Gendered Shares of the Family Rush Hour in Fulltime Dual Earner Families. A Cross National Comparison

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Abstract

There are recognised cross-national differences in the average amount and gender division of 8 paid work and unpaid domestic work and care, but country differences between men and women in 9 the timing and intensity of this daily workload remain under-investigated. Using couple-level time-10 use data from Australia, the UK, Finland, Korea and Spain (n=1,838), we probe cross-national 11 differences in gendered time availability and constraint, focusing particularly on the early evening 12 'family rush hour'. We identify daily time periods during which one partner in a fulltime dual-earner 13 parent couple performs routine time-critical household labor and care, whilst the other partner is 14 simultaneously at leisure. In all five countries fathers in dual fulltime earner couples are more likely 15 than mothers to be at leisure whilst their partner does unpaid work, and this disparity occurs most in 16 17 the early evening. Multivariate analyses reveal the unpaid work-leisure gap is widest in Korea and narrowest in the UK, confounding expectations that social democratic Finland would be most 18 19 equitable in this measure.

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Keywords: Time-use; Gender Division of Labour; Family Rush Hour; Gender & Family

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1 Introduction

Dual-earner households with children must combine the demands of family life with those of 27 paid work. It was expected that as more women entered the paid labour market, gender differences in 28 shares of paid work and unpaid work would diminish (Bergmann, 2005), but the increased labour 29 market participation of women has not been matched by equivalent growth in men's domestic work 30 (Fisher, Egerton, Gershuny, & Robinson, 2007; Sayer, 2016). Women generally do a much larger 31 share of unpaid work than their male partners, and men are more likely to arrange family life around 32 paid work and women to arrange paid work around family life, even in dual earner families in which 33 both partners work fulltime (Monna & Gauthier, 2008). Being full time employed but also 34 disproportionately responsible for unpaid work heightens subjective time stress (Craig & Brown, 35 2017). A central reason for this is that both paid work and some housework and childcare tasks have 36 temporal imperatives, not only in amount, but also in timing. 37

Whilst seldom the direct focus of analysis, domestic scheduling matters because it has 38 implications for men and women's work prospects, leisure time, and subjective wellbeing (Shaw, 39 2008). Workplaces have been described as 'greedy institutions' (Sullivan, 2014) with the 'ideal 40 worker norm' reflecting an expectation that employees prioritise their work over other activities 41 (Drago, 2007; Williams, 2010). Yet family duties can be similarly demanding, and also generate 42 inflexible daily deadlines (Blair-Loy, 2003; Sullivan, 2014). Many household and childcare tasks are 43 routine in both recurrence and timing. They bring schedule constraint because they not only have to 44 45 be done every day, but also at the same time of every day. For example, someone must pick up the children from day care or school, cook dinner, help children with homework, bath and dress them for 46 the night and put them to bed at regular times. These activities generally occur in the early evening, 47 and for parents employed standard fulltime hours, involve concentrating unpaid work activities into a 48 narrow time window at the end of their working day. The urgency of the tasks, for example leaving 49 work and getting home in time to deal smoothly with children's fatigue and hunger, is an additional 50 stressor. Thus, the early evening becomes a highly time-pressured and demanding period of unpaid 51 work, that has been labelled the 'family rush hour' (Bittman & Wajcman, 2000). 52

Yet little research has explicitly calculated gender differences in who participates in this daily 53 period of time-crunch. Inferences about the temporal constraints of care upon mothers and fathers 54 have been derived from the type of activity performed, such as cooking dinner, or the activity 55 context, such as the presence of children (Craig, 2006). In a new contribution, this paper addresses 56 the scheduling aspect of work and family life directly, by specifically examining timing, and by 57 looking at how the most time-pressured daily period of family care is shared between partners. Using 58 couple-level data, it focuses on fulltime dual earner couples with children, because these households 59 are known to be the most time-poor (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). Specifically, it examines whether one 60 partner in a fulltime dual-earner parent couple performs routine time-critical household labor and 61 care in the early evening, whilst the other partner is simultaneously at leisure. That is, we see being 62 at leisure as indicating the opportunity to participate in unpaid work alongside one's partner if one 63 chose. If fulltime working mothers shoulder the responsibility for the family rush hour alone rather 64 than sharing it with fathers, it could be a contributing factor in the rising incidence of working 65 mothers with young children suffering anxiety and stress (Buddelmeyer, Hamermesh, & Wooden, 66 2018; National Women's Health Survey, 2019; Sintas, de Francisco, & Álvarez, 2015). 67

We take a cross-national perspective, because gender divisions of labour are influenced by macro-level factors which influence time demands upon mothers and fathers (Crompton, 2006;

Gornick & Meyers, 2003; Hook, 2010; Lewis, 2009). We draw on data from five countries from 70 different welfare regimes, with varying social policies and norms in relation to gender equity in work 71 and family participation. Established welfare regime categories are social democratic (exemplified 72 by Scandinavia); corporatist (exemplified by Western Europe), familialist (exemplified by Southern 73 Europe); and market oriented/liberal (exemplified by the English speaking countries) (Arts & 74 Gelissen, 2010). North Asian countries exhibit both market-oriented and familialist features, so can 75 be classified as liberal-familialist (Kwon, 2005; Ochiai, 2009). Here the regimes are represented by 76 Australia and the UK (liberal), Finland (social democratic), Spain (familialist) and Korea (liberal-77 familialist). Finland and other social democratic countries in Scandinavia have been found to have a 78 79 more gender-equal distribution of paid work and the unpaid work of childcare than either liberal or familialist countries, attributed to multiple factors including lower average employment hours, more 80 generous parental leaves and more readily-available childcare services (Altintas & Sullivan, 2017; 81 82 Gornick & Meyers, 2003; Hook, 2006; Kwon, 2005; Lee, 2005; Ochiai, 2009). However, prior research suggests that gender differences in the type of childcare provided are less variant cross-83 nationally than the *amount* of childcare provided. For example, across countries, fathers are less 84 likely than mothers to perform care alone in sole charge of children, to organise and manage family 85 86 leisure time, or to do the bulk of the daily routine physical care (Craig & Mullan, 2011, 2013). Here we build on these enquiries to compare care *scheduling*, and whether the family rush hour is shared 87 more equitably in social democratic Finland than in the other countries. 88

89

2 Theoretical background

90 We first acknowledge that within countries, household and individual-level factors also shape gender divisions of labour. Theoretical debates have mainly focused on three main explanations for gender 91 disparities in paid and unpaid work: gendered attitudes/ideology and role performance, marital 92 93 bargaining on the basis of relative resources, and time availability (Aassve, Fuochi, & Mencarini, 2014). The role performance approach argues that gender is constructed, recreated and reinforced 94 through everyday interaction (West & Zimmerman, 1987, 2009). How men and women 'do', or 95 'undo', gender is underpinned by their own gender ideology or by the accountability they feel for 96 behaving in ways consistent with prevailing cultural beliefs about masculinity and femininity 97 (Connell, 2009; West & Zimmerman, 2009). This suggests women do more housework and childcare 98 because they feel accountable for these tasks as a wife and mother, whereas they are not as central to 99 100 men's self-conceptualisation as a good husband and father (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). Also relevant is that ideals of masculinity seem more resistant to change than ideals of femininity, perhaps because in 101 most respects, men stand to lose while women stand to gain (Chafetz, 2004; Connell, 2009). Gender 102 103 ideology can be held individually, and also manifest in shared social norms and attitudes (Crompton, 2006; Hook, 2010; Lewis, 2009). Gender attitudes differ across the countries in this study (see 104 below), and we expect this to underpin cross-national differences in gendered participation in the 105 family rush hour (see below). 106

107 The relative resources approach is ostensibly gender-neutral and suggests that household bargaining power arises from one partner having more personal resources than the other (Manser & 108 Brown, 1980). For example, higher job status, education or income translate to more power, which 109 can be used to avoid domestic chores. A comparative advantage in doing either paid work (usually 110 men) or unpaid work (usually women) leads to gender specialisation, which maximizes overall 111 household utility (Becker, 1965). Feminist scholarship has highlighted serious flaws in this 112 argument, including that it fails to explain why gendered divisions of housework persist despite 113 women gaining tertiary degrees and entering the labour market, thus ceasing to specialise solely in 114 home duties (Folbre, 2004; Nelson, 2006). Also, research has found that men with higher education 115 116 and professional jobs are likely to partner with women of similar status, to have more liberal gender attitudes and wish to be involved fathers, which may also minimise the relevance of relative
resources (England & Srivastava, 2013). In this study we capture individual resources through job
status and educational achievement (see below) and control for the possibility they have an
independent effect on gendered participation in the family rush hour.

121 The time availability approach relates time in domestic chores to time spent in the labour market (Presser, 1994). Coverman (1985) hypothesized that "domestic hours are a function of 122 demands on husbands to fulfil domestic responsibilities along with their capability to respond to 123 these demands" (p. 84, original italics). She argued that men's response capacity depends on the 124 hours they spend in paid work. A body of literature has tested this hypothesis. For example, Aassve 125 et al. (2014) analysed data from nine European countries and found that "fulltime employment 126 among men brings about lower gender equality in household sharing" (p. 1070). They also found that 127 women's fulltime work is associated with them doing less household work. However, as more 128 women now work fulltime, the time availability explanation is inadequate to explain gender shares 129 130 because it assumes one partner can trade off paid work against the other's housework. This is not as possible for dual earners as for sole breadwinner or full-time/part time worker households 131 (Crompton, 2006; Gornick & Meyers, 2003). 132

Of course, time availability may still matter if fulltime dual-earner couples' employment 133 schedules are desynchronised. Presser (1994) criticised the time availability approach on the grounds 134 that focus should not be entirely on the number of hours employed but also on the timing of 135 employment, that is, which hours are worked. She showed that in US dual-earner families, 136 desynchronized employment schedules can make women less available to do certain time-critical 137 household chores (e.g. cooking dinner, putting children to bed) which in turn requires men to do 138 these tasks (Presser, 2005). In Australia, also, women working nonstandard schedules that mean they 139 are absent while men are at home, is a much more reliable predictor that men will do routine 140 childcare tasks than women's work hours per se (Craig and Brown 2017). While nonstandard work 141 schedules can be imposed by employers (Fenwick & Tausig, 2001), some families may choose them 142 specifically because they facilitate one partner being available for home duties whilst the other does 143 paid work (Presser, 2005). 144

Scheduling is also relevant to the time availability argument in dual earner parent couples 145 who both work fulltime standard hours. In principle, if couples' employment schedules are broadly 146 synchronised, they could also have gender-similar participation in time-critical periods of unpaid 147 work including the family rush hour. If both partners have left their paid work for the day, they 148 theoretically both have time 'available' to pitch in with the unpaid work of the family rush hour if 149 they choose to. This matters because if mothers meet the constraining demands of domestic temporal 150 imperatives alone during this time-critical period, whilst their partner is doing neither paid nor 151 unpaid work, this would indicate an unpaid work-leisure gap wherein fathers enjoy an advantage in 152 daily leisure scheduling - the opportunity to relax and unwind at the end of the working day - whilst 153 their partner is performing unpaid work at the same time. This paper investigates this joint couple 154 scheduling aspect of time availability and how it compares cross-nationally for the first time. 155

156 **2.1 Country context**

As noted above we analyse data from Australia and the UK, Spain, Korea and Finland. The countries represent four welfare regimes: *liberal, familialist, liberal-familialist and social democratic* respectively (see Arts & Gelissen, 2002, 2010; Ochiai, 2009 for discussion of regime typologies and gender-relevant features). Table 1 indicates how the five countries compare on social gender attitudes and workforce participation patterns, contextual factors which reflect and shape the gendered division of labour and the timing of paid and unpaid work in each country.

	Korea	Spain	Australia	UK	Finland
Gender attitudes					
Attitude to maternal childcare: "when a woman works children suffer" (strongly agree/agree) ^{1,a}	69.3	52.7	31.1	30.6	21.1
Attitude to work: "Both the man and woman should contribute to the household income" (strongly agree/agree) ^{1,a}	69.5	93.2	52.5	62.9	78.2
Workforce participation patterns					
Male employment rates aged 15-64 ²	75.9	69.0	78.7	79.6	73.7
Percentage of men who usually work 40+ hours ²	85.3	77.5	57.8	61.6	53.5
Female employment rates aged 15-64 ²	57.2	57.8	69.2	70.5	70.6
Female part-time employment (2009) ²	18.2	21.6	37.5	36.4	17.8
Fulltime dual earner couples with children ²	30.1	34.4	23.3	31.3	55.7
% of employed working evening/night on weekday (7pm-7am) ³					
Men	28.3	27.7	19.8	15.2	12.0
Women	10.0	20.8	24.6	11.7	8.1

163 **Table 1.** Cross-national indictors of gender attitudes and workforce participation patterns (%)

- ¹International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), latest data available, ²Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), latest data available; ³Authors' calculations on countries' time use surveys.
- 166 167

^aSpain uses a 4-point Likert scale (strongly agree/agree/disagree/strongly disagree) whereas all other countries use a 5point Likert scale including a neutral category.

First, behaviour and ideas about appropriate gender roles are mediated through cultural norms and values (Duncan, Edwards, Reynolds, & Alldred, 2003). International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) questions capturing attitudes to maternal childcare provision and dual earning indicate that of the five countries, Finland has most consistently gender-equal social attitudes across the two measures. Spanish respondents are progressive on dual earning but more conservative on childcare. Korea, similarly, displays contrasting views on the two indicators, including the least gender-equal attitude to childcare. The UK and Australia are moderate on both measures (see first part of Table 1).

175 Second, differences in national time availability and daily scheduling are implied by contrasting workforce participation patterns (see second part of Table 1). Korea and Spain have high 176 percentages of employed men with average workweeks over 40 hours (85% and 77.5% respectively). 177 This could constrain their domestic participation more than men in the other countries, particularly 178 179 Finland, where only 58% of men work longer than 40 hours. Conversely, the average incidence of female part time work is low in Finland (alongside Korea and Spain) and much higher in Australia 180 and the UK, where women likely thus have more time available for domestic duties. Furthermore, in 181 182 57% of couples with children in Finland, both partners are fulltime employed, substantially higher than elsewhere (range 34.4% in Spain to 22.9% in Australia). Taken together, these average 183 workforce participation patterns suggest that couples have most similar work schedules in Finland, 184 leading us to expect that care timing would also be most gender-similar there. 185

No integrated comparative indicators of the average incidence of nonstandard work schedules across the five countries are available. However, previous research leads us to expect cross-national variation. For example, Presser (2005, p. 214) argued that in the USA 'nonstandard work schedules are [ubiquitous and] no longer that nonstandard' (p. 214). According to the European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS) approximately half of European workers work evenings or weekends at least once a month (Eurofond, 2012). Labour Force Survey (LFS) figures suggest that 15 percent of European workers usually work in the evening and 10 percent or more usually work weekends

(Presser, Gornick, & Parashar, 2008). Regarding daily scheduling, our own calculations using the 193 time use surveys of the countries in this paper indicate that on weekdays 28.3% of Korean men and 194 24.6% of Korean women work outside the hours of 7am to 7pm (see Table 1). Weekday 195 evening/night work is also quite common for Spanish workers (27.7% of male and 20.8% of female 196 workers). It is less so for male and female workers in Australia (19.8% and 10.0%), Finland (15.2% 197 and 11.7%) and the UK (12.0% and 8.1%). These patterns do not necessarily reflect shift work, since 198 they could indicate long working days consistent with the longer average male work hours in Korea 199 and Spain noted above. In any event, more employment occuring in the evening suggests fewer 200 workers would be available to participate in the family rush hour in Korea and Spain than in the 201 other three countries. Overall, evening/night work on weekdays is more common in male workers 202 than female workers in all countries. 203

204 2.2 Expectations

Overall, we expect to find that women are more likely to perform unpaid work during the family rush 205 hour while their male partner is at leisure than vice versa. However, our main focus is comparative, 206 and we expect the size of this gender difference to vary cross-nationally. Specifically, we expect to 207 find most gender-equal participation in the family rush hour (indicated by the smallest unpaid work-208 leisure gap) in Finland, given the shorter worktime regime, egalitarian gender attitudes and more 209 equal labour market participation amongst couples in that country shown in Table 1. We expect that 210 the unpaid work-leisure gap found during the family rush hour will be most gendered in Spain and 211 Korea, because gender attitudes are most traditional in those countries and average male paid work 212 hours are longest there. We expect the UK and Australia to fall between these two poles. 213

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3 Method

215 **3.1 Data**

To test these expectations, we analyse nationally representative time-use surveys (TUS) 216 which collected information from households in Australia, Spain, Korea, the UK and Finland, using 217 time-dairies in which respondents recorded all their activities over the course of the day. The surveys 218 are collected separately by the national statistical insitutes of each country (except in the UK, where 219 it was undertaken by an independent social research agency). The surveys all draw data from 220 probability samples of households (or individuals) from the population register or national census 221 (see HETUS guidelines from EUROSTAT, 2009).¹ The results were made available to the research 222 community as confidentialised unit records (CURFs). Dairies covered a randomly assigned weekday 223 and weekend day in the UK, Korea and Finland, a randomly assigned day of the week in Spain, and 224 two consecutive days with a randomly assigned starting day in Australia. Fieldwork periods ran for 225

¹ Australia – Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS)

https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/3414.0main+features262011%20(Edition%202); Spain – Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INe)

https://www.ine.es/dyngs/INEbase/en/operacion.htm?c=Estadistica_C&cid=1254736176815&menu=resultados&idp=12 54735976608#!tabs-1254736194826;

Korea – Statistics Korea (KOSTAT)

 $[\]label{eq:http://kostat.go.kr/portal/eng/pressReleases/11/6/index.board?bmode=read&bSeq=&aSeq=273283&pageNo=1&rowNum=10&navCount=10&currPg=&searchInfo=&sTarget=title&sTxt=;$

The UK – NatCen Social Research and deposited by the Centre for Time Use Research (CTUR) at the University of Oxford <u>https://www.timeuse.org/node/10833;</u>

Finland – Statistics Finland https://www.tilastokeskus.fi/meta/til/akay_en.html.

at least one year to account for seasonality.

To investigate the timing of the workload of partners who are subject to similar temporal 227 constraints, from each county's CURF we select heterosexual couples with at least one child aged 228 under 15 in which both partners are employed fulltime (>34 hours per week). We are unable to 229 230 include same-sex couples in the sample because this information is not collected across the surveys. Sample sizes (number of couples) are Australia n=179, Spain n=381, Korea n=945, the UK n=161, 231 Finland n=172. Because employment and childcare demands differ over the week and time is 232 particularly tight on weekdays, creating the family rush hour, results for Saturdays and Sundays are 233 not presented (but are noted in the text and are available upon request). 234

235 **3.2 Measures**

Paid work is defined as all primary activities recorded in relation to respondents'
employment, including breaks at work, time spent at work but not working, work-related training,
and travel to and from work.

Unpaid work is defined as all activities that relate to household upkeep and maintenance,
household administration and management, physical childcare, passive childcare, care for other
family members living in the household, and travel for any of these activities. Many of these
activities are routine, urgent, or time-constrained, but others are more intermittent or can be flexibly
scheduled (e.g. doing household finance, cleaning the yard). Therefore, as a subset of unpaid work,
we measure time-critical *routine unpaid work*.

Non-work includes all time that is not devoted to paid or unpaid work. It includes leisure,
socialising, sleep and personal care. Some of these activities are motivated by necessity (i.e. eating,
sleeping, showering), whereas others more reflect preferences and autonomy over one's time. So as a
subset of non-work, we measure *leisure*, defined as time spent on socialising, entertainment, culture,
events, sports, gaming, reading, watching TV, hobbies, and leisure related travel.

The TUS yield data on the time allocation of both partners at the same day(s) of the week in sequences of 10 minutes. Using this couple data, we calculated the *unpaid work-leisure gap* by identifying time intervals during which one partner was performing routine time-critical unpaid work while their partner was simultaneously at leisure.

Comparing these surveys cross-nationally to create these measures involves detailed harmonisation of each country's time use codes (see Table A1 for detailed coding of routine unpaid work in each of the countries). Due to cross national differences in the accuracy and quality of recording secondary activities, they are not included in the calculations.

258 3.3 Analysis plan

First, to complement the country context information above, we present an overview of total 259 paid and unpaid workload, and its composition by gender, in each country. Since partners' time 260 allocation is not independent (e.g. if one picks up the kids, the other does not have to) we use paired 261 sample t-tests to test significance. Second, we focus on the time one partner spends on routine time-262 critical unpaid work while the other partner is at leisure. To understand scheduling, we plot the 263 timing of this unpaid work-leisure gap over the day. Third, we investigate country differences in the 264 size of the unpaid work-leisure gap using linear regression analysis. Our key independent variable is 265 country. We control for individual factors which may affect household bargaining through relative 266 resources; education of each partner (yes/no tertiary degree), and professional job status of each 267

partner (yes/no). As indicators of scheduling and time availability we enter whether or not each 268 partner worked on nonstandard hours (outside 7am and 7pm) on the diary day (yes/no), and the 269 length of the working week for both partners (34-39 or 40+ hours per week). It is a limitation of the 270 data that we have no measures of individual gender attitudes so cannot include them in the model, 271 but social gender attitudes are part of the country variation as discussed above. We control household 272 variables; age of each partner (yes/no less or equal to 45 years), the number of children under 15 273 years in the household (ranging from 1 to 5 children) and household income (in equivalised income 274 deciles). We tested interactions of all the independent variables with country, and report all 275

significant results. Sample characteristics on the measures are given in Table 2.

		Korea	Spain	Australia	UK	Finland
Couples (n)		945	381	179	161	172
Partners' characteristics		%	%	%	%	%
Age \leq 45 years	Male partner	75.4	69.6	71.5	73.3	69.8
	Female partner	78.2	83.2	78.2	85.7	82.0
Tertiary degree	Male partner	34.9	45.7	37.4	50.3	30.8
	Female partner	23.5	56.4	52.0	64.4	41.9
Length of working week	Male partner 35-39 hrs	1.0	20.7	19.0	29.8	31.4
	Male partner 40+ hrs	99.0	79.2	71.0	70.2	68.6
	Female partner 35- 39 hrs	35.7	80.6	59.2	78.3	83.1
	Female partner 40+ hrs	64.3	19.4	40.8	21.7	16.9
Professional job status	Male partner	16.7	40.9	20.1	37.9	36.0
5	Female partner	22.8	58.3	33.5	46.5	54.1
Worked outside 7am-7pm on diary	Male partner	69.3	57.0	54.2	41.0	47.7
day	-					
•	Female partner	46.7	35.7	22.3	20.5	29.1
Household characteristics		mean	mean	mean	mean	mean
Number of children under 15 years		1.6	1.4	1.8	1.8	1.7
Household income in equivalized		7.3	8.0	6.9	6.6	7.1
income deciles						

277 **Table 2.** Sample characteristics

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4 Results

280 4.1 Cross-national paid and unpaid workload

The total paid and unpaid weekday workload of fulltime employed men in dual earner 281 families with at least one child under 15 years is highest in Australia, followed in order by Spain, the 282 UK, Finland and Korea (Table 3). The total paid and unpaid workload of women in the same work 283 and family situation is highest in Australia, followed by Spain, Korea, and the UK. It is lowest in 284 Finland. In the two liberal countries (UK and Australia) and social democratic Finland, partners' 285 total weekday workload does not significantly differ by gender. This is consistent with prior research 286 finding that, in many countries, total workloads are similar for men and women notwithstanding 287 gender divisions in paid and unpaid work (Burda, Hamermesh, & Weil, 2013; Craig & Mullan, 2010; 288 Gershuny & Sullivan, 2003). However, conversely, in liberal-familialist Korea and familialist Spain, 289 fulltime employed mothers have much higher workloads than fulltime employed fathers (1.5 hours 290

and 0.7 hours per day respectively). In all countries women's workload includes a higher proportion
of unpaid work than men's workload. The difference ranges from a low of 1.3 hours per weekday in
Finland to a high of 2.6 hours per weekday in Korea (due to men's very low contribution there).
Thus, although the difference is still highly significant and substantial in Finland, it is lowest there
because Finnish men do most unpaid work (supporting the social democratic model).. The situation
in Korea, which combines liberal and familial instutional features, is harshest for women, because
they do high average paid work as well as much more unpaid work than men(Table 3).

Table 3. Cross-national comparison of workload amount and composition of fulltime employed men

and women in dual earner households with child(ren) in hours per weekday [mean (st.dev.)]

		Μ	F	Δ	Sig.
Korea (n=945)	Paid work	9.0 (2.7)	7.8 (2.5)	1.2 (3.3)	***
	Unpaid work	0.8 (1.2)	3.4 (1.9)	2.6 (2.2)	***
	Total workload	9.8 (2.5)	11.2 (1.8)	1.5 (2.7)	***
Spain (n=381)	Paid work	8.3 (3.6)	6.6 (3.7)	1.7 (4.4)	***
	Unpaid work	2.5 (2.0)	4.8 (2.8)	2.4 (3.4)	***
	Total workload	10.8 (3.0)	11.5 (2.9)	0.7 (3.0)	***
Australia (n=179)	Paid work	9.6 (3.0)	6.3 (4.1)	3.3 (4.8)	***
	Unpaid work	2.4 (2.1)	5.4 (3.3)	3.0 (4.0)	***
	Total workload	12.0 (2.2)	11.8 (2.7)	0.2 (2.9)	n.s.
UK (n=161)	Paid work	8.3 (3.8)	5.4 (4.7)	2.9 (6.0)	***
	Unpaid work	2.3 (2.1)	4.9 (3.3)	2.6 (3.7)	***
	Total workload	10.6 (3.0)	10.3 (3.4)	0.3 (4.1)	n.s.
Finland (n=172)	Paid work	7.1 (4.3)	5.7 (4.1)	1.3 (5.2)	***
	Unpaid work	2.9 (2.4)	4.2 (2.8)	1.3 (3.5)	***
	Total workload	10.0 (3.6)	9.9 (3.2)	0.1 (3.5)	n.s.

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300 301 302 *Notes. n*=number of couples, *M*=men, *F*=women, ∆=absolute difference in mean, *Sig.*=two-sided significance of paired sample t-test. Levels of significance: ****P*≤0.001, ***P*≤0.01, **P*≤0.05, n.s. not significant.

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304 4.2 Timing of the unpaid work-leisure gap

Drawing on the time use data of matched couples together, Figure 1 shows the time during which one partner is doing routine, time-critical unpaid work while the other partner is simultaneously at leisure. The lines represent the percentage of fulltime employed fathers and mothers in dual earner families (y-axis) over the course of the day (x-axis) performing routine unpaid work while their partners are at leisure (black line for women, dark grey line for men). The vertical light grey lines indicate the times of day at which there is a significant gender difference in the simultaneous unpaid work-leisure gap.

Two key observations stand out. One, time during which one partner is at leisure while the 312 other performs routine unpaid work largely occurs between 4 pm and 10 pm. This is when working 313 parents must pick up children from school or day care, travel home, and perform tasks such as 314 feeding children, supervising homework, bathing and preparing children for night-time, and cleaning 315 up the house. This confirms the cross-national ubiquity of the evening family rush hour. Two, much 316 higher percentages of mothers than fathers do these activities whilst their partner is not also 317 performing either paid or unpaid work. That is, in fulltime dual earner households, mothers not only 318 do most of the routine unpaid work at peak times of household demand but do so while their male 319 partners could be of help because at that same time they are at leisure. 320

Gender differences in the simultaneous unpaid work-leisure gap are statistically significant in 321 all countries. All but Spain have a peak of over 15% of mothers in doing routine unpaid work while 322 their partners are at leisure. Finland has the highest percentage of fathers doing routine unpaid work 323 while their partners are at leisure, followed by the UK and Australia. However, percentages are low 324 (around 5% of fathers). In Spain and in Korea almost no fathers do routine unpaid work while 325 mothers are at leisure. Also, in these two countries, the female unpaid work-male leisure gap occurs 326 over a wider daily timespan than in the other three countries. Korea, uniquely, also has a small 327 morning peak period between 6.00 and 9.00 am during which a significant percentage of fulltime 328 employed mothers are doing routine unpaid work while their partners are at leisure. 329

Figure 1. Cross-national comparison of the percentage of fulltime employed men and women in dual

earner households with child(ren) (y-axis) at a particular time of weekday (x-axis) performing
 unpaid work while their partner is simultaneously at leisure



Time of the weekday





340

341 *Note.* Vertical light grey lines represent a significant difference in the proportion of men and women doing unpaid work 342 while their partners have leisure at the time of the day (paired-sample t-test against α =0.05)

On weekend days the time-critical family rush hour is less relevant. In supplementary analyses (results not shown but available on request), an unpaid work-leisure gap was still evident, but it spread over the course of the day. In all countries at almost any time between 6 am and 10 pm on the weekend, more mothers were doing routine unpaid work while their partners were at leisure than vice versa. This suggests that weekend behaviour patterns echo weekdays, rather than being an opportunity for couples to rectify the gendered work-leisure differences of the working week.

349 **4.3 Estimators of the unpaid work-leisure gap**

The multivariate analysis tests for country differences in the size of the simulataneous unpaid 350 work-leisure gap in our sample of fulltime employed mothers and fathers in dual earner families, net 351 of individual and household characteristics (see Table 4). All else equal, women are estimated to 352 spend 0.93 of an hour (56 minutes) per weekday more on routine unpaid work while their male 353 partners are at leisure than vice versa. If different in no other characteristic than country, the gender 354 gap in simultaneous leisure and unpaid work is wider in Korea (+0.27 hours) and smaller in the UK 355 (-0.24 hours) than it is in reference-category Finland. The gaps in Spain and Australia are not 356 significantly different from that in Finland. 357

Table 4. Linear regression of gender difference in amount of daily time one partner in dual earner households with child(ren) performs unpaid work while their partner is simultaneously

360 earner households with361 at leisure on a weekday

		В	s.e.	Sig.
Constant		0.93	0.13	***
Country characteristics				
Country (ref. Finland)	UK	-0.24	0.11	*
	Australia	-0.15	0.10	n.s.
	Spain	0.05	0.09	n.s.
	Korea	0.27	0.09	***
Individual characteristics of female partner				
Female >45 years old (<i>ref. no</i>)	Yes	0.06	0.07	n.s.
Female tertiary degree (<i>ref. no</i>)	Yes	-0.01	0.05	n.s.
Female weekly working hours (<i>ref. 34-39</i>	40+hrs/w	0.01	0.05	n.s.
hrs/w)				
Female professional job status (ref. no)	Yes	-0.05	0.05	n.s.
Female worked on nonstandard hours (ref.	Yes	-0.27	0.04	***
no)				
Individual characteristics of male partner				
Male >45 years old (<i>ref. no</i>)	Yes	0.01	0.05	n.s.
Male tertiary degree (ref. no)	Yes	-0.01	0.05	n.s.
Male weekly working hours (<i>ref. 34-39 hrs/w</i>)	40+ hrs/w	0.05	0.07	n.s.
Male professional job status (<i>ref. no</i>)	Yes	-0.38	0.13	**
Male worked on nonstandard hours (<i>ref.</i>	Yes	-0.33	0.04	***
no)		0.000	0.01	
Country interaction terms (only significant				
effects shown)				
Country x male professional job status	Professional in UK	0.44	0.18	*
(ref. Male professional in Finland)	Professional in Australia	0.15	0.20	n.s.
	Professional in Spain	0.21	0.15	n.s.
	Professional in Korea	0.30	0.15	*
Household characteristics		0.00	0.02	ne
Number of children <15 years		0.00	0.03	
Equivalised household income in deciles		-0.02	0.01	*
Adjusted R ²	0.092			
Model statistics	F(df)=10.345(20), P<0.001			

362 363 *Notes. B*=unstandardized regression coefficient, *s.e.*=standard error, *Sig.*=two-sided significance of t-test. Levels of significance: ****P*≤0.001, ***P*≤0.01, **P*≤0.05, n.s. not significant.

Net of country, no individual characteristics of female partners were significantly associated with the gendered unpaid work-leisure gap, except for working nonstandard hours (outside 7am-7pm) on the diary day. This predicted the gap would be -0.27 hours smaller than if the female partner worked a standard schedule. Men's nonstandard hours on the diary day were similarly predicted to reduce the simultaneous unpaid work-leisure gap, in this case by -0.33 hours. This accords with prior research suggesting that nonstandard hours can facilitate one partner being available to do family care while the other works (Presser 2005; Craig and Brown 2017). Interaction terms (not shown) 371 indictated no cross-national variation in the effect of nonstandard hours.

372 The only other significant individual characteristic was men having a professional rather than a non-professional occupation, which was associated with the simultaneous unpaid work-leisure gap 373 being smaller by 0.38 hours. This is consistent with research suggesting that professional men and 374 375 women commonly partner with each other and that gender attitudes are more liberal, domestic outsourcing more common, and divisions of labor more equitable, amongst professional couples 376 (England & Srivastava, 2013; Saver, Gauthier, & Furstenberg, 2004). However, men having a 377 professional job did not have the same effect across countries. Interaction terms reveal that in the UK 378 and Korea, the male partner having professional job status was more positively associated with the 379 unpaid work-leisure gap (+0.44 and +0.30 hours respectively), compared to reference-category 380 Finland. This counteracted the negative main effect and meant that the net difference between 381 households containing a professional rather than non-professional male partner was much narrower 382 in the UK and Korea than in the other three countries. 383

In the case of the UK, this suggests the narrower unpaid work-leisure gap found as a main 384 country effect reflected households with non-professional men. This is consistent with research 385 suggesting that in the UK many working class men are more involved in family care than their 386 equivalents in other countries (Crompton & Lyonette, 2007), which may be related to the lower 387 incidence of working evenings in that country (see Tables 1 and 2). In the case of Korea, it means the 388 wider unpaid work-leisure gap found as a main country effect applies to both professional and non-389 professional men, suggesting this indicator of gender inequity is consistent across classes in that 390 country. The substantive results of the interaction terms are illustrated in Figure 2, showing that the 391 significant professional/non-professional difference found in Finland (and Australia and Spain) is 392 minimal in the UK and Korea. 393

Figure 2. Differences across countries in simultaneous unpaid work-leisure gap in fulltime dual
 earner parent couples for professional and non-professional men [hours per weekday]



396

Note. Calculated from the results of Table 3. Gap for non-professionals in Finland is equal to the intercept and gap for
 professionals in Finland is calculated by summing the intercept and main effect of professional status; gaps in other
 countries calculated by summing the intercept and significant main effects for country (for non-professionals) and main
 effect for professional status and significant interaction between country and professional status.

Across all the countries, the number of children under 15 in the household predicted no significant
 variation in the unpaid work-leisure gap, but it was estimated to reduce by 0.02 hours (1.2 minutes) a
 day in association with each decile increase in household income.

405

406

5 Conclusion

The new contribution of this paper was to directly examine the timing of fulltime dual earner 407 parents' daily workload, analysing time-use data from matched couples in five countries. We found 408 strong gender patterns in the timing of unpaid work and leisure, even when holding employment 409 hours and schedules constant. Fulltime employed mothers not only had a higher proportion of their 410 total work unpaid than fulltime employed fathers did, but were also much more likely to do routine 411 and time-critical unpaid work while their partner was simultaneously at leisure, and thus theoretically 412 able to assist. In addition, most of this simultaneous unpaid work-leisure gap occurred in the evening 413 'family rush hour'. This demonstrates that for a substantial share of households the temporal 414 structures of family duties (e.g. day care closing times and needs of children for care and attention) 415 are more of a constraint upon fulltime employed mothers than upon fulltime employed fathers within 416 the same household. The timing of these peak moments falls at the fringes of standard working 417 times. The temporal rhythm by which paid work occurs during the day and leisure in the evenings is 418 a gendered phenomenon in about one in six dual earner families. This has been implicit in prior 419 research on gendered task allocation, but what we show here explicitly for the first time is that 420 fathers are available at these times and could share in the time-critical unpaid work if they forewent 421 their early evening leisure. 422

The results using our new measure reveal the inadequacy of the time availability approach in 423 424 explaining gendered divisions of labour. If partners are at leisure, they are not at work, so by definition, they are available. Fulltime employed women face a two-fold constraint. Not only do they 425 do more routine household tasks than their partners, but they are also locked into performing them at 426 times that make them unavailable to respond flexibly to work demands (e.g. work late) and/or restrict 427 their access to leisure and other non-work activities. We also found little support for the relative 428 resources approach. A *smaller* simultaneous unpaid work-leisure gap was associated with a male 429 partner's professional job status in Finland, Spain and Australia, suggesting men do not use this 430 status to bargain out of unpaid work during the family rush hour. In the UK and Korea, there was 431 little substantive difference on this basis, suggesting in those countries, dominant patterns in the 432 gendered unpaid work-leisure gap applied across this measure of job status. Education and women's 433 professional status had no significant effects, suggesting gender outweighs these potential 434 advantages. A data limitation is that we do not have information on partners' individual earnings, so 435 cannot test their independent effect on domestic bargaining. Gender wage gaps suggest that fathers 436 are more usually the higher earner (OECD, 2020), but since female career progression is likely 437 limited by the gendered temporal constraints identified here, the effect on domestic bargaining would 438 be circular. 439

Thus, consistent with previous research on other aspects of domestic labour, (see for example 440 Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010) gender difference in accountability 441 and responsibility for family labour is the strongest explanation for our results. They show that even 442 443 in dual fulltime earner families with working hours and schedules held constant, many men do not subject themselves to the same temporal constraints upon their leisure and downtime as their 444 partners. They support the gender ideology/role expecations approach to the gender division of 445 labour. To the extent that gender roles are created and perpetuated by everyday interaction (West & 446 Zimmerman, 1987, 2009), we provide a further example here. Some might attribute our results to 447

female 'gate-keeping'. There is evidence that women protect time with children (Bianchi, 2009), and 448 some may be reluctant to give up domestic control (Gaunt, 2008). However, given the strain of 449 meeting deadlines and juggling the demands of paid and unpaid work at the end of the working day, 450 it seems likely that women would welcome their partners' input at this time. It seems more probable 451 that our results are driven by male choice, with their relatively privileged social position increasing 452 their chances of having their preferences, rather than those of women, prevail (Chafetz, 2004). As 453 noted above, ideals of femininity have changed more than ideals of masculinity, perhaps because 454 men stand to lose while women stand to gain and resist relinquishing power in the household 455 (Connell, 2009). Men's willingness to enjoy leisure or to be socialising at the same time as their 456 partner, who also works full time, looks after the home and children under concentrated pressure of 457 time, presents as an exercise of privilege. 458

We found this result in all five countries examined. In line with the institutional differences 459 summarized in Table 1 we found cross-country variation in total workload and in the division of paid 460 and unpaid work (see Table 3), but less in the simultaneous unpaid work-leisure gap. Furthermore, 461 this gap was not narrowest where we had anticipated it would be; in the progressive social 462 democratic country of Finland. We had expected that Finland's more relaxed worktime regime, 463 egalitarian gender attitudes and more equal labour market participation would engender most gender-464 similar participation in the family rush hour. And indeed it was the case that in Korea, where gender 465 attitudes are most traditional and male work hours are longest, the unpaid work-leisure gap was 466 wider than in Finland. However, it was not statistically different in Finland than in Spain and 467 Australia, respectively a familialist and a liberal country with relatively sparse policy supports for 468 gender equality in work-family reconciliation (Crompton 2006; Lewis 2009). Net of covariates, the 469 gap was actually smaller in the UK, also a liberal country with a relatively conservative approach to 470 471 gender equality, than in Finland. This may reflect the comparatively low incidence of week-day work outside standard hours (see Tables 1 and 2), which could facilitate the family involvement of 472 working class men in that country (Crompton & Lyonette, 2007). 473

Overall, the findings suggest that crossnational differences in social norms and work 474 arrangements affect the dynamics of gender in/equality in paid employment much more than they do 475 household labour patterns and responsibility for childcare (McDonald, 2013). 'Women-friendly' 476 policies largely focus on encouraging women's employment rather than promoting male domestic 477 478 participation (Lewis, 2009). That is, policies that directly aim to increase male domestic involvement are few and greater domestic equality is generally expected to be a by-product of enhancing 479 women's public opportunities (Bergmann, 2005). Our results contribute to scholarship on 480 comparative policy settings by pointing up the limitations of this approach. They suggest that the 481 greater average gender equity in paid and unpaid labour in countries like Finland does not obviate the 482 gendered temporality of unpaid work, particularly in the constraining time-critical labour of the 483 evening family rush hour. 484

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Appendix.

606	Table A1.	Coding o	f routine un	paid work	using time	e-use data	for each country	
		0			0		2	

	Routine unpaid work					
Country	Food preparation etc.	Cleaning	Caring for textiles	Childcare	Other	
Australia	410 Food and drink	430 Other housework nfd	420 Laundry and clothes nfd	500 Childcare activities nfd	611 Purchasing consumer	
	preparation/cleanup	431 Dry housework	421 Washing, loading/	510 Care of children nfd	goods	
	411 Food and drink	432 Wet housework	unloading washing machine	599 Care of children nec	481 Travel associated	
	preparation/service	439 Other housework nec	422 Hanging out/bringing in	511 Physical care of children	with domestic activities	
	412 Preserving/freezing	468 Disposing of rubbish	washing	512 Emotional care of children		
	413 Wine/beer making		423 Ironing	541 Minding child		
	414 Set/clear table		424 Sorting, folding clothes	521 Teaching/helping/		
	415 Cleanup after food		425 Clothes upkeep/care	reprimanding children		
	preparation/meals		426 Clothes making	531 Playing/reading/talking with		
	419 Food and drink		427 Sorting clothes for	child		
	preparation/cleanup nec		disposal	581 Travel associated with child		
	481 Travel associated with		429 Laundry and clothes	care activities		
	domestic activities		care nec			
Spain	311 Food preparation and	321 Cleaning dwelling	331 Laundry	389 Other (un)specified	300 Unspecified	
	conservation	323 Heating and water	332 Ironing	childcare	household and family care	
	312 Dish washing	324 Arranging household	333 Handicraft and	381 Physical care & supervision	930 Travel related to	
		goods and materials	producing textiles	of a child	household care	
		329 Other or unspecified	339 Other (un)specifed	382 Teaching the child	936 Travel related to	
		household upkeep	making and care for textiles	383 Reading, playing and talking	shopping	
				with child	938 Travel related to	
				384 Accompanying child	childcare	
Finland	311 Food preparation	321 Cleaning dwelling	331 Laundry	389 Other or unspecified	300 Unspecified	
	312 Coffee and snack	323 Heating and water	332 Ironing	childcare	household and family care	
	preparation	324 Various arrangements	333 Producing textiles	381 Physical care and	361 Daily consumer	
	313 Baking		334 Handicraft	supervision of child	goods	
	314 Dish washing		339 Other or unspecified	382 Teaching the child	931 Travel related to	
	315 Preserving		care for textiles	383 Reading and playing with	household care	
	319 Other or unspecified food			child		
	management			384 Accompanying child		
				385 Outdoors with child		
				386 Talking with child		
				938 Travel related to childcare		

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Notes. ndf=not defined, nec=not elsewhere classified

608 **Table A1.** Continued

	Routine unpaid work						
Country	Food preparation etc.	Cleaning	Caring for textiles	Childcare	Other		
Korea	411 Preparation of food 412 Dish washing 413 Pickles, preserves, etc.	431 Tidying 432 Routine indoor cleaning	 421 Laundry, hang clothes on the line 422 Put clothes away 423 Ironing, repair clothes 424 Taking clothes to the cleaners 425 Sewing, knitting 	 5192 Unspecified child care - under school age 5292 Unspecified child care 511 Physical care for child - feed, wash etc. 5191 Medical care to child - under school age 5291 Medical care to school - aged child 521 Prepare the child to go to school 522 Help with homework 5121 Read to child 5122 Play with child 851 Family care related travel 	 499 Other domestic work 451 Grocery, routine shopping 4531 Routine shopping - online/TV 841 Domestic related travel 		
UK	3100 Unspecified food management 3110 Food preparation and baking 3130 Dish washing 3140 Preserving 3190 Other specified food management	3200 Unspecified household upkeep 3210 Cleaning dwelling 3230 Heating and water 3240 Arranging household goods and materials 3250 Disposal of waste	3300 Unspecified making and care for textiles 3310 Laundry 3320 Ironing 3330 Handicraft and producing textiles 3390 Other specified making and care for textiles	3800 Unspecified childcare 3890 Other or unspecified childcare 3810 Unspecified physical care & supervision of a child 3811 Feeding the child 3819 Other and unspecified physical care & supervision of a child 3820 Teaching the child 3830 Reading, playing and talking with child 3840 Accompanying child 9230 Travel escorting to/ from education 9380 Travel escorting child other than education	3000 Unspecified household and family care 3611 Shopping mainly for food 9310 Travel related to household care		