

Time Use and the Sexual Division of Labor in a Brazilian City¹

Comment [U1]:

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Introduction

An examination of sociological theory, searching to observe their implication for time use research, will show that Marx (1970) was one of the first authors to be concerned with the social division of labor, while he theorized how the development of capitalism altered the forms of production organization, while industrialists acquired the time of workers for the production of goods. So, linked to this pattern of development, is the dimension of time used in the manufacturing of merchandise. If for a given amount of money a certain amount of working time was bought from workers and this resulted in the production of a determined amount of merchandise, the development of work organization and of technology enabled those who acquired work to produce more goods in the same amount of time that had been acquired from workers, making that acquisition of time more efficient and, therefore, more profitable. Technology also pulled the whole family away from home into the factory, to the extent that little time was left for them to be together. In the beginnings of capitalism, textile work was the classic type of capitalist development, portrayed in Karl Marx's *Capital* (Marx:1970) and also in Paul Lafargue's -Marx's son in law- *claim for idleness* (Lafargue: 1980): a manifesto for the redistribution of the time saved by work organization and technology in the factory to the working women, men and children - so that they could spend some more time with each other at home (to enjoy more committed time). It was Lafargue's point of view that capitalism was destroying the family. Besides long hours of work, a good part of the working-class walked to the paid work environment, got up very early and arrived at home late (as travel to and from the place of manufacturing took long hours). While trade-unions were demanding the right to work, Lafargue (1980) was defending the right to smaller journeys of remunerated work. Textile industries throughout the world did hire women and youth along with men but, unless for work in rural properties, this family work pattern was not characteristic of other industries. Much later in history, legislation was passed about the minimum working age and the number of hours of work and, since then, trade unions dispute with capitalists the number of hours of remunerated work. This perspective however advances the idea that (paid) worker family time is determined by the size of the (paid) worker's journey. In the process he raises the demand on behalf of the working class of additional time for sleeping, for leisure time and for committed time to the other members of the family, as these moments were thought to be determined by the working time at the factories, in exchange for cash,.

In a seminal article, Donna Haraway (2003) explains the early ties between academic feminism and Marxism when she pointed out that Gayle Rubin(1975) was the first reference to build a bridge between the two perspectives. These contributions have consequences for the explanation of time use.

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Picking up from Gayle Rubin's summary of the Marxist perspective and her highlighting of the missing blocks in the theory to include gender, it may be observed that she points that, in a Marxist perspective, capital exchanged for work is transformed in the means of subsistence. The consumption of this last item enables the reproduction of muscles, nerves, bones, brains of the existing workers, producing new working force by renewing their working energy. Workers consumption is one of the moments in the reproduction of capital (Rubin 1975). The consumption of the means of subsistence enables the reconstitution of the labor force worn out in the working process. The difference between the amount of goods produced at a given amount of time and the need to reconstitute the labor force expended during the hours of the working journey sold to capitalists is a central concern in Marxist theory (in time use theory this part of everyday life is known as contracted time, although I do have some objection to apply this term to the social context of developing countries as labor time in these countries is not always based on formal contracts). As the subsistence goods are necessary to replace the workforce and they must be manipulated before they are consumed, these goods acquired in the market need an additional amount of work before they are ready to be consumed. This comment calls attention to the work performed by the worker or by someone in the family to enable the consumption of merchandise as food (this part of time in everyday life comprises what in time use theory is referred to as committed time). This observation added to Marxist theory was the first step to bind together Marxism and Feminism. However, Rubin (1975) did not observe that the time for transformation of subsistence merchandise into consumption goods lies outside the Marxist theory realm (she includes it in the production cycle under the capitalist system). If domestic work contributes to the production of labor force, it does not produce surplus value, even if technology, additional labor in the household, the organization of work in the house, may change its rate of transformation of subsistence goods. Although the two types of work are distinct they comprise a good part of everyday life and they are better studied by the time use perspective that allows for a look at these dimensions as independent but as articulated, comprising a system of everyday life routines.

Gayle Rubin (1975) further examined the work of Friederich Engels(1972) while postulating the interest in studying the two folded determination of the production of goods and the reproduction of life. On the one hand they Engels (1972) and Rubin (1975) were interested in the production of the means of subsistence. On the other hand they highlighted the production of human beings through family organization. It became notorious that one of the aims of Marxism was to determine the production and reproduction of material life. But the main determinant of the reproduction of life has always been the production of the means of subsistence by a system that acquires the work of laborers for such transformation. Left out of this process is the entire range of demographic patterns of reproduction, as we observe its historical transformation. Reproductive patterns interfere with the division of tasks as these relate to the transformation of manufactured goods into subsistence goods. The daily and the generational reposition of the workforce are time consuming and there are variations according to the household life cycle, the size of the household, the age difference between women and men, fertility patterns, contraception patterns, etc. Wage work takes time away from the household and allocates resources to the reposition of work, although some extra-work is needed for the reposition of individual energy, what in many industries is performed by housework.

Max Weber (1978) broadened some of the questions raised by the Marxist perspectives, looking into trends towards rationalization of life in all social spheres, a path launched by scientific development (this point is further developed by Giddens (1984;1987;1995) and by Zerubavel(1985a; 1985b). An indicator of this rationalization factor was the creation of a separate working place away from home. This specialized sphere demarked not only the independent existence of factory space from family space: organizations, in general, it also represented a new trend in the rationalization of remunerated work. Bureaucracies, public organizations and not only private organizations to include factories among these, presented the same type of movement away from the households. This specialization where remunerated work is conducted in a specialized space away from home represents that all that could not be routinized was left at home. Anthony Giddens (1984; 1987; 1995) points that our epoch is characterized by an outstanding presence of organizations: this is the main characteristic of late modernity. We also learn from the experience of developing countries that home is often the place of remunerated work. This occurs when goods for sale are produced in the same house as people live (and not in a separate external work place). Sometimes these goods are manufactured alongside with the transformation of subsistence goods for household consumption. Work performed in service industries and public bureaucracies generate the same dilemmas as factory work, as the distance between the two types of contexts represent additional time use (travel time to and from work) and the development of routines often incompatible with hard to routinize work, as taking care of the needs of children, the aged and of sick people.

Much more recently, authors began to look into what made the home space impervious to routines. We learned, from Norbert Elias (1992a;1992b) theory on time and the symbolic order, what most care takers of young children know in practice. Children, to begin with, have no sense of clock time. Time is a symbol at a very high level of abstraction. The capacity to grasp symbols comes with individual growth and a certain degree of maturity. When children are around seven years old, they begin to be able to manage themselves according to the clock. When they are very young they have no sense of time as they are driven by their internal needs and sense of discomfort, providing signs to significant others about the way they feel, no matter at what time of night these needs may be perceived by the child, signaling hunger, tiredness, illness, discomfort, in general. Caretakers may also condition children, when they elicit signs of the timing of activities (songs, noises, lights, etc). With growth, children acquire responsibilities, they begin to have routine activities away from home that require self management and may be bound by the clock, receiving services from schools, daycare centers, clinics, all types of service establishments bound by the clock. As children grow they learn how to take care of themselves to meet many of their own social needs. They learn to dress by themselves, to tie their own shoes, to brush their own teeth, to eat by themselves and a great number of other skills. Time enables sociability, the capacity to meet and interact with others, what requires self-control, coordination, and the ability to plan and to fulfill social demands. Barbara Adam (1990) further extended this life course perspective when she discussed that aging is an important dimension related to time.

So, if very young children are part of the household, it is harder to build routines related with feeding children and caring for them, particularly when they are very young. When households have a large number of members, particularly with many children, this

requires a division of the work activities in the household. Work is required at home to look after children, and to the other members of the family. In modern times work is required to provide sustenance to the family. Mothers as child bearers saw their activities extended to meet the other household needs. Bringing children to the world engage mothers in their survival, extending breast-feeding to other caring activities, much beyond the period in their life course when their children are born. In many households in developing countries, work for income is performed at home along with these other caring activities difficult to routinize. In our time use study, for instance, 15% of the respondents exerted remunerated activities in the home. In spite of the rationalizing trends predicted by Weber (1978), the possibilities generated at the age of the internet extended space boundaries, allowing for more flexibility in remunerated work time. In households, when members grow older and retire, they may perform more household activities at first, but then they may travel less, be more bound to the house and represent more housework for other household members.

Socialist feminist (Eisenstein 1979) literature in developed countries while taking into account the separation of remunerated work space from household work have interpreted that housework is an invention of capitalism that also created the housewife. However the sexual division of labor antecedes the separation of remunerated work from housework. Mothers in rural households in pre-capitalist societies have also been the major caretakers of household duties. Weber (1978), for instance compares their hardships to slavery. By separating household work from remunerated work, the housewife stays at home depending on the income brought home by the income provider. The larger the household the greater the separation between housework and remunerated work, the greater the difficulty for an individual to allocate time to these two types of activities. The number and the age of children in the household affect this sexual division of labor when the biological functions of mothering are extended to other household duties. The lack of access to contraceptives affects the size of households. Historically, with the dissemination of birth control, and the reduction of the number of children, there is a reduction in the amount of time devoted to family members and to caring for the house and for the transformation of subsistence goods. Time allocated to household duties has also been reduced. Activities characteristically performed by women, given the sexual division of labor, have been reduced, given this reduction in household size.

These observations reveal that household work and the care of children cannot be seen apart from cash earning activities. Household care has been conceptualized as committed time as opposed to the remunerated activities of contracted time. Activities that do not produce cash are destitute of value in capitalist societies and have adverse consequences for those outside the labor market. These are independent but related factors. Socioeconomic factors should be taken into account with household factors as well as with concurrent household factors to study patterns of everyday life activities and the division of labor of the routine tasks for maintaining the households.

In current times women have gained access to labor market activities, have invested in education and have shared the provider role in the household. What is the effect of these new trends in the activities performed by women in the household? If we look at everyday life activities as a totality, how are these work dimensions related to each other? Does time allocated to housework and the children affect the work addressed to

the market? Does time devoted to remunerated work affect the care for the house and children? How do these activities affect leisure and recreational activities?

The research questions

The paper will analyze with time use data for the city of Belo Horizonte collected in 2001, by ordinary least squares multiple regression analyses, the effects of socioeconomic, sociodemographic and concurrent activities variables in relation to the sexual division of labor as related to age, marital status, number of young children, presence of domestic work or of adult women in the household, occupational status of individual, educational status, income, housing status characteristics, and other activities performed by respondent.

The dependent variables are time devoted: to remunerated work, time devoted to housework; time for taking care of children, time for leisure and recreation.

The data was obtained from a probability sample of 400 households. Diaries were collected from every household member who was 8 years old or older in 371 households. Diaries were obtained for one day of the week and one day of the week-end randomly selected and collected from all respondents. For the weekdays 1124 diaries were obtained and for the weekends there were a total of 1133 diaries. The research obtained 11 standard post-coded diaries and an additional number of pre-coded diaries (pre-coded with the same broad categories of the post coded diaries applied to the illiterate population). The pre-coded diaries had drawings describing the activities and numbers and these diaries were minute diaries to match the digital numbers in the watches that were given to each family. For the week-ends there 1118 post-coded diaries and 15 pre-coded. Statistical adjustments corrected the sample to equalize the number of diaries for each day of the week, also statistically correcting the sample to match the population distribution by gender and age, based on Census results for the same year. Codes were applied by a small team of university students using a code book based on the MTUS with some adjustment based on the United Nations Trial Classification Activities Code Book.

To answer the research questions I organized a list of variables that may affect the time devoted to housework, to remunerated work, to care for children and to leisure activities in minutes, as measured by the time use research in Belo Horizonte - previous formulations of these variables may be consulted in Aguiar (1985). The study of how couples perceive as compared to how they divide work in the family has been recently produced by Souza (2007).

Table 1: List of independent variables used to predict the allocation of time to housework, childhood care, remunerated work, and social life and leisure²:

² I am thankful to Maria Tereza Gonzaga Alves, José Francisco Soares, Emílio Suyama and Arnaldo Mont'Alvão for the help with building the Residential Status Index, the Ganzeboom Occupational Status Index, the drawing and mounting of the regression models with the SPSS and Excel programs.

Categories	Variables
Sociodemographic variables	age (in years)
	age squared
	level of schooling (in years)
	marital status - married: 0 - no, 1 - yes
	marital status -separated: 0 - no, 1 - yes
	marital status - widow: 0 - no, 1 - yes
	has child(ren) (7 years old or less): 0 - no, 1 - yes
Socioeconomic variables	number of adult women in residence
	residential status index(nível socioeconômico) based on IRT (Item Theory Response)
	socioeconomic index - Ganzenboom
	log of per capita income
	hires domestic worker: 0 - no, 1 - yes
	has remunerated work: 0 - no, 1 - yes
Concurrent activities	takes care of child(ren): 0 - no, 1 - yes
	takes care of house: 0 - no, 1 - yes
	leisure: 0 - no, 1 - yes

The residential status index (Soares and Andrade 2006) is a measure of housing characteristics compiled using housing characteristics such as housing property, number of rooms, quality of the floor, quality of ceiling, quality of walls, water piping, bathroom internal or external location, nature of garbage collection, household goods and appliances (icebox, paid TV, DVD, clothes washer, dishwasher, car, computer, internet service). The advantage of this type of index is that it works for all household members and it does not depend on employment status.

The Ganzeboom socioeconomic index is an index that takes into account the International Classification of Occupations attributing them values according to the education and income of the occupation, controlled by age (Ganzeboom and Treiman 1996). This measurement provides differential results for women and men and those outside the labor force are not attributed an index value.

The research findings

Models were constructed to ascertain what explains the allocation of time to these activities for women and for men, during a weekday and during the week ends. First I will present the Ordinary Least Regression Models for the explanation of the time spent in the following activities performed by women during the week, as dependent variables: taking care of the house, taking care of children; remunerated work, social activities and leisure (Models 1-4):

Table 2: OLS regression models to explain time to taking care of house, taking care of children, remunerated work time and time to social activities and leisure performed by women during weekdays.

Women during week days	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Variables	Time for taking care of the house	Time for taking care of child(ren)	Time for remunerated work	Time for leisure
(Constant)	-19,293	139,264	320,204**	42,395
age (in years)	15,469*	-0,374	25,280*	-0,130
age squared	-0,142*	-0,008	-0,334*	0,009
level of schooling	1,961	-3,99	1,501	-0,289
residential status (IRT)	0,497	-1,32	-0,528	-0,734
socioeconomic index - Ganzenboom	-	0,358	2,242**	-0,090
hires domestic worker	-38,362	2,645	54,682	41,820*
married	44,094**	44,119***	-25,814	5,710
separated	-28,301	37,43	36,612	-10,970
widow	26,884	60,118	68,699	-3,654
has remunerated work	-193,293*	-37,895**	-	-4,579
has child(ren) (7 years old or less)	7,83	42,878**	-3,457	1,565
number of adult women in residence	1,429	19,891***	-28,919***	5,960
log of per capita income	-16,648***	17,265	-39,348**	5,906
takes care of child(ren)	5,521	-	-176,435*	-3,278
takes care of house	-	-95,242**	-154,478*	-16,479
leisure during week	1,78	-32,622***	-48,517***	-

Note: Significance level: *1%, ** 5%, ***10%

#1- OLS regression model for the explanation of time for taking care of the house and the family, for women, during the week:

Age affects the amount of housework. For every year added to the age of women there is an increase in 15 minutes in housework during the week. Older age, however, reduces the amount of housework, as the very old will represent additional work for other household members, when their moving around may be affected by age. Also older people may be more vulnerable to illnesses. Having a maid reduces in 38 minutes a day the amount of housework, as opposed to those who do not have such help. Being married increases by 44 minutes the amount of housework as compared to single women. Each time the household per capita income doubles there is a 16 minutes reduction in the housework of women. Other household activities and leisure activities do not affect significantly the amount of housework performed by women during the week.

#2- OLS regression model for the explanation of time for taking care of children, for women, during the week:

The significant variables that explain the time dedicated to children, for women, during the week are: being married- it elevates by 44 minutes the amount of time of caring for children. Time dedicated to the house and to leisure reduces the time for taking care of the children (these reductions are respectively 95 minutes and 32 minutes). Holding remunerated work reduces the amount of time dedicated to children by 37 minutes. So, competing activities may reduce time of taking care of children, including in these is the amount of remunerated work

#3- OLS regression model for the explanation of time dedicated to remunerated work, by women, during the week

The significant variables that explain the amount of time dedicated by women to remunerated work during the week are: age (for each additional year of age there is an addition of 25 minutes in remunerated work). However, older age reduces participation in the labor force. Increasing the number of adult women in the household reduces by 29 minutes the amount of remunerated work performed by women during the week. So, instead of representing an extra help, this may represent additional time dedicated to these other women. For each additional level of occupational socio-economic status attained, there is an increase in 2 minute in remunerated work. Those who asserted that they take care of the house have a 154 minutes reduction in remunerated work, than those who did not indicate they perform such concurrent tasks. Those who indicated they take care of children have an almost three hour reduction (176 minutes) in remunerated work than those who do not take care of children.

#4- OLS regression model for the explanation of time allocated to social life and leisure for women, during the week:

Those women who hire domestic workers have 41 minutes more social life and leisure than those who do not hire such service.

Now we may look into the Ordinary Least Square Regression models for time devoted by men, during the week, to the same four dimensions of everyday life (taking care of the house, taking care of children, remunerated work and social life and leisure).

Table 3: OLS regression models to explain time to taking care of house, taking care of children, remunerated work time and time to social activities and leisure performed by men during weekdays.

Men during week days	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Variables	Time for taking care of the house	Time for taking care of child(ren)	Time for remunerated work	Time for leisure
(Constant)	45,369	-264,977	97,678	53,597
age (in years)	6,987**	15,161	10,198	6,409**
age squared	-0,047	-0,176	-0,122	-0,073**
level of schooling	-0,394	-5,796	-8,063***	2,022
residential status (IRT)	-1,912***	1,791	1,547	0,837
socioeconomic index - Ganzenboom	-	-0,089	2,354**	-0,217
hires domestic worker	1,629	-68,269	-44,652	38,857**
married	20,627	-	44,630	-31,007***
separated	18,267	-	22,716	-65,864
widow	-52,360	-	48,607	-73,353
has remunerated work	-137,316*	-23,844	-	-87,721*
has child(ren) (7 years old or less)	-11,810	-11,557	64,272***	-13,564
number of adult women in residence	-1,250	60,519	15,964	-5,677
log of per capita income	10,543	-2,329	9,480	-13,008***
takes care of child(ren)	32,450	-	-34,974	-6,119
takes care of house	-	-33,562	-23,878	5,804
leisure during week	-14,877	0,091	-69,066	-

Note: Significance level: *1%, ** 5%, ***10%

#5- OLS regression model for the explanation of time for taking care of the house and the family, for men, during the week:

Men, for every 10 points increase in the status of the domicile, there is a 2 minute reduction in the amount of time dedicated to caring for the house. Having remunerated work reduces in more than two hours (137 minutes) the amount of housework in relation to those that do not hold remunerated work.

#6- OLS regression model for the explanation of time, used by men, for taking care of children, during the week:

No significant independent variables explained the amount of time for taking care of children. Men, in general do not consider that taking care of children is their task. The time devoted to these activities are so small, that variations in the independent variables do not produce significant results in the time devoted to taking care of children during the week.

#7- OLS regression model for the explanation of time used by men, dedicated to remunerated work:

The variables which explain the time dedicated to remunerated work are the following: at each additional year of schooling there is a reduction in 8 minutes of time dedicated to remunerated work. So, those at higher levels of education work less than those with low education. Having children elevate by more than one hour the time dedicated to remunerated work. This has to do with the provider role, still quite strong in Brazilian culture, so, for each additional child there is an increase in remunerated work. To each point of increase in the social economic status of an occupation there is an elevation in two minutes in remunerated work. Time dedicated by men to leisure and social activities represent a reduction of 34 minutes of time dedicated to children.

#8-OLS regression model for the explanation of time, used by men, during the week, dedicated to social activities and leisure:

For each year added to the age of men there is a six minute addition to time devoted to social activities and leisure, unless for the very old, when there is a slight reduction of time devoted to social life and leisure. Having hired domestic work increases 38 minutes the amount of leisure a day for men. This added social life and leisure is almost as big as that attained by women by hiring help. Being married reduces leisure by 31 minutes a day during the week, as compared to men of other marital status. Each time the per capita income of the household doubles, there is a 13 minute reduction in social activities and leisure for each day of the week. Having remunerated work reduces in 87 minutes a day, during the week, the amount of social life and leisure, in relation to those who do not have remunerated work.

Let us now observe what happens during the weekends. Although, in the contemporary world, many activities that were performed only during the week are now performed during week-ends, we may assert that week-ends are still quite distinct from week days. Previous work has demonstrated that in our sample there are two sharply differentiated types of work. Work performed with fixed schedules that alternate the working days of the week with the more leisure oriented week-ends, when respondents get up late and sleep longer hours than during the week. Let us compare the same group activities performed by women and men during week-ends.

Table 3: OLS regression models to explain time to taking care of house, taking care of children, remunerated work time and time to social activities and leisure performed by women during weekends.

Women during weekend	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11	Model 12
Variables	Time for taking care of the house	Time for taking care of child(ren)	Time for remunerated work	Time for leisure
(Constant)	82,289	-697,128**	492,271*	159,894
age (in years)	9,321*	39,386*	11,381***	-2,652
age squared	-0,097*	-0,561*	-0,153***	0,014
level of schooling	-2,044	-16,878*	0,005	1,078
residential status (IRT)	-0,491	-0,772	-2,391	1,448
socioeconomic index - Ganzenboom	-	-1,826	-1,157	0,855
hires domestic worker	-26,963	179,451*	75,892***	-9,028
married	75,467*	-73,828***	6,399	-19,458
separated	84,385**	-51,799	-49,072	-36,356
widowers	122,140**	-217,180**	-45,590	82,692
has remunerated work	-123,292*	-43,481	-	-54,835*
has child(ren) (7 years old or less)	-17,558	-9,227	18,782	29,876
number of adult women in residence	10,999	65,141*	-16,324	-0,179
log of per capita income	-2,337	82,404*	-22,587	-6,072
takes care of child(ren)	2,946	-	-112,876*	9,994
takes care of house	-	-39,007	-170,905*	-27,696
leisure during weekend	-32,705***	-33,950	-91,564*	-

Note: Significance level: *1%, ** 5%, ***10%

#9- OLS regression model for the explanation of time for taking care of the house and the family, by women, during the weekend:

For each year added to the age of women there is a 9 minute increase in the housework activities they perform, unless for those of much older age, when there is a slight decrease (less than one minute) in their household chores. Marital status has an effect in the amount of housework performed during weekends: Married women have a 75 minutes increase in their household chores, separated or divorced women have an 84 minutes increase and widows have more than 2 hour increase in household tasks as compared to women with other marital status. Having remunerated work during the weekends represents a reduction of more than 2 hours in their housework and leisure reduces 32 minutes for each weekend day for women.

#10- OLS regression model for the explanation of time for taking care of children, by women, for households with younger children, during the weekend:

For each year of women grow older, there is a 39 minute increase in the caring for children activities they perform, unless for older age, when there is a decrease in those activities (less than one minute). Having hired help for domestic work increases in 3 hours the caring for children during the weekends, accounting for the fact that nurses and other help have their days off during weekends. Even having other adult women in the household represents a more than one hour increase in their care for children activities, an activity that remains little divided with others.

#11- OLS regression model for the explanation of time dedicated to remunerated work, by women, during the weekend:

For each year added to the age of women, there is an 11 minute increase in the amount of remunerated work they perform unless for the much older that observes a decrease in those activities. Having hired help increase by 75 minutes the amount of remunerated work for women during weekends. This means that women may have to increase their remunerated workload in order to maintain hired help, including on weekends, if they do not devote more time to taking care of children in those days they do not count on hired help. For many women this is a dilemma, particularly those of lower strata, to go to work and hire help or to stay at home and save the expenditure of paying for added help. Taking care of the house, looking after children or devoting time to leisure subtracts the amount of remunerated work performed during weekends for women (the time reduction is respectively 170 minutes, 112 minutes and 91 minutes for those who mentioned they perform these activities during weekends).

#12- OLS regression model for the explanation of time allocated to social life and leisure for women, during the weekend:

Having remunerated work on weekends reduces in 54 minutes the social life and leisure activities of women during weekends as compared to those who did not mention having remunerated work.

Let us now examine the dependent variables for men's weekends (OLS regression models 13-16:

Table 4: OLS regression models to explain time to taking care of house, taking care of children, remunerated work time and time to social activities and leisure performed by men during weekends.

Men during weekend	Model 13	Model 14	Model 15	Model 16
Variables	Time for taking care of the house	Time for taking care of child(ren)	Time for remunerated work	Time for leisure
(Constant)	156,561**	-369,517	314,815***	231,925**
age (in years)	0,027	22,247***	1,367	3,098
age squared	0,016	-0,262***	0,035	-0,057
level of schooling	-2,420	9,168***	2,225	-8,713*
residential status (IRT)	1,724	0,288	-2,315	3,328*
socioeconomic index - Ganzenboom	-	-1,869	0,156	-0,971
hires domestic worker	-6,826	48,238	41,587	14,305
married	16,701	-4,489	-36,848	-44,046
separated	-16,057	-	-183,723	57,037
widower	-151,501***	-	195,572	-35,740
has remunerated work	-64,508**	-37,189	-	-78,030*
has child(ren) (7 years old or less)	-3,344	-64,151	50,135	-28,201
number of adult women in residence	-17,556	19,498	-1,381	-5,909
log of per capita income	-7,892	3,581	-4,871	-17,765
takes care of child(ren)	3,502	-	-6,310	19,408
takes care of house	-	-12,820	-140,296*	20,344
leisure during weekend	-59,214**	3,498	-72,154**	-

Note: Significance level: *1%, ** 5%, ***10%

#13- OLS regression model for the explanation of time allocated to taking care of the house and the family, for men, during the weekend:

Widowers have a reduction in 151 minutes in their housework during weekends as compared to other marital status men. Performing remunerated work during weekends reduces in more than one hour their housework activities.

#14- OLS regression model for the explanation of time, used by men, for taking care of children, during the weekend:

Age increases the amount of time dedicated by men to the caring of children (for every year of added to the age of men there is a 22 minute increase in the amount of caring for children provided by them during weekends), unless for much older age. For each year added of schooling there is a 10 minute increase in taking care of children.

#15-OLS regression model for the explanation of time used by men, dedicated to remunerated work, during the weekend:

The only significant reductions found in remunerated work for men during the weekends refers to those that mentioned they occupy themselves with the concurrent activities of taking care of the house (reduction of more than 2 hours) and leisure (a reduction of 75 minutes of remunerated work during weekends) for each day of the weekend.

#16-OLS regression model for the explanation of time used by men, during the week, dedicated to social activities and leisure, during the weekend:

For each year added to a man's schooling there is an almost 9 minute reduction in the amount of social life and leisure he dedicates to this type of activity during the weekend. Also, the better educated men help a little more with the caring for children during weekend days. Further, for every point of increase in the socio-economic level of the residence there is a 3 minute increase in the amount of leisure during weekends. So the better off housing and housing equipment represents a slight increase in leisure for men, for each day of the weekend. Performing remunerated work during weekends represents a 78 minute reduction in the amount of leisure during the weekends. So the better educated men enjoy more leisure during weekends and they help a little more with children during those days. Also those who have higher status residences enjoy slightly more leisure than those with lower status housing. A comparison of the different leisure patterns of the working-class and the middle class is performed by Neubert (2006).

Conclusions

In this study of a Brazilian City, the sexual division of labor during the week days still prevails and the crucial factor for this prevalence is the presence of children. Although the time dedicated by women to remunerated work represents a reduction in the time of taking care of children during the week, to perform such caring task also represents a reduction in their remunerated work. Taking care of children is extended by women to taking care of the house. There is a dilemma between taking care of children and performing remunerated work. For those who have a better occupational standing, they may hire help to help solving this dilemma, but those of the worse off occupational standing have their choices reduced. One solution commonly found is to reduce the time of remunerated activities when married working women bear children. When married men have children, they search for additional remunerated work time, reinforcing their roles as providers, even if they no longer are the sole providers, particularly in upper status households. The additional work put up by men in the labor force represents a reduction in their housework. The income differentials between women and men of the same occupational standing may result in this type of solution, as the income returns for male employment are greater than those for women. On the other hand, women even if sharing the provider role, they reduce their number of hours of paid work when children are young. Souza (2007) has compared couples in the same data bank and he found that the sexual division of labor is reduced only in the case that women have jobs and husbands are unemployed.

During the weekends, the choice may reside in working during that time period or in dedicating the weekends to more social life and leisure activities. The sexual division of labor seems to be sharper in the households of the lower strata and claims devoted to proper time (as defined by Nowotny (1994): time claimed to be enjoyed by one self) may be sometimes encountered among women and mostly by men of the upper strata.

Looking into sociodemographic, socioeconomic and concurrent demands for time use provides a sharper view of everyday life.

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