

Towards a Conceptual Framework for Studying Time and Social Capital

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1. Introduction

This paper attempts to set out a conceptual framework for exploring the relationship between time use and the development of social capital. It forms an initial, literature survey phase of a project within the Families & Social Capital ESRC Research Group at London South Bank University. The purpose of that project is to examine, through qualitative interviewing and analysis of national data sets such as the UK Time Use Survey, how work time and the nature of the labour process affect the generation of social capital within communities. In particular it will examine how mutual aid between households, in the form of help with childcare and elder-care, is influenced by time constraints arising from paid work and other social obligations.

The sociological study of time use in relation to social capital invokes several different debates with separate although overlapping spheres of interest. First of all a concern has arisen in recent years that both caring time and leisure may be squeezed by paid work, as suggested in 'The Overworked American' (Schor, 1991) and 'The Time Squeeze' (Mulgan and Wilkinson 1995). Although European countries have generally seen a downward trend in working hours over most of the twentieth century (Rigaudiat, 1993), there has been a slight reversal in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Roberts, 2000). For the UK, as shown in Section 4 of this paper, the population under retirement age is spending more time in paid work than a decade ago. As discussed in Section 7, various tendencies within the contemporary labour market are operating to generate a sense of stress, overwork and lack of control over the impact of work on family and private life.

Secondly, there is a specific concern that work is squeezing parents' caring time and creating a 'time deficit' for women. Etzioni (1993) has argued that there is a 'parenting deficit', due partly to increased participation of mothers in the labour market. Several studies, described in section 6, have addressed the changing distribution of childcare and other domestic tasks between men and women. Their general consensus is that despite some redistribution towards men, women's higher activity rates have been achieved at the expense of a considerable 'dual burden' of paid and unpaid work, leaving employed women in couples substantially less leisure than either men or housewives. In continental Europe, there has been some concern by policy makers that fathers do not spend enough time with their children (Lewis, 2002), echoed also in the UK (Ferri and Smith, 1996; Roberts, 2000). Over a third of fathers work more than 48 hours per week (O'Brien and Shemilt, 2003), compared to less than a quarter of men without dependent children.¹ These trends may impede men from taking a larger share of childcare or housework. Fiona Williams (2001) notes that fathers in the UK work the longest hours in Europe, and that survey evidence suggests they would like to spend more time with their children.

Thirdly, Putnam (2000) has endorsed the view that the increase in paid work hours of the average couple in the USA has made a small but significant contribution to the decline in 'civic engagement' (Putnam, 2000, p. 202, 284). The couple household, between them spending longer hours in paid employment than 20-30 years ago, now spend less time in political and voluntary sector activities, or in informal socialising. In particular, women in full-time employment spend less time in volunteering, club and church attendance, or informal socialising than women in part-time employment (p. 195, p. 201). Against this cautious endorsement of the hypothesis that a 'time famine' makes a small contribution to the decline of social capital, Gershuny (2000) refutes the 'time famine' hypothesis, arguing from a large

¹ See www.statistics.gov.uk; 'Focus on Men, spring 2000' and Table 6 below

international set of time use data that western societies have on the whole seen no overall reduction in leisure in the period 1961-84. According to Gershuny's data, both childcare time and time spent in civic and social activities rose during this period. He does, however, admit that work time has risen again in the UK, the USA and Canada since the 1970s. In section 5, we examine Gershuny's work in more detail, and consider the possibility that a real fall in free time may have occurred in the UK since the 1980s.

For the study of social capital, then, there are three central questions:-

a) Is the time people have available to engage in social activity increasing or diminishing? Section 5 considers whether 'leisure' is rising or falling. The definitions of 'work' and the significance of different time uses for social activities and relationships must also be unpacked; these issues are addressed in sections 3 and 4.

b) How is the gender distribution of work and leisure changing and affecting time available for maintaining friendships and community organisations? (This question is addressed in section 6.)

c) What changes are occurring in the nature of work – paid and unpaid – which may affect family and social relationships in terms of time available for social interaction? Section 7 considers this question, interrogating debates about increasing insecurity of employment, on the intensification of work and the problem of work stress, and also on the implications of changes in working time patterns for community and family life.

Other, more detailed questions can be formulated around or within this key triad. The intention of this paper is to chart debates around these three themes and how they illuminate our current concern with the way in which both time use constraints, and the connections between time use regimes and sociality, impact on the development and maintenance of social capital.

2. Time as an input to social capital

Just as labour time is an input into the production of physical wealth, it is also an input into the 'production' of social capital. As such the relationship of time input to social capital may not be linear, and its effectiveness may be conditioned on other 'inputs' such as social norms and identities, and the management of time. However, the metaphor of time as a 'factor of production' for social capital is severely limited. Firstly there are several qualitative dimensions of time use, which deserve as much attention as the quantitative issue of time input, in particular about time sovereignty and how this depends on the subject's interactions with family and employers. Secondly, the connection between time input and the production of social capital invites some definition both of social capital and of the precise ways in which time input helps to create it. Social capital may be defined as a series of social ties which are of use to those who have these ties in various ways; for mutual aid, for information, for emotional support and for formation or maintenance of shared cultural and moral values and expectations. The notion of shared values and expectations is closely associated with that of trust, often taken as one indicator of social capital. Each individual has a network of social ties, but these are derived from, and contribute to, the networks of others in the group. Thus the pool of social ties available to any defined 'community' (spatial, work group or 'common bond') is composed of their individual ties but also expands that set; A knows B and C, and B knows D and E, so D and E have a chance to meet A and C. 'Knowing someone' is obviously not just a yes/no

variable; it can be characterised by the nature, frequency, context and salience of their interactions, and their acquaintance has both a current significance and a future potential. How much time they spend together is only one aspect of their interaction; its relationship to trust, or to the salience and continuity of their acquaintance, is a subject for research. If social capital is thought of as a series of capacities, a key issue is the notion of a 'critical mass' of time and other 'inputs' which are sufficient to achieve those capacities. Degrees of capacity could be considered on an ordinal scale in relation to each aspect of social capital; for example the ability of a workforce to secure trade union recognition, or the ability of a community to generate a safe neighbourhood. One can then ask whether there is enough time at actors' disposal to achieve a 'critical mass', and how does this depend on the 'productivity' of time as well as the amount of time available. Time has different qualities which may not be fungible, any more than different kinds of labour; there is time alone and time spent collectively, time in different 'slots' of the day or week or year, etc.

What we can say a priori about all kinds of time input into creation of social capital is that if no time at all is spent in an activity thought likely to create social capital, social capital cannot be created from that activity. Beyond that, some kinds of social capital may require only tiny inputs of time – for example, an annual letter to a distant cousin may suffice to generate empathy and support when a family member dies, or when visiting their distant city. Other kinds of social capital may be much more time-intensive – for example maintaining the bonds between members of a community group so that it can adequately respond to an external threat to neighbourhood facilities may occupy its committee for several hours per month.

What we can also say a priori is that activities likely to create social capital by definition must involve social contact – though not necessarily frequent or face-to-face - and moreover contact of a positive kind which generates trust and mutual support. Thus relatively isolated situations are least likely to generate social capital (unless the subject is an avid follower of internet chat rooms, for example), and stressful social contacts are less likely to generate it than relaxed and friendly ones. This is evident from literature on the labour process, where intensification of work and the individualisation of employment relationships is said to impede friendly contacts with colleagues – a point to which we shall return later. But not all face-to-face contacts – even if non-stressful – lead to interaction, let alone to social capital. Some forms of contact are associated with a norm of non-communication – for example strangers on the London underground rarely chat to each other, whilst strangers on buses in many countries do so frequently.

As stated earlier, theorists of domestic labour have often conceptualised its function as that of 'reproduction' (Gardiner, 1976). From Marx's notion of the family as the site of 'reproduction' of labour power, there follows recognition of the mother's role in 'reproduction' of the social as well as physical infrastructure of family life, with 'emotional' as well as physical labour (Himmelweit, 1995). The concept of 'reproduction' is helpful in a wider context; just as the family needs to be 'reproduced', so does social capital; both the networks which constitute the fabric of friendship, mutual aid and civil society, and also the social relationships beyond the household which form the basis of trust, need inputs of time to create and maintain them. These time inputs to the (re)production of social capital potentially compete with paid work, unpaid work within the family, and possibly with other time uses. Here we may reflect on Putnam's finding that American women who are employed full-time spend less time than part-time workers in entertaining or visiting (Putnam, 2000, p. 195); is this an indirect threat to the sustainability of social capital?

The creation of social capital can take place during leisure, paid work or unpaid work. The greater the volume of market labour, expressed in terms of hours per adult member of the population per year, the lower the time potentially available for creation of social capital outside of work. Leisure time, which is by definition time available to focus on freely chosen activities, in particular socialising and taking part in associations of various kinds, may be particularly rich in its capacity to generate social capital, especially of the kinds analysed by Putnam (2000). On the other hand, paid work time has historically generated important forms of social capital; the trade union movement and bonds, often heavily gendered, within work-groups such as described by Massey (1994) or Fielding (1994). These forms have been relatively neglected in the social capital literature. Developments in the labour process are tending to undermine the potential for creation of social capital within the workplace, as we shall see later. Social capital can also be generated during unpaid work - for example whilst shopping - but in modern societies unpaid work is largely an isolated activity within the home; and as we shall see later, it is becoming more so. The key issue in relation to unpaid work is its gender distribution; if childcare and housework have been re-distributed from women to men, time available for participation in civil society or in socialising outside the family must surely have been re-distributed from men to women.

Two groups of issues so far emerge as research questions on time use in relation to social capital. Firstly, we can analyse changes in the nature of each of the three main categories of (waking) time use – paid work (including work-related travel), unpaid work, and ‘leisure’ (which also includes study and mealtimes) – are they becoming more conducive to the development of social capital? Secondly, are changes in the ‘work-life balance’ – that is, the relative time spent in each of the three categories – conducive to more opportunities for the generation of social capital, or are they tending to threaten the maintenance of existing social capital? Both these groups of questions can be posed in relation to trends over time; but equivalent questions can also be posed in cross-section. For example, do occupational differences in total working hours and in working time patterns help to explain the greater participation of middle class people in formal associations identified both by Putnam (2000) and by Hall (2001)? However, we should not expect a simple relationship between the amount of available time and the actual development of social capital. That depends on the salience of different forms of time use for social capital (discussed in Section 4) and on the ‘time regime’ which links the daily rhythms of life to opportunities for social contact.

We now examine trends in each of the three main categories of time use – paid work, unpaid work and leisure. We will then consider what are the important research questions about the salience and sociability of different activities within each of these categories, from the point of view of analysing social capital development.

3. What counts as work?

Hawrylyshyn (1971) defines work as any activity which another person could be paid to do. Not all aspects of caring can be externalised in this way, nor do parents and carers generally want them to be externalised (Himmelweit, 1995). Thus ‘unpaid work’ is not an entirely adequate characterisation of the use of time to sustain family life. Hawrylyshyn’s definition is also problematic in relation to travelling to work. We cannot pay others to travel for us, but commuting seems best classified in relation to discussions of time use and social capital as an extension of paid work. Notwithstanding this, it is largely unproductive both for employers and for commuters, a point to which we return. Unlike caring, production activity can almost always

be delegated to another person, except perhaps in the case of a business owner who has a unique and non-delegable role as manager.

The definition of work can be situated within debates about paid and unpaid labour, production and social reproduction within the Marxist literature on gender (Gardiner, 1976; Himmelweit, 1995; Della Costa and James, 1972). Production is activity which contributes to use-values to be sold or tax-financed, and is normally associated with an employment relationship or with self-employment. Social reproduction, on the other hand, creates or maintains workers' productive capacity and the family unit of which they are part, and is not directly part of a market process. In the original formulation of these distinctions, the point was to show that domestic labour indirectly contributes to surplus value, by providing a free and necessary service to the (usually male) worker which employers would otherwise have to pay for. This concept does not easily draw a boundary between domestic work and leisure in an era of complex lifestyle choices; to what extent is it 'necessary' for the capacity of the present and future workforce that we refit our kitchens according to fashion, or cultivate our gardens? (Perhaps we would work better on Mondays if we did not tire ourselves with either at weekends.) However, an argument can be developed that an inadequate work-life balance prejudices both the quality of children's upbringing (see Reynolds et al., 2003, for discussion of previous work on this issue) and the quality of community life (however community is defined). It may also prejudice life-long learning, for which the individual worker is made largely responsible in a world of frequent job changes. Social reproduction can in some cases be delegated to market providers; one can pay a laundry to do the washing, the supermarket to provide a microwave-ready meal or a childminder for childcare. The marketisation of domestic labour becomes both a new source of employment growth and a potential source of profit. In these ways, as Gershuny (2000) and Esping-Anderson (1996) point out, it redistributes time between individuals and classes through the market place, and the 'terms of trade' which govern this process are an important dimension of the political economy of time.

Bearing in mind Hawrylyshyn's definition, one can distinguish eight forms of unpaid work:-

- 1) that part of **caring 'work'** in relation to children, sick and elderly which could be 'externalised' or 'delegated';
- 2) **non-caring domestic 'work'** (cleaning, cooking; sometimes described as 'core' domestic labour);
- 3) **'consumer' work** (transforming goods from their state and location at the point of sale into use-values – e.g. shopping, travelling to and from shops, assembling flat-pack furniture, installing computer software). Practices of manufacturers and retailers influence the amount of time the consumer needs to spend on 'consumer work', and there is a perceptible tendency for consumer work to increase as companies save costs in the production and distribution of consumer goods. Shopping time and related travel has increased with the trend to large supermarkets and out-of-town retail parks (Gershuny, 2000). An associated issue is the amount of time needed to acquire adequate information to make consumer choices, which is affected by increasing privatisation/private provision (e.g. time needed to consider decisions about pensions, choice of gas billing company/telephone company, etc);

4) **subsistence production** – for example making clothes, allotment vegetable gardening. Like the next two items, some individuals may regard this at least partly as ‘work’ and others as ‘leisure’;

5) **home maintenance** (gardening; decorating, house repairs, car maintenance etc); this is likely to increase with the spread of owner-occupation and the construction of house values as a major vector of personal wealth;

6) **training/study** which is not related to a particular job, likely to increase with the emphasis on ‘lifelong learning’ and flexible careers;

7) **job search work** (an increasing call on adults’ time in an era of greater risk of unemployment and need to change job; there may be considerable significance, for high-unemployment communities, of increasing surveillance and control of the job search and training activity of the unemployed);

8) **work-related travel or ‘commuting’**; this shows an upward tendency in the UK and many other advanced economies, and is also becoming more isolated with the decline in public transport and rise in driving. Jarvis et al. (2001) find a tendency for commuting time to rise in London because of certain factors unconnected with the crisis in the public transport system (although since their book was written, that undoubtedly plays a major role). Dual career households are more likely to have longer commuting time per adult than single earner ones, since home will rarely be close to both partners’ work. Industrial restructuring and more frequent job changes in recent years have also left many households living far from their workplace, with residential moves constrained by house prices, inflexible social housing arrangements, and school availability;

Notwithstanding the slightly ‘fuzzy’ boundaries between non-caring domestic work, consumer work, subsistence production, and home maintenance, the conceptual distinction between these types may facilitate analysis of long-term trends in unpaid work and differences between types of household.

As women’s labour force participation rises, there is a risk of the ‘dual burden’ on women of paid work and housework/childcare (Gavron, 1983, Hochschild, 1997; Bond and Sales, 2001, Gershuny, Godwin and Jones, 1994, Bittman and Wajcman, 2000, Layte, 1999, Pilcher, 2000). Lone parents, in particular, experience pressure and conflict between the two roles of mother and paid worker (Backett-Milburn et al., 2000) and their number is growing as a proportion of all mothers (Ford and Millar, 1998). The way people reconcile these pressures can be constructed within the framework of ‘gendered moral rationalities’ (Duncan and Edwards, 1999). Where, then, is the ‘reserve’ of time which inactive women once had available for the rich network of neighbour, community and extended family relationships reported in the 1950s and earlier, by for example Willmott and Young (1957) or Bott (1957)? Moreover, to the extent that employed women pass traditional ‘female’ tasks to men, do men spend less time socialising and networking outside their household than before?

Here one must recognise that ‘competition’ between work and non-work activities is only an issue for that part of social capital development which occurs outside the workplace. But another part occurs within the workplace – historically a key source of sociability for men, and increasingly for women as they enter paid work. Reflecting on how working class people created their own ‘social capital’ in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with the growth

of trade unions, working men's clubs and educational institutes, it is clear that there can be no simple relationship between opportunities for social capital development and hours worked – in that period much higher than post 1950. Section 7 of this paper considers how developments in the labour process affect social interaction both inside and outside work.

The amount of time available for social capital development is conditioned by various trends in the several forms of unpaid work. Some of these free up time for sociability; modern consumer equipment offers time saving in cooking and cleaning and contemporary lifestyles involve a degree of 'outsourcing' of meal preparation to the supermarket and the take-away shop. Other trends lead people to spend more time in isolated activities or those which involve only other household members. For example Putnam (2000) draws attention to the increased time spent driving to work alone due to declining use of public transport. Moreover the market economy appears to be imposing an overall increase in activities of consumer work and home maintenance (notwithstanding that some people may define some such activities as leisure). There is also some evidence that time spent on childcare of the under 5s was increasing in Britain between the 1980s and the late 1990s (OECD, 2001, considered later in Section 6). This may arise from a decline in 'multi-tasking' – for example time formerly spent doing the washing whilst the children play in a corner may now be 'diaried' as childcare. However, another possibility is a decline in the 'social capital' available through extended family and friendship links. Several studies of childcare (Wheelock and Jones, 2002, PPRU, 1994, La Valle et al., 2000) show that grandparents and to a lesser extent other relatives and friends outside the household, play an important role in childcare. There is a risk that this role will diminish over time with the increased employment rates of older women and the increasing geographical dispersion of extended family members (Wheelock and Jones, 2002, Gray, 2003). The latter factor is probably relatively more important for middle-class families (Reynolds et al., 2003). Another reason for greater childcare time on the part of parents is the increasing need to escort children in public places; fear of crime and traffic has brought to an end the era in which children of primary school age could go out to play safely by themselves in the street or park near to their home, or walk to school unaccompanied. (This is itself a consequence of the decline in social capital). Increased attention to children and to the need to have 'quality time' with them may also be a recent cultural change in parenthood, even leading to changes in the way people record their activities in time use surveys. For example, what was formally described as 'going to football match' might now be described by a father as 'taking my son to football' – and thus entered as childcare rather than leisure. Reynolds et al. (2003) find that some mothers who have returned to full time employment find it more necessary than ever to have distinct periods of quality time with their children. If so one might expect that periods in the day are diaried as 'childcare' by employed mothers whereas housewives might have constructed them as 'housework' or other home-based activities.

4. The salience of different uses of time for social capital

The concept of 'time available' is invoked within the social capital literature as an input to several elements of social capital development, in particular:-

a) caring activity within the household - e.g. Coleman's (1988) concern with the amount and quality of time spent with children. However Bruegel and Warren (2003) question Coleman's characterisation of caring for children as creation of social capital. A distinction has to be made here between activities which build a collective capacity and those which just build an individual capacity to succeed;

b) mutual aid between friends, neighbours and extended family members (cf Putnam, 2000; Aldridge and Halpern, 2002);

c) activity within formal associations, especially the creation of groups and the tasks involved in keeping them going (cf Putnam, 2000, Hall, 1999);

d) mutual visiting and socialising between friends and neighbours; Putnam (2000) argues that this is a fertile activity for creating trust and a sense of community. It fosters, and is fostered by, activity in formal associations;

e) development of trust and collaboration within work teams, a process which varies in nature with the type of workplace, its scale and the occupational groups involved.

The first of these categories, in so far as it concerns childcare, is amply addressed in the literature on family time use. However, far less attention has been paid to the availability of time to care for elderly or sick dependents, although a few papers do exist on related issues (for example Argyle, 2000).

Likewise, the literature on domestic labour employs a 'broad brush' definition of unpaid work to be contrasted with paid work, and generally pays little attention to mutual aid or activities in civil society. The category of domestic work excludes help to seniors or sick persons outside the household; childcare by grandparents or friends in the children's own home may appear in time use data as simply 'visiting'; and other forms of mutual aid may not be covered either by the 'domestic work' or the 'clubs and societies' categories. In other words, there is some danger that a considerable part of 'helping' work may be subsumed into the 'leisure' category unless it is treated as a specific analytical category of unpaid work outside the household. 'Volunteering' does feature as a distinct category of 'work' within the most recent UK Time Use Survey, as well as in the Home Office Citizenship Survey². But much mutual aid – visiting a sick neighbour, babysitting for a friend, helping another household with DIY tasks, etc. – is not generally identified with this category, which implies a scheme organised by a charity or community group.

Moreover, within the 'clubs and societies' category of activities, a distinction needs to be made between organising or servicing tasks (e.g. taking part in a committee meeting, distributing publicity, typing letters) and simply participating in a meeting or session. This is especially true of an activity such as a sports or music club, where mere participation is a form of leisure, whilst organising involves work (in the sense defined by Hawrylyshyn, 1971).

An initial – but as we shall see inadequate – approach to the question of time available is to examine the 'trade-offs' between different uses of time within the individual's 'time budget'; and the distribution of different time-using obligations (paid work, caring, other forms of unpaid work) between household members. There is potential tension and competition within the individual's and the household's time budget between paid work and 'social capital creating' activities³. Increasing employment rates of women reduce opportunities for at least some kinds of time input into sociability beyond the household, and non-employed women of working age

² Home Office Citizenship Survey; People, families and communities; Final Questionnaire, 19.3.01, section 3, page 20

³ This is a central hypothesis of the proposed research programme within the 'Time and Care' element of proposed research by the Families and Social Capital Research Group

are a diminishing resource for various kinds of unpaid community work and mutual aid. Putnam (2000) produces evidence that although employed women in general are more likely to belong to associations than housewives, after controlling for age, education and 'financial security' women's employment is associated with reduced volunteering, informal socialising, club and church attendance (p. 195). He concludes that 'the emergence of two-career families over the last quarter of the twentieth century played a visible but quite modest role in the erosion of social capital and civic engagement'.

But there is also an issue about the social intensity of different uses of time, the scope they offer for relationships with others. Models of time use based on time use survey data are essentially individualistic, based on the notion of a time use budget derived from neo-classical economics (e.g. Becker, 1965). As such they pay insufficient attention to the overall constraints, opportunities and tensions in the collective time budget of the household, other than to consider gender balance and gender transferability of tasks. The notion of the individual time budget invokes Marx's notion of 'time as commodity' whilst family life is said to be subjectively constructed around the notion that 'time ... should not be costed or measured' (Brannen, 2002). Harvey (1999, p. 23) notes that 'there are no exchanges between paid and non-paid work that permit the establishment of equivalences, or standards of equivalence' and that domestic work follows its own 'temporality' based on the necessity of getting things done when required, regardless of any possibility of postponement or delegation to others.

Efforts to go beyond the individualistic 'time budget' have led sociologists in several different, complementary directions. Studies of family interaction and family roles are paying attention to issues of scheduling of activities and to their significance for parenting and for the quality of couple relationships (Fagan, 2001). Problems of scheduling are intensified in dual career families, or in households where adults work different shifts, or by the increased need to escort children to and from school. Such problems also invoke the spatial configuration of childcare, school and workplace, which may constrain labour market choices for mothers (Hanson and Pratt, 1995). At the same time, recent technological developments have given a little help with scheduling problems - the video machine, the oven with a delayed start device, telephone answering machines and text messaging. Nonetheless, individualised and different daily routines may mean that family members eat together less often and have less chance to meet each other's friends. Different work schedules may mean that couples alternate work and childcare so that they are rarely home together (Gray and Bruegel, 2002).

Associated with problems of scheduling are issues of control or time sovereignty. Mothers may feel stressed even when 'normal' intersections of paid work, childcare and domestic routines are just about satisfactory, because they feel totally responsible when some departure from routine requires a solution (the childminder is sick, the child is sick, the father's employer demands that he stay too late to pick up a child from school, etc.). Employees may feel stressed if the demands made by their employers are fluctuating and unpredictable. A feeling of not being in control, not knowing when time will be available, is likely to impede involvement in civil society. Reynolds et al. (2003) argue that whilst housewives feel embedded in family relationships and time rhythms, so that they are almost accustomed to thinking their time is not their own, employed women especially with full time jobs are more likely to develop an individualised identity based on their careers. They then feel a need for, and assert, a demand for their 'own' time. This may support a propensity to become involved in civil society, although according to Putnam (2000) it is women with part-time jobs who are more likely to belong to some association than non-working or full-time women.

The notion of a 'norm' of when and for how long we work, and how we subjectively measure the time involved in paid and unpaid work, has been developed variously as 'temporality' (Harvey, 1999), 'timescape' (Adam, 1999, McKie et al., 2002) and 'work time regime' (Gershuny, 2000). Gershuny develops the concept of 'work time regimes' in which the distribution of leisure is brought together with the distribution of consumption in an overall account of the 'terms of trade' between different social groups. He distinguishes two types of working time regime. In a *liberal market* regime there is a tendency to increasing income inequality, so that the rich get richer and achieve command over the time use of the poor by employing them as servants or other providers of low-skilled services. This contrasts with a *social democratic* work time regime, in which there is an exchange of services between people with different types or levels of human capital, and the lowest skilled services remain unpaid because income inequality is not sufficient for high income groups to buy the time of lower paid, lower skilled people. The social democratic model, he argues, has a higher quality of work and life, with greater gender equity and a relative lack of low paid, low-satisfaction employment. This model also depends on the state to establish a balance between production and consumption; they also tend to have relatively high provision of paid 'caring' services to compensate for the lesser availability of unpaid or subsistence wage production. Conversely, Esping-Anderson's interpretation of the social-democratic welfare state is that the role of the state leads or determines, rather than follows, the lower availability of unpaid services, so that state provision of 'caring' services is a major engine of employment growth, and consequently of both gender equity and of the 'de-commodification of labour' in the Scandinavian states (Esping-Anderson, 1996).

Figart and Mutari (1999) link an independent and somewhat different notion of working time regimes to welfare state regimes. They classify working time regimes and gender regimes in European labour markets according to two dimensions; how alike are men's and women's hours, and the flexibility of work hours. The latter has three dimensions; the proportion of employees working a standard week, the normalisation of long or overtime hours, and the extent of part-time work. 'Liberal flexibilisation' goes with the 'liberal' type of welfare state, of which the UK is the prime example, with a large spread between short and long hours, and concentration of women in short hours jobs. By contrast the 'traditional male breadwinner' regime (for example Greece, Spain or Italy) has low flexibilisation of working hours and low gender equity. The 'solidaristic gender equity' regime, exemplified by Finland, has a short standard week, rather than flexibilisation, and high gender equity. Other countries are more difficult to classify, with low correspondence between the different dimensions of 'flexibility'.

Another approach to work time regimes focuses on the time-pattern of urban services and its implications for community life (Boulin and Muckenberger, 1999). As service industries assume an increasing role in the economy, and tend to extend their opening hours, increased opportunities for flexible scheduling of activities for some may imply reduced time sovereignty for others. Social facilities for 'normal hours' workers need to be sustained by a complementary workforce with 'unsocial' hours to run supermarkets, restaurants, cinemas, leisure centres, etc. Such workers may suffer social inequality/social exclusion, because of a low probability of congruence of working hours with others in their actual or potential social network. At the extreme, a local community in which a high proportion of people work in jobs with unsocial hours can be expected to have lower participation, other things being equal, in formal associations which meet at a regular time and usually in the evening. Generally, in communities where work is confined to a 'standard' working time pattern with a well-established concept of the 'normal' working day, social interaction outside work can be expected to be easier than in communities where work hours are long or vary considerably between individuals

(cf the apparent explosion of 'leisure' in France following the limitation of the working week to 35 hours⁴). On the other hand the bond of being thrown together in a *common* unsocial work pattern (e.g. the night shift team) may intensify social interaction between work colleagues. Zweig (1961) noted that companionship within work hours was an important aspect of the factory shift-worker's job, but for men this did not imply socialising or mutual aid outside work. However, women factory workers were much more likely than men to see colleagues outside of work. Reynolds et al. (2003) note that friendships with work colleagues are more important for women than for men, and also that people in high status jobs are more likely to see colleagues outside of work than those in low status jobs.

It is through a variety of once synchronic and shared experiences, inside and outside of work, that norms of time use patterns and opportunities for collective activity in urban communities were developed in the nineteenth and most of the twentieth centuries. The intensity and individualisation of work, whether of the over-busy professional, the stressed call centre worker, or the retail and hospitality workers in the increasingly 24-hour city, may be antagonistic to the development of social capital.

These different and complementary perspectives on work time regimes show how individualistic analysis of time budgets is useful and important, but it can only take us so far; it needs to be complemented by a study of the way in which individuals' use of time and time autonomy is conditioned by employer, family and community practices and traditions. It also needs to recognise, in a study of social capital, that the dimension of 'doing things together' may sometimes be more important than the activity itself. Paid work, leisure, housework and childcare may all be sociable or isolated, depending on how they are done. Diversity of daily rhythms of work, leisure, sleep, mealtimes may convey certain flexibilities and advantages in the modern urban society; but it also entails inequalities of access to the social and a certain overall loss of opportunity for common experience, compared to the more rigid and universalised daily rhythm of the early industrial or pre-industrial periods. This view has been challenged by Roberts (2000) who argues that differences in available leisure time, especially in leisure spent outside the home, have much more to do with income and social class than with total hours worked or whether those hours are 'un-social'. However, he does admit that un-social hours make 'some' difference, whilst no formal analysis such as a regression model is presented to show the relative influence of different factors. He also shows that the amount of time spent in leisure outside the home does decrease in cross-section as working hours lengthen, both for men and women.

5. The trend in leisure – upwards or downwards?

Two opposing meta-narratives have dominated discussions of time use trends; on the one hand André Gorz's vision of rising productivity leading to increased leisure and eventually 'the end of work' (Gorz, 1982) and on the other Marx's prediction that capitalism, in its quest for profit, will constantly strive to lengthen and intensify working hours unless held in check by countervailing forces (Marx, 1867, Gershuny, 2000).

In his book *Changing Times*, Gershuny (2000) examines time use survey data across 20 countries from the 1970s to around 1990. He argues that there has been an international trend towards increased leisure for both men and women when all households (including singles) are

⁴ The Guardian, Sept. 4th 2002; Paul Webster; '35 hour week scrapped by rightwing government'

included and when adjustments are made for changes in the population composition by age, employment status and household type. However, some richer countries show a rise in work in response to falling unemployment, increased labour force participation and a slight tendency to reverse an earlier long-term trend towards shorter working weeks. Labour market trends in the 1990s in the UK, USA, and on some measurements for Canada, show a slight increase in work hours towards the end of the century, which qualifies the conclusion that leisure has increased. Moreover what Gershuny is seeking to measure is the overall trend after adjusting for 'structural' trends in employment patterns such as changes in employment rates and in the balance between full-time and part-time workers. Thus when households are divided into categories according to their degree of participation in the labour force (e.g. couples with two, 'one and a half' or only one earner) the increase in leisure is within categories, so that the rise in female labour force participation operates as an independent force against the 'increased leisure' hypothesis.

In a later paper, Gershuny and Sullivan examine trends for all women and all men across 20 countries, adding people of different employment status together (Gershuny and Sullivan, 2001). The increase in paid work by women between 1961 and the 1980s was more than outweighed by the fall in paid work hours for men, so that the change for couples over this period was towards a lower total contribution to the labour market. (Some of this was due to increased unemployment.) However, men took on more unpaid household work and women did less, resulting – after a slight increase in unpaid work, mainly childcare - in a very small leisure gain for women, which was balanced by an equal loss for men. Leisure was re-distributed by gender, but there was neither gain nor loss overall.

Jenkins and O'Leary (1997) reach a conclusion more favourable to the 'time famine' hypothesis in the UK, using Gershuny's data set on time use in the UK alone for 1974/5 and 1987. For married men, paid work fell during this period but unpaid work (mainly housework and childcare) rose, resulting in a rise of 18 minutes per day in all types of work. For married women, paid work rose although unpaid work fell somewhat less, resulting again in a net rise in total work of 18 minutes per day. Altogether, therefore, a British married couple had on average 36 minutes per day less free time between them in 1987 than in 1974/5. When fuller information becomes available from the Time Use Survey 2000, this conclusion is likely to be strengthened; initial data show all men doing paid work for around 25 minutes per day more than in 1987⁵, almost reversing the fall of 217 minutes between 1974/5 and 1987, whilst women's paid work has risen by over 70 minutes per day during 1987-2000. According to Labour Force Survey data, weekly 'usual' working hours for fathers rose by around 7 minutes per day during 1984-2002 (Bruegel and Gray, 2003).

Turning to work and leisure trends in the 1990s, the importance of the increase in female employment rates is seen in my rudimentary re-working of some UK data on changes in paid and unpaid work time and on women's labour force participation which are presented by the OECD (OECD Employment Outlook, 2001, pp 135 and 140). The time use data were supplied to the OECD by Kimberley Fisher of University of Essex. In Table 1, I have combined them with the OECD's companion table on changes in employment patterns amongst couples with children under 6. The time use data are for couples with children under 5, the dates of the two data sets are not precisely comparable, and the time use data for mothers in full-time work are available only for the middle year, 1995. Nevertheless, the data in Table 1 shows how the effect of increased labour force participation for women outweighs the influence of any fall in

⁵ Page on 'The UK Time Use Survey – how we use our time' on www.statistics.gov.uk/timeuse/ accessed 12.12.02

unpaid work time, resulting in an overall increase in total work (unpaid plus paid) for parents of young children on average between the 1980s and 1999; although total work peaks in 1995 and falls back slightly by 1999. O'Brien and Shumilt (2003) confirm a trend of almost constant hours for fathers, but rising hours for mothers, over 1984-97.

Again in support of the 'time famine' hypothesis in the 1990s, we can see from Tables 2 through 5 that when the increase in women's labour force participation is taken into account, the period from 1992 to 2002 shows a rise in the adult population's aggregate work hours in the paid labour market. For the last ten years, the work week of women employed full-time fell by less than half an hour, ending at 34.1 hours in 2002. Turning to part-time jobs, part-time hours in the 'main job' for both men and women actually rose in the last decade, from 14.3 to 15.1 hours for men and from 14.9 to 15.7 hours for women. Also striking is the rise in hours of all women (from 26.3 to 26.5 hours, averaging over part-time and full-time female workers). There has been a large increase (16.5%) over the last decade in the number of people with second jobs, which applies much more to women (26.5% up) than to men (4.1% up).

Table 2 shows in bold type the year with highest working hours in each column. Thus we see that full-time men's working hours, including second jobs, rose from 1992 to 1996 and then fell back again, whilst for women and part-time workers, the upward trend is reversed only much later in the decade and may not have come yet for part-time women. Any rise in free time since 1992 appears to be confined to full-time men. Women's working hours, even before allowing for any shift into the labour market, have risen during the last ten years, whilst full-time male workers have gained an average of 1.5 hours. These trends are due to the combined effects of three factors; movements between full-time and part-time status, changes in weekly hours within occupations and changes in the distribution of the workforce between occupations.

A slightly different time-series is obtained from employer-based surveys. Here we go back two decades; Table 3b shows actual weekly work hours as given in the New Earnings Survey for 1982, 1992 and 2000. Here again, there is little evidence for any increase in leisure over 18 years; this period has seen only a very small decrease in hours for full-time male workers, and by contrast a very small rise for full-time female workers. Since 1992, hours for both genders have risen (women part-time workers being the only exception). Although employees, when surveyed, have a tendency to exaggerate their working hours (Roberts, 2000) it is arguable that employers have the opposite tendency, being anxious to demonstrate compliance with union agreements and, where applicable, government regulations. Thus it is reassuring that the employer-based series (unlike the LFS series, omitting firms with under 20 employees and also workers whose pay was affected by absence) shows slightly higher hours for both male and female full-time workers in their main job and a slower fall for men than the LFS series. The difference between the two series emerges largely in the estimates of weekly basic hours (with the LFS reporting more) and in the length of overtime hours (again larger in the LFS: Williams, 2002).

Table 3a gives employer-based data going further back, to 1938. This shows a cyclical up and down pattern in men's hours up to 1968, although for women there is a more consistent fall since the 1940s. Compared to the pre-war period, full-time male workers gained over 3 hours per week free time by 1982, and full-time female workers over 6 hours; but different 'gains' can be shown for different start dates.

Table 4 presents another very important trend of the last decade – the rise in employment rates for both men and women, due to falling unemployment and falling numbers of 'housewives'.

Whilst women's employment rate rose steadily from 1970 onwards, men's employment rate fell to a dip in 1993 and then rose back again to surpass the 1970 level by 1997-8.

Looking at the overall volume of paid work carried out in the UK economy, we find that the rise in employment rates outweighs the influence of the (now very slow) fall in working hours. During 1992-2002 the overall employment rate has risen by 3.6 percentage points, that is, 2.9 points for men and 4.4 for women (Table 4). At the same time, as described above, men's average hours (measured by the LFS series) have fallen by 3.88% whilst women's hours have risen by 0.76%. Combining these changes, we can calculate that a constant population with equal numbers of men and women would be providing 3.76% more hours per week to the labour market than ten years ago (Table 5). Thus, during this period any previous tendency for disposable time outside of paid work to rise seems to have slowed, indeed been reversed, by the combined effect of near-stability in working hours plus a continued rise in (particularly female) employment rates.

Careful handling of this type of data is needed for several reasons. The long-term significance of the upward trend in women's weekly work hours towards the end of the twentieth century is as yet unclear, and in any case, as Gershuny (2000) says, the stage of the trade cycle obviously influences working time. Numerous measurement issues need to be resolved about the classification of certain activities as 'leisure' or 'unpaid work', the way their salience changes over time, and the possibility that people carry out two activities simultaneously.

Even if leisure has increased, one key issue is whether it has increased enough to satisfy an increased demand for non-work time. A large number of studies of workers' time/leisure preferences in several countries testify to the widespread demand to reduce working hours (EFILWC, 1999; European Commission, 1991; Smith and Carroll, 2002) - in some cases even if this meant a reduction in weekly or monthly income. Recently dissatisfaction with working hours has been growing, most markedly amongst managers and professionals and amongst manual workers (Taylor, 2002).

6. The gender distribution of work within couple households

As women's participation in paid work rises, the amount of unpaid work carried out by the couple household does not fall by the same amount, although there has been significant redistribution of childcare and other unpaid work from women to men within the household. A wealth of data contributing to this conclusion has been derived from time use survey data from the SCLEI project (Gershuny, Godwin and Jones, 1994, Gershuny, 2000; Gershuny and Sullivan, 2001; Layte, 1999; Pilcher, 2000) as well as in Australia (Bittman, 2000). The increase in paid work by women has not been fully offset by a decline in men's work hours, so that the total amount of paid work carried out by the couple household has risen significantly. The data offered by Gershuny, Godwin and Jones (1994) is consistent with the conclusion that the total amount of work, adding together paid and unpaid, carried out by the couple household in Britain was greater in 1987 than in 1974/5, although their main emphasis here is on the changing gender distribution of tasks. They show that for dual earner couples, the total of paid and unpaid work for the woman hardly changed during that period, whilst men took on additional housework which more than offset the decline in their hours of paid employment.

A further interesting point in the UK data presented by the OECD (Table 1) is that over the whole period from 1983/7 to 1999, total unpaid work actually rises for couples in which the

woman is employed, although it falls in families where only the man works. The main reason for the rise in unpaid work is the increase in childcare time, which expands (according to the OECD's original table derived from Fisher's work) from 44 to 90 minutes per day for men, from 141 to 202 minutes per day for housewives, and (between 1995 and 1999 only) from 154 to 193 minutes for women in part-time employment. Another paper from the same research team shows a rise in childcare time by both mothers and fathers over the whole period 1961-99 (Fisher, McCulloch and Gershuny, 1999).

If men take on additional domestic tasks, including childcare, does this prejudice the amount of time they spend on 'civic engagement'? Does their greater role in domestic tasks free the woman/mother to spend more time outside the home? Zweig (1961) describes a transition amongst the car and steel plant workers of the late 1950s away from the traditional pub/club cultures of 'working men' towards a more companionate form of marriage, in which more time was spent with the wife and children, and the car - a relatively new acquisition for many families in that period - was used to prioritise family outings over male-only sociability. What has been the sequel to this process - a further increase in the amount of time the British family spends as a private unit, or a greater involvement of both partners in child-oriented or family-oriented organisations and leisure settings?

7. Changes in the labour market, working time regimes and labour process

Since the pre-industrial period, the labour process has undergone considerable changes with regard to the intensity of work and the extent of 'time autonomy' for the individual worker. These changes are differentiated by occupation and skill level. E.P. Thompson (1991, 1963) describes how the 'journeyman' or self-employed craftsman of the eighteenth century determined his own pace of work, taking breaks or days off to attend fairs or public gatherings when he wished, if available piece-rates and work volume meant he could afford to take time off. Up till the replacement of domestic production by the centralised factory in the early to mid nineteenth century, one could speak of the 'irregular self-governed time of the domestic weaver' (Thompson, 1991, p. 372). 'The work pattern was one of alternate bouts of intense labour and of idleness, wherever men were in control of their own working lives' (Thompson, 1991, p. 373). He cites Duveau (1946) in relation to France in the mid nineteenth century; 'le dimanche est le jour de la famille, le lundi celui de l'amitié'⁶. 'Saint Monday' or Mondays off, and the tradition of time autonomy, became increasingly a privilege of the better-paid artisan. But in some industries in Britain (e.g. steelworks, potteries) it continued till the late nineteenth or even twentieth centuries. Towards the end of the twentieth century, intensification of work has increased and breaks cut back, sometimes in exchange for shorter overall working hours, sometimes as an outcome of lower trade union bargaining power in the face of increased competitive pressures on employers. The overall effect is to reduce the 'porosity' of the working day (Green, 2000), limiting the amount of paid 'on-the-job inactivity' (Supiot, 2001). The likely consequence of this reduced 'porosity' is lower social interaction between employees and thus a reduced propensity both for trade union activity and for socializing outside of work.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, a gradual divide emerged between those who could control their own labour pace and those who were subject to fierce discipline. The latter were

⁶ 'Sunday is the day for the family, Monday is for friendship'

mainly the unskilled, for example farm servants (Thompson, 1963, p. 379). This divide in the degree of time autonomy is reflected today in the distinction between the self-governing professional or managerial worker and the factory or routine clerical worker who is more supervised and more clock-bound. The former are more able to control their pace of work, and are more likely to have flexitime 'privileges'. But in practice a much higher proportion of professional and managerial employees undertake unpaid overtime compared to plant and machine operatives (Bell and Hart, 1998). Time management within the white-collar workplace is shifting from a collective responsibility, with shared start and finish times, to the individualised responsibility of self-managed flexitime. This gives a deceptive appearance of optionality and autonomy, whilst the reality is often one of constant pressure (Brannen, 2000, 2004). This is a situation quite hostile to the creation of social capital both within and outside of the workplace; as Brannen says:

For the individual, time present is filled to the brim... a constant state of busyness leaves little time or space to contemplate what lies beyond the present. It only stops us from imagining the future, it stops us from doing anything about it or trying to improve things. ...it disconnects us from the shared or collective experiences of time, for example rituals and celebrations; for each of us is compelled to create our own time schedules, live in our own time worlds, deciding when to stop work and when to begin again (Brannen, 2000, p. 5)

Other changes in the labour process, which have attracted considerable attention in the 1990s, are the increase in insecurity, in work speed and intensification, and in stress (Burchell et al., 1999). An insecure job 'is frequently associated with problems in family relationships' (p. 48). In particular, it makes it difficult to plan the dovetailing of father's work, mother's work, choice of residence and childcare arrangements which are central to the 'household strategy' for life planning (Jarvis, 1999). Quite possibly, uncertainty or preoccupation with the 'household strategy' are conducive neither to civic engagement outside the home, nor to effective parenting. Burchell's informants, in a survey of 340 employees in various job types and sectors, report tension between employer's (often unpredictable) demands to work overtime and their concern to avoid tension in family relationships and to spend time with their children (Burchell et al., 1999, pp 49-50). The LFS shows a dramatic rise in unpaid overtime during the 1990s, so that 41% of male full-time workers and 58% of female full-time workers did some unpaid overtime in 1998, compared to 25% and 27% in 1988 (Harkness, 1999). Unpaid overtime also rose for part-time workers; from 10% of part-time men in 1988 to 29% in 1998, and from 11% of part-time women in 1988 to 34% in 1998. (One may assume that unpaid overtime is very largely employer-initiated and that employees are often reluctant to do it, whereas paid overtime may be part of a strategy to earn above-normal hourly rates). Harvey (1999) argues that there is a tension between the 'temporality' of caring and domestic life and the working time patterns inherent in some non-standard employment relationships – especially those in 'deregulated' labour markets such as the British, which do not conform to a standard and predictable weekly pattern. On the one hand, movements away from a 'standard' full-time working week with opportunities for part-time work, annualised hours, term-time only working, job sharing etc. are seen as forms of labour market 'flexibility' which are helpful to parents. For example the European Employment Guidelines of 1999 refer to 'policies on career breaks, parental leave and *part-time work, as well as flexible working arrangements which serve the interests of both employers and employees*, are of particular importance to women and men' (EU, 1999, p. 13-14; italics mine). On the other hand, 'flexibilisation' of work is frequently employer-led (Williams, 2001) and may make it even more difficult for parents to pursue a family-friendly working time pattern without loss of pay or job quality.

During the 1990s, issues concerning working time have assumed a greater place than before in trade union bargaining strategies and also in national employment policies. Legislation for a 35 hour week in France, although accompanied by complaints that employers demanded more intensive work and/or annualisation of hours in return, did in fact lead to a visible increase in leisure. Similar laws to restrict the working week have been proposed in Italy and Portugal. Fiona Williams (2001, p. 473) perceives 'a shift from demands for a "family wage" to "family time"', in which women both in the Netherlands and Sweden have demanded 'a restructuring of work in ways that redistribute working and care time between men and women'. However this can take different forms. In Scandinavia, strategies pursued by government and trade unions have taken the form of maintaining a short full-time day – with experiments to reduce the day to six hours in Finland - supported by ample public daycare services for children (Pillinger, 2000). In the Netherlands, by contrast, public employment policy has sought to encourage part-time work. Pillinger argues that a shift of the bargaining focus in pay negotiations from pay to time may have been facilitated by certain changes in the economic environment; in the public sector, wage growth has been impeded by budget cuts, whilst in the private sector, globalisation has tended to weaken the link between increased productivity and increased pay. This, however, may be an 'environment-push' view of the driving forces behind union strategies, whilst the increased number of two-earner families and a rising proportion of women in trade union membership would suggest a 'demand-pull' for greater attention to working time issues.

Optionality of working hours is critical for childcare arrangements and where unsocial hours are often worked. With reference to concerns about civil society and social capital, optionality is probably also crucial for scheduling of participation in meetings and other group activities outside the home. Breedveld and van den Broek (2000) argue that in the Netherlands, work routines and consequently other activities are being 'de-synchronised' by the flexibilisation of the labour market. This process may or may not be associated with increasing 'time sovereignty' – that depends on whether variability of working hours is employee-led or in response to employers' requirements. Either part-time or full-time jobs may have un-social, variable or unpredictable hours. In Britain, men working 'unsocial hours' are less likely to have daily contact with their children than those who work standard hours (ESRC report on health and working hours, cited in Labour Market Trends, Jan. 1999, p. 9). Being asked to work late at short notice, rather than any form of employee-requested flexibility, was found by Rubery et al. (1994) to be the most common pattern of variation in hours, for both men and women. Such requests raise obvious problems for those with childcare responsibilities, and as Gardiner (2000) points out, employers' frequent assumption that men have no such responsibilities both impedes them from taking on more and hinders women from entering 'male' forms of employment.

The British labour market – perhaps much more so than Scandinavian ones – exhibits a considerable class/status divide in time autonomy. Choice of working hours from day to day is still the privilege of a minority in Britain. In 1998 less than one third of men, and only 21% of women, had flexible start and finish times (Gardiner, 2000). By 2001 full flexitime arrangements were available to a mere 8.7% of male and 11.4% of female workers, and only 11.5% of female workers with children (Labour Market Trends, Oct. 2001). A further 4.8% of workers had annualised hours, but we do not know whether this annualisation was at their own or the employers' request. Even in the public sector where flexitime arrangements are more common than with private employers, Smith and Carroll (2002) find that many local authority employees in the UK would like more control over the hours at which they work.

Optionality of working time, and the overall amount of working time, are sources of inequality; time sovereignty tends to be a middle-class privilege (Roberts, 2000). Full-time workers in unskilled jobs with low hourly wage rates typically work amongst the longest hours and have low optionality, whilst white-collar occupations – with some exceptions - are more likely to have a 35 hour week with some option of flexitime. One may expect corresponding inequalities in available leisure and opportunities for social engagement outside work. However there may be important exceptions to this generality (e.g. hospital doctor, duty solicitor) – and, as suggested earlier, the implied ‘task and finish’ contract for many managerial and professional workers may lead, as Brannen argues, to a working day which stretches until the work is done.

There are some important research questions about time sovereignty here. How do people in different sectors/occupations negotiate shifts, or time off for childcare emergencies or to meet family/community obligations? (e.g. to attend a school play, a trade union conference, not to work a night shift in the week of a committee meeting, etc.) How predictable are working hours for people in different occupations, and how far does unpredictability reduce the individual’s availability for regular home and community commitments?

The literature on women’s employment has raised some further important issues about the way mothers choose between full-time and part-time jobs, and the implications of this choice for their long-term future, both as individuals and in terms of the interactions between gender and inequality in the labour market as a whole. Doreen Massey (1994) drew attention to the ‘green female labour’ phenomenon. The decentralisation of industry from old industrial settlements into small towns in the 1960s and 1970s, often assisted by regional aid funds, led to hiring of part-time women into jobs which would, in the old locations, have been held by full-time men. Employers took advantage of a female labour supply which was cheaper and poorly unionised. Why, then, were women willing to accept relatively low wages? Massey attributed this to the growing incidence of unemployment amongst their husbands, especially in mining areas, and to a gender culture amongst mining communities in which ‘the length and irregularity of shiftwork [by the men] made it problematical for the other partner in a couple to seek paid employment outside the home’ (p. 188). She feared that this gender culture would not decline with mining and other heavy industries; long male-hours work cultures in new high technology industries merely replicated this problem by assuming that ‘such employees...have someone to look after them (p. 190). Gardiner (2000) generalises this argument to the demands typically made by employers in Britain’s flexibilising labour market; employers frequently assume that men are available to stay late at work at short notice, or otherwise take on a commitment to work unpredictable hours, which restricts men’s contribution to caring and throws that responsibility back onto women, reducing their time sovereignty. Gardiner argues that this traps women carers into merely part-time availability for paid work – a pattern which has far-reaching negative consequences. Firstly, it restricts women’s choice of jobs. Secondly, it makes them – and their household - vulnerable in the event of male redundancy or of divorce. Thirdly, the pattern of the ‘one and a half worker’ household maintains the supply of cheap female labour for part-time work and the supply of men willing to work long hours, making it more difficult for workers to negotiate either better pay for women or shorter hours for men. Fiona Williams (2001) argues that the ‘one and a half earner’ model pushes men into long overtime hours and women into a restricted pattern of career development, so that neither have sufficient quality time for their own or their children’s needs. Nonetheless survey data reported by the OECD (Employment Outlook, June 2001, cited in DTI/Treasury 2003) show that more couples with a child under 6 would prefer the ‘man full-time, woman part-time’ pattern than the number who

actually have it – not only in the UK, but also in Sweden, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal and Italy. This appears to be evidence against Gardiner's view that the 'one and a half earner' model is so common in Britain because of childcare constraints, since these are much less evident in Sweden. What is striking, however, about the OECD's data is that British couples – and also those in the Netherlands – show an unsatisfied demand for 'role reversal' combinations where the woman works longer hours than the man. (Significantly, in this context, Dex et al., 1995, find that 25% of mothers in two-earner couples with dependent children work the same or longer hours than their husbands.)

Massey's explanation of why mothers have tended to enter poorly paid part-time jobs may be insufficient. Even within urban labour markets where there are extensive better opportunities, they still tend to do so. Around one seventh of the 'gender pay gap' is accounted for by women breaking their continuity of employment to have children, and women who return to work after more than a year's absence earn over 16% less than their previous wage (DTI/Treasury, 2002, p. 16). Mothers' job choices are essentially restricted by the fact that the length of the work day (including commuting) must be shorter than the length of the childcare day; this means mothers can only search for work in a restricted geographical area to minimise their journey to work time (Hanson and Pratt, (1995). They suggest that a local network may grow up in which mothers exchange information about 'local' jobs which are childcare-compatible, although not necessarily those which maximise the women's long term earnings potential.

This suggestion raises a range of issues about how social capital may influence both the range of job choices open to parents and the range of childcare options. Mothers who have adopted a career-centred identity, rather than a family/relationship-centred identity, may tend to network with other mothers whose lifestyle is similar, opening out their career perspectives as well as job-finding connections and know-how. Included in this 'know-how' may be a range of childcare solutions – for example knowledge about quality nursery care or childminders who can be trusted. Similarly the work-milieu and overall cultural milieu of fathers may influence their attitudes to gender division of labour and parenting. Some of them will move in circles in which concern with work-life balance is common, and this may open up job opportunities which are relatively parenting-friendly. To return to Massey's argument, as the patriarchal culture of mining and other 'heavy industry' communities is broken up by economic restructuring, one may hope that some of the men involved have found new work cultures associated with different milieux and values.

Mothers may choose a certain job because it is compatible with childcare commitments; but this may be a constrained choice, in the sense that the 'best' jobs may only be available further away, or full-time. Sometimes they may go for the full-time job because it offers higher hourly pay or better long-term prospects, whilst accepting some 'cost' in terms of stress and difficulty of childcare; this may explain the 'unsatisfied' demand for part-time work in the OECD data referred to above. Sometimes the only available time-slot for paid work may be when the other parent is not at work, leading parents into a highly constrained and unsocial pattern of interlocking shifts of paid work and childcare. Command over paid childcare services thus increases parents', above all mothers', choice of jobs, but in Britain only better-paid women have this choice. Where childcare is a free or almost-free public service, as in France or Finland, women have considerably more choice of jobs and the extent of choice is less differentiated by class. Full-time employment for UK mothers demands either considerable support from partner, relatives or friends in terms of informal care, or an hourly wage which provides a sufficient incentive net of hourly childcare costs. The greater the inequality of hourly pay between care workers or domestic workers and those who employ them, the easier it is for

a high-income household to meet its care needs from the market. Gardiner (2000) points out that increasing earnings dispersion in British society means professional households are more likely to find paid childcare or domestic services affordable. She argues this may mean increasing class differences in the use of such services, so that well-paid fathers are increasingly likely to delegate their domestic/childcare role to the market rather than take on more unpaid work when their wives return to paid work. In societies with less inequality, such as Sweden or Denmark, this has barely become an option and the viability of the full-time work/paid carer model depends on state finance of childcare (Esping-Andersen, 1996).

The de-synchronisation of work between sectors raises some different issues about inequality between different occupational groups. Diversity of working time patterns, whilst needed to underpin the '24/7' culture of the modern city on which much social interaction depends, also undermines the sociality of free time for service sector workers, and of forms of mutual aid which depend on simultaneous activity. This is the downside of the '24/7' urban culture, with extended opening hours for shops and public services. Workers within the retail sector, especially, may find it difficult to resist demands for unsocial hours which interfere with their own family life (Perrons, 1999). However Pillinger (2000) presents the example of Modena as a city where such extended hours resulted from demands by women in the community to have access to services outside the standard working day. Many Italian cities have followed this example by coordination of public service hours and other workplace hours through negotiations between local government, employers and trade unions.

One aspect of the (de)synchronisation of work between sectors is the extent to which childcare is available at unsocial hours. Surveys in the UK (Gray and Bruegel, 2002; Woodland et al., 2002) find that work in the early morning or in the evening is likely to cause parents difficulty in finding formal childcare services to meet their needs. The extent to which parents are able to obtain childcare to cover unsocial work hours then depends on their access to informal care from grandparents, other relatives, friends and neighbours. Access to informal networks outside the family which can be called on to help with childcare is itself an aspect of social capital. Children themselves may help to generate social capital of this kind; a well-networked child visits friends for one or two evenings a week, when s/he is in the care of the friends' parents and may even sleep overnight in their home. Thus the networks of parents and of the children themselves, and the extent to which these can be trusted to provide care when needed, assist working parents to fill gaps in childcare provision and to minimise recourse to the limited time and goodwill of their extended family.

8. Conclusions: towards a conceptual framework for the study of time use

Putting the concept of social capital centre stage, one of the main issues to emerge for a further study of time use is how far individuals' time constraints affect their opportunities for social interaction (especially outside the household) and from giving or receiving mutual aid. This paper has argued that there is evidence for some degree of 'leisure famine' in the last decade in the UK, which may constrain civic engagement outside the workplace, relative to the earlier post-war period. However, interpretation of the statistics on trends in work time (paid and unpaid) is coloured by the divide between those who, like Gershuny, emphasise the slight rise in leisure time within each employment status category up to the 1980s, and others like Jenkins and O'Leary who group all statuses together, thus including the dominant effect of rising employment rates. In any case, a certain indeterminacy in the relationship between work hours and time available for social capital resides in the elasticities of substitution between different uses of non-work time and the possibilities of multi-tasking or variability in the intensity

of time use. The study of individual 'time use budgets' is useful in the analysis of time constraints; but it needs to be complemented by other concepts.

In a simplistic account the individual's 'disposable time budget', after deducting a number of hours for sleeping, eating and personal care, must allow for the eight forms of 'work' distinguished earlier, which are potentially alternatives to time spent in leisure, socialising or associational activities. In this interpretation, the amount of time available for those 'social capital creating' activities which do not involve 'work' is a residual from the combined total of time taken up by 'work'. However, the notion of 'residuality' breaks down on recognising that paid work may be an important locus of social contact and building of significant social networks and values. Moreover, several of the 'unpaid work' categories - shopping, study, gardening etc - may be the locus of social contact or even mutual aid. Lastly, 'childcare' and 'leisure' overlap and taking children out to meet other families may be an important source of social contact for parents as well as children.

Contrary to Putnam, who finds that part-time employment is the category with most social engagement, Horrell (1994) finds (albeit in a very small sample) that women's participation in social activities has a U-shaped relationship to their working hours, with non-working women and full-time employed women both participating more in social activities than their part-time counterparts. Similarly women working part-time are less likely to carry out home-based activities with other family members than non-working women or those who are employed full-time; in other words, women who work part-time seem to have generally less sociability at least outside of work. Roberts (2000) finds a similar U-shaped relationship between women's working hours and their social activities, although with different categories and boundaries; women working up to 29 hours have as many different types of leisure outside the home as those working over 39 hours, but those working 30-39 hours have less. Many women see part-time work as a source of social contact as much as a source of money, although increasing intensity of work and its lower 'porosity', as discussed earlier, may reduce opportunities for sociality between colleagues. Such opportunities will also be highly variable in extent and nature, depending on the occupation, size of workplace and type of labour process.

A further challenge to the notion of residuality is that the various activities are not 'additive' because one can do more than one thing at a time. For example, reading a book on the kitchen table whilst the dinner is in the oven and the children watching TV may count as studying, cooking and 'passive' childcare all at once. There is clearly a sense of 'time constraint' in most people's lives, but simultaneity of different tasks helps to alleviate it. The *extent* of simultaneity and its determinants should thus enter into a list of research questions.

Moving away from the simple 'additive' model, it may be useful to conceptualise various activities ('work' and non-work) within several dimensions for exploration in qualitative interviews, of which the measurable time input is only one. These dimensions might be:

a) '*exclusive*' time input - or in Roberts' (2000) terminology, 'time deepening' - how much time does this activity take up which cannot be used for another 'simultaneous' activity? Thus work on employers' premises is likely to have a higher 'exclusive' component than work at home; driving to work is time which cannot be used for studying or chatting to a friend whereas a train journey may be useful for either

b) *sociality* - is the activity carried out alone, or does it offer opportunities for social contact and mutual aid and does it *in fact* involve either?

c) *optionality* - is there a choice about when the activity is carried out?

d) *productivity orientation* - how is the activity managed; is there an attempt to get it done as fast as possible, or at least a sense of 'wanting to get this out of the way', or is this activity approached with a different normative orientation? 'Productivity' – described by Roberts (2000) as 'time elasticity' - also invokes the question of 'exclusivity'; how extensive is simultaneity, and does this mean a time saving? If one can demonstrate empirically that pluri-activity does involve a time saving (i.e. that doing tasks A and B simultaneously takes less time than doing them sequentially), one measure of productivity (amongst others possible) would be the ratio of pluri-active time to total disposable time.

e) *congruence* - does the daily or weekly time slot of this activity correspond to some community norm? In the case of paid work, are work hours 'social' (the supposedly, but increasingly less, 'typical' time slot of around 9 a.m. to 5 p.m) or 'unsocial' (evening or weekend shifts)? If the latter, do friends and relatives have the same or different working time patterns? In the case of activities other than paid work (e.g. shopping, 'd.i.y.', taking the children out, sport or film-watching), are friends and relations outside the household available to share this activity at the same time?

Congruence of working time is important as a determinant of who is available to do something with. An evening shift-worker, for example a barman or cinema usher, will tend to shop, go to a gym, or decorate the kitchen at different times from people with 'standard' work hours. Thus working time patterns have a 'knock on' effect on timing of both leisure and unpaid work. Lack of congruence impedes sociality, especially when people's jobs prevent them from choosing when they can have free time or prevent them from having it at the same time as their relatives and friends. However, the opportunity to 'time-shift' paid work facilitates those forms of mutual aid which depend on providing 'cover' whilst another person is at work – for example informal childcare, provided the aid-giver enjoys both optionality and predictability of working time.

The recent growth in time-pressure on the junior manager or professional employee may threaten 'civic engagement' by the middle class, amongst whom participation in organisations of various kinds and political life has historically been highest at least in the USA (Putnam, 2000). Although Hall (2001) finds no parallel trend to 'disengagement' in Britain in any social class (p. 423) his data deal with the period 1959-1990, and the problem, if any, would be expected since that time.

However, one cannot assume that every extra hour spent on work (paid or unpaid) is one hour less for activities related to social capital. Not only is work a potential source of social capital, as noted earlier, but some uses of leisure time are not. Both Putnam (2000) and Roberts (2000) note that much of people's leisure time is spent watching TV. The individual's 'time priorities' are demonstrated by the elasticity of substitution between different uses of time as circumstances change, as well as by the amounts of time given over to each activity. Charting these elasticities will be an important task for future research on the Time Use Survey and related data sets. In qualitative interviews we can pose questions about hypothetical substitution and also historical substitution in the individual's life history – just as other writers, as discussed in section 6, have done in relation to the gender re-distribution of domestic labour in response to changes in women's paid work time.

Marked changes in working time, whether voluntary or not, may lead individuals to re-define time-intensive obligations to others. For example, there are current concerns that increased women's participation in the labour force may gradually erode the availability of grandmothers as informal child-carers (Wheelock and Jones, 2002). The increased workload for certain groups of young professional people, both men and women, may induce lower commitment to community organisations or aid to relatives. However, in general the hypothesis that longer working hours induce lower community organisation may be challenged by the vibrancy of community organisation in certain social groups and historical periods which had very long working hours; for example, the growth of the trade union movement in the nineteenth century.

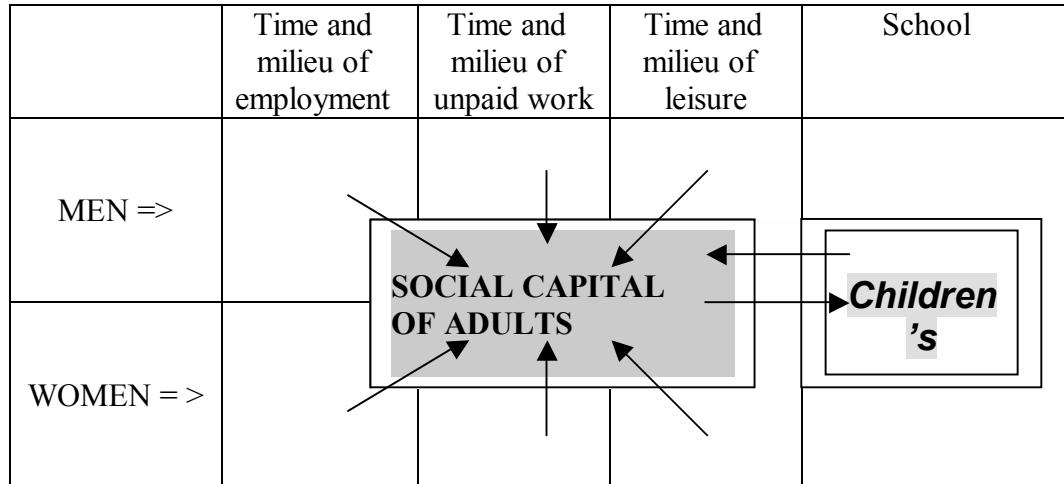
Beyond the questions about what time is used for, when, and with whom, one must acknowledge a set of concerns about the relationship between social capital and gender cultures of work. Mothers' employment opportunities depend crucially on available options for care of children, including the way in which different and changing working time patterns constrain the care contribution of fathers, and the availability of care, both formal and informal, from outside the household. Social capital enters into any characterisation of the 'care environment' within which choices about paid work are made. The Time Use Survey provides more detailed information than has previously been available from other sources about the number of hours for which different forms of care are used, how these are dovetailed together, and how hours of care use vary with parents' paid work hours, income, occupation, family composition and other contextual variables. In a community which is rich in opportunities for arranging informal care for children whilst their parents are working, and in which child safety/supervision in public spaces can be assured, low income women are more likely to have the opportunity, if they wish, to make the transition from part-time to full-time work, with associated benefits for their economic status and security. Communities rich in social capital are also more likely to generate the voluntary groups which are the basis for many after-school clubs or other children's services which can complement informal care. They are also more likely to generate rich social networks for children themselves, which expands the set of adults who are called upon to provide informal care. A similar set of issues could be raised about care of elderly and sick or disabled dependents, although rather less literature has been devoted to them.

Workplaces which can retain strong trade union organisation (also a form of social capital) are more likely to resist casualisation or pressure to work unwanted overtime, leading to greater security and time sovereignty for the workforce and more choice for fathers within it about their work-life balance and spending time with their children. Such workplaces are also more likely to be able to contain the intensity of work, thus facilitating sociality and formation of friendships and trust between colleagues.

Our research programme on time use and social capital will therefore proceed along three main axes; analysis of the Time Use Survey, fieldwork interviews linked to the schools project, and analysis of data from other large data sets (in particular the GHS and the Home Office Citizenship Survey; see ONS, 2001) on time use and on participation in civil society. The diagrams below summarise the themes of this paper in terms of a map of issues to be investigated. More detailed formulation of these will be the subject of our work over the coming weeks, preparatory to the fieldwork period. Amongst the first set of issues to be addressed will be those relating to childcare and the role of informal networks. This will be followed by further work on care of the elderly and sick, leading later on to a fieldwork plan which will draw

together these 'care' areas with questions about work cultures, social capital as it leads into employment and as created within employment, and participation in civil society.

DIAGRAM 1; THE MILIEUX IN WHICH SOCIAL CAPITAL IS GENERATED



The networks and shared values/expectations derived from the various milieux in Diagram 1 generate capacity in four overlapping areas:-

- 1) employment-enhancing networks, influencing job access, job satisfaction, and negotiating capacity
- 2) informal sociality and support
- 3) associations and civil society
- 4) the care environment, including care of children, of the sick or disabled, and of the elderly; and including both care given and care received.

A holistic view of the development and maintenance of social capital must pose questions not only about how capacity is generated within each of these areas, but about how social capital generated in one area affects each of the other three. One would expect both positive synergies, arising from the cross-overs of different networks, and negative trade-offs depending on individuals' deployment of time between these various areas of activity.

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Table 2
Trend in weekly working hours; Labour Force Survey series

Actual weekly hours worked:-

	All workers main job + 2nd job		All full-time, main job only			All part-time, main job only		
	Males	Females	All, M + F	Males	Females	All, M + F	Males	Females
	YBUW	YBUX	YBUY	YBUZ	YBVA	YBVB	YBVC	YBVD
1992 Q2	38.7	26.3	38.3	40.1	34.5	14.8	14.3	14.9
1993 Q2	38.7	26.1	38.1	40.1	34.3	14.8	14.4	14.9
1994 Q2	38.9	26.2	38.4	40.4	34.3	14.9	14.7	15
1994 Q3	39.1	26.2	38.5	40.6	34.4	14.9	14.7	15
1994 Q4	39.2	26.5	38.7	40.8	34.6	15	14.7	15.1
1995 Q1	39.1	26.4	38.6	40.7	34.4	15.1	15	15.1
1995 Q2	39	26.4	38.6	40.7	34.4	15.1	14.9	15.2
1996 Q2	39.1	26.4	38.8	40.9	34.7	15.1	14.9	15.1
1997 Q2	38.8	26.4	38.5	40.6	34.5	15.2	14.9	15.3
1998 Q2	38.7	26.5	38.6	40.6	34.6	15.2	14.9	15.3
1999 Q2	38.3	26.6	38.2	40.2	34.5	15.4	15.2	15.4
2000 Q2	38	26.3	38	39.9	34.2	15.4	15.2	15.5
2001 Q2	38	26.6	38	39.9	34.3	15.7	15.6	15.7
2002 Q2	37.2	26.5	37.4	39.1	34.1	15.6	15.1	15.7
10 year Change	-1.5	0.2	-0.9	-1	-0.4	0.8	0.8	0.8

Source: Downloaded from www.statistics.gov.uk

Key/definitions

YBUW LFS: Avg actual weekly hours of work: UK: Male workers in main & 2nd job:
YBUX LFS: Avg actual weekly hours of work: UK: Female workers in main & 2nd job:
YBUY LFS: Avg actual weekly hours of work: UK: all full-time workers in main job:
YBUZ LFS: Avg actual weekly hours of work: UK: Male full-time workers in main job:
YBVA LFS: Avg actual weekly hours of work: UK: Female full-time workers in main job:
YBVB LFS: Avg actual weekly hours of work: UK: All part-time workers in main job:
YBVC LFS: Avg actual weekly hours of work: UK: Male part-time workers in main job:
YBVD LFS: Avg actual weekly hrs of work: UK: Female part-time workers in main job:
All data are seasonally adjusted

Table 3
Trends in working hours: New Earnings Survey series

a) Manual workers only, selected dates prior to 1970; all workers including part-timers

	Men aged 21 and over	Women aged 18 and over
1938	47.7	43.5
1943	52.9	45.9
1948	46.5	41.5
1959	48.5	41.4
1968	46.4	38.3
Change 1938-68	-1.3	-5.2

Source; HMSO Yearbooks of labour statistics, various dates

b) All adult workers (manual and non-manual)

	1982	1992	2000	Change 1982-2000	Change 1992-2000
Male full time; manual on adult rates	44.3	44.5	44.2	-0.1	-0.3
Male full time; non-manual on adult rates	38.2	38.6	38.8	0.6	0.2
All full time men on adult rates	41.7	41.4	41.2	-0.5	-0.2
Female full time; manual on adult rates	39.3	39.8	39.7	0.4	-0.1
Female full time; non-manual on adult rates	36.5	36.8	36.9	0.4	0.1
All full time women on adult rates	37.1	37.3	37.4	0.3	0.1
Part-time male on adult rates	17.1	18.7	18.5	1.4	-0.2
Female part-time on adult rates, manual	19.2	19.4	18.7	-0.5	-0.7
Female part-time on adult rates, non-manual	20.1	19.4	19.6	-0.5	0.2

Table 4
Employment rates by gender; historical series

Coverage Proportion of working age¹ people in employment²
 United Kingdom
 Source Office for National Statistics, Department for Work and Pensions
 (downloaded from www.statistics.gov.uk)

	All persons	Men	Women
1970	73.0	90.7	53.5
1980	74.0	86.0	60.9
1990	74.7	82.0	66.7
1991	72.9	79.3	65.9
1992	71.0	76.3	65.1
1993	70.4	75.2	65.2
1994	70.9	75.8	65.6
1995	71.4	76.4	66.0
1996	71.9	76.7	66.6
1997	72.9	77.9	67.5
1998	73.5	78.6	68.0
1999	74.0	78.9	68.6
2000	74.7	79.5	69.5
2001	74.6	79.4	69.4
2002	74.6	79.2	69.5

¹Working age 1959-71: 15-59/64, 1972 onwards 16-59/64

²Rate as in May-July quarter each year

Table 5
Change in average contribution to the labour market, hours per week
1992-2002

	Men	Women	Men plus women	
a) Change in employment rate %		3.80	6.76	5.28
b) Change in average weekly hours, %		-3.88	0.76	-1.56
c) Change in weekly labour market hours, % (=a) + (b))		-0.08	7.52	3.72

Table 6

**Distribution of usual weekly hours of work of men in employment:
by whether household contains dependent children, Spring 2000**

United Kingdom

Source: www.statistics.gov.uk, accessed 9.12.02

	Percentages	
	With dependent children	Without dependent children
1-10	0.43	3.7
11-20	1.72	5.18
21-30	2.33	4.11
31-40	20.15	26.75
41-48	38.09	36.44
48 and over	26.71	19.58

Source: Labour Force Survey, Office for National Statistics