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THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IN THE LIGHT OF CONTEMPORARY
TIME-BUDGET RESEARCH*

Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

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I. TIME AND TIME-BUDGETS

1. Aristotle defined time as a "measure of movements". Transferred to the human sphere, time may be considered as a measure of activities. In the urban-industrial world people tend to regulate their daily activities by the clock. They may wake up at 6.30 a.m.; say good-bye to their children at 7.30 when the children leave for school; they may catch the 7.50 bus or train; work from 8.30 a.m. to 5 p.m. with a lunch-break of an hour at noon; watch the 7 p.m. TV news before having dinner; and so forth.

2. It is, however, by no means natural to use even-flowing physical time as a measure and regulator of human activities. In fact, this kind of measurement and regulation is a relatively new invention that came with the modern era of manufacturing and industry, with fixed working hours, hourly wages and time clocks.

3. Physical time attained its present social importance only when the place of work became separated from the home and the farmstead, when breadwinning ceased to be a domestic activity shared by all members of the family capable of working, when the sharp split between working time and free time began. Until then, the seasonally changing length of the daylight, the tasks to be carried out in the fields, the physiological needs of family members and of domestic animals to be cared for, and other more or less spontaneous factors of this kind largely determined the daily rhythm of life.

4. Even those who live in the midst of urban-industrial surroundings, tend to evade the tyranny of the clock in their more private moments. They lose the feeling for the passing of physical time when absorbed in reading an interesting book or in playing with their children or other private pursuits. When engaged in such private or leisurely activities, they look at the watch only if they have some other business to perform not in the sphere of private life, but in the "great society" that sets the exact time and duration of occupations by the hour and the minute. 1/

5. Whatever natural and cultural retreats may still be maintained, urbanization and industrialization have irrevocably introduced physical time as a measuring and regulating device into the life of humanity. Even where traditional rural and agricultural conditions still prevail, the diffusion of contemporary "programmed" production techniques and the penetration of the world-wide transport and communication system are beginning to "set the clock".

6. The phrase "time is money" reflected the thinking of the new industrial society that paid its workers by the hour and that introduced - by its machines

1/ For more detailed discussion of historical, cultural and psychological determinants of "time usage" see: A. Szalai; "Differential evaluation of time-budgets for comparative purposes", in Comparing Nations, edited by R. L. Merritt and S. Rokkan (New Haven, Conn., USA, Yale University Press, 1966).

criticism of highly industrialized society and its pattern

and by the competitive entrepreneurial ambitions of those who owned the machines - an unprecedented speed and haste into production, business, traffic and everyday life.

7. As time became more precious, employers became highly interested in the way the worker spent his time at the place of work. At first, it seemed enough to stretch the workday as long as possible and to check that the worker was not idling during the paid hours. However, as more and more complex production techniques and machinery were introduced, the employers found it necessary to commission expert time and motion studies in order to find out how much time the worker spent on every single movement in the course of his productive work and to set time norms, expressed in minutes and seconds, for all his operations. As time was thus budgeted by employers, workers retaliated with their own time-budgets. In their fight for a shorter and less exhausting workday, they proclaimed in the late 1880s the slogan "3 x 8", meaning 8 hours of work, 8 hours of free time and 8 hours of sleep. Notwithstanding legal regulations concerning the length of the official (paid) workday, the human demand formulated in this slogan remains unfulfilled almost everywhere for the overwhelming majority of the working population - most for employed women bearing the burden of a daily "second shift" in their own households.

8. By the middle of the last century, economists studying the living conditions of workers and certain laws of consumption found it useful to establish and to evaluate so-called family budgets. How much income do worker households have from various sources, and in what proportion are the available funds spent on various commodities and services? As such investigations produced interesting insights into general social conditions, sociologists questioned whether a study of the ways in which people spend their time could lead to still more valuable insights into human ways of life. While not every kind of human activity is reflected in items of income or expenditure, every human activity costs time and the time it costs can be, in principle, measured and registered. A comparison of time-budgets might be even simpler than that of money-budgets because income is subject to considerable variation, while everybody has exactly 24 hours or 1440 minutes per day at his disposal.

9. Real life proved to be much more complex than the originators of the ideal of time-budgets supposed. It is, for instance, not easy to observe and register what a person does in the course of a day, or how much time he or she spends on various activities. People may also perform more than one activity at a time. In spite of all theoretical and practical difficulties involved, however, time-budget research during the last decades has become a highly developed and much appreciated tool of empirical social research. It is widely used in the study of people's lives, work and leisure, in the investigation of living and working conditions in household, factories and communities, in mass communications research, and in work and traffic planning.

10. This paper focuses mainly on the findings of contemporary time-budget research that throw some light on the situation of women in society, and on the difficulties that women face because of inequities and discriminatory practices met in their social careers, in society at large, and even in their own households and families.

11. Before entering this subject, however further information is given about time-budgeting as a research tool and some general characteristics of time-budget data.
12. A time-budget is a log or diary of the sequence and duration of an individual's activities over a specific period, most typically the 24-hour day. Time-budget research involves the collection of considerable data to analyse main trends and subgroup differences in the allocation of time. While many social inquiries are concerned with the amount of time spent on a particular kind of activity (such as travel to work, daily shopping or television watching), the term "time-budget" is generally reserved for an exhaustive accounting of a period of time for an individual, whatever the component activities. Information on each and every activity within the given time is registered in the context of all other activities performed. This offers information for instance, on what people who spend little time on television viewing do with the time saved, or what activities are curtailed by employed women who also take care of several children at home.
13. Time-budget data are presented mostly in aggregated form, that is, as calculated averages, based on the individual time-budgets of a representative sample of the population. For most purposes, it is useful to go beyond general averages, that is to produce statistical breakdowns showing the specific characteristics of daily activities for various groups and strata of the population (men and women, married and unmarried, self-supporting and dependent, professional and unskilled workers, housewives etc.). Each will show typical differences in the structure of their average daily time-budgets, reflecting differences in the structure of their daily activities. Understandably, time-budgets for very young and very old people (such as school-children and retired persons) will differ from those for average adults.
14. Formerly, time-budget research was mostly concerned with the amount of time allocated to various activities. Currently, the timing of activities (the time of day or of the week they are performed), their frequency and their location often are matters of equal concern. Considerable interest is also attached to the company which people keep as they perform various activities. For instance, housewives spend most of their time within the home, alone or with relatively little variation in social contact.
15. For obvious reasons, the pattern of daily activity is rather different on working days and over the weekends. For many purposes separate time-budgets must be established for weekdays, Saturdays and Sundays. In general surveys, a proportionate number of observations should be made every day of the week. Seasonal changes in activity also should be considered.
16. Although this paper does not enter into technical details, all findings and data discussed stem from time-budget research projects which correspond to the present state of the science and an attempt has been made to take all necessary precautions to ensure the representativeness and the reliability of data. Qualifications are introduced wherever necessary.

II. THE SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR

17. There is probably no other social phenomenon in which time-budget research has produced such unambiguous, well-documented and dramatic insights into social reality as the sexual division of labour.

18. The sexual division of labour is defined as the way in which the various tasks of everyday life are divided between the two sexes. Men and women have common physiological needs but differences in individual and collective activities are especially apparent in paid or unpaid work.

19. There is a widespread tendency to explain a great part of the sexual division of labour by referring to differences in the "natural endowments", that is, in the mental make-up, physical strength etc. of men and women. With very few exceptions, however, such allegedly natural explanations given for any specific trait of the sexual division of labour in contemporary cultures is based on an ignorance of cultural variations or, more often, on simple prejudices.

20. As regards physical strength, for example, women should be less able than men to perform tasks involving great physical exertion. Nevertheless, according to social-anthropological data registered in the files of the Yale University Cross-Cultural Survey ^{2/} some of the most demanding types of heavy work are allocated to women in a great number of cultures. Water-carrying, for instance, is regarded as an exclusively feminine task in 119 cultures out of 138 observed, and burden-bearing is regarded as an exclusively feminine task in 59 cultures out of 128 observed. There are 36 known cultures in which the building of dwellings, 6 in which lumbering, and at least 1 in which mining and quarrying are left entirely to women. Laundering, which before the advent of washing machines was one of the most strenuous tasks, remained until very recently a typically feminine job, allocated to the washerwoman or the housewife practically everywhere in Western civilization. Thus, extreme caution should be applied before attributing anything pertinent to the sexual division of labour to "natural" factors. ^{3/}

21. It is true that only women give birth to children and, where bottle-feeding has not replaced breast-feeding, young mothers may be hampered for a period of time in the performance of their occupational duties. These duties, however, do not explain the handicaps and discriminations women face in occupational life, as indicated by the fact that single women or married women without children fare little better in occupational careers than women with children. In addition, what really counts is not so much the physiological fact of child-bearing, but rather the culturally determined superstructure of motherhood and child care. Nothing in nature prescribed that baby food should be cooked and spoon fed, or that diapers should be changed and washed by mothers, or that it is the female and not the male parent who should stay away from work and take care of the child if it happens to be ill. By nature, women are not better equipped than the man to carry out the great variety of tasks allocated to the housewife.

^{2/} Ann Oakley, Housewife (London, Allen Lane Penguin Books, 1974).

^{3/} Alexander Szalai et al., (eds.), The Use of Time: Daily Activities of Urban and Suburban Populations in Twelve Countries (Mouton, The Hague, Paris, 1972).

22. The recognition of the relatively small role of nature and of the overwhelming importance of social and cultural factors in determining the effective division of labour between the two sexes should not mislead us into thinking that this makes it easier to change the status of women and to ensure them equal rights and equal opportunities.

23. The sexual division of labour that prevails has roots far back in history. It is interwoven with many other structural and functional characteristics of present social organization. It has left its imprint on some of the most deeply held ideological and moral convictions. It has become a built-in part of social organization; ingrained in attitudinal and behavioural patterns. It is remarkable to what extent women cherish, share and defend so-called "male prejudices" about their own calling as mothers and housewives, about their capabilities to fulfil various roles in society, about "femininity" and the like.

24. In many parts of the world it may not be too difficult to eliminate discrimination against women from existing laws and regulations. The elimination of discriminatory practices from society is quite another matter. It requires a deep change in the aspirations, attitudes and behavioural characteristics of both men and women. This does not promise to be a quick process. No effort should be spared, however, to speed it up.

25. The prevalent sexual division of labour is reflected by the fact that great numbers of the adult population in more or less industrialized societies fall under three distinct categories:

(a) Employed men. Employed (or self-employed) men involved in breadwinning occupations;

(b) Employed women. Employed (or self-employed) women involved in breadwinning occupations;

(c) Housewives. Women doing no paid work, or only a negligible amount of it, but normally involved in a considerable amount of unpaid housework and household tasks.

In developed countries and also in many other less industrialized and/or urbanized societies, a small percentage of the adult population normally remains outside of these three categories (for example, the very old and retired people, economically unemployed members of the labour force, invalids and loafers). In this context it is customary to include among the employed adult students preparing themselves for breadwinning careers.

26. The asymmetry of this basic categorization is striking. There are no male counterparts to housewives whose days are filled with unpaid work done for the household. Being unpaid, housewives are not regarded as part of the labour force and therefore cannot be called unemployed, especially as they are really never out of work.

27. Described below are the most general characteristics of the contemporary sexual division of labour as mirrored in the time-budgets of the adult population in a number of countries representing various stages and forms of urban-industrial development and a variety of political and socio-economic systems.

28. Table 1 is based on the findings of the Multinational Comparative Time-Budget Research Project ^{4/} (to be referred to later as Multinational Time-Budget Project (MTBP)) carried out recently under the aegis of the UNESCO-sponsored European Coordination Centre for Research and Coordination in Social Sciences. The project involved 15 sample surveys carried out in 12 countries (Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Federal Republic of Germany, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Peru, Poland, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America, Yugoslavia). In most countries, middle-sized cities and their surroundings were included in the survey; in some countries national surveys also were conducted. Only adults aged 18 to 65 were sampled, with the exclusion of the purely agricultural population, that is of households in which not a single member does other than agricultural work.

Table 1. Average daily time-budget of employed men, employed women and housewives in 12 countries, in hours and tenths of hours (MTBP)

Activities	Employed men	Employed women	Housewives
A. On workdays (employed people) and weekdays (housewives)			
(a) Paid work and ancillary tasks (work brought home, journey to work, work-place chores etc.)	9.4)	7.9)	0.2)
(b) Housework and household obligations (not including child-care)	1.0)	3.3)	7.6)
(c) Child-care	0.2)	0.4)	1.1)
(d) Sleep, meals, personal hygiene and other personal needs	9.9	9.9	11.1
(e) Free time (i.e. remaining disposable time)	3.5	2.5	4.0
Total	24.0	24.0	24.0
B. On days off (employed people) and Sundays (housewives)			
(a) Paid work and ancillary tasks (work brought home, journey to work, work-place chores etc.)	0.9)	0.4)	0.1)
(b) Housework and household obligations (not including child-care)	2.3)	5.1)	5.2)
(c) Child-care	0.3)	0.6)	0.7)
(d) Sleep, meals, personal hygiene and other personal needs	12.2	11.9	11.7
(e) Free time (i.e. remaining disposable time)	8.3	6.0	6.3
Total	24.0	24.0	24.0

^{4/} Michael Young and Peter Willmott, The Symmetrical Family: A Study of Work and Leisure in the London Region (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973).

29. Even in this very summary table sharp characteristics of the prevailing sexual division of labour become visible. Some of these are discussed below.

(a) It is true that employed women spend on the average less time on paid work than employed men; they are more often part-time workers than men, they try to avoid overtime because of their duties at home, also some legal regulations intervene etc. However, if paid work is added to unpaid work done for the household and the family (A. (a) + (b) + (c)), then it appears that the average total working time of employed women surpasses that of employed men by a full hour on workdays (11.6 hours against 10.6 hours) and by more than two and a half hours on days off (6.1 hours against 3.5 hours). The plight of employed women is strikingly exposed by the fact that they work 5.7 hours for their household and family on their "days of rest". This means in practice that they have to sacrifice a good part of their well-deserved rest over the weekend in order to catch up on household tasks left unfinished during the work week when they are put under an enormous time pressure by one shift of paid work and another shift in the household.

(b) On weekdays the average working time of housewives (A. (a) + (b) + (c)) totals 8.9 hours, that is, to only 1.7 hours less than the average total working time for employed men. On Sundays, however, the housewives work 6 hours, that is, 2.5 hours more than employed men on their days off. We need not refer here to additional disadvantages for housewives, such as low social status, economic dependence, isolation from broader social contacts and a lack of recognition for heavy work.

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(c) For the 12 countries surveyed, nearly half of the adult women living on the survey sites - in some cases a far greater proportion - were members of the active labour force (that is, were in the category of employed women). Although many married women who care for large families or who have small children still prefer to stay at home at least as long as they have those responsibilities, the proportion of permanent, full-time housewives is decreasing in all modern urban-industrial societies. The spouses of more and more employed men are, therefore, employed women. Under such circumstances, it is shocking to see from table 1 what a small share employed men take in housework and household obligations - how much they leave to spouses who are to an ever-growing extent, equal partners in breadwinning. On workdays, employed women have 3.3 hours to devote to housework and household obligations, while employed men contribute only 1.0 hour. On days off, employed women spend 5.1 hours on such tasks, employed men only 2.3 hours. No wonder employed men have on the average much more free time at their disposal than employed women: they dispose of 3.5 hours free time on workdays and 8.3 hours of free time on days off, while for employed women, free time amounts to only 2.5 hours on workdays and 6.0 hours on days off.

(d) Free time in the sense used here, as disposable time remaining after the completion of all work and the fulfilment of physiological and other personal needs, should not be confounded with leisure time. People have many more or less unavoidable and by no means always leisurely tasks during so-called free time, such as self-education, professional training, and attendance at trade union meetings and civic activities of various kinds. Only a fraction of the available free time

is really spent on leisure. It is a telling datum that among the many thousands of employed women included in the survey samples of the Multinational Time-Budget Project, 10 per cent of the women reported no leisure time activities whatsoever on a typical workday, although virtually all employed men reported at least a little. As far as housewives are concerned, much of their free time activities and even of their typical leisure activities tend to revolve around the family and the household (needlework, embroidery, knitting, floriculture and receiving visitors). The inordinately small amount of free time at the disposal of employed women and the constraints put on housewives are two factors that bear a heavy responsibility for women's reduced participation in civic life, professional training and education. The implications for women's social advancement and professional career are quite obvious.

30. These are data representing over-all averages of the 15 sample surveys carried out in the framework of the Multinational Time-Budget Project. The variety of the survey sites studied in this project was considerable. It included, among others, the urban centre and the surroundings of Pskov (USSR) and of Jackson, Michigan (USA), of Kazanlik (Bulgaria) and of Lima-Callao (Peru), of Osnabrück (Federal Republic of Germany) and of Hoyerswerda (German Democratic Republic), of Arras, Besancon, Chalon-sur-Saone, Dunkerque, Epinal and Metz (France), not to speak of surveys extending to the whole national territory of Belgium and some other countries. The general findings of this project with regard to the main characteristics of the sexual division of labour have been confirmed by a number of similar but independent time-budget surveys carried out in very different regions, such as the London region in Great Britain, 5/ various urban-industrial areas in the Soviet Union, also in its Siberian territories, 6/ in Japan, 7/ etc. Still, over-all averages tell only part of the story and one has to dig deeper to find out more about the specifics of a situation.

5/ Kathryn E. Walker, "Homemaking still takes time", Journal of Home Economics, vol. 61, No. 8, October 1969.

6/ V. D. Patrushev and V. G. Kolpakov (eds.), Byudzhnet vremeni grodoskege paseleniya, Statistika, Moskya, 1971.

7/ Naomichi Nakanjshi, A Study of International Comparison of Time Budget, (Tokyo, NHK Public Opinion Research Institute, 1968).

III. MEN AND WOMEN IN THE HOUSEHOLD

31. As household responsibilities place a tremendous burden on women's shoulders, and men tend to assume much less than an equal share in housework and household obligations, it has become increasingly evident that something must be done to find a way out of this situation.

32. Those who have an interest in minimizing the problem, often put forward the argument that technological developments, (for example, the ever-growing supply of various household appliances, of pre-cooked or half-prepared canned and frozen foods, etc.), will soon "liberate" women from household chores or at least will reduce their problem to a manageable size.

33. Table 2 compares the situation in a number of survey sites that differ widely in the availability of labour-saving household aids.

Table 2. Average time spent daily on household tasks by married people living in different urban surroundings, in hours and tenths of hours, all days of the week included (MTBP)

Population groups	Kragujevac, Yugoslavia	Torum, Poland	Olomouc, Czechosl.	Osnabrück, F.R.G.	Six cities, France	Jackson, Mich., USA
Employed men	0.4	0.7	0.9	0.3	0.5	0.5
Employed women	4.3	4.1	3.8	4.5	4.0	3.6
Housewives	6.8	7.4	7.3	6.5	6.9	5.4

34. There can hardly be any doubt that there is a wide variation in the technical equipment of the households at the six urban survey sites covered by table 2. For example, at the time of the surveys, that is in the mid-1960s, more than half of the households in Kragujevac and surroundings had no running water and even in the old industrial city of Olomouc, one household out of six was without running water. But even without reference to such statistics, it is understood that labour-saving devices and similar amenities were much more widespread and in much more general use in such highly developed industrial countries as the Federal Republic of Germany, France and the United States of America than in provincial towns of Eastern Europe. Table 2, however, shows that at least over the range of urban-industrial development covered, the time spent on household tasks does not seem to depend much on the level of available household technology. For Jackson, Mich. the figures are on the low side, but even there employed married women spent only 0.2 hours per day less on their households than their counterparts in Olomouc. In Osnabrück, a very modern, middle-sized urban-industrial centre of the Federal Republic of Germany, employed married women actually spend more time on their households than in any of the three Eastern European provincial towns registered in table 2. There is absolutely no difference between all these cities in one

respect: employed married men spend only a small fraction of the time that employed married women spend on household tasks.

35. It is not easy to explain why the development of labour-saving technology has within the given range so little effect on the amount of time women spend on household and household obligations. After all, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, electrical kitchen appliances, pre-cooked foods etc. do save labour even though the operation, maintenance and servicing of all the automatic devices in a modern household involves more time and effort than people usually think.

36. The main explanation for the fact that labour-saving household technologies have led up to this point to no comparable time-savings in the household probably lies in the fact that popular demands on the quality and quantity of household services have risen, together with the development of household technologies and with general living standards. It is true that men's shirts can be much more quickly laundered by washing machines than by hand. However, in the past when all laundry was done by hand, the working man may have been satisfied with changing his shirt once or twice a week; today he may want to have a fresh shirt every day. Under more modest circumstances of the past, the busy housewife often cooked a huge pot of food at once, and this was then warmed up repeatedly and served for several consecutive family dinners. Today the family expects more variety, and although the cooking time involved in the preparation of ready-made canned or deep-frozen dishes may be minimal, the time involved in their purchase, storage and serving according to the daily changing individual desires of the family members may amount to much more than the time needed to cook once and to warm up the same dish on several consecutive days.

37. A similar "revolution of rising expectations" seems to be connected with almost all technological innovations which could reduce the burden of housework women have to shoulder. Proud housewives, and often even employed women who are overburdened by the heavy "second shift" they perform at home, tend to share the common attitude that labour-saving household devices are intended more to enable them to provide more and better services to the family than to reduce their household working time.

38. In the United States of America and in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, time-budget research has a sufficiently long past to permit the examination of trends in the development of women's household work over several decades.

39. Before presenting the data relating to the United States of America in table 3, it may be noted that the term "homemakers" is a euphemism intended to lend some professional dignity to women's work in the household. A "full-time homemaker", is a housewife, while "an employed homemaker" is an employed woman who also takes care of her household.

Table 3. Time used for household work by urban homemakers in the United States of America in hours and tenths of hours, average of all days of the week 8/

Type of activities	Full-time homemakers			Employed homemakers	
	1926-1927	1952	1967-1968	1952	1967-1968
All work connected with preparing and serving food	2.8	2.6	2.3	1.9	1.6
Care of the house	1.3	1.6	1.6	0.8	1.2
Care of clothes, laundry etc.	1.6	1.6	1.3	0.8	0.9
Marketing and record-keeping	0.4	0.5	1.0	0.3	0.8
Total	6.1	6.3	6.2	3.8	4.5

N.B. Child-care and other care of family members is not included in this tabulation.

40. As seen from table 3, in certain types of household work, especially in kitchen activities and in the handling of clothes and linen, some not too dramatic time-savings have been achieved over the last few decades. It may be assumed that this was due mainly to the introduction of labour-saving technology in the household. Electrical kitchen appliances, self-regulating electric and gas ranges, processed foods, washing machines, no-iron shirts and drip-and-dry underwear have found widespread use in the United States of America.

41. On the other hand, care of the house, marketing and record-keeping seem to demand more time now than United States women want to devote to such activities. Paid household help, repairmen's services and the like have become a rare commodity in the United States: most of the work involved in the care of the house must be accomplished on a do-it-yourself basis in contemporary United States households. The corner grocery store has almost vanished; the increased demand for sophisticated food-stuffs and a great variety of soft drinks (replacing chlorinated drinking water), detergents and all kinds of other products needed in modern house-keeping can be easily satisfied in United States supermarkets, but getting there and doing all the shopping takes time.

42. On the whole, table 3 confirms the suspicion that even where labour-saving household technologies are widely used, there has been little if any reduction in the time women spend on household tasks.

43. Table 4 indicates similar developments with regard to the household work of employed women in various urban areas of the Soviet Union. The 1924 survey was carried out in Moscow and in Leningrad, the 1959 survey in urban-industrial centres of Siberia, and the 1965 survey in Pskov and surroundings.

Table 4. Time used for household work by urban employed women in the Soviet Union, in hours and hundreds of hours, average of the five working days of the week 9/

Types of activities	Employed women		
	1924	1959	1965
All work connected with preparing and serving food	2.56	1.41	1.60
Shopping and time spent in waiting lines	0.20	0.65	0.50
All other household work	1.17	1.81	1.50
Total	4.47	3.87	3.60

N.B. Child-care and other care of family members is not included in this tabulation.

44. In many respects the trends shown by table 4 are very similar to those shown by table 3. The time spent on kitchen work has decreased over the years. This change is even more marked in the Soviet Union than in the United States because in the early 1920s, even in Moscow and Leningrad, many kitchens were not supplied with running water, gas or electricity and kitchen appliances. Shopping time seems to have increased in the Soviet Union as much as in the United States - the corner grocery store also has vanished in the Soviet Union and much more time is needed to shop for the household. The total time employed Soviet women spend on their household does not seem to have decreased significantly from 1959 to 1965. Compared with 1924 the change is more dramatic, but at that time (shortly after the end of the civil war and of foreign intervention), housekeeping was really a difficult task in the cities of the Soviet Union. It may be added that the total work-load for urban employed women in the United States and in the Soviet Union cannot be compared directly on the basis of tables 3 and 4 because the tables do not report hours of paid work.

45. It should be sufficiently clear that whatever hopes may be set on the future development of labour-saving household technologies, these do not promise to provide a patent solution to the problem - at least not within the foreseeable future. The gap between the small share men tend to take in household tasks, and the burden women have to bear in the household is far too great, and no technology is in sight which could reduce the burden of women to the extent needed to provide a substantial improvement in their situation.

46. If technological progress does not promise to relieve women to a satisfactory degree from an inequitable work-load in the household, which other elements should be considered? Does contemporary time-budget research provide any clues to answering this question?

9/ S.G. Strumilin, Problemy svobodnogo vremeni, in "Vnerabotchee vremya trudyashchikhsya", Izdatel'stvo Sibirskogo Otdeleniya AN SSSR, Novosibirsk, 1961.

47. Many findings of time-budget studies make it quite clear that much could be contributed to a satisfactory solution if men changed their attitudes. Employed men enjoy 2.3 hours more free time on their days off than employed women, especially when employed women on their "days of rest" put 2.8 hours more work into their own households than their male counterparts. (See table 1 in this respect but similar findings abound in time-budget literature.)

48. By what means could attitudes be changed in order to make men ready to accept a more equitable share in household tasks? Can it be hoped that persuasion and enlightenment would have such an effect? Time-budget research cannot provide a direct answer to this kind of question. General experience might indicate that persuasion and enlightenment do seem to have a powerful effect on people's attitudes, but in most cases it takes a rather long time to change basic attitudes by persuasion and enlightenment alone. In this case very basic attitudes, namely men's attitudes to women, to family affairs, to work and leisure, are involved.

49. However, there are more indirect social influences on which some hopes can be set. And in this respect some findings of contemporary time-budget research seem to be pertinent.

50. In Hungary, a fairly large sample of urban families was surveyed in 1974 with regard to the "traditional" or "non-traditional" character of the division of labour in the household. In the traditional division of labour, household tasks such as cooking, dishwashing, house-cleaning, laundering, ironing and shopping are regularly performed by the wife, and the husband only occasionally helps with house-cleaning and shopping. The non-traditional division of labour means an increased participation by husbands in housework. Table 6 shows to what extent the traditional division of labour in the household was found to be dependent on the socio-economic status of the head of the family.

Table 6. Percentage of urban family households with a traditional division of labour in various strata of present Hungarian society 10/

Socio-economic status of the head of the family	Percentage of households with a traditional division of labour
Professional or executive	28
Upper white collar worker	25
Lower white collar worker, technician	42
Skilled blue collar worker	51
Semi-skilled blue collar worker	52
Unskilled blue collar worker	57

10/ Judit H. Sas, Report on the Survey of 20 to 50 Year-Old Family Members in the Urban Population, Sociological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Budapest, 1974), in manuscript.

51. The picture presented in table 6 is quite clear: the higher the socio-economic status and the educational level and income that go with it, the more infrequent the traditional division of labour becomes in the household. There is much in international social research literature to support the validity of this finding with regard to countries other than Hungary.

52. As urban-industrial development tends to raise the average educational level and the welfare of the population and as it also increases the proportion of skilled labour, of white collar workers, of technicians and of professionals in the labour force, there is reason to hope that these factors will help reduce the number of households in which the traditional division of labour prevails.

53. Even more can be expected from the increased participation of women in the active labour force. Having a wife doing full-time or even part-time paid work should put the husband under a certain moral and practical pressure to accept a greater share in housework and household obligations. As evidence, table 7 presents some recent data from the London region.

Table 7. Husband's help in the home in relation to the wife's employment status ^{11/}

(Percentage)

Help by husband at least once a week	Wife not working "housewife"	Wife working part-time	Wife working full-time
No help	22	17	9
Dishwashing only	14	15	12
Other household tasks (cleaning, cooking, child-care etc.) with or without dishwashing	64	68	79
Total:	100	100	100

54. As seen in table 7, the fact that the wife joins the husband in bread-winning activities (employment), tends to produce more symmetry in the household activities of the married couple. Some 22 per cent of the husbands of housewives refuse to give any regular help to their spouse in the household while only 9 per cent of the husbands of full-time employed wives refuse such help. Several studies have taken note of the fact that in contemporary urban-industrial societies a trend towards a "symmetrical family" seems to develop. How long such a development may take and to what extent such a symmetry may prevail is an

^{11/} Michael Young and Peter Willmott, The Symmetrical Family: A Study of Work and Leisure in the London Region, (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973).

open question, but the influence of the increasing participation of women in the labour force on men's attitudes towards women and towards household obligations is a factor to be reckoned with.

55. As stressed earlier, the achievement of a more equitable sexual division of labour requires changes in the attitudes of men. In this context it may be mentioned that in the Hungarian survey of the traditional and non-traditional division of labour in urban households mentioned in connexion with table 6, some interesting observations have been made about the correlation between the higher educational level of the female marriage partner and a more equitable division of labour in the household. Table 8 may be regarded as a counterpart to table 6.

Table 8. Prevalence of traditional or non-traditional division of labour in Hungarian urban households in relation to the educational level of the wife ^{12/}

Educational level of the wife	Percentage of households	
	with a traditional division of household work between husband and wife	with a more equitable division of household work between husband and wife
Up to 6 years of schooling	79	21
7-8 years of schooling	63	37
High school education	47	53
University and college education	38	62

Table 8 indicates that the more education women receive, the more they are likely to achieve a more equitable sexual division of labour within the household.

^{12/} Judit H. Sas, Report on the Survey of 20 to 50 Year-Old Family Members in the Urban Population, Sociological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Budapest, 1974), in manuscript.

IV. PREFERENCE AND PREJUDICE IN THE CHOICE OF WORK
AND LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES

56. Men not only devote much less time to housework and household obligations than women, they tend also to make a special selection of the household tasks in which they participate. Pertinent data of the Multinational Time-Budget Project show, for instance, that there is a widespread tendency among men to concentrate their contributions to household tasks on shopping and doing errands, gardening, outdoor cleaning, occasional repairs, and other fairly diversified activities which do not bind them strongly to the house. Such monotonous household activities as sweeping, bed-making, laundering, ironing and kitchen work (with the possible exception of amateur cooking and dishwashing) tend to be left almost entirely to women.

57. Child care has been fairly thoroughly investigated in contemporary time-budget research, and an interesting interplay of male and female preferences and prejudices is apparent.

58. In table 1, in the areas covered by the 12-country Multinational Time-Budget Project, employed men tended to devote about half as much time to child care as employed women. Compared with housewives, the time devoted by men to child care was still smaller.

59. One might think that such a situation is more or less natural. Babies have a special need for motherly care and more than simple cultural factors may be involved in the particularly strong mutual attachment between mothers and their small children. However, not all children are babies or are only a few years old. As children become older, practically all activities connected with their care could be performed equally well by both parents. Does then the share of men and women in child-care become more equal as their children get older?

60. In order to provide comparability, calculations were made of the over-all average time spent on certain types of child-care activities by employed men, employed women and housewives in families having one child under three years and in families having one child three years old or over as surveyed in 10 countries participating in the Multinational Time-Budget Project. (Twelve countries were surveyed, but detailed breakdowns were not available from Peru and the USSR.) The results are presented in table 9.

Table 9. Time spent by employed men, employed women and housewives in various types of child-care activities in 10 countries, average of all days of the week, in minutes (MTBP)

Types of child-care activities	Housewives	Employed women	Employed men
<u>Families with 1 child under 3 years</u>			
(A) Basic care (feeding, washing, clothing etc.)	97	64	12
(B) Reading of tales, conversation, play, outdoor games, walk etc.	24	13	13
(C) Supervision of schoolwork, lessons etc.	--	--	--
(D) Travel to accompany children to school	--	--	--
<u>Families with 1 child 3 years old or over</u>			
(A) Basic care (feeding, washing, clothing etc.)	23	10	2
(B) Reading of tales, conversation, play, outdoor games, walk, etc.	5	3	4
(C) Supervision of schoolwork, lessons etc.	12	6	6
(D) Travel to accompany children to school	4	2	2

N.B. The activities listed under (C) and (D) do not apply to children under 3 years of age.

61. Table 9 indicates that even for children beyond the infant or toddler age, fathers tend to avoid any major involvement in basic child-care tasks. To whatever extent they participate in child care, they prefer to carry out tasks such as playing, talking or taking a walk with the child, and supervising schoolwork. In general they contribute little to the other chores. Mothers, be they full-time employed women or housewives, have no choice except to do all the rest.

62. This situation might have become unbearable a long time ago, had not women adapted themselves to it. There is a system of feminine preferences and prejudices

and women have adjusted to an inequitable distribution of parental tasks. Traditional ideologies of motherhood and of the role of the wife in the family and household were neither invented unilaterally by men for their own benefit or held only by men. It is true that under modern conditions of living, especially under the impact of women's growing involvement in professional or other work away from home, the foundations of such beliefs have become rather shaky. Many women, however, still cling to preferences and prejudices about femininity. Those who have overcome such biases find it very hard to assert their new attitudes because so many existing institutions and patterns of behaviour in social life are still geared towards traditional concepts of women's aims and tasks in life.

63. Time-budget researchers in France have found, for instance, that many child-care establishments in that country (nurseries, kindergarten etc.) seem not to have taken notice of the fact that a considerable number of French women have become part of the labour force and have to go to work early in the morning. Consequently, such institutions open their doors at traditional hours that are unsuitable for working women who wish to have their children in good care during the day. ^{13/} Similar observations have been made in several other countries.

64. Reference has already been made to the pride of housewives. This pride may not only be an overcompensation of the low status and lack of recognition of their services. One of the most curious cross-national findings with regard to housewives' use of time is the fact that they tend to extend their housework more or less in proportion to their husbands' working hours. In social groups and strata where employed men work longer hours, there is a distinct tendency for housewives to put more hours into their own daily housework. ^{14/} Whether this is related to a need for self-justification, to a need to fill out the hours of loneliness while their husbands are away at work, or to both factors and to some additional forces, is a question to be answered by more detailed studies in the future.

65. Housewives of course spend an overwhelming part of their time at home, but employed women are also much more tied to their house than employed men. This is a rather general finding that also applies to conditions found in many rural-agricultural communities or less developed countries. Table 10 refers to recent conditions in Great Britain (1970).

^{13/} Madeleine Guilbert, Nicole Lowit et Joseph Creusen, "Les budgets-temps et l'étude des horaires de la vie quotidienne", Revue Française de Sociologie, vol. VIII, avril-juin 1967.

^{14/} See A. Szalai, "Differential evaluation of time-budgets for comparative purposes", in Comparing Nations, edited by R. L. Merritt and S. Rokkan (New Haven, Conn., USA, Yale University Press, 1966).

Table 10. Percentage of total daily time spent at home by 30-49 year-old married people in the London region 15/

Population group	Weekday	Saturday	Sunday
Employed men	55	66	76
Employed women	71	75	83
Housewives	87	82	87

66. The trends shown in table 10 cannot be satisfactorily explained merely by natural or social constraints on the use of time. Of course, most employed people work on weekdays; all people need several hours of sleep per day and most of them sleep at home. However, habits, preferences and prejudices also play a role in determining the amount of time people spend in their own dwellings. In spite of the fact that housewives, especially housewives with small children, are forced to spend most of the day at home, they often show a marked preference for staying in or around the house when they could be free to seek leisure in other places. Even employed women including unmarried, employed women, follow this pattern to some extent. Table 10 shows that employed women in the London region spend much more time at home on Saturdays and Sundays than their male counterparts. The difference between the two groups amounts to 9 per cent of the 24 hours on Saturdays and 7 per cent of the 24 hours on Sundays, that is 100 and 130 minutes, a total of nearly four hours over the weekend. Even in the USSR, where employed persons make up more than half of the total labour force (manual and non-manual workers and professionals included) and where women participate extensively in civic activities, researchers have found women considerably more tied to their homes than men. 16/

67. A thorough United States study of human activity patterns in the city has confirmed that with respect to activities which can only be performed away from home, (such as office or factory work, shopping, visits, many forms of recreation and entertainment), the geographical radius of women's daily activities tends to be considerably shorter than that of men. For housewives, this radius is very short indeed; it often does not reach far beyond the immediate neighbourhood. 17/

15/ Michael Young and Peter Willmott, The Symmetrical Family: A Study of Work and Leisure in the London Region, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.

16/ N. Tikhomirov, L. Gordon and E. Klopov, "Studies in the way of life of the working people and some problems of social planning", Society and Leisure, 1972, No. 3.

17/ F. Stuart Chapin, Jr., Human Activity Patterns in the City: Things People Do in Time and in Space, London-Toronto, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1974.

68. Similar results were found in the differential behaviour of 10-12 year-old boys and girls in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. In a study of free-time activities, it was found that the girls spent much more time at home than the boys. Both spent about equal time in the immediate neighbourhood of their home. However, as far as playing and strolling in more distant places, such as in parks, the market and around the school was concerned, boys felt free to spend more than 20 per cent of their free time farther from home than girls, and girls spent less than 7 per cent of their free time away from home. 18/

69. This is not a random finding. With the exception of a few places, young and also not so very young boys and girls tend to be conditioned by parents to accept stereotyped sex roles.

70. It has to be admitted that harried mothers, employed women overburdened with housework and household obligations, or housewives who have to cope practically alone with the care of a big family, often contribute heavily to the perpetuation of women's bondage. It is fairly common to hear a mother asking her children a question such as: "Judy and Bob, have you finished your homework?" After receiving an affirmative answer, the mother may say: "Okay, children. Bob, you may go now to the playground. Judy, you will help me to tidy up a little and then we will do some cooking and set the table for dinner." And by these words the pattern has been set for the future. Judy will learn where the "place of the woman" is and Bob will learn to distinguish between "masculine" and "feminine" tasks. The training received at home in the sexual division of labour may be reinforced in the school, because primers and reading books often contain material that stereotypes behaviour for boys and girls, men and women. Evidence of this is the fact that during the last 10 or 15 years a whole international literature has grown up around this subject and many educators have demanded the revision of schoolbooks to eliminate prejudicial reading material.

71. Time-budget research has detected a strong bias in the orientation of women's leisure time towards activities that correspond to traditional ideals of "femininity" and that are therefore not well adapted to modern societies in which women share the breadwinning tasks with men and in which they want to have equal rights and opportunities in every respect. As a consequence it has become normal in contemporary time-budget studies to investigate not only how women do spend their time but also how they would like to spend it. Most studies of this kind show that most women still prefer traditional activities. This is illustrated by an example taken from a recent Czechoslovak survey (1966). 19/

18/ W. F. Heinemeijer and L. U. de Sitter, Buurt, Jeugd en Vrije Tijd (Neighbourhood, Youth and Free Time), (Amsterdam, Gemeentelijk Bureau voor de Jeugdzorg, 1964).

19/ L. Hrdy (ed.), Volny cas v CSSR (Free Time in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic), (Praha, CSAV Sociologicky ustav, 1969).

The question put to male and female respondents was: "What occurs to you first if somebody asks you in what kind of things you take the greatest interest in life?" Table 11 shows the percentage distribution of the answers from male and female respondents.

Table 11. Percentage distribution of the answers of men and women to a question inquiring after their greatest interest in life.

Type of answer	Men	Women
Family, home and children	23.7	46.0
Professional work (paid work)	16.5	6.5
Political and social events	9.2	5.6
Literature, arts and culture	10.4	20.3
Nature	9.8	5.6
Sport, tourism and travel	20.9	3.9
Housework and other non-paid work	2.1	4.6
Other answers	7.1	7.5
No answer	0.3	--
	100.0	100.0

72. As indicated in table 11, the polarization of masculine and feminine interests is still rather strong. Many more men than women have the main center of their interest away from the home. On the other hand, more than half of the women surveyed expressed main interests in the family, home and children or even directly in housework. As it happens, these findings were made in Czechoslovakia, in a country with a history of urbanization and industrialization. Much evidence could be brought forward to support the contention that 30 to 40 years ago the polarization between men's and women's main interests was much stronger. Much has been done in Czechoslovakia in recent years to provide greater opportunities for women. Here again, however, we see how difficult it is to change ingrained attitudes and traditional patterns of thought and behaviour.

73. Strong forces are at work that are slowly but surely eroding age-old traditions and attitudes. The effectiveness of these forces can be enhanced by a conscious mobilization of society and this may speed up the process of equalizing the division of labour between men and women.