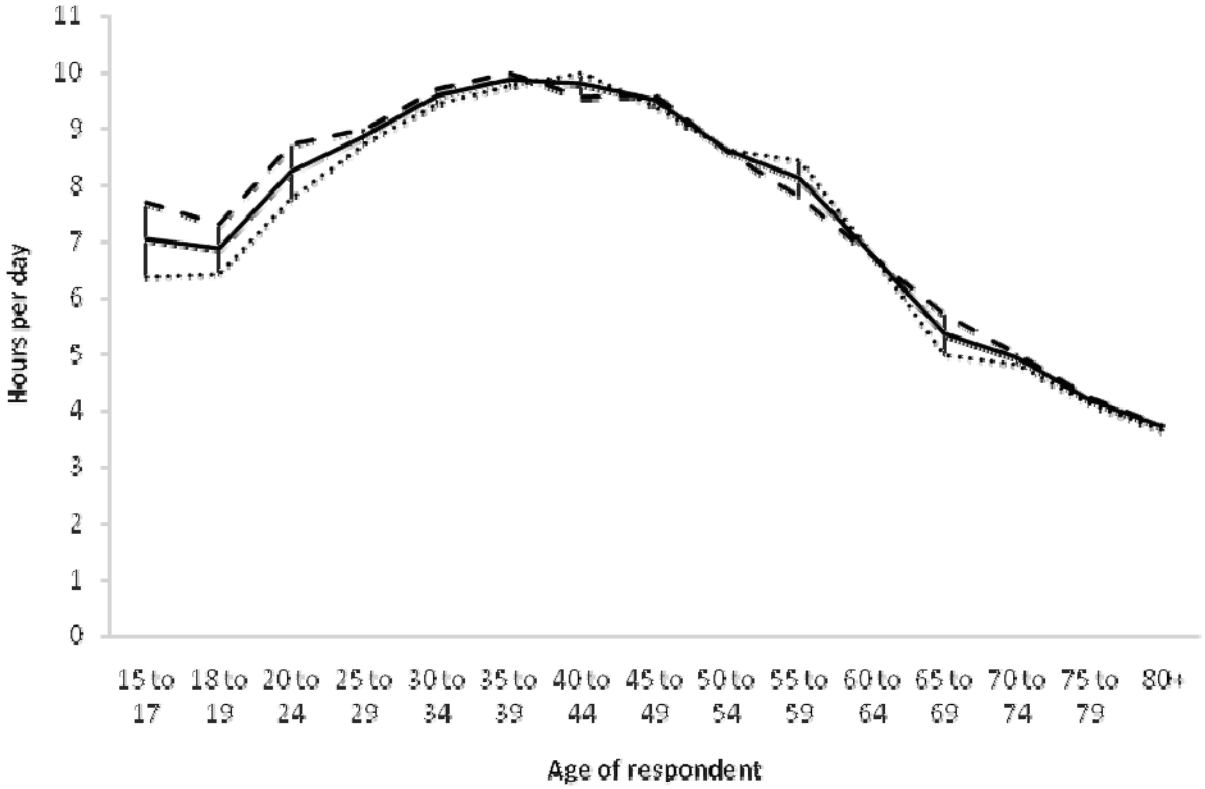

**Source:** Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2005.

**Figure 4 Unpaid work time by sex and age, 2005**




**Source:** Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2005.

**Figure 5 Total work time by sex and age, 2005**




**Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2005.**

The patterns in paid and unpaid work by age are quite different between women and men, but the total productive time is very similar (Figures 3-5). It is for women that paid work time declines at ages 30-34, where their unpaid work is at a peak. At each age, women's unpaid work time is higher than men's, and women's time is more variable over the life course. The gender differences in unpaid work are highest at ages 30-34 where women are doing twice as many hours as men. The total productive time is very similar between women and men in each age group, with the same inverted-u pattern that has a peak at ages 30-49. The differences are largest at ages 15-24, with women doing more total work (Figure 5). At ages 15-17, women are doing more paid work than men, with the same amount as men for ages 18-24, at all other ages men do more paid work (Figure 3).

**Table 3** Average daily hours in paid work and unpaid work, showing sub-categories of paid and unpaid work, by age and sex, 2005

| | Paid work | | | Unpaid work | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Education | Work | Commuting for work | Child care | Civic and voluntary activity | Housework | Other |
| **Male** | 0.57 | 4.35 | 0.43 | 0.25 | 0.38 | 1.07 | 1.02 |
| 15-24 | 2.58 | 2.96 | 0.28 | 0.06 | 0.21 | 0.44 | 0.55 |
| 25-44 | 0.25 | 5.88 | 0.59 | 0.56 | 0.32 | 1.05 | 0.87 |
| 45-64 | 0.09 | 4.93 | 0.50 | 0.11 | 0.45 | 1.28 | 1.12 |
| 65-79 | 0.04 | 0.74 | 0.05 | 0.02 | 0.60 | 1.44 | 1.80 |
| 80+ | 0.00 | 0.09 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.62 | 1.30 | 1.61 |
| **Num of cases** | 8621 | 8621 | 8621 | 8621 | 8621 | 8621 | 8621 |
| **Female** | 0.62 | 2.94 | 0.29 | 0.54 | 0.47 | 1.99 | 1.30 |
| 15-24 | 2.95 | 2.85 | 0.29 | 0.25 | 0.23 | 0.72 | 0.82 |
| 25-44 | 0.33 | 3.93 | 0.41 | 1.25 | 0.34 | 2.11 | 1.21 |
| 45-64 | 0.09 | 3.31 | 0.31 | 0.16 | 0.63 | 2.28 | 1.58 |
| 65-79 | 0.04 | 0.26 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.73 | 2.48 | 1.51 |
| 80+ | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.42 | 2.20 | 1.06 |
| **Num of cases** | 10976 | 10976 | 10976 | 10976 | 10976 | 10976 | 10976 |
| **Total** | 0.60 | 3.64 | 0.36 | 0.40 | 0.42 | 1.54 | 1.16 |
| 15-24 | 2.76 | 2.91 | 0.29 | 0.15 | 0.22 | 0.58 | 0.68 |
| 25-44 | 0.29 | 4.91 | 0.50 | 0.90 | 0.33 | 1.57 | 1.04 |
| 45-64 | 0.09 | 4.11 | 0.41 | 0.14 | 0.54 | 1.79 | 1.36 |
| 65-79 | 0.04 | 0.48 | 0.04 | 0.02 | 0.67 | 1.99 | 1.65 |
| 80+ | 0.00 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.49 | 1.87 | 1.26 |
| **Num of cases** | 19597 | 19597 | 19597 | 19597 | 19597 | 19597 | 19597 |

**Note:** Elder care is included with civic and voluntary activity.
**Source:** Statistics Canada, General Social Survey (time use) for 2005

In Table 3 each of paid and unpaid work is divided into the major sub-categories. For both men and women, average hours spent in education declines over ages, while average hours in paid work and commuting reach a peak at ages 25-44. Turning to the categories of unpaid work, child care is highest at ages 25-44, showing average daily hours of 0.56 for men and 1.25 for women. The category of civic and voluntary activity here includes elder care. This increases over ages, reaching a peak at ages 65-79 of 0.60 average hours for men and 0.72 for women. Housework here includes meal preparation, cleaning and household maintenance. Both housework and the remaining "other" category of unpaid work increase to reach a peak at ages 65-79 for both men and women. On average, at ages 65-79, men do 1.44 and women 2.48 hours of housework, along with 1.80 hours for men and 1.51 hours for women of other unpaid hours. Child care hours are highest when paid work hours are also highest, that is at ages 25-44. In the case of the other categories of unpaid work, there appears to be some trade-off with fewer hours of paid work and more hours of unpaid work to age 65-79.

Table 4 shows 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.

**Table 4** 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 |
| 15-44 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Unmarried no children | 7.3 | 6.1 | 1.2 | 1381 | 8.0 | 6.2 | 1.8 | 1029 | 7.4 | 6.0 | 1.4 | 1227 | 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 *** | 1063 | 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 |
| 45-64 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 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 |
| **Total** | **8.0** | **6.0** | **2.0** | **4328** | **8.2** | **3.8** | **4.4** | **4338** | **8.4** | **5.9** | **2.5** | **3863** | **8.6** | **4.0** | **4.6** | **3872** |
| | **1998** | | | | | | | | **2005** | | | | | | | |
| 15-44 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Unmarried | 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 |

| | 1986 | | | | | | | | 1992 | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | | | | Women | | | | Men | | | | Women | | | |
| | Total | Paid | Unpaid | N | Total | Paid | Unpaid | N | Total | Paid | Unpaid | N | Total | Paid | Unpaid | N |
| no children | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 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 |
| 45-64 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 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 |
| **Total** | **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

In essentially all categories of marital and parental status, within the two large 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 5** 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** |
| **1992** | | | | | | |
| **H-W families** | | | | | | |
| 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 |
| **Not in H-W families** | | | | | | |
| 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** |
| | | | | | | |
| **2005** | | | | | | |
| **H-W families** | | | | | | |
| 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 |
| **Not in H-W families** | | | | | | |
| 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 |

| | Men | | | Women | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Paid** | **Unpaid** | **Total** | **Paid** | **Unpaid** | **Total** |
| 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 uses ages 30-54 to consider family status (distinguishing persons in husband-wife families, who may be either married or cohabiting, 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.

There are significant differences between cases where children are under one year of age (table not shown). If both are working full-time, men's hours of paid work are particularly high at 8.4 hours, plus 4.0 hours of unpaid work, while women have 0.8 hours of paid work and 10.4 hours of unpaid work. When two are employed but not both full-time, the hours of paid work are low for both men and women at 2.3 and 3.0 hours respectively in these cases of children under one year of age.

Particularly noteworthy in Table 5 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 occur 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 averages of 2.2 to 3.9 hours. In comparison, the averages in women's unpaid work 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 vary more than that of men over the categories of Table 5.

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).

# 3. Trends in models of division of earning and caring

## *3.1. Couple-level data on paid and unpaid work*

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. It should be noted that elder care and volunteer work are not captured in these estimates.

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. The tables from this section include respondents where neither partner is retired nor a full-time student. There is a sample loss of 11.0%, representing persons who did not respond to these questions on weekly estimates for self and spouse.

**Table 6** 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.

These data are not available in 1986, but they have been produced for 1992, 1998 and 2005 (Table 6). 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 3x3 table that compares the amount of paid work (more, same, less) and unpaid work (more, same, less) of husbands and wives. 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 proportions 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.

## *3.2. Models of earning and caring in couples*

It is possible to collapse the nine cells of Table 6 into five models (see also Box 2 and Table 7). 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.

**Box 2 Definitions of models of the division of earning and caring activities**

**Complementary-traditional:** wife is doing more unpaid work and husband more paid work.
**Complementary-gender-reversed:** husband is doing more unpaid work and wife more paid work.
**Women's double burden:** wife is doing the same amount of, or more, paid work, and more unpaid work.
**Men's double burden:** husband is doing the same amount of, or more, paid work, and more unpaid work.
**Shared roles:** wife and husband doing the same amount of unpaid work.

**Augmented complementary-traditional:** combination of complementary-traditional and women's double burden, with women doing more unpaid work.
**Augmented shared:** combination of three other models with men doing the same amount or more unpaid work.

**Table 7** Models of the division of paid and unpaid work, 1992, 1998, 2005

| Model type | 1992 | 1998 | 2005 |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Male respondents** | | | |
| 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** |
| | | | |
| **Female respondents** | | | |
| 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** |
| | | | |
| **Total respondents** | | | |
| 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.

**Note:** * = $p < 0.05$; ** = $p < 0.01$; *** = $p < 0.001$. The significance indicated for total cases indicates the significance of the gender difference in the distribution across models. The significance as indicated for "female respondents" indicates differences in comparison to male respondents.

Using the total over male and female respondents, there has been some change in the relative predominance of the various models (Table 7). 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.

The distribution of model types is different when male and female respondents are considered separately (see the significance levels shown in Table 7). For instance, in 2005, 31.1 % of women respondents are in women's double burden couples, but this applies to 23.0% of male respondents. Conversely, 12.0% of male respondents compared to 9.2% of female respondents are in men's double burden couples. Similarly, for shared roles we have 28.9% of men but 23.9% of women. We could see these as representing the different perspectives of women and men, and the averages suggest that respondents tend to give higher estimates for themselves than for their partner. The reality is probably in between the declarations of male and female respondents, and thus the focus on distributions for total respondents.

These results clearly confirm the diversity of existing models for the division of paid and unpaid work. The gender revolution, including changes in work and family questions, have brought widespread and sustained diversity. The objectives of the next sections are to study the determinants and implications of these alternate models.

# 4. Determinants of models of relative participation in paid and unpaid work

## *4.1 Framework of Analysis*

The trends presented above describe how the sharing of paid and unpaid work between couples have changed over a period of 20 years - from 1986 to 2005, which are described in terms of change at the aggregate level. On the average, for example, there has been a move towards greater sharing of paid and unpaid work in couples. However, we do know that at any given

time, there are deviations from the "average" with differences among couples in the models of relative participation, which are determined by various factors. In this part of the report we present the results of our analysis of the possible determinants of family change, or more specifically, explanations of alternate family models in the earning and caring activities of Canadian families. Building on the typologies of earning and caring described above, we treat alternate family models as our dependent variables, seeking to determine the relative importance of selected family, economic, and cultural variables. To what degree are these variables relevant in predicting whether a given couple might be classified as traditional or more egalitarian in its division of paid and unpaid work? Following on Beaujot and Ravanera's (2003) research into the determinants of different family models, we examine how the division of work at the level of couples might be affected by such variables as marital and parental status, and socio-economic situation of individuals and couples.

We begin with the assumption that the manner in which paid and unpaid work is shared within households is a function of choices, constrained or shaped by context. That is, choices are not only based on individual rational calculations, but also in relation to others and guided by normative frameworks (Crompton, 2006: 13). Moen (2003) observes that the strategies that couples adopt can be a function of both structural arrangements, such as the absence of "good" part-time jobs, and orientations or gender scripts on appropriate behaviour. Sullivan (2004) theorizes in terms of changes in both consciousness and practice. Researchers have proposed that types of occupation (Sullivan 2004), conditions of the workplace (Blekesaune, 2005), and corporate programs such as use of flexi-time and flexi-place (Hill et al., 2003) are factors that influence the sharing of paid and unpaid work.

**Figure 6** A Life Course Framework of Analysis of Determinants of Participation in Paid and Unpaid Work

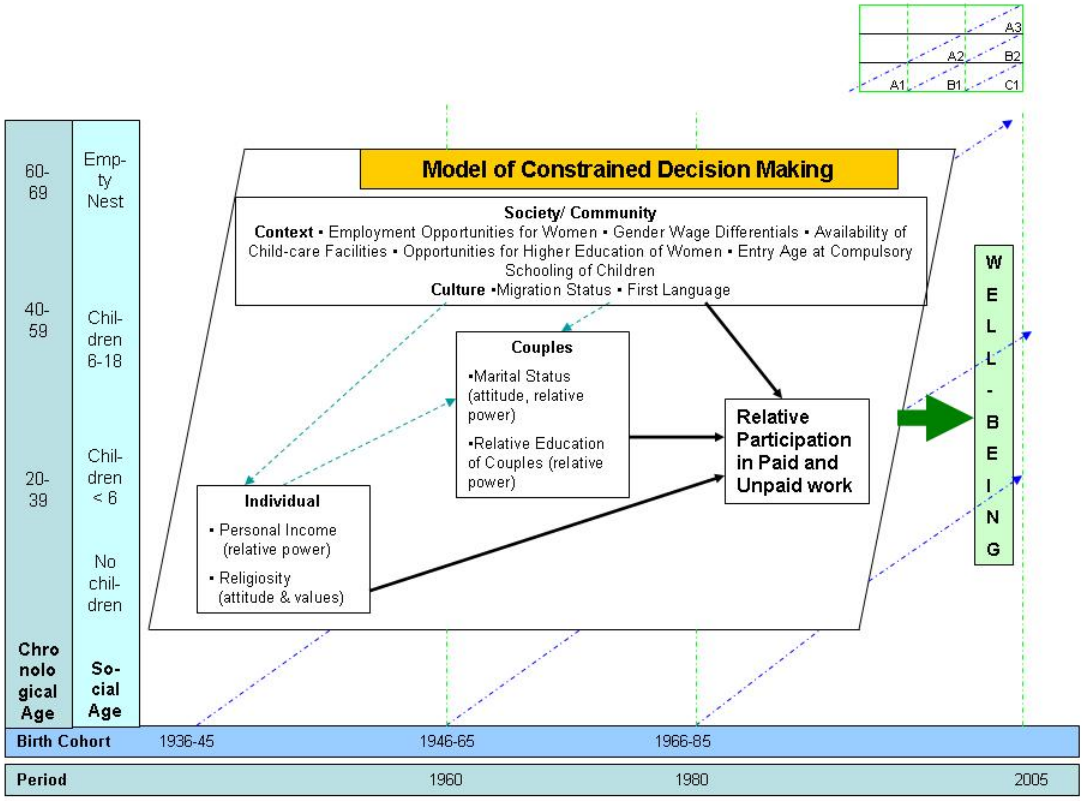



Figure 6 shows our framework of analysis of the determinants of participation in paid and unpaid work, which takes into account the variables that are available from our data set, the 2005 GSS on Time Use. While we recognize that corporate programs and conditions in the workplace are factors that couples take into account in the division of tasks, these are not reflected in the framework as the information is not available from the data. To capture the differences in the community contexts within which couples make their decision, we include region of residence, and whether the place is urban or rural. We take these variables as broad indicators of availability of resources (with, for example, Quebec having greater facilities for day care than other regions), and of opportunities for employment (with the Atlantic disadvantaged by limited job availability). Inclusion of Urban/Rural variable in the analysis recognizes a difference in the extent of commodification (or commercialization) of unpaid work, and in the retention of traditional practices.

Another set of constraints are those posed by cultural questions, or norms that couples live by, and captured in the analysis by inclusion of first language and immigration status. Attitudes and values, and relative power that individuals bring into a relationship are factors that affect decisions as to who should be doing which tasks. Egalitarian relations start with a strategy that seeks to reduce gender differentiation, most likely entered into after the changes in families from the 1960s, that is characterized by greater flexibility in unions and a delay in family life course

transitions. These relations are based less on dependency, and more on mutuality that include sharing of domestic work. Thus, couples in common-law unions may be less likely than the married to be in a complementary traditional model. And, those with more liberal value orientation are also expected to be in more shared roles.These are considered in the analysis by inclusion of personal income, religiosity, marital status (cohabitation versus legal marriage), and education (or relative education of couples).

In our analysis of determinants, the relative participation in paid and unpaid work is measured by our dependent variable reflecting the gender difference; that is, for a model wherein women do more of the unpaid work, we combined the complementary or traditional model with the women's double burden (subsequently referred to in this section on determinants as "augmented complementary traditional"). The converse of this variable is a combination of models wherein men do a greater share of unpaid work, that is, shared model combined with men's double burden, and gendered reversed model (referred to in this section as "augmented shared").

The relative participation in both paid and unpaid work is not constant. While regular (daily, weekly) routines are most likely entered into by couples, the sharing of work – paid or unpaid – could and does change over time. Our framework of analysis attempts to capture this by placing the model of decision making within the constraint of age and time (or period). More than chronological age, it is the social age – measured here in terms of presence of children – that has a greater impact on the relative participation in work as presence of children changes the amount of unpaid work that needs to be done: a big increase when children are age 0 to about age 5, a decrease when they reach a school age and when they are able to do some of the unpaid work in the household, and a change yet again when they leave the parental home. Regardless of presence of children, however, the amount of unpaid work that needs to be done has also changed over time (or period) brought about by such factors as technology (household gadgets) and commercialization of household tasks.

Ideally, a life course analysis would require following up over time a cohort of couples as they age chronologically or socially (as depicted in the upper right corner of Figure 6). As our data are from a cross-sectional survey, we attempt to capture the effect of age and time by doing separate analysis for each social age categorized as "No children under age 19", "At least one child under 5 years", and "All children between 5-18". Chronological age is also included in the analysis as its correlation with social age is not exact, and the variable could capture the age differences within each social age. Those with "no children", for example, are comprised of the young who have not as yet had children and the elderly whose children have already left home. (The small number of sample does not allow a separate analysis for each of these two groups.)

## *4.2 Results of Analysis for Men and Women*

**Table 8** Binary Logistic Regression of Relative Participation in Paid and Unpaid Work Complementary Model, Males, Canada, 2005

| Variables | Coeff. | Sig. |
|---|---|---|
| **Lifecourse variables** | | |
| Presence of children (No Children under 19) | | |
| At least one child under 5 | 0.264 | *** |
| All children between 5 and 18 | -0.125 | * |
| Age (20-39) | | |
| 40-59 | 0.006 | |
| 60-69 | 0.156 | |
| **Individual Characteristics** | | |
| Personal Income (< $30,000) | | |
| $30,000 - $59,999 | 0.536 | *** |
| $60,000 - $99,999 | 0.524 | *** |
| $100,000 or more | 1.055 | *** |
| Missing | 0.823 | *** |
| Religiosity (once a week) | | |
| Sometimes | -0.135 | |
| Never | -0.202 | * |
| No Religion | -0.243 | ** |
| **Couple Characteristics** | | |
| Marital Status (Married) | | |
| Common Law | -0.172 | * |
| Relative Education (Both university) | | |
| Wife only | -0.046 | |
| Husband only | 0.365 | *** |
| Neither have degree | 0.330 | *** |
| **Cultural/ Community** | | |
| Migration Status (Born in Canada) | | |
| Immigrant | 0.081 | |
| First Language (English) | | |
| French | -0.047 | |
| Other | 0.374 | *** |
| Region of Residence (Atlantic) | | |
| Quebec | 0.005 | |
| Ontario | 0.124 | |
| Prairies | 0.538 | *** |
| British Columbia | 0.361 | ** |
| Urban/Rural (Urban) | | |
| Rural (& PEI) | 0.278 | *** |
| Constant | -0.692 | |
| R Square | 6.7% | |
| N of Cases | 3187 | |

Significance levels: * 10%, ** 5%, *** 1%
Source: 2005 GSS on Time Use

The proportions of couples who follow the augmented complementary traditional model (and conversely, the augmented shared model) for each category of the explanatory variables are shown in Appendix Table 1, which reflects the bivariate relation between the model and the explanatory variables. In the following discussion we focus on the results of multivariate analysis done through a binary logistic regression. As we derived our dependent variable such that there are only two possible model outcomes, we show only the results for the augmented complementary traditional model. The results for the augmented shared model are the same as for the augmented complementary traditional with signs of the coefficients reversed: the plus (+) in the Complementary is minus (-) in the Shared.

The presence of children in the household is a major determinant of the relative participation in paid and unpaid work. As seen in Table 8, compared to men living with no child in the household, a man living with at least one child who is less than 5 years old is more likely to have a partner who does more of the unpaid work, whereas a man living with a child or children who are between 5 to 18 years old is more likely to be doing an equal or more share of the unpaid work.

The personal resource and relative power between couples have impact on the models – the greater the personal resource, the more likely the augmented complementary traditional model. Men who have higher income or whose education is higher or equal to that of his partner are likely to have a partner who is doing more of the unpaid work.

**Table 9** Binary Logistic Regression of Relative Participation in Paid and Unpaid Work: Complementary Model, Females, Canada, 2005

| Variables | Coeff. | Sig. |
|---|---|---|
| **Lifecourse variables** | | |
| Presence of children (No Children under 19) | | |
| At least one child under 5 | 0.937 | *** |
| All children between 5 and 18 | 0.380 | *** |
| Age (20-39) | | |
| 40-59 | 0.169 | ** |
| 60-69 | 0.396 | * |
| **Individual Characteristics** | | |
| Personal Income (< $30,000) | | |
| $30,000 - $59,999 | -0.718 | *** |
| $60,000 - $99,999 | -1.093 | *** |
| $100,000 or more | -1.404 | *** |
| Missing | -0.270 | *** |
| Religiosity (once a week) | | |
| Sometimes | 0.128 | |
| Never | -0.017 | |
| No Religion | -0.009 | |
| **Couple Characteristics** | | |
| Marital Status (Married) | | |
| Common Law | -0.023 | |
| Relative Education (Both university) | | |
| Wife only | 0.051 | |
| Husband only | 0.113 | |
| Neither have degree | 0.077 | |
| **Cultural/ Community** | | |
| Migration Status (Born in Canada) | | |
| Immigrant | -0.062 | |
| First Language (English) | | |
| French | 0.221 | |
| Other | 0.218 | * |
| Region of Residence (Atlantic) | | |
| Quebec | -0.278 | |
| Ontario | -0.007 | |
| Prairies | 0.228 | |
| British Columbia | -0.183 | |
| Urban/Rural (Urban) | | |
| Rural (& PEI) | -0.072 | |
| Constant | 0.405 | ** |
| R Square | 9.3% | |
| N of Cases | 3579 | |

Significance levels: * 10%, ** 5%, *** 1%
Source: 2005 GSS on Time Use

Values and norms are important as well. In comparison to highly religious men, a man who professes no religion (or is not highly religious) is also more likely not to hold traditional family values. Men who are less religious are less likely to be in an augmented complementary traditional model, and conversely, more likely to be doing equal or more unpaid work in an augmented shared model (see Table 8). Furthermore, men from a more traditional culture (implied here by the use of a first language other than English or French) are more likely to be in a relationship that follows an augmented complementary traditional model.

The higher probability of augmented complementary traditional model in the Prairies and British Columbia, compared to the Atlantic (as can be seen in Table 8) could probably be due to the greater job opportunities (and most likely higher income) for men that enable their partners to do less of the paid work and more of the unpaid work in a complementary model. The influence of values is a possible explanation as well, especially in the case of the higher probability of augmented complementary traditional model in rural areas, where people hold more traditional values compared to urban areas.

The determinants of relative participation in paid and unpaid work for women have similarities with men's, but there are a number of dissimilarities as well (Table 9). As with men, the presence of children is a major determinant but the impact of presence of children on women's relative participation is greater and extends to older ages of children. Compared to women with no

children, women with children from 0 to 18 years old are more likely to be in an augmented complementary traditional model, though the likelihood is greater when children in the household are younger.

Personal resources also have important effects for women: the higher the personal income of wives, the less likely the augmented complementary traditional, and more likely the augmented shared model. The personal income variable of women stands for other economic situations as well. The effect of relative education, for example, is possibly captured by the personal income variable as the higher the education of the wife the higher the income she earns. Wives with high income hold full time jobs and also more likely to belong to a household with dual earners.

The variables that we used to indicate differences in values - religiosity and marital arrangement - do not significantly differentiate the relative participation models of women, although "Other" first language does have a similar influence as in the case of men. However, for women, the Age variable comes out as significant – the older the women, the more likely the augmented complementary traditional model. Possibly, age already captures the values indicated by the other variables, that is, older women are more likely to be religious and much less likely to be cohabiting than younger women.

The effects of location of residence do not come out as statistically significant for women. As will be shown below, however, the Region variable becomes significant for women when analysis is done separately for presence of children.

## *4.3 Results of Analysis by Presence of Children*

When there are no children, older men are more likely to be in augmented complementary traditional arrangements. This age effect is similar (though smaller in magnitude) to the findings for women that is discussed below.

Relative education has a highly significant effect mainly among men without children. Possibly, relative power between couples influences decision-making when there is less unpaid work to be done. Stated in another way, when there are children to be cared for and thus requiring much amount of unpaid work, the relative power between couples is not a major factor in the negotiation. However, when there are very young children, traditional values have an effect as indicated by the higher probability of augmented complementary traditional model among men with first language other than English or French, and in Rural areas. Values are prominent as well in the results for children aged 5-18: augmented shared model is more likely among men who are less religious. This may be an indication that men with less traditional values are spending more time on the unpaid work of caring for children, but mainly when the children are older.

**Table 10** Binary Logistic Regression of Relative Participation in Paid and Unpaid Work: Complementary Model, By Presence of Children, Males, Canada, 2005

| | No Children | | Child < 5 | | Child 5-18 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Variables** | **Coeff.** | **Sig.** | **Coeff.** | **Sig.** | **Coeff.** | **Sig.** |
| **Lifecourse variables** | | | | | | |
| Age (20-39) | | | | | | |
| 40-59 | 0.063 | | -0.155 | | 0.048 | |
| 60-69 | 0.315 | * | | | -0.740 | |
| **Individual Characteristics** | | | | | | |
| Personal Income (< $30,000) | | | | | | |
| $30,000 - $59,999 | 0.394 | *** | 0.695 | *** | 0.613 | *** |
| $60,000 - $99,999 | 0.449 | *** | 0.814 | *** | 0.457 | *** |
| $100,000 or more | 0.821 | *** | 1.450 | *** | 1.074 | *** |
| Missing | 0.780 | *** | 0.584 | ** | 0.931 | *** |
| Religiosity (once a week) | | | | | | |
| Sometimes | 0.012 | | -0.044 | | -0.420 | *** |
| Never | -0.253 | | 0.098 | | -0.332 | * |
| No Religion | -0.159 | | -0.151 | | -0.423 | ** |
| **Couple Characteristics** | | | | | | |
| Marital Status (Married) | | | | | | |
| Common Law | -0.024 | | -0.245 | | -0.365 | ** |
| Relative Education (Both university) | | | | | | |
| Wife only | -0.057 | | 0.256 | | -0.345 | |
| Husband only | 0.542 | *** | 0.556 | * | 0.019 | |
| Neither have degree | 0.499 | *** | 0.141 | | 0.175 | |
| **Cultural/ Community** | | | | | | |
| Migration Status (Born in Canada) | | | | | | |
| Immigrant | -0.054 | | 0.084 | | 0.214 | |
| First Language (English) | | | | | | |
| French | 0.055 | | -0.057 | | -0.201 | |
| Other | 0.333 | * | 0.869 | *** | 0.154 | |
| Region of Residence (Atlantic) | | | | | | |
| Quebec | -0.302 | | 0.639 | * | 0.078 | |
| Ontario | 0.112 | | 0.347 | | 0.023 | |
| Prairies | 0.492 | * | 1.009 | *** | 0.282 | |
| British Columbia | 0.076 | | 0.924 | *** | 0.431 | |
| Urban/Rural (Urban) | | | | | | |
| Rural (& PEI) | 0.162 | | 0.523 | *** | 0.321 | ** |
| Constant | -0.703 | ** | -1.110 | *** | -0.400 | |
| R Square | 7.0% | | 11.7% | | 7.5% | |
| N of Cases | 1558 | | 724 | | 905 | |

Significance levels: * 10%, ** 5%, *** 1%
Source: 2005 GSS on Time Use

As can also be seen in Table 10, the constraining factors such as availability of resources are more salient to decision making for couples with young children. That is, the factors that have greater significance when there are children less than 5 years old – in comparison to when there are no children or when children are older – are the Region and Urban/Rural variables. This is similar to the results from the analysis for women by presence of children.

As shown in Table 11, apart from personal income, the only other factor that differentiates among women who have children less than 5 years old is the Region variable. The augmented complementary traditional model is more common for women in Ontario and the Prairies than in the Atlantic. We note as well that while the difference between the Atlantic and Quebec is not significant, the coefficient is negative (-.113), indicating that the difference between Quebec on the one hand, and Ontario and the Prairies on the other is even greater. This regional difference does not show up as significant for women with no children or for women with children age 5-18, which hints at a possible reason for the differential - the greater availability of affordable day care facilities in Quebec.

**Table 11** Binary Logistic Regression of Relative Participation in Paid and Unpaid Work: Complementary Model, By Presence of Children, Females, Canada, 2005

| | No Children | | Child < 5 | | Child 5-18 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Coeff. | Sig. | Coeff. | Sig. | Coeff. | Sig. |
| **Lifecourse variables** | | | | | | |
| Age (20-39) | | | | | | |
| 40-59 | 0.375 | *** | -0.098 | | -0.029 | |
| 60-69 | 0.476 | ** | | | | |
| **Individual Characteristics** | | | | | | |
| Personal Income (< $30,000) | | | | | | |
| $30,000 - $59,999 | -0.658 | *** | -1.032 | *** | -0.640 | *** |
| $60,000 - $99,999 | -1.113 | *** | -1.369 | *** | -0.938 | *** |
| $100,000 or more | -1.368 | *** | -2.144 | *** | -1.066 | *** |
| Missing | -0.221 | *** | -0.486 | ** | -0.222 | |
| Religiosity (once a week) | | | | | | |
| Sometimes | 0.218 | | 0.140 | | 0.007 | |
| Never | -0.014 | | 0.126 | | -0.070 | |
| No Religion | 0.087 | | -0.017 | | -0.092 | |
| **Couple Characteristics** | | | | | | |
| Marital Status (Married) | | | | | | |
| Common Law | 0.080 | | 0.075 | | -0.202 | |
| Relative Education (Both university) | | | | | | |
| Wife only | 0.062 | | 0.451 | | -0.360 | |
| Husband only | 0.038 | | 0.056 | | 0.132 | |
| Neither have degree | 0.032 | | -0.027 | | -0.012 | |
| **Cultural/ Community** | | | | | | |
| Migration Status (Born in Canada) | | | | | | |
| Immigrant | 0.412 | ** | -0.424 | | -0.440 | ** |
| First Language (English) | | | | | | |
| French | 0.323 | | 0.268 | | -0.098 | |
| Other | 0.239 | | 0.127 | | 0.171 | |
| Region of Residence (Atlantic) | | | | | | |
| Quebec | -0.317 | | -0.113 | | -0.242 | |
| Ontario | -0.055 | | 0.858 | *** | -0.386 | |
| Prairies | 0.090 | | 0.987 | *** | 0.008 | |
| British Columbia | -0.024 | | 0.234 | | -0.720 | ** |
| Urban/Rural (Urban) | | | | | | |
| Rural (& PEI) | 0.006 | | -0.179 | | -0.126 | |
| Constant | 0.108 | | 1.085 | *** | 1.483 | *** |
| R Square | 7.9% | | 11.9% | | 7.0% | |
| N of Cases | 1681 | | 839 | | 1059 | |

Significance levels: * 10%, ** 5%, *** 1%
Source: 2005 GSS on Time Use

The augmented complementary traditional model is more likely for women at older ages but the difference by age is only significant when there are no children in the household, a finding similar to the men's results, except that the magnitude is larger for women. This reflects the change over time in norms or expectations about role-sharing, with younger couples preferring the augmented shared model. Further, among older couples, a routine with women doing more of the unpaid work, particularly when children were still in the household, may be so well-established that the arrangement continues even with a decrease in the total amount of unpaid work brought about by children's leaving the parental home. A question that could be asked is why age of respondent does not have the same effect when there are children in the household. The answer possibly lies in the greater amount of unpaid work that children require, that is, when it comes to caring for children, women take on the tasks regardless of their preference as to role sharing, and thus the differences over ages of women are not significant.

The variable that shows highly significant effects on the relative participation models is personal income. This shows up in analysis for men and women and the separate analysis by presence of children. This is an indication that much of the determinants in the sharing of unpaid work lies in the realm of paid work. While factors such as values and characteristics of individuals and couples come into play, conditions at work are as important or possibly even more important in the decision-making on relative participation models. However, work-related factors, such as

information on occupation and the benefits offered by employers, are not available in the data set.

# 5. Implications of models on the well-being and integration of individuals

Having studied the determinants of models of earning and caring, this section considers some of the implications of these models for the well-being and integration of individuals. These are studied through available indicators in the 2005 time-use survey. Further implications regarding families and society will be discussed in the concluding section. The tables in this section are based on respondents aged 20-69 living in couples.

## *5.1 Stress and time-crunch*

**Table 12** Measures of time-crunch and stress, by models of earning and caring, aged 20-69, living in couples, Canada, 2005

| Model type | Time crunch | High time-crunch | Rushed everyday | Stressed | Work Stressed | Time Crunch (factor) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Male respondents** | 3.89*** | .19** | 0.41*** | 0.68*** | 0.62*** | 0.10*** |
| Complementary-traditional | 4.15 | .21 | .44 | .72 | 0.65 | 0.17 |
| Complementary-gender-reversed | 3.27*** | .14 | .27*** | .48*** | 0.24*** | -0.12*** |
| Women's double burden | 3.80** | .19 | .40 | .67 | 0.64 | 0.06 |
| Men's double burden | 3.84 | .16 | .46 | .66 | 0.55** | 0.08 |
| Shared roles | 3.79*** | .16* | .38* | .68 | 0.65 | 0.07 |
| **Total number of cases** | **3736** | **3736** | **3727** | **3723** | **2458** | **3612** |
| | | | | | | |
| **Female Respondents** | 4.37*** | .24*** | 0.47*** | 0.70*** | 0.40*** | 0.31*** |
| Complementary-traditional | 4.03 | .20 | .42 | .65 | 0.15 | 0.20 |
| Complementary-gender-reversed | 4.17 | .23 | .44 | .76* | 0.60*** | 0.21 |
| Women's double burden | 4.83*** | .30*** | .53*** | .74*** | 0.49*** | 0.49*** |
| Men's double burden | 4.12 | .24 | .41 | .67 | 0.52*** | 0.20 |
| Shared roles | 4.39** | .24 | .48* | .72** | 0.52*** | 0.31 |
| **Total number of cases** | **4161** | **4161** | **4156** | **4148** | **2847** | **4025** |

**Note**: * = p < 0.05; ** = p < 0.01; *** = p < 0.001. Significance indicated for male and female respondents indicates that a given indicator has significantly differences across models. Significance indicated for given models show differences in comparison to the complementary-traditional category. Higher numbers refer to higher stress.
-Time crunch variable: This variable measures the number of "Yes" codes reported in the 10 questions. For example: Do you feel trapped in a daily routine; Do you feel that you just don't have time for fun any more.coded as 1(one yes); 2(two yes); 3(three yes)…10(ten yes).
- High time crunch variable: 1(reply to 7 or more yes); 0(less than 7 yes)

- How often do you feel rush? 1(everyday); 0(others)
- Amount of stress in your life on most day? 1(including a bit stressful, quite a bit stressful, and extremely stressful); 0(including not at all stressful and not very stressful).
- What is your main stress? 1(from work); 0(from others)
- The last column is the factor score of time crunch based on 8 variables from TCS_130 to TCS_200. This factor explains 37% of the variation in these 8 indicators.

**Source:** Tabulation from 2005 GSS on Time Use

The time-use survey has questions relating to stress and time-crunch that can be considered in relation to the models of earning and caring. Six indicators are shown separately for male and female respondents (Table 12). The first measure is the average score on a ten point time-crunch scale (from low to high). The second one is the proportion who score seven or higher on this scale (see Fast and Frederick, 1996: 15 for previous use of this measure). The third is the proportion who feel rushed "every day." Then we have the proportion who have responses other than "not at all stressful" and "not very stressful" in response to the question on "amount of stress in your life on most days," and the proportion who indicate that work is their main source of stress. Finally, a factor score is shown based on ten indicators of time-crunch.

On average, women have more time-crunch, while men have higher work stress. For women, it is persons in women's double burden who have the highest time crunch and feelings of being rushed every day, while women in complementary-gender-reversed have highest stress and proportions who have stress associated with work. The women with the lowest scores are in complementary-traditional or men's double burden arrangements. On the time-crunch factor, men have highest scores when they are in complementary-traditional, and lowest scores in shared roles and complementary gender-reversed. It is noteworthy that the complementary-traditional tends to be the model with the most time-crunch and stress for men, while the women's double burden is the most stressful for women. It is also noteworthy that the complementary gender-reversed is associated with high work-stress for women, but low work-stress for men. The shared roles are associated with low time-crunch for men, while it is the complementary-traditional that is low on time-crunch for women.

**Table 13** Preference to work more, less and the same, age 20-69, living in couples, Canada. 2005

| Model type | less hours, less pay | more hours, more pay | same hours, same pay | None of Above |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Male respondents *** | 11.3 | 16.5 | 59.2 | 13.1 |
| Complementary-traditional | 10.3 | 16.6 | 59.4 | 13.7 |
| Complementary-gender-reversed | 6.1 | 30.6** | 53.1 | 10.2 |
| Women's double burden | 11.2 | 13.7** | 62.6* | 12.6 |
| Men's double burden | 11.9 | 19.5* | 55.8 | 12.8 |
| Shared roles | 12.4 | 16.7 | 58.0 | 12.9 |
| **Total number of cases** | **362** | **546** | **2028** | **464** |
| | | | | |
| **Female Respondents ***** | 13.3 | 14.5 | 61.4 | 10.7 |
| Complementary-traditional | 8.0*** | 19.5*** | 60.2 | 12.3 |
| Complementary-gender-reversed | 17.9 | 11.2 | 63.3 | 7.7 |
| Women's double burden | 13.6 | 14.2 | 61.1 | 11.1 |
| Men's double burden | 14.0 | 19.6** | 56.5 | 9.9 |
| Shared roles | 14.6 | 11.4*** | 63.7 | 10.4 |
| **Total number of cases** | **396** | **441** | **1949** | **339** |

**Note:** * = $p < 0.05$; ** = $p < 0.01$; *** = $p < 0.001$. Significance indicated for male and female respondents indicates that a given indicator has significant differences across models. Significance indicated for given models show differences in comparison to other models (Chi-square residual test).

**Source:** Tabulated from 2005 GSS on Time Use

A related measure is taken from a question regarding the preference to work fewer hours for less pay, more hours for more pay or the same hours for the same pay (Table 13). This question was asked only of persons who were working. Overall, there are higher proportions wanting to work more hours for more pay than those wanting to work fewer hours for less pay. This even applies to women in women's double burden arrangements and men in men's double burdens. For men, the highest proportions wanting to work more hours are in the complementary-gender-reversed, and for women it is in the complementary traditional. Those most likely to desire fewer hours are men in shared roles and women in complementary-gender-reversed models. There is evidence here that women in complementary-traditional would prefer to work more and thus not be in this model, while men in the complementary-gender-reversed would prefer to work more and thus not be in this model.

## *5.2 Well-being: health, happiness and satisfaction*

**Table 14** Measures of health, by models of earning and caring, aged 20-69 living in couples, Canada, 2005

| Model type | Self perceived health | Satisfaction with health |
|---|---|---|
| **Male respondents** | 2.33*** | 7.77** |
| Complementary-traditional | 2.34 | 7.77 |
| Complementary-gender-reversed | 2.57* | 7.39* |
| Women's double burden | 2.39 | 7.74 |
| Men's double burden | 2.37 | 7.77 |
| Shared roles | 2.22** | 7.86 |
| **Total number of cases** | **3732** | **3733** |
| | | |
| **Female Respondents** | 2.35 | 7.74** |
| Complementary-traditional | 2.37 | 7.67 |
| Complementary-gender-reversed | 2.18 | 8.13** |
| Women's double burden | 2.36 | 7.69 |
| Men's double burden | 2.41 | 7.73 |
| Shared roles | 2.32 | 7.84 |
| **Total number of cases** | **4157** | **4157** |

**Note:** * = $p < 0.05$; ** = $p < 0.01$; *** = $p < 0.001$. Significance indicated for male and female respondents indicates that a given indicator has significant differences across models. Significance indicated for given models show differences in comparison to the complementary-traditional category.

**Note:**
Generally, how would say your health: 1 (excellent); 2(very good); 3(good); 4(fair); 5(poor).
Satisfaction with your health: 1(very dissatisfied)… 10(very satisfied).

**Source:** Tabulated from 2005 GSS on Time Use

Two health measures are presented: averages on 5 point scale in response to a question on self-perceived health (excellent to poor) and on a 10 point scale on satisfaction with your health (very dissatisfied to very satisfied). There is not much variation on the average scores across the five models, nonetheless, on both measures men have the best health indicators when they are in shared roles arrangements, and the worst averages occur for the complementary-gender reversed (Table 14). There may be selectivity factors operating, with men's poor health taking them out of the labour force while their wives are employed, so that they are doing more unpaid work and find themselves in a complementary-gender-reversed model. The women in complementary-gender-reversed models have the best health indicators, followed by women in shared roles, with the lowest self-perceived health in men's double burden.

The results imply that, for both men and women, paid work is positively related to health status. There may be selectivity factors operating, with models being a function of health status, especially men's double burden following on their wife's poor health, while women with positive health indicators, probably in part compared to that of their husband, being more likely to have a complementary-gender-reversed arrangement.

**Table 15** Measures of happiness and satisfaction, by models of earning and caring, aged 20-69, living in couples, Canada, 2005

| Model type | Self perceived happiness | Satisfaction with your job or main activity | Satisfaction with the way you spend your other time | Satisfaction with your finances | Satisfaction with your life as a whole right now | Satisfaction index |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Male respondents** | 4.37*** | 7.47 | 7.09 | 6.76** | 7.79*** | 0.03** |
| Complementary-traditional | 4.36 | 7.46 | 7.01 | 6.72 | 7.74 | 0.00 |
| Complementary-gender-reversed | 4.18** | 7.39 | 7.25 | 6.27* | 7.61 | -0.13 |
| Women's double burden | 4.37 | 7.41 | 7.05 | 6.82 | 7.72 | 0.01 |
| Men's double burden | 4.39 | 7.57 | 7.20 | 6.72 | 7.88 | 0.08 |
| Shared roles | 4.42 | 7.49 | 7.15 | 6.83 | 7.91* | 0.09 |
| **Total number of cases** | **3728** | **3710** | **3713** | **3724** | **3724** | **3667** |
| | | | | | | |
| **Female Respondents** | 4.40*** | 7.45 | 7.01* | 6.74** | 7.85*** | 0.05*** |
| Complementary-traditional | 4.40 | 7.52 | 7.03 | 6.83 | 7.84 | 0.07 |
| Complementary-gender-reversed | 4.50 | 7.73 | 7.31 | 6.77 | 7.85 | 0.17 |
| Women's double burden | 4.31** | 7.44 | 6.89 | 6.58* | 7.72 | -0.06** |
| Men's double burden | 4.47 | 7.37 | 6.98 | 6.61 | 7.84 | 0.05 |
| Shared roles | 4.47 | 7.46 | 7.10 | 6.88 | 8.01 | 0.13 |
| **Total number of cases** | **4154** | **4132** | **4133** | **4142** | **4149** | **4081** |

**Note:** * = p < 0.05; ** = p < 0.01; *** = p < 0.001. Significance indicated for male and female respondents indicates that a given indicator has significant differences across models. Significance indicated for given models show differences in comparison to the complementary-traditional category.

**Note:**
Self-described happiness scale: 1(very unhappy)…5 (very happy).
Satisfaction with your job or main activity: 1 (very dissatisfied)…10(very satisfied).
Satisfaction with the way you spend your other time: 1(very dissatisfied)… 10(very satisfied).
Satisfaction with your finances: 1(very dissatisfied)… 10(very satisfied).
Satisfaction with your life as a whole right now: 1(very dissatisfied)… 10(very satisfied).
Satisfaction index: the factor score based on the above five variables. This factor explains 52% of the variation across the five variables.

**Source:** Tabulated from 2005 GSS on Time Use

Table 15 brings together one indicator of happiness on a five point scale, from "very unhappy" to "very happy", and four indicators of satisfaction on a ten point scale from "very dissatisfied" to

"very satisfied": "with your job or main activity", "with the way you spend your other time", "with your finances" and "with your life as a whole right now". For women, the lowest happiness and satisfaction occurs in women's double burden arrangements. Other differences for women are less uniform, with the highest happiness and satisfaction with main activity and other time use in complementary-gender-reversed, highest satisfaction with finances and life as a whole in shared-roles arrangements. Men are lowest on four of the indicators when they are in complementary-gender-reversed arrangements, and lowest on "satisfaction with other time" when they are in complementary-traditional models. As with women, men's higher happiness and satisfaction tends to occur in the shared-roles models, at least for happiness, satisfaction with finances and satisfaction with life as a whole. It is especially on satisfaction with life as a whole that shared roles score high for both men and women.

## *5.3 Community participation, belonging and social support*

**Table 16** Measures of community participation and belonging, by models of earning and caring, aged 20-69, living in couples, Canada, 2005

| Model type | Volunteer | Belongs to community | Belongs to province | Belongs to Canada | Social belonging |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Male respondents** | 0.35** | 3.44 | 3.74 | 4.06 | 0.012 |
| Complementary-traditional | 0.35 | 3.40 | 3.71 | 4.05 | -0.015 |
| Complementary-gender-reversed | 0.37 | 3.46 | 3.75 | 4.14 | 0.047 |
| Women's double burden | 0.32 | 3.39 | 3.77 | 4.12 | 0.034 |
| Men's double burden | 0.33 | 3.49 | 3.79 | 4.00 | 0.032 |
| Shared roles | 0.39 | 3.50 | 3.73 | 4.04 | 0.015 |
| **Total number of cases** | **3732** | **3677** | **3649** | **3692** | **3598** |
| **Female Respondents** | 0.40 | 3.46 | 3.69 | 4.05 | 0.000 |
| Complementary-traditional | 0.38 | 3.52 | 3.69 | 4.07 | 0.027 |
| Complementary-gender-reversed | 0.44 | 3.42 | 3.78 | 4.17 | 0.059 |
| Women's double burden | 0.40 | 3.43 | 3.64 | 4.03 | -0.039 |
| Men's double burden | 0.37 | 3.38 | 3.70 | 3.92 | -0.065 |
| Shared roles | 0.43 | 3.45 | 3.73 | 4.08 | 0.024 |
| **Total number of cases** | **4156** | **4108** | **4069** | **4105** | **4017** |

**Note:** * = $p < 0.05$; ** = $p < 0.01$; *** = $p < 0.001$. Significance indicated for male and female respondents indicates that a given indicator has significant differences across models. Significance indicated for given models show differences in comparison to the complementary-traditional category.

**Note:**
Higher numbers refer to more positive indicators.
Past 12 months, did unpaid volunteer work for any organization: 1(yes);0(no).
Sense of belonging to your local community, Province and Canada: 1(very week)…5(very strong).
Social belonging is a factor score based on sense of belonging to local community, province, and Canada. This factor explains 60 percent of the variation across the three indicators.

**Source:** Tabulated from 2005 GSS on Time Use

Table 16 includes first the proportion who answered "yes" on the question of doing unpaid volunteer work for any organization in the past 12 months. The next three indicators are for respondents' sense of belonging to community, to province and to Canada, each on a four point scale, from "very weak" to "very strong." The differences across categories are small, and it is only in the case of male respondents volunteering that we have some significant differences across the models. Men do the most volunteering when they are in shared roles arrangements, but their differences on sense of belonging are particularly small, and not consistent across the three indicators. Women in complementary-gender-reversed do the most volunteering, and they have the strongest sense of belonging to province and to Canada, but those in complementary-traditional have the strongest sense of belonging to local community. When the three indicators of belonging are combined into one factor, the differences remain small and not statistically significant, but the complementary gender-reversed are highest for both men and women.

**Table 17** Measures of Social support (Members of immediate family and people close to), by models of earning and caring, aged 20-69, living in couples, Canada, 2005

| Model type | Family member | Relatives | People from work | neighbors | non-household | Factor score |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Male respondents** | 4.32 | 2.96 | 2.36 | 1.42* | 4.66* | 0.03 |
| Complementary-traditional | 4.43 | 2.91 | 2.28 | 1.61 | 5.06 | 0.09 |
| Complementary-gender-reversed | 4.08 | 3.45 | 2.52 | 1.82 | 4.46 | 0.09 |
| Women's double burden | 4.48 | 2.88 | 2.48 | 1.23 | 4.27 | -0.02 |
| Men's double burden | 4.24 | 3.25 | 2.23 | 1.16 | 4.02 | -0.06 |
| Shared roles | 4.15 | 2.87 | 2.41 | 1.40 | 4.83 | 0.01 |
| Total number of cases | 1901 | 1897 | 1738 | 1898 | 1888 | 1883 |
| | | | | | | |
| **Female Respondents** | 4.27 | 2.94* | 2.15 | 1.45 | 4.50** | 0.01 |
| Complementary-traditional | 4.44 | 2.80 | 1.78 | 1.50 | 4.22 | 0.00 |
| Complementary-gender-reversed | 4.60 | 3.82 | 2.93** | 1.14 | 4.76 | 0.10 |
| Women's double burden | 3.95 | 3.04 | 2.08 | 1.40 | 4.21 | -0.04 |
| Men's double burden | 4.59 | 2.27 | 2.33 | 1.36 | 4.65 | -0.02 |
| Shared roles | 4.25 | 3.14 | 2.24 | 1.52 | 5.14* | 0.09 |
| **Total number of cases** | **2038** | **2030** | **1551** | **2034** | **2029** | **2019** |

**Note:** * = $p < 0.05$; ** = $p < 0.01$; *** = $p < 0.001$. Significance indicated for male and female respondents indicates that a given indicator has significant differences across models. Significance indicated for given models show differences in comparison to the complementary-traditional category.
Note:

1. "People from work" is obtained only for persons who are working.
2. Totals are calculated by adding valid responses on the five other measures, thus this measure includes only persons who are working.
3. Factor score is based on social support from family members, relatives, neighbors, and non-household members. This factor explains 44 percent of the variation across the four indicators.

**Source:** Tabulated from 2005 GSS on Time Use

Table 17 includes average counts on various questions related to receiving and providing social support: members of immediate family, other relatives with whom one is close, people you know from work who are very close, how many neighbors you are very close to, and how many non-household other people you are very close to. The last indicator shows a factor score that combines all but the "people from work" category. These questions were only asked for half of the sample, and only a few differences are statistically significant. For men, the highest social support occurs in complementary-gender-reversed on three of the indicators, in women's double burden on support from immediate family members, and in complementary-traditional on the indicator of non-household members. For women, the complementary-gender reversed have the highest social support from immediate family, other relatives, and work, with highest social support from neighbors being observed in the case of complementary traditional and highest social support from non-household members occurring for shared roles.

# 6. 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. After summarizing the trends and determinants, this section will further discuss the implications for individuals, families and society. We will pay particular attention to the factors that might increase the relative predominance of shared models of earning and caring.

## *Time-use in productive activities*

The patterns and trends of time use in productive activities over the life course are difficult to summarize (Fast et al., 2001; Harvey et al., 1991; Devereau, 1993). The Statistics Canada article on young persons based on the 2005 time-use survey is called "The busy life of teens" (Marshall, 2007), while the article on "older Canadians" aged 55-64 shows increased hours of paid work in 1998 compared to 1992, with a decline in hours of active leisure (Dosman et al., 2006). For persons living in families who worked at least three hours on the observation day, there was an increase of 32.4 minutes for men and 35.0 minutes for women in work time between 1986 and 2005 (Table 2). For the total population aged 30-54, men's paid work has increased by 0.4 hours and women's by 0.9 hours between 1992 and 2005 (Table 5). Time-use surveys also indicate that significant numbers of respondents consider themselves to be workaholics (Keown, 2007; Kemeny, 2002).

Clearly, work is an absorbing institution, but so are child care and elder care. The analyses that have focused on parents of young children have found an increase in parental time spent with children (Sayer et al., 2004). On the basis of data from several countries over three decades, Gauthier et al., (2004) find that fathers living with young children have increased their time caring for children. For mothers living with young children, their increased hours of paid work has decreased their time available for child care, but this reduction is much less than their increased time in paid work. In addition, there is increased time in child care in each of the employed and non-employed categories of mothers with young children.

Although it is difficult to use the time-use survey to study elder care, Table 3 shows that the combination of elder care with civic and voluntary activities increases over ages to reach a peak at ages 65-80. Pyper (2006) documents with the 2002 Survey on Aging and Social Support, various consequences for persons aged 45-64 who are providing such care. There are consequences on social activities and work-life balance; some of these persons make employment changes, significant numbers experience guilt and see this as a heavy burden, but their life satisfaction measures are affected more in a positive than a negative direction.

For the total population aged 30-54, women clearly do more unpaid work but men's unpaid work increased by 0.1 hours while women's declined by 0.3 hours over the period 1992-2005 (Table 5). The results from other countries show similar patterns of more housework for women than men, but an increase in men's time in unpaid work. Summarizing change over three decades in the United States, Sayer (2005) finds a pattern of convergence between women and men. Following the Canadian data over 1986 to 2005, Marshall (2006) also uses the title of "converging gender roles." While women continue to do more housework, Sayer finds that men have substantially increased their time in core household activities, in particular cooking, cleaning and daily child care. 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. Looking at change in Britain over the period 1975 to 1997, Sullivan (2000) also finds a substantial increase in more egalitarian couples. This has involved the reduction of gender inequality in tasks that were previously seen as women's domain. For the higher socio-economic status groups, there is near equality in British men's relative domestic work, with also increases for men in lower socio-economic groups. In her study of how Canadian high and low income groups spend their time, Williams (2002) does not give separate results by gender, but finds that higher income people spend more time in paid work while lower income people spend more time in unpaid work. In both cases, those who are parents often wish that they could spend more time with family and friends.

Another generalization is that of greater variability for women than men in time use patterns over the life course. This is seen in the patterns over age, and also in the patterns across various marital and parental statuses. This greater variability for women in effect means that they take greater responsibility not only for unpaid work but also for the variable nature of the needs for unpaid work over the life course. For instance, Duncan et al. (2000) find that no matter where the paid work takes place, women in dual-earner families spend more time in household labour.

The suggested explanations of these trends include both structural and cultural factors. Focusing on men, Coltrane (1995) sees accommodations to women's status as co-providers, with men

coming to depend on women's income to establish middle class standing. He also sees new cultural ideals of sharing and of less rigid gender attitudes regarding household tasks. There is also family change itself, including remarriage and later marriage, which promote alternative arrangements in the division of work. In their study of "unconventional families" using qualitative approaches, Fox and Fumia (2001) also find that the alternate division of work is largely a question of deliberate strategy on the part of these families. Comparing across countries, Hook (2006) finds that men's unpaid work time is related to the average hours of women's employment, but also to cultural indicators like the length of parental leave and men's eligibility for parental leaves. In understanding the increased time with children, Sayer et al. (2004) refer to the voluntary nature of parenthood and the concern with safety, along with a changing cultural context of parenting including the ideals of good mothering and involved fathers.

## *Relative predominance of models of earning and caring*

When the division of paid and unpaid work is considered in couples, this shows that the complementary-traditional model, with men doing more paid work and women doing more unpaid work, is declining but it remains the largest category at some 33% of respondents living in couples where neither is a full-time student nor retired. The shared roles, where the unpaid work that each does is within 40 to 60 percent of the total unpaid work, is a growing category, now representing over a quarter of couples. The relative numbers of persons in women's double burdens is stable and also represents over a quarter of couples. Men's double burden and complementary-gender-reversed couples are increasing, but this still represents only ten and three percent of respondents respectively.

## *Determinants of models of earning and caring*

The analysis of the relative predominance of the complementary-traditional plus women's double burden arrangements, compared to other models of earning and caring, shows that life course questions as well as structural and cultural considerations are relevant. The presence of children is a major determinant, as men with children under five, and women with children under 18, are more likely to be in the augmented complementary traditional arrangements, and men with children 5-18, along with women with no children under 18, are more likely to be in the other arrangements. Men with higher personal and relative resources are also more likely to be in augmented complementary traditional, as are men from rural areas, while men with no religion are more likely to be in the other models. Conversely, women with higher personal and relative resources are less likely to be in augmented complementary traditional, and older women are more likely to be in these traditional arrangements.

The results within categories of presence of children by age, also show the importance of life course, structural and cultural considerations. For instance, among those with no children under

18, older men are more likely to be in augmented complementary traditional arrangements. Among men with very young children, those in rural areas and with languages other than English or French are more likely to be in augmented complementary traditional arrangements. For women with children under five, those living in Quebec are less likely to be in augmented complementary traditional arrangements.

As Brines (1994) had proposed, much of the determinants of sharing unpaid work regards factors associated with paid work, including the relative resources of spouses. Life course considerations are also relevant, including the greater numbers in alternate arrangements among younger respondents. The differences across rural and urban areas, and between Quebec and other provinces, suggests that the availability of child care facilities may also be important in promoting alternate arrangements.

## *Implications of models of earning and caring*

The differential implications of the models across questions of stress, health, life satisfaction, belonging and social cohesion, show that the differences are typically small and there is no clear "winner" across the models of the division of paid and unpaid work. The complementary-traditional model is high on stress for men, while it is low on stress for women, but women in this model are more likely to want to work more hours. The women's double burden model is showing high stress and low life satisfaction for women. While it is high on stress for men, with a proportion of men wanting to work less hours, the shared roles model receives high indicators on happiness and life satisfaction for both men and women, especially on the indicator of "satisfaction with your life as a whole right now," and men are high on volunteering in this model. The men's double burden is low on stress for women but showing indicators of poor health for men. The complementary-gender-reversed is associated with poor health and happiness indicators for men, and women have good health but high stress, with women wanting to work less and men wanting to work more. These mixed results probably help explain the variety of models, each with their advantages and disadvantages. At least if one takes happiness and life satisfaction as an indicator, the shared model seems to have the more positive, or less negative, implications for both men and women.

## *Implications of stress associated with paid and unpaid work*

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 also 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 indicate that there

has been a decline in the proportion of mothers who prefer full-time work (PEW Research Center, 2007). Other summaries based on American data suggest that cutting back on work hours may be an effective solution to work-to-life spillover, especially if changing work arrangements is not an option (Padavic and Reskin, 2002). However, reducing work hours can reduce women's agency and the relative resources that they can be used to bargain for doing less of the unpaid work.

Other research on 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). The hours of unpaid work had less effect on time crunch, but the effect was higher for women. In their microeconomic analysis, Graham and Green (1984) find that home production time simultaneously serves as leisure. However, McDonald et al. (2005) find, for women aged 25-54, that greater hours of unpaid work brings more stress, and that this results from eldercare and housework, more so than from childcare. Duxbury et al. (2003) find that women and employees with caregiving responsibilities are at higher risk of role overload and work-family conflict.

By supporting the "shared 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. Further, women will be less vulnerable in the event of separation, divorce or death of spouse. There are other labour market implications. For instance, Grey and Hebert (2007) propose that time-crunch may affect labour supply. 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 could be less deterioration of skills.

## *What will the future bring?*

As in other family questions, the diversity of models is likely to persist. This brings a key policy challenge of accommodating the diversity not only in families but in models of sharing of paid and unpaid work. At the same time, from a variety of perspectives, there is value to promoting the shared roles models. Besides its advantage with regard to gender equity, the shared roles model maximizes the potential for all adults to be in the labour force. A major study of American marriage suggests that more egalitarian marriages are also happier (Amato et al., 2007). Particularly for women, shared decision making, more equal patterns of housework, and egalitarian gender attitudes are associated with higher marital satisfaction (Wilcox, 2008). In their study of *Women and Men at Work*, Padavic and Reskin (2002) also suggest that an equitable division of labour can have a positive impact on marital satisfaction. Nonetheless, the Amato et al. (2007) overview of *How Marriage in America is Changing* finds support for gender specialization through the observation that couples are happiest when wives are working part-time. This would correspond with the analysis of the 1998 time-use data, showing that it is especially longer time in paid work that is associated with high levels of time-crunch (Beaujot and Andersen, 2007).

We would thus propose that the medium term future will see an increase in the 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 have preference for parity in time spent on unpaid work (Beaujot, 2006). However, the magnitude of increase would depend on several factors. There will continue to be a proportion of couples who would choose the complementary-traditional models no matter the structural conditions. While they present various disadvantages, especially in terms of risks for women, the modified traditional patterns will continue.

As Feree (1990) had proposed, we have gone "beyond separate spheres." As Brines (1994) had proposed, there are both economic and cultural factors at stake, with women doing a lower share of the unpaid work when they are less economically dependent, but also when men no longer view housework as something that undermines their masculinity. Sayer (2005) and Sullivan (2004) also see changed structural and normative contexts that have changed the symbolic meaning of housework and the images of masculinity and fatherhood. These changes have occurred when the economic foundations of marriage have also changed (Sweeney, 2002). In particular, the efficiency gains of the Becker approach to the division of work have been partly replaced by the lower risks and the higher family income of the two-earner model. In two-career marriages, the total of paid and unpaid work is about equally divided by gender (Feree, 1991; Bianchi et al., 2006). We have seen that the shared roles model is high on measures of life satisfaction, and other research shows its advantages with regard to marital quality (Amato et al., 2007).

Given the reduced risks of the shared models, and the advantages in terms of maximizing labour force participation by all adults, it is useful to discuss the factors that would promote this model. These factors include equality of opportunity in access to education and work, conditions that would facilitate work-life balance, and promoting greater involvement of men in housework and child care.

## *Promoting equality in paid work questions*

There have been large changes 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).

There remain significant differences in the occupational distribution of women and men, in spite of the greater participation of women in post-secondary education. The occupational differences in flexibility and work/life balance probably play 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. Greater gender parity in occupations and wages would promote the shared model as men are more likely to participate in unpaid work when their wife or partner earns high personal income.

## *Promoting equality in unpaid work questions*

In her study involving 20 countries over the period 1965 to 2003, Hook (2006) finds that men's unpaid work as fathers depends on women's average employment hours, the length of the available parental leave, and men's eligibility for parental leave. On the basis of data from six countries, for couples aged 20-59 with children under 18, Finch (2006) proposes that the breadwinner model is undermined when there is higher female employment, more child care and more parental leave. Focusing on factors that support families in their desires to have children, Lerais (2007) identifies in particular the availability of child care, parental leaves and part-time work. In their analysis of the Quebec situation, Roy and Bernier (2006) see a movement toward the Nordic model of more state support for gender equity and diverse family forms. Our results showing a higher prevalence of the augmented shared roles arrangement in Quebec also points to the question of child care facilities.

As with education, where the aspirations of men and women are important determinants of the trends, it can be argued that the interest for a more equal sharing of housework and child care plays an important role in the trends to a higher proportion of shared roles models. 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).

These structural supports include child care, at least as a means of alleviating the burden on parents. In Quebec, this has been promoted as family policy, along with the support of gender equity and child development (see Janson, 2004). While child care promotes equal involvement in paid work by alleviating the family burden, it is also important to specifically promote men's participation in child care and unpaid work. Equal opportunities to parental leave may be particularly important in setting up family arrangements encouraging a more equal sharing of child care. Other research suggests that a higher replacement rate for parental leave encourages men's participation (Marshall, 2003). Besides supporting families at this life course stage where there are strong demands, a higher replacement rate would enable the sharing that would permit women's earlier return to the labour force.

## *Areas for further research*

There is clearly room for further analysis of the patterns of time-use and the models of division of work in families, their determinants and implications. Given the changes over the life course, it may be useful to use further categories of age or to consider in more detail specific age groups. The analysis has focused on couples in mid-life, where neither is a full-time student nor retired. There is room to focus on the earlier and later stages of life, including those persons who are not in couples and lone parents. It would also be useful to separate the various sub-categories of unpaid work, especially to identify the time spent in elder care. Analyses of intensity or multi-tasking would clearly be useful. Qualitative research is important in interpreting the models of division of work, including the interpretations given by participants, and the "sense of justice" that they associate with their experience. The study of determinants needs to more closely identify the structural and cultural supports and constraints associated with various models. The Workplace and Employee Survey from Statistics Canada could be used to study work-related factors among these supports and constraints. Specific implications, such as on stress, health or happiness, need to be studied in more depth using multivariate analysis, and the implications on children should be brought into the analysis, including through the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth. For instance, it would appear that more paid work is associated with better health indicators but also more stress. Through a multivariate framework, the hours of paid and unpaid work could be entered into the analysis, along with the models of division of work.

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# *Appendix*

**Appendix Table:** Proportion (%) of Traditional Model by Presence of Children and by Explanatory Variables, Males and Females, Canada, 2005

| | Males | | | | Females | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No Children | Children 0-5 | Children 6-18 | All | No Children | Children 0-5 | Children 6-18 | All |
| **Total** | 54.8 | 60.9 | 55 | 56.2 | 56.7 | 75.3 | 65.6 | 63.7 |
| Age | | | | | | | | |
| 20-39 | 49.3 | 62.2 | 52.3 | 55.5 | 49.7 | 75.5 | 66.9 | 64.9 |
| 40-59 | 55.9 | 57.4 | 55.8 | 56.0 | 59.8 | 73.8 | 64.9 | 62.7 |
| 60-69 | 60.8 | | 38.5 | 58.8 | 66.9 | | 100.0 | 68.0 |
| Personal Income | | | | | | | | |
| < $30,000 | 46.3 | 45.9 | 40.7 | 44.7 | 65.2 | 82.6 | 72.6 | 72.3 |
| $30,000 - $59,999 | 52.4 | 62.6 | 54.5 | 55.3 | 48.7 | 67.6 | 59.2 | 55.7 |
| $60,000 - $99,999 | 54.6 | 60.2 | 50.3 | 54.4 | 38.7 | 59.7 | 50.0 | 46.5 |
| $100,000 or more | 63.3 | 75.5 | 65.7 | 67.1 | 31.4 | 41.2 | 44.8 | 39.0 |
| Missing | 62.1 | 59.1 | 63.1 | 61.9 | 62.6 | 75.3 | 70.3 | 67.3 |
| Religiosity | | | | | | | | |
| Once a week | 60.1 | 67.6 | 65.1 | 63.5 | 58.2 | 75.0 | 67.2 | 64.3 |
| Sometimes | 58.1 | 60.7 | 53.2 | 56.9 | 58.6 | 75.6 | 66.4 | 65.1 |
| Never | 49.2 | 62.3 | 52.2 | 52.6 | 52.4 | 76.3 | 62.7 | 60.8 |
| No Religion | 52.9 | 56.7 | 52.0 | 53.6 | 55.1 | 72.8 | 62.6 | 61.8 |
| Marital Status | | | | | | | | |
| Married | 57.3 | 63.3 | 57.2 | 58.6 | 57.5 | 75.9 | 66.0 | 64.5 |
| Common Law | 46.7 | 49.7 | 41.0 | 46.0 | 53.9 | 72.8 | 61.7 | 60.2 |
| Relative Education | | | | | | | | |
| Both university | 49.5 | 61.6 | 56.3 | 55.0 | 50.9 | 69.1 | 61.4 | 59.0 |
| Wife only | 45.1 | 62.6 | 43.9 | 50.2 | 48.8 | 80.0 | 52.5 | 59.2 |
| Husband only | 61.8 | 72.0 | 58.2 | 62.4 | 58.3 | 72.8 | 69.5 | 65.0 |
| Neither have degree | 58.6 | 59.7 | 55.2 | 57.6 | 57.6 | 76.6 | 67.3 | 64.7 |
| Migration Status | | | | | | | | |
| Born in Canada | 54.4 | 59.1 | 53.4 | 55.1 | 54.0 | 76.5 | 66.6 | 63.0 |
| Immigrant | 57.1 | 68.0 | 60.8 | 60.6 | 65.7 | 71.3 | 61.3 | 65.6 |
| First Language | | | | | | | | |
| English | 55.7 | 58.4 | 56.2 | 56.5 | 53.6 | 77.3 | 66.3 | 62.8 |
| French | 48.8 | 55.0 | 46.0 | 49.0 | 56.3 | 72.0 | 63.7 | 62.0 |
| Other | 60.6 | 73.7 | 61.4 | 63.9 | 66.1 | 73.6 | 65.5 | 67.6 |
| Region of Residence | | | | | | | | |
| Atlantic | 52.3 | 46.0 | 49.0 | 50.0 | 59.3 | 67.8 | 72.4 | 65.2 |
| Quebec | 46.5 | 57.1 | 48.2 | 49.1 | 56.2 | 68.8 | 64.0 | 61.6 |
| Ontario | 56.2 | 56.6 | 54.3 | 55.7 | 55.0 | 79.4 | 64.4 | 63.4 |
| Prairies | 65.0 | 71.1 | 61.8 | 65.6 | 58.2 | 82.5 | 72.2 | 68.0 |
| British Columbia | 56.0 | 70.8 | 62.8 | 61.9 | 58.7 | 69.2 | 59.1 | 61.3 |
| Urban/Rural | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 53.7 | 59.2 | 53.7 | 54.9 | 55.9 | 75.1 | 65.3 | 63.3 |
| Rural (& PEI) | 59.7 | 67.3 | 59.8 | 61.4 | 59.4 | 76.0 | 66.4 | 65.1 |
| Total N | 2000 | 961 | 1426 | 4387 | 1809 | 891 | 1273 | 3973 |

**Source:** Tabulated from 2005 GSS on Time Use