



THE USE OF TIME BY MEN AND WOMEN IN PORTUGAL

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Table of contents

1.		
Introduction		5
2.		
Methodology and sample characteristics		9
The questionnaire		9
The interviews		12
Characterisation of the sample		12
Glossary		19
3.		
Me time		23
Introduction		23
To have or not to have time, that is the question		24
The quality of free time		37
The content of free time		45
4.		
Family time		57
4.1.		
Household chores and care work		58
Introduction		58
Household chores and care work – shared times?		59
Multitasking and simultaneous activities		79
Externalising household chores		80
Perceptions of fairness/unfairness concerning the distribution of household chores		84
Provision of care to adult persons in need		88
4.2.		
Motherhood and fatherhood		95
Introduction		95
Who cares for the children?		96
Caring for the children – shared times?		106
Parental responsibilities and paid work		115

5.		
Paid working time		125
Introduction		125
People who sell their time for paid work		126
Time spent on paid work		127
The 'lost steps' of home-work and work-home trajectories		130
Time and organisation of paid work		133
Employment: permanence or instability?		137
Total working time of men and women		139
And what about those unable to sell their time?		141
The desired paid working time		144
Interpenetration of paid work and family and personal life		146
Factors impacting on paid and unpaid working time: an attempt at a multidimensional model		156
6.		
Conclusions and recommendations		161
6.1.		
Main research conclusions		161
What changes, and what remains, between 1999 and 2015?		167
6.2.		
Final Conference of the INUT Project: conclusions and recommendations		169
7.		
References		177

1.

Introduction



Speaking about time is speaking about the uses we make of time. Because after all, if philosophically we can conceive time as an abstraction unrelated with the subjects living it, time as a psychological category is only existential, or, as María Ángeles Durán says, “something we live, rather than something that lives us” (Durán, 2013: 21).

But time is also “a human invention” (Daly, 2002: 2). As an expression of a way of thinking and representing the social structure, the meaning of time is far from neutral; it encompasses a means of measuring and quantifying, but also qualifying, that is, attributing value to human activities.

The subjective experience of time is a fundamental dimension. Time is lived in a subjective manner by each person, by each man and by each woman, thus time is gendered (“a gendered time”, in the words of Jane Pillinger, 2000). That is, the meanings of time are marked by gender. Women and men bestow different values and senses on time, in a process conditioned by responsibilities, resources, positions and statuses.

Time is therefore a key topic for structuring our thought and intervention in the field of equality between women and men.

(cf. Perista, 2014, our translation)

It was on the basis of the above premises that we have conducted our study on time use by men and women in Portugal, the main results of which are now presented in this book.

Time use, and in particular the relationship between paid and unpaid work, has been widely debated among the scientific community, also with the contribution of various international organisations. A major reference is owed to the United Nations (UN), through its World Conference on Women held in Nairobi in 1985 and especially the Beijing Platform for Action approved at the 4th UN World Conference on Woman in 1995, which defines time use as one of its priority intervention areas. The International Labour Organisation (ILO), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the European Foundation for improving Living and Working Conditions (EUROFOUND) have also carried out relevant initiatives in this field. As far as the European Union (EU) is concerned, it should be underscored that the Eurostat promoted in the mid-1990s the development of a harmonised model for time use surveys which led to about twenty studies being conducted in different EU member states, including Portugal.

Internationally, time use is a field of statistical enquiry and research with a long and consolidated tradition, in some cases dating back more than a century. In Portugal, it was only in the 1980s and 1990s that a perspective of time use analysis was first considered in some studies on the distribution of household tasks and childcare. Some of those studies were of academic nature and most of them had a limited scope of application, namely with regard to territorial coverage; other studies were public initiatives undertaken within the body then designated as Directorate-General of the Family (*Direcção-Geral da Família*).

This field of work and reflection has been consolidated over the last twenty years at the Centre for Studies for Social Intervention (*Centro de Estudos para a Intervenção Social*, CESIS), since in 1996-1997 the (then called) Commission for Equality and Women's Rights (*Comissão para a Igualdade e para os Direitos das Mulheres*, CIDM) promoted the project "European Union Policies for Equality – Elaboration of new assessment indicators" (*Políticas para a Igualdade da União Europeia – Elaboração de novos indicadores para a sua avaliação*) (CIDM, 1997). Time use was one of the areas identified by the CIDM for proposing new indicators, the work in this domain being ensured by the CESIS.

In 1999, the Commission for Equality in Labour and Employment (*Comissão para a Igualdade no Trabalho e no Emprego*, CITE), then headed by Maria do Céu da Cunha Rêgo, decided to become an active partner of Statistics Portugal (*Instituto Nacional de Estatística*, INE) for the purposes of the Survey on Time Use (*Inquérito à Ocupação do Tempo*, IOT); the CESIS provided expert consultation in this process. It was only at that time that greater visibility was granted to the subject of time management between paid work in the context of the labour market and unpaid work in the context of the households.

The outcome of the ensuing work, carried out by a team of the CESIS under an agreement with the CITE, gave rise, among other things, to a publication entitled "Gender and unpaid work: women's times and men's times" (*Género e trabalho não pago: os tempos das mulheres e os tempos dos homens* – Perista, 2002). Those results, based on the first official statistical source in Portugal allowing an analytical approach to time use, confirmed and provided evidence of the sharp asymmetry that persisted, and still persists today, in the distribution of unpaid work between women and men.

The conclusions of that study were widely disseminated and contributed to fuel the public debate, as well as to substantiate policies promoting equality between women and men and a better conciliation of working, family and personal life.

Today, more than sixteen years later and following the same path, it is with great satisfaction that we are able to draw an updated and nationally representative diagnosis of time use by men and women in Portugal, particularly with respect to paid work and unpaid care work, based on the results of the research project "National Survey on Time Use by Men and Women" (*Inquérito Nacional aos Usos do Tempo de Homens e de Mulheres*, INUT). This project started in October 2014 and ended in September 2016; it was carried out by the CESIS in partnership with the CITE and funded by the European Economic Area Financial Mechanism, 2009-2014 EEA Grants, through its Programme Area PT07 – Mainstreaming Gender Equality and Promoting Work-Life Balance.

Preliminary results were presented at the Final Conference of the project on 28 June 2016, together with the publication of the *Policy Brief* (Perista *et al.*, 2016). The aim of the Conference was twofold: to disseminate the knowledge and to share and jointly reflect on the findings about gendered time use as summarised in the *Policy Brief*. Through a participatory model, namely with parallel sessions focusing on the various key themes under analysis, the conference granted us the opportunity to collect contributions from all of the participants (more than one hundred, with diverse profiles and experiences) in order to draw up a set of public policy recommendations.

This is the moment to renew our message of gratitude to all of those participating as speakers, moderators or rapporteurs at the different sessions of the Conference. A public acknowledgement note is owed in particular to Maria do Céu da Cunha Rêgo for writing a document with the conclusions and recommendations compiled at the conference; thanks to the generosity of the author, such document is partially reproduced as the last chapter of this book.¹

The book deals with time use. And time, and the uses we make of it, touch upon and cross through the lives of all of us. The lives of the INUT project team members too. Health problems; a baby's birth; difficulties in combining peak period demands with the needs to provide care to children and parents, but also with holiday periods... all of these issues and more have traversed the INUT project and its development. Mention should be made as regards our colleague Eudelina Quintal: after participating actively in most of the execution period of the project, she was unable to accompany its last stage of development.

The findings presented in this book also benefited from important contributions that we must acknowledge and thank. Since the beginning of the Project, and even before so, in its conception and discussion stages, we could count on the CITE as an ever-present, active and committed partner, namely through its President as well as Anita Sares and Ana Curado. In specific components of the study, our work benefited from expert support by two consultants: Sandra Ribeiro, who accompanied and participated in the definition of the study goals and methodological options, as well as in the conception and testing of data collection instruments; and Helena Carvalho, whose counselling and guidance were especially useful during the stages of data processing and statistical analysis of the results to be drawn from the National Survey on Time Use, 2015 (*Inquérito Nacional aos Usos do Tempo*, INUT, 2015).

Last, but not the least, we thank all of the women and all of the men who gave us a little of their time by answering our survey and our interviews.

The main conclusions of these two years of work gave rise to this book, which is organised into six chapters.

After this first chapter of introduction, Chapter 2 provides a detailed account of the methodological design as well as the major characteristics of our sample. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 draw on a possible categorisation of the different times that intersect and clash in the lives of women and men: "Me time"; "Family time", in which particular attention is paid to household chores and care work on the one hand, and to practices of motherhood and fatherhood on the other; and "Paid working time". The last chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations; a first section comprises the main conclusions drawn from our research, while a second section is dedicated to the conclusions and recommendations arising from the Final Conference of the project.

¹ The full version of the document (in Portuguese), including relevant contextual information about applicable legislation, political commitments binding Portugal, norms of international organisations and the European Union, as well as the situation in Portugal, is available on the website of the project: www.inut.info.

To conclude this introduction, and borrowing the words of Maria do Céu da Cunha Rêgo when contextualising the conclusions and recommendations of the Conference, we shall underscore that:



The international law for the equality between men and women and the norms of international organisations on this subject are unanimous in the conclusion that equality in the public sphere – employment, participation (including top-level positions) in economic, civic and political decision-making – is only possible if there is equality in the private sphere – the work involved in caring for dependent persons and doing household chores. One of the most relevant indicators to this balance is the time dedicated by women and men to activities in each of these spheres, keeping in mind that work in the public sphere is presumably remunerated while that in the private sphere is not. This means that asymmetry in the distribution of time impacts not only on opportunities but also on income and power. Therefore, knowing how much time women and men spend on activities that are central to their lives is key to inform public policies aiming at the promotion of equality between men and women, translated into the elimination of the stereotypes that “determine” unequal social roles according to which men predominate in the public realm and women in the private realm. Policies which Portugal is legally bound and politically committed to pursuit.

(Cunha Rêgo, 2016)

2. Methodology and sample characteristics

The goal of the INUT project was *to obtain and analyse up-to-date information on time use by men and women in Portugal, especially with regard to paid work and unpaid care work. We wanted our diagnosis to allow us, among other aims, to raise awareness of the need to have a balanced distribution of unpaid care work between women and men, as well as formulate public policy recommendations concerning the articulation of working, family and personal life, as a tool to promote gender equality.*

Our research comprises a quantitative component, of extensive nature, and a qualitative component, of intensive nature. Understood as complementary, these two components have informed one another throughout the various stages of the project.

This plural methodological design allowed us to convene both the potential of time-use surveys and the virtues of an in-depth, intensive approach. The benefit of conducting interviews as well as applying the survey was twofold. On the one hand, we could make a qualitative interpretation of the quantitative patterns identified by referring to the survey. On the other hand, it helped to shed light on the limitations of time use surveys and diaries, already pointed out by feminist scholars (such as Bryson, 2007; Durán, 2013; Perista, 2013; Floro, forthcoming) in terms of their ability to adequately capture the complexity of time that is very often overlapping and simultaneous for women in the private and domestic sphere.

The questionnaire

The extensive / quantitative component of the study consisted in the application of a national time use survey² The preparation of the survey was based on various sources.

We adopted, as a starting point, the 2008 Eurostat guidelines for time use surveys (*Harmonised European Time Use Surveys, HETUS*), with regard to what sort of data we would collect and how activities would be coded. This choice allows, among other things, for easier comparison to be made at some point in the future between the outcomes of this national survey *and time use surveys carried out in other countries, particularly in Europe.*

Also in view of possible comparative studies, we considered that it was essential to make sure that our survey included a number of questions posed in the Survey on Time Use, 1999 (IOT 1999), through its individual questionnaire and family questionnaire, namely in the realm of care provision and support received.

Our survey also incorporated some of the questions we considered to be particularly relevant with respect to the articulation of working, family and personal life posed in surveys conducted by the Eurofound – the 3rd European Quality of Life Survey and the 5th and 6th European Working Conditions Surveys.

2 National Survey on Time Use by Men and Women, henceforth referred to as National Survey on Time Use, 2015; or merely, the survey.

In addition, we decided to include some other questions, not present in any of the above-mentioned reference instruments, namely concerning forms of paid work organisation.

One particular methodological option made when developing the National Survey on Time Use, 2015 (*Inquérito Nacional aos Usos do Tempo*, INUT, 2015) deserves particular mention as it distinguishes our survey from the IOT 1999, as well as from the HETUS guidelines: the so-called diaries have not been used in our research. The diaries consist of an instrument filled in by the user herself or himself according to the Eurostat guidelines. The person has to note down all the activities undertaken every 10 minutes over one or two days during the week and one day during a weekend. In conformity with the HETUS guidelines, it should be filled in over a period of 52 weeks. The sample must therefore be distributed over 365 consecutive days in order to incorporate the seasonal aspects of time use throughout the week and the year.

However, the period for conducting the INUT project was not compatible with this methodological requirement of the Eurostat. This limitation naturally became an important if not crucial factor when it came to decision-making in this regard.³

For this reason, the results of the 2015 survey are not directly comparable with those of the IOT in 1999.

Nevertheless, we should add that the information usually collected through diaries in conformity with the HETUS guidelines was converted into questions and applied in the survey questionnaire. This procedure meets the Eurofound example in the European Working Conditions Survey – a source used not only by the European Institute for Gender Equality when building its *Gender Equality Index*, but also by the *International Social Survey Programme*.

Having explained the main methodological options when preparing the survey by questionnaire, we should now describe the constitution of the sample. The National Survey on Time Use, 2015, was applied to a sample of the population aged 15 or over living in Portugal (mainland and the autonomous regions of Madeira and Azores). With an estimate dimension of ten thousand respondents, the quota system defined at the outset ensured statistical representativeness by NUTS II (which includes the Lisbon Metropolitan Area) the Oporto Metropolitan Area.

The selection of respondents was made in two stages. Starting out from a previously defined sampling point, a first step consisted in selecting the homes that the interviewers would go to. This procedure followed the *random route method and called for a travel route to be filled in by each interviewer. Once the homes were chosen and permission had been obtained as regards the application of the questionnaire, the interviewers should identify the person in the household who had most recently celebrated her or his birthday; the questionnaire would then be applied to this person.*

The data collection fieldwork took place between the 9th of April and the 18th of November 2015, and it was carried out by Consulmark – *Estudos de Mercado e Trabalho de Campo, Lda.*, under the strict guidance and in close collaboration with the CESIS.

The team of the INUT project drew up a detailed guide of instructions to be given to the interviewers. The CESIS, in cooperation with the Consulmark, organised five training courses with practical sessions rehearsing how to conduct the questionnaire, in various parts of the country including the islands of Madeira and Azores.

³ It should also be mentioned that, on the other hand, we share the above-mentioned critical perspective on the ability of traditional time use surveys, and the use of diaries, in particular, to grasp the complexity and simultaneous nature of times as they are experienced.

As a result of a trial test-run with 20 people, some changes were undertaken in order to better grasp the reality of certain family situations and make certain questions easier to understand.

During the survey application period, the quality control carried out by the Consulmark was accompanied on a fortnightly basis.

The sample was afterwards weighted according to three intersecting criteria – sex, age group and employment status (active, inactive) – in order to ensure its statistical representativeness.

The questionnaire is divided into thirteen separate sections. The first sections contained questions of household characterisation, namely: Household composition; Care needs; Support received; Living and housing conditions; Family income. The second part of the questionnaire comprises questions of individual characterisation, namely: Education; Professional Status; Employment; Mobility and transports; Personal income; Health; Time use; Articulation of Working, Personal and Family Life.

In most cases, the answers refer to the day on which the questionnaire was applied. Nevertheless, some questions have a different time reference requiring some retrospective analysis by the respondent. This was the case of questions including the phrases “on the last working day”; “last Saturday”, “last Sunday”, “last week”, “during the last 4 weeks” and “during the previous 12 months”, periods for which the reference date is always the day on which the questionnaire was applied.

Furthermore, it should be noted that concerning respondents whose forms of work organisation lead them to have their rest days either on Saturdays, Sundays or other days, their answers take the rest days – that is, not necessarily the weekend days – as the reference. However, when analysing the data, these cases are aggregated with the others so that when reference is made throughout the book to ‘Saturday’ and ‘Sunday’, or to ‘weekend days’, answers refer to rest days.

Data analysis was carried out with the assistance of IBM-SPSS Statistics 23.0 for univariate and mostly bivariate analysis. With the aim of testing models for the identification of the effect of various independent variables on two dependent variables – daily time of paid work and daily time of unpaid work –, multiple regression was used. The choice was to implement the algorithm of a Categorical Regression (CATREG) due to the need to accommodate in the same model independent variables of different nature: nominal, ordinal and quantitative. The categorised data undergo a process of optimal *scaling* so that numerical values are associated to the categories. The multiple regression analysis is applied to the variables thus transformed (Gifi, 1990; Kooij *et al.*, 2006).

When analysing the data, it was necessary to recode the continuous variables by creating scales (e.g. age) or grouping together categories of answers (e.g. educational levels), as well as set up new variables based on the original ones. In an Annex to this chapter, there is a glossary with a definition of these variables as well as a number of concepts used for creating new categories, variables and indices.

Throughout the book, whenever figures or tables with quantitative data are presented (except when otherwise indicated), they are based on the National Survey on Time Use, 2015.

The interviews

The intensive / qualitative component of the study consisted on conducting and analysing 50 in-depth interviews. Interviews were held with 28 women and 22 men in different parts of the country, whether on the mainland – Covilhã (5), Faro (5), Lisbon (15) and Oporto (15) – or in the autonomous regions – Funchal (5) and Ponta Delgada (5).

For selection purposes, we chose to interview women and men who were in employment and had at least one child aged 15 or under by the time the interview took place. Two methods were used to locate respondents. On the one hand, we relied on the database resulting from the survey application and contacted persons who had indicated that they were available to be interviewed; on the other hand, we resorted to snowball sampling.

Most of these women and men lived in a context of different-sex dual-earner couple; a few of the women lived in single-parent households. Some socio-demographic characteristics of the interviewees are provided in the table at the end of this chapter.

All of the interviews were recorded, upon the interviewee's informed consent, and fully transcribed. The interview content was processed by using the MAXQDA software.

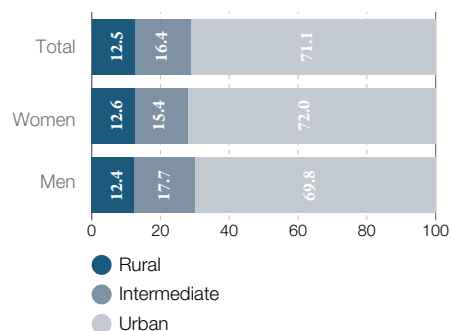
Characterisation of the sample

A total number of 10,146 people responded to the questionnaire. After applying the above-mentioned weighting criteria, we obtained a sample of 5,797 women (57.1% of the total sample) and 4,353 men (42.9%).⁴ The majority of these people (94.8% women and 95.5% men) state that they were born in Portugal; 4.3% of women and 3.5% of men state that they were born in a country outside the European Union (EU); the remaining ones are nationals of another EU member state. About one third of the people (32,7% of men and 36,7% of women) born out of Portugal nevertheless state that they have Portuguese nationality.

In territorial terms (region and habitat), most of the respondents live in densely populated urban areas (71.1%). One person in eight (12.5%) lives in a rural area. The remaining ones live in intermediate areas, that is, less densely populated urban contexts.

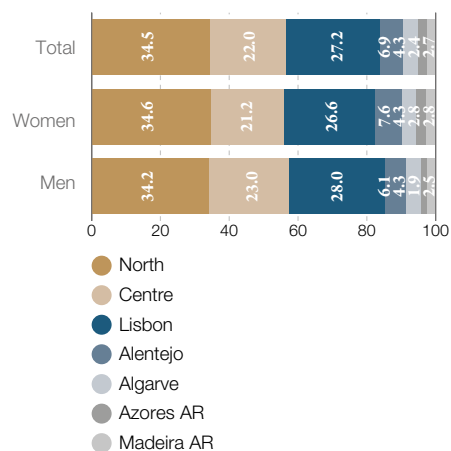
4 These men and women are integrated in households totalling 25,240 people, of whom 12,039 men (47.7%) and 13,201 women (52.3%).

Figure 1. Respondents according to habitat by sex (%)



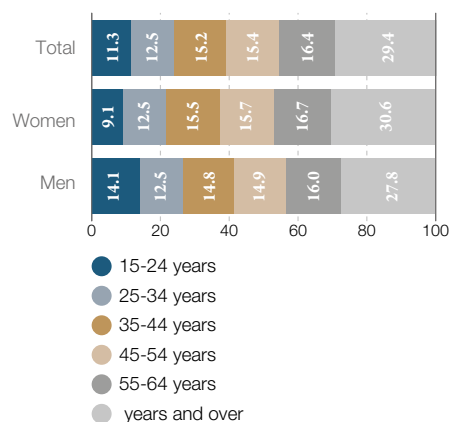
Concerning the region where they live (NUTS II), the respondents are distributed as shown in the figure below.

Figure 2. Respondents according to the place of residence (NUTS II) by sex (%)



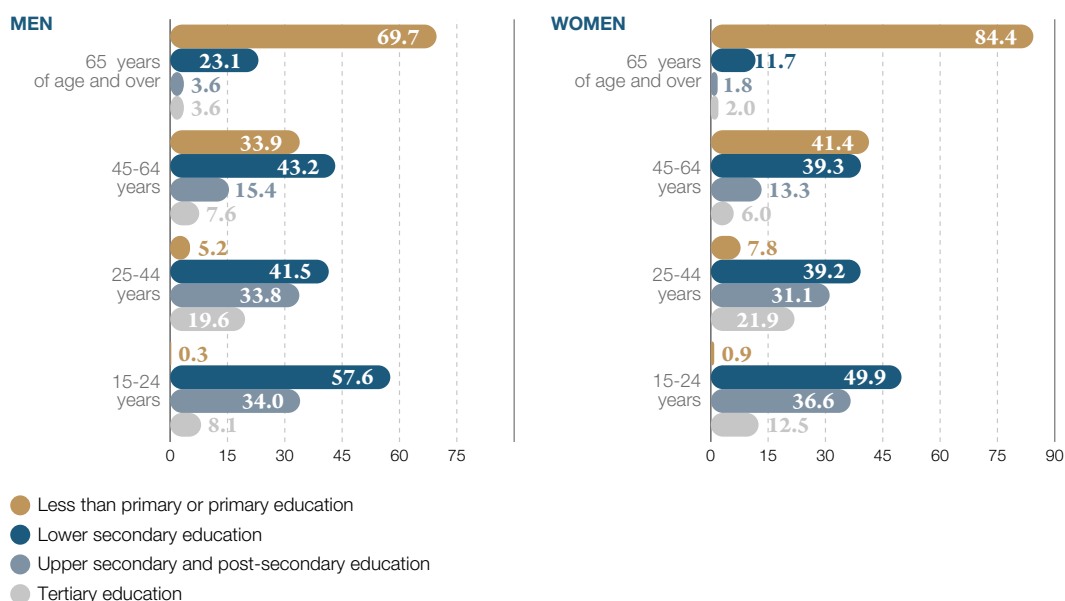
With regard to age, the youngest group (15-24 years) and the oldest group (65 years and over) show an over-representation of men and of women respectively. In the remaining age groups, there is a balanced presence of the two sexes.

Figure 3. Respondents according to age group by sex (%)



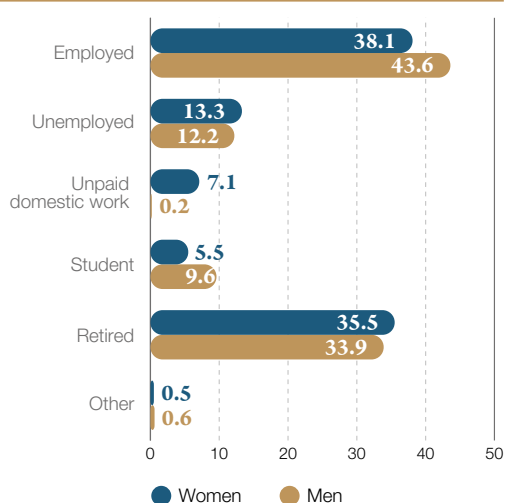
The survey contains questions about schooling, namely about the highest level of education completed by the time the questionnaire was applied. The figure below exposes the well-known differentiations in schooling with respect to sex and age. Low levels of schooling are highly prevalent among the older population, especially the women, whereas higher education is relatively more prevalent in the younger age brackets, and more clearly among young women. It is also apparent that lower secondary school levels predominate even among the younger population.

Figure 4. Respondents according to educational attainment level by age group and sex (%)



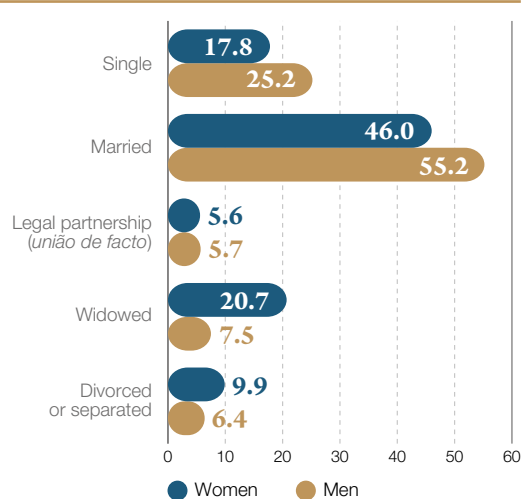
Still concerning education, 11.1% of men and 8.1% of women, mostly from the younger age group, state that they are currently attending some sort of educational or training programme. In the majority of these cases, studying was the main occupation of the person, given that 9.6% of men and 5.5% of women consider themselves to be students. It is worth stressing that 7.1% of women signal unpaid domestic work as their main occupation.

Figure 5. Respondents according to main occupation by sex (%)



Regarding marital status, half of the respondents state that they are married, and 21% state that they are single. More men than women are married or single. In contrast, more women than men in the survey are divorced or separated from their spouse, as well as widowed, which conforms to the demographic data for the population as a whole.

Figure 6. Respondents according to marital status by sex (%)

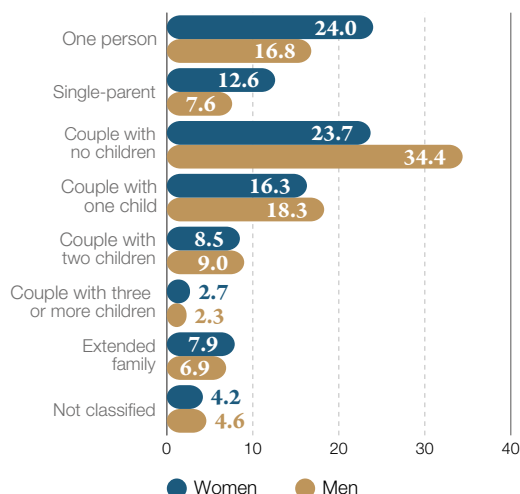


The most frequent type of household is that of couples without children – about 30% of the respondents. They are followed by single-person households and couples with one child. Taken as a whole, this category accounts for two in every three respondents.

The men and women covered by the survey show a few differences in terms of the type of household they live in. The most evident situations are associated, on the one hand, with the over-representation of men in the couples without children; and, on the other, with the over-representation of women in the one-person households, that is, persons living alone, as well as in single-parent households headed by a

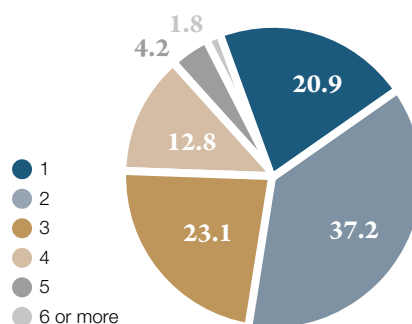
woman.⁵ According to the answers collected, fewer than 1% of the cases of couples sharing the house concerns same-sex couples.

Figure 7. Respondents according to type of household by sex (%)



About 60% of the households in which respondents live are composed of two or three people. Only 6% of the households consist of four or more people.

Figure 8. Respondents according to the size of their household (%)



More than half of the respondents (56.2%) state that they are the owners of the dwelling where they live (with or without a mortgage); 40.8% live in a rented dwelling; and 3% live in a dwelling belonging to someone else without paying for it.

Holding a housing contract in the name of both members of the couple is more frequent in the case of respondents owning their dwellings (43.4%) than among those renting their dwellings (24.1%). Among the latter, the most common situation is to have the name of only one lease on the contract, with no major difference between the sexes in this respect. In 10% of the cases, whether speaking of own or rented dwellings, the name on the housing contract belongs to another member of the household – a situation that characterises in particular the younger respondents.

⁵ The over-representation of women in this last category is obviously expected due to the very nature of the type of household. It is clear that when a man belongs to such a household, this means that he lives with his mother. A similar situation happens with women living in single male-parent households – a daughter living with her father.

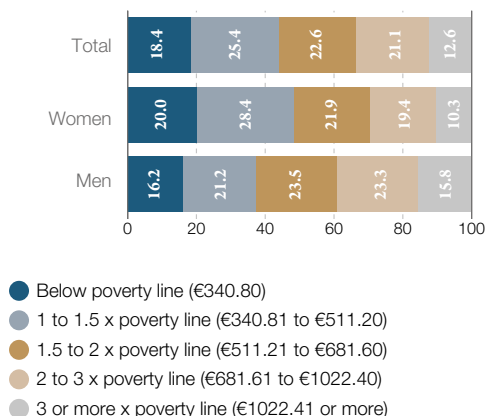
We also asked our respondents questions about personal and household income. As this is usually a sensitive matter, we chose to give the respondents a list of income scales ranging from net monthly values of less than 250 euros to 5,000 euros or more. Each scale was identified by a letter in order to limit any inhibitions that might be felt when answering the question.

Still one in every four persons declined to answer the question. We must add to this number all of those stating that they do not know the household income, a particularly prevalent situation in the youngest age group (15 to 24 years). In the end, it was possible to collect and process data about income that totalled two out of every three persons in the survey.

In order to distribute the household incomes indicated by respondents according to a classification of household income per equivalent adult, we had to transform the income scales into absolute values. In doing so, we took the middle point of each income level as our reference; for example, if someone stated that his or her household income is between 1000 and 1499 euros a month, we considered the income of this household to be 1250 euros. Based on this method, the estimated poverty rate in the sample is 18.4%. This is relatively close to the official poverty rate as registered by Statistics Portugal: 19.5%, according to the latest data available (collected in 2015 with reference to 2014) (INE, 2015).

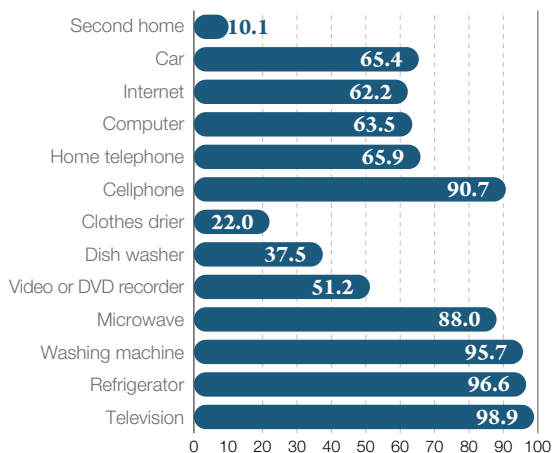
Also consonant with the existing national data on poverty, this affects women respondents (20%) in a higher proportion than men respondents (16.2%). In contrast, the highest income levels are more prevalent among men respondents.

Figure 9. Respondents according to the monthly net income level of their household by sex (%)



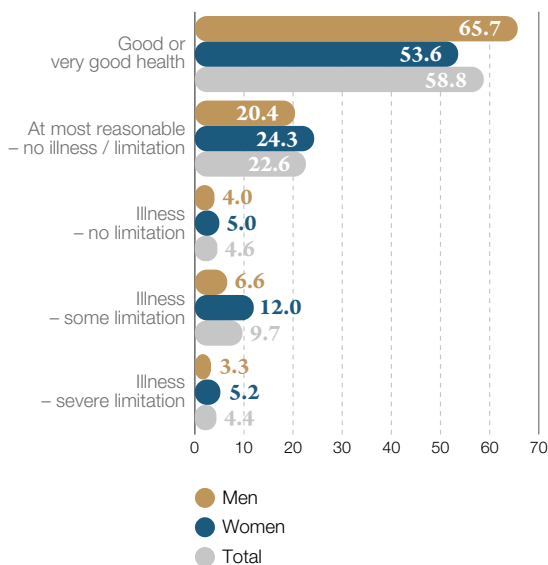
We also asked people whether or not their household is equipped with a variety of goods and appliances. It is worth stressing that despite the economic hardship apparently exposed in the figure above, not many cases of material deprivation are registered by our survey. As can be seen in the figure below, more than 95% of the people – with no notable differences between the sexes in this regard – state that their household is equipped with a television, a refrigerator and a washing machine. More than 90% state that they have a cell phone, and more than 60% state that they have a computer with access to the internet. Almost two in every three people state that they have a car for personal use.

Figure 10. Households owning goods and appliances by type of good or appliance (%)



Finally, we asked the respondents questions about their health, and we created an index based on the answers (as explained in the glossary below). According to their own perception, most of the respondents are in good or very good health (58.8%); it is however noteworthy that 15.1% of respondents state that they have to deal with illness in their daily life and with some limitation (9.7%) or even a severe degree of limitation (4.4%). It should also be underscored that, in consonance with the available empirical data, the health condition expressed by the women is worse than the health condition expressed by the men.

Figure 11. Respondents according to health condition by sex (%)



Glossary

INDIVIDUALS AND HOUSEHOLDS

Extended family households	The category 'extended family households' comprises households composed of a family nucleus and other relatives, as well as those composed of two or more family nuclei. According to Statistics Portugal (<i>Instituto Nacional de Estatística</i> , INE), the family nucleus is a set of two or more people belonging to the same family where there is a relationship of marriage, civil partnership, or between parents and offspring. This translates into three possibilities: a couple without children, a couple with one or more children, or a mother or a father with one or more children.
Child	Our concept of child refers to girls and boys under the age of 15 years.
Modified OECD equivalence scale	According to this scale, a weight of 1 is assigned to the first adult person in a household, 0.5 to each additional adult person, and 0.3 to each child. The scale allows us to take into account differences in household size and composition.
Equivalent adults	Measure of household size that results from applying the modified OECD equivalence scale.
Household size per equivalent adult	Calculation of the household size considering the weighting per equivalent adult. For example, a household consisting of a couple has an equivalent adult size of 1.5 ($1 + 0.5$), while a household consisting of a couple with two children under the age of 15 years has an adult equivalent size of 2.1 ($1 + 0.5 + 0.3 + 0.3$). In the case of a single-parent household composed of 2 people, its value is 1.3 so long as the adult person has a child under the age of 15 years; or its value is the same as that of a couple whenever the child is aged 15 or over.

DOMESTIC HELP

Paid domestic help index	Index created from distinct variables. It refers to the accessibility of a household to a domestic worker's services and the number of working hours of this domestic worker, as well as the frequency with which the household externalises household chores by resorting to the following services: ironing textiles, washing textiles, buying ready-to-eat food, ordering the shopping, purchasing cleaning services from a company. This gave rise to a continuous index later recoded into three categories: no help, less frequent help, and more frequent help.
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INCOME AND SOCIAL CLASS

Equivalent income	Income obtained by dividing the income of the household by its size in terms of 'equivalent adults', using the OECD-modified equivalence scale.
Poverty line	Threshold under which a family is considered to be at risk of poverty. The standard value set by the European Commission is 60% of the median income of an 'equivalent adult' in the respective country.
At-risk-of poverty rate	Proportion of the population whose equivalent income is below the poverty line, set at 60% of the median income of an 'equivalent adult'.
Social class	The variable 'social class' results from combining the variables 'occupation' and 'professional status'.

HEALTH CONDITION

Health condition index	Index created from the answers to four questions asked in the survey, including the person's perception about his or her general state of health, existence of an illness or a prolonged health problem, existence and degree of limitation in the daily activity due to health problems. The index is composed of the following categories: good or very good health; at most reasonable health with no illness or limitation; illness with no limitation; illness with some limitation; illness with severe limitation.
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PAID AND UNPAID WORK

Paid work	This term refers to remunerated activities carried out in the context of the labour market.
Total paid working time	The sum of time spent on the main paid occupation, any secondary paid activities if they exist, and moving between home and work.
Household chores	These include the following: 'preparing food: cooking, setting the table, dish washing, etc.'; 'cleaning: tidying, dusting, making beds, putting out the garbage, etc.'; 'caring for textiles: laundry, ironing, etc.'; 'gardening, including tending indoor and outdoor plants/vegetables'; 'tending domestic animals'; 'repairs at home'; 'shopping'; 'commercial and administrative services: paying the rent, paying bills, communicating with insurance companies and banks, etc.'; 'help to other households: repairs, gardening, animal tending, etc.'.
Care work	This includes the following: 'physical care provided to own child, grandchild or other child below 15 years of age: feeding, washing, etc.'; 'teaching own child, grandchild or other child below 15 years of age: helping with homework, studying or other school tasks'; 'reading, playing and talking with own child, grandchild or other child below 15 years of age'; 'accompanying own child, grandchild or other child below 15 years of age to activities, daily or not: sports, music, scouts, cinema, parties, doctors, etc.'; 'helping an adult household member who is dependent or has a disability'; and 'assisting other households' in the aforementioned tasks.
Unpaid work	Includes household chores and care work.
People in employment	People doing paid work in the context of the labour market; people doing unpaid work in a family business, company or farm; paid trainees or apprentices.

ARTICULATION BETWEEN PAID AND UNPAID WORK

Work-family impact index	<p>Index created from the answers to the following questions: how often did you feel worried about your paid work when you were not working; how often did you feel too tired after work to enjoy your personal life; how often did you feel too tired after work to do some of the necessary household chores; how often did you think work prevented you from dedicating the time you would like to your family; how often did you think work prevented you from dedicating the time you would like to your friends; how often did you have difficulty in focusing on your paid work due to family responsibilities; how often did you have difficulty in focusing on your paid work due to personal commitments; how often did you think your family responsibilities prevented you from dedicating the necessary time to your work.</p> <p>Taking into account the frequency of the impacts and the differences in the directions of these impacts (impacts of family on work and impacts of work on family), the following categories were created: no impacts; moderate impacts in both directions; strong impacts of work on family; strong impacts of family on work; strong impacts in both directions.</p>
Articulation index	Index created from the following variables: degree to which the respondent's working schedule is adjusted to family, personal or social commitments; frequency of working during free time to fulfil demands of paid work; how easy it is to take off one or two hours during the working time to deal with personal or family affairs.

Tabela 1.**Socio-demographic characteristics of interviewees – descriptive summary**

Pseudo-nym	Sex	Age	Household parental composition	Number of children	Age of children	Occupation / position	Educational attainment level
Alexandra	Woman	51	Biparental	2 daughters	17 and 14	Nurse	Master's
Álvaro	Man	51	Biparental	2 daughters	22 and 9	Vehicle driver	Lower secondary
Armindo	Man	41	Biparental	1 daughter and 1 son	11 and 1	Policeman	Upper secondary
Bernardo	Man	52	Biparental	1 daughter and 1 son	18 and 14	Bartender	Lower secondary
Carlos	Man	36	Biparental	1 daughter and 1 son	16 and 10	Security guard	Upper secondary
Catarina	Woman	38	Biparental	1 daughter	6	Agricultural manager	Licentiate*
Cecília	Woman	38	Single parent	1 daughter	9	Policewoman	Upper secondary
Durval	Man	35	Biparental	2 sons and 2 daughters	18, 16, 17 and 11	Gardener	Lower secondary
Elisa	Woman	35	Biparental	1 son	2	Psychologist	Licentiate*
Fausto	Man	48	Biparental	2 sons	18 and 9	University professor	PhD
Felisberto	Man	50	Biparental	2 daughters	20 and 14	Textile factory worker	Lower secondary
Filipa	Woman	32	Biparental	2 daughters and 1 son	14, 5 and 1	Nursing home assistant	Lower secondary
Francisca	Woman	42	Biparental	1 daughter and 1 son	12 and 6	Public sector administrator	Licentiate*
Gabriel	Man	28	Biparental	1 daughter	6	Shop assistant	Lower secondary
Gustavo	Man	45	Biparental	2 daughters and 1 son	11, 8 and 3	Restaurant manager and trainer	Bachelor's
Helena	Woman	45	Single parent	1 daughter and 1 son	14 and 7	Annotator	Post-secondary
Humberto	Man	34	Biparental	2 daughters	3 years and 11 months	Policeman	Upper secondary
Ilda	Woman	46	Biparental	2 daughters and 1 son	13, 12 and 9	University professor	PhD
Iolanda	Woman	27	Biparental	1 daughter	6	Cook assistant	Lower secondary
Isabel	Woman	30	Biparental	2 sons	7 and 1	Supermarket shelver	Lower secondary
Jaime	Man	37	Biparental	1 daughter and 1 son	10 and 8	Local councillor	Licentiate*
João	Man	45	Biparental	2 daughters	7 and 3	Company manager	Lower secondary
Jorge	Man	41	Biparental	1 son	9	Sociocultural animator	Post-Secondary
Josefina	Woman	48	Biparental	1 son and 1 daughter	15 and 13	Social assistant	Licentiate*
Judite	Woman	40	Biparental	2 sons	15 and 7	Accountant	Upper secondary
Leonor	Woman	33	Single parent	1 son	3	Consultant	Master's
Liliana	Woman	38	Biparental	2 daughters	13 and 3	Office clerk	Lower secondary
Lourenço	Man	43	Biparental	2 daughters and 2 sons	18, 15, 10 and 8	Musician	Licentiate*
Lubélia	Woman	50	Single parent	2 daughters and 1 son	23, 9 and 5	Restaurant waitress	Primary school

Pseudo- nym	Sex	Age	Household parental composition	Number of children	Age of children	Occupation / position	Educational attainment level
Luís	Man	48	Biparental	1 daughter and 1 son	18 and 13	Business services agent	Lower secondary
Madalena	Woman	45	Biparental	1 daughter and 1 son	13 and 10	Office clerk	Lower secondary
Marisa	Woman	40	Biparental	1 daughter	5	Science technician	Licenciante*
Nélson	Man	39	Biparental	1 son	9	Warehouse operator	Lower secondary
Noémia	Woman	53	Biparental	1 son	15	Accountant and manager	Licenciante*
Nuno	Man	38	Biparental	1 son	3	Textile factory worker	Lower secondary
Odete	Woman	46	Single parent	1 son and 1 daughter	21 and 10	Healthcare assistant	Lower secondary
Olga	Woman	41	Single parent	2 sons and 1 daughter	17, 15 and 11	Real estate agent	Upper secondary
Olívia	Woman	35	Biparental	2 sons	10 and 5	Lawyer	Licenciante*
Palmira	Woman	38	Single parent	1 daughter and 1 son	5 years and 11 months	Physical rehabilitation professional	Licenciante*
Patrícia	Woman	39	Biparental	1 son	3	Basic school teacher	Licenciante*
Raquel	Woman	32	Biparental	1 daughter	3	Social assistant	Licenciante*
Rogério	Man	42	Biparental	1 daughter and 1 son	9 and 1	Translator	Lower secondary
Rosa	Woman	40	Single parent	1 daughter	7	Primary school teacher	Licenciante*
Rui	Man	41	Biparental	1 son and 1 daughter	5 and 3	Business services agent	Upper secondary
Sebastião	Man	41	Biparental	1 son	6	Customer service employee	Licenciante*
Sofia	Woman	36	Biparental	1 daughter	11	Social worker	Upper secondary
Susana	Woman	36	Biparental	3 sons	17, 16 and 10	Restaurant waitress	Lower secondary
Tiago	Man	29	Biparental	1 daughter	2	Warehouse operator	Upper secondary
Timóteo	Man	45	Biparental	2 sons	16 and 9	Office clerk	Licenciante*
Zaida	Woman	28	Biparental	1 daughter	2	School assistant	Lower secondary

* Note: A 'licenciante' degree (*licenciatura*) is the first degree in tertiary education and may take between 3 and 4 years to complete depending upon the course and the educational policy adopted.

3.

Me time



no time to call our own

Pamela Odih, 2003

Introduction



Everything rushes by. We live in a hurry with everything, we suffer from stress every day... We have to do everything quickly in the morning. We have to eat quickly, wash quickly, go to work quickly. Even our daily routine at work is stressful, also because every minute counts. We have timetables for everything. Then we have to fetch the children in a hurry, do the homework in a hurry, make dinner in a hurry. [...] We miss a space of our own. I don't know, taking a day off and go out, have lunch at a restaurant, go to the cinema. That's good for us. Having one day only for ourselves, being with our friends, being by ourselves in silence... only us, with nothing to do.

Filipa, 32 years old, biparental,
son aged 14, daughters aged 5 and 1



I: When I get home it's the same thing as when I get to work, it's all engines firing. That's when the engines start and varoom-varoom, we dash around doing what we can...
i: And what about time for yourself?
I: I don't know what that is. What a funny question! I think it's a very droll question. I'd really like to have some, but I don't.

Odete, 46 years old, single parent,
son aged 21, daughter aged 10

Hurrying, rushing or even racing through daily life, lack of time to do everything that one needs or would like to get done – these are feelings repeatedly expressed by our interviewees, not only women but also men. In some cases, this reality is so entrenched that, as it happens with Odete, someone asking her whether she has any time for herself comes as a surprise. Under the pressure of demands of paid and unpaid work, life is lived with “all engines firing”, in a constant “varoom-varoom”.

As pointed out by Filipa after enumerating the sources of pressure under which she has to struggle every day of the week, what is missing is “having a space of our own” – a “space” which is above all temporal and emotional, even though in many circumstances the physical aspect should not be neglected. Getting out, having lunch out, going to the cinema, being with friends or simply being alone in silence are some of the examples given by this interviewee. As different as preferences for time use may be, the difficulty in obtaining “time for myself” is shared.

It should not be inferred from this that the problem is experienced by everyone in the same manner. As we shall see throughout this chapter, there are people who feel it to a lesser or a greater degree; there are also people stating that they do not feel this problem at all. Contexts and restraints vary, and the same can be said about the ensuing strategies, solutions and negotiations. It is worth recalling that disposable time is a primary good and a key resource for expressing points of view, interests and goals: the unfair distribution of time not only reflects but also reproduces political inequalities (Bryson, 2007).

The quantitative and qualitative evidence collected in our research shall allow us to discuss some of the social dynamics and power relations associated with the current patterns regarding free time and leisure time in Portugal. Our interviewees' discourse is particularly interesting in this respect, first of all because subjectivities cannot be neglected in any study of 'free time' – the very concept lends itself to various perceptions and ambiguities, and it is impossible to circumscribe it in a rigorous or universalistic manner (Deem, 1986; Gershuny, 2000). If the numbers obtained from our questionnaire allow us to establish a set of relevant comparisons, the qualitative lens exposes important clues as to how to interpret and dig deeper into the categories that are normally used in extensive research.

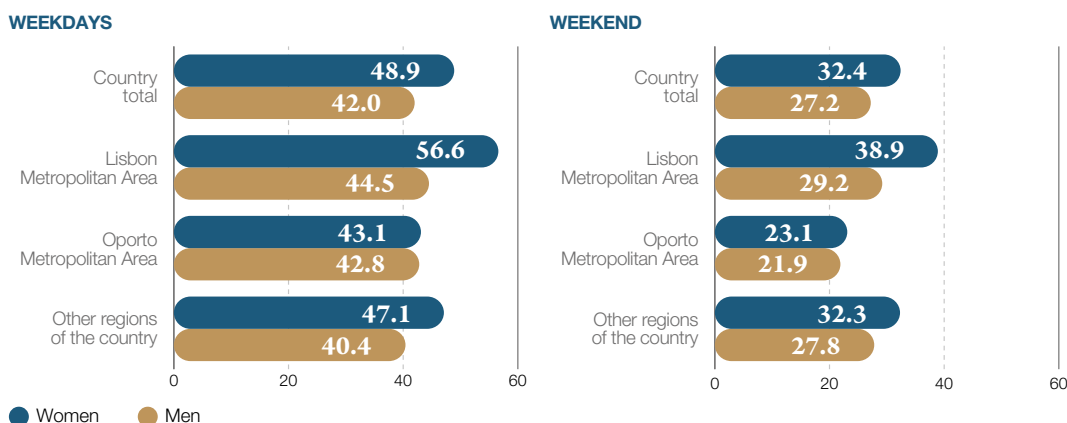
We shall start by examining data relative to lack of time and feelings of being rushed. Who has more free time and who has less, and under what circumstances? Afterwards, we shall be focusing our attention on the *quality* of this free time, taking into account several factors important for its full enjoyment such as the compatibility with other people's or services' schedules, the distribution of roles in the family and emotional availability. Lastly, we shall be looking at the contents of free time, identifying the activities that people devote themselves most to and which they would most like to do.

To have or not to have time, that is the question

Considering data for the whole country, almost half of the people consider that they do not have enough time to do everything that they wanted to do during weekdays: this feeling is expressed by 48.9% of the women and 42% of the men. The proportion of women who express it is especially high in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA), reaching 56.6%. In all of the regions under study, the proportion of men stating that they do not have enough time is lower than the proportion of the women. Despite this fact, we may see that in the Oporto Metropolitan Area (OMA) the gender disparity is lower, not more than 0.3 percentage points.

Although with lower values, this perception of lack of time is also felt on the weekend (or days off work – rest days – if these do not coincide with the weekend). Even here, more women consider that they do not have enough time to do everything that they wanted to do – 32.4% of women comparing with 27% of men. In agreement with what is observed during the weekdays, the highest values in rest days are registered in the LMA, and the OMA shows the smallest gender disparity.

Figure 12. People considering that they do not have enough time to do everything they wanted to do during weekdays and the weekend days according to country region by sex (%)



Note: These percentages are the outcome of aggregating three answers from a scale of five: 'yes, every day'; 'yes, often'; 'yes, sometimes'.

The interviews give an account of the daily struggle to fit everyday commitments into the available time. This effort is particularly notable in the case of people with small children under their care. A certain amount of ingenuity is needed to find a snippet of time from Monday to Friday which may properly be called free time. One of the interviewees, Francisca, explains how her efforts to “maximise” her time come into conflict with her eating habits or her rest. Rui, who works as a business services agent, enjoys the many car trips he is required to make for professional purposes to reflect and he does physical exercise at home; this interviewee considers that yes, he has time for himself.



Going to the hairdresser, this is something I can only do during my lunch hour, just like we're doing this interview during my lunch hour. I have to take advantage of my lunch hour. But then lunch suffers and it has to be a sandwich or something fast to eat. There was a time when I still tried to go to the gym but it had to be at 8.30 in the morning. Between 8.30 and 9 o'clock. It ended up by interfering. The end of the day – forget about it! I can only manage to get a little time for myself after 10.30 or 11 o'clock at night. That's the time I try and read a book or watch a bit of television. Sometimes we're not even successful at that because we feel sleepy and so we don't do anything.

Francisca, 42 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 12, son aged 6



I spend a lot of my time stuck inside a car thinking. I really dedicate myself to thinking. And afterwards I do some physical exercise at home. I have some equipment here; it's something I insist on... Seeing a film with my wife, playing a bit on the computer... yes, I've got time for myself.

Rui, 41 years old, biparental,
son aged 5, daughter aged 3

The lunch hour, the evening time after the children have gone to bed, or the time spent waiting or travelling throughout the day, these are especially important because they provide intervals of opportunity, either for personal activities or merely to rest. In two of the interviews, the daily period in which one can be alone, no matter how short and uncertain it is, is described by the respondents as a “zen” moment, exposing the deficit of quiet moments in daily life.



One [of my daughters] has to be in school at 8.30 in the morning and the other one at 9 o'clock. I leave one at one school and the other at another school. After leaving the second one at school, I have my fifteen or twenty zen minutes, my only quiet moment of the day: I go and have a coffee and breakfast at a coffee shop near the girl's school. Actually today she called me because she had forgotten her skates in the car and so I had to go back to her school to take her the skates.

Gustavo, 45 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 11 and 8, son aged 3



There are also days when I go to bed later, because there's something I really like doing... and this may seem a little selfish of me... but I really like being alone as well. I like having a moment to myself, half an hour is enough, and seeing my favourite programmes. I love it. Nobody can take that away from me. So on those days I say: “No, today I want to do so-and-so, it'll do me good.” It's as if it were a zen session for me. So I make the most of it.

Catarina, 38 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 6

Owing to the severe pressure of time experienced throughout the week, the weekend opens doors to a welcome break from the discipline and the routine of weekdays. It is the quintessential time for resting, for leisure activities, for family gatherings. Nevertheless, the different constraints flagged by the people we interviewed cannot be sidestepped.

On the one hand, having children in the household stands out as a differentiating factor once again. For couples with children, the weekend is organised to a greater or lesser extent to fit in with the children's habits and wishes, mainly in terms of the time they get up and go to bed, their mealtimes or playtimes. The words of Francisca below are illustrative.



Normally the weekend... we try to limit this, but very often it has to conform to the children's agendas. They have a more hectic social life than their parents! Birthday parties, small parties, events, well... My daughter is in the theatre. Therefore, on Saturday mornings there's always her theatre rehearsal. The younger boy has catechism classes on Saturday afternoons. So right off, Saturday is more restricted. Then, the parties are punctuated by basketball tournaments that are also held at the weekend. And afterwards it's visits to their grandparents...

Francisca, 42 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 12, son aged 6

On the other hand, people whose paid employment is organised on the basis of shift work (this form of working time organisation, as we shall see further on, covers 10.6% of men and 9.6% of women) know only too well the resulting difficulties to get the family together. This is the case of Jorge, who underscores the possibility of having both meals with his wife and son on Sunday; or Durval, who refers to his wife's irregular working hours.



I think that all the moments on a Sunday are good, they are well spent. We always spend them together. Yes. We have lunch together; it's the only day when we can have lunch and dinner together, the family sitting around the same table.

Jorge, 41 years old, biparental,
son aged 9

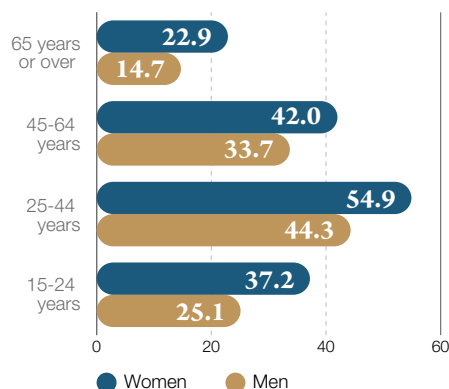


Sunday is 'sacred' for us, we all stay at home resting. 'All', not exactly; my wife works some of the Sundays. Actually, she works almost every Sunday. She only has one day of rest during the week and it's not a fixed day, it changes. It just so happens that this week her rest will fall on a Sunday and Monday. Every seven weeks she has a right to two days' rest.

Durval, 35 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 18 and 16, sons aged 17 and 11

Returning to the data collected through the questionnaire, we corroborate that the lack of time for personal activities is felt more particularly by people in the intermediate age groups, reaching a peak among people between 25 and 44 years old.⁶ The sensation that there is no time to do the things that they would like is less apparent among the older men and women. Furthermore, it can be observed that in all of the age groups the women feel the problem more keenly than men. This gender disparity is already evident in the age group of 15-24 years, where it is greater in percentage points than in any other group.

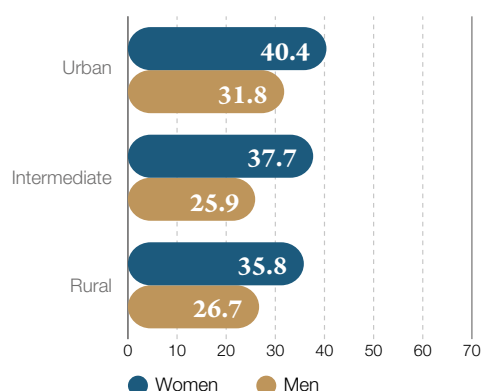
Figure 13. People who consider that, in their daily life, they rarely have time to do the things they really like according to age group by sex (%)



⁶ In the four figures that follow, the percentages indicated were obtained by aggregating two answers - 'I fully agree' and 'I agree' - from a scale of five. In other words, it shows how many of the people in the survey are in agreement with the statement presented to them.

A similar thing is observed when, analysing the data by habitat, we compare the case of people living in densely populated urban areas, less densely populated urban areas (intermediate areas), and rural areas. In all of these environments, more women than men state that they lack time. It should also be noted that the differences between the rural areas and the urban areas are not as great as might be expected. Even if the lack of time is more acutely felt in urban areas, it is by no means absent in rural areas. Neither is the gender disparity substantially greater or lesser according to the habitat of residence.

Figure 14. People who consider that, in their daily life, they rarely have time to do the things they really like according to habitat by sex (%)

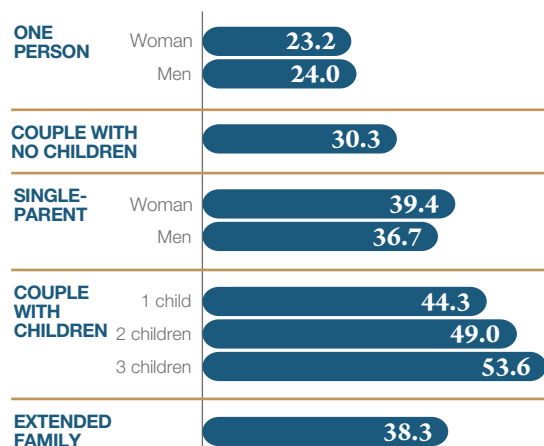


Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that it is women living in the LMA who most express this breach between time and the possibility of using it for pursuing activities they find pleasing and satisfying: more than 42 in every one hundred women residents in the LMA consider that they rarely have the time to do the things they would most like to do.

The expectation would be to find also substantial differences across types of household composition and employment conditions. With respect to household composition, the following figure confirms that the lack of time is felt most acutely by adults who live with children – and this feeling tends to increase with the number of children. As regards people living alone, almost one quarter consider that they rarely have time to do the things they like the most, a proportion that is by no means negligible in itself. It should be added that the gender disparity is smaller in the case of one-person households. Lack of time affects 30.3% of the married couples who do not have any children, but where the couple has three children the sensation of having no time rises to 53.6%.

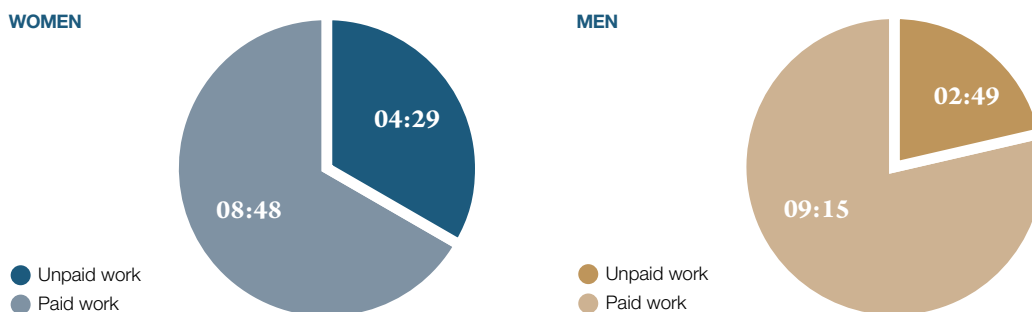
It is interesting to note that people living in single-parent households, that is, cases when a woman or a man live only with her or his children – according to our data, almost 90% of these households are composed of a woman and her children –, the lack of time is signalled in a smaller proportion than among people living in a biparental household, even if the latter has only one child. This fact may be partially explained by the time that children in single-parent households spend under the care of the other parent. Nevertheless, adding these observations to the data presented above, the impression is strengthened that constraints associated with married life are not entirely explained by childcare.

Figure 15. People who consider that, in their daily life, they rarely have time to do the things they really like according to type of household by sex (%)



The time spent on paid work must be taken into consideration too. People in employment who feel that they lack time to do the things they would really like to do, both men and women, have daily averages of paid and unpaid work that are higher – 13 minutes in paid work and 12 minutes in unpaid work – than those of the population in employment at large (as we shall see later in greater detail).

Figure 16. Average daily paid and unpaid working time of people in employment who consider that, in their daily life, they rarely have the time to do the things they really like by sex (hours:minutes)



Still considering only people in employment, we see that the lack of time is more acute – reaching over 60% – among people spending more than 40 hours a week in their paid work. Even so, this feeling is also expressed by 52% of the people who keep with the most common length of the paid working week – between 35 and 40 hours.

Dwelling for an additional moment on the population in employment, it is relevant to examine the feeling of rush as grasped by another question in the questionnaire. It should be mentioned that more women than men state that they are normally (every day or often) in a hurry: 45.4% of the women comparing with 36% of the men.

On the other hand, we observe that both for women and men there is a marked difference between people living with and without children up to the age of 14. Already present among the people who do not live with children, the gender disparity increases when we consider only the people living with children – from 7.2 to 9.8 percentage points, based on an aggregation of the answers ‘every day’ and ‘often’. This disparity is even higher when we look at the case of people cohabiting with children under 2 years old, where it reaches 17.6 percentage points.

In other words, although the answers provided by men suggest that fatherhood is accompanied by an increased feeling of being rushed, this is not as evident as it is among women, whose feeling of being rushed seems to rise dramatically – especially during the first few years of their children’s lives.

Figure 17. Frequency of feeling in a hurry according to cohabitation with children aged 14 years or less – people in employment by sex (%)

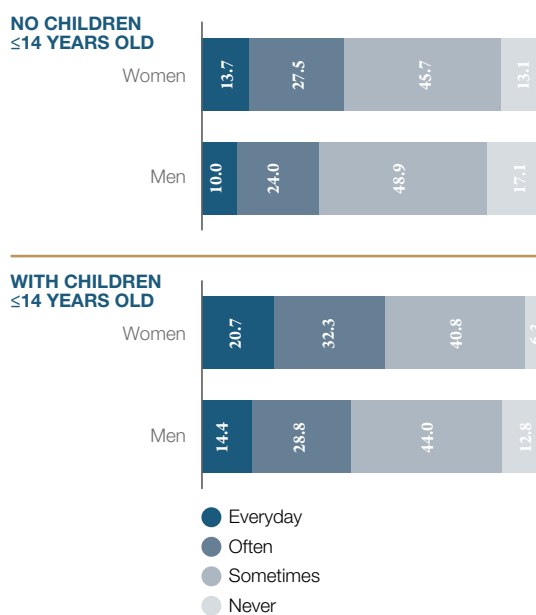
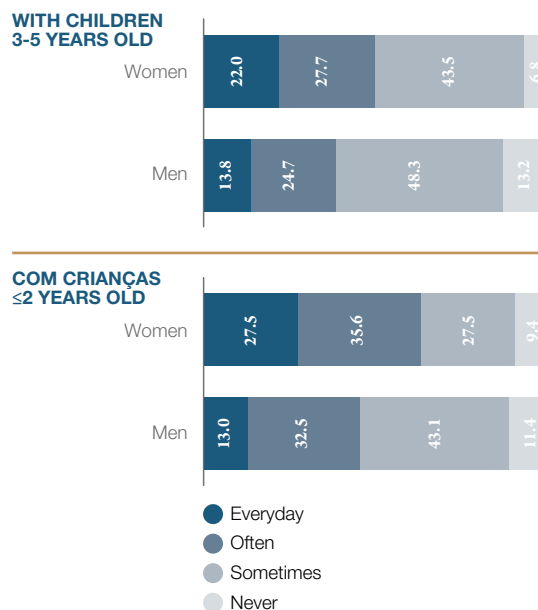


Figure 18. Frequency of feeling rushed according to cohabitation with children aged 5 years or less – people in employment by sex (%)



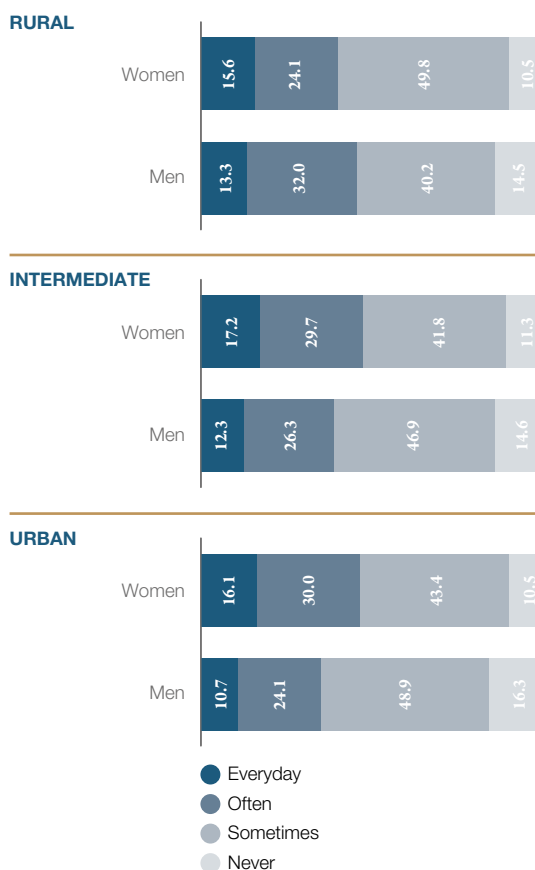
This gender disparity is a characteristic of urban and intermediate areas, and it is not observed in rural areas. It is interesting to note that we do not find clear-cut differences in terms of a greater or lesser awareness in people's notions of being rushed according to habitat of residence. Despite the general perception that a faster pace of living is typical of urban or metropolitan areas, the data indicate that this feeling is, somewhat surprisingly, fairly similar in the rural areas. Such values should not be disconnected from the subjective dimensions of time (so convincingly uncovered by feminist authors such as Karen Davies, 1990, or Mary Daly, 2000).

WHAT WAS IT LIKE IN 1999?

"Daily lives are often marked by a feeling of being rushed: 57% of women feel that they are normally rushed (the value among men, although not much lower, goes down to 50%).

People expressing greater stress are characterised, in generic terms, by belonging to the age group of 35-54 years, being married, living together with their spouse, and having one or more children (regardless of the children's ages). On the other hand, the feeling of being rushed rises as the time spent on paid work increases" (IOT 1999, cf. Perista, 2002: 468).

Figure 19. Frequency of feeling rushed – people in employment according to habitat by sex (%)



Accepting that feelings of lack of time and stress are paramount indicators of well-being,⁷ it is important to examine in greater detail who expresses this feeling more often.

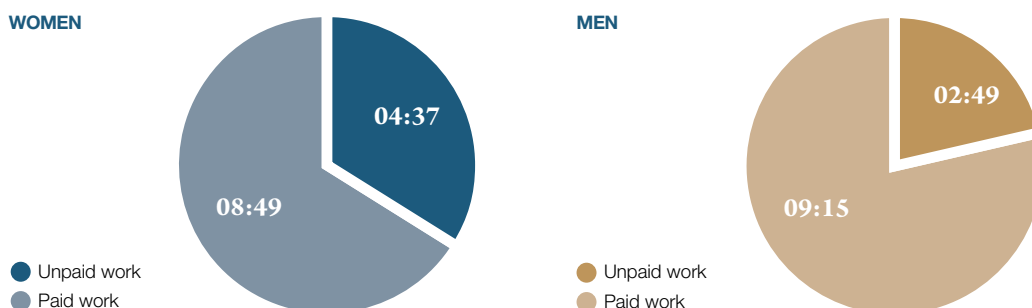
With regard to age, we observe that the feeling of being rushed among women and men in employment is the most prevalent between 25 and 44 year: 49.5% and 40.1%, respectively. The gender disparity, however, is particularly noteworthy among younger people, as 36% of the women and 15.9% of the men aged between 15 and 24 state that they feel rushed every day or often. Interestingly, among people aged 65 or more who are still in employment,⁸ 38% of the men comparing with 35.1% of the women state that they feel rushed.

Similarly – but clearly more accentuated in the case of women – to our earlier observation about the perception of lack of time, the feeling of being rushed seems to be determined by the time of paid work as well. Indeed, the women in employment who state that they feel rushed every day or often spent 14 minutes more on paid work and 20 minutes more on unpaid work than women in employment at large.

⁷ As widely analysed at the 38th Conference of the International Association for Time Use Research (IATUR), in Seoul, between 19 and 22 July 2016.

⁸ The age group of 65 years or over represents about 1.7% of the population in paid employment.

Figure 20. Average daily paid and unpaid working time of people in employment who feel rushed by sex (hours:minutes)



Under the simultaneous pressures of paid and unpaid work, free time and hurrying are not evenly distributed between people – but neither are they distributed in an arbitrary way. The interviewees' statements show us that, in some households, the pursuit of time for personal activities builds on unequal conditions closely entwined with gender factors. It is women who are typically the first to give up their free time to ensure the provision of care to the children or to the elderly. This inequality is explained by some of the women interviewees by the circumstances in which they find themselves regarding paid work being different than their husband's. The husband's paid activity, because it provides more flexible working schedules or requires frequent trips, gives rise to more beneficial conditions concerning disposable time for personal use.



He is able to manage things in a different way. Because he has a more flexible working schedule, he manages, for instance, to leave our son at the childminder early in the morning and then take a lesson at the gym. Since he organises his own timetable, he can easily take off an hour.

Elisa, 35 years old, biparental,
son aged 2



He has more time to do the things he likes. Sometimes he can come home and take a nap. He isn't very happy about it though, because he has to go to work in the evenings. But he has time for himself, to do things he likes, go where he likes or meet up with his workmates. He has more time than I have.

Filipa, 32 years old, biparental,
son aged 14, daughters aged 5 and 1



He travels often, so... there's a period in his life that he's in charge of. He ends up by having time for himself, he has the chance to go to the cinema... because he travels to large cities... he ends up by having time for himself, and this gives him a sense of balance. I sometimes think he finds it hard to come home and lose this space, isn't that so? But I think he, my husband, is very disciplined in terms of occupying and managing his time.

Ilda, 46 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 13 and 12, son aged 9

If asymmetries are apparent from Mondays to Fridays, they also make themselves felt over the weekend. Although the weekend is, as a rule, considered a special time for resting and leisure, in practice it has come to acquire fairly different meanings according to whether there is more or less time to actually make use of. Felisberto tells us that he spends the free afternoons out of the house while his wife tries to combine resting with household chores at home.



There are things that must be done on the weekend too, right? With four people living at home, when the weekend arrives there's always some cleaning to do, clothes to wash, this and that. I actually go out after lunch, I meet up with some of my mates until 6.30 or 7 o'clock [...] my wife is not the type of person that goes to the café, and neither does she want to go here or there. Sometimes, because the week stresses her out, all she wants is to be left in peace at home. She does what needs to be done in the kitchen, goes and sits on the sofa with my daughter, sometimes my older girl also stays at home, and there the three of them are, and she says: "What, go to the café now? I've still got the kitchen to tidy up, I've got the ironing to do; I'm staying at home."

Felisberto, 50 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 20 and 14

Odete underlines the burden of unpaid work when she'd rather enjoy herself and relax.



The worst moment is when I have to decide what to cook for lunch or for dinner. The timetable is not strict, but I must do it at some point: I have a child, I have to feed her. In the end, we're always stressed as the chronometer ticks away and there's still this or that to do. These are the worst moments... now and then the doorbell rings – and I still have the ironing to do, what a bummer! That's enough to somewhat spoil a Saturday.

Odete, 46 years old, single parent,
son aged 21, daughter aged 10

It is therefore unsurprising that the distribution of free time raises tensions and conflicts. Although men also voice their dissatisfaction about the lack of time, it is in the interviews with women that descriptions are shown to be the most eloquent. It is worth highlighting some of the nuances in the discourse of the women currently living in a single-parent context. Leonor tells us that, except for the moments she spends with her son, it is as if her personal life boils down to paid work.



I think that I can only be myself at work. I feel as if my personal life is [my job], you know? With the exception of my son. For me, time for me... I feel that I am myself when I'm working. Aside from that, there's very little.

Leonor, 33 years old, single parent,
son aged 3

Contrastingly, Rosa underscores that after her divorce she started paying more attention to her own personal needs. Olga and Palmira go as far as to establish a direct connection between the reasons that led them to separate from their partners and the pain they experienced as a result of the unfair division of time spent on resting and leisure. These interviewees are particularly informative as they demonstrate that the presence of a male companion can complicate rather than facilitate a woman's daily life – whether concerning the practical aspects of time management or emotional and psychological well-being.



I was completely different before my divorce. I didn't think the way I do now. I existed solely for the house. Cleaning the house was important. Everything had to be tidy before my husband arrived. And I would forget about myself. Now it's the opposite. I think more about myself and the rest comes afterwards.

Rosa, 40 years old, single parent,
daughter aged 7



It caused a lot of fighting between us... the fact that both of us left for work in the morning, and he was drinking his coffee while I rushed around dressing the children, taking them to the childminder, going to work, leaving work... we left work at more or less the same time, but he would go to the café to drink his beer while I fetched the children, brought them home, made dinner, tidied up, did everything. [...] I saw that, to survive in such a relationship and survive in this world where I needed to work so hard, with this sort of partner I would be a slave.

Olga, 41 years old, single parent,
sons aged 17 and 11, daughter aged 15



The first thing is: the man has to understand that the woman is not only a woman, she is a human being. We are people, we have feelings too, concerns, we also need our leisure. Therefore, I think that men should be a little more aware that their wives need help with the children and with the house, it's not only them who need to relax, we also need to relax.

Palmira, 38 years old, single parent,
daughter aged 5, son aged 11

In other cases, men embark – with greater or lesser willingness – on a process of adaptation: they change certain behaviours and let go of some privileges, as illustrated by the accounts of Álvaro and João when asked about what they usually do at the weekend.



On Saturdays I usually get up a little later, do the shopping and clean... I'm very collaborative, I'm always there... so basically that's it. We're always at home except when there's an event to go to, or when we go to the cinema or some other place, a café or something like that. But nothing too special.

Álvaro, 51 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 22 and 9



i: Do you think you have enough time for yourself?

I: To go and watch a football match, and that's already something to be happy about. You know, there comes a time when... how shall I put it?... being with your children is also having time for yourself. But things like: "I'm going to spend the weekend in the Algarve", no, I don't have the time for that. But it's something I really don't think about.

João, 45 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 7 and 3

By both men and women, children are often signalled as the primary reason why they give up their free time. The emotional gratification obtained by being and doing activities together is repeatedly described as offering some compensation, even if this reality is not always peaceful – in particular when paid work demands are more intense or when the interviewees look back to the course of their own life.

For example, Liliana points out that the current restrictions on her freedom prevent her from having an unpredictable behaviour; she recalls a time in her life when the weekend was free from the obligations of making plans and paying heed to the clock. Cecilia and Susana stress the importance of preserving some moments when they can be alone, when they can "sleep until noon" or simply "go out" and "recharge their batteries".



I now have some routines I didn't have before my daughters were born. For example, if I felt like only eating a sandwich and some soup... now surely with the children I have to cook something for them. We have to think about bathing them. We have to know at what time we put them to bed. It's a different sort of routine. But I sincerely feel that on the other hand I'm fulfilled because... I have a different kind of life, but my daughters are a great joy to us. When they are not at home, I really feel as if the house is empty. [...] When we have children, we always come in last place to some extent.

Liliana, 38 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 13 and 3



In the past, I was... my time was all my own. I didn't have to share it with anyone, and now I feel as if I have to share everything. [My daughter] takes priority in everything. When she's at home, I'm never alone because she's always calling "Mummy"; "Mummy". I don't have time for myself anymore. For example, either I do something on my day off work when she's not around or I have to ask someone to mind her so that I can do something different. Because, otherwise, I'm with her all the time. What I mean is that there seems to be two Cecílias now, one big and one little... I'm going to say something that may sound nasty but there are moments when I feel like telling her: go on and stay with her grandmother for a while, will you? Let me be on my own for a little bit. This is why I always take a week off so that I can go on holiday alone. So that I can say: I'm going to sleep until noon. If I don't feel like having dinner, then I won't have dinner.

Cecília, 38 years old, single parent,
daughter aged 9



Before my third child was born, I had a little more time. Since then, it's one more child demanding my attention, especially while he's still little. But now and then I do take off one or two hours. Last week I said: I still have the washing up to do but I'm going out for an hour, because I'm religious and I like to attend mass. The other day, I also left things to be done. I took off an hour and went out to catch a bit of fresh air and recharge my batteries.

Susana, 36 years old, biparental,
sons aged 17, 16 and 10

The quality of free time

To be sure, an analysis of free time is not exhausted by signalling how many hours are involved. It is important not only to discuss who has more and who has less 'me time', but also to examine the quality of free time.

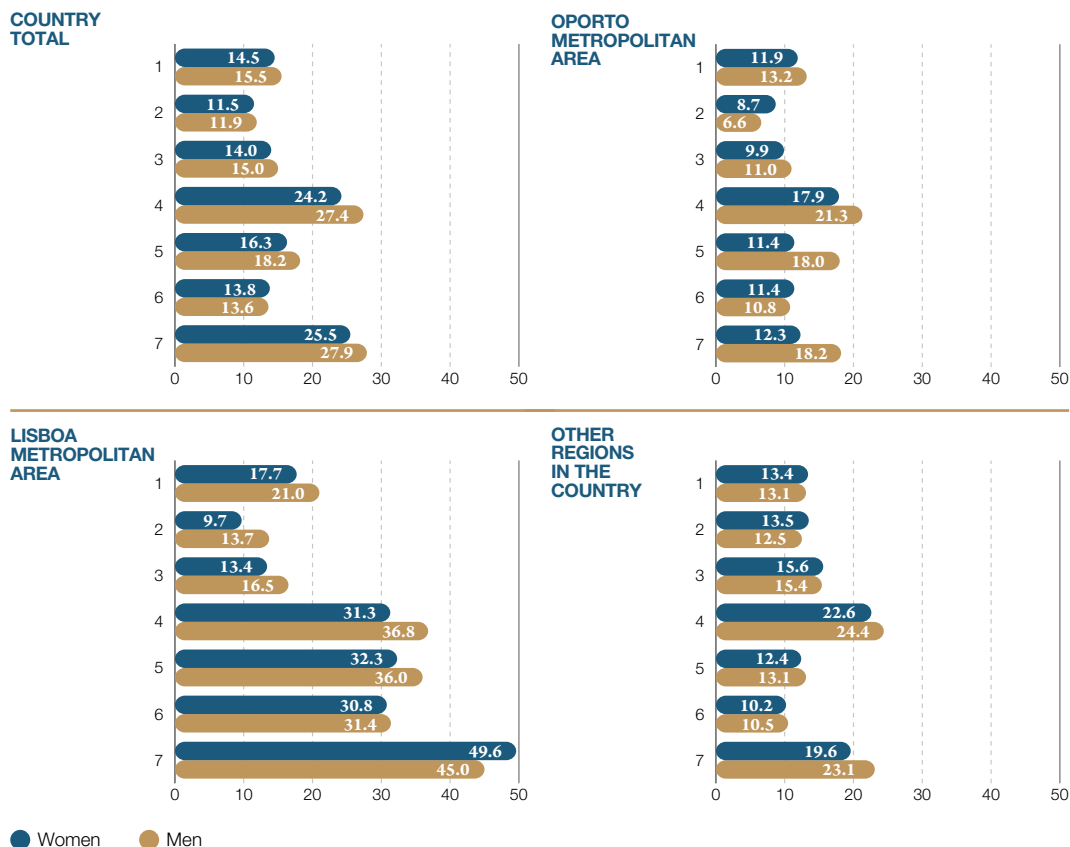
One of the aspects to bear in mind pertains to the constraints resulting from the multiplicity of incumbencies. As they attend to their daily chores and responsibilities, men and women may be confronted with incompatibilities between their paid work – or the ways in which their paid working time is organised – and the timetables of either their partner/spouse or facilities and services. The figure below summarizes such incompatibilities according to the respondent's sex and area of residence.

The LMA stands out as the territory where more people experience difficulties in the relation between their daily activities – paid work, household chores, childcare, etc. – and the timetables around them. The 'clash' referred to by most people living in the LMA, above all by women, refers to their spouse's or partner's working schedule. In the OMA and the rest of the regions, more men refer to the incompatibility of their wife's or partner's working schedule.

The opening hours of administrative services such as the post-office, the tax office or the banks are considered to be what collides the most with peoples' daily activities in the OMA, especially by men. It is also men who refer the most to this incompatibility in the rest of the country. Difficulties in combining working schedules with the opening hours of schools and other facilities providing childcare are signalled

by a large number of people too, especially by men in the case of schools and without any notable gender difference in the case of other facilities. Furthermore, the men, especially in the LMA, refer more than women to the opening hours of services in the field of leisure and culture – such as swimming pools, libraries and gymnasiums – as clashing with their own activities.

Figure 21. People considering that, in a normal day, their daily activities ‘clash’ with the timetables of either their spouse/partner or services according to country region by sex (%)



- 1 – Opening hours of leisure and cultural facilities (swimming pool, library, gymnasium, etc.)
- 2 – Timetables of public transports
- 3 – Opening hours of commercial establishments
- 4 – Opening hours of administrative services (post office, tax office, banks, etc.)
- 5 – School timetables of children, grandchildren or other children
- 6 – Kindergarten, crèche or childminder timetables for children, grandchildren, other children
- 7 – Spouse's / partner's paid work schedules

Paid work places constraints on the time for personal use. For example, 12% of men and 13.5% of women think that, over the past 12 months, their paid work prevented them from dedicating to their friends as much time as they would have liked. On the other hand, 27.4% of men and 25.6% of women state that they did not experience this constraint.

The reverse effect – the perception of constraints placed by personal commitments on paid work – also deserves attention.

Still referring to the last 12 months, 40.5% of the respondents state that they have not experienced any difficulty in focusing on their paid work due to personal commitments; this value was higher among the men than among the women.

By breaking down the answers according to the social class of respondents, other differences come to light, even if they are not too apparent. This kind of difficulty is less common among industrial workers and more common among employees in the services and business people, leaders, the liberal professions and independent workers.

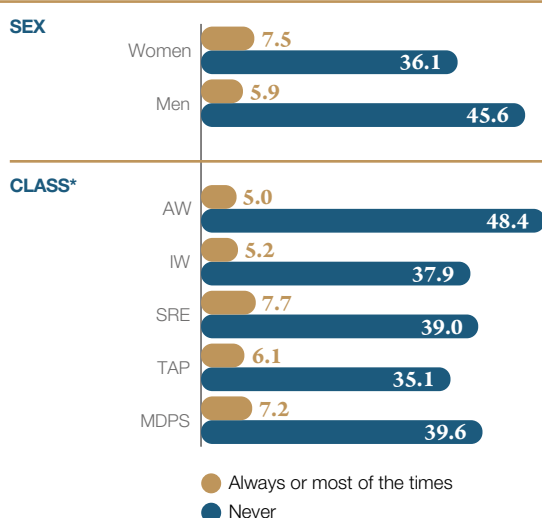
WHAT WAS IT LIKE IN 1999?

“(…) for most people, daily occupations in a normal day (in terms of paid and unpaid work) often clash with the timetables of a series of services and facilities.

About 70% of both men and women consider that their daily jobs clash with the opening hours of the administrative services (post-offices, tax offices, banks, etc.). Difficulties in compatibility with commerce's opening hours are also referred to by 41% men and 43% women as are the opening hours of services catering to the public in the field of leisure and culture (swimming-pools, libraries, etc.), referred to by about 30% of both men and women in equal numbers, and the public transport timetables mentioned by 27% women and 24% men.

Other aspects related with the spouse/ partner's work timetable and with the school timetables or the timetables of childcare facilities, are, generally speaking, referred to less frequently. Nevertheless, constraints of this kind in terms of being compatible with the job's timetables are pointed out more frequently by women; 27% when compared with 25% men when talking about the spouse /partner's timetable; 23% as against 19% men as regards the children's school; and 19% as against 8% men when referring to the children's crèches, child-minders or kindergartens”. (IOT 1999, cf. Perista, 2002: 469-470)

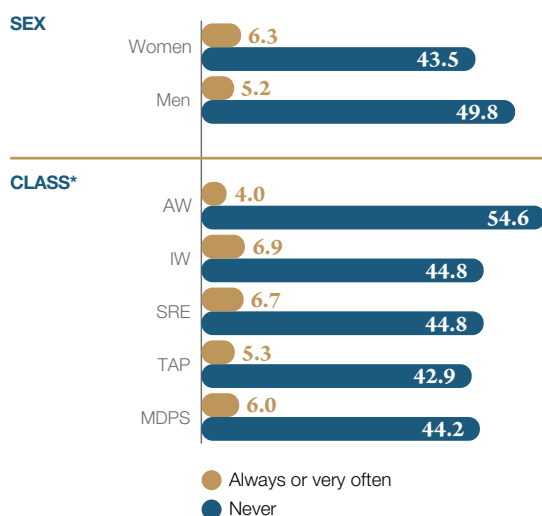
Figure 22. Frequency of difficulty in focusing on paid work due to personal commitments in the last 12 months according to social class by sex (%)



*AW: Agricultural workers; IW: Industrial workers; SRE: Service routine employees; TAP: Technicians and associate professionals; MDPS: Managers, directors, professionals and self-employed

The notion that personal commitments have not prevented them from dedicating to paid work the time that they needed is expressed by 46.4% of the people, with men taking the lead once again. In other words, both the indicators analysed here suggest that men enjoy a greater peace between the spheres of personal life and paid work. Similarly to what was observed in the previous figure, the gender disparity is more apparent than the variation across social classes; still, we can observe that industrial workers are those reporting less tension between the two spheres.

Figure 23. Frequency of thinking that personal commitments prevented oneself from dedicating the necessary time to paid work in the last 12 months according to social class by sex (%)



*AW: Agricultural workers; IW: Industrial workers; SRE: Service routine employees; TAP: Technicians and associate professionals; MDPS: Managers, directors, professionals and self-employed

The interviews expose how free time, commonly designated 'free' to distinguish it from time spent on paid work or on household chores, is in fact disturbed by pressures coming from both of those spheres. With respect to paid work, duties often extend beyond the working schedule formally arranged, as we shall see in greater detail in the chapter on paid employment – even during their free time people may be required to be on the alert, answer queries, or finish work that they have taken home. The fact that this happens to one of the members of a couple living together has repercussions not only on family life but also on the amount of unpaid work that falls on the other member's shoulders, especially when there are small children under their care. Besides possible professional demands, the time people expect to have free – typically the evening on weekdays and the weekend – is also pervaded by domestic responsibilities.

Therefore, the dispute over quality free time is also relevant to further our understanding of the asymmetries and conflicts around roles in the domestic sphere, which tend to be strongly marked by gender. In this regard, it is worth paying attention to the discourse of various men who recognise their wife's difficulties to find appropriate conditions for leisure or resting. Jorge, whose timetable at his job includes shift work until 1 am, is aware of how this overburdens his wife. Álvaro and Luís give vent to similar worries.



Next week it's Woman's Day; my wife is going to have dinner with some girl friends from work. Anyway, she said she would be going and I don't know how she's going to manage it. This is a good example: she wants to go out at night and have dinner with her friends but she has to take my son. The boy has to go with her [...]. When she has dinner out or has to go somewhere, the boy has to go along with her.

Jorge, 41 years old, biparental,
son aged 9



She has a lot to do at home. Even though I help her to a large extent, domestic life is terrible; she gets in from work and she doesn't stop... most days when she eventually sits down on the sofa she nods off to sleep. She gets up earlier than us, at 6 o'clock in the morning; she has troubles with the public transports, so she must get up really early. [...] Some days, when she stops she immediately nods off. She's actually a very amusing person... I think she has very little time for herself and feels a bit frustrated about this.

Álvaro, 51 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 22 and 9



i: Speaking of your wife, do you think she has any time for herself?

I: No. [...] She's either working, or travelling back home, or working at home.

i: At home, but doing the housework?

I: Yes, doing the housework. The time she may have for herself is always 'stolen' from something else.

Luís, 48 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 18, son aged 13

Holidays offer another paradigmatic context for scrutinising the quality of free time. The constraints in this case are more diverse and vary according to the specific conditions in each household. Catarina, an agricultural manager, and João, a manager of a building company, explain that their professional activities fail to fit in easily with the idea of holidays.



Our holidays are usually spent at home working. We don't have holidays because we have our clients waiting for us. [...] What can we call holidays, really for us? In the summer we take off a weekend. But even then we have to do some juggling. We take off a weekend in August, not only because it's the height of summer but because many of our business clients are closed. So it's easier for us to take off a couple of days then.

Catarina, 38 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 6



I somewhat blame the job because even when I'm on holidays I'm always in contact with the company. Or rather, they're always in contact with me. At night they send me e-mails; sometimes during the day I'm asked to draw up a budget... I do it at night, generally speaking after everyone has gone to bed. In themselves, holidays are good, and I like it, of course. I think everyone likes it. But I can never let go of the job... [my wife] sometimes makes fun of me when I go to beach with my cell phone and I'm phoning around, speaking to people and dealing with things. Very often, I can't manage to stay focused on the holidays.

João, 45 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 7 and 3

In the case of Filipa, holidays must be carefully articulated with the responsibilities of unpaid work.



My holidays have to fit in with the kids' holidays. Sometimes, because they've fallen ill, instead of taking sick leave from my job I put in for a few days' holiday. Because sometimes it's not worth applying for three or four days' sick leave, so I just ask for days taken off my holiday time. This is basically the way I spend my holidays. [...] I spend it doing the same things as any other day. If it's during the period that they're at school, then I get on with my normal routine. I get up early, get them ready for school... come home, do the heavier housework that needs to be done, things that I can't manage to do [usually]. Then I give things a thorough cleaning.

Filipa, 32 years old, biparental,
son aged 14, daughters aged 5 and 1

Other people bemoan the fact that they are unable to choose a more convenient period for their holidays or even, in extreme cases, to know beforehand when they can make a break in their professional activity to take off on holiday. The mismatch with the children's school holidays or with the spouse's or partner's holiday time is another problem highlighted by those who have experienced it first-hand.



This year I asked the boss to give me my holiday break in August so that I could have more time to take care of my children. And she told me that this year no one was getting time off in August. This year I could only have a holiday in April.

Lubélia, 50 years old, single parent,
daughters aged 23 and 9, son aged 5

I can't plan my holiday. It's as simple as that: I can't manage to book my holiday ever, neither with my children nor with anyone else. Even at the weekend, the same has happened many times: I had to cancel things because some work has come up for Saturday. It's better not to skip it because not only do we get paid, obviously – and we get paid a little more when it's piece work, and it's generally at the weekend – but also because you can't afford to lose contact with people in the professional environment, the best you can do is being there all the time and being seen by people. [...] Planning holidays, that's impossible, I can't just say: "Today I've booked a trip for next year in September that's going to cost me half the price...". No, I can't do that. I haven't got a clue about what I'll be doing in September next year.

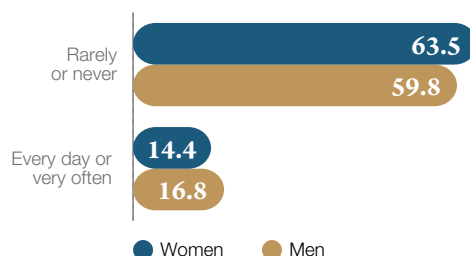
Helena, 45 years old, single parent,
daughter aged 14, son aged 7

My wife is a domestic worker and she largely depends on when her boss decides to go on holiday. And only when the boss goes on holiday, that's when she can have her own holiday too. She can't say: "I'm going to take off the first couple of weeks in August". She just can't. She can only have her holiday when the boss goes away. [...] With my own holidays, I have to put in for them in advance so that I get permission. They are accepted for August, for example. Her boss only goes away at Christmas or in September. This means that when she's on holiday I'm working, and I'm working when she's on holiday. It never coincides.

Tiago, 29 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 2

The majority of people, whether speaking about men (59.8%) or, more so, women (63.5%), state that they rarely or never experience having spare time and not knowing what to do with it. On the contrary, though, slightly more men than women mention that they have spare time available every day or quite often and they do not know how to make use of it.

Figure 24. Figure 24 Frequency of considering that one has spare time on one's hands and does not know what to do with it by sex (%)



As mentioned by some of the interviewees, the enjoyment of free time also requires a certain mental or emotional availability. The fast pace of daily life, accumulated stress and fatigue are factors that are pointed out as hurdles against resting or doing leisure time activities even when there is time for them. Ilda explains that she feels "a little lost" when she has time for herself.

WHAT WAS IT LIKE IN 1999?

"(...) A small minority of people states that they experience having spare time on their hands and not knowing what to do with it: this happens every day or very frequently to only 5% of the men and 4% of the women." (IOT 1999, cf. Perista, 2002: 469)



I'm generally stressed out and unfortunately, when I have some time, I feel a little lost. Even if I have a moment in which I could, well, do something... I'm not very fast on the uptake, I soon feel a bit lost. I'm used to always being busy. Now that [my children] are a bit older, in fact, sometimes there is a little free moment and I don't even remember that I could use it for certain things.

Ilda, 46 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 13 and 12, son aged 9

Marisa would like to have more time to sit and read, but she recognises that on the rare occasions she has a free moment fatigue takes over and puts paid to the plan. On the other hand, she often gives up reading in order to be with her daughter and husband.



There are two things I think I really miss a lot. It's time to be with my daughter and my husband; and it's time, at the same time... time to be able to sit on the sofa and read a book. But I prefer giving that up. When I have a little time, I prefer being with my husband, and this always happens quite late when she is sleeping, than actually reading a book. Besides, at that stage as soon as I pick up a book I fall asleep.

Marisa, 40 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 5

Helena, who is divorced, refers to a feeling of guilt that continues to disturb her when she leaves her youngest son with the child's father or grandmother, or with a friend, although she believes that making a claim on her free time is "very important".



We have to have time for ourselves. This is very important. Nothing bad is going to happen if we leave our child with his father, or, if the father is not around, with his grandmother, or with a friend, and we take off some time for ourselves... Afterwards we feel in a much better mood to be with him again. But that's a difficult thing to handle. It's not something we accept with pleasure. It seems that we're always failing somehow. But we're not. He's there, he's okay and he's happy. [...] It's the 'mental time': this is still the hardest part.

Helena, 45 years old, single parent,
daughter aged 14, son aged 7

The feeling of guilt expressed by Helena has been widely discussed in the literature. Lack of time and the constant need to double up between paid employment and care responsibilities gives rise to heavy time constraints, in particular for women, who are thus confronted with 'time poverty' (Lister, 1990, 1997). The difficulty to fully respond to demands and expectations imposed by the others and even by themselves causes feelings of guilt and anxiety (Ylijoki and Mäntylä, 2003). As stressed by Lyn Craig (2007), these ambivalence and guilt feelings are especially experienced by women in connection with

their children when they leave them in the care of another person, even if this is a necessary step to arrange some time for themselves.

The content of free time

Our attention now turns to the activities people actually do in the free time that they have available. With this goal in mind, we convene evidence from the questionnaire and the interviews that shall help us understand to what extent people dedicate their time to different activities, on what activities they would like to spend more time and what prevents them from doing so.

Some conclusions may be drawn from an analysis of leisure and personal activities disaggregated by type of activity.⁹ In terms of frequency, we observe that 'Mass media' – reading, listening to the radio or to music, watching television – is the most usual category of activities, far more frequent than the other categories under examination: about 90% of the people spend at least one hour a day on them and only a little more than 1% never do it. This is also the only category of activities where frequency is alike for both men and women. It should be mentioned that, similarly to what we shall see in the next chapter, these activities are often undertaken while doing something else at the same time: for example, listening to the radio while travelling by car to work, or having the television on while preparing meals.

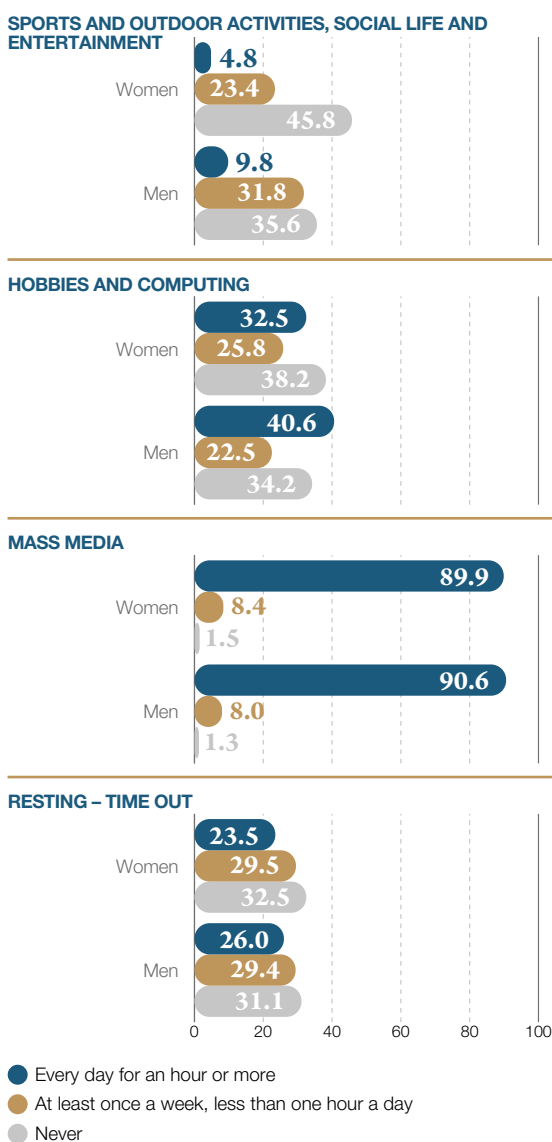
The second most frequent category of activities includes a variety of hobbies such as painting, singing, knitting, playing draughts or computer games, surfing the internet or tuning in to the social networks. In this category, 'Hobbies and computing', a slight gender disparity can be observed: 40.6% of men comparing with 32.5% of women spend on these activities at least one hour a day. A similar picture is found with regard to 'Resting – time out'. It is worth pointing out that approximately one third of men and women alike say that they never spend time on 'Hobbies and computing' or 'Resting'.

The category comprising sports, outdoor activities, social life and entertainment exposes the most substantial difference between men and women. Among the men, 9.8% spend more than one hour a day on this type of activities, while an additional 31.8%, although not doing them on a daily basis, do them at least once a week. Among the women, these values do not go beyond 4.8% and 23.4% respectively.

9 This analysis, including the figures 25, 26, 27 and 28, is based on the scheme used in the questionnaire to classify leisure and personal activities:

- i) Sports and outdoor activities, social life and entertainment (parties, cinema, theatre, concerts, lunches, dinners, etc.);
- ii) Hobbies (photography, painting, pottery, writing, singing, crochet, board games, knitting ...) and computing (programming, playing games, surfing the internet, social networking ...);
- iii) Mass media (reading, listening to the radio/music, watching television ...);
- iv) Resting – time out (relaxing, sunbathing ...).

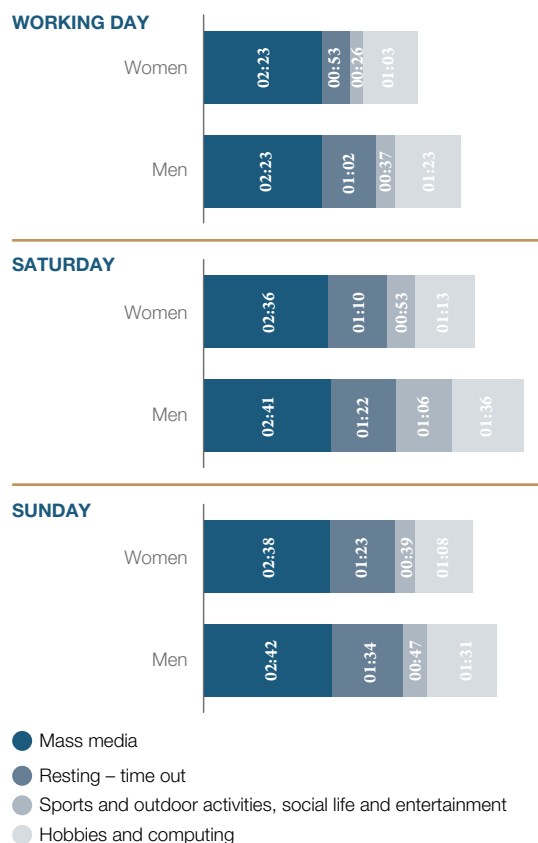
Figure 25. Frequency with which people normally undertake leisure and personal activities according to the type of activity by sex (%)



The comparison between average times spent on such activities provides another dimension of the existing gender differences. 'Hobbies and computing' stands out as the most unequal category: on the last working day, men spent an average of 1 hour and 23 minutes on them, while women spent 1 hour and 3 minutes. Adding up the average times of all leisure and personal activities, men have an advantage of 39 minutes. It should be noted that this is a statistical total and does not take into account the possibility of undertaking some of these activities simultaneously (for example, doing physical exercise and listening to music, or watching television and surfing the internet).

Still, it is apparent that the disparity between men and women increases during the weekends. This is observed for all types of activities under analysis except for 'Sports and outdoor activities, social life and entertainment' on Sundays.

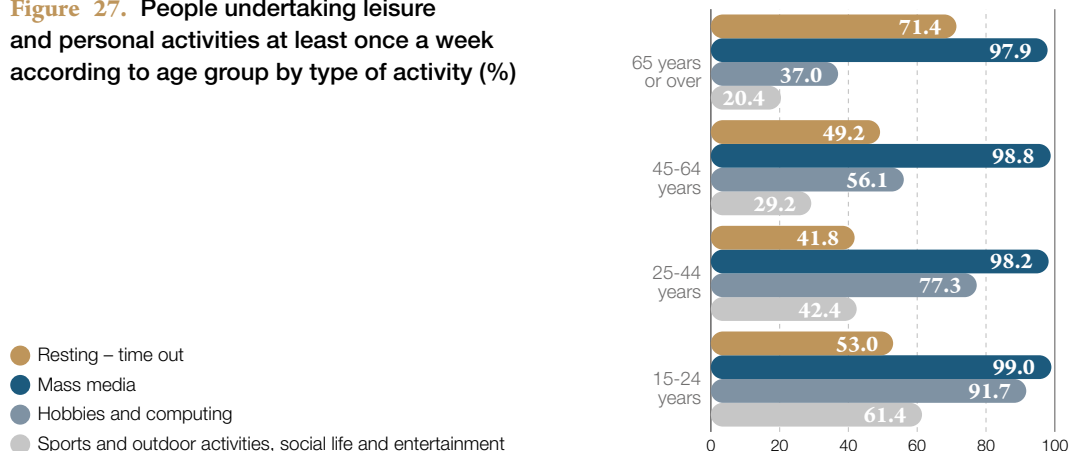
Figure 26. Average time spent on leisure and personal activities on the last working day, last Saturday and last Sunday according to the type of activity by sex (hours:minutes)



Other elements of differentiation emerge in our analysis. Concerning age, we observe that the forms of leisure typically pursued in the domestic sphere or involving less physical activity are fairly consistent regardless of age group; in contrast, sports and social life activities, as well as hobbies and computing, are much less frequent among the older age groups.

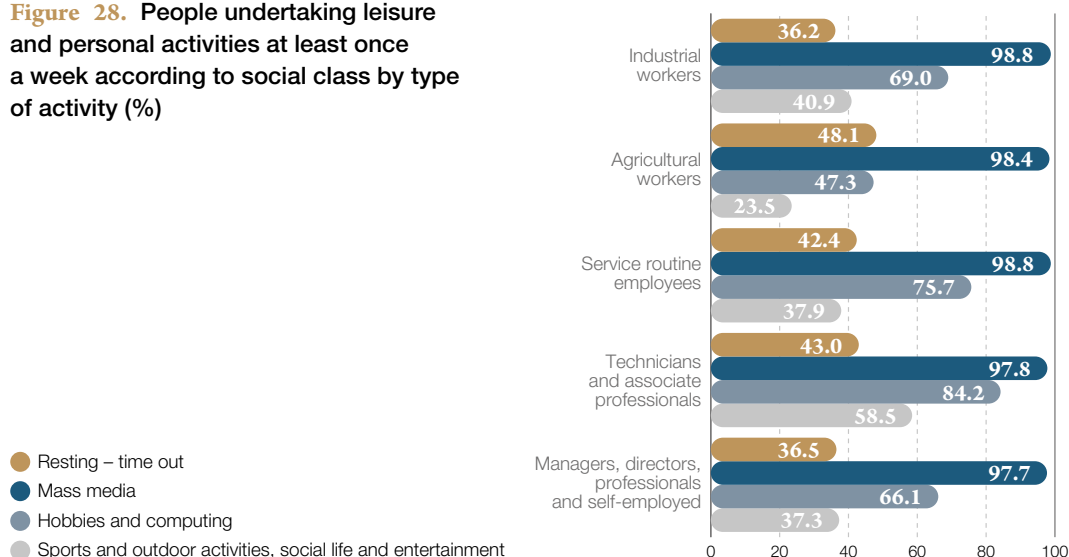
As an example, considering only people aged between 45 and 64 years, 29.2% undertake some sort of sports or social life activity at least once a week; this proportion stands at 61.4% for the 15-24 age group, and 42.4% for the 25-44 age group. In the youngest of these age groups, 91.7% of people devote themselves to hobbies and computing at least once a week, while only 56.1% of the people between 45 and 64 years old do these activities with the same frequency. With the exception of resting, no other type of activity registers any increase when we look at people in the age group of 65 or more.

Figure 27. People undertaking leisure and personal activities at least once a week according to age group by type of activity (%)



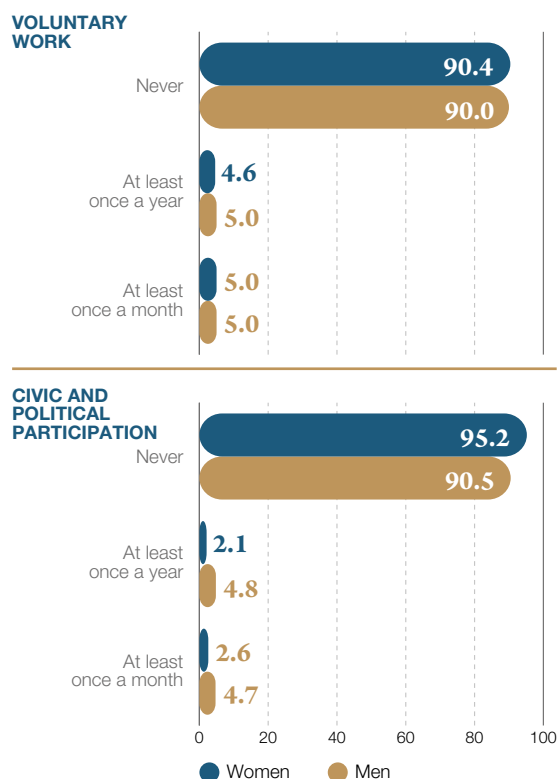
The practice of leisure and personal activities also varies across social classes. It should be noted that sports and social life activities are undertaken at least once a week by 58.5% of the people in the class of 'Technicians and associate professionals', but only by 23.5% of the people in the class of 'Agricultural workers'. With reference to hobbies and computing, 'Technicians and associate professionals' stand out for registering values above any of the other classes. On the other hand, 'Agricultural workers' are those who most often state that they use their free time resting. Once again, the activities of 'Mass media' show the lowest variation across social classes.

Figure 28. People undertaking leisure and personal activities at least once a week according to social class by type of activity (%)



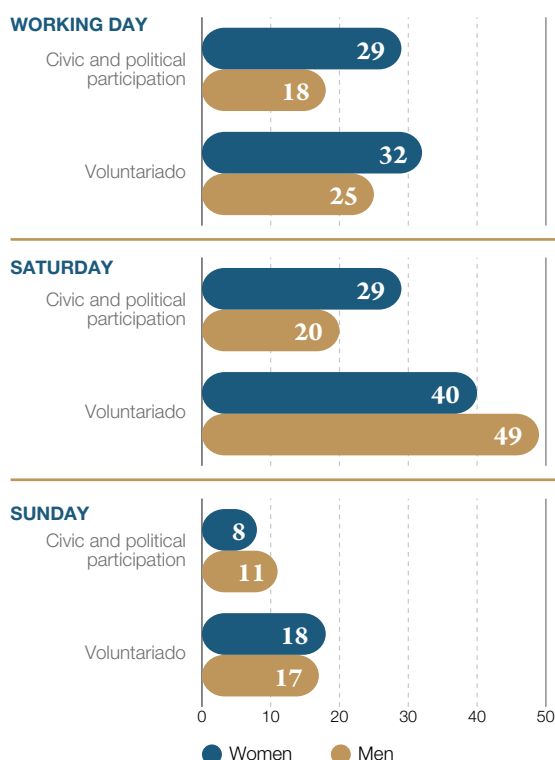
The (little) time left available after paid work as well as household chores and care work may also be spent on voluntary work or civic and political participation activities. Both our questionnaire and our interviews suggest however that these occupations are infrequent. In fact, more than 90% of the people state that they never undertake any of these activities. Such lack of citizenship participation is particularly noteworthy among the women – more than 95% of them never take part in civic or political activities, for example in associations, trade unions, demonstrations, etc..

Figure 29. Frequency with which people normally do voluntary work or civic and political participation activities by sex (%)



Considering the people who do voluntary work regardless of how often they do it, Saturday is the day in which men, but also women, spend a higher amount of average time on it (49 minutes and 40 minutes, respectively). It is interesting to note that, during working days, the average time spent by women on either voluntary work or civic and political participation activities is greater than the average time spent by men.

Figure 30. Average time spent on voluntary work or civic and political participation activities on the last working day, last Saturday and last Sunday by sex (minutes)



If we examine the practice of this sort of activities throughout the lifecourse, we can see that older people, aged 65 years or over, are less active regarding both voluntary work and civic and political participation activities. In the case of civic and political participation, it is also noteworthy that a large proportion of younger people (under 25 years old) state that they never engage in such activities.

Only a few of our interviewees consider their citizenship participation as frequent and relevant. Sebastião is the only one describing his civic/voluntary work as something done on a regular and intensive daily basis.



I'm lucky that my wife has also... that I also managed to bring my wife into this world: she also belongs to the association and plays an important role within the association. Therefore, she understands that a bit of time also needs to be given to the association because if not, well, it would be very difficult [...] because it's not a normal thing, and I'm aware of this: a wife having a husband who spends maybe half of his time buried in an association. [...] The association has always been my dream, doing something for society, trying in some way to help those who need help. If we see this as work, well, it is work in a way, but if we see this only as work I would say: OK, I'd rather work full time here because it's something I enjoy doing. I recall once reading somewhere: try and find a job you love and you'll never work a single day in your life. When you do something that you really like, you don't regard it as work.

Sebastião, 41 years old, biparental, son aged 6

Gustavo also refers to the voluntary work that both him and his wife do, although sporadically.



My wife does it [voluntary work] at the Food Bank Against Hunger. I also used to help at the town council, distributing clothes and food.

Gustavo, 45 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 11 and 8, son aged 3

Zaida, who is 28 years old and married with a man who “takes part in politics”, states nevertheless that politics fail to interest her.

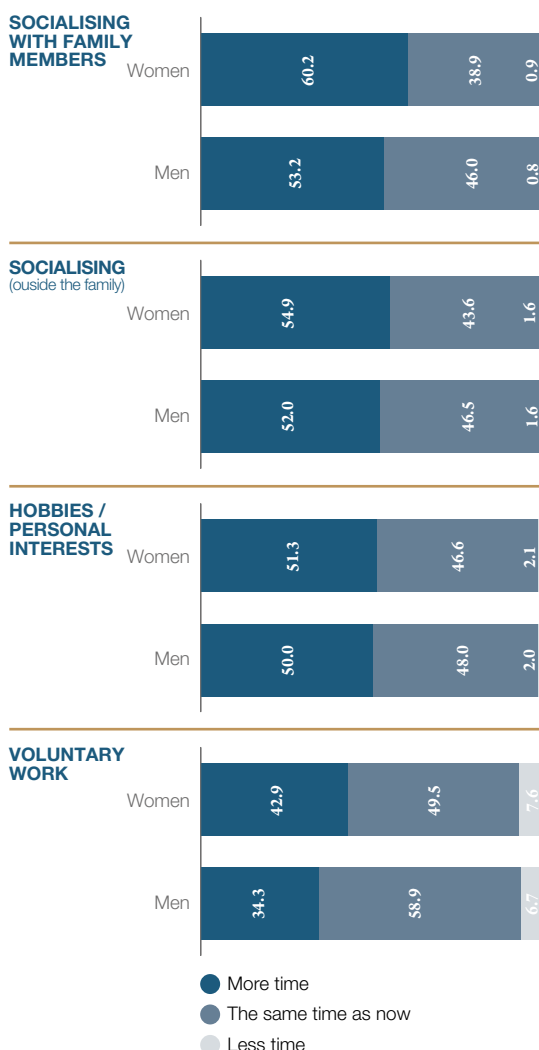


My husband is a politician. He takes part in politics. And by chance I have already participated in political demonstrations too, I've already been to political rallies. He asks me if I want to go with him. As for me, I don't like politics very much, and he doesn't force me to go; if I don't want to go, I don't go, and that's it.

Zaida, 28 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 2

We have been focusing on activities that people do carry out in their free time. This analysis can be furthered by looking into people's wishes concerning their free time, that is, how they would spend their free time if they had more of it. More women than men state that they would like to devote more time to activities apart from paid and unpaid work. Interestingly, the activity for which more women feel a lack of available time is socialising with family members (60.2% would dedicate more attention to it if they could). This is followed by socialising with people other than relatives (54.9%) and hobbies or personal interests (51.3%). Likewise, the majority of men do not spend as much time as they would like on these activities, but this wish is expressed by a smaller proportion – and it is less directed at socialising with family members – than among women.

Figure 31. Answers to the question “Do you spend the amount of time you would like to in each of the following activities, or would you like to spend more time, or less?” according to activity by sex (%)



The following figure shows the ten activities mentioned by the largest numbers of respondents when questioned about how they would use their free time if they could.¹⁰ Despite the expected differences associated with preferences or habits, it is relevant to note that these ten occupations represent a total of 87.5% of the answers collected.

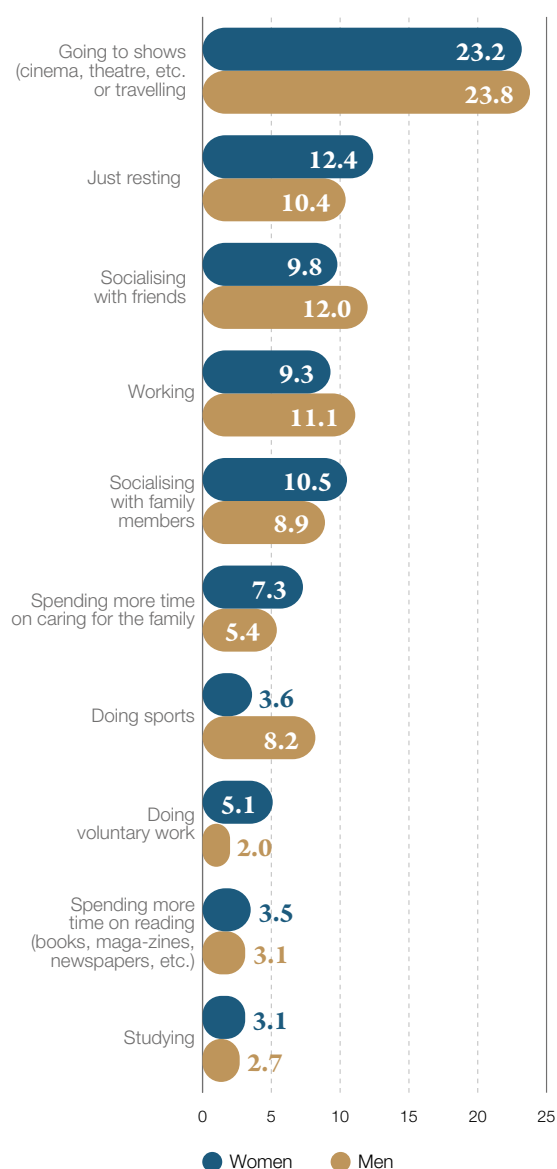
The activity most often indicated pertains to cultural shows or travelling, followed in descending order by resting, socialising with friends or family members, and work. While the interest for some activities seems unrelated with gender, considerable differences are observed in others. Very similar proportions of men and women mention cultural and touristic activities, and the same goes for reading and studying. This is not the case for ‘resting’ (mentioned by more women) or ‘sports’ (mentioned by more men). Also, women mention ‘socialising with family members’ more often than men, while men mention ‘socialising with friends’ more often than women.

¹⁰ The list given to people in the survey consisted of 17 activities; each person had to pick out only one activity although if they wished to, they were free to give another kind of activity that was not included in the list.

In addition, the interest for different free-time activities seems to be related with educational levels too. Cultural shows and travelling, reading, sports or studying are activities mostly desired by those with the highest educational attainment. In contrast, people with a lower educational attainment are more prone to indicate socialising with family members and/or friends or working, but also resting. Dedicating more time to the family appears to be a fairly homogeneous choice across educational attainment levels, even though it is slightly more present among respondents with tertiary education.

Absent from the figure below are the free-time activities mentioned by the smallest numbers of respondents. These include a wide variety of things such as agriculture and gardening, domestic work, the internet or the television; none of these activities has been mentioned by more than 2.2% of the respondents.

Figure 32. Activity that people would choose to do in their free time if they could by sex (%)



The interviews uncover feelings of nostalgia or sorrow, voiced by women in particular, for having given up some of their free-time activities, especially after their children were born. Compared with having children, increases in paid working time or professional responsibilities seem to cause only a minor impact on leisure activities. On the other hand, the pleasures that people “gave up” or “left behind” often pertain to doing things that, while simple, are acknowledged by the respondents themselves as important for their physical or emotional well-being.

WHAT WAS IT LIKE IN 1999?

“Resting – time out” is the most desired activity for the available time by both men and women (18% and 16% respectively). A similar proportion of people mention the wish to have more time to socialise with family members. Where socialising with friends is concerned, this preference is most marked among the men (12%, comparing with 8% among the women).

More accentuated differences between women and men appear as we go down the list of activities for free-time occupation. While doing sports is placed third in the type of activity most wanted by 13% of men (and only referred in eight place by 6% of women), the women, immediately after socialising with the family and resting, express their wish to go to shows (cinema or theatre, for example) and travel: 15% of women comparing with 11% of men. This may be interpreted as a wish / a need that women have to “exit” the confines of home and “claim” a place in the public realm.

A “choice” that deserves particular attention is the one made by 9% of women (and only 4% of men): if they had more free time, they would spend more time on household chores and caring for children.” (IOT 1999, cf. Perista, 2002: 471)



i: Do you have enough time for yourself?

I: Time for myself... that's clearly what I gave up. And this left me somewhat unbalanced. [...] Reading, craftworks, I like to keep my hands busy, from needle work to gardening... All of these things, going to the cinema, watching television – all of these things were left behind.

Ilda, 46 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 13 and 12, son aged 9



Going out a little bit, socialising a little bit, going for a coffee with my work-mates, with my friends... Sometimes, being with my husband for a little bit... There's been not enough time for such things for 14 years.

Filipa, 32 years old, biparental,
son aged 14, daughters aged 5 and 1



Sometimes there's not much time. Sometimes we feel that there's no time to be with other people we'd like to be with. I would like to go out visiting more, go out more often, go visiting friends, family...

Elisa, 35 years old,
biparental, son aged 2

Now and then, the interviewees refer to more ambitious plans. Carlos states that he would like to reduce his paid working time and go part-time so as to devote himself more to voluntary work and his own personal development, which is something he can only do for brief periods on his days off. Iolanda, who did not manage to finish her secondary school education and works as a kitchen helper, states that she wishes she could leave her job for a while and pick up her studies again, while doing physical exercise in her free time.

It is important to underline the fact that constraints resulting from family responsibilities are often compounded by economic constraints. Therefore, the choices concerning personal and family free-time activities must obey to a scrupulous calculation of costs. This is particularly evident when it comes to vacation periods, as explained by some of our interviewees.



Our budget doesn't allow us to do those kinds of things. The beach... well, we can go to the beach sometimes, but we can't overdo it. Because we also spend on petrol, we also spend... For us, the beach is not too far away. If I go, then it's me, my husband and the three children: a large family. We don't have to go far but the expenses are always considerable with three children... you spend a lot of money on food, then you also buy the juices, the water, everything...

Filipa, 32 years old, biparental,
son aged 14, daughters aged 5 and 1



I would like to have more time for my relatives, my friends, but unfortunately I can't. I can't, at the moment my professional activity doesn't permit it. And financially ... I would like to do other sorts of plans, go on holiday, but it's not possible.

Álvaro, 51 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 22 and 9



Two years ago we had the chance of spending some days in the Algarve, I think we stayed there for four days. It was something we had never done before. We had always had our holiday time, we try to enjoy our holidays and go to the beach, but we don't usually go away from home because there are so many things to do and what-have-you. But about two years ago we did go to the Algarve and we all loved it, it was good, it was good. We just don't have the financial capacity, so to speak, to do this kind of holidays all the time.

Carlos, 36 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 16, son aged 10

In some cases, arranging time to do one's own favourite activities seems so impossible – even inconceivable – in the light of the current paid and unpaid work responsibilities that our interviewees spontaneously pin their hopes on the future. When that moment comes, no matter how far off it is, they shall finally have the minimum or the appropriate conditions to devote themselves to the free-time occupations that they like the most.

Both Catarina and Fausto, when asked about leisure activities for which they lack time, direct their answers to a later stage of their lifecourse.



Something that I like doing is painting, I really love it. I think I would spend a lot of my time painting; that is, if the money wasn't a problem. Doing craftworks, painting, that's how I imagine myself when I get old, sitting on my porch with my husband, I hope, and painting.

Catarina, 38 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 6



There are many things I'd like to do apart from what I'm already doing, and I can't because I have a hard time even doing only what I do. [...] I know that a lot of good people, when they stop working, they don't know what to do and feel as if something is missing in their lives. I remember that once I went to my mother's village, and there was my grandfather sitting on a bench at the door of the local tavern, and I got out of the car and hurried towards him saying: "So, grandfather, what are you waiting for?". "I'm waiting for death." This made such a deep impression on me... I never forgot it, and 30 years after he said it I still remember it. That would never happen to me. I have the notion that I would fill my time in a rewarding way.

Fausto, 48 years old, biparental,
sons aged 18 and 9

In turn, Palmira remarks that, precisely as she answered some of the questions posed during our interview, she began to see with different eyes the importance and the possibility of putting aside her housework one day or another so that she can "take care of herself".



As we talk about these issues, we're able to see things that we hadn't seen before and even organise our lives better. For example, being able to take a day off, the house stays as it is, and I go and take care of myself, and that's that... It was great talking to you, really great.

Palmira, 38 years old, single parent,
daughter aged 5, son aged 11 months

4. Family time



[Families are] greedy institutions

Dawn Lyon and Alison Woodward, 2004

Families are still spaces of inequality. Such inequality is marked and crossed through by gender relations and dynamics.

The men's degree and type of participation in household chores, but also in care work, are not sufficient to ensure that unpaid working time is evenly distributed between men and women. On the other hand, unpaid care work takes on added importance in women's daily time arrangements, but also in men's, when there are small children involved.

In this chapter, we shall begin by interpreting the women's and men's share in doing the household chores and in care work. Particular attention is paid, in this same section, to the provision of care to adults requiring special care.¹¹

Afterwards, in the second section of the chapter, the conditions and practices of motherhood and fatherhood will be examined in detail.

11 According to the National Survey on Time Use, 2015, the people stating that they provide care in other households (minding a child, providing care to a frail adult, etc.) is very low, about 3.5%, and only 0.7% of respondents do this every day for at least one hour. Due to the small number of cases, the provision of care in other households will not be specifically examined here.

4.1. Household chores and care work



shared responsibility but women are in control

Kerry Daly, 2004

Introduction

The changes witnessed throughout the last decades in the organisation of family life are associated with the growing acceptance of a democratic, egalitarian family model (for publications on the Portuguese case, see for example Wall, Aboim and Cunha, 2010; Rodrigues, Cunha and Wall, 2015). Even if a strongly gendered asymmetrical participation in unpaid, domestic and care work persists, evidence from various sources does show an increasing participation of men in family life (Perista, 2002; Torres, org., 2004; Crompton and Lyonette, 2005; Wall, Aboim and Cunha, 2010; Rodrigues, Cunha and Wall, 2015).

Another dimension to the debate on unpaid work is whether or not it is possible to externalise it. Indeed, a part of the domestic and care work, particularly when it comes to the material, tangible part of caring, may be replaced or delegated to someone else. Nevertheless, the possibility of purchasing time by externalising a part of care work and household chores – as far as these can be bought in the market – fails to solve the dilemma of ‘doing gender’ (Crompton and Lyonette, 2009). As stressed by Rosemary Crompton and Clare Lyonette, acquiring domestic services may help to solve difficulties and ease the tension between spouses / partners concerning household chores, but it does not sort out more essential questions associated with ‘doing gender’ because in practice it removes the need to change masculine behaviour in this domain (Crompton and Lyonette, 2009). Ruth Lister previously put forward this argument writing that “buying other women’s time” (women who are poorer and often with immigrant background), instead of contriving a sexual division of labour in the home, ends up by reinforcing men’s behaviour (Lister, 1997).

The analysis of multitasking also helps understand the different patterns of women’s and men’s participation in unpaid work. Common sense favours the idea that women are better at multitasking than men (Mäntylä, 2013). Nevertheless, there are few studies dealing with this question. An exception is the study conducted by Stoet, O’Connor, Conner and Laws, who conclude that, even though their results seem to be consonant with such hypothesis, the lack of empirical studies calls for caution in making generalisations (Stoet, O’Connor, Conner and Laws, 2013).

Studies more frequently show that women are more involved in multitasking than men, namely when it comes to household chores. For example, Liana Sayer comes to the conclusion that mothers multitask more than fathers and that the gender differential concerning domestic work is greater when it pertains to more intensive multitasking, that is, involving both household chores and childcare at the same time (Sayer, 2007). Offer and Schneider also underscore the lower involvement of fathers in household chores and childcare, exposing how doing simultaneous activities is an important source of gender inequality insofar as mothers feel more overwhelmed and stressed out than fathers even when their working time is similar (Offer and Schneider, 2011).

The predominant patterns of women's and men's share in paid and unpaid work are therefore the result of an unfair, unequal distribution of working times and rhythms, causing women to experience multiple, overlapping temporalities (Vaiou and Georgiou, 1998) and "mixed lives" characterised by permanent stress (Junter *et al.*, 2000).

Gender asymmetries in unpaid work, namely in Portugal, do not translate in a linear manner into feelings of unfairness with respect to the share of household chores done by women and by men (Torres, org., 2004; Amâncio, 2005). Besides usual practices, it is therefore worth analysing the perceptions – which are gendered too – on fairness and unfairness in the distribution of household chores.

This section develops around these issues, all of them key to discuss time use in the family. We begin by questioning the distribution of household chores and care work. We then focus on multitasking. Thirdly, we bring in an analysis of the ability to externalise household chores and its effects on the (re) distribution of tasks and responsibilities in the household. Fourthly, perceptions of fairness or unfairness in the distribution of household chores are examined.

Finally, we deal with the provision of care to adult people in need of special care. As increasingly acknowledged, care work is not just about children. It is to be presumed that, considering among other things the increasing life expectancy, today's challenges related to illness and dependency and the resulting demand for more care provision will be felt more acutely in the next few years. These are challenges requiring additional and particular urgency in the redistribution of work between men and women, as well as between different generations (Perista, 2014).

Household chores and care work – shared times?

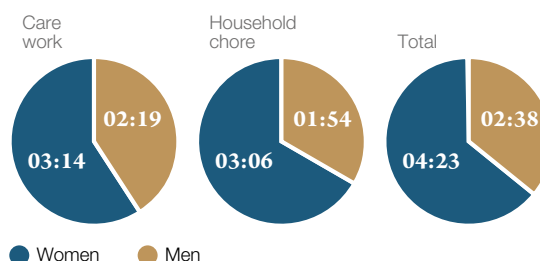
To discuss the participation of men and women in unpaid work, we examine before anything else the average time spent on household chores and care work.

Taking the last working day as a reference and considering all respondents in the survey, a substantial gender asymmetry is observed, in particular with respect to household chores: comparing with men, women invest 55 minutes more in care work¹² and 1 hour and 12 minutes more in household chores¹³ on a daily basis. The average total unpaid time on a daily basis for women stands at 4 hours and 23 minutes, while for men it stands at 2 hours and 38 minutes; in sum, 1 hour and 45 minutes less.

12 Considering all activities classified as care work in the survey

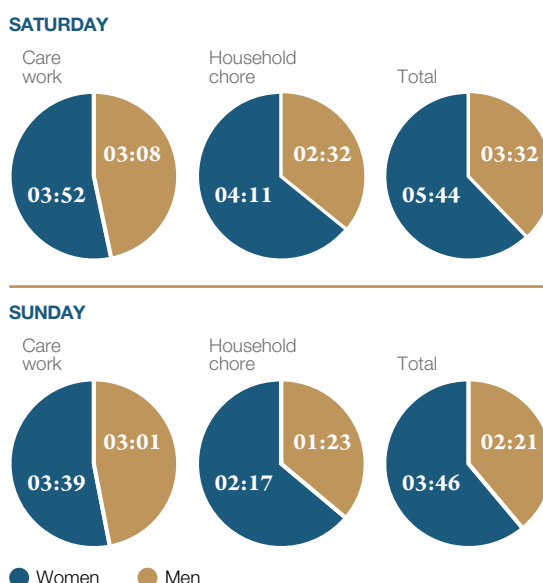
13 Considering all activities classified as household chores in the survey.

Figure 33. Average time of unpaid work on the last working day by sex (hours:minutes)



The same analysis applied to data pertaining to the last Saturday and last Sunday (or on the last rest days if not on weekend) reiterates these results. In the case of the last Saturday, the data reinforce the average time difference in unpaid work between women and men: it goes up to 2 hours and 12 minutes. By attempting an approximate estimation of the gender differential over a 7-day week,¹⁴ we would come to the conclusion that women do unpaid work for half a day more than men (12 hours and 22 minutes more).

Figure 34. Average time of unpaid work on the last Saturday and on the last Sunday by sex (hours:minutes)



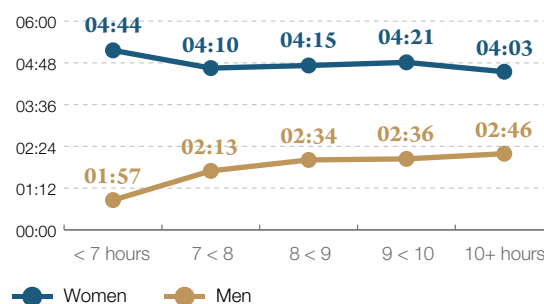
A quartile analysis confirms the gender disparity concerning the time spent on unpaid work, both for household chores and care work. The same analysis shows that on working days 25% of men spend at least 3 hours and 45 minutes on unpaid work, while 25% of women spend at least 5 hours and 55 minutes.

Likewise, on Saturday, one in each four men spends 5 hours or more on unpaid work, compared with a minimum of 7 hours and 30 minutes that one in every four women work, which is the equivalent of a full working day. On Sunday, these times are respectively 3 hours and 15 minutes for men and 5 hours for women. It should also be noted that on Sunday the 25% of men spending less time on unpaid work do it for 10 minutes, while the 25% of women in the same situation do it for a maximum of 60 minutes.

14. Based on a simplistic presumption that the values for the last working day could be replicated for the rest of the working days in the week and added to the values obtained for the weekend.

It is reasonable to expect that, at least on working days, the time spent on unpaid work is related with the time spent on paid work; in other words, the more time a person spends working at his or her job, the less time this person spends on unpaid work. However, this is not the case: no correlation is observed between the variables. Moreover, the tendency is almost to the contrary when analysing it according to sex, as a greater balance can be found in the category of those with the longest paid working days.

Figure 35. Average unpaid work time per day according to the length of the paid working day by sex (hours:minutes)

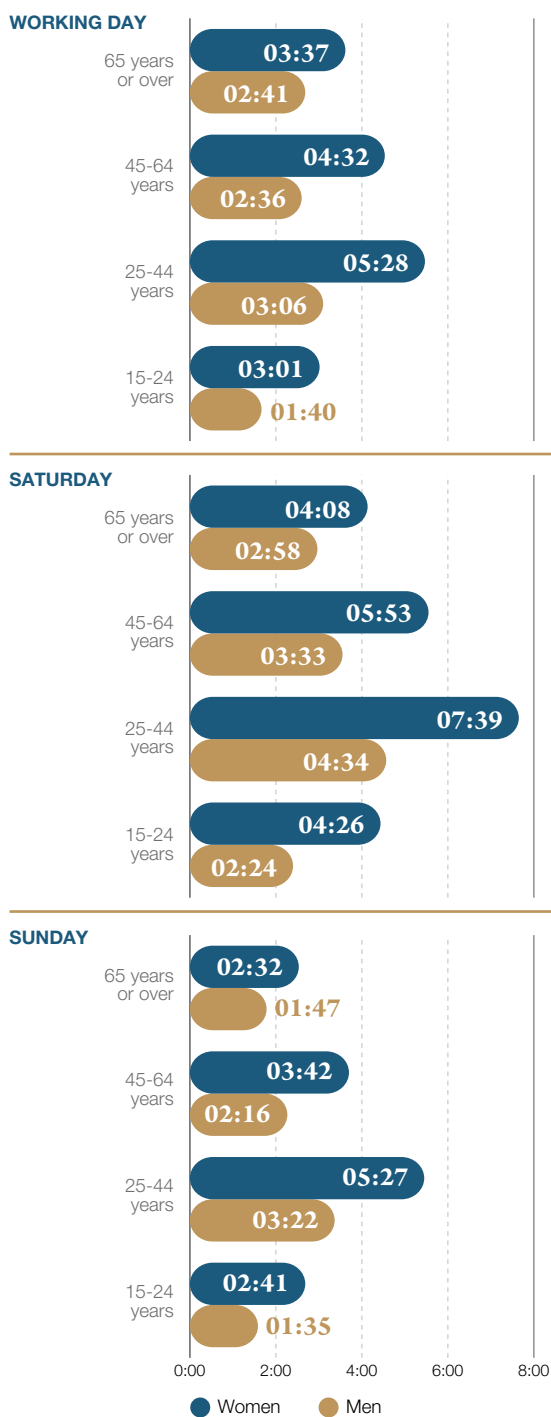


Considering the entire amount of unpaid work (household chores and care work) by age, it can be seen that both men and women in the group of 25-44 years spend on average more time on unpaid work, whether it is on a working day or on the weekend.

WHAT WAS IT LIKE IN 1999?

"(...) only in the case of women in employment, the time spent on unpaid work reflects the weekly paid working time – the less time is spent on paid work, the more time is spent on household chores and family care. When women dedicate less than 35 hours a week to their paid occupation, they spend 5 hours more each day on unpaid work. In contrast, the time that men in employment spend on unpaid work is not influenced by the time they spend on their paid activities. Even when men spend less than 35 hours on paid work, the time they spend on household chores and family care does not exceed 1 hour and 13 minutes."
(IOT 1999, cf. Perista, 2002: 450)

Figure 36. Average time of unpaid work according to age group on the last working day, the last Saturday and the last Sunday by sex (hours:minutes)

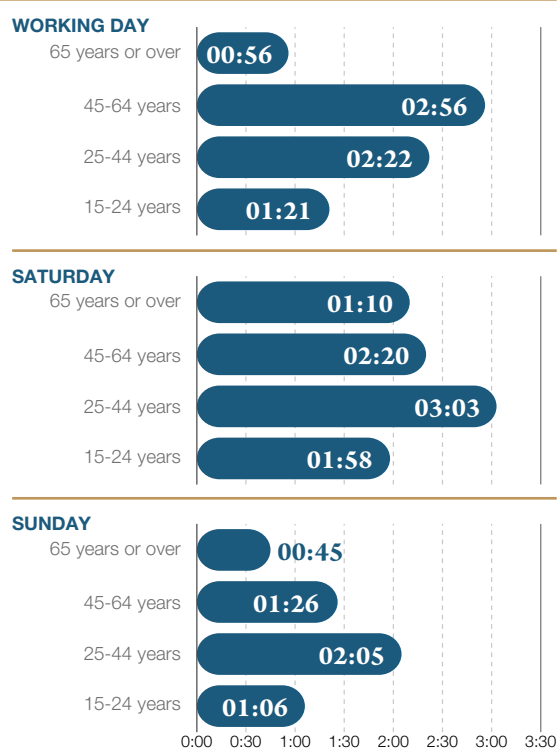


In all of the age groups, women spend more time than men on tasks concerning care and housework. Indeed, it should be noted that the highest average of unpaid work on a working day by men – observed between the ages of 25 to 44 years (3 hours and 6 minutes) – is only 5 minutes more than the lowest average of unpaid work on a working day by women – between the ages of 15 to 24 years (3 hours 1

minute). With regard to Saturday and Sunday, the differentials¹⁵ between men in the age group with the highest average time and women in the age group with the lowest average time stand at 26 and 50 minutes respectively.

By calculating how much time is spent by women, we see that on the last working day the gender disparities are more accentuated in the 45-64 age group. Where the weekend is concerned, the disparity between the sexes is greater in the 25-44 age group.

Figure 37. Gender gap in the average time spent on unpaid work on the last working day, the last Saturday and the last Sunday according to age group – extra time spent by women (hours:minutes)



Disaggregating this analysis by the respondent's social class, the differences are not substantial except for two categories: service routine employees and especially agricultural workers. In both cases, there is a greater proportion of women spending 4 or more hours a day on unpaid domestic work: 42.4% and 52.6%, respectively. Nevertheless, only in this last case is this accompanied by a growth in the number of men spending less time on domestic work – maximum 60 minutes.

WHAT WAS IT LIKE IN 1999?

"(...) in terms of household chores and family care, we see that women dedicate three hours more on each day to these kinds of tasks than men do." (IOT 1999, cf. Perista, 2002: 450)

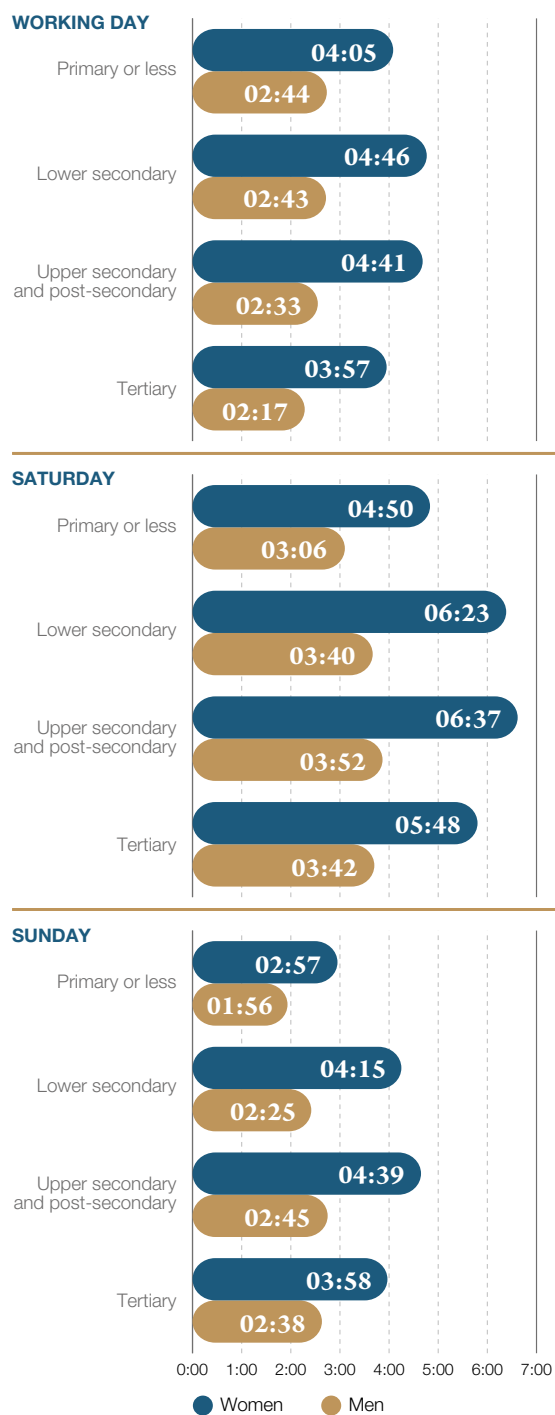
¹⁵ At the weekend, the lowest average by women is found to be in the group of respondents aged 65 or over.

A pattern bearing some similarities emerges when looking at the weekend. Nevertheless, longer periods of time are spent on unpaid work on Saturday by women industrial workers, while on Sunday it is women agricultural workers who spend the longest period on unpaid work.

It is interesting to see that income levels do not seem to be a key differentiating factor, neither in the case of women nor in the case of men, in terms of how much time is spent on unpaid work on weekdays or at the weekend. Still, it should be pointed out that the differences observed signal a longer period of time spent on unpaid work among higher income households. This is contrary to what might have been expected if we think, for instance, about the potentially greater possibility of externalising household chores and/or care work.

An analysis across educational attainment levels fails to expose homogeneous trends. In general, people at intermediate educational levels state that they spend more time on household chores and care work. They are followed by people with tertiary education. People with lower levels of educational attainment – primary education or less –, in the case of both women and men, state that they usually spend less time on such tasks

Figure 38. Average time spent on unpaid work on the last working day, the last Saturday and the last Sunday according to educational attainment level by sex (hours:minutes)



People living in rural areas tend to be those stating that they spend more time on household chores and care work. They are followed by respondents living in intermediate areas. This trend is registered among both men and women. The disparity between the minimum and maximum amounts of time in each of the categories under analysis is almost always situated between 20 and 30 minutes.

Turning our attention to country region, we can see that – among both men and women, and on both working and weekend days – the time spent on household chores and care work is the lowest in the OMA. The longest amount of time is registered by women living in the LMA. Among men, those living in ‘other regions of the country’ spend more time on domestic chores and care work on working days and on Sundays, while men in the LMA spend more time on such tasks on Saturdays.

The in-depth interviews allow us to attempt a qualitative interpretation of some of these quantitative patterns. We find a group of cases in which the woman is the first person in the household responsible for household chores, undertaking that role with a greater or lesser support from her spouse or partner. In this context, as described by some women and some men when telling us about their daily routines at home, the man tends to be understood as ‘the one that helps’, ‘the one that supports’, a far cry from an effective sharing of the responsibility and the time required to undertake the tasks.



If I'm doing something in which he can help, then normally he helps me. If he doesn't go to work, he stays at home and helps me. But it's very rarely that he doesn't go to work.

Madalena, 45 years old, biparental,
son aged 13, daughter aged 10



I must always be very focused and distribute the tasks, 'Do this', 'Do that', and hope that my husband doesn't get distracted. I don't know if it's because he's a man or for some other reason, he's very easily distracted. For example, he goes off to the garage to fetch a bottle of olive oil, off he goes ready to please, but on the way he finds his son's bicycle that either has a flat tyre or it's something else, the chain's off...

Noémia, 53 years old, biparental,
son aged 15

In some cases, the man is not so ready to please as Noémia's husband. Felisberto tells us that he is exempted from all and any task regarding domestic work. He has never felt that there were any “problems” due to this at home, and he associates his privileged position with the fact that he lives with his wife and two daughters. Raquel's testimony provides us with a distinct point concerning this imbalance.



My wife takes care of the dinner; my younger daughter helps with what she can when she comes home from school... At 7.30 or 8 o'clock we have dinner. We have dinner with my older daughter too, because she's currently unemployed, and then we have coffee; they entertain themselves in the kitchen and I go to the sitting-room to see some television. [...] At home, we've never had this sort of problem of dividing up the chores or this or that between us. And I, in my case, well... I have my daughters. That's why I say that I'm somewhat privileged in this respect.

Felisberto, 50 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 20 and 14



My husband didn't know how to cook, for example. He would take care of some things in the kitchen but only for himself. He didn't know how to set the laundry machine on. When he took a bath, he would leave his clothes lying on the floor. Some adaptations were required here. But he wasn't used to it. He never folded a single piece of clothing. Nothing! We had this conversation several times when we started living together: if we want to be with each other, we have to help each other. I think that things are much better now than at the beginning. Also because I do a lot of the chores before he comes home.

Raquel, 32 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 2

Expectations about the participation of men in household chores are sometimes so low that any contribution they make, modest though it might be, is perceived as being significant and valuable. Marisa considers that she is very fortunate in having a good-natured husband who is able to help her when she needs it. Although Susana does most of the household chores, she stresses that her husband "does what he can".



My husband has a great quality, because I listen to some comments by my work-mates and I'm really astonished. In the middle of everything we already have to deal with, complications with the child, she can't sleep and so on, if I had an extremely demanding or over-fussy husband... And in this respect my husband is not, no, my mother usually says he has a better nature than I have, because if anything doesn't work well he says: "Oh Marisa, don't get stressed out", and he takes the clothes from the washing machine and hangs them out to dry, or he takes them in and irons them... Because he studied away from home and he knows how to do all these things.

Marisa, 40 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 5



i: Does your husband participate in the household chores?

I: He does what he can. When the kids were smaller, he used to fetch them from my mother's place. He'd get hold of them and give them a bath and give them dinner, clean up the kitchen... And I would arrive and say: the dishes are all outside the closet, but at least they're washed and drying. You get home from work and see your kitchen alright. There's always some day or another when there are more things to do afterwards, but, well, it's minimally organised.

Susana, 36 years old, biparental,
sons aged 17, 16 and 10

Although they are in the minority, cases in which interviewees report scenarios closer to a balanced sharing of domestic work cannot be ignored. Sofia states that, if her husband spent more time on household chores than he currently does, he would be her “servant”. Interestingly, Sofia – like Jorge, whose testimony follows below – establishes a connection between sharing household chores and the schedules of paid work. When the woman must respond to demands of paid work on a Saturday or work longer hours at her job during the week, the man takes on a leading role in the domestic sphere.



Sometimes I used to work on Saturdays ... and he would clean the house all alone. It's a question of planning things. He also deals with other things, DIY jobs around the house and all that... He's multifaceted. He does everything. You want a cake made? He makes you a cake. You want this or that? He'll do this or that. So, I don't really know. I would like him to do more of the housework, but then he would be my servant.

Sofia, 36 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 11



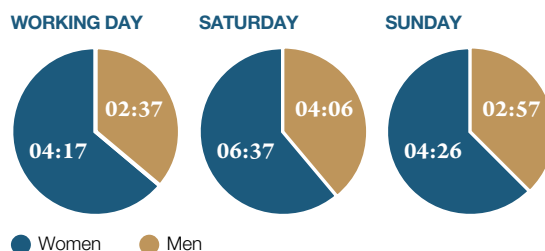
*i: Who usually does what needs to be done at your place?
I: I do. Because I spend more time at home. Because I arrive home at 1 or 1.30 pm...
i: You already told me that you cook dinner...
I: Dinner. I make the beds, clean the house. It's me who does this. It's not fair if I wait for my wife to arrive at night and then she still has to give our son a bath and make dinner. And since I'm at home during the afternoon, I do it [...]. I like doing it. It's not a problem, I'm already used to it.*

Jorge, 41 years old, biparental,
son aged 9

Going back to data from the survey and restricting our analysis to people in employment, we observe that the average time spent on unpaid work on the last working day is 4 hours and 17 minutes for women, 2 hours and 37 minutes for men. This means a reduction, albeit quite small, in the time of unpaid work in relation to the total number of respondents, in particular for women. The gender disparity, in terms of extra time spent by women, is also slightly smaller among those in employment: 1 hour and 40 minutes.

Once the weekend is taken into consideration, however, the situation changes. The time spent on unpaid work by women in employment increases by 53 minutes on Saturday and by 40 minutes on Sunday. For men in employment, the increase of time spent on unpaid work goes up by 34 minutes and 36 minutes on Saturday and Sunday respectively. This situates the gender gap at 2 hours and 31 minutes on Saturday, and 1 hour and 21 minutes on Sunday.

Figure 39. Average time of unpaid work by people in employment on the last working day, the last Saturday and the last Sunday by sex (hours:minutes)



These data seem to demonstrate that being employed is not a decisive factor in defining the time spent by people on unpaid work. It translates only into a very slight reduction during the week, and this is amply compensated for during the weekend.

WHAT WAS IT LIKE IN 1999?

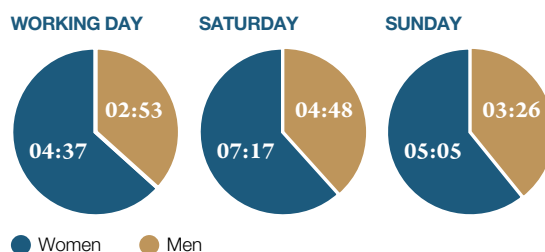
“Men in employment spend an average of 1 hour and 38 minutes on household chores and family care, while women in employment spend an average of 4 hours and 7 minutes...” (IOT 1999, cf. Perista, 2002: 450)

A quartile analysis of men and women in employment confirms the gender disparity in time spent on unpaid work. The same analysis shows that, on working days, 25% of men in employment spend at least 3 hours and 40 minutes on unpaid work, while 25% of women in employment spend at least 5 hours 50 minutes.

The same difference is observed at the weekend. One in every four men in employment spends at most 1 hour on Saturday and 20 minutes on Sunday on household chores, while 25% of women in employment spend at most 3 hours and 30 minutes on Saturday, and 1 hour and 25 minutes on Sunday.

Another situation deserving scrutiny pertains to couples in which both spouses or partners are in employment. The average time spent on unpaid work in dual-earner households, for both women and men, is systematically higher than what is registered for the total number of people in employment. This appears to indicate that, when both partners are in employment, it is necessary to allocate more personal time to unpaid work. On average, the increase stands at 15-20 minutes on the last working day and 30-40 minutes on Saturday and Sunday.

Figure 40. Average time of unpaid work by people in dual-earner households on the last working day, the last Saturday and the last Sunday by sex (hours:minutes)



Once more, a quartile analysis confirms the gender disparities exposed by the average times mentioned above.

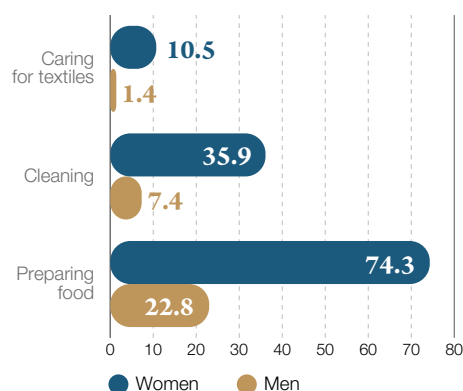
We shall now shed light on some of the often hidden dimensions of unpaid work and look at the way it is or it is not shared between men and women (in general, that is, including people in and out of employment).

With regard to household chores, and focusing first on the typical routine tasks performed at home (preparing food, cleaning, doing the laundry), we observe that they are still fundamentally ensured by women.¹⁶ This high degree of feminisation is especially apparent with respect to textiles (washing, ironing, etc.): 10.5% of women and only 1.4% of men state that they carry out these chores every day for an hour or more.

As to cleaning (tidying, dusting, making the beds, putting out the garbage, etc.), the gender gap is also evident: there is a difference of nearly 29 percentage points between women and men stating that they dedicate to it an hour or more every day.

Concerning the preparation of food (cooking, but also setting the table, dish washing, etc.), a large majority of women (74.3%) state they do these tasks every day for at least one hour, comparing with only 22.8% of men.

Figure 41. People who carry out routine household chores every day for an hour or more by sex (%)



The main difference when it comes to social class pertains to technicians and associate professionals. It is in this category that both men and women show the lowest percentage points as to undertaking these tasks; this is consonant with the identification of the same category as the one in which more often people hire a domestic worker or have domestic help (including the use of outside service providers).

WHAT WAS IT LIKE IN 1999?

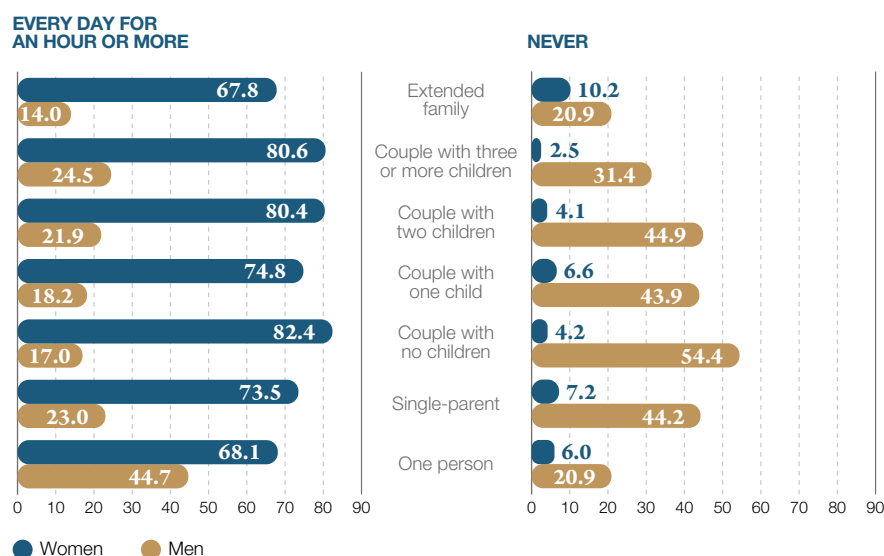
“Household chores are a largely feminised domain: women are the ones who ensure on a regular basis – always or often – the preparation of meals (including setting the table and washing the dishes), the cleaning of the house (dusting, vacuuming, etc.) and the laundry (washing clothes, ironing, putting away, etc.)”. (IOT 1999, cf. Perista, 2002: 453)

¹⁶ This analysis is based on the numbers of respondents who state that they carry out a given type of chore every day for an hour or more, regardless of the exact amount of time spent on it.

Differences are also noteworthy with respect to the type of household. Among men, the greatest incidence of preparing meals on a daily basis is found when the respondent lives alone (40%), two to three times higher than what is registered in the other types of household. Among women, this is not as accentuated; in all the different types of households, a larger number of women are involved for at least one hour every day in preparing meals. Moreover, it is interesting to note that women living in single-parent households show the same values as women living in a household composed of a couple with a child. These values go up when there are two or more children in the household, but they reach its highest peak among childless couples.

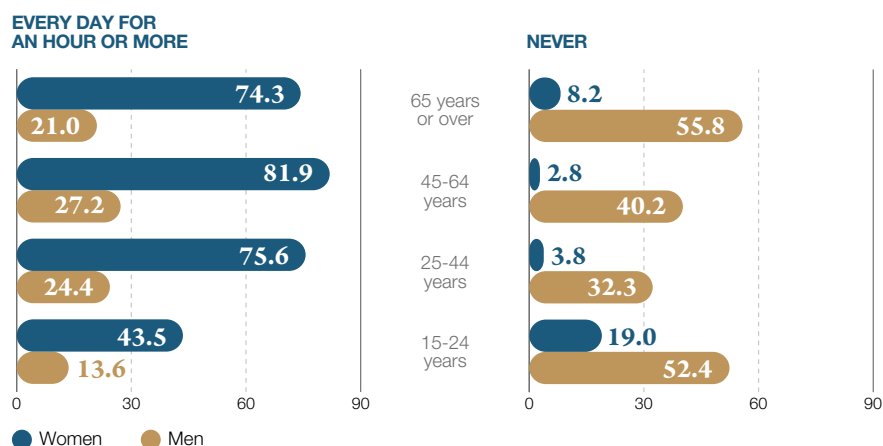
The values referring to people who state that they never prepare meals are as – or more – illustrative of gender differences. The number of women who never prepare a meal hardly goes beyond 10% and this usually occurs in extended families, perhaps because there are other women in the household who do the chore. Contrary to this, almost half of the men who are married or living with a partner (in comparison with between 4% and 6% of the women) state that they never prepare meals. This percentage is particularly high (54%) among married men or those living with a partner but without any child; it drops to 45% when men are married or live with a partner and have two children, and it decreases slightly to 44% when the couple has one child. The situation varies when it comes to couples with three or more children; a lower percentage of men (31,4%) say that they never prepare meals comparing with 2.5% of women who say the same.

Figure 42. Frequency of preparing meals according to type of household by sex (%)



An analysis of the respondents who prepare meals every day for an hour or more by age group (showing that women predominate regardless of their age) draws our attention to the people aged between 45 and 64 years. This group contains the highest percentage of both women and men, while also revealing the largest gender disparity – 54,7 percentage points – of all the age groups. The gap is smaller in the youngest age group – less than 30 percentage points, although they prepare meals less often. Among the oldest age group of 65 and over, 56% of the men say that they never prepare meals.

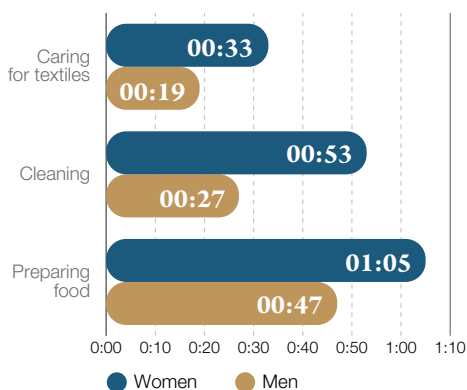
Figure 43. Frequency of preparing meals according to age group by sex (%)



Doing routine household chores is also related with the respondents' education attainment levels, as well as with income levels: smaller gender differences are found in the higher levels of both scales, namely as a result of a greater participation by men. The place of residence however does not seem to play an important role with respect to this issue.

The average time spent on routine household chores on working days is also much greater among women. In comparison with men, women spend on a daily basis 26 minutes more cleaning, 18 minutes more preparing food, and 14 minutes more caring for textiles.

Figure 44. Average time spent on routine household chores on the last working day by sex (hours:minutes)



Taking routine household chores as a whole, we see that – on average – women aged 45 years or over spend more time on them during the working week: 2 hours and 50 minutes in the 45-64 age group, and 2 hours and 43 minutes in the 65 or over age group. The average time spent on routine household chores is less in the youngest age group: young women spend 2 hours and 11 minutes, while young men spend 1 hour and 15 minutes. This means nonetheless that the 15-24 age group is the one with the greatest gender disparity – 56 minutes.

Concerning the tasks related with textiles, it should be mentioned that the few men who undertake them do so only for themselves in half of the cases; in other words, they just take care of their own clothes. Differently, 74% of women not only take care of their own clothes but also other people's clothes, thereby ensuring this task at the family level.

WHAT WAS IT LIKE IN 1999?

"(...) considering only the population between 15 and 24 years old, the time spent by girls and young women on domestic work is almost three times as much as the time spent by boys and young men (...)." (IOT 1999, cf. Perista, 2002: 458)

In terms of cleaning and preparing food, the gender differences are extremely small – between 0.6 and 2.7 percentage points respectively – with regard to people doing these tasks only for their own benefit.

Still, in both cases, men do it more than women for their own benefit. The example of our interviewee Sebastião is informative as he explains that, owing to his lack of talent in the kitchen, he can cook only for himself but not for others.



I: I can do everything, everything, everything. Cooking is not my strong hand. Mind you, I know how to order take-away food.

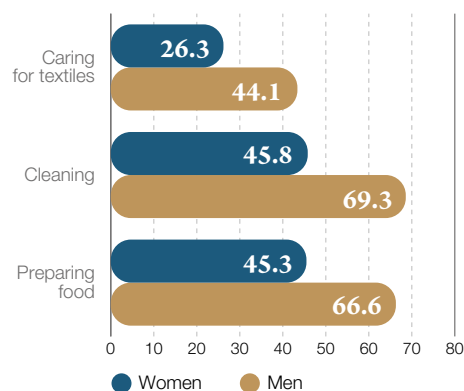
i: But if you have to cook...

I: What I mean to say is, I can cook if it's only for me. I can muddle through. If I'm going to cook for others, they are likely to get a stomach ache. Because cooking is really not my strong hand.

Sebastião, 41 years old, biparental,
son aged 6

Out of all the routine household chores, caring for textiles is the one that involves less sharing with other people. Regardless of the type of household chore though, women share it with other people less often than men.

Figure 45. People who usually share the routine household chores with other people according to the type of chore by sex (%)



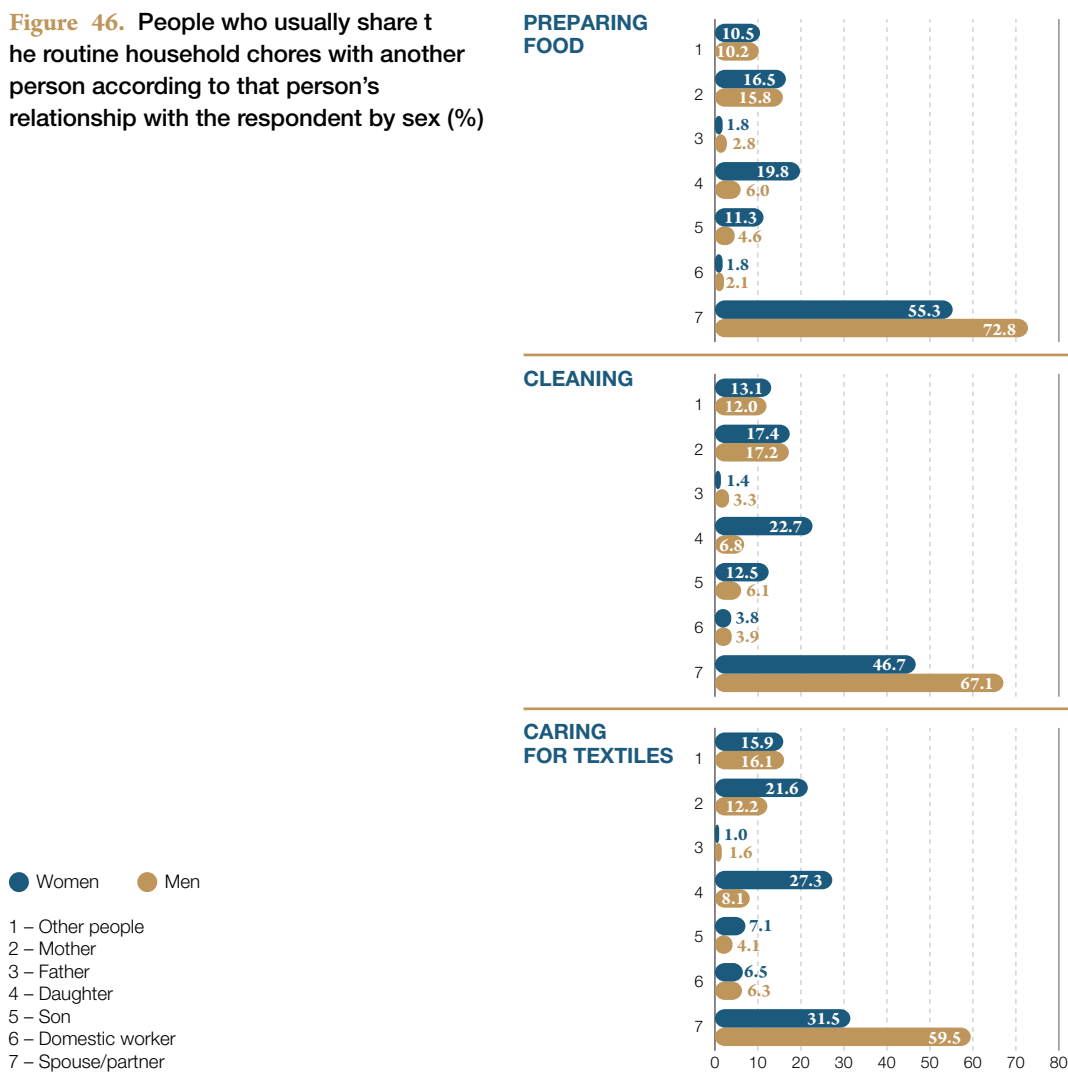
The person with whom the household chores are most shared – in all types of chore under consideration – is the spouse or partner. Then come the children, mostly daughters, and the ancestors, mostly mothers. Women turn more often than men to their daughters or mothers for help.

It is especially for the tasks involved in caring for textiles and cleaning that people – both men and women – resort to a domestic worker.¹⁷

WHAT WAS IT LIKE IN 1999?

“(…) While in the women’s case doing the household chores is generally for the benefit of the household members, men do them very often for their own benefit. A particularly relevant example is the one pertaining to caring for textiles: the overwhelming majority of women (almost 90%) do it for themselves and for others, while half of the men do it only for themselves.” (IOT 1999, cf. Perista, 2002: 454)

Figure 46. People who usually share the routine household chores with another person according to that person’s relationship with the respondent by sex (%)



¹⁷ The externalisation of household chores will be discussed further on in this same part of the chapter.

The way these chores are distributed among household members in their daily lives tends to follow, and thus to reinforce, the notion that the woman is the main responsible for running domestic life while the man continues to occupy a rear guard position. Filipa and Rogério explain that, in reality, the man is relegated to the more “superficial” chores often at the request or under the supervision of the woman.



Ironing, my husband doesn't do it; I do the ironing. Dusting, he does it sometimes, but generally I'm the one doing it. Basically, what he does when he is home is... if we use some mugs at breakfast, he washes the mugs right away, things like that. He vacuums the floor so that I don't have to do it later in the afternoon. It's the basic, more superficial stuff, what's on the surface. If there's a doll lying in the middle of the living room, he takes it and puts it in the children's room. It's like that, that's what he does. Now, the rest, in practice the rest it's me. Cooking: he also cooks. Thank God he knows how to cook. It depends though. In his day off, he'll usually cook the dinner. If I'm at home, then I'll do it. He helps me, but in practice it's me.

Filipa, 32 years old, biparental,
son aged 14, daughters aged 5 and 1



Washing the clothes, that's my wife. Hanging them out to dry and getting them in again, I can do it. But I've more or less delegated this to her because I think she knows how to do it better. Whenever I hang the clothes to dry she says that I did it wrong, that I stretch everything out... it has to be done in a particular manner, I don't know why ... so I leave things to her. Cooking, that's me. As to cleaning the house, I admit that I could do more to help than what I do, but I also help; I dust, I vacuum, I do everything, a real housewife.

Rogério, 42 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 9, son aged 1

More than cooking, it is the laundry that repeatedly comes up as a non-shared chore. The testimonies of Álvaro and Gabriel are eloquent in this respect. In keeping a safe distance between themselves and the ironing board, men place women in the dilemma of doing this chore themselves or reducing it to the indispensable minimum.



I don't iron because I've never tried. It's something that... but I'm very curious about it. Even though I feel like I wouldn't do a very good job of it. Today, except for the shirts... trousers don't need ironing like they used to some years ago. I think I wouldn't be any good at it, but honestly, it's the only thing I don't do.

Álvaro, 51 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 22 and 9



I'm no good at ironing the clothes. I'm okay at cleaning the house more so than a woman; washing the carpets, sweeping, straightening things out, decorating the house, I'm very handy in all these things. Ironing... I also admit that I've never forced myself to do it because she's always liked ironing [...] Everything's shared. The only thing that's not shared is the question of ironing.

Gabriel, 28 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 6

Like other interviewees, Sofia opted for the second choice, reducing the time spent on ironing to a bare minimum.



He still doesn't know how to iron. Actually he does know how to iron. He knows everything; he doesn't really need a wife... But the problem is more, you see, he doesn't like it! And if he doesn't like it, he won't do it. I don't do any ironing either. Only if there's a piece of clothing that really needs pressing before we wear it. The iron, poor thing, there it is... if it gets used two or three times a year, it's in luck. Putting the clothes into the suitcase, all nicely as they should, I'm the one who does it. But that's a skill you acquire. That's what I say.

Sofia, 36 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 11

Sofia's words deserve an additional comment regarding her expression that her husband "knows everything" and therefore "he doesn't really need a wife". Sofia is 36 years old and she ends up by voicing a stereotyped view that domestic skills are so closely linked to women that when men also display them, then the reason for a feminine presence is lost and all the other roles played by a woman partner are obliterated.

While some patterns are apparent with respect to sharing out the chores between women and men, the reasons provided by the interviewees for the allocation of tasks to specific household members are quite varied. Reasons associated with efficiency and skills, whether people have them or not, are common among the men. Among the women, it is the spouse's or partner's paid activities that are identified as the main – and sometimes the only – factor excusing the lack of sharing.



If someone takes five minutes to iron a shirt – I'm speaking about my wife here – and I take 15 minutes and even so it's not well ironed... I'm not being sexist, I'm merely trying to explain: the shirt isn't ironed well, it takes me a lot more time, and three times the amount of electricity is consumed. If I can replace this chore with another – for example: tonight you iron and I'll make the dinner and wash up –, then we've got an agreement. I think this is the ideal system.

Carlos, 36 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 16, son aged 10



I think the ideal arrangement would be, in fact, to share and do all things evenly. I may have some duties and the other person other duties, but there must be a balance. I think this is not always possible, sometimes owing to the lives that people have as regards their job and even where they work. A lot of my women friends have everything shared and there's none of that stress, there's none of that fatigue.

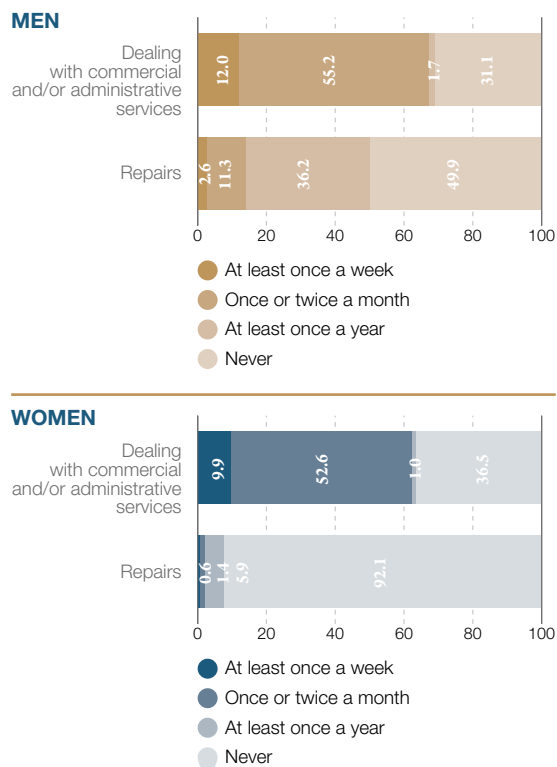
Alexandra, 51 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 17 and 14

Turning our attention to other household chores, we observe that shopping is also a task more often performed by women. Men nonetheless participate more in this task than in the previous ones: 74% of women and 59% of men say that they do the shopping at least once a week.

Another type of household chore, of a more sporadic nature, registers a greater participation by men: dealing with commercial and/or administrative services (paying the rent, paying bills, communicating with insurance companies or banks, etc.). This is done at least once a week by 12% of men comparing with 9.9% of women.

On the other hand, the male presence is still clearly predominant with regard to repairs of dwelling or equipment. The figures for people stating they never do repairs at home are illustrative: 92% of women comparing with 50% of men.

Figure 47. Frequency of doing sporadic household chores by sex (%)



It should be mentioned that the household chores most done by men are those requiring less time in daily life, both for men and women. Using the last working day as a reference, shopping took 26 minutes of the men's time and 32 minutes of the women's time; dealing with commercial and/or administrative services took 20 minutes of both men's and women's time; and repairs took 15 minutes of the men's time and 16 minutes of the women's time.

Because some of these tasks are done outside the home and involve interaction with external agents, or because they are understood as requiring skills that are different from those typically associated with the more regular tasks of cleaning or cooking, they entail different meanings depending on the person. Also, the way the household is organised to tackle this component of unpaid work may diverge from the way it is organised with regard to the rest of the household chores.

In Francisca's words, for example, shopping at the supermarket is the only chore she regularly does "together" with her husband. Her husband's participation, she says, is the natural outcome of his participation in preparing the meals.

WHAT WAS IT LIKE IN 1999?

"Among the domestic chores, there are few, well-defined activities in which men take more time than women: administrative affairs (insurance, taxes, banking, building work and home repairs, and to a lesser degree, gardening, farming and tending animals (...)). On the other hand, the domestic chores in which men have a more significant share are those on which they need to spend less time: activities where both men and women spend similar amounts of time, such as doing the shopping for goods and services which occupies 46 and 48 minutes of men's and women's time respectively. (ILO 1999, cf. Perista, 2002: 454)



[Shopping] is done together. Mother and father, we always go together. He cooks, so he's concerned about it. But we always do it together. We really like doing the shopping together because we help each other at it, and I think it makes sense. The chores back at home are exclusively mine. Yes, doing the laundry, tidying up, giving things a lick-and-a-promise... a household with two children always means a whole lot of chores to do.

Francisca, 42 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 12, son aged 6

Madalena mentions another aspect which should not be ignored, especially if we want to understand the motivation felt by some people – women and men – to do chores outside the home: the sensation of freedom, of time for oneself, for example, when one goes out to do the shopping.



On Saturday mornings, I normally get up and do the shopping. I get up early and go alone. I like it; I really like my moment. I don't like it when they come shopping with me, I like going alone. I never got used to going with my husband because he didn't like it either, and I like going at a leisurely pace to do things. Now that my children can also stay at home by themselves, I take advantage of Saturday mornings and usually go out to do my shopping.

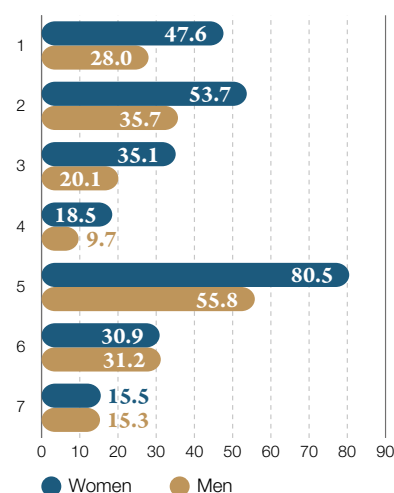
Madalena, 45 years old, biparental,
son aged 13, daughter aged 10

Multitasking and simultaneous activities

Various studies (for example, Sayer, 2007) show that there is a greater tendency for women to multitask, namely with respect to undertaking household chores and childcare simultaneously. The results of our research endorse the findings shown in such studies.

As shown in the figure below, women – much more than men – state that they care for children and also for adults in a situation of dependency or disability while doing household chores at the same time. Regarding simultaneous activities in relation with paid work or studying, we find a balance between the sexes. Leisure activities (reading, listening to music, watching television) are once again more frequently done at the same time as household chores by women than by men.

Figure 48. People who carry out another activity while doing household chores according to the type of activity by sex (%)



- 1 – Providing physical care (feeding, washing) to children, grandchildren other children younger than 15 years.
- 2 – Reading to, playing or talking with children, grandchildren other children younger than 15 years.
- 3 – Helping with the homework of children, grandchildren other children younger than 15 years.
- 4 – Caring for adult persons who are dependent or with a disability
- 5 – Reading, listening to music, watching television.
- 6 – Making phone calls / dealing with issues related with paid work.
- 7 – Studying and/or making phone calls / dealing with issues related to studying.

Another interpretation about the prevalence of multitasking among women can be obtained by taking into account the number of chores done at the same time. Whether combining household chores with a variety of activities (such as shown in the above figure) or with activities specifically related to caring for children and adults, it stands out that the percentage of women undertaking three or more activities together with household chores is about twice as much as the percentage of men.

In general, multitasking increases as the levels of income and educational attainment increase; it is also more prevalent among people between 25 and 44 years old, which is likely to have a close connection with the presence of children in the household. Considering only the people who are married or live with their partner, it is apparent that multitasking is more prevalent among those in dual-earner households.

Analysing the issue by social class, it can be observed that agricultural workers stand out as the class in which more women and fewer men undertake other activities while doing household chores. The gender difference with respect to multitasking is the lowest among the technicians and associate professionals.

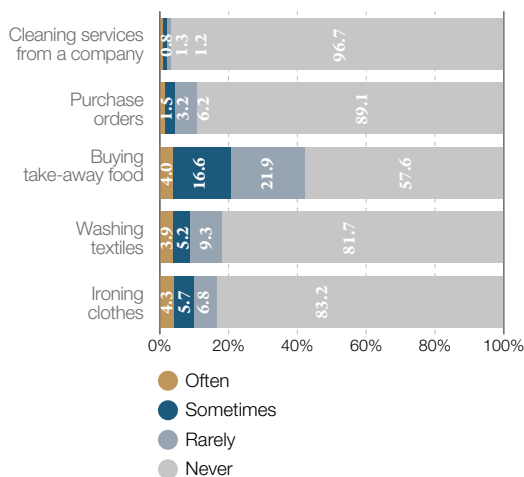
The hiring of a domestic worker reduces the prevalence of multitasking only among women. Understanding if a similar thing occurs in other respects too, and what the impacts of externalising household chores are on the use of time by women and men, is precisely the aim of the following pages.

Externalising household chores

Externalising household chores by paying someone outside the household to do them is accessible only to a small number of people. It should also be noted that externalising such tasks, usually transferring them to another woman, does not solve gender asymmetries in the family, and it can actually contribute to accentuate them (as pointed out by several authors such as Lister, 1997; Amâncio and Wall, 2004; Crompton and Lyonette, 2009, and Perista, 2014).

A large majority of people state that their household never resorts to any external service to support household chores. Among the households that do so, the most frequent case is buying ready-to-eat food. Other frequent cases relate to washing and ironing textiles; however, only 4% of the respondents state that they often seek those external services.

Figure 49. Households resorting to external services to support household chores according to the type of service (%)



On the other hand, 7% of the respondents state that a domestic worker exists in their household. Among these households, 5.9% employ a domestic worker for less than 8 hours (i.e. one working day) a month; 34.5% between 8 and 16 hours a month; 33.5% between 17 and 32 hours a month; and 26.1% for 33 or more hours a month.

Concerning the place of residence, there are no substantial differences. Hiring a domestic worker is nonetheless slightly less frequent in the OMA (6%) and in rural areas (5%). In contrast, and conforming to what could be expected, hiring a domestic employee is more common in dual-earner households than in households where this is not the case (7.4% as against 5.3%).

Considering the frequency with which household chores are externalised by either resorting to services in the market or hiring a domestic worker, it is possible to create an index reflecting the prevalence of paid domestic help. We therefore find that only a more frequent resort to paid domestic help seems to change in a clear way the time spent on unpaid work and reduce the differences between women and men in this sphere, whether on week days or at the weekend. On the other hand, externalising household chores appears to ‘free’ women so that they can devote more time to care work on weekdays, while it sets men ‘free’ for other activities. A clear effect from the existence of paid domestic help is the reduction in the average time spent by women on household chores during the weekend.

Figure 50. Average time spent on household chores and care work on the last working day according to the prevalence of paid domestic help by sex (hours:minutes)

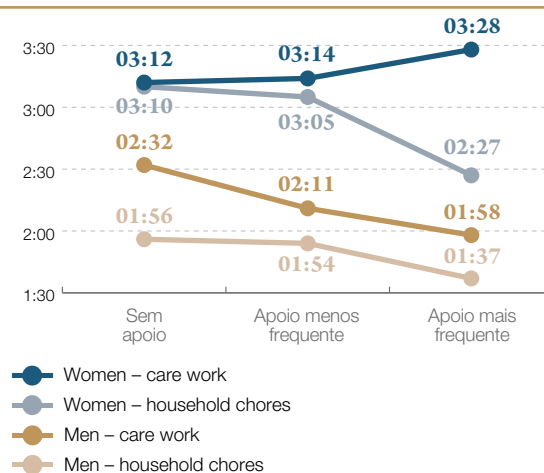
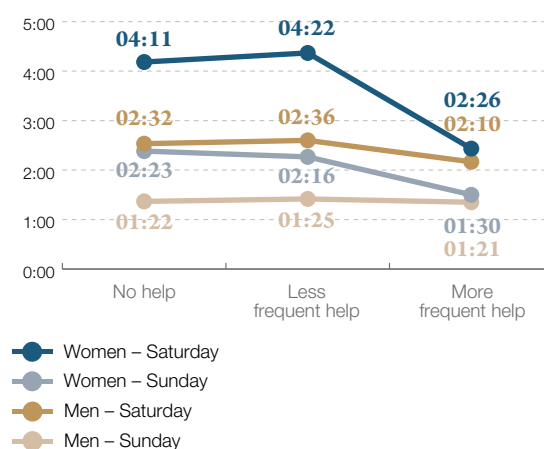


Figure 51. Average time spent on household chores and care work on the last Saturday and the last Sunday according to the prevalence of paid domestic help by sex (hours:minutes)



It is among the respondents aged 65 years or over that we find a greater prevalence of two distinct situations. In comparison with the other age groups, this is the one in which a larger percentage of people live in households with no paid domestic help at all, on the one hand, and in households with more frequent paid domestic help, on the other. The more frequent resort to paid domestic help among the oldest population is related with their state of health, as many of those in this situation state that they suffer from some illness or limitation on a daily basis. Even so, it should be mentioned that only about one person in every seven with some illness or limitation has more frequent paid domestic help to ensure household chores.

The fact that both spouses or partners are in employment also has an impact at this level: 58.2% of households in which only one partner is in employment state that they do not get in any paid domestic help, comparing with 40.9% among dual-earner households.

To be sure, this is clearly related with income level and social class too. The likelihood of resorting to more frequent paid domestic help grows as the economic situation of the respondent's household increases. The proportion of people in the highest income bracket receiving more frequent paid domestic help is more than twice than in the income bracket immediately below (16.8% and 6.5% respectively), and it is eight times higher than in the lowest income bracket (2.1%). In terms of social class, the technicians and associate professionals stand out as 16.9% of them receive more frequent paid domestic help – this is also the class in which the household income per equivalent adult is generally higher.

Defining and supervising the tasks performed by the domestic worker is a responsibility clearly marked by gender: 75.9% of women comparing with 45.1% of men state that they personally assume responsibility for it. On the other hand, 28% of men state that their domestic worker's tasks are defined and supervised by their wife/partner, comparing with only 6.9% of women who state that their husband/partner takes control.¹⁸

Our interviews suggest that resorting to domestic service does help to smooth over disagreements between the couple while also compensating for, or perpetuating, the lack of men's participation in the domestic sphere. In Ilda's and Odete's opinion, hiring a domestic worker to clean or to iron means that the burden they feel about having no time is considerably lightened. In Judite's case, using the outside laundry service frees her during her busiest weeks.



We have external help. There were times when we didn't have it, and the house was very dirty. Because the criteria and the expectations with respect to cleaning didn't coincide: my husband thought it wasn't necessary to clean the counters, it wasn't necessary to sweep the floor... I didn't like being the one who always had to do the sweeping. Fortunately we were able to have a domestic employee and now we have her help, and our life as a couple is much more peaceful; it prevents a lot of quarrelling.

Ilda, 46 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 13 and 12, son aged 9

18 An overwhelming majority (99.1%) of the respondents who live with their partner state that this partner is of different sex, thus our usage of the terms applying to different-sex couples here.



At the moment, I have a person coming in now and again to help me. She comes once a week... let me see, about two or three hours... in which she helps me with the heaviest work like ironing, because due to my health problems I find it heavy going. And there's some odd job or another that I need done, a more thorough cleaning of one thing or another, I don't know, in the kitchen. She helps me in everything that requires a substantial physical effort. Otherwise, everything stays as it is and we wear clothes without ironing them. That's not a problem either.

Odete, 46 years old, single parent,
son aged 21, daughter aged 10



I normally do the ironing. But if there's a week where I can't manage to do it for some reason, he [my husband] takes the clothing to a laundry. So, the problem is solved; it doesn't bother me and I don't have to worry about the clothes.

Judite, 40 years old, biparental,
sons aged 15 and 7

It often happens that a domestic worker is hired or her working schedule is extended when the adult members of the household, especially the men/fathers, must dedicate longer daily periods to their paid work. This is because their professional commitments excuse them from a considerable part of the family and household chores.

In Josefina's case, the most noteworthy development took place when her husband moved to a new job and had to commute daily to a city situated about 60 kilometres from home.



I admit that if there had been more... not willingness on his part, but if he thought that everything really falls on me and that I always have the heaviest load, he could have organised his daily life in another way. But as I have always done it... and then there is the domestic employee too. Sometimes, when I used to say that I needed more help, he would say: "I can't help you, I'm far away [at my job], let's hire the domestic employee one more day per week". Because in fact the distance and the kind of work that he does...

Josefina, 48 years old, biparental,
son aged 15, daughter aged 13

In turn, Elisa illustrates the situations where, despite having a domestic employee, the wife continues to be the one responsible for finishing what was not done.



We have the advantage of having a domestic worker during the week who gives a hand. Of course, whenever necessary I also straighten things out, vacuum, clean, that's for me to do. He does it only if I tell him that it needs to be done.

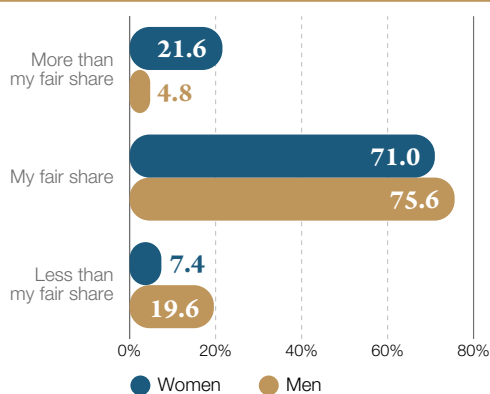
Elisa, 35 years old, biparental,
son aged 2

Perceptions of fairness/unfairness concerning the distribution of household chores

Asymmetries in the distribution of tasks at home do not necessarily translate into equivalent perceptions of fairness or unfairness. Still, we can observe that women voice feelings of unfairness more often than men.

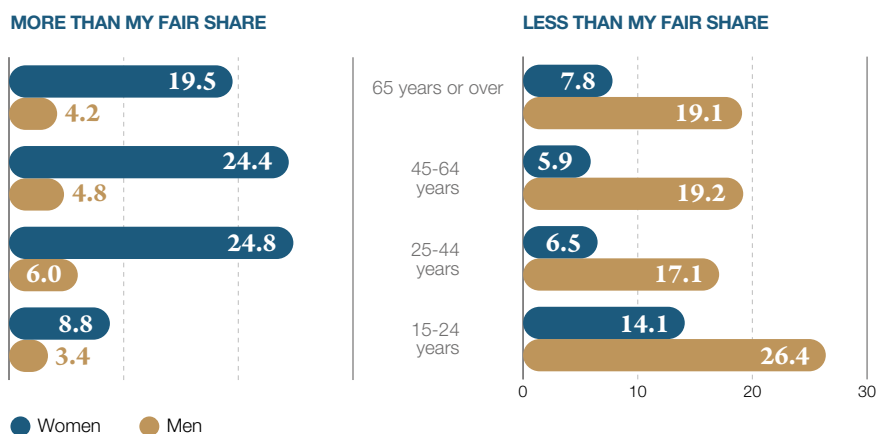
About seven women in every ten consider that their share of household chores corresponds to what is fair. The same opinion is a little bit more common among men, as 75.6% of them express it. In contrast, 21.6% of women – comparing with only 4.8% of men – consider that they do more than their fair share. On the other hand, almost 20% of men acknowledge their awareness of the fact that they do less than their fair share (comparing with 7.4% women who express this opinion).

Figure 52. Perception of fairness/unfairness regarding one's own share of household chores by sex (%)



An analysis according to age groups reveals that women between 25 and 44 years old have a greater perception that they do more than their fair share. The youngest men, those under the age of 25, are the ones most aware that they do less than their fair share.

Figure 53. Perception of fairness/unfairness regarding one's own share of household chores according to age group by sex (%)



Whether speaking about men or about women, those who consider that they do more than their fair share spend a longer time on household chores; and those who consider that they do less than their fair share spend less. However, it should be underscored that the average time spent on the last working day by women who believe they do less than their fair share – 2 hours and 43 minutes – is still 25 minutes above the average time spent on the last working day by men who believe they do more than their fair share – 2 hours and 18 minutes. The same pattern is displayed and even emphasised when analysing the average time spent on the last Saturday – 46 minutes – and on the last Sunday – 37 minutes.

Moreover, attention should be paid the fact that women living in households with children younger than 15 years consider that they do more than their fair share much more so than other women (27.2% comparing with 19.5%, respectively). This is not the case among men. The feeling of unfairness regarding the distribution of household chores voiced by women seems to be triggered by having children. It is not particularly influenced by the fact that the respondent lives in a dual-earner household though.

An analysis by social class shows that women in the class of ‘managers, directors, professionals and self-employed’ are those who most consider that they do more than their fair share. At the opposite end of the scale, considering that they do less than their fair share, are women in the class of ‘agricultural workers’. Contrary to what happens in other aspects under examination, educational attainment and income levels do not seem especially important to explain differences in this perception of fairness or unfairness.

With regard to differences according to the place of residence, this factor only emerges more clearly in the case of women. Women living in an urban context, and especially in the LMA, are those who most consider that they do more than their fair share (30.5% comparing with 22.3% in the OMA, and 17.3% in the rest of the country).

Again, hiring a domestic employee is a differentiating factor among women only. It brings down quite considerably – more so than in the case of men – the number of women stating that they do more than what is fair (21.6% to 13.8%). Among men, this decrease is from 4.8% to 3.4%. Similar results are obtained when looking at the paid domestic help index. Once more it is clear that resorting to paid domestic help exerts a (far) greater impact on women than on men, thereby contributing to a greater feeling of fairness. This situation may be explained by the fact that the recruitment of a domestic worker leads to a greater decrease in the time spent on unpaid work by women than by men, thus reducing the difference in this respect.

While our interviewees tend to support egalitarian statements – based on the notion that household chores must be equally distributed since this is a natural or inevitable outcome of women’s participation in paid work –, this does not stop some of them from explaining that the asymmetry currently observed in the case of their own household is a legitimate and adequate response to the family’s concrete circumstances.



*i: How fair would you say the division of domestic work between you and your wife is?
I: I think that, as far as possible, it's fair. I think it's fair. If I don't get home earlier
and help around the house, it's not because I'm at the café. If I were at the café, I'd
probably say it was unfair. But no, it's because I'm working.*

João, 45 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 7 and 3

One thing is not helping because he's there and he refuses to; it's another thing not helping because he's not there or if he is, he has to do night shift or he arrives at dinner time and the dinner's already done. In other words, I can't expect him to be cooking dinner at 8 o'clock when he only gets home at 9 o'clock, can I? It's a bit complicated. Then, what happens? I end up by doing practically everything.

Olivia, 35 years old, biparental,
sons aged 10 and 5

*i: How do you assess the division of domestic work between you and your husband?
Is it fair?*

Interviewee: It's like I said, it ends up by being fair because he doesn't just sit around doing nothing. [...] The only thing he doesn't help with is the cleaning. If I ask him to make the dinner, he does it. If I ask him to put the clothes in the washing machine, he does it. Most times, I do it, that's the truth. But he's not there sitting around. He's doing something else.

Catarina, 38 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 6

According to this perspective, the man is freed from household chores since he is “doing something else” for the common good of the family – this “other thing” being, in the case of Catarina's husband, responding to demands of his paid work or looking after their daughter. This is an observation shared by several women we interviewed: over the last years men have taken increasing responsibility for childcare but not for the household chores. At times, childcare is even ensured by the man in exchange for household chores.

The tasks he does are important in qualitative terms. The fact that he does the dinner... in numerical terms he does fewer things, but in qualitative terms they have an impact that I think is quite significant. Apart from that, there's something that I think he also does, and does well: he gives our children a lot of quality time. I prefer him to give the children quality time in possible detriment to doing a domestic chore. I'll do the chore. But it's a choice. They're choices but I think things are balanced in this sense.

Francisca, 42 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 12, son aged 6

Despite the positive tone, Francisca's discourse also suggests some resignation as regards reality not living up to what she would like. We should not overlook the subjectivities underlying any interpretation of personal circumstances: the unequal distribution of household chores may be assessed as satisfactory in comparison with how things were in the past, or in comparison with how they are, still today, in other people's homes.



i: Would you say that you were satisfied with the way household chores are shared between you and your husband?

I: Yes, I am.

i: You wouldn't change anything?

I: No. No, because from what I hear, there's worse, much worse.

Liliana, 38 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 13 and 3



From what I see on a daily basis and from what I hear... there are men who practically don't do a single thing. My husband puts the clothes in the washing machine, he gets them out and puts them in the drier, he looks after our daughter, lays the table, clears away afterwards and tidies up the kitchen if necessary. He only doesn't cook or iron. I can't ask him to do anything else. And he cleans the house, too. I'm well looked after.

Zaida, 28 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 2

In contrast, we also find statements that point out and heavily criticise the unfairness of overloading women with household tasks. This is what happens in Palmira's case as she describes the serious imbalance in the chores she had to do during the time she lived with a man whom she subsequently left.



Men should be a little more aware that their wives need help with the children and with the house, it's not only them who need to relax, we also need to relax. [...] The ideal thing would be for men to put themselves in our shoes and think a little bit about what we could split fifty-fifty... the children, the house, the cleaning, everything... not only paying the bills. Just now I was remembering that my father never helped my mother in any of these things... but... I didn't feel it, but my mother must have felt it, now I'm thinking that maybe my mother felt it...

Palmira, 38 years old, single parent,
daughter aged 5, son aged 11 months

Of course, the notion of injustice is also possible among men. This is Timóteo's case when he recognises that he is unable to ensure a large enough share of the household chores. It is also Néilson's case, who on the contrary shows that he is working hard towards the day when household chores are fairly divided between him and his wife.

I'm aware that she works more than I do, I'm aware of that. [I could] do some chores that I currently don't. For example, cooking. Sometimes she says: "I don't know what to cook". I could perhaps give a hand there... But as for the rest, I think things are even. There are certain things that... I think it's tiring making the food every day and thinking about it. I believe I could help a little more with that but sincerely I really don't know how. Frying a steak or something, I do it sometimes. When she's late for lunch and I know she's coming, I start cooking some pasta. But it's always pasta, or a steak, or an egg, nothing fancy.

Timóteo, 45 years old, biparental,
sons aged 16 and 9

I know that there are a lot of men, and I know some of them – for example, dinner's always their department, but afterwards they [the wives] tell them to iron the clothes or put the washing into the machine and the answer is: "I don't know how". For me, that's worse than saying "I don't want to". "I don't know how" is worse than "I don't want to" because "I don't know how" means that they don't want to learn. Because they're married now and if the wife does it... You can't teach him if he doesn't want to learn. So, I think it should be better divided, fifty-fifty as the saying goes, because [if not] we're going back to male chauvinism; we love saying 'I want', 'I can', 'I'm the boss': arrive home, sit on the sofa and watch television – 'Hey Maria bring me a beer'. But if she did the same thing to us, how would we feel? A chattel, a servant, and I think a lot of people see things from this angle...

Nélson, 39 years of age, biparental,
son aged 9

Provision of care to adult persons in need

Although the great majority of our respondents (94.3%) do not live with adult persons requiring special care,¹⁹ the growing importance of this type of care in an ageing society such as the Portuguese calls for the analysis of some specific data collected in the survey.

Considering only the affirmative answers, almost half of the respondents (48.5%) state that special care is related with incapacity due to age, while almost 50% state that care is required due to illness. Disability or impairment is mentioned by only 23.1% of the respondents. The number of households in which there is more than one adult requiring special care is extremely small.

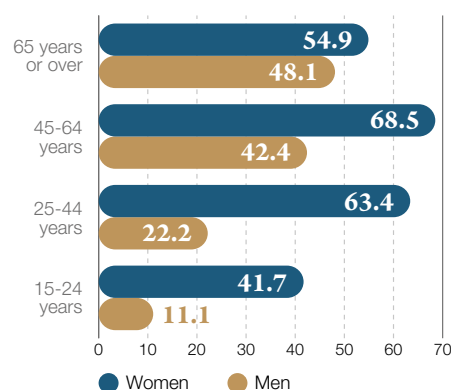
The provision of care to adult persons falls mainly on women's shoulders. Many more women (61.7%) than men (39%) do it for at least one hour every day. Even so, more than one in three people (35.4%) living with an adult person in need state that they never provide this type of care, a value that is significantly greater among men (46.1%) than it is among women (29.9%).

¹⁹ Due to illness, incapacity (related with age) or disability.

This is also clearly related to the respondent's age. In crossing the two variables, it is easy to understand that despite the respondents between 15 and 24 years old being the ones who least provide this type of care every day for at least an hour, the picture is very different when we disaggregate men and women. A similar thing happens regarding the age group next up the scale, as shown in the figure below. It would appear that the men are kept in the rear guard for later when they are older – something that does not occur among the women.

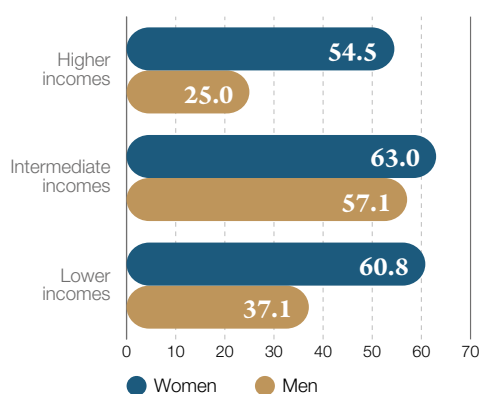
A smaller disparity in this respect is only apparent among people aged 65 years or over, and it has mainly to do with the type of household they live in. Two out of three elderly men (63.2%) live only with their wives, which 'forces' them to provide such care when their partners become dependent or have a disability. In contrast, only one in three elderly women (33.1%) live in the same type of household, and they live alone more often than men (46,2%).

Figure 54. People living in the same household as adult persons who are dependent or with a disability requiring care every day for at least an hour according to age group by sex (%)



We may be led to believe that a more favourable economic situation would allow caring to be obtained from an external source, thereby reducing the proportion of people in the household who provide this type of care. This is not the case, however. The most marked difference is found to be among the men, with more than half the men living in intermediate-income households stating that they do provide this type of care. Differences among the women are not so apparent.

Figure 55. People living in the same household as adult persons who are dependent or with a disability requiring care every day for at least an hour according to the household net monthly income by sex (%)



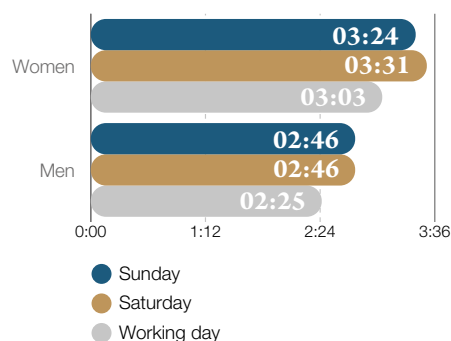
In almost all cases, no paid services – either formal or informal – are sought. This may be explained by the fact that in an overwhelming number of situations (97.5%) there is at least one person in the household (mostly women) dedicated to unpaid domestic work or currently unemployed, retired or inactive.

A little over half of the people (54%) provide this type of care alone, with no significant gender difference in this respect. It is shared with another person in 39.6% of the cases, and only in 6.5% of the cases care is provided with the help of two or more people.

Concerning the person with whom the provision of care is shared, gender is once again a key variable. Two out of three men (66.2%) who share the provision of care with another person do so with their spouse/partner, a situation that only occurs with 39.9% of the women. It should also be pointed out that 23% of women share the provision of care with another woman – a mother (12.2%) or a daughter (10.8%). This value is three times as much as the one of men sharing the provision of care with their fathers or their sons (7%).

The time spent on the provision of care to adult persons in need is about 25% higher among women. On average, women spend on this type of care 38 minutes more on working days and on Sundays, and 45 minutes more on Saturdays.

Figure 56. Average time spent on the provision of care to adult persons who are dependent or with a disability living in the same household on the last working day, the last Saturday and the last Sunday by sex (hours:minutes)

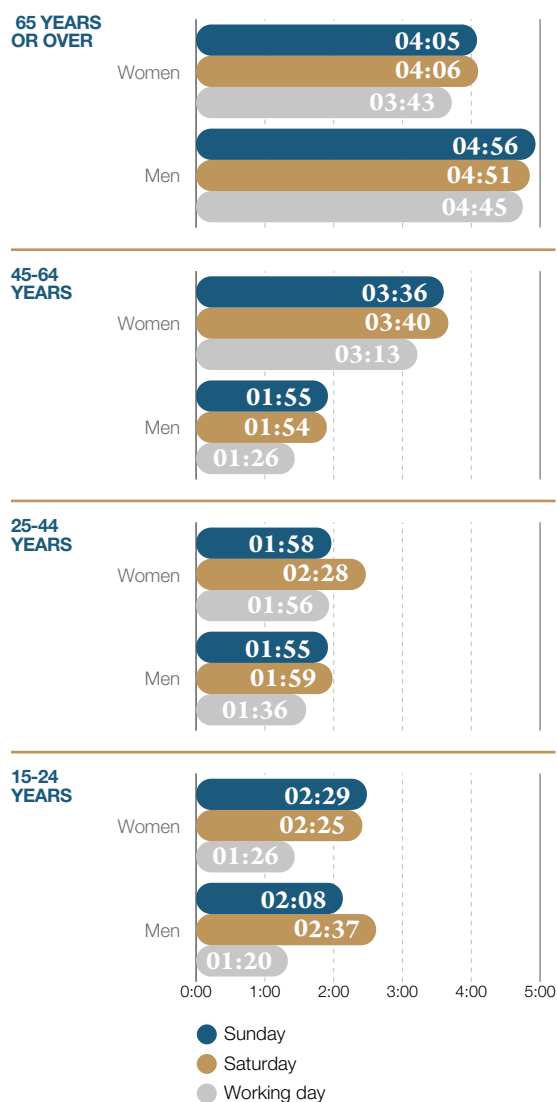


A quartile analysis not only confirms the incidence of this trend, but also reveals that the 25% of women who spend the most time on provision this type of care spend on it a hour longer than the corresponding 25% of men: 4 hours for women and 3 hours for men.

Once again, age stands out as a differentiating factor, with a correlation between these two variables – albeit weak – showing that the older the person, the more time is spent on the provision of care. The analysis by sex, however, shows that this correlation is considerably stronger for men – ranging between 0,27 on the last Saturday and 0,31 on the last working day.²⁰

²⁰ Significant correlations at 99%.

Figure 57. Average time spent on the provision of care to adult persons who are dependent or with a disability living in the same household on the last working day, the last Saturday and the last Sunday according to age group by sex (hours:minutes)

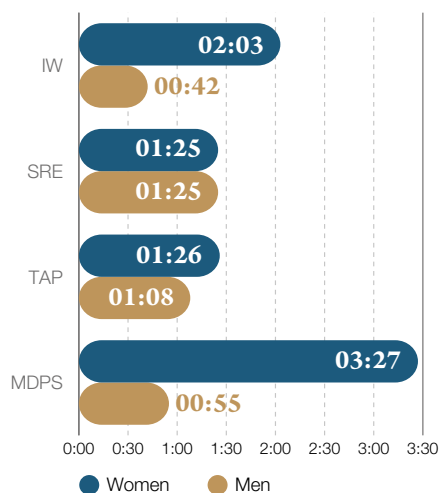


In the figure above, it is clear that these outcomes are heavily influenced by the age group of 65 years or over. As mentioned earlier on, not only is it in this age group that we find the smallest gender difference with regard to the provision of care, but men are those spending more time on it – between 45 and 62 minutes more than women, on average, depending on the day under consideration.

It is also interesting to note the differences arising when both the sex and the social class of the respondents are brought in. Looking at the time spent on caring on the last working day, there are no great disparities coming to light in the categories of 'service routine employees' and 'technicians and associate professionals'. On the contrary, a large gender difference is found among 'industrial workers' and especially among 'managers, directors, professionals and self-employed'; women in this latter category spend on average 2 hours and 32 minutes more than men in the same category.

Figure 58. Average time spent on the provision of care to adult persons who are dependent or with a disability living in the same household according to social class²¹ by sex (hours:minutes)

IW: Industrial workers;
SRE: Service routine employees;
TAP: Technicians and associate professionals;
MDPS: Managers, directors, professionals and self-employed



It is therefore apparent that the explanation lies not only on the greater availability of time possibly conceded in some social groups, but rather on a complex intermeshing with gender and other social roles.

The experiences reported by our interviewees show how the need to provide regular care to an elderly member of the family, sometimes in sudden, unexpected circumstances, greatly interferes with daily life. Confronted with the shortage of public facilities or the lack of economic resources to ensure the form of care that they would deem fit, a lot of juggling is required. Álvaro describes the constraints and psychological pressures resulting from providing an elderly member of the household with care.



Unfortunately, my mother-in-law... I was forced to have her living with us for five years. She had a very serious, very strange health problem [...]. It was really scary. We had to leave her at home when we went to work, drop the kids off at school, she was fine the day before [but] we were always afraid that she'd have one of her crises. [...] We spent five years in this frightening state whenever we left the house. We couldn't and didn't want her to go to an elderly home because it was still early, she wasn't even 70 years old. We thought it was too early for her to go into an elderly home. [...] On the other hand, we never managed to find a place where we could leave her with trained personnel, either because it was the question of her age – she was too young to go into a home –, or because residential care facilities were too expensive. And so, the solution was to have her stay at our place in these conditions

Álvaro, 51 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 22 and 9

Even if the elderly person is living under institutional care, like in the case of Marisa's grandmother, substantial doses of time and skill are required to accompany the person.

21 Due to the very small number of agricultural workers in this case, they are not included in the figure.

This question of placing someone in a nursing home, I've always regarded it the same way as placing a child in a crèche. Anyone listening to me must think that I'm being very hard-hearted. But it's not being hard-hearted, unfortunately that's the way things are. But there's something else too: people can't forget that in the same way that I've got my daughter at the crèche and I have to concern myself with what's happening there and go to fetch her... with the home where the elderly person is, we have to act in the same way. [...] There's a whole logistic operation that has to back up the diminishing capacities of the person. But we have to be constantly on the watch-out for what's happening there. I think that institutions were created and grow with our intervention. We cannot say: "Now please take care of her", because they also work better or worse according to the pressure we put on them, in the same way that a crèche or a school does. I think we must play a very active role in this kind of institutions.

Marisa, 40 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 5

Various sources of pressure contribute to care being provided by a woman. One of the factors is based on the perception that men are less able or less skilled to provide care, as exemplified in the interview with Carlos. We are faced with several instances of the traditional divide promoting men in the public sphere while women are relegated to the private sphere. The same shall be seen in our next section concerning childcare. It is interesting to note how Luís, currently caring for his dependent father, breaks with the ancestral practices: "he never did this to us".

I: I love my mother to death, but if my mother needed daily support I think she'd be better off with my sister than with me, because there are things that confuse me, right? There are things that confuse me. I could play this role... for example, get her a nurse to care for her properly. But I don't feel capable, I think, I don't think I'm capable of being in a position in which I'd be sure that I was really taking care of her in an adequate manner. For instance, there are people who must wear diapers, then they don't change the diaper and all their nether parts are inflamed, right? To do this, I'd have to undress my mother. And undressing my mother... I can surely undress my mother... undressing, I don't know... it's very...

i: Difficult, psychologically?

I: Exactly.

Carlos, 36 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 16, son aged 10

i: Didn't your father change your diapers, give you a bath, things like this?

I: No, nothing, zero. Today, my father is bedridden and my mother often says this – that today I'm feeding him and providing him with care, something he, in fact, never did with us. It was always... it was always more about his job. He was the kind of person who worked, and at home, we were five children... and this was how my father was.

Luís, 48 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 18, son aged 13

On the other hand, one of the reasons provided by some of our interviewees to explain the gender imbalance with respect to care work is based on women's lower expectations regarding paid work. Whenever a woman has a flexible working schedule at her job or is unemployed for a while, such as what happened to Zaida, she is in a (un)privileged position to take on such responsibility.



I'll give you my example. I was unemployed for eight months and my mother-in-law had an accident at the time, she was knocked down by a car on a zebra-crossing. She was incapacitated for two months and during these two months she was under my care. I took care of her because there was no one else to do so.

Zaida, 28 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 2

Up to this point, we have been looking into the provision of care to adult persons. In the following section our attention turns to the main findings from our research with regard to childcare, with a focus on motherhood and fatherhood.

4.2. Motherhood and fatherhood



Children are treasures with teeth [...] teeth that bite into time

Maria Ángeles Durán, 2013

Introduction

The conditions and practices of motherhood and fatherhood make up one of the key dimensions for effective equality between women and men. Among other aspects, it is important to examine who cares for the children, to what extent this task is shared, and how the dynamics and responsibilities of parenthood articulate with paid work.

We have seen that, according to the survey, it is in the age group between 25 and 44 years that the average time of unpaid work per day is the highest, with a substantial gender gap. This disparity is even greater when it comes to the 45-64 age group, but it decreases in the age group of 65 or over. The data analysed in the following pages will allow us to understand how childcare contributes to this landscape. While men increasingly 'demand' their right to fatherhood within a wider transformation of gender roles and norms (Wall, Aboim and Cunha, 2010), this change must be scrutinised through the empirical data at our disposal.

As an integral part of unpaid work, the practices of parenthood are also fundamental to understand other inequalities, mainly in the field of paid work, leisure, or civic and political participation. It is indeed not only about practices but also about the representations of parenthood, both of them being closely entwined. In this particular case, representations associated with maternal roles and those associated with paternal roles are not necessarily symmetrical. Moreover, they may vary from person to person, from household to household, even though the dynamics of reproduction and social control are by no means negligible.

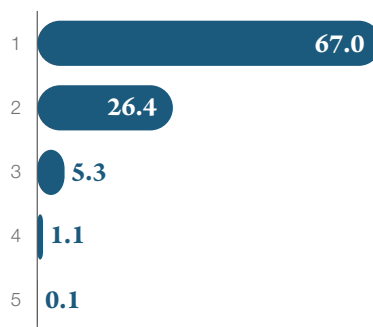
Therefore, it may be said that women and men have some power to choose – some agency – within their particular context and considering their resources and constraints (Perista, 2013). Personal preferences and family interaction help to explain each other mutually, although they might also clash with each other (Wall, 2000). We recall, from the previous section, that the feelings of unfairness about the distribution of household chores expressed by women are more frequent when they have children in their care. Listening to people is indispensable if we want to understand bargaining dynamics in the family and identify the distinct principles that may guide such negotiation. Two of these principles, role specialisation and different economic resources, are considered by Baxter and Hewitt (2009, 2013) in their attempt to explain gender inequalities with regard to doing household chores; we shall see whether they are equally relevant to explain differences in providing childcare.

We begin by questioning who cares for the children, indicating some of the more general characteristics of the household's composition and daily life where children are living. Secondly, we make a detailed inventory of activities carried out during childcare and discuss the differences not only between men and women, but also based on age, education or social class. Lastly, we examine the articulation of parenthood with paid work. Besides practices in daily life, we shall be looking more specifically at what happens when children are born, with a focus on the first child, acknowledging that it is useful to dig deeper into particular stages of the family trajectory when norms, capitals and resources may undergo changes (Wall, 2000).

Who cares for the children?

The children²² covered in the survey mostly live in households where they are the only child: this is the case of 67% of the households with a person aged under 15 years.

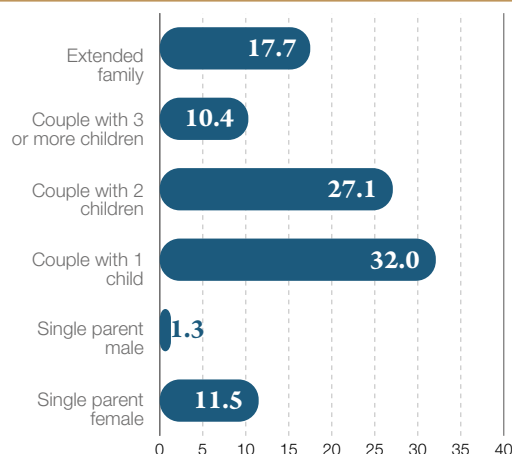
Figure 59. Households with children by the number of children (%)



The following figure shows the distribution of households with children according to the family's composition. Households consisting of a couple with one or more children predominate (69.5%). Households with only one child represents almost one third of the total number of cases. Extended families represent 17.7% of the households with children. The importance of single-parent households headed by a woman, 11.5%, should also be underscored.

²² It should be recalled that, for the purposes of this study, our concept of "child" means any person below 15 years of age. Whenever appropriate, the following sub-groups have been considered: under the age of three; between three and five years old; between six and 14 years old. The results of the survey concerning households with children refer to a total of 2223 respondents – thus representing 21.9% of the total number of respondents.

Figure 60. Households with children by type of family (%)



The composition of a given household is the outcome of a variety of factors: plans are conceived, but they are also subject to unforeseen events and rethinking things out. People have wishes, but there are also constraints. The household members may agree or disagree on the number of children to have or on the perspective of sharing their home with parents or other relatives.

With respect to the number of children, it is worth mentioning the diversity of preferences. Among the people we interviewed, no consensual understanding on the size of the 'ideal' family came up. With either one, two, three or four children, people may feel very satisfied with the size of their particular household.

It is also interesting to note the reasons people gave when they said they would like to have more children but were hesitating or postponing their plans. The main obstacle for Nuno lies in the couple's insufficient and irregular income. However, in Iolanda and Catarina's opinions, economic uncertainty is not a determining factor: rather, they mention a scarcity of time and a foreknowledge of the couple's difficulties in arranging their daily working schedules so as to meet the demands of childcare. In both cases, this difficulty was experienced first-hand with their first child.



i: Have you already decided how many children you're going to have?

I: We've had enough. It's been decided.

i: Who decided?

I: The two of us. The two of us decided here. Because we don't have enough money. Our salaries aren't enough to have two... and State subsidies aren't enough either...

Nuno, 38 years old, biparental,
son aged 3



He wants more, and so do I. But I'm always waiting to see if I can find something better for myself [regarding paid work]. Better, not in the sense of the money I earn, but in the sense of the working schedule.

Iolanda, 27 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 6



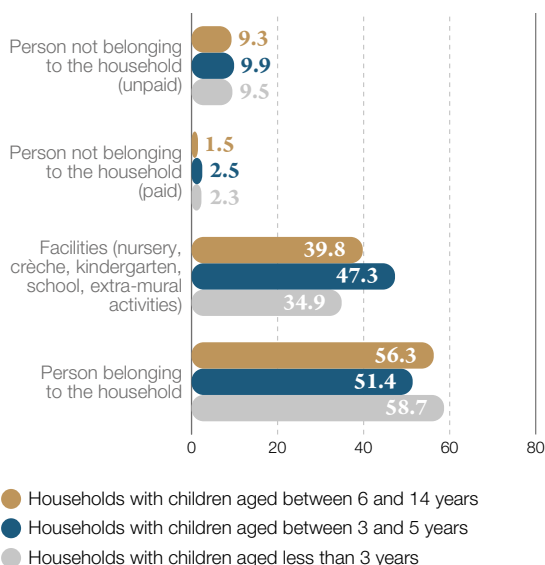
At the beginning, we had a very clear notion that we wanted three children. Our daughter arrived and we decided that after three years we would have another child. To be honest, those three years have come and gone and we're into six at the moment... we'd like to have more and we're thinking about it, but I have to be quite frank, it's more for him than for me... because I feel that I won't have any time to be with the baby and this upsets me a lot.

Catarina, 38 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 6

In more than half of the households with children, it is someone living in the respective household that usually takes care of the children during the day. This situation is found more often when the children are below 3 years old. Resorting to services or facilities (public or private nurseries, crèches or childminders) happens in 34.9% of the cases where there are children below three years old. Considering children aged between three and five years old, the frequency of resorting to services or facilities after educational activities have stopped increases about 12.7 percentage points. The percentage of after-school care drops when referring to children aged between six and 14 years old.

Although it is less frequent, the usual resort to childminders not belonging to the household is also worthy of note. Childminders in this case are mostly unpaid – relatives, neighbours, or other people –, which happens in about 10% of the cases and covers the several sub-age groups. Resorting to a paid childminder happens less often.

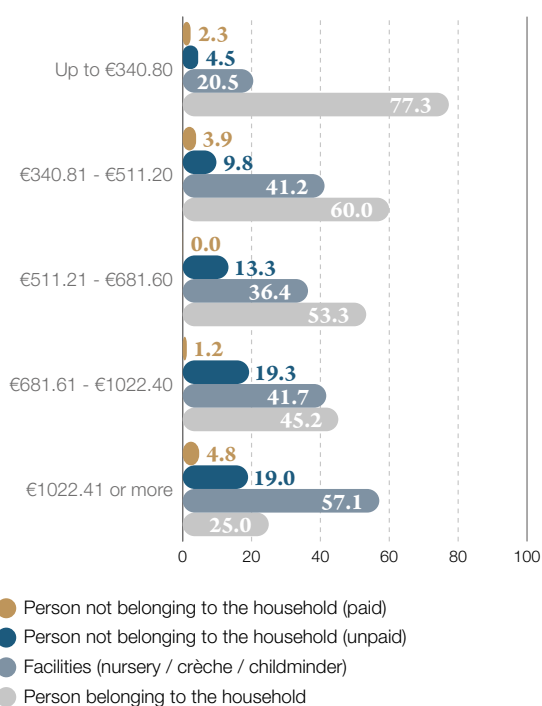
Figure 61. Main types of childcare according to the child's age (%)



Note: The percentages are not mutually exclusive as there are households indicating more than one usual way of providing childcare, be it with respect to the same child or different children.

As expected, answers vary substantially according to the household's income level. Regarding children younger than 3 in households where the income is situated below the poverty line defined earlier (€340.80 /month), the person looking after the children during the day most often lives in the same household (77.3% of the cases). This value decreases gradually as the household income increases, all the way down to 25% in the highest income bracket. A reverse trend exists as regards paid services or facilities. However, it should be mentioned that resorting to unpaid childminders who do not belong to the same household for children under three years of age is less common in the lowest income brackets; the provision of care may be more easily available within the household as more often several generations of the same family cohabit with each other (the percentage of extended family households is 11.7% among those below the poverty line, comparing with 6% among the total number of households).

Figure 62. Main types of childcare for children aged under 3 years according to the household's net monthly income (%)



Similar patterns are exposed, in a clearest manner, when we examine the case of children aged 3 years or more. The 'economic' variable as regards strategies and ways of organising daily family life is confirmed. Resorting to facilities or paid childminders seems to be a privilege, to which access increases as the household income increases. The cases in which the solution is found within the household itself predominate in the lowest income brackets.

Figure 63. Main types of childcare for children aged between three and five years according to the household's net monthly income (%)

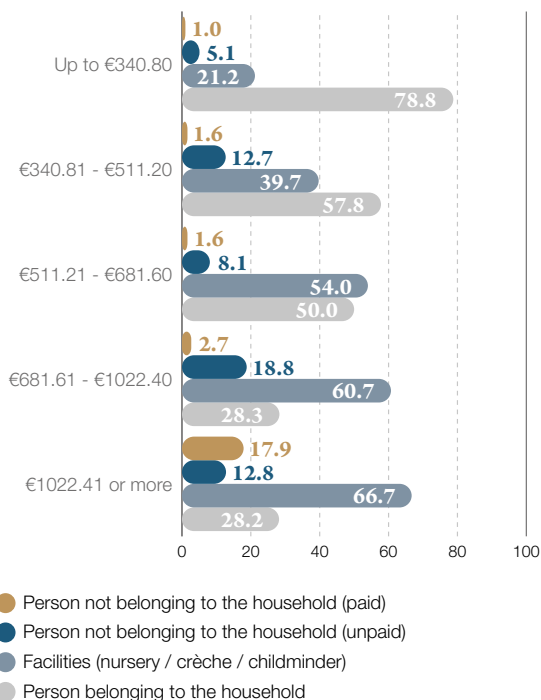
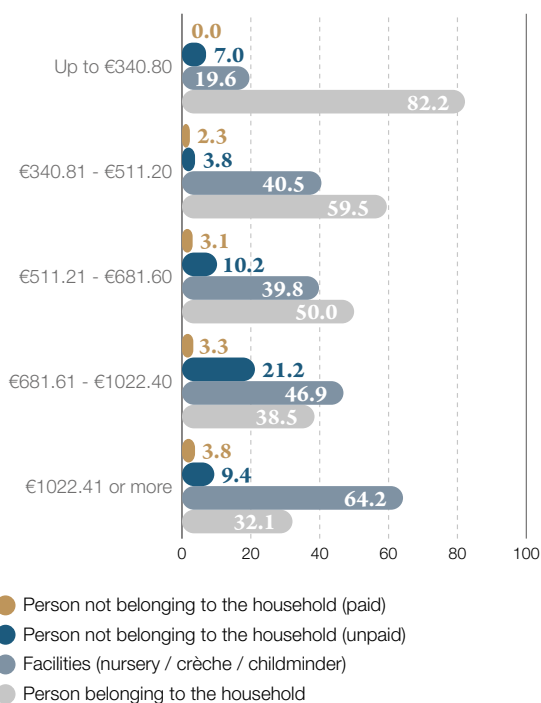


Figure 64. Main types of childcare for children aged between six and 14 years according to the household's net monthly income (%)



Our interviews show that the daily practices of childcare are influenced by a variety of factors besides the economic one, including the child's age, the household's composition, the help from relatives, or the vicinity and cost of childcare facilities.

The respondents also present distinct ideas about what the ideal solution should be when thinking about the child's daily life – mainly about the age at which the child should be placed in a facility and how many hours is acceptable for a child to be away from the parents. Notwithstanding, preferences frequently collide with economic limitations or circumstances and demands of paid work.



I don't have the conditions, economically speaking, to place them in a private nursery. And who am I going to leave them with if I don't have anyone's help? Certainly, if I was given the chance of being at home full-time, I could manage to look after the baby. I don't agree with leaving her at the nursery when she's so small, I think it's too soon to hand her over to caregivers... this would be very hard for me to do. With the older girl, we had the chance of leaving her with my parents-in-law. But in the meantime, my mother-in-law had to have an operation and there's no chance now, or rather, she hasn't got the ability to handle the little one because a baby demands a lot of ability, right? A lot of attention. A lot of dedication. And we realised that, well, there's no other choice, we'd have to put her in a nursery. And getting a place in a nursery was extremely difficult.

Humberto, 34 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 3 years and 11 months



i: In your opinion, what's the ideal solution for childcare, especially when the child is under the age of 6?

I: There should be more inexpensive crèches available. Nowadays, to find a place for the child...

i: What was the solution you had for your own child?

I: We had a childminder. I hired a childminder to take care of my daughter. [...] We would like to plan for another child but how can we support a child if the crèches take almost all our money?

Gabriel, 28 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 6



I agree with having nurseries and crèches. I even think it is fundamental for children to be with each other and begin to have other kinds of rules together, in common with other children. It's fundamental. In my case, I would have liked to have more time with my daughter, because I had to take her to a nursery at five and a half months and I thought it was too early even so. I think she was too small to be in that facility; if I or my husband could have taken more time off to stay with her, I would have chosen that way. It's only because the cut in the parental allowance after eight months is an obstacle. They're very small. Also, I think that even at school there's not much one can do with them but providing them with the basic care. They can't always do things. I think it's fundamental for them to spend time with their parents.

Raquel, 32 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 2

The help provided by relatives and friends is mentioned by several of the interviewees. In some cases, we cannot really speak of a support network as the requests for help are sporadic or limited to unexpected occasions. In other cases, however, the support is regular and stretches over many hours of the day; the child's grandmother repeatedly comes up as the first source of help and a fall-back in family's activities.

For Sebastião, who is soon to be a father for the second time, it is reassuring to know beforehand that he can depend on his mother's help. Felisberto states that he would have preferred relying on a nursery for at least part of the day, but the economic factor got in the way. Josefina and Leonor also know from their own experience what it is to share the children's daily childcare with the grandmothers.



When my son was born... and it's going to happen with this next child too... until he's one year old, a year and a half, before going to the crèche, he'll be with my mother. So there it is! My mother will look after him because my mother also lives here... in fact, I grew up here, so that's why...

Sebastião, 41 years old, biparental,
son aged 6



My daughters were brought up by my mother-in-law... until they were practically five, six years old. Until they went to primary school. But a child also needs the nursery. Okay, a grandmother is a grandmother but for a child, socialising with other children... that's important too.

Felisberto, 50 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 20 and 14



[My son and my daughter] were with my parents until they were two and a half years of age. Their grandparents looked after them. Afterwards, when they were already at the nursery school, my parents used to go and fetch them very early... at 4 or 4.30 pm... and they stayed with them until I fetched them.

Josefina, 48 years old, biparental,
son aged 15, daughter aged 13



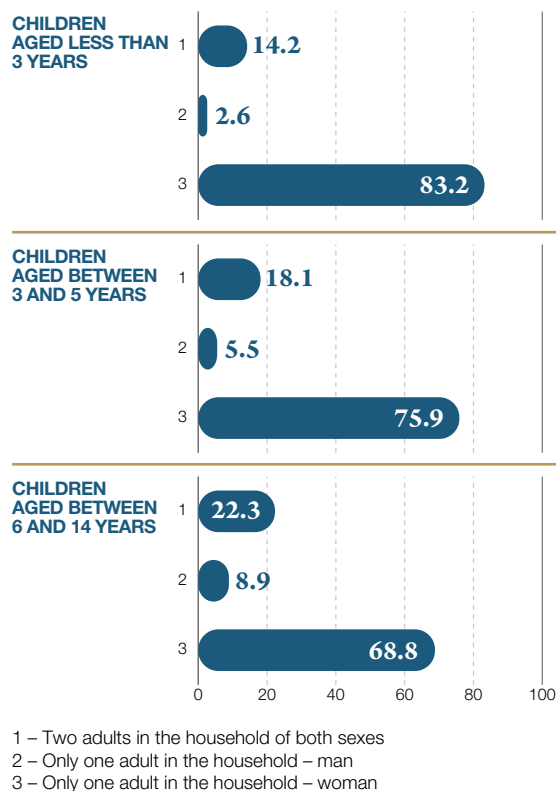
My father also helps. Sometimes my son stays with my father; if my mother isn't available, I can also count on my father. But indeed it's with my mother that I organise things, let's put it that way.

Leonor, 33 years old, single parent,
son aged 3

Whether fully assured within the household or involving the support from other relatives, daily childcare is characterised by a strong gender asymmetry. Considering the adults in the household who usually look after the children during the day, it is seen that they are mostly women – and they do so alone in most of the cases, that is, without the help of another adult. The feminisation of care in the family's daily life is particularly apparent when it comes to smaller children. Concerning children below three years old, 83.2% are looked after by only one woman. This proportion drops to 75.9% among children between three and five years old, and to 68.8% among children between six and 14 years old.

In other words, the participation of men in this domain, although always low in comparison with women's, seems to be especially low during the first few years of the child's life. Almost negligible are the cases in which only an adult man in the household looks after a child below three years old.

Figure 65. Adults in the household who usually look after children according to the child's age and the sex of the caregiver (%)



The in-depth interviews confirm that the predominant practice – which does not mean that it is based on mutual agreement or peacefully solved in the family's daily life – shows that it is the child's mother who is the first to smooth out any eventual clashes arising between parental and paid work responsibilities; she is the first one changing her paid work schedules and, if there is an emergency, she leaves the job earlier, or stays at home, or takes the children to work with her. The imbalance in childcare also takes on more subtle differences, often construed as natural, as in the case of thinking that things are being fairly divided if the father takes the children to school in the morning (at about 8 o'clock, then going straight to work) and the mother fetches them in the afternoon (at about 5 or 6 o'clock, and then looking after them until at least dinner time).

Various interviewees tell us about their consistently overburdened lives. A good example is provided by Ilda, as her husband often spends time abroad for professional reasons; or Olga, who got divorced when she had two small children. It is interesting that both women refer to the help offered them on a more or less frequent basis by people outside the family.



When my second daughter was born, my whole life was focused on my children and my job. In fact, there was a time when I moved around like... a zombie. Because my husband was away from [name of town]. When they were still very small, babies, I recall moments when I couldn't take it any more... we'd arrive by car, one of them was sleeping, I'd go up to the flat and put him inside leaving the other one in the car... then I'd go down and fetch her... sometimes I met a neighbour who asked me if I needed any help. [...] Being a mother and having the kind of job I had was a huge challenge... I could have had a breakdown. I could have ended up mad. Because, in fact, there were moments in which I felt I was at the very limit.

Ilda, 46 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 13 and 12, son aged 9



When the children were smaller, I had a neighbour who would help me a lot. Sometimes, I couldn't even fetch them from the childminder in time, and so she would fetch them instead and give them dinner. [...] When I separated from my first husband, it was a very complicated time for me. Because I had two small children and I had to work hard to survive.

Olga, 41 years old, single parent,
sons aged 17 and 11, daughter aged 15

Some of the men and women that we interviewed consider that, in the case of their own households, the daily duties involved in childcare could only be better shared between the couple if the demands of paid work made upon the men were reduced. Due to the nature of their professional activity or the employer's policies and practices, it is more difficult for men – in these cases and according to the interviewees – to attend to family needs. Therefore, while defending an equal partition of childcare as the fair model or the ideal model *in theory*, some people nevertheless describe the imbalance in their daily lives as being fair or ideal, if not the only possible solution, in their particular case.

The role specialisation is evidently supported by the conviction that women are better suited or are more able to care for children than men are. Except on rare occasions, this idea is not voiced – at least, not openly – by the interviewees; some interviewees, both men and women, reject such a notion outright. Others say that in the first few months or years of a child's life, it is to be expected that the child is closer to his/her mother than to the father. This argument, rooted in biological premises, appears in the discourse of both Rui and Fausto.

On the other hand, there is general agreement on the fact that daily practices help towards developing a special relationship between mother and child. It does not only depend on who is with the children on a regular basis, but also the interactive dynamics the child has with other people or with institutions. Marisa tells us that the school always contacts her first if there is a problem during the day.



I: Little children have a much greater affective bond with their mother when they're newly born and when they're still babies. Much greater – this is normal. It's more natural that the mother is closer to the baby.

i: How do you explain this? That is, why is it like that?

I: Because the baby was inside the mother for nine months... and that's why, when it's born, it continues to be tied to its mother. If the pregnancy was normal [...] and if the baby was wanted, if the mother wanted this pregnancy and enjoyed it, it's logical that she will be the one staying with the baby in the first months of its life. It makes sense.

Rui, 41 years old, biparental,
son aged 5, daughter aged 3



Men and women are not equal because there is a biological difference between men and women. [...] Men don't breastfeed. But it's not only a question of breastfeeding. Because being a father is different from being a mother... I think that this difference is biological, apart from having a large number of social constructs thrust on top of it. Having said this, after the initial period, I think it's indifferent whether it's the father or the mother [that looks after the child].

Fausto, 48 years old, biparental,
sons aged 18 and 9



I: It only happened once and it was very complicated, because she was very small and she was constantly vomiting and having diarrhoea, vomiting, diarrhoea, vomiting... and they immediately called me; they phoned the factory and I immediately went to fetch her; I went to the hospital with her and had to stop along the way once because she vomited. She even had to be kept at the hospital because she was dehydrated. This happens to babies sometimes and it happened to her. Of course, as soon as I can, I send a text message to my husband and he meets me there.

i: But usually it's you they call?

I: Yes, immediately. As a rule, it is. In any event, the head of the school says "Mother" and provides the teacher with the mother's phone number... and the teachers also have "Mother", and the father only comes afterwards.

Marisa, 40 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 5

It is worth mentioning that, in the cases with a more balanced distribution of childcare, men do not voice any unhappiness about the circumstances in which they find themselves in. To the contrary, they stress their satisfaction with the bond developed with the child and the benefits of sharing responsibilities between the couple. Sebastião explains that, when his son was born, he relied on the skills he himself had acquired while looking after his sisters. Gabriel, whose wife does shift-work until 11 o'clock at night at her job, is used to looking after his daughter during the afternoons and evenings.

I looked after my son more than my wife did when he was a baby. And this has to do with what? With the fact that I also had to look after my younger sisters... With my younger sisters, it was me who changed their nappies, gave them milk, gave them a bath, I used to do everything. And my wife never had this experience, and well, she was a bit fearful... although we always had the help of both my mother and my mother-in-law. Many baths, many nappy changes and suchlike.... I don't say everything, as it would be an exaggeration... but a lot of these chores were done by me.

Sebastião, 41 years old, biparental,
son aged 6

I have dinner with my daughter at home, and afterwards we go out for a stroll or I'll eat an ice-cream with her... to do something different so that we're not always shut away at home. I like going out with my daughter and teaching her things. [When she] was four months old, six months old, my wife was already working and I'd put her in her pram and we'd go for long walks. I used to do this every day. When the time came, I'd give her the bottle of milk, order a coffee for myself and she would be drinking from her bottle, and we'd sit there [at the café] and stay awhile. And people were amused because they saw me doing this every day. I'd give her the bottle, change her nappy and sit awhile, drinking my coffee, and my daughter wouldn't move from there.

Gabriel, 28 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 6

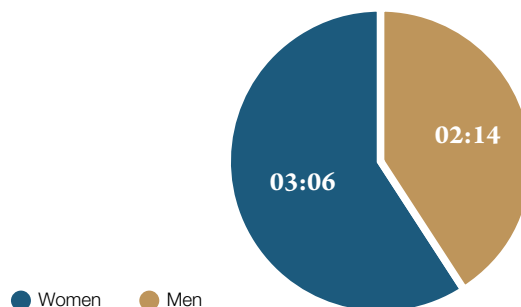
Caring for the children – shared times?

In order to understand the provision of care to children in greater detail, we shall now be looking at the time spent daily by people on specific tasks. It should be noted that the data presented here include both care provided to one's own children and care provided to other children (grandchildren or other cases), as long as the child is aged less than 15 years.

In the wake of what has already been pointed out, we see that, on average, men and women devote distinct amounts of times to childcare.²³ Taking the last working day as our reference, the average time spent by women on the total number of tasks under consideration is 52 minutes longer than the time spent by men.

23 This includes the following tasks: 'physical care: feeding, washing, etc.'; 'teaching: helping with homework, studying or other school tasks'; 'reading, playing and talking'; accompanying to activities, daily or not: sports, music, scouts, cinema, parties, doctors, etc.

Figure 66. Average time spent on childcare on the last working day by sex (hours:minutes)



A quartile analysis confirms the gender disparity concerning time spent on childcare. During working days, 25% of men devote at least 3 hours to childcare, while 25% of women devote at least 4 hours.

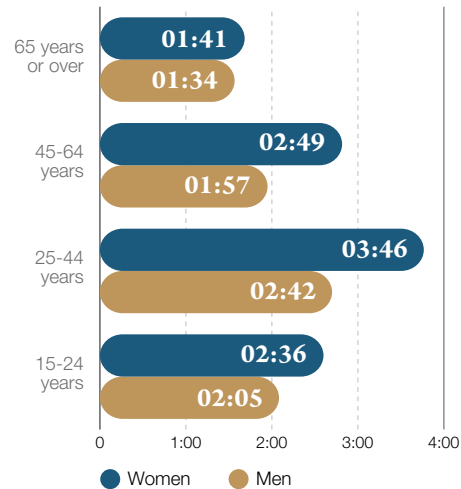
Looking in more detail into the type of care provided during working days, we note that accompanying children in daily or other scheduled activities (such as gymnastics, music, scouts/guides, cinema, parties, doctor's appointments, etc.) occupies 28 minutes of a woman's time, and 26 minutes of a man's time. Likewise, the average time spent on helping the children with their schoolwork is similar: 37 minutes for either sex. The gender disparity increases with regard to activities of a more leisure nature, such as reading, playing and talking; here men spend 1 hour and 6 minutes, and women 1 hour and 22 minutes. This disparity grows and reaches its highest in the provision of physical care (feeding, bathing, etc.), which occupies an average of 1 hour and 44 minutes of a woman's time, and 1 hour and 11 minutes of a man's time.

The gender asymmetry in childcare widens when we consider the age groups in which a greater time is spent on childcare – it reaches its maximum value of 1 hour and 4 minutes in the 25-44 age group. It is important to mention that women are overlaid with this form of unpaid work right from the very first age group, that of people between 15 and 24 years old, but this phenomenon almost disappears in the oldest age group, the 65 year-olds and over.

WHAT WAS IT LIKE IN 1999?

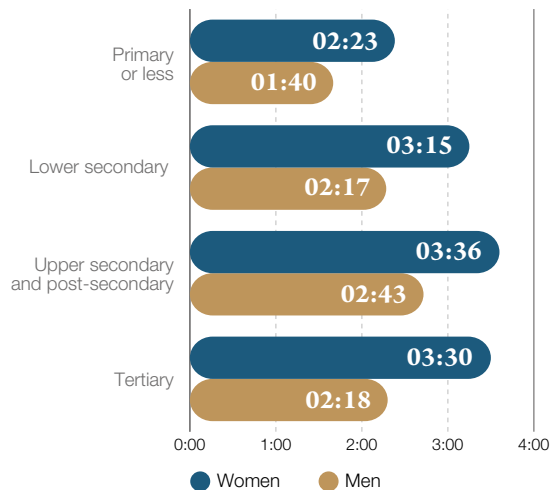
"Considering the average duration of activities in an average day, we see that taking children to school, to the doctor's, to sports activities, etc., occupies a little more than half an hour of both men's and women's time (33 and 34 minutes respectively). At the other end of the scale, providing physical care and looking after occupies 47 minutes of the men's time and 1 hour and 9 minutes of the women's." (IOT 1999, cf. Perista, 2002: 461)

Figure 67. Average time spent on childcare on the last working day according to age group by sex (hours:minutes)



Considering the level of educational attainment, the greatest difference is found between women and men with tertiary education: 1 hour and 12 minutes, comparing with 43 minutes among men and women with only primary education or less. It should certainly be borne in mind that the level of schooling tends to drop markedly among the older population, and it is in this age group that we find fewer people caring for children below 15 years old. Still, the suggestion is that the more time spent on childcare, the greater the difference is in sharing the childcare tasks between women and men.

Figure 68. Average time spent on childcare on the last working day according to educational attainment by sex (hours:minutes)

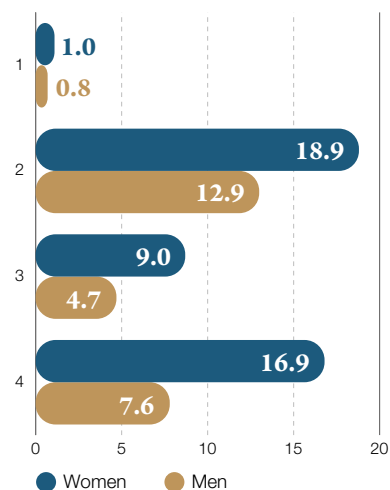


Going into greater detail, the following figure shows data disaggregated by the type of care provided.²⁴ We note that the greatest gender differential is found in the provision of physical care, which occupies 16.9% of the women every day for an hour or more, in comparing with only 7.6% of the men. On the other hand, in more pleasurable activities such as reading, playing and talking with the children, or

²⁴ This analysis is based on the numbers of respondents who state that they carry out this type of task every day for an hour or more, regardless of the exact amount of time spent on it.

following up their school work, the disparity between the sexes is much lower although it still exists. The task of accompanying the children to extra-mural activities occurs less often – and it is here that both women and men spend approximately the same amount of time.

Figure 69. People providing childcare every day for an hour or more according to the type of care by sex (%)



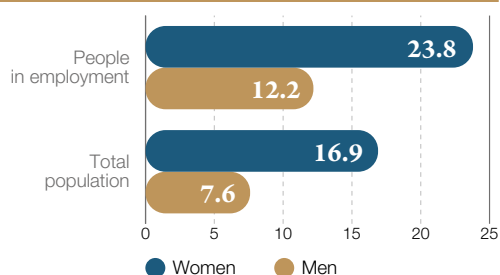
- 1 – Accompanying to activities, daily or not: sports, music, scouts, cinema, parties, doctors, etc.
- 2 – Reading, playing and talking
- 3 – Teaching: helping with homework, studying or other school tasks
- 4 – Physical care: feeding, washing, etc.

As for the provision of physical care, the gender differential – standing at 9.3 percentage points on average – rises to 11.6 percentage points when we consider only women and men in employment.

WHAT WAS IT LIKE IN 1999?

“The rate of men’s participation [regular, always or often] in this type of task [provision of physical care and looking after] is almost insignificant – about 5%, while 20% of women provide this same sort of care. (IOT 1999, cf. Perista, 2002: 461)

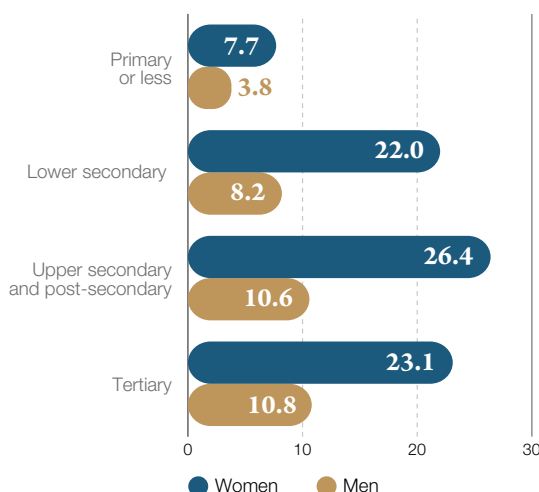
Figure 70. People providing physical care to children (feeding, bathing, etc.) every day for an hour or more by sex – total population and people in employment (%)



The feminisation of childcare is still apparent in the younger generation, particularly when it comes to physical care: while men in the 15-24 age group spend an average of 1 hour and 5 minutes on tasks such as feeding and bathing children, women in the same age group spend an average of 1 hour and 40 minutes.

Educational levels do not reveal any significant difference, except in the case of people who have primary education or less – and who are found to be concentrated in the older age groups as we have already seen. It is true that men with higher education provide this type of care more often than people with a lower level of educational attainment, but the same tendency is also observed among women, so that the gender difference is relatively consistent.

Figure 71. People providing physical care to children (feeding, bathing, etc.) every day for an hour or more according to educational attainment level by sex (%)



Childcare is often provided with the simultaneous participation of other person(s). The possibility to share it is not available to everybody, though. Women are the ones mainly stating that they do not share the provision of physical care to children with anyone else – 33.9% of women comparing with 11.1% of men. Among the people who can count on sharing these tasks, a large majority of them do it with their spouse/partner. It is mostly men who provide childcare with the simultaneous participation of the other member of the couple. The matrilineal nature of family networks for childcare provision also stands out when we observe that women resort mainly to the assistance of a daughter or their own mother when necessary.

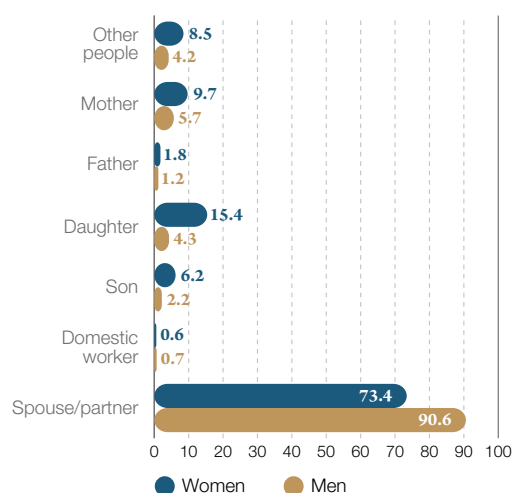
WHAT WAS IT LIKE IN 1999?

“Concerning care work too, the younger generations reproduce and even reinforce gender differences: while boys and men aged between 15 and 24 years spend an average of only 22 minutes every day on providing children with physical care or looking after them, girls and women in the same age group spend 1 hour and 42 minutes daily on the same tasks”. (IOT 1999, cf. Perista, 2002: 462)

WHAT WAS IT LIKE IN 1999?

“(…) importa referir que a maioria dos homens (mais de três quartos), quando presta cuidados às crianças, o faz com a participação conjunta da cónyuge/companheira. Esta situação de partilha conjunta das tarefas de cuidar das crianças é vivida apenas por pouco mais de um quarto das mulheres que asseguram este tipo de tarefas.” (IOT 1999, cf. Perista, 2002: 462)

Figure 72. People providing physical care (feeding, bathing, etc.) to children who usually share these tasks with other person(s) according to this person's relationship with the respondent by sex (%)



An equally detailed study may be undertaken on types of care other than physical care,²⁵ exposing a greater or lesser gender disparity according to the type of care, as well as according to the respondent's age, educational attainment or place of residence.

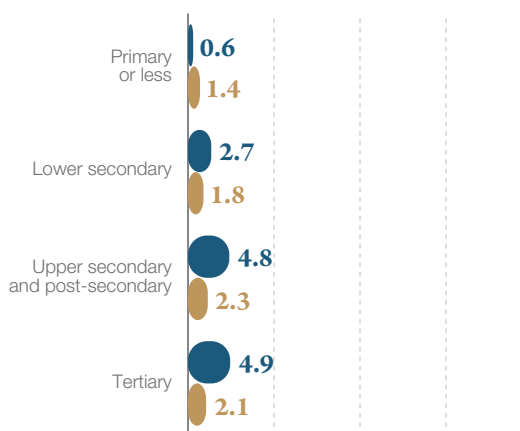
In this case – care other than physical – women between 25 and 44 years old stand out clearly from the other age groups, although it is also in this age group that the men devote more time to any one of the tasks under examination.

Regarding educational attainment, it may be seen that people with higher education accompany their children to daily or other scheduled activities more often than people with a lower level of schooling. Nevertheless, this is much more evident among the women than among the men. In fact, except for the respondents with primary education or less, the participation of men only increases to any significant degree among the more educated levels, particularly when it comes to following up the children's school work. However, despite all, it should be kept in mind that these values are still quite a lot lower than the values registered among the women.

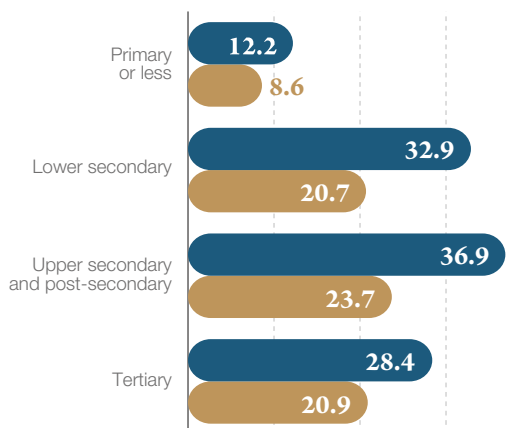
²⁵ The percentages backing up this study are the outcome of respondent households who say they carry out this kind of task 'every day for an hour or more' and 'less than an hour a day, or every other day' (the two highest frequency-scale levels in the questionnaire). Therefore, they cover all the people who say they provide this kind of childcare as from every other day and exclude those who say they provide care 'once or twice a week' or less than that.

Figure 73. People providing non-physical care to children at least every other day according to educational attainment by sex (%)

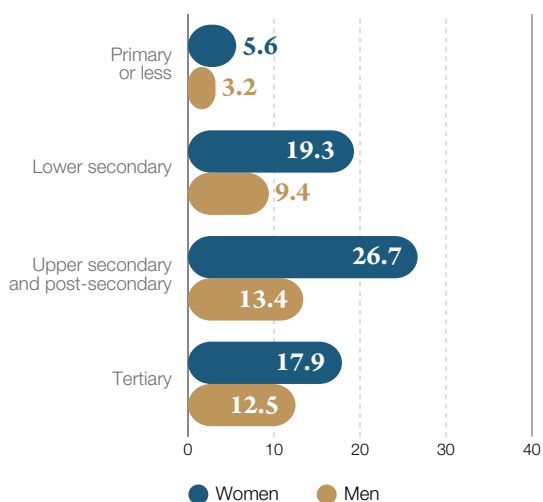
**ACCOMPANYING TO ACTIVITIES, DAILY OR NOT:
SPORTS, MUSIC, SCOUTS, CINEMA, PARTIES, DOCTORS, ETC.**



READING, PLAYING, TALKING



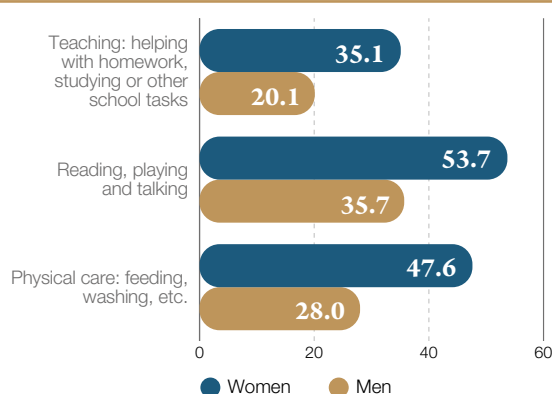
**TEACHING: HELPING WITH HOMEWORK,
STUDYING OR OTHER SCHOOL TASKS**



It is in the LMA (17% of women and 10.7% of men), but also generally speaking in the other urban areas – more so than in rural areas (12.9% of women and 6.5% of men) – that both men and women more often spend time on activities related to teaching children. Concerning taking children to their various activities, the OMA stands out as the region where fewer people do it – at least on the basis of every other day (1.7% of women and 1.4% of men). The time spent on reading to children, playing with them or talking with them is particularly evident in the intermediate areas (less densely populated urban areas), involving men (18.3%) but especially women (26%). Contrary to this, fewer women living in the rural areas spend time on this type of care activity (21.4% do so at least every other day).

It should not be forgotten that childcare is often provided while performing household chores at the same time. A feminised pattern is also observed in this respect, since many more women than men state that they respond simultaneously to these two kinds of unpaid work demand.

Figure 74. People usually providing care to children while performing household chores according to the type of care by sex (%)



Filipa, the mother of three children, tells us how multitasking is necessary in order to deal with life on a daily basis. She refers to a typical day in her life from the moment she arrives home from her job to the moment the family sits around the table for dinner.



If my husband is working, normally I start making the dinner. While it is cooking, I take my two daughters and put them in the bathtub, taking a bath. School homework is done next while I finish off preparing dinner. If my other son has any doubts about his homework, I also have to give him a bit of help. If my husband is at home, he gives me some assistance: he makes the dinner while I give them [children] a bath. I'm quietly helping the middle child with her homework and I also help the older boy. I tidy up whatever needs to be tidied up. I do the laundry. Set the washing machine to wash. Or I collect the washing in if I have something hanging up to dry. Then we have dinner.

Filipa, 32 years old, biparental,
son aged 14, daughters aged 5 and 1

The need to undertake domestic chores and childcare at the same time is also part of Palmira's life.



While the baby is sleeping I always cook his soup, I do the most urgent tasks... I don't want them to always see me cleaning, doing the housework, and think: 'When is she going to interact with us?' [Before the baby was born] I had some more time to play with my older daughter... even if I was cooking dinner, dinner was always cooking while I played with her a little and chatted with her about school. But I don't have that time now, time is very short. Now I must change her little brother's nappies while I ask her how school went...

Palmira, 38 years old, single parent,
daughter aged 5, son aged 11 months

Similar as the experiences of women overburdened by paid and unpaid work demands may be, the manner in which they explain this state of affairs – the reasons they give for it – are often distinct from each other. Sometimes, as we have seen, the children's father is not at home due to demands of his paid work, or he simply excuses himself from doing his part of the tasks as a model of equal sharing would have. In other cases, the interviewee's opinions are subtler or even surprising. Going back to Palmira's words, for example, she does not trust her former husband as regards carrying out many parental duties.



I: There are people we don't trust. You give them responsibilities...

i: Don't you trust your children's father?

I: No, I don't. For example, he could take the children to school, yes, he could take them to school every day in the morning. But he doesn't, because he's living in X [name of locality] and he said it's very complicated getting here. He tries to wriggle out of everything that means responsibility... Before, he used to come and take the children to school and this was a weight off me, at least this one. I was a little freer in the morning with not having this responsibility. [...] So, the only thing that needs changing would be this, if he could come every morning to fetch the children and take them to school. The rest wouldn't change because he's another child and I can't put children under the charge of another child.

Palmira, 38 years old, single parent,
daughter aged 5, son aged 11 months

Several of the women that we interviewed state that they themselves have taken on the responsibility of "organising" care work. Although they may still depend on their partner's "help", it falls to these women to coordinate things, think about them and manage them. The man's participation in childcare tends to increase in the more enjoyable, more creative activities.



In terms of organising daily tasks and domestic chores, the clothing... organising is more up to me. I'm the one who says: "It's bedtime". It's more up to the mother. Mother is the 'baddie', that's the way it goes. But their father is very much present when it comes to doing activities together... and he's a very attentive father. I'm speaking against myself here: it's quite possible that on an evening he pays more attention to the drawing his son is doing than I do, because I'm busy thinking that I have to finish up washing the dishes. Because the father made dinner and I do the washing up. And so the father is very present in the child's activity.

Francisca, 42 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 12, son aged 6



It's definitely me to follow up their school work. It's mostly me when they have a bath, because in most cases, by the time he [husband] arrives home, she [daughter] has already had her bath. But at the weekend, he also tries to help. If he's at home, he also helps. The two of them have an excellent relationship, they're big buddies; actually I think she plays more with him than with me. Perhaps because they're more infantile; I think men end up winning by being so, above all with little girls. But in general, I see to her more. Putting her to bed, reading to her, dressing her... I do it. We could say it's 70% mother and not father.

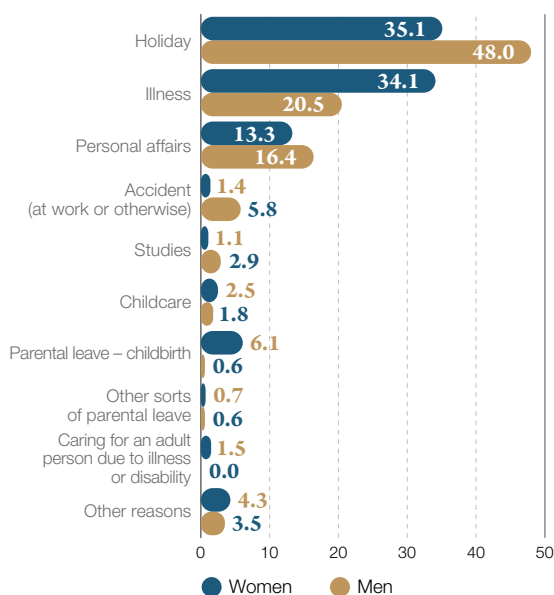
Catarina, 38 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 6

Parental responsibilities and paid work

To better understand the interconnection of parental and paid work duties, we shall now be looking at a number of questions that were asked only to respondents in employment at the time of survey.

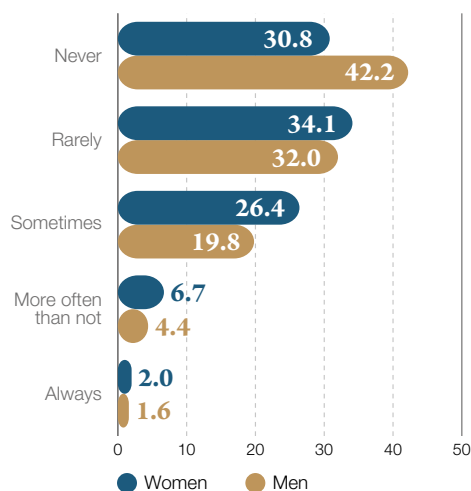
Considering the week prior to the application of the survey, we note that 12.6% of the women were absent from their paid work for a period of longer than a week while the same happened with only 9% of the men. Significant differences as to the main reason for this absence are revealed upon analysis. The men's reasons include holidays, personal affairs, accidents or studies more often than women's. Women surpass men in reasons of illness, providing care to children or providing care to adults, whether or not this absence was associated with leave allowances for such purpose.

Figure 75. Main reason for not having worked some time during the previous week by sex (%)



Another case in which parental and paid work duties seem to clash has to do with difficulties in concentrating. Most of the respondents in employment state that they have not experienced any difficulty in focusing on their paid work due to family responsibilities over the last 12 months. This is more the case of men – 74.2%, comparing with 64.9% of women. In contrast, more than one woman in every three – comparing with 25.8% of men – have experienced this particular difficulty at least sometimes in the last 12 months.

Figure 76. Frequency of difficulty in focusing on paid work due to family responsibilities in the last 12 months by sex (%)



The feeling that family commitments interfere now and then with the paid work emerges very clearly in Josefina's words.



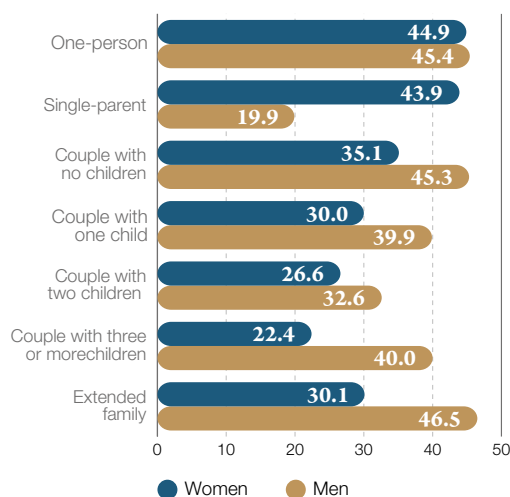
Some days I have this feeling... I always have appointments with the kids and sometimes there are things from work that I must leave half way through. I'm focusing on writing a report or something else, and suddenly I have to go and pick up one of the kids. Well, not always, but sometimes, now and again, I feel that it interferes with work.

Josefina, 48 years old, biparental,
son aged 15, daughter aged 13

Let us now look at the people stating that they have never felt any difficulties in concentrating on their paid work during the previous year according to their type of household. Only in the category of one-person households, that is, where the person lives alone, does the gender differential decrease quite considerably; in fact, it almost disappears. Among couples with three or more children and in extended family households, this differential reaches 17.6 and 16.4 percentage points respectively. It is interesting to see that the gender gap among couples with no children is identical to what happens in households where there is one child – it is inclusively higher than for households with two children.

Considering dual-earner households only, the difference between women and men is 8.2 percentage points, with women expressing the most difficulties. Women with children also have more difficulties in concentrating on their paid work, and this difficulty goes up as the number of children increases.

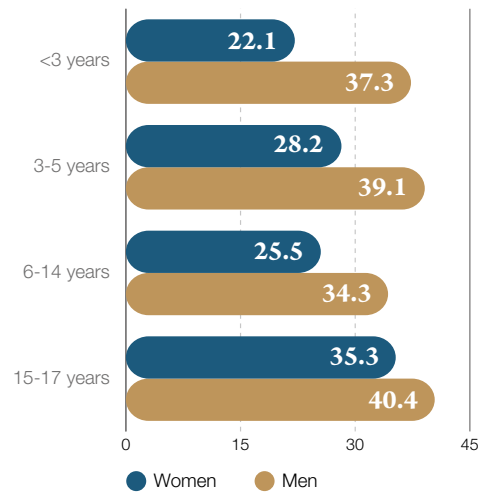
Figure 77. People who have never had any difficulty in focusing on paid work in the last 12 months due to family responsibilities according to the type of household,²⁶ by sex (%)



The problem is felt mostly by women living in a couple with at least one child below three years old: only 22% of such women state that they have never felt that their concentration at work has been affected. It is also in this category that the gender difference is most acute. In fact, the data suggest that the problem felt among women eases slightly as the children grow up. However, the same tendency is not seen among the men; indeed, it is when there is a youngest child aged between six and 14 that men feel this particular difficulty most acutely (with only 34.3% of them stating that they have never felt it), which even so is less often than women.

²⁶ It should be mentioned that, except for one-person households and couples without children, the respondent may not be the head of the single-parent household or one of the spouses. It may be, for example, a son or a daughter aged 15 years or older.

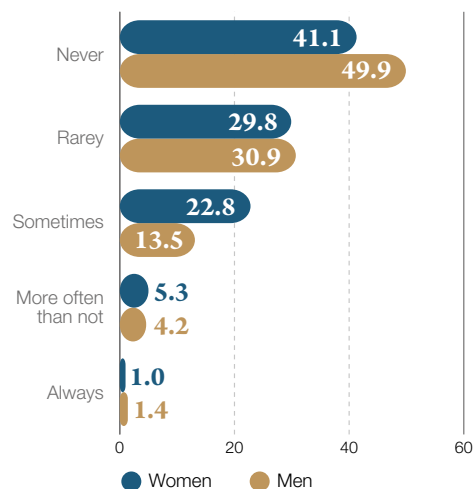
Figure 78. People who have never had any difficulty in focusing on paid work in the last 12 months due to family responsibilities according to the age of the youngest child by sex (%)



Note: Although our criteria for defining a child covers children until the age of 14, this figure exceptionally includes data pertaining to the 15-17 year-olds, corroborating the fact that the older the minor's age group is, the smaller the gender differential becomes.

Considering the last 12 months, women are again those who more often consider that their family responsibilities prevent them from dedicating the necessary time to paid work. The differential between men and women who state that they had this perception at least a few times stands at 10 percentage points (29.1% and 19.1%, respectively). This disparity reaches a peak between respondents whose youngest child is less than three years of age – approximately 30 percentage points of difference: 46.7% among the women and only 16.9% among the men.

Figure 79. Frequency of thinking that family responsibilities prevented oneself from dedicating the necessary time to paid work in the last 12 months by sex (%)



Our interviews allow us to perceive how useful a life course analysis is to better grasp the conflicts underlying the articulation of paid work and family like. Although a systematic examination of life histories is beyond our scope here, it is worth flagging the cases of two interviewees for their relevance for the present discussion.

Ilda, 46 years old, has two daughters and a son aged between 9 and 13 years old. She works as a professor at the university and understands her professional activity as an important route to independence and self-assertion. She believes that both partners in a couple should ensure the family's livelihood and that family and household duties, including parental leaves, should be equally shared. However, this "is not what I do".

While it is true that her husband often travels out of the country for professional reasons, Ilda explains to us that largely upon her own initiative she shoulders the greater part of the daily responsibility for the children. On the one hand, she appreciates the "affective payback" she receives from the children, and on the other hand she is the one keeping abreast of their needs; if her husband took over this role, the children would hardly be able to do all of the extramural activities they currently do.

Nevertheless, some years ago, she went through a period in which she threw herself into her profession and it was her husband, unemployed at the time, who shouldered the responsibility of childcare during the day, particularly where her youngest son was concerned.

It was one of the worst moments ever, because I was very unhappy working, I wanted to stay at home with the baby. To top it all, after a period when I had devoted a lot of attention to the children... and there was this agreement... [but] my husband was very unhappy, changing nappies at home; and I preferred doing this rather than working. So that... on the one hand, that period also allowed me to discover what I like doing, which is in fact being with the children. And so very calmly, I took it upon myself to centralise the family activities.

She reckons that she is "overburdened" when it comes to childcare and household chores; the leisure activities she once used to do have been "left behind" and she "gave up" the time for herself. Even so, she stresses that she would not repeat the experience of "exchanging roles" with her husband – "I didn't cope with it very well, I was not as happy as I am now".

Bernardo, 52 years old, has about 30 years of experience working as a bartender in the hotel industry. His usual working schedule comprises two blocks: the first block goes from midday to four pm, and the second from seven to 11 pm. His wife, on the other hand, is a self-employed worker in the tourism sector, so her working schedule and volume are fairly irregular, but apparently more easily adjusted to the provision of childcare. Throughout the years, she has been the one to take on most of the responsibilities in this sphere. Bernardo recalls that in the household where he grew up, his mother did all the household chores and childcare, while the role his father played in the family was basically providing an income, earned from his paid job. Today, he says, things are different: "it's quite common for women to work and for men to 'help', I say it between inverted commas; I myself help, and I like doing so".

He enjoys his Saturdays most, the only day of the week in which he does not have to meet the demands of his paid job, when the family is not "scattered". He regrets that he does not have more chances to get together with his daughter and his son; sometimes, 24 hours go by without him seeing them. Even so, he says that ever since his children were babies (at the time of the interview his daughter was 18 and his son was 14 years old), he had always thought it best for them to be given over to their mother's care rather than to his.


I gave some help, but the larger load of responsibility fell on her. Anyway, I think women are better suited to do it. A man can help, but I think he doesn't have much talent for it. I have always thought that she was much better at bringing them up than me. So, I always left these responsibilities with her. [...] I really hold the view that in the first few years of a child's life, a baby, it basically needs its mother. The father is needed only to change a nappy or to do something like that. But the mother is essential. I think the man should work and the woman take maternity leave. I think so, that's my opinion. The father is important, I helped with the baby but I think the woman is always more...

The paths of Ilda and Bernardo – other life stories could have been presented as well – are informative insofar as they expose the complex interweaving between discourse and practice, between gender roles and emotional labour, between family strategies and individual preferences. Decision, vocation, happiness or guilt are some of the concepts used by the interviewees in discourses rendering very difficult to disentangle individual agency and social control, time past and our behaviour today – or tomorrow.

The interviews clearly illustrate that the birth of children, in particular the birth of the first child, is often a key point for the definition of strengthening of gender asymmetries. Predominantly, both members of the couple keep on working on a full-time basis and assume, at least in their discourse, an equitable sharing of the responsibility for the family's livelihood. However, the dedication and availability to the family and to paid work is far from distributed in symmetrical manners. The difficulties of articulation, experienced by both men and women, give rise to a tendency – more or less clearly depending on each case – for role specialisation.


Also apparent in several of our interviews is the importance that the policies and practices of employers take on as potential obstacles to an easier articulation of paid work with the responsibilities of care work.

Carlos, like other interviewees, underlines the fact that his employer raised more obstacles against time off for childcare when his daughter and son were born than his wife's employer. Marisa tells a similar story, adding however that the pressures of her own paid work have recently increased.



I worked for many years in a place where flexible schedules, freedom and legal compliance regarding leaves of absence for childcare... this was all very complicated. I'll try and explain it the best I can: unfortunately in our society people are like masks, that is, companies tell the workers they have such rights but in reality they don't have them, because the company arranges a way to stop the worker from progressing in his career by applying a series of manoeuvres that deny the worker the use of the rights. When I was working at that place, it was quite complicated in this respect, so it was always my wife... things were easier at her job, and so during the last eight years it has always been my wife who takes care of the situation whenever one of our children gets sick.


Carlos, 36 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 16, son aged 10



*i: And would you say that you are satisfied about the way childcare responsibilities involving your daughter are shared between you and your husband?
I: Yes I am. Although it's mostly me who has to take sick leave or miss work, it's a choice which, after talking to him, we came to agree upon. Because I think that it's better for everyone, and like I say, there are certain details that make us believe that we are not really needed at work as much as the other person is. Even though right now I'm going through a difficult period at the factory... The schedule is organised two by two, but in the meantime my workmate on my shift had to change and I'm alone now. Now, it's much more complicated.*

Marisa, 40 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 5

For her part, Noémia tells us that she was “invited to leave” when she became the mother of a child with a disability.



I started out as a clerk. Thus, I have worked my way up from the bottom and built my career. I became an auditor; I graduated from university, which allowed me to become financial manager. I worked for 17 years at an economic group, when I left I was a tenured manager, and I left only when I was invited to leave because... I didn't want to say this publicly so as not to create more disturbances... but I left because I had a son with a disability, because this started causing some problems to the way I managed my time. I was always available to work and they thought that, because I had a child with a disability, they wouldn't be able to dispose of my time as they used to. I think that they were the ones who felt uncomfortable with it, not me.

Noémia, 53 years old, biparental,
son aged 15

We have also found cases, although less often, where the father has devoted more time than the mother to childcare during the first few years of the children's lives. This happens when the mother's paid working schedule is longer or more irregular than the father's; or when she has to travel to places far from home for professional reasons. It could be said that these particular cases entail an inversion of the aforementioned role specialisation. It is worth pointing out that, even so, this imbalance tends to be viewed as a temporary setback and that none of the women we interviewed are resigned to accepting it from a long-term perspective. To the contrary, interviewees such as Catarina or Olga have tried not to buckle under their heavy professional loads.



It's necessary to have work. But I'd like it better if it weren't so much so that I could have more time to be with my daughter. Besides, the other job I had, the working schedule I had, the time I used to arrive home... I never got to be with my daughter. I've been in my current job for three and half years, and she's six years old. Well, the period in which she needed me most I wasn't there for her. She didn't want her mother to brush her teeth for her, she didn't want her mother to brush her hair, she didn't want her mother to give her a bath because it was her father; her father was the person ever-present in her life. The drawings she does reflect this too. So that, the factor weighing the most in my decision to resign from my job was precisely this. To stop carrying the weight of this timetable and the fatigue of it, so I could spend more time with the family.

Catarina, 38 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 6



It's called priorities. There were times when it wasn't easy. I had moments... I'm with clients, I have to make phone calls... the children... complicated! But for me, I never accepted that [the children] were an interference because they're the priority, not the job. I had to deal with situations, once I even had a boss who wanted more from me than I was able to give and I told him: "No! My family comes first." Because if it wasn't like that ... I had already been offered other opportunities, and I didn't accept them simply because my family is my priority. It's not easy, but saying that the family interferes with my job doesn't make much sense to me.

Olga, 41 years old, single parent,
sons aged 17 and 11, daughter aged 15

Tensions arise the moment parental leaves are taken upon the birth of a baby. It typically falls to the mother to ensure the well-being of the child during the first few months of its life while the father, if present, plays a role of breadwinner together with an ancillary function ('helping') in the provision of either physical or emotional care.

While assessing their own experiences in this respect, the interviewees express different opinions. Some accept or inclusively defend differences in parental roles, grounding their convictions mainly on institutional factors (the different lengths of maternity and paternity leaves) or biological factors (breastfeeding or the mother establishing a privileged bond with the child). Other interviewees show their dissatisfaction with the lack of balance in the distribution of responsibilities, claiming for full gender equality with regard to paid work and family life.

In both cases, however, interviewees express their discontent about the short duration of parental leaves, with a general recognition – among both women and men – that the current situation contributes to overload women and compromises their emotional and psychological well-being.



Those 11 days fly past in an instant, and afterwards how are they [men] supposed to help the mother in this difficult work? I don't have any problem saying this, in fact I think women should talk and share more among themselves after a baby is born, because I've noticed with workmates of mine that when they're home alone, without any help from their partner who's at work, disturbances start to come up.

Marisa, 40 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 5



I'd bet on both the man and the woman staying at home for some six months, because the woman also goes through enormous changes and then suddenly she finds herself under pressure and sometimes she's not up to facing the challenge on her own; she has to go through everything alone. I think the most serious accusation women can make against men is something that really happens: I have to bear the child for nine months and then I'm here with the child and the man's life carries on normally, isn't it so?

Carlos, 36 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 16, son aged 10



To my mind, sharing the parental leave should be compulsory and that's it! Compulsory because I think it helps bring stability to the labour market. We would stop having what currently happens in job interviews with respect to women; these issues would become normal. Therefore, I do think there should be a break from work, yes. When a child is born, the task is very demanding for both parents.

Patrícia, 39 years old, biparental,
son aged 3

5. Paid working time



*women have become earners to a greater extent
than men have become carers*

Alison J. Smith, 2004

Introduction

Over the past few decades, the patterns of women's and men's participation in the labour market in Portugal have undergone a steady and rapid approximation.²⁷

It has been widely acknowledged that women in Portugal reveal a pattern that is characterised not only by extensive participation in the labour market but also by full-time, lifelong employment activity. At the same time, the integration of women in the labour market has been affected by specific vulnerabilities, such as those pertaining to horizontal and vertical segregation, precarious and unstable work, or remuneration and reward (Chagas Lopes and Perista, 1995; Ferreira, 1999; Wall *et al.*, 2001; Torres, org., 2004; Wall and Amâncio, 2007; Casaca, 2012; Casaca and Perista, 2014; Casaca and Perista, forthcoming).

Some of the factors helping to perpetuate women's unfavourable position in the labour market have been identified, including the scarcity of inclusive models of work organisation oriented toward gender equality and the articulation of working, family and personal life; the scarcity of strategic policies and practices in human resource management aiming at the correction of gender biases; and the persistence of industrial relations and collective bargaining systems that fail to counter the stereotyped views of women and men's roles in the labour market, thereby perpetuating the use of collective regulation instruments containing clauses that entail indirect discrimination against women (Casaca and Perista, 2014).

It is nevertheless apparent that the time spent by women on paid work has been on the increase, both in its duration and in its significance to the structuration of daily lives. Easily measured and converted into money, the time of paid work comprises the only kind of work to which economic value is typically ascribed (Bryson, 2007; Durán, 2013; Perista, 2013).

²⁷ This evolution however, as we have pointed out in our previous study (Perista, 2002), has not been accompanied with a correspondent approximation regarding the participation of men in domestic and care work.

Focusing on paid work, this chapter is organised as follows:

- A first section presents the profile of men and women who sell their time for paid work; here we analyse the patterns of their respective labour market integration.
- A second section dwells on the specific situation of those who are unable to sell their time, in other words, unemployed and (some) homemaker persons.
- An analysis is made of the time that people would ideally like to spend on paid work.
- Particular attention is given to the way paid and unpaid work interlock, as well as the different shapes and impacts that such interlocking has on women and men.
- Finally, we present the results of a multidimensional model developed to estimate the effects of several variables on the time spent on paid work and on unpaid work, according to sex.

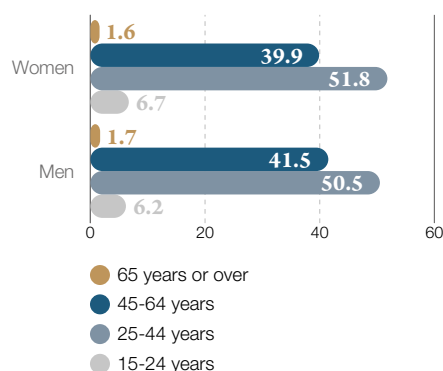
People who sell their time for paid work

Everyone who is in employment sells her or his time in exchange for paid work.²⁸ Even if workers in the category of entrepreneurs may also buy the time of other wage-earners, they receive some monetary compensation for exercising their own professional activity and they are therefore included here.

Among the survey respondents, 4,170 of them sell their time in the labour market; 52.9% of these persons are women.

As could be expected, the distribution of the population in employment across age groups shows that they are predominantly situated in the 25-44 age group in the case of both women and men.

Figure 80. People in employment according to age group by sex (%)

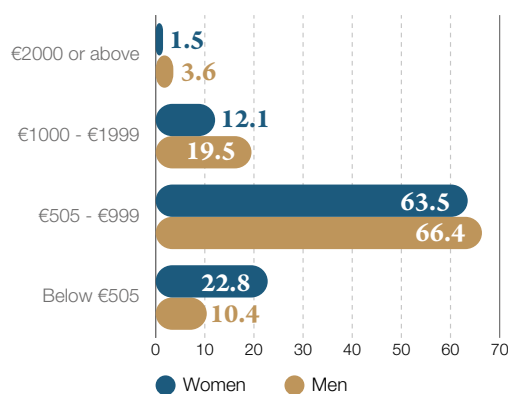


28 In this chapter, we adopt the notion of selling time as proposed by María Ángeles Durán (2013).

More than 80% of this population – 85.5% of women and 83.7% of men – are employees. For these, the time spent on paid work is expected to translate into wages. For those who are self-employed, the time dedicated to their occupation is also a source of income, where the expression “time is money” becomes a reality.

The income earned by the great majority of people employed in Portugal ranges between €505 and €999 per month. With respect to gender differences, a larger percentage of women (22.8%) is in the income brackets below the national minimum salary for 2015. As a result, women occupy a proportionally smaller place in the higher income brackets (1.5%), as may be seen in next figure.

Figure 81. People in employment according to income level by sex (%)



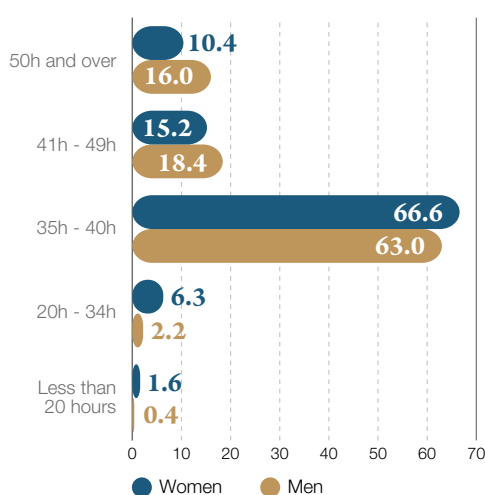
Self-employed workers generally present higher incomes: 27.8% of them state that they earn at least €1,000 per month, whereas this percentage among employees stands at 16.6%. Nevertheless, it is women who are self-employed that more often report lower incomes: 28.4% state that they earn less than the national minimum wage, while only 19.4% of self-employed men are at the same level. In terms of women employees, 21.9% earn less than the national minimum wage.

These data uncover that self-employment can be, more for women than for men, a manner of avoiding unemployment, often through precarious and poorly remunerated activities. The data also show that women's working time tends to be valued less in the labour market.

Time spent on paid work

For most of the women and men in employment, the duration of the working week ranges between 35 and 40 hours. However, 5.4% of people (7.9% of women and 2.6% of men) sell an amount of time that is less than the normal working week (between 35 and 40 hours /week).

Figure 82. People in employment according to the weekly duration of their main remunerated activity by sex (%)

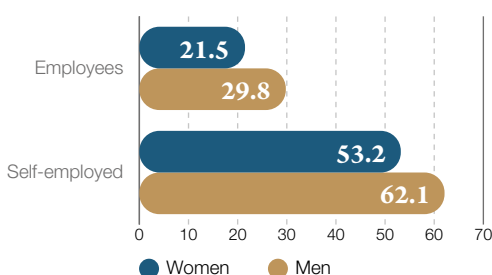


On the other hand, long working hours – over 40 hours a week – still affect almost one in every three persons in employment, and men in particular: 34.4% of men comparing with 25.6% of women state that they normally spend more than 40 hours a week on their main remunerated activity.

The paid working time of people in employment is the outcome of a bargaining process between “those who sell” and “those who buy” working time (Durán, 2013), within the confines of legal regulations. To be sure, the percentage of employees who work more than 40 hours/week (the upper limit established in law) is lower than the percentage of self-employed workers in the same position, as may be seen in the figure below. Even so, considering employees only, almost one man in three and one woman in five spend more than 40 hours/week on paid work.

In this disaggregation of the data by professional status, the gender difference is upheld. This means that, both among employees and among self-employed workers, it is men more often than women who work longer hours than sanctioned by law.

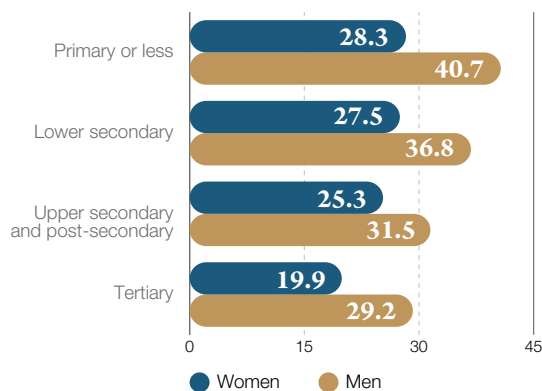
Figure 83. People working more than 40 hours per week in their main remunerated activity by sex (%)



Upon interpreting the data according to age, it is in the group of 65 years or over that we see most of the people working more than 40 hours/week, especially in the case of men (51.8% comparing with 41.3% in the case of women). It should be pointed out that, in this age group, 81.5% of those working more than 40 hours/week are self-employed.

As shown in the figure below, men and women with lower educational attainment tend to work more hours a week – it is in the group of people with primary education or less that we find the highest proportion of those working more than 40 hours/week. The large amount of time spent on paid work does not necessarily translate into financial reward; this is also the group registering the lowest incomes.

Figure 84. People working more than 40 hours per week in their main remunerated activity according to educational attainment by sex (%)



The highest percentage of people working more than 40 hours/week are found in the Lisbon and Oporto Metropolitan Areas (LMA and OMA): 31.7% and 32.1% respectively, comparing with 27.7% for people living in the rest of the country. In the OMA, mostly men work more hours a week (37.2%); in the case of the LMA, more women than men work longer hours (31.8%).

Returning to all of the people in employment from a general point of view, it is worth mentioning that the time that men spend on their main remunerated activity tends to be higher than what women spend. On an average, men spend between 42 hours and 55 minutes a week on their main remunerated activity. Women spend 40 hours and 47 minutes a week, that is, 2 hours and 8 minutes less than men.

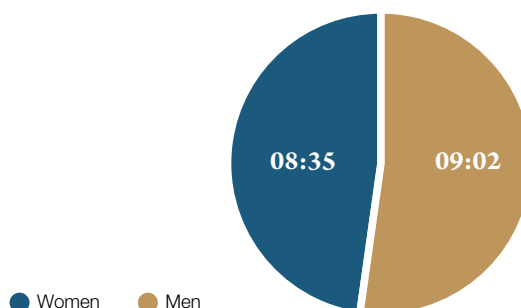
A large slice of the time sold at the labour market pertains to the people's main remunerated activities. Only 4.3% of people (4.1% of women and 4.6% of men) extend their paid working time by undertaking an additional remunerated activity. In the case of both women (56%) and men (65.9%), this second activity is undertaken sporadically rather than on a regular basis.

People with a secondary remunerated activity are mostly aged between 24 and 64 years, living in urban areas (more or less densely populated), and with a high level of educational attainment. We recall that people with tertiary education also work fewer hours per week in their main remunerated activity, which may be more favourable to accumulating activities.

Also on the secondary remunerated activity, men spend on average more time (2 hours more a week) than women.

However, the total time spent on paid work is not limited to the actual time spent working, be it in one's main or secondary activity: it is necessary to take into consideration also the time spent moving to and from work.²⁹ Our analysis, be it based on quartiles or average durations, shows that the time spent on paid work by men, although higher, does not stand very much above the time spent by women. On average, the total paid working time of men is 9 hours and 2 minutes per day while women's is 8 hours and 35 minutes per day. The gender differential with respect to paid work therefore stands at 27 minutes.

Figure 85. Average paid working time by sex (hours:minutes)



WHAT WAS IT LIKE IN 1999?

"(...) while employed men spend an average duration of 9 hours and 11 minutes on paid work, employed women spend an average of 8 hours and 4 minutes". (IOT 1999, cf. Perista, 2002: 450)

The 'lost steps' of home-work and work-home trajectories

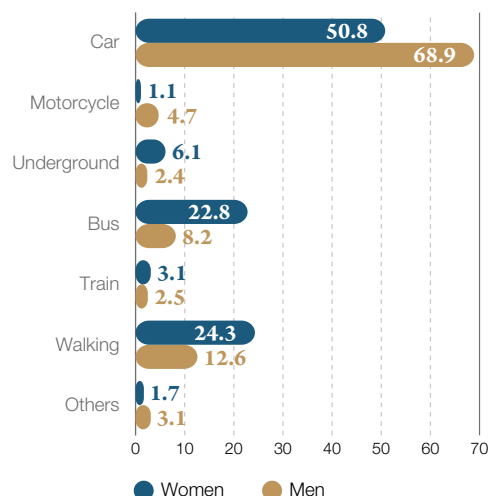
For many people, going to work implies wasting time in queues for public transport or sitting it out in traffic jams. Home-work-home trajectories contribute to a well-known landscape in urban centres and require an additional slice of time.

The time usually spent on home-work-home trajectories – to be sure, we are considering only people in employment – varies according to country region. This is a particularly lengthy process in the LMA, for women and especially for men. A quartile analysis on the LMA reveals that 25% of the people spend more than 45 minutes on these trajectories, although the average travel time is 39 minutes for men and 37 minutes for women. In the daily life of people living in the OMA, travel time to and from work is less, about 25 minutes for men and 24 minutes for women. The gender disparity in travel time is small when we consider other regions of the country, where on an average men spend 23 minutes going to and from work while women spend 20 minutes. In taking the country as a whole, on an average, men spend 28 minutes on home-work-home trajectories, women spend 26 minutes.

²⁹ This is in line with the methodological guidelines from the Eurostat regarding the collection of statistical data through time use surveys.

The main means of transport used by both men and women between home and work is the car. However, women resort more often than men to public transports in their daily journeys; the bus is the most commonly used form of public transport (22.8%). Also, more women than men walk to and from work.

Figure 86. People in employment according to means of transport used in home-work-home trajectories by sex (%)³⁰



Although most people use only one kind of public transport, we see that there are contrasts in terms of the different regions of the country. Using a single means of public transport happens mostly in places outside the metropolitan areas, whether referring to men (52.8%) or to women (56.6%). Using two or more means of transport mostly occurs in the LMA, and in particular among women.

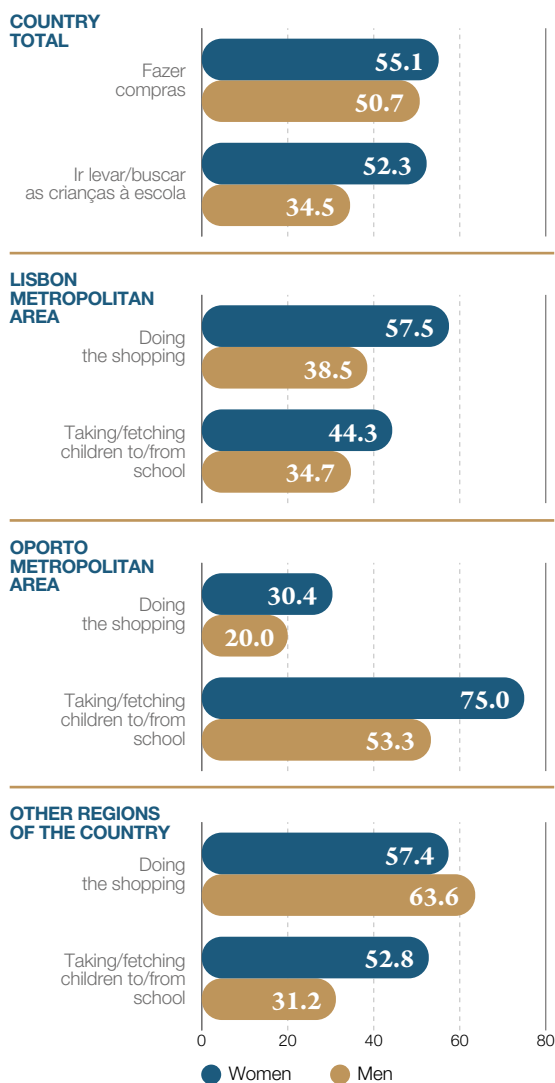
More in the case of women (12.3%) rather than men (7.9%), the journeys to and from work are often used to carry out other tasks. Women living outside of the metropolitan areas make more frequent reference to the fact that they use the journey to and from work to do other things (13,3%).

For those who take this advantage from home-work-home trajectories, the tasks most often done are taking/fetching the children from the crèche, kindergarten or school (with a clear gender difference in this respect) and doing the shopping.

Considering the various regions under study, taking/fetching the children from the crèche, kindergarten or school on the way to or from work is more common in the OMA, while doing the shopping is more common in the LMA and other regions. With the exception of doing the shopping among those living away from metropolitan areas, more women than men take advantage of the journey to and from work to take/fetch children and to do the shopping.

³⁰ Each respondent had the possibility of indicating as many types of transport as those effectively used.

Figure 87. Main activities undertaken on the way to and from work according to country region by sex (%)



Some excerpts from the interviews with people living in the LMA exemplify the tasks that are very often carried out when moving to and from work.



First, I go and fetch my wife; we're together for a bit and then I go and fetch the little ones and we go shopping. We do all the 'logistics' at the end of the day. Or before going home, if my wife and I have things more or less organised, we go to the nursery to fetch them and give them the chance to go to a garden or a shopping centre where they have those children's parks. Generally speaking, we try not to follow the routine of going straight home and dumping them in front of the TV, no. We always try and keep them busy.

Humberto, 34 years old, biparental, daughters aged 3 years and 11 months



Sometimes they [daughter and son] even have their breakfast on the way to school, in the car, which causes quite a bit of confusion, but there we are! Or sometimes they some money with them and buy breakfast at the school when they arrive, which is not very healthy either. But at times, it's like I say... organising things... the traffic... I don't like those moments very much.

Carlos, 36 years of age, biparental,
daughter aged 16, son aged 10

Nevertheless, not all people experience the journey to and from work so woefully, especially when the distance between home and the workplace is not so long, as Sebastião's words indicate:



Due to the distance I am from work... in the summer, I go by bicycle... I don't get caught up in traffic, I leave home 5 minutes before clocking in and manage to clock in on time. It's all quality of life, in the end.

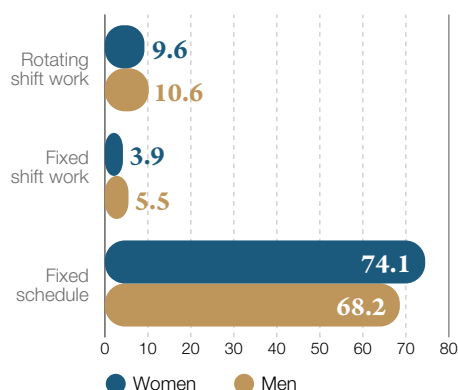
Sebastião, 41 years old,
biparental, son aged 6

Time and organisation of paid work

Full-time work is the regime in which the time of paid work is organised for the overwhelming majority of people in employment (92.2%). Less frequent, part-time work is nonetheless more found among women – 10.4% of women state that they work part-time comparing with only 4.8% of men.

The organisation of the time spent on paid work is particularly relevant for its impacts on the articulation of paid work with family and personal life. Fixed schedules are the predominant mode of organising the working time, both for men (68.2%) and for women (74.1%). Although far less frequently, the second most common mode is shift work: 13.5% of women and 16.1% of men state that they do shift work, particularly rotating shift work.

Other ways of organising the working time that might contribute to an improved articulation with family and personal life, such as continuous working day or flexible schedules, are experienced by very small numbers of women and men.

Figure 88. Main modes of working time organisation by sex (%)

Shift work (whether rotating or not) is more often found among employees working in the personal and protective services, both in the case of men (41.7%) and women (54.3%). Moreover, shift work is mainly done by employees aged less than 45 years of age – 70.5% of the men and 71.8% of the women in this case.

Our interviewees underscore the implications of irregular working schedules, especially when working with rotating shifts, which makes it difficult – if not downright impossible – for the employee to ask for changes of her or his convenience. Among the problems are the fatigue that goes with irregular timetables, difficulty in living up to family responsibilities and restrictions when planning activities and meeting up with friends.



I start feeling tired on Wednesday. Sometimes we're sitting down to have dinner and I already have to make a big effort. [...] Only those who do shift work know how this is like: we go to bed at midnight because we've just put the child to bed, she doesn't sleep at all, and at 5 o'clock in the morning we have to get up. I understand very well that after a while people start having doubts about their own capabilities because this happened to me too. We get to work and we hear: 'Check these numbers again, are these the right numbers? Please do check them again...' And the employer doesn't want to know about you being tired. It's very complicated.

Marisa, 40 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 5

Looking at the survey results, we perceive that people doing shift work experience difficulties in finding certain services open that they need on a daily basis. More so than what is experienced by the total number of respondents, both the women and the men who do shift work say that their daily activities (paid and unpaid work) clash with their spouse's or partner's working schedule (44.5%), with the opening hours of the crèche or kindergarten attended by their children (35%), or with the timetable of the school attended by the children (35.9%). Women doing shift work feel more particularly that their timetables do not fit in with the timetables of leisure facilities such as swimming-pools, gymnasiums, etc. (26.7%).

Other excerpts from the interviews reinforce the notion that there are difficulties in the articulation of working schedules with the worker's personal and family life.



Sometimes people think that working from nine to six makes it very difficult on the husband and the wife to organise their daily life. But beware, family: when someone has to do shift work, it drives you crazy, it drives you stark-staring mad.

Olivia, 35 years old, biparental,
sons aged 10 and 5



When I started working, I would say: shift work? No. Never. I always thought that working at night was awful, it harmed people. And it's exactly what was to happen to me. I've been doing night shift and rotating shift work for 16 years now, and it's awful. This is what an awful life is! Because it deprives us... it may give us some leeway so as to manage our things: for example, when I go to work in the afternoon I'm able to do a lot of things, go to the bank, to the tax office, solve situations that we have left hanging. But then we have the big 'if' about the nights. The nights don't do anyone any good. It's awful, it's awful! It's not good for sleeping. Even if we manage to sleep during the day, it's not good.

Álvaro, 51 years old, biparental, daughters aged 22 and 9

The organisation of paid working time is one of the aspects that assuredly most affects a person's quality of life, as much on a personal scale as on a family scale. Apart from a fixed schedule being the predominant way of time organisation as we have already pointed out, the following evidence should not be disregarded:

- 0% of women and 37% of men do not work the same number of hours every day;
- 63.6% of women and 65% of men do not work the same number of hours every week;
- 49.5% of women and 53.4% of men do not work the same number of days every week.

Still the most bumpy situation concerning the organisation of paid working time is arguably on-call work, experienced by 3.4% of women and 7.8% of men. This regime affects especially employees in the agricultural sector. Furthermore, night work must be mentioned as it covers 4.2% of men and 1.8% of women in employment.

Life in contemporary societies is not compassionate with the limitation of the services' opening hours only to working days. Retail and leisure services, as well as services catering to a person's rights such as health and safety, have to be available every day of the week. Among survey respondents, 14.4% of men and 12.4% of women undertake some paid work on Saturdays; on Sundays the numbers drop to 8% of men and 7.1% of women.

These numbers may not be very high, but they contradict the idea that Saturdays and more particularly Sundays are set aside for resting. Apart from a possible clash in psychological time and experiential time caused by having to respond to the demands of paid work outside standard working days, it also means rearranging family time. Even if they are necessary for the smooth running of society, atypical working schedules exert other influences that go beyond the private sphere and demand other solutions, such as regards physical planning, transport systems, facilities and services.

Other aspects with respect to working schedules are also raised by interviewees, who mention that there are inevitable repercussions in the case of self-employed workers. This is the case of Catarina, who runs a farm and has to be there on a Sunday for picking and harvesting so as to pack the produce ready for distribution on the Monday.



It's a bind, it's terrible; I don't advise anyone to work from home: you can't manage to separate things at all well. And this does not make life any easier. Yes, I'm always thinking about work [...] although I have one thing: as from a certain hour, I disconnect my work cell phone. That's what I do. If I didn't, it would be unbearable.

Catarina, 38 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 6

Humberto is also so used to going to work over the weekend that he feels odd when he does not have to do so. This is when he feels, so he says, as if he is "a normal person".



i: How do you feel at the end of a day during the weekend when you don't need to go to work?

I: It's good; it's great. I feel like I'm a normal person. A person... I feel as if I'm the same as other people, right? Most people are anxious for Friday to come and are sad on Sunday nights; I don't know what that is.

Humberto, 34 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 3 years and 11 months

However, irregular hours for self-employed people can entail some positive aspects too, insofar as they allow for greater decision-making power over how to organise time – this is the experience of Rogério. As we mentioned above though, self-employment does not mean fewer working hours. There is a great variety of situation among our interviewees. Rogério points out that there are advantages when it comes to carrying out family commitments.



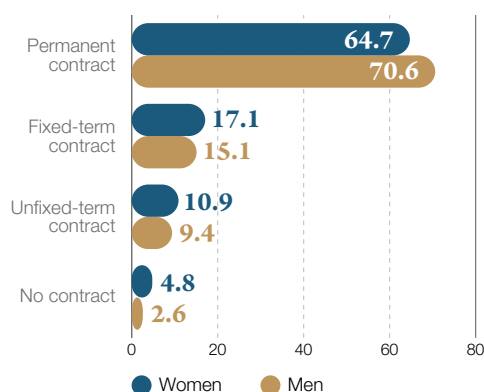
I decide my own working schedule: [after taking my children to school] I get home at about 9.30, 10 o'clock. At 11 o'clock I'm sitting there working calmly until about 1.30 or 2.00. If there's still work to do, I get back to it after lunch. At 5.00, 5.30 pm, I go and fetch the kids from school.

Rogério, 42 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 9, son aged 1

Employment: permanence or instability?

Most of the people in subordinate employment, both men (70.6%) and women (64.7%), have a permanent contract with their employers. This contractual arrangement suggests greater stability on the job in comparison with other types of arrangement.

Figure 89. Employees according to contractual arrangement by sex (%)

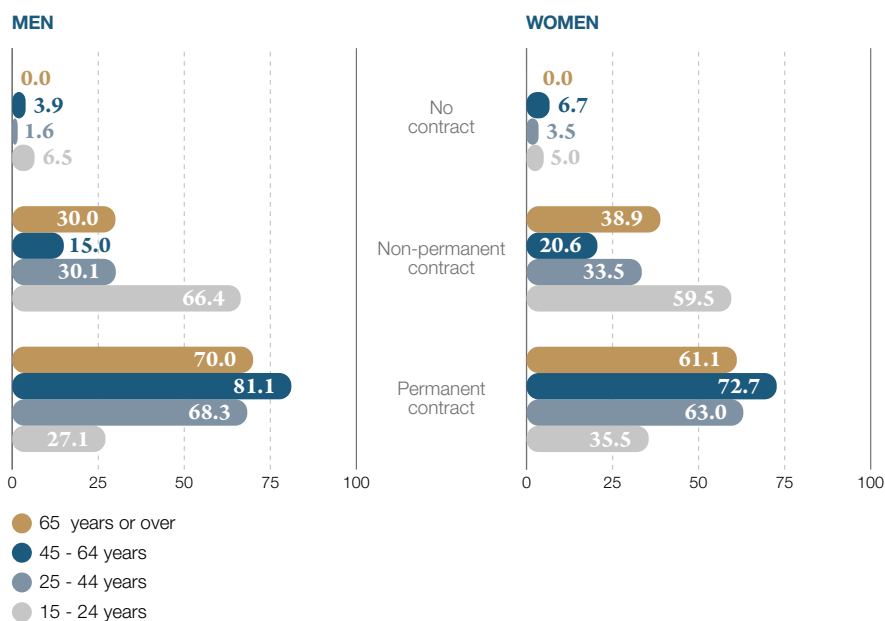


Contracts with a fixed or unfixed term are more frequent among the women (28%, comparing with 24.5% for men). This may mean that sooner or later they will either change jobs or become unemployed, with the resulting changes in rhythms and ways of organising their personal and family routines. The most serious situation as regards stability on the job occurs among women who fail to have any kind of contract at all: 4.8%, which drops to 2.6% among the men. These irregular situations represent not only greater vulnerability in terms of being dismissed, but also a lack of social protection in the event of illness, for example, and in the future, especially after retirement (as we shall see further on when dealing with the interviews).

Contracts with a term are also found more often among young employees. As may be seen in the following figure, 66.4% of men and 59.5% of women in the age group between 15 and 24 years have a contract with a term (whether fixed or unfixed). In other words, only 35.5% of the young women and 27.1% of the young men have permanent working contracts. Permanent contracts tend to increase with the worker's age until the 45-64 age group. In the age group of 65 or over, the number of non-permanent contracts once more rises, again revealing that age is a hindrance to a more stable position in the job market.

With the exception of the 15-24 age group, women have an unstable situation concerning their contractual arrangements more often than men. As written by María Ángeles Durán, "if it is important for everyone to have a stable job, this is even more important for women than it is for men, especially young women who intend to combine work with motherhood" (Durán, 2013: 139).

Figure 90. Employees according to contractual arrangement by age and sex (%)



Our interviewees voice their concerns about employment precariousness, mostly with regard to the risks of losing their job as stated by Lubélia.



Yes, I'm worried about the possibility of losing my job. What will I do then?

Lubélia, 50 years old, single parent,
daughters aged 23 and 9

Precariousness also emerges in the discourse of interviewees as a hurdle when deciding upon or negotiating working schedules. It gives rise to problems when organising family life and trying to take full advantage of rest periods.



My wife is a tourist guide. At the moment she's working as a freelancer... She takes whatever comes up; the requests appear and she goes for them. Sometimes she has an excursion in the morning; sometimes there's an excursion in the afternoon; sometimes there aren't any excursions at all; sometimes she has a whole week full of excursions.

Bernardo, 52 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 18, son aged 14

The instability derived from the working contractual arrangement (or the absence of one) is so important in people's lives that it cannot be ignored; sometimes it even limits access to employment rights. Helena, for example, has worked in the field of communication for more than 20 years without any formal employment security; she points out that her absences from work whether due to illness or the need to take care of the children have the same consequences for her as voluntary absences. Tiago paints a similar picture when describing his wife's case; she is currently working as a domestic employee.



I've never had an employment contract. I've always been a freelancer. Not because I chose to, but because that's the way things are. In my field of work, that's how it goes [...]. As a self-employed worker, whenever I don't work I don't earn any money. I've never had the right to any leave allowance. If I needed to stay at home with the children, I was basically skipping work. As simple as that.

Helena, 45 years old, single parent,
daughter aged 14, son aged 7



This is an issue that has interfered in our daily lives quite a lot recently: my wife, my partner in this case, is working as a self-employed worker. As a result, there's not much advantage in her putting in for a leave for family assistance. Because the time she spends away on leave, she doesn't earn anything and she doesn't receive any allowances, and it's not even easy to be accepted back at her work once the child is better. On the other hand, I'm working in a more stable company; I have a better contract than she has. So, when my daughter is sick, I put in for sick leave. I stay at home with her. I'm the one who always stays at home when she's sick and can't be taken to the nursery.

Tiago, 29 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 2

Total working time of men and women

The time spent on household chores and care work, as discussed in detail in the previous chapter, represents a significant part of the people's daily time, especially in the case of women but also in the case of men. Time spent on care work tends to be however relegated to the "penumbra" (Perista, 2014) by the mainstream perspective on the measurement of working time. It is urgent to counter this reductive perspective about work (in the line of feminist scholars such as Hirway, 2003; Bryson, 2007) and give total paid and unpaid working time the visibility it deserves.

The average total working time for people in employment, that is, considering both paid work (results presented in the previous chapter) and unpaid work on the last working day, is clearly greater among women: men spend a total of 11 hours and 39 minutes per day on these different forms of work, while women spend 12 hours and 52 minutes per day. This means that the working day for women is on average 1 hour and 13 minutes longer than it is for men.

Figure 91. Average daily time spent on unpaid and paid work by men in employment (hours:minutes)

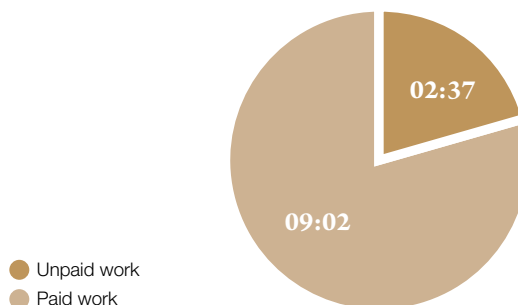


Figure 92. Average daily time spent on unpaid and paid work by women in employment (hours:minutes)

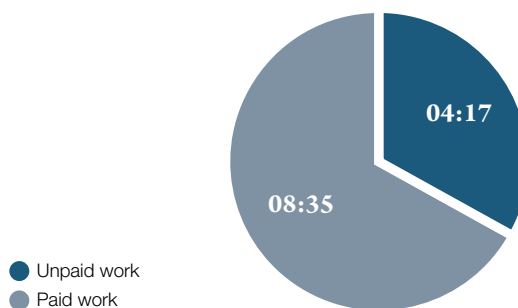
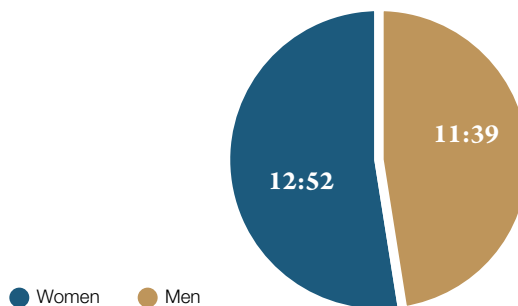


Figure 93. Average daily total time spent on unpaid and paid work by people in employment (hours:minutes)



A quartile analysis confirms this gender difference in mean daily working time. We can observe, for instance, that 25% of men have a total working day of at least 13 hours, while 25% of women have a total working day of at least 14 hours and 45 minutes.

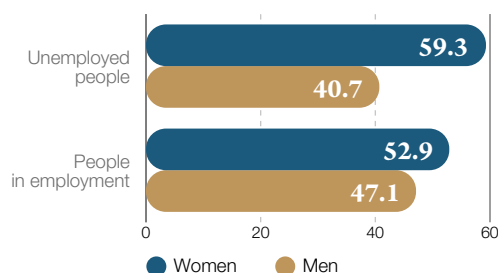
WHAT WAS IT LIKE IN 1999?

“when only the people in employment is considered – in this case, the value of women’s overwork is 1 hour and 22 minutes”. (IOT 1999, cf. Perista, 2002: 452)

And what about those unable to sell their time?

Unemployed people make up 18% of the survey respondents. 53.9% of these people are women, which means that women are over-represented in this situation as compared with the case among people in employment, as may be noted in the figure below.

Figure 94. Unemployed people and people in employment by sex (%)



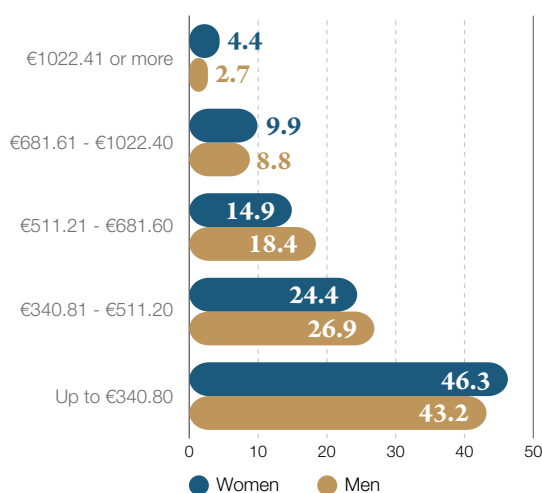
The unemployed tend to show a younger age structure than those in employment. The percentage of people under 24 years of age that are unemployed stands out: 18.7% in the case of men and 10.2% in the case of women. As we have already seen, 6% of people of both sexes in employment are included in this age group. These numbers therefore show how difficult it is for young people to enter the labour market whenever age is interpreted by employers as synonymous with a lack of working experience. At the same time, they also reflect the variety of labour market entries and exits that many young people experience through more or less precarious contractual arrangements.

The people that are outside the labour market, and thus prevented for one reason or another from selling their time, tend to be living in households with a lower income than the general run of households.

Among the households where the respondent is unemployed, 45% of these households have an income below the poverty line (€340.80). It should be noted that, according to the Survey on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) applied to households in Portugal in 2014, the at-risk-of-poverty rate among the unemployed stood at 42% (INE, 2015).

Going back to the results of our survey, the percentage of households in the lowest income bracket rises to 46.3% when the unemployed person is a woman. Only 3.8% of the households in which the unemployed person lives belong to a higher income bracket (2.7% when the respondent is a man, and 4.4% when the respondent is a woman). It should be noted that out of the total population, the lowest income bracket represents 18.4% of the households in the survey, while the highest income bracket covers 12.6% of the households.

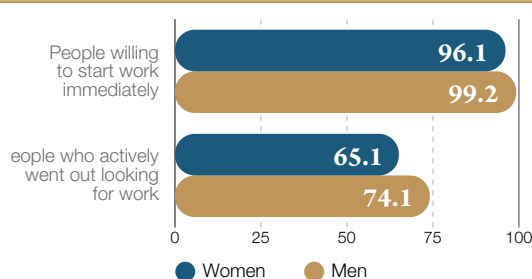
Figure 95. Households in which the respondent is unemployed according to the household's monthly net income level by the respondent's sex (%)



In the context of a society in which paid work is a key source of autonomy, unemployment has serious consequences destabilising living standards and affecting the quality of life of jobless people as well as that of their families. As was mentioned above regarding this situation, it should be recalled that unemployed people represent 18% of the working-age survey respondents. Moreover, in 20.7% of the households, there is at least one person who is unemployed.

The unemployed people covered by our survey generally demonstrate a pro-active attitude with respect to employment. As shown by the percentages of the figure below, most people are willing to start work immediately should they find a job. Furthermore, most of the people who are unemployed actively went out job-searching in the last four weeks (taking as a reference the day when the survey was applied to the person at stake). In both cases, there are more men than women.

Figure 96. Unemployed people who actively went out job-searching in the last four weeks and who are willing to start work immediately



Among the women, three types of reason are most commonly signalled to explain why they have not gone out job-searching: health reasons (30%), not having anyone who can stay with the children (18%), and the need to care for sick or dependent people in the household (11.5%). Apart from these reasons, there are others, although they are not mentioned so frequently: having an age close to retirement; feeling that their age is an obstacle to enter or re-enter the job market and thereby feeling discouraged; and family responsibilities in general. If we take into account all the answers concerning the provision of care, we see that in 50% of the cases it is unpaid work, and all the responsibilities that go with it, that prevent women from taking steps to look for paid work. The same kind of reasons are given when

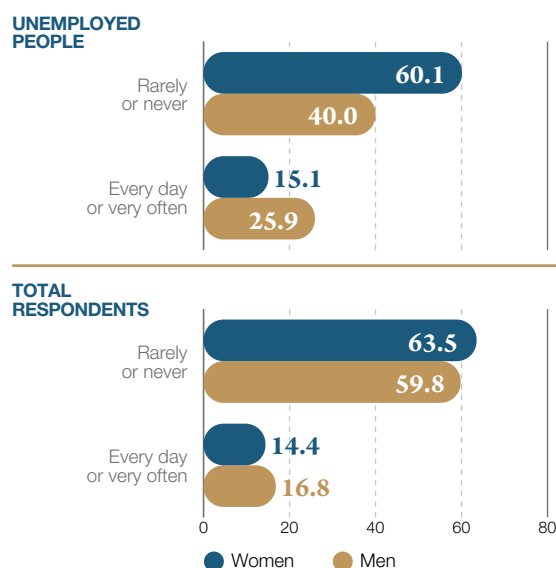
most of the (few) women state that they are not available to start work immediately. This would appear to confirm the perspective adopted by several authors when they refer to the role played by women as caregivers interfering with their economic independence (Perista, 2013).

As to men, the main type of reason signalled for not actively looking for a job is health reasons (49%). It is worth noting that 38% of men who did not go out job-searching state that they do not want to do so, while only 15% of women state the same thing.

A discussion on labour market exclusion can not fail to acknowledge the case of women³¹ who, despite classifying themselves as housewives, also state that they have gone job-searching in the last two weeks. These women represent 11.5% of the total number of respondents classified as housewives or househusbands, and they are mostly to be found in the 45-64 age group. Moreover, all of them state that they are willing to start working immediately.

Unemployment certainly entails consequences for the perception of time, but the absence of paid work effectively provides a chance to have more time available. Therefore, 25.9% of the unemployed men and 15.1% of the unemployed women state that they have free time every day or very often and they do not know what to do with it. Considering all survey respondents, these values stand at 16.8% among men and 14.4% among women as mentioned in the first chapter.

Figure 97. Frequency of feeling that one has free time and does not know how to use it by sex (%)



The gender differential is much wider among the unemployed population (10.8 percentage points), confirming that time takes on contents other than paid work more easily for women than for men. The importance of employment is demonstrated in the large number of unemployed people who state that, if they could, they would work in the time they have available: 38.8% of women comparing with 50.7% of men. These values are much higher than the values for the total number of respondents (9.3% and 11.1% for women and men respectively, as mentioned in the first chapter).

31 Only women are mentioned here because our survey did not find any man classified as a 'househusband' stating he is looking for paid work.

The desired paid working time

Both the interviews and the survey results suggest that paid work is highly esteemed, as much by men as by women. This finding corroborates and updates the results of previous research indicating that paid work is granted a high relevance by women in Portugal, not only for reasons of economic survival but also for reasons of autonomy and bargaining power in the household (Torres, org., 2004).

With regard to the value ascribed to paid work, let us listen to the example of one of our men interviewees, Gabriel, who says that he devotes himself “100%”, “body and soul” to his job.



My wife nags me a bit sometimes because I dedicate too much of myself to my professional life. But I tell her: don't forget one thing, this is where our earnings come from, the earnings for our home. She respects that. I like to do many things at home but I'm also very much dedicated to my job. Very much, 100%. Body and soul.

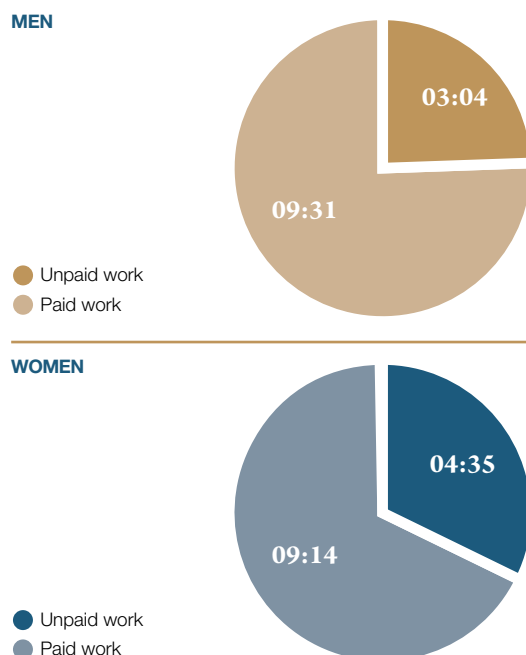
Gabriel, 28 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 6

When asked about the length of the paid working week that they would like to have if they could choose, and bearing in mind that they have to work for their living, 46.1% of men and 43% of women answer that they would work the same number of hours they currently work. Nevertheless, a slightly higher proportion of people state that they would like to work fewer hours per week (48.3%).

As to be expected, it is among workers who spend more than 40 hours a week on paid work that a greater preference is shown for a reduction in the number of working hours: 70% of men and 75.9% of women say so in this case, especially if they are above 45 years old.

On the other hand, the average time of unpaid work among people who would prefer to spend fewer hours on paid work is higher than what is registered for the total population. These men and women spend respectively 27 and 18 minutes more on unpaid work than what men and women in employment generally do.

Figure 98. People who would prefer to work fewer hours according to the average time spent on paid and unpaid work on the last working day by sex (hours:minutes)



The analysis of the interviews further our understanding of how the time of paid work is experienced on a daily basis. Although there are a few exceptional cases where people say they would like to give up their paid work once and for all if they had incomes from other sources, the most common wish is to work fewer hours, and if possible according to own-defined working schedules.

Part-time work tends to be viewed favourably with respect to the articulation of paid work and parenthood, but also as a way of recouping on personal activities and projects. However, two factors coincide to make any reduction in working schedules impracticable or ill-advised: in the short run, economic restraints; in the medium and long run, the impact that this choice would be likely to cause on the worker's relationship with supervisors and her or his career prospects.



Part-time: in my case, it would allow me a better balance. [...] I think that work is a space for affirming oneself and I also felt like I needed it. That's me! But it should be on a part-time basis so as to bring things into line more easily.

Ilda, 46 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 13 and 12, son aged 9



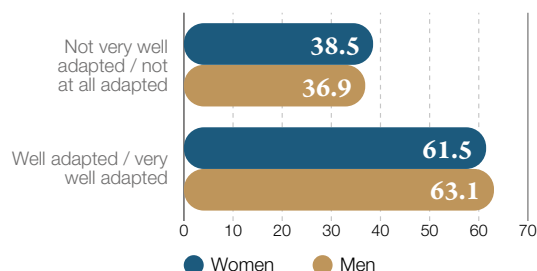
If I could choose the both of us working part-time, then the two of us would do it. But I think this is a bit of a utopian situation [...] because in terms of the job, I think that a person who only works part-time, I reckon, will have little chance of progressing in the career. It doesn't seem to be easy to me. I have never given it much thought but it would be the ideal situation, yes: if I could steal some time from work to be with the children.

João, 45 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 7 and 3

Interpenetration of paid work and family and personal life

As we have seen above, women and men ascribe a substantial importance to paid work. Nevertheless, almost four people out of ten – 38.5% of women and 36.9% of men – state that their working schedules are not very well adapted, or not at all adapted, to their family, personal or social commitments beyond paid work.

Figure 99. Perception on how well the working schedule is adjusted to family, personal or social commitments by sex (%)

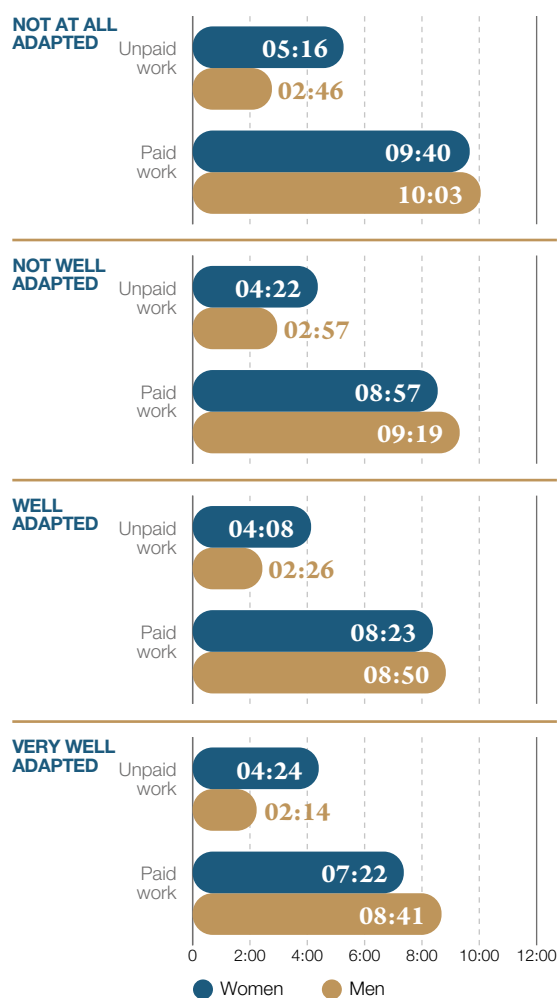


The people – especially the women – living in households with children below the age of 15 are those who classify in a most negative manner the adaptation of their working schedule to family, personal and social commitments. This problem is also signalled by a disproportionate number of dual-earner households and those doing shift work (especially the men).

On the other hand, it should be stressed that the adaptation of working schedules is naturally related with the number of hours spent on paid work, in particular among women. Considering only their main remunerated activity, more than half of the women with long working hours (more than 40 hours a week) state that their working schedules are not well adjusted, or not at all adjusted, to their family and social commitments.

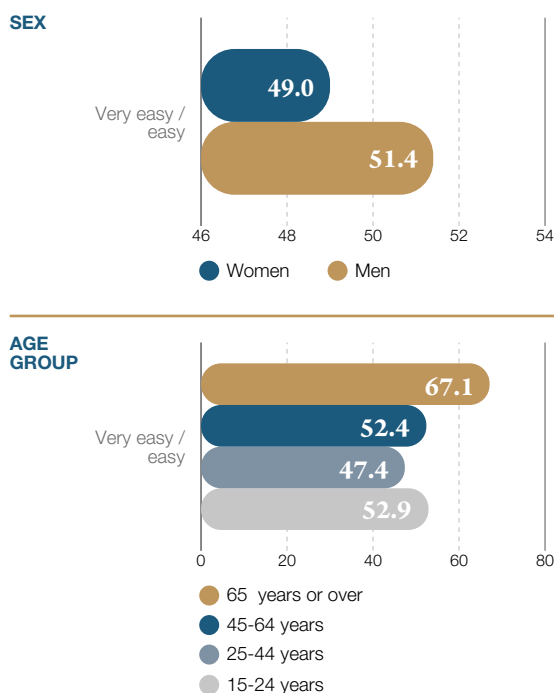
The following figure not only confirms the lack of adjustment of working schedules to family and social commitments – more and more evident as the average time spent on paid work increases –, but it also shows a similar tendency as regards its connection with average unpaid working time, particularly in the case of women.

Figure 100. Average time spent on paid and unpaid work on the last working day according to how well working schedules are adapted to family and social commitments by sex (hours:minutes)



Nevertheless, more than half of the men (51.4%) and almost half of the women (49%) consider that it is easy or very easy to take off one or two hours during their working time to deal with personal or family affairs. This perception is however less evident in the age group between 25 and 44 years, the stage of life in which family constraints tend to be felt more acutely.

Figure 101. Perception on how easy it is to take off one or two hours during the working time to deal with personal or family affairs by sex and age group (%)



The possibility of more flexible working schedules is more difficult in some occupations and when shift work is involved. This is the case especially among plant and machine operators and assemblers, whether they are men or women, as well as among men in administrative occupations and women in low qualified occupations.

On the other hand, as the length of the working schedule increases, so does the difficulty in managing this schedule to deal with personal or family affairs during the course of the working day. About 50% of women working more than 40 hours a week experience difficulties in taking one or two hours off work. This percentage is situated at 51% in the case of men.

The greater or lesser willingness of the employer to approve the requests of workers in the matter of working schedules is key to determine how responsibilities are combined. Experiences in this regard are quite different from each other and they depend upon the company's openness in terms of allowing schedule adjustments, especially when the workers have younger children to attend to. The words of Nuno and Patrícia relay this idea.



I think that there should be a better conciliation between working time and the family... This may happen in some companies, but it doesn't happen in many others, at least not in mine; there's none of it. We work long hours, it takes a lot out of us, and I think there's little time for us to be with the family.

Nuno, 38 years old, biparental, son aged 3



On the days when I've got classes to teach in the afternoon, I leave school at about 4.30 pm. I asked for this specifically so as I could go and fetch my son from the school. Otherwise, as our schedule is drawn up in blocks of 90 minutes, I would only be able to leave at 6.15 pm if I taught the last block, and it would be complicated because of the school's opening hours. So, I asked them to compress my working schedule.

Patrícia, 39 years old, biparental,
son aged 3

The predominant practice in many workplaces is still recognising that women, and women in first place, have more needs or more responsibilities as regards combining paid work with their family and personal life. This practice, instead of reflecting privilege, is based rather on a stereotyped view of the roles that men and women play in the family; it is an expression of the gender inequalities that persist in the field of paid work and in society at large. Family strategies, in the meantime, are fairly diverse, either reproducing or breaking with traditional gender rules.

Noémia, for example, tells us that both she and her husband had to make certain decisions regarding their professional lives after their son was born. Gustavo stays at home working when the children need looking after.



[My husband] works in the public sector; he has a somewhat stressful life, but because of my son he also had to choose. So as not to have such an exposed life geared to the outside world and subject to atypical schedules... because sometimes this caused more instability on our son's autism, father's here, father's not here... the routine would go out the window and the boy tends to destabilise. We reached the conclusion that it would be quite complicated. Considering his professional career and the degree of responsibility he has, he was able to go for a more regular working schedule.

Noémia, 53 years old, biparental,
son aged 15

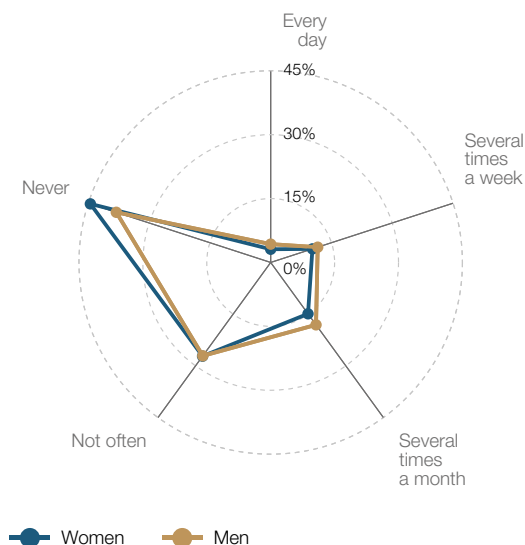


When one of our children is sick, usually I'm the one with a greater flexibility of working schedule, because my wife works in the public sector and she doesn't have a lot of it. So, normally, I stay with the kids at home [...]. As I'm self-employed, I can do a lot of things from home.

Gustavo, 45 years old, biparental,
daughters aged 11 and 8, son aged 3

Paid work often overflows its 'banks'. First of all, it requires in many cases an investment of time that goes beyond the working schedule formally arranged. Considering the last 12 months, as many as 34% of men and 28.3% of women have worked at least several times per month during their free time to fulfil demands of their paid work.

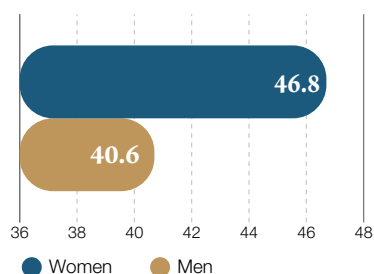
Figure 102. Frequency of working during free time to fulfil demands of paid work in the last 12 months by sex (%)



The use of free time to fulfil demands of paid work is more common among men in the social class of managers, directors, professionals and self-employed workers (31.2%, comparing with 21.3% women in the same class) and among those aged over 64 years.

Besides the time effectively spent on professional activities, it is important to take into consideration other forms of interpenetration between paid work and family and personal life, namely in more subjective respects. Almost half of the women (46.8%, comparing with 40.6% of men) state that, during the last 12 months, they continued to think about their paid work beyond their working time.

Figure 103. People who continued to think about their paid work when they were not working in the last 12 months by sex (%)³²



In terms of large occupational groups, men (76.4%) and women (72%) in executive positions are those who state in a greatest proportion that they continue to think about their paid work when they are not working. This is clearly related to demands due to the professional role that they perform.

Concerning age, there are fewer men and women under the age of 25 who think about their paid work when they are not working; a balance is struck between the sexes (32.4% and 32.2% for women and men respectively).

³² These percentages are the outcome of aggregating the following categories of answers: 'always', 'more often than not', and 'sometimes'.

The interviews also confirm that at times the borders between paid work time and rest time are more porous than what one might like. The demands felt outside the working schedule – rarely presented by our interviewees as something that they are in a position not to respond to – add to the worries that people bring home from work.



I'm a subchief now, so I must draw up working schedules [for other employees]. This is usually something I have to do at home. I can't manage to do it at work. They're always calling me, or some other thing comes up, and so I end up doing it at home, often on Sunday evenings, when everyone has gone to bed.

Filipa, 32 years old, biparental,
son aged 14, daughters aged 5 and 1



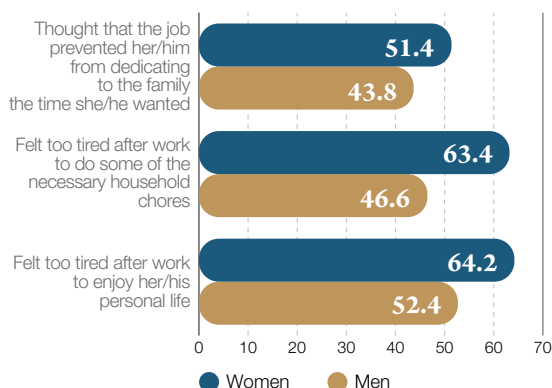
I'm a teacher, I have my timetable; I like my timetable. Each one has to have her or his timetable. He [my former husband] used to say, by the way, that I had a lot of free time. But I don't. It depends. People have the idea that teachers are always at home doing nothing, but it's not quite the case. I spend a lot of time sitting in front of the computer. I also have this type of tasks. At times, I'd like to be with my daughter. "Mama, when are you going to finish working? Are you almost finished?" "I'm nearly there". At times, I go in to see her, and she's already fallen asleep. [...]. Even if we don't want to, we can't manage to switch off. We always take work home with us, always. In our job [teaching], it's impossible not to take work home with us.

Rosa, 40 years old, single parent,
daughter aged 7

Paid work has stronger implications for family and personal life in the case of women. More women than men state that, at least sometimes during the last 12 months, they have felt so weary after a day of work that they were unable to do some household chores (63.4% comparing with 46.6% of men) or unable to enjoy their personal life (64.2% comparing with 52.4% men). The prevalence of this weariness, also in the case of men but mainly as regards women, tends to increase with age.

Also, more women than men feel that paid work prevents them from dedicating to the family as much as time as they would like (51.4% comparing with 43.8% of men). This perception is voiced especially by women aged between 25 and 44 years, but also, interestingly enough, by women aged 65 years or over in employment. This latter fact may well reflect the added weariness of undertaking paid work at an older age, as well as being in a weaker state of health.

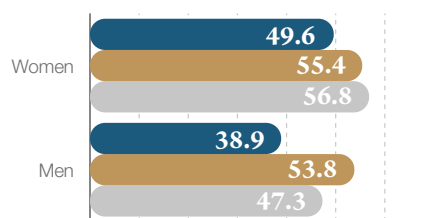
Figure 104. People who consider that paid work had implications on their family and personal life in the last 12 months by type of implication and sex (%)³³



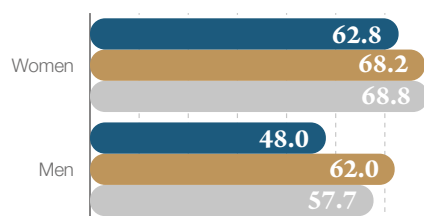
As may be seen in the following figure, tiredness due to work is felt more acutely by people working longer hours or doing shift work. The repercussions of paid work on family and personal life are far more evident among women. In their case, weariness appears to be the main impediment to doing the necessary household chores. Moreover, more women than men feel the negative influence of long hours or shift work that go against their wish to devote more time to the family.

Figure 105. People who consider that their paid work had implications on their family and personal life in the last 12 months according to the mode of working time organisation and the type of implication by sex (%)

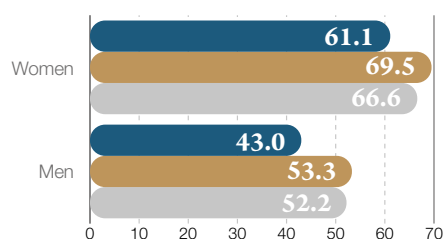
NOT DEDICATING THE TIME SHE/HE WOULD LIKE TO THE FAMILY



TOO TIRED TO ENJOY PERSONAL LIFE



TOO TIRED TO DO THE NECESSARY HOUSEHOLD CHORES

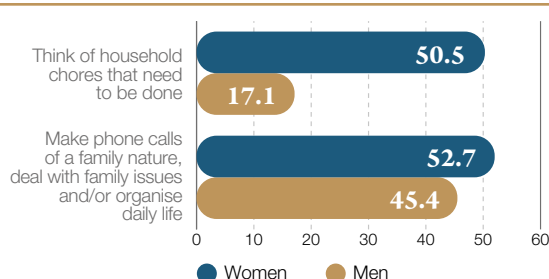


- Fixed schedule
- Shift work
- More than 40-hour working week

³³ These percentages are the outcome of aggregating the following categories of answers: 'always', 'more often than not', and 'sometimes'.

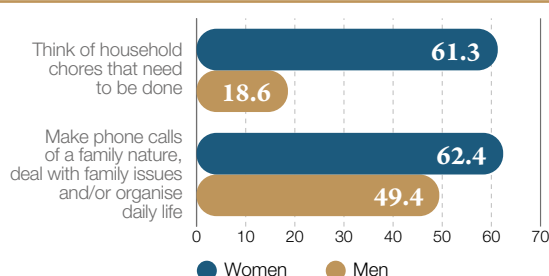
Yet from another perspective, it may be seen that the incursion of family life into professional life is more evident among women. At the workplace, it is the women who more often think about the household chores that need to be done, for example what to cook for dinner (50.5% comparing with only 17.1% of men), or sort out any issue related with family or daily life (although the gender gap here is substantially narrower: 52.7% of women comparing with 45.4% of men).

Figure 106. People who usually do simultaneous activities of family and domestic nature while at the workplace by sex (%)



Having children (below 15 years old) in the household is associated with a greater prevalence of simultaneous activities in terms of doing tasks for the family or the household while at the workplace. Again, comparing the previous figure and the following one, it is especially among the women that this practice tends to increase when there are children in the household.

Figure 107. People living in households with children under 15 years of age who usually do simultaneous activities of family and domestic nature while at the workplace by sex (%)

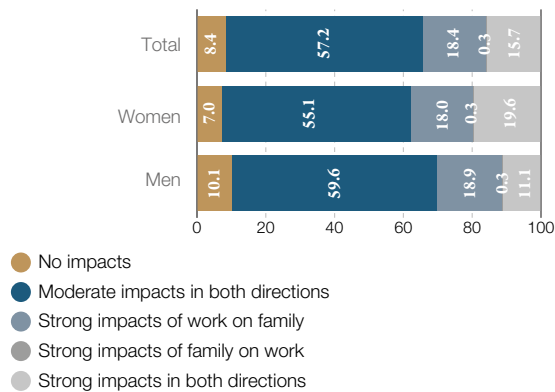


By creating two indices to measure the articulation between paid and unpaid work, we are able to develop our analysis a bit further. The first index refers to impacts felt between work and family, based on the differentiated frequency of these impacts and their direction (family on work, and work on family), according to a set of questions asked in the survey (cf. chapter on methodology).

In the case of almost 60% of the respondents, the impacts of family on work and work on family are moderate. Nevertheless, these impacts are strong for 15.7% of the respondents. This is more so among women. Not only the proportion of women experiencing strong impacts of family on work and work on family is higher than men's (19.6% of women comparing with 11.1% of men), but the absence of impacts is less noticeable among women than among men (7% and 10.1% respectively).

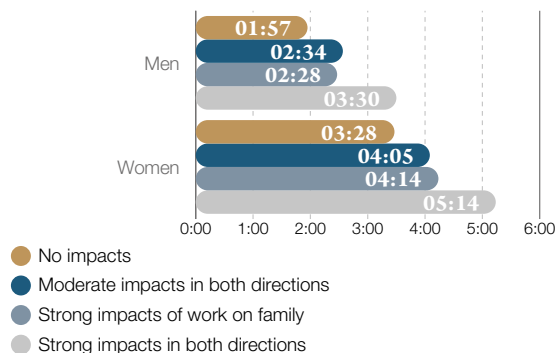
It should also be mentioned that strong impacts of work on the family are noted in 18% of women and 18.9% of men, comparing with the negligible values concerning a strong impact of the family on work (0.3%)

Figure 108. Work-family impact index by sex (%)



Analysing this issue according to the average time spent on unpaid work, it is possible to understand that in general terms, both among men and among women, the stronger the impact, the more time is spent on unpaid work. However, it is also clear that the average time spent by women on unpaid work where there is no particular impact is remarkably close to the average time spent on unpaid work by men in the same situation: 3 hours and 28 minutes and 3 hours and 30 minutes, respectively.

Figure 109. Average time spent on unpaid work according to the work-family impact index by sex (%)

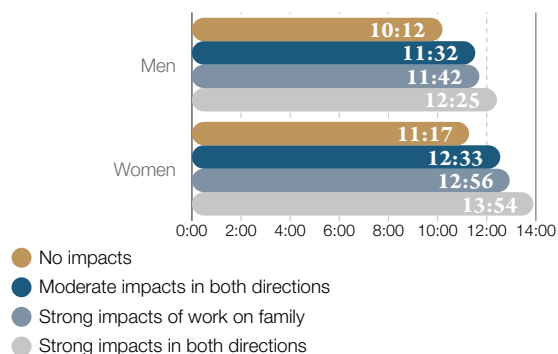


Note: Given the low number of cases in the category of 'strong impacts of family on work' (see previous figure), we chose not to include its values in this figure.

As we saw earlier on, the average time spent on paid work is slightly higher among men than it is among women. This may be an important factor to consider here. Be that as it may, although this aspect helps to attenuate the differences, an analysis of the average time spent on paid and unpaid work reveals a gender difference of more than one hour when we compare men and women within the same category of impacts, reaching a maximum value of 1 hour and 29 minutes in the category of strong impacts.

The average time spent on paid and unpaid work by the women in the category of moderate impacts is only 8 minutes above the time spent by the men in the category of strong impacts.

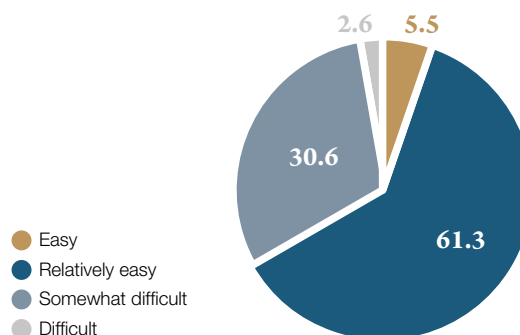
Figure 110. Average time spent on paid and unpaid work according to the work-family impact index by sex (%)



Note: Given the low number of cases in the category of 'strong impacts of family on work' (see previous figures), we chose not to include its values in this figure.

Concerning the index on the articulation of paid work and family, personal and social life (cf. the chapter on methodology), no remarkable differences stand out between women and men. On the whole, articulation seems to be relatively easy for a little more than 60% of the respondents, while for 33% of respondents it is difficult or somewhat difficult.

Figure 111. Index on the articulation of paid work and family, personal and social life (%)



Factors impacting on paid and unpaid working time: an attempt at a multidimensional model

Beyond the analysis already presented, we considered that it would be interesting to test a model for the identification of the effect of several variables on the daily time spent on paid and unpaid work, again distinguishing results for men and for women.

The variables that we decided to include in the model are the following:

- type of household;
- number of hours per month that the household benefits from the services of a domestic employee;
- paid domestic help index;
- household income level;
- educational attainment level;
- mode of working time organisation;
- health condition index;
- age;
- habitat of residence;
- residence in a metropolitan area;
- social class.

Considering that we would be working with independent variables of different nature – nominal, ordinal and quantitative –, we chose to undertake Categorical Regressions (via *Optimal Scaling*), for men and for women, in relation to each of the dependent variables: daily time spent on paid work³⁴ and daily time spent on unpaid work. The four models we tested are significant ($p < 0,001$), with an explanatory capability of about 10% (see R^2 in the next table).

Some of the variables fail to reveal any significant power to explain time spent on paid and unpaid work. This is particularly the cases of the variables ‘number of hours per month that the household benefits from the services of a domestic employee’ and ‘age’. These are variables with no significant effect, with the exception of time spent on unpaid by men according to age (Beta=-0.051, $p=0.003$, and Beta=-0.081, $p=0.023$, respectively). Similarly, the ‘paid domestic help index’ is only significant in the case of time spent on paid work by men (Beta=0.086, $p=0.023$).

In contrast, other variables show a significant impact on the several models presented: the type of household, the mode of working time organisation, residence in a metropolitan area, and social class.

34 Including the time spent on the main remunerated activity, on possible secondary activities and on moving between home and work.

Tabela 2.**Factors explaining paid work and unpaid work, by sex**

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	DEPENDENT VARIABLES			
	Paid work		Unpaid work	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Beta	Beta	Beta	Beta
Type of household	0.126***	0.083***	0.287***	0.235***
Number of hours per month that the household benefits from the services of a domestic employee	0.094	0.031	-0.051**	0.007
Paid domestic help index	0.086*	0.012	-0.018	0.016
Household income level	0.066*	0.145***	0.030	-0.002
Educational attainment level	-0.118***	-0.072	-0.095	0.044
Mode of working time organisation	0.063**	0.101***	0.050*	0.077***
Health condition index	-0.082	0.099**	0.017	-0.133***
Age	-0.022	-0.034	-0.081*	-0.039
Habitat of residence	0.060**	0.035	0.057**	0.041*
Residence in a metropolitan area	0.069**	0.108***	0.109***	0.100***
Social class	0.226***	0.121***	0.063**	0.133**
	R ² a=0.093***	R ² a=0.104	R ² a=0.054	R ² a=0.102
	F (28, 1132) = 5.245	F (26, 1183) = 6.370	F (27, 1336) = 3.865	F (25, 1411) = 6.750

* $p < 0,05$ ** $p < 0,01$ *** $p < 0,001$

The household income level reveals a significant effect in terms of paid work, and this effect is positive for both sexes (Beta=0.066, $p=0.047$, and Beta=0.145, $p=0.000$, respectively). That is, the higher the income, the more time is spent on paid work. There is no significant effect registered on unpaid work, however.

The level of educational attainment has a significant effect only when it comes to the time spent on paid work by men (Beta=-0.118, $p < 0.001$), and this effect is negative – meaning that the higher the educational attainment, the less time spent on paid work.

The person's health condition has a significant effect only for women. On the one hand, the better the health condition is, the more time is spent on paid work by women (Beta=0.099, $p=0.001$). On the other hand, the better the health condition, the less time is spent on unpaid work by women (Beta=-0.133, $p=0.001$).

The type of household has a significant effect in explaining the variation of both paid work and unpaid work, whether we are speaking about men or women ($p < 0.001$)

Living alone has negative effects both in terms of men and women, and as regards paid and unpaid work. This means that when a person lives alone, the tendency is to spend less time on the two forms of work (negative quantification as seen in the table below).

Tabela 3.

Association between the categories of household type and paid work and unpaid work, by sex

TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD	PAID WORK		UNPAID WORK	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Quantification	Quantification	Quantification	Quantification
One person	-0.518	-1.520	-0.393	-1.278
Single parent – mother with child(ren)	-1.086	0.841	-1.089	0.700
Single parent – father with child(ren)	-0.209	-9.432#	1.400	3.391#
Couple with no children	-0.901	0.009	-1.174	-1.169
Couple with one child	0.075	-0.043	0.616	0.175
Couple with two children	1.307	0.084	1.311	0.668
Couple with three or more children	1.695	2.665	2.368	2.652
Extended family	2.681	0.788	-0.365	1.173

Given the small number of households in this category, we chose to include the data here although we did not analyse them in the text.

If the household comprises a couple with two or more children, although especially with three or more children, this is positively related to the time spent on unpaid work by both men and women (positive quantification in the table above). This result is in agreement with a greater need for care work, as well as an increase in the effort required by household chores; but also in paid work, which means that the situation is possibly linked to the need to meet greater expenses.

If the household comprises a couple with no children, the time spent on paid work is negative for men, while the time spent on unpaid work is negative for both men and women.

Extended family households tend to show a positive association with the time spent on paid and unpaid work. Nevertheless, an important difference between women and men is observed, as the effect on unpaid work is negative for men (-0.365). This means that the time men spend on unpaid work tends to be less – the opposite of what happens with women. On the contrary, the time spent on paid work by men tends to increase quite significantly in comparison with women's (2.681 comparing with 0.788).

Finally, households comprising a women single parent affect the time spent by men on paid and unpaid work negatively (-1.086 and -1.089, respectively). Inversely, this affects the time spent on paid and unpaid work by women positively (0.841 and 0.700, respectively).

With regard to the effect of the mode of working time organisation, it may be seen that there is also a significant effect in both dependent variables ($p < 0.05$), with particular emphasis on women (Table 2). Undertaking a more specific analysis of the relationship between the modes of working time organisation

and paid and unpaid work (Table 4), we conclude that fixed working schedules do not have any differentiated effects on either men or women, but it has distinct impacts on paid and unpaid work: this association is positive in the former (paid work) and negative in the latter (unpaid work).

A difference according to sex stand out with respect to fixed shift work. Working on the basis of fixed shifts is negatively associated with the time spent on paid and unpaid work by men (-0.568 and -1.243, respectively), while it is positively associated with the time spent on paid and unpaid work by men by women (2.982 and 1.655, respectively).

It is interesting to note that the picture changes when work is organised on the basis of rotating shifts. In this case, it tends to reduce the time spent on paid and unpaid work by women (-0.315 and -1.155, respectively); as for men, it increases the time spent on unpaid work (2.714) and reduces the time spent on paid work (-2.651).

Tabela 4.

Association between the categories of working time organisation and paid work and unpaid work, by sex

WORKING TIME ORGANISATION	PAID WORK		UNPAID WORK	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Quantification	Quantification	Quantification	Quantification
Fixed schedule	0.266	0.200	-0.393	-0.337
Fixed shift	-0.568	2.982	-1.243	1.655
Rotating shift	-2.651	-0.315	2.714	-1.155
Other modes of working time organisation	1.058	-2.295	0.257	2.336

The habitat of residence only fails to register a significant effect in the case of time spent on paid work by women (Table 2). It should be pointed out that both men and women living in the OMA tend to show a negative association with the time spent on paid and unpaid work, in opposition to the results obtained for the LMA where the association is always positive (see the table below).

Tabela 5.

Association between the categories of residence in a Metropolitan Area and paid and unpaid work, by sex

RESIDENCE IN METROPOLITAN AREAS	PAID WORK		UNPAID WORK	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Quantification	Quantification	Quantification	Quantification
Lisbon Metropolitan Area	1.077	1.547	0.145	0.718
Oporto Metropolitan Area	-2.155	-0.061	-2.447	-2.611
Rest of the country	0.045	-0.735	0.516	0.187

As may be seen in table 2, social class has a significant effect on both paid and unpaid work ($p < 0.01$). Analysing the relationship between the categories of social class and the two variables to be explained, distinct patterns of association emerge (see the table below). Sex is the main factor of differentiation between technicians and associate professionals (TAP) and agricultural workers (AW). In turn, the time spent on paid and unpaid work differentiates managers, directors, professionals and self-employed (MDPS) and service routine employees (SRE).

Tabela 6.

Association between the categories of social class and paid work and unpaid work, by sex

	PAID WORK		UNPAID WORK	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
SOCIAL CLASS	Quantification	Quantification	Quantification	Quantification
Managers, directors, professionals and self-employed (MDPS)	2.129	2.527	-0.966	-1.072
Technicians and associate professionals (TAP)	0.422	-1.198	1.523	-0.912
Service routine employees (SRE)	-1.012	-0.186	0.788	0.469
Agricultural workers (AW)	-1.393	0.830	-1.080	8.342 #
Industrial workers (IW))	-0.090	-0.318	-0.842	-0.799

Given the small number of households in this category, we chose to include the data here although we did not analyse them in the text.

The time spent on paid and unpaid work by men in the TAP class shows a positive association (0.422 and 1.523, respectively), while this association is negative for women TAP (-1.198 and -0.912, respectively). The opposite situation is registered in the IW class, where women show a positive association with time spent on work regardless of it being paid or unpaid (see the table above).

Concerning the MDPS class, there is a positive association with time spent on paid work, but a negative association with time spent on unpaid work, completely opposite to what was seen for the SRE class. On the one hand, this would appear to reflect the differences between more fixed working schedules among the SRE and the possibly more flexible schedules in the MDPS class, including longer working days. On the other hand, it may be associated with the higher incomes earned in the MDPS class, allowing them to resort to paid domestic help. In terms of the IW class, no matter the sex, the association with time spent on paid and unpaid work is always negative.

To sum up: the Categorical Regression developed here uncovers some variables with a significant effect on the several models (paid work and unpaid work, by sex). This is the case of the type of household, the mode of working time organisation, residence in a metropolitan area and social class.

6. Conclusions and recommendations

6.1. Main research conclusions



We have time. Time however passes by quickly. This is what I have to say

Sofia, 36 years old, biparental,
daughter aged 11

Time “passes by quickly”. Still, it does not pass by with the same speed for everyone. The distribution of free time reflects strong gender disparities whether we examine the *quantity* of available time or its *quality*. This landscape is closely related with the women’s overload concerning unpaid work. Almost half of the respondents consider that they do not have enough time to do everything that they would like to do during weekdays, and the perception that there is no time is protracted to the weekend even if it registers lower values then.

As to be expected, women in full-time employment with children under their care suffer the most from lack of time. They are more liable to state that they are usually in a hurry and that they would like to devote more time to activities beyond their paid and unpaid work. Contrary to this, the experience of having time on one’s hands and not knowing what to do with it is reported as occurring only very rarely, if at all, by both men and women – but especially women.

The results of our research confirm that other variables should be considered when accounting for perceptions on lack of time, such as age or life course stage, area of residence, and social class. Gender disparities are also present, even if they are less substantial in some cases, when we look only at the men and women without children; or men and women in the youngest and the oldest age brackets. Drawing on studies conducted in various contexts, Bryson (2007) points out that, except in the case of professional and managerial classes – frequently taken as a reference –, the general trend has been for paid work time to decrease and leisure time to increase, among both men and women. Any sign of disadvantage regarding this tendency deserves to be looked into and discussed from a scientific viewpoint and a policy viewpoint.

When asked about their own circumstances, the people that we interviewed often connect the lack of time to do their favourite personal and leisure activities with the birth of their children – these “treasures with teeth that bite into time” (Durán, 2013). Before taking on parental responsibilities, the evenings and weekends provided them with a chance to relax that afterwards became scarcer or simply vanished into thin air. Explicit references to giving up things and making sacrifices are compensated by acknowledging the emotional gratification that comes with parenthood. Indeed, the very distinction between working time and leisure time is especially difficult for people with very young children – the simple act of going

shopping or playing with the children may be construed as either work or leisure, or even both things at the same time (Perista, 2013).

Experiences of divorce and subsequent single-parenthood reported by women are relevant from various standpoints. According to the interviewees' own assessment, this contributes to their being overburdened. On the other hand, divorce is signalled by some women as a clearly necessary condition for them to be able to organise their lives more to their liking and set aside a little time for themselves, even when the responsibility for their children's daily welfare is to fall largely or entirely on their shoulders.

Regardless of household composition, the use of free time is closely connected with emotional factors. Energy is required; mental availability is required; dealing with feelings of guilt is required. It is therefore unsurprising that the most common and frequent group of leisure time activities, much ahead of the other activities, is reading, listening to radio/music and watching television.

On the other hand, it should be underlined that these difficulties and tensions are intertwined with inequality and social change on a wider scale. One of the clearest signs of such inequalities concerns the distribution of household chores and care work in the family, still largely asymmetrical regarding gender. On working days, women spend on average 4 hours and 23 minutes on unpaid work, meaning 1 hour and 45 minutes per day more than men. At the weekend, this tendency not only persists but is reinforced. If we were to attempt an approximate estimation of the gender differential over the seven days of the week, we would conclude that during this period women put in more than an extra half-day in unpaid work (an extra 12 hours and 22 minutes) comparing with men.

Considering only people in employment, the time spent on unpaid work on working days tends to be shorter, and the same goes for the gender differential. This reduction at the weekend is only slight, however, thus indicating that employment is not a preponderant factor in defining the weekly total time spent by people on unpaid work.

With respect to household chores, in particular the most typical routine tasks performed at home (preparing food, cleaning, doing the laundry), we note that they are still primarily carried out by women. It is also apparent that, on the one hand, women aged 45 years or over tend to spend more time on household chores during working days; and, on the other hand, the widest gender differential is registered in the age group of those between 15 and 24 years old.

Women therefore continue to play the predominant role and shoulder the main responsibility in the domestic realm, even if they count on their spouse's or partner's participation to a greater or lesser extent. We continue to see the tendency of regarding the man as a person who 'helps', who 'assists' – a far cry from effectively sharing responsibilities and tasks (Hardill *et al.*, 1997; Connell, 2004). In empirical context, expectations concerning the participation of men in the household chores are sometimes so low that any help they give, modest though it might be, is perceived as being significant and valuable.

The way these chores are shared among household members in daily life tends to follow the stereotyped view that the woman should take charge of domestic work, often doing several tasks at the same time (Sayer, 2007; Offer and Schneider, 2011), while the man retains his position in the rearguard.

Arguments associated with efficiency and skills that someone may or may not have are repeatedly put forward by men to justify how chores are distributed in their household. These arguments have been questioned by feminist scholars, who demonstrate that men, just like women, are perfectly able to carry out tasks in the sphere of care, and indeed many do so already (Lister, 1997; Bryson, 2007; Perista, 2013).

Among women, their spouse's or partner's job comes up as the main, sometimes the only, reason to explain why household chores at their home are not evenly shared out. In addition, the household chores in which men have a greater share are the ones requiring less time on a daily basis.

The externalisation of household chores by purchasing the services of someone who does not belong to the household is only affordable to a small number of households. Nevertheless, although it may solve difficulties and quell tension between the spouses/partners with respect to domestic work, this possibility of buying time has the practical effect of removing the need to change masculine behaviours and ends up by reinforcing the current sexual division of labour in the family (Crompton and Lyonette, 2009; Lister, 1997).

Moreover, only a frequent resort to domestic services seems to clearly change the time spent on unpaid work and smooth out the differences between women and men in this field, whether on working days or at the weekend.

On the other hand, the externalisation of household chores seems to 'free' women so that they are able to spend more time on care work during weekdays, while it 'frees' men to pursue other activities. Furthermore, women clearly assume more often than men the responsibility to establish and supervise the domestic worker's duties.

An apparent effect of externalising household chores is the reduction of the average time spent by women on household chores during the weekend. Therefore, resorting to paid services is likely to both iron out conflict in the couple and perpetuate the men's insufficient participation in the domestic realm.

Gender asymmetries in unpaid work do not necessarily translate in a linear manner into feelings of unfairness with respect to the share of household chores ensured by oneself (Torres, org., 2004; Amâncio, 2005). Nevertheless, it is mostly the women, particularly women belonging to households with children under 15 years old, who voice feelings of unfairness.

Whether we are talking about men or about women, the time spent on household chores is greater among those who consider that they do more than their fair share; it is shorter among those who consider that they do less than their fair share. Be that as it may, it should be pointed out that the average time spent on the last working day by women who consider that they do less than their fair share – 2 hours and 43 minutes – is still 25 minutes more than what was spent on average on the last working day by men who consider that they did more than their fair share – 2 hours and 18 minutes. The same pattern emerges when we compare these averages on the last Saturday (higher by 46 minutes for women) and the last Sunday (higher by 37 minutes for women).

While our interviewees often make egalitarian statements based on the notion that domestic work is to be shared as a natural or inevitable consequence of women participating in employment, this does not stop some of them from arguing that asymmetry in the particular case of their household is a legitimate and adequate solution to their concrete family circumstances.

Besides household chores, care work is certainly a time consumer too. One of the dimensions of care work concerns adult persons requiring special care. A large majority of our survey respondents state that no people in this condition live in their household. When it does happen though, a substantial feminisation is noteworthy. Experiences reported by our interviewees show that the need to provide daily care to an elderly relative, often in sudden and unpredictable circumstances, strongly disturbs the organisation of daily life.

Our evidence also indicates that a greater or lesser responsibility with respect to care cannot be fully explained by more or less individual time availability; instead, the complex interconnection of time availability with gender and social roles must be taken into account. Considerable pressure is exerted so that it falls to a woman in the family to provide care. One of the things that contributes to this asymmetry is the notion that men are less apt or less able to do this kind of work. We are therefore confronted with signs of the old divide promoting men in the public sphere and women in the private sphere.

Another component of care work pertains to the provision of care to children. The analysis here undertaken allows us to see that this type of care work is also permeated by tension, negotiation and inequality. Not only does the feminisation of care work in households with children persists, but also informal support networks activated for this purpose are maintained and sustained predominantly by women. Even so, gender disparities are smaller in childcare than they are regarding household chores, a field in which men seem yet more resistant to participate.

Within the different activities comprised in childcare, there are differences too. The largest gender difference concerns the provision of physical care, and it becomes progressively smaller as we examine childcare tasks related with other activities, such as reading, playing and talking with children, or overseeing their school work; the gap narrows down even further with respect to taking children to activities outside the home (which is the least frequent category of tasks under study).

Moreover, it is important to stress that care work is not only about carrying out a particular task during a given period of time. Besides asking who ensures a variety of daily care tasks, we should also look into who is worried about it, who anticipates the troubles, who takes care of emergency situations, who assumes the responsibility (Bryson, 2007; Perista, 2013).

Our qualitative research confirms that measuring care work must not neglect several features that easily escape attention. One of these features pertains to the difference between organising and carrying out the provision of care to children, something we need to consider if we want to really assess the distribution of care work and not only how the hands-on work is shared.

Another aspect that should be taken into account is the emotional work, intangible and inestimable (Durán, 2013): undertaken as a fundamental part of domestic and family work, it is often confused with “simply” keeping the children company or entertaining them. In this sense, the women’s overload is as physical as it is mental or symbolic.

Childcare is also a field where we need to take into consideration the gap or the conflict between practices and attitudes. On the one hand, in agreement with the outcomes described by Wall, Aboim and Cunha (2010), our evidence shows that the tendency towards favouring an egalitarian distribution of unpaid work, while substantial with respect to household chores, is more tenuous or ambiguous with respect to childcare. Clear asymmetries are expressed when it comes to ideals of motherhood-femininity and fatherhood-masculinity. On the other hand, despite people believing that responsibilities should be more fairly shared than is done at present, a variety of reasons are presented to explain why this is not practiced ‘in the particular case of my family’. In its several configurations, the distinction in representations associated with ‘being a woman’ and ‘being a man’ still supports practices that contribute to reproduce inequalities at the family level (Poeschl, 2000, 2002; Poeschl, Múrias and Costa, 2004). The family organisation based on specialised roles is apparently reinforced by a rationale of efficiency and personal skills.

Representations, like daily practices, are not more individual than they are political (Wall, 2000). As written by Bryson (2007), the solutions found by families are subjected to dynamics that help to perpetuate them

and to other dynamics that help to make them increasingly unviable. Among the latter, we may point out the gender-role transformation and heterogenisation as well as women's progressive advancement concerning paid work, which translates into financial compensation – a key condition for personal and family economic autonomy.

However, the evidence that we collected regarding paid work are consonant with the results of other research work insofar as, on the one hand, women's time in employment tends to be valued below men's, and on the other hand women are more often subjected to precarious, unstable working conditions: there are more women than men earning incomes below the national minimum wage; there are more women than men working under term contracts or no contracts at all; the relative weight of women among unemployed people is above men's.

Participation in the labour market gives rise to particular ways to organise the daily life of people and families, as well as a need for articulation between time for paid work, time for the family, and time for oneself.

Most of the men and women in employment work full-time, between 35 and 40 hours per week. Nevertheless, long working days extending to more than 40 hours/week affect one out of every three workers with a job, and men in particular.

For the large majority of people, home-work-home trajectories still require wasting some time in queues either to catch public transports or in traffic jams. More than the men do, women walk to work and resort to public transports in their daily commuting to and from work; likewise, women more than the men take advantage of their journeys to do other tasks along the way – taking or fetching the children from the nursery, crèche or school, doing the shopping... – thereby challenging the diachronic notion of time.

As 'time sellers', men in employment have an average paid working day of 9 hours and 2 minutes, while women spend 8 hours and 35 minutes on paid work. This means that today men invest 27 minutes more on paid work as compared with women.

However, when we take care as a form of work, even if it is unpaid – although it is productive because it is crucial to people's well-being –, we see that the average daily time spent by women on work has a further 4 hours and 17 minutes tacked on to it, while men spend an extra 2 hours and 37 minutes working apart from the time they invest in their remunerated activities. This means that on an average the women's total working day is 1 hour and 13 minutes longer than men's.

It is by now apparent that work, personal life and family life make up interdependent dimensions and times. Our data also show how paid work often seeps through its 'borders'. Right from the start, paid work often entails an investment of time that goes beyond the working schedule contractually arranged, causing many people, although more men than women, to work several times a month in their free time so as to respond to demands of their paid work. Likewise, almost half the respondents, although more women than men, state that during the last 12 months they continued to think about their paid work even when they were not working.

This 'penetration' of paid work into (supposedly) private time, whether objectively stealing a few hours from the time for the family or for oneself, or subjectively, meaning worries, is reflected in feelings of weariness and being tired. Mostly women admit that at least a few times during the last 12 months they have felt too tired after a day's work to do some of the household chores or spend a little time on themselves. Moreover, women have a greater tendency than men to feel that paid work prevents them from spending more time with the family, something they would like to do.

One of our interviewees, Marisa, tells us about the close link between her weariness and her shift work: *“Sometimes we’re sitting down to have dinner and I already have to make a big effort”*. Olivia speaks of how “crazy” it is to combine family life with shift work: *“But beware, family: when someone has to do shift work, it drives you crazy, it drives you stark-staring mad”*.

Although fixed working schedules predominate in paid work, shift work (whether rotating shifts or not) is quite common. Our data reveal that, among those doing shift work, it is women – but also men and women belonging to households with children under 15 years old – that make the most negative assessment of how their working schedules adjust to family, personal and social commitments. Generally speaking, men and women who do shift work both complain of weariness associated with keeping irregular hours, difficulties in living up to their family commitments, and constant time clashes with other members of the household as well as limitations on planning get-togethers with friends and greater difficulties in finding certain services open which are needed in their daily lives.

The interdependence of the public sphere and the private sphere is also seen in the inroads that family life makes on professional life, which is also more evident in the case of women. While they are at their paid work, they more often think about household chores to be done, for example making dinner and/or solving questions connected with family life or daily arrangements, although gender differences are quite smaller with respect to the latter.

Be that as it may, for almost half of the respondents the impact of family on paid work and paid work on the family is only moderate, although for a good number of people these impacts are strong. Examining this index according to sex, we note that the impacts show up more clearly among women. As we analyse this issue according to the average time spent on unpaid work, it is possible to perceive that, on an overall scale both for men and for women, the strength of such impacts increases as unpaid working time increases.

When we take into account the time spent on both paid and unpaid work, it becomes clear that men and women seem to react in different ways. Indeed, the average working time among women for whom impacts are identified as moderate is higher by 8 minutes comparing with the working time of the men for whom impacts are identified as strong.

Our categorical regression analysis uncovers variables with a considerable effect on the several models presented (paid and unpaid work by sex). This is the case of household type, the organisation of paid working time, residence in a metropolitan area and social class.

Despite the clashes between time spent on paid work and time for family and personal life, the data show a significant valorisation of paid work, as much for men as for women. When asked what they would do if they were free to choose the duration of their working week, 46.1% of men and 43% of women answer that they would work the same number of hours as they presently do.

What changes, and what remains, between 1999 and 2015?

As detailed in Chapter 3, it is not possible to make a direct comparison between the results of the *2015 National Survey on Time Use* (applied by ourselves) and the 1999 IOT (applied by Portugal Statistics). Throughout the book nonetheless, we have singled out results pertaining to the situation in 1999 so as help trace the major trends, changes or continuities. A summary of them follows:

- Household chores are to a large extent a women's domain by 2015, as they were in 1999: every day for at least an hour or more, a larger percentage of women than men regularly do routine household chores such as preparing food, cleaning the house or caring for textiles.
- Contrary to men, most women continue to do household chores – in particular caring for textiles – not only for themselves but for other people too.
- Men still register a higher participation than women only in household chores that are sporadically done and demand less time in daily life, such as handling administrative affairs and doing repairs around the house.
- Women and men spend more time in 2015 on the provision of physical care to children. More men state that they regularly provide physical care to children than they did in 1999. Even so, this kind of work is still highly feminised.
- Considering the total time spent on unpaid work, that is, including both household chores and care work, in 2015 women continue to work more than men do by 1 hour and 45 minutes a day. In 1999, this gap stood at 3 hours.
- As regards paid work (including time spent on home-work-home trajectories), in 2015 men continued to spend more time than women: (but only) 27 minutes more a day. In 1999, this gap stood at 1 hour.
- In 2015, the average total daily working time (paid and unpaid work) is 1 hour and 13 minutes longer for women than it is for men. In 1999, this difference was more than 2 hours in men's favour.
- When comparing 2015 with 1999, more people, and above all men, state that they have free time on their hands and they do not know what to do with it, even though these numbers are low.
- A change is registered in terms of the activities people would have like to do in their free time. In 2015, the activities that are most referred to include going to shows, travelling, joining an excursion; the percentages are roughly the same for both women and men. In 1999, what both women and men wanted to do the most was to rest or not to do anything.
- The percentage of men stating that they would like to use their free time more on family care is now closer to the percentage of women stating the same thing.

- In 2015, it is with the spouse's or partner's working schedule that the most serious clash is felt in daily life. In 1999, this was one of the problems that was least mentioned. Moreover, the difficulty in having compatible school timetables and childcare facility opening hours is more relevant today, among both women and men.
- In 2015, almost half of the women (45.4%) and 36% of the men state that they are always in a hurry. In 1999, these values were even greater: 57% and 50%, respectively.

As we mentioned above, these are only a few of the major trends, changes or continuities that were possible to trace by referring to the data gathered from the *2015 Time Use National Survey* in comparison with data from the *1999 IOT*. If some of the observations can hardly surprise us, other cause a certain amount of perplexity. Future research in this field may usefully delve deeper into such findings. The enormous wealth of time use data recommends continuous and consistent exploration, something that was impossible to fully undertake in the time scope of our study.

On the other hand, it is essential to conduct periodical country-wide studies on time use, preferably combining quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Only with this goal in mind will we be able to build up a store of solid, accurate knowledge allowing us to make up-to-date diagnoses. In addition, a comparative lens will allow us to assess the evolution registered in the manners in which women and men use their time, make choices and structure their daily lives.

Lastly, it is relevant to stress the usefulness of studies on time use for drawing up public policies in diverse and complementary areas aiming at a greater equality between women and men, as clearly reflected on the conclusions and recommendations of the Final Conference of the INUT project – to be read in the following pages.

6.2.

Final Conference of the INUT Project: conclusions and recommendations³⁵

These Conclusions and Recommendations are based on the findings of the INUT Project as they are described on the Policy Brief presented at the Final Conference of the project, convene recommendations made in the four parallel sessions³⁶ as indicated by the respective rapporteurs³⁷ and suggest public policy measures. In the opinion of the author, who has discussed them in different forums but presents them here more thoroughly, they provide concrete responses to the ongoing gender gap between men and women as much in the public sphere as in the private sphere.



... considering also that the measures to be promoted, while they should not have a symbolic nature or expression, should act upon the symbolic in order to deconstruct stereotypes about gender, which in many cases have attained the dimension and dogmatism of a “belief”.

(Cunha Rêgo, 2014).

1. The 1st CONCLUSION is based on the fact that Portugal has gone 16 years without any instrument directly evaluating the distribution of paid and unpaid working work time between women and men. This has hindered:

- our knowledge on the evolution of asymmetries in a decisive domain for drawing up suitable public policies aiming at the promotion of equality between women and men,
- the assessment of public policies in this field, and
- the image of the country in international comparisons.

The following **RECOMMENDATION** is therefore put forward:

By means of a legal provision, the State should ensure that periodical time use surveys are incorporated in the regular activity programme of Portugal Statistics, to be carried out ideally every three years but at most every five years, supported by non-random public funds and using a methodology that allows to:

- compare paid and unpaid working time including time spent on family-related activities by both men and women in all the Member States in the European Union;
- assess the effect of leave policies on paid and unpaid working time, and
- adopt policy measures to correct asymmetries at the levels of Portugal and the European Union.

³⁵ The author of this text, as mentioned earlier on, is Maria do Céu da Cunha Rêgo.

³⁶ Session 1: *The organisation of work and working time*, Facilitator: Albertina Jordão; Session 2: *Motherhood and fatherhood – leaves and other rights*, Facilitator: Vasco Ramos; Session 3: *Time and the city*, Facilitator: Pedro Perista; Session 4: *The distribution of household chores and care work*, Facilitator: Anita Sares.

³⁷ Session 1: Sandra Ribeiro; Session 2: Isabel Dias; Session 3: Rosa Monteiro; Session 4: Anália Torres.

2. The **2nd CONCLUSION** pertains to the lack of clear, full and up-to-date statistics on the effective exercise of leaves enjoyed by mothers and fathers when a child is born. Merely indicating the number of beneficiaries – as it is currently done – is not enough when it comes to comparing the asymmetries between women and men concerning their absence from paid work, which also has a bearing on the respective wage asymmetry and calls for suitable measures.

The following **RECOMMENDATION** is therefore put forward:

By means of a legal provision, the State should ensure that the Institute for Social Security, Portugal Statistics and the Commission for Equality in Labour and Employment (CITE) are obliged to publish annual detailed data broken down by sex about leaves enjoyed for family-related reasons, in particular upon the birth of a child, including not only the number of beneficiaries but also the number of days away from work – and the respective payment percentage – in order to inform appropriate public policies and promote studies on the issue, among other things.

3. The **3rd CONCLUSION** is that, by considering the results from the surveys conducted in 1999 and in 2015 – and regardless of the questions related with the accurate comparison of data as mentioned earlier on –, a significant asymmetry persists between the time spent on paid work and unpaid work by women and by men, caused by the large disparity in unpaid working time despite the adoption of public policies in Portugal namely with respect to a separate leave for men when they become fathers as laid down in the law in 1999.

This conclusion shows that, in order to balance out paid and unpaid working time between women and men, it is not enough that the law lays down short-duration paternity leave for men as compared with the amount of leave granted to women, even if such leave is well paid³⁸ (and even if it is true that this is an imprecise, very varied concept in different countries) and based on non-transferable segments to be shared with women over lengthy periods. In fact, the situation in Portugal is no exception to the general rule where mothers, and not fathers, mostly enjoy parental leaves that are transferable and shared, whatever the amount may be.³⁹

The following **RECOMMENDATION** is therefore put forward:

The State should undertake to amend applicable laws – apart from social dialogue as the matter at stake has a direct effect on the materialisation of fundamental rights – so that:

- *when a child is born, maternity and paternity leaves are of equal duration whether in their compulsory part or in their optional part;*
- *maternity and paternity leaves are exclusive to the mother and to the father; they are non-transferable and compulsory for the same period of time that is or will be laid down as compulsory maternity leave;*
- *the relevant subsidies granted when taking both maternity and paternity leave should be 100% of the reference remuneration in order that the law neither creates nor objectively reinforces discriminatory situations through income;*
- *the right of access to parental leave is ensured, regardless of the type of employment contractual arrangement.*

38 The Portuguese law (Article 30 in Decree-Law 91/2009 of 9 April, with changes introduced by Law 120/2015 of 1 September, available at http://www.cite.gov.pt/asstscite/downloads/legislacao/DLei_91_09.pdf) states that subsidies to parental leave should never be less than 80% of the reference income.

39 As recognised by international organisations mentioned in European Union reports, as well as in different studies including Castro-Garcia and Moran (2015).

4. The 4th **CONCLUSION** is that a structural stereotype of social organisation persists, according to which unpaid work, including domestic and care work, is mainly a woman's duty. As a result, it continues not to be perceived as unfair by men and women that women work more than men when both paid and unpaid work is considered. This perception, in fact, hinders equality between men and women, namely with reference to relevant indicators including the Human Development Index.⁴⁰

Due to the fact that such stereotyping leads to the systematic breaching of applicable laws and because the effective injustice which it causes is not perceived as such, it is important to confront it with political determination and put in place measures that are able to change the harmful paradigm that is at odds with the rule of democratic law. Therefore, the following **RECOMMENDATIONS** should be heeded:

a) **Internal measures** leading to the social valorisation of both family-related care work and paternity as a matter of public concern with the same relevance as maternity:

a.1) **Legal measures**, namely by means of

- The explicit, coherent inclusion of unpaid care provision within the family, including domestic work, in the concept of "work activities" followed by the Portuguese legal system, along the lines set down by the ILO in 2013;
- The compulsory use of legal and administrative language that respects the equal visibility of women and men and that deconstructs language expressing male prevalence in social organisation and strengthens stereotyping, as it happens when resorting to a false neutral especially when referring to a particularly sensitive area based on gender social roles such as maternity and paternity. The designations of maternity leave and paternity leave should be reincorporated in the applicable legislation;
- planning affirmative action aimed at men, and making such action compulsory in public administration, to encourage the participation of men in childcare (for example, granting time credits; incorporating evidence that childcare is being rendered, including the use of facultative paternity leave, in the criteria for career progression; bonuses for attending training courses on the participation of men in care and family support tasks);
- the inclusion of Equality between Women and Men at various levels of education as a primary skill in the understanding and practising of citizenship in both the public and the private spheres. It should be an independent, compulsory subject, evaluated and taught by qualified teachers specially trained for this purpose, and should use duly adapted materials that have already been produced, namely by the Portuguese Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG) and the Commission for Equality in Labour and Employment (CITE). With the due adaptations, the positive experiences of the programme *Ciência Viva* may be very useful in this respect;
- reinforcing the investment on tackling gender stereotypes.

a.2) **Administrative measures**, namely by means of:

- increased inspection of the laws concerning leave and absence from work due to motherhood and fatherhood by the appropriate authorities and an effective punishment of employers who dissuade, complicate or limit the enjoyment of those leaves and absences;
- drawing up and applying a well-structured plan to disseminate good practices;
- launching institutional publicity campaigns about leave and absence from work related with motherhood and fatherhood;

40 See the last Human Development Report 2015 – Work for Human Development, pp. 242 ff. and pp. 246 ff.

- disseminating in Portuguese – in several mediums and with the appropriate adaptations geared to the various kinds of public – the General Recommendations put forward by the Committee for the Application of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW);

- promoting specialised training so as to ensure application of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

- including in the Annual Reports of the Portuguese Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG) and the Commission for Equality in Labour and Employment (CITE) the number of beneficiaries and the respective number of days away from work due to maternity and paternity leave, with data broken down by sex;

b) legal measures making clear the need for coherent interventions to promote equality between men and women, namely initiating the legislative procedure to adopt rules encouraging women to take part in public life – for example through the revision of the act on gender parity, Organic Law 3/2006 of 21 August – and urging men to take part in private life, for example through amending laws with regard to leave for women and men after the birth of children;

c) measures raising public awareness to:

- Dismantle the archaic system of social gender roles;

- Draw up a set of skills needed to undertake domestic and care work without exaggerating any kind of perfectionism capable of putting men off doing this kind of work;

- Develop a capacity to withstand social criticism condemning alleged lack of perfection in undertaking domestic and care work;

- Demonstrate the economic cost of domestic and care work;

- Give due value to domestic and care work so that by doing such chores the traditional concepts of masculinity are not wounded;

- Build up a wide network of alliances among different institutional partners, including the family, in order to promote gender equality in education.

d) Policy measures abroad working together with the appropriate organisations such as the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation, the Council of Europe and the European Union, and other CEDAW member States, namely through the bilateral relations of Portugal with such organisations; this proposal has been justified earlier on (Cunha Rêgo, 2014) and is put forward again here:

(...) the natural power asymmetry between sure motherhood and unsure fatherhood is, in itself and up to the present moment, an inevitability. But like medicine the law can also correct nature, accepting, as summarised by Elisabeth Badinter, the “rule of culture” (Badinter, 2003). The law can strengthen the legal status of fatherhood, inclusively by launching affirmative action to make it “something proper to men” in society and the world at large. Unpaid family care work has been a disproportionate social obligation shouldered by women. The law can turn it into a legal obligation that is equally shared between women and men, thus strengthening men’s role in the private sphere.

Participating and acquiring power in the public sphere has mostly belonged to men. The law can make it compulsory to share this participation and exercise of power equally between women and men. Men are educated for violence and, paradoxically, punished when they resort to it. The law can oblige education for peace and esteeming cohesive behaviour. And because global injustice must be tackled by instruments of global justice, it is important in my opinion to act pragmatically and improve what exists and create what is absent. That is, intervene in the international system of Fundamental Rights, as well as in regional and national systems.

To better substantiate the measures above:

- Urge the appropriate European Union bodies about the need to hold periodical time use surveys, based on a standard methodology for the entire Union in order to place targets on the agenda and progressively reduce gender disparities in unpaid work dedicated to family life.
- Urge the appropriate United Nations bodies, the International Labour Organisation, the Council of Europe, the European Union and the other CEDAW Member States by means of the bilateral relations established with Portugal, so that:
 - By working through the Additional Agreements of the United Nations Covenants⁴¹ and the pertinent regional Conventions and Treaties⁴², as well as – if need be, through suitable amendments to countries' Constitutions – recognise the following new fundamental rights and grant them full legal protection as rights, freedoms and guarantees:
 - The fundamental right to non-discrimination as regards sex and equality between men and women in the various fields of life. This includes health, education and effective participation in political, economic and social power, as well as power in the private and family sphere, which covers equality in the provision of care to dependent persons and unpaid domestic work. Member States should be obligated to ensure the application of such rights, namely by means of affirmative action targeting equality thresholds and eliminating asymmetries that are harmful to women and men as shown by the human development results;
 - The fundamental right to the protection of fatherhood in the same manner that it is granted to the protection of motherhood, namely by way of harmonising it with paid work, including equality between men and women in rearing and educating their children and exercising family duties;
 - The fundamental right to care, associated with the fundamental duty of caregiving⁴³ to be equitably shared between men and women;
 - The fundamental right to do away with the systemic causes of violence including gender violence;
 - The fundamental right to Education and Training for Peace and for exercising Fundamental Rights and Duties,⁴⁴ whereby Member States are obligated to ensure the respective application of such rights. This should be done namely by including at all levels of education and training compulsory learning and skills acquisition so as to put into practice the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the international, regional and national systems protecting human rights. Receiving training in Fundamental Rights and Duties should be made a requirement in order to exercise a professional activity;

41 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, available at: <http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx>
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, available at: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CESCR.aspx>.

42 Examples: for the European region, the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, available at: www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf, and the European Social Charter (revised), available at: <https://www.coe.int/t/Conventions>; at the European Union level, the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (ECFR), available at: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/fundamental-rights/charter/index_en.htm, in connection with Article 6 European Union Treaty, available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=OJ:C:2016:202:FULL&from=EN>.

43 In this sense, see the intervention of the Portuguese Secretary of State for Citizenship and Equality, Catarina Marcelino, in the 60th Session of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, held in New York in March 2016: "... ensure that household responsibilities and unpaid care work are equally shared between men and women, valued and recognized, also at the international level". English version of the speech available on the website of the Permanent Mission of Portugal to the UN: <https://www.onu.missaoportugal.mne.pt/en/statements/2016/318-statement-by-h-e-ms-catarina-marcelino-secretary-of-state-for-citizenship-and-equality-of-portugal-at-the-60th-session-of-the-commission-on-the-status-of-women>.

44 See United Nations Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training, available at: [http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Compilation/Pages/UnitedNationsDeclarationonHumanRightsEducationandTraining\(2011\).aspx](http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Compilation/Pages/UnitedNationsDeclarationonHumanRightsEducationandTraining(2011).aspx).

- Operationalising the new fundamental rights described above, namely through the adoption of two new Conventions:
- a United Nations Convention on Caring and the Elimination of all Forms of Violence including Gender Violence against women and girls but also against men and boys. This Convention should:
 - recognise the economic value and the social value of care work, substantiating this value so as to neutralise the lower status associated with it;⁴⁵
 - lay down concrete obligations for Member States so that family care work is taken into account in their state budgets, making it clear that it is indispensable to:
 - deconstruct the effective identification of the universal with the masculine;
 - do away with the 'hierarchical difference' between the sexes and the bias in the perception of fairness;
 - provide know-how and skills for being an independent person both in the private sphere and the public sphere;
 - adapt frameworks involving the punishment and rehabilitation of aggressive persons and address the nature of and the reasons leading to violent behaviour;
 - Oblige Member States to comply with the targets and the agenda for carrying out the measures, and apply sanctions that will aptly dissuade non-compliance;
- an International Labour Organisation Convention on Paternity Protection recognising to men the same rights recognised to women in the Maternity Protection Convention,⁴⁶ including a balanced participation of working fathers in family-related care work.⁴⁷
 - In the EU Member States, paternity and all its rights should be protected by means of a directive – a new one or an amended one – in the same terms that have been laid down for maternity, in other words, without the need to resort to social partners at the European level.

5. The 5th CONCLUSION is that the organisation of paid work and paid working time is especially important for promoting gender equality. This aim should be systematically borne in mind, namely with respect to articulating remunerated activity and family life.

45 Namely following the Beijing Platform for Action (<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/>) and later international commitments, as well as several international and European Union studies on gender equality such as: UN, The Role of Men and Boys in achieving Gender Equality, 2008, available at: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/public/w2000/W2000%20Men%20and%20Boys%20E%20web.pdf>; EC, The Role of Men in Gender Equality – European strategies & insights, 2012, available at: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/gender_pay_gap/130424_final_report_role_of_men_en.pdf.

46 The most recent ILO Maternity Protection Convention is No. 183 (2000), available at: http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C183.

47 Following up Conclusion Nr. 28 from the 98th Session of the International Labour Organisation in July 2009: "28. Legislation and policies (such as paid paternity and/or parental leave) that encourage men to participate in care responsibilities have been shown to work across a variety of countries. Men's behaviour needs to change, as shared parental responsibilities are key to changing gender stereotyped barriers. Readjusting the gender division of labour in the household to a more equitable distribution of tasks has significant benefits for both sexes."

The following **RECOMMENDATIONS** are therefore put forward:

○ *The State should ensure that:*

- *the organisation of paid work and paid working time, both in the private sector and in the public sector, provides flexible responses to the characteristics of each person and his/her needs where organising family life is concerned, namely in matters of a continuous workday and fixed but adaptable working schedules – stimulating work capacity and not affecting the smooth running or productivity of the enterprise;*
- *good practices in the field of gender equality practiced in the private sector are replicated to the public sector;*
- *tax benefits are granted to reward practices of ensuring the minimum obligations laid down by law and providing proof that they are helping to effectively eliminate gender asymmetries in unpaid family-related work.*

○ *The State should promote:*

- *more information and training of employers and workers in the public and private sectors, as well as informing the mass media about matters involving gender equality with a focus on the articulation of paid work and family life;*
- *the adoption of 35-hour weekly working schedules in the private sector;*
- *that good practices in the field of gender equality practiced in the public sector are replicated in the private sector;*
- *the prevention of excessive use of information and communication technology on the job so as to protect family time;*

○ *The State should encourage:*

- *social dialogue and social partners to understand that collective bargaining plays an important role in the promotion of gender equality, especially in questions related with the articulation of paid work and family life, namely through the compulsory presence of these concerns in collective bargaining instruments.*

6. The 6th CONCLUSION is that working schedules in combination with those of childcare and eldercare facilities, urban planning and territorial policies have not made an adequate or sufficient contribution to solve problems related with the lack of time needed to articulate paid work and family life. Critical areas where large gender asymmetries are found to persist include the public transports (timetables, routes and their elimination, ticket prices, accessibilities, safety conditions) and safety in poorly-lit streets at night – which affect women more than men, because not only are women the main users of public transports but because they are more vulnerable to different kinds of attacks.

The following **RECOMMENDATIONS** are therefore put forward:

a) *With respect to transport and mobility, the State and other appropriate public entities should ensure that:*

- *the situation of men and women with respect to the use of public transports are taken into account when drawing up timetables, planning routes, setting prices and making accesses and the layout of vehicles, also bearing in mind the ages of users – the elderly, children – and the respective types of transport;*
- *a response is given to the need for more road lanes restricted to public transports;*
- *an adequate response is given to demands in rural areas where there are no public transports;*
- *the offer in public transports is diversified and adapted so as to satisfy 'demand';*
- *an adequate response is given to demands for interregional and intra-municipal transports that are sometimes non-existent or only run during school term-time, by means of inter-territorial mobility planning;*
- *an adequate response is given to pedestrian journeys – soft mobility – eliminating obstacles and ensuring accessibility.*

b) *With respect to facilities or services contributing to the articulation of paid work and family life, the State and other appropriate public and private entities should ensure that:*

- *an adequate response is given to the need to have compatible opening hours in terms of facilities and services providing support to children and the elderly, thus catering to their users and not self-interest;*
- *an adequate response is given to, and mindful of, the needs of men and women when closing down or privatising public services or facilities.*

c) *With respect to mainstreaming gender in territorial policies, the State and other appropriate public and private entities should:*

- *avoid the dispersion of policies and plans, some of them going against the perspective of gender equality, and seek to draw up a strategic view of the territory so that equality between men and women may be promoted and paid work articulated with family life;*
- *when drawing up policies, address the heterogeneous nature of territories, the stages in people's lifecourse, the effects of measures taken to promote gender equality, the specific situation of certain groups of more vulnerable women, women who are dependent and less safe, mainly the elderly, women living in isolated rural areas or domestic workers.*
- *take into account that, apart from paid working time and care work, there should be time for men and women to participate in civic and political life, an important way to achieve self-fulfilment whether from a personal perspective or from the point of view of consolidating democracy in terms laid down namely in the Portuguese Constitution, Articles 67 No. 1,⁴⁸ 68 No. 1,⁴⁹ and 109.⁵⁰*

48 "As a fundamental element in society, the family has the right to protection by society and the state and to the effective implementation of all the conditions needed to enable family members to achieve personal fulfilment."

49 "In performing their irreplaceable role in relation to their children, particularly as regards the children's education, fathers and mothers have the right to protection by society and the state, together with the guarantee of their own professional fulfilment and participation in civic life."

50 "The direct and active participation in political life by men and women is a condition for and a fundamental instrument in the consolidation of the democratic system, and the law must promote both equality in the exercise of civic and political rights and the absence of gender-based discrimination in access to political office."

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Speaking about time is speaking about the uses we make of it, and the meanings we give it. As an expression of a way of thinking and representing the social structure, the meaning of time is far from neutral; it encompasses a means of measuring and quantifying, but also qualifying, that is, attributing value to human activities.

Time “passes by quickly”. Still, it does not pass by with the same speed for everyone. The distribution of free time, that is, time left free by paid and unpaid work, reflects strong gender inequalities whether we examine the quantity of available time or its quality. Time is therefore a key issue to structure the thought and action in the domain of equality between women and men.

Men continue to invest more time than women – although this difference has decreased – in paid work. On the other hand, women continue to predominantly play the role of the person responsible for the household chores and care work, while men still tend to be regarded as those who ‘help’, those who ‘assist’ – a far cry from effectively sharing responsibilities and tasks with respect to unpaid work. Considering the total working day – paid and unpaid work – it becomes apparent that in Portugal, on average, women work 1 hour and 13 minutes longer than men every day.

More than 16 years have passed since the first time use survey in Portugal, carried out by Portugal Statistics in 1999. Now, an updated diagnosis with national representativeness has been made of the uses of time among men and women in Portugal, with a particular focus on paid work and unpaid care work. This was the main goal of the research project “National Survey on Time Use by Men and Women”.

This project was carried out by the CESIS – Centre for Studies for Social Intervention (Centro de Estudos para a Intervenção Social) in partnership with the CITE – Commission for Equality in Labour and Employment (Comissão para a Igualdade no Trabalho e no Emprego), and funded by the Financial Mechanism of the European Economic Area, EEA Grants 2009-2014.

THE USE OF TIME BY MEN AND WOMEN IN PORTUGAL



Funded by the European Economic Area
Financial Mechanism 2009-2014



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