
Families and the Division of Labour

This chapter provides insight into one of the most important factors contributing to the division of labour and of household and family work. As an extraordinarily high proportion of men continued to follow a pattern of lifelong full-time employment, with comparatively high average working hours and high salaries, but low social security contributions and income taxes (see Chapter 3), the integration of women into the labour force was comparatively late and reluctant. The Swiss labour market is still one of the most gender-segregated in Europe, and working women face problems created by an almost complete lack of policies to facilitate the combination of work and family life (Fux, 1997b). This situation has undoubtedly encouraged the private organization and provision of child care. The comparatively high age at first marriage and mother's age at first birth, the increasing share of women who remain childless, and the high proportion of women who quit their jobs upon marriage or childbirth can all be traced to the persistence of the gendered division of labour in Switzerland (see Chapter 1). Besides the governmental discretion in providing support to women and families and therefore producing thresholds and barriers, one also should take into account the rapid economic expansion during the post-war period. Labour market development was also influenced by a migration policy that regulated the influx of guestworkers and fostered neo-feudal attitudes against immigrants (Hoffmann-Nowotny, 1974). A broad segment of the population participated in prosperity and achieved a high standard of living. Not least for these reasons did women begin entering the labour force later than in many European countries.

FAMILIES AND THE LABOUR MARKET: HESITANT INTEGRATION OF WOMEN

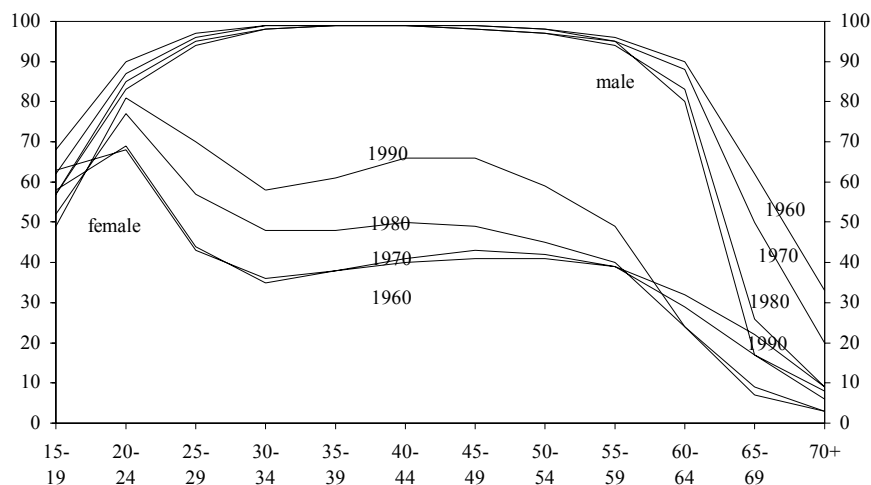
Female employment in Switzerland has followed more or less the same m-shaped pattern as in countries such as The Netherlands or Great Britain; women's labour force participation rates have been much lower than in the Scandinavian coun-

tries but higher than in Southern Europe. The increase in women's labour force participation among the population of Swiss origin was insignificant until the late 1970s, but then started to rise continuously (Figure 8). Female activity rates based on the total resident population, however, indicate an increase in the labour force participation of women already during the 1960s and 1970s, since there was a strong influx of foreign guestworkers and because female activity rates among women of foreign nationality are markedly higher.

Since 1980, activity rates for women in their early 20s have remained above 75%, but drop sharply around the age of first marriage, and a decrease in full-time employment for women above age 25 is evident. Full-time activity tends to increase again between age 35 and 40 as mothers re-enter the labour market after a break for childbearing. Part-time employment rates for women are highest between age 35 and 55.

Due to the late implementation of an old-age pension scheme, women were not granted full retirement benefits until the late 1960s, and a large number of them were forced to continue working past retirement age. After 1970, Switzerland saw a sharp drop in the employment rates of older women, and since the 1980s, retirement at age 62 has increasingly become the rule for women. The same is true for men aged 65 and older.

FIGURE 8. Male and female activity rates by age groups (Population of Swiss citizenship only), Switzerland 1950–1990*



Source: Census Data.

From a European perspective, the Swiss pattern of male activity is unique for early entrance into and late exit from the labour market, as well as for the high number of employed men in the group aged 30 to 60. Most Swiss men are employed full-time, and the average number of working hours per week is significantly higher than in most other European countries. Part-time arrangements have not yet spread among male workers. One may therefore conclude that the Swiss labour market is characterized by a strong male orientation, a fact which impedes in particular women's entrance into top positions.

Unemployment for both men and women during the post-war period has been marginal, again not least because of the regulation of the labour market by means of immigration policy (Table 5). Gender segregation in the professions is more pronounced in Switzerland than in any other European country except Luxembourg. Women are particularly underrepresented in administration/management and the manufacturing sector, but are overrepresented in traditionally 'feminine' fields such as clerical staff, sales, and service occupations (Höpflinger et al., 1991: 59). A study on Swiss labour market policies supports the hypothesis that traditional gender norms and political corporatism are the most important factors in explaining gender segregation (Charles, 1987). Whereas nearly all men follow the pattern of lifelong full-time employment, women are much more likely to be employed part-time most or all of their working lives and more likely to interrupt employment to take care of their families. While male part-time employment hardly changed during the last two decades, women's rates more than doubled. Behind The Netherlands, which is an outlier in this respect, Switzerland currently belongs to a group of countries (Great Britain, Sweden) with comparatively highest proportions of female part-time workers.

Female activity rates depend heavily on the presence and number of children. The majority of mothers leave employment soon after giving birth to their first child. Survey data show that a Swiss woman's likelihood of dropping out of the labour force during the family formation phase is higher than in many other countries and is related to marriage and the birth of the first child (Hoffmann-Nowotny et al., 1984: 211; Fux, 1989). In 1990, the activity rate for full-time employed mothers with one dependent child was less than 30%. Less than 22% of women with two dependent children and less than 17% of women with three or more children were employed full-time (Federal Statistical Office, *Familien heute*, 1994: 73). Even though one mother in three presently works part-time, the average number of working hours for mothers employed part-time varies greatly by type of household and number and age of children.

TABLE 5. Female labour force, Switzerland 1960–1990

	1960	1970	1980	1990
<i>Employed women (in 1,000)</i>	911	1,023	1,118	1,440
% of women over 14	42.5	41.5	42.1	49.3
% of total employment	34.1	34.1	36.2	39.2
<i>Unemployed women (in 1,000)</i>	—	2	10	38
% of women over 14	—	0.1	0.4	1.3
% of total labour force	—	0.1	0.3	1.1
<i>Women over 14 (in 1,000)</i>	2,142	2,464	2,656	2,918
<i>Female employment by sector (in %)</i>	—	100.0	100.0	100.0
agriculture	—	5.7	4.5	3.0
industry	—	32.7	24.3	17.2
services	—	61.6	69.3	76.5
commerce	—	—	—	26.7
public administration	—	—	—	3.7
other services	—	—	—	46.0
sector unknown	—	—	1.9	3.3
<i>Female employment by status (in %)</i>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
employers and self-employed	7.7	4.0	3.6	5.9
family workers	14.1	8.9	7.8	5.5
employees	78.2	87.1	88.6	84.3
no indication	—	—	—	4.3
<i>Female part-time employment (in 1,000)</i>	154	287	363	568
Total female employment (%)	16.9	28.1	32.4	40.5
Total part-time employment (%)	95.0	78.6	80.9	84.4

Sources: Population censuses 1960–1990, OECD for employment by sector in 1970.

Most behavioural data deriving from censuses refer to both married and cohabiting couples. However, even if some evidence indicates that cohabiting couples less frequently follow a traditional division of labour, in practice all men in both types of households work full-time. Arrangements in which the husband works fewer hours in order to increase his share of family and household duties are marginal phenomena (see Table 6).

TABLE 6. Families with children^a and employment, Switzerland 1970–1990
(percent distribution)

	Couples ^b				Singleparents														
	Both working		Father work- ing only	Mother work- ing only	Total		Mother not work- ing		Father not work- ing		Total								
	woman full- time	man full- time			(%) (1,000)	(%) (1,000)	full- time ^b	part- time ^b	full- time ^b	part- time ^b									
1970																			
1 child	17.4	15.6	33.0	65.0	0.5	1.5	100.0	293	52.7	20.8	26.5	100.0	25	91.8	3.5	4.7	100.0	5	
2 children	9.2	15.3	24.5	74.8	0.2	0.5	100.0	288	37.2	27.8	35.0	100.0	12	93.7	3.2	3.1	100.0	2	
3+ children	6.1	15.8	22.0	77.4	0.2	0.5	100.0	217	24.0	27.5	48.5	100.0	6	95.8	1.8	2.4	100.0	1	
Total (1,000)	91	124	215	574	2	7	100.0	798	19	10	14	100.0	43	7	0.3	0.3	100.0	8	
1980																			
1 child	15.7	21.1	36.8	60.0	1.0	2.2	100.0	293	51.7	26.1	22.2	100.0	37	90.0	3.7	6.3	100.0	6	
2 children	10.3	21.1	31.5	67.4	0.4	0.8	100.0	347	35.4	35.8	28.8	100.0	21	93.1	3.5	3.4	100.0	3	
3+ children	10.5	19.3	29.8	69.1	0.3	0.7	100.0	153	25.3	32.8	41.9	100.0	7	93.8	2.9	3.3	100.0	1	
Total (1,000)	98	165	263	515	5	10	100.0	793	29	19	17	100.0	65	9	0.3	0.5	100.0	10	
1990																			
1 child	17.1	32.7	49.8	47.0	1.4	1.8	100.0	297	46.1	36.3	17.6	100.0	44	88.9	5.0	6.1	100.0	8	
2 children	11.1	33.4	44.5	54.1	0.7	0.7	100.0	330	30.3	47.9	21.9	100.0	22	91.3	5.2	3.5	100.0	3	
3+ children	10.4	28.3	38.7	60.1	0.5	0.8	100.0	128	20.1	42.0	37.9	100.0	5	90.7	5.9	3.5	100.0	1	
Total (1,000)	101	243	344	395	7	9	100.0	755	28	29	14	100.0	71	11	0.6	0.6	100.0	12	

^a Including children below age 20.^b Including married and non-married couples.

Source: FSO, Sektion BHS Censuses 1970–1980.

In 1990, the proportion of lone mothers with one or two children who work full-time was still more than double the proportion of married or cohabiting women working full-time. Nevertheless, in over one-third of the female lone-parent households, the woman does not work outside the home. Female activity rates by the extent of employment are more similar among couples and lone mothers with three or more children. However, the latter group is less likely to be employed part-time and more likely to be employed either full-time or not at all. Unfortunately, the lack of appropriate data makes it impossible to study the effects of new alimony laws enacted in many cantons. Presumably, these new regulations have affected the number of women staying at home with their children after divorce.

TABLE 7. Working hours of part-time working mothers by number of children, Switzerland 1990 (% distributions)

	Number of children											
	Mother in married couple			Mother in consensual union			Lone mother			Total		
	1	2	3+	1	2	3+	1	2	3+	1	2	3+
<i>No. of working hours per week</i>												
1-9	14.6	19.2	20.2	7.6	9.9	10.5	6.4	7.9	10.9	12.9	18.0	19.6
10-22	51.9	52.9	43.7	44.6	48.8	50.0	39.5	45.7	48.0	49.6	52.1	44.1
23 or more	25.1	19.4	15.4	41.1	34.3	29.3	48.2	41.3	34.4	29.5	21.7	16.8
no information	8.4	8.5	20.7	6.7	7.0	10.2	5.9	5.1	6.8	8.0	8.2	19.6
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Source: Census 1990, FSO: *Familien heute*, p. 73.

Data from the 1990 census show that most mothers work between ten and 22 hours per week, while about one mother in four works 23 or more hours per week (see Table 7). The proportion of mothers working 23 or more hours per week decreases with the number of children, and the proportion of those working less than nine hours increases. Compared to married mothers, more cohabiting and lone mothers work 23 or more hours per week and fewer work less than nine hours. The reduction in working hours by number of children is much smaller for cohabiting or lone mothers than for married mothers. There is even an increase in the middle category of 10-22 hours a week, pointing to the economic situation of

lone mothers who are obliged to support themselves, as well as to changing patterns in the division of labour among cohabiting couples.

Activity rates for mothers working part-time more than ten hours per week rise continuously with the age of the youngest child, whereas activity rates for mothers working less than ten hours decrease with the age of the child (Federal Statistical Office, *Familien heute*, 1994: 73). For Swiss women part-time arrangements thus represent a very flexible instrument for combining occupational and family interests. However, lone mothers employed part-time are often obliged to work more hours per week than married mothers, which is complicated by the lack of child-care facilities.

Analysing the pattern in the division of labour between spouses one could easily conclude that the traditional breadwinner/home-maker model is still dominant in Switzerland, at least as far as attitudes, behaviour, and the lack of public response to the child-care needs of employees are concerned. Evidence indicates, however, that 40–50% of the population evaluate the three-phases model ('no job, if children are young') as the best strategy and only 5–10 % the two-phases model ('no job, if a person has children') (Fux et al., 1997: 193ff.; Fux, 1997b).

EMPLOYMENT AND PARENTING POLICIES: ABSENCE OF THE STATE

Fertility decline and economic crisis in the late 1920s initiated a discussion of the economic protection of the family (*Familienschutz*), which led to the introduction of a 'family article' in the federal constitution (Art. 34^{quinquies})¹ (see also Chapter 5 and Fux, 1994: 317ff.). With this article, the federal government was entitled to introduce national statutory family allowances and to support housing, and it received an explicit mandate to establish maternity insurance (see Chapter 3). Switzerland still has yet to establish federal maternity insurance, although it was one of the first European countries to pass legislation on behalf of working women with its Factory Law of 1877.

National legislation on parental leave has been a political issue since 1945. An initiative launched in 1984 (*Mutterschaftsinitiative*) called for government (federal and canton) financing of the costs of maternity, the introduction of parental leave, and improved legal protection against dismissal due to pregnancy. The initiative was rejected by a substantial majority, with costs as the main argument; opposition came mainly from pressure groups of business owners and the 'bourgeois' parties (Liberals, Conservatives). For similar reasons the attempt to introduce maternity insurance within the framework of the federal health insurance law (*Bundesgesetz über die Krankenversicherung*) was again defeated by plebiscite in 1987.

Childbearing is therefore covered mainly by private health insurance, and only the costs for prenatal check-ups and the confinement hospital costs are subsidized by the government. Due to maternity protection clauses in labour law, health insurance law, and contract law (*Obligationenrecht*), and to collective bargaining agreements, employed women are protected against dismissal during pregnancy and for 16 weeks after confinement. Most employed women continue receiving at least part of their pay during this period. Federal employees, for example, are entitled to a maternity leave of four weeks before and 13 weeks after confinement. The duration of maternity leave for employees of canton governments varies from eight to 17 weeks with an average of 13.7 weeks (5.6 weeks before and 8.7 weeks after birth). Maternity leave for women employed in the private sector varies considerably as to duration and qualifying conditions (see FSO 1993: 37f. and 103), but no reliable data are available. Laws introduced between 1986 and 1994 provide means-tested maternity benefits in nine cantons (see Synopsis 2), while in other cantons similar regulations are still being debated.

In June 1994, however, the federal government adopted a new proposal which would entitle employed and self-employed women to a leave of 16 weeks (12 weeks after confinement) and cover 100% of the mother's income; the proposal would also provide a four-week leave for persons (father or mother) adopting a child. The costs of the scheme would be covered by contributions amounting to 0.2% of wages from both the dependent employee and the employer. Business owners and the 'bourgeois' parties have come out against this proposal. The current debate focuses mainly on the different financing schemes; in non-partisan negotiations, the female members of the federal parliament have elaborated a scheme in which parental leave would be financed by an increase of the value-added tax.

Maternity insurance remains one of the Swiss population's most urgent demands: in a 1992 survey, maternity insurance ranked highest among 14 family-related incentives,² followed by a reduction in income tax, an improvement of family housing conditions, and flexible working hours for parents. The ranking order remains the same when broken down by household types; only two-earner or childless families rate income tax cuts higher than the implementation of a maternity leave scheme (Fux et al., 1997: 119ff.).

TABLE 8. Support for new family policy measures, Switzerland 1992

Suggested measures	Respondents agreeing*	
	No.	%
Maternity leave	638	37.6
Lower income tax for people with children	617	36.3
Better housing for people with children	464	27.3
Flexible working hours for parents with young children	416	24.5
Family allowance, dependent on family income	345	20.3
Substantial increase in child benefits	336	19.8
Allowance for caregiving mother/father	269	15.9
Better opportunities for parents to work part-time	270	15.9
Better day-care facilities for children under 3	205	12.1
Better day-care facilities for children 3–6	175	10.3
Day-care facilities for schoolchildren	149	8.8
Birth allowance for each child	120	7.1
Lower costs of education	121	7.2
None of these measures	27	1.6
<i>Total number of responses</i>	<i>4,152</i>	<i>244.7</i>

* 1,697 valid cases; as more than one measure could be supported, answers add up to more than 100%.

Source: Fux, 1997.

CHILD CARE: A CASE FOR VOLUNTARY SELF-ORGANIZATION

Child care in Switzerland remains underdeveloped. The absence of national maternity and parental leave schemes creates difficulties for employed mothers of young children, who must find their own individual solutions, relying on private care providers, relatives, and friends to fill the gaps in institutionalized child care. To the extent that public child care exists, it falls under the exclusive responsibility of the communes and cantons; the federal government has provided neither legislation nor subsidies for child care. As a result, child-care provision and facilities vary greatly across the country, especially among the three language regions and between urban and rural areas.

Few data are available regarding institutional regulations or average costs of child care. In particular, no reliable data exist regarding coverage, and only the approximate number of places is known. One place in a child-care institution

might be used part-day by two or more children. In general, public and private child care can be broken down into the following types:

- crèches (*Krippen*) or day care (*Horte*) for children up to age three. One-fifth of these are run by the communes and 80% are private, but often subsidized by the communes;
- kindergartens and day care for children aged four to six. These may be linked to the school system or are provided by companies for children of employees;
- all-day schools (*Tageschulen*) that also provide care for school-aged children outside of school hours and during lunch break;
- child-minders (*Tagesmütter*) providing child care at the caregiver's home. These are usually private arrangements, but numerous associations arrange such day-care places for children;
- family aides (*Familienhilfe*) providing trained child-care help for ill mothers.

In comparative perspective, institutional child care is rather limited in Switzerland. In 1985, it was estimated that about 430 crèches provided care for approximately 15,000 children aged two months and up (Scheier; Spinner, 1981; Federal Office of Social Insurance, 1986; ILO, 1988). In 1990/91, a study undertaken by the Commission for Women's Issues (*Eidg. Kommission für Frauenfragen*, 1992a and b) counted 12,669 places nation-wide for children up to age three (Table 9). In addition, 10,695 places in day care for older children were registered. Fifty-six percent of crèches and day care were in the German-speaking region, 41% in the French-speaking region, and 2% in the canton Ticino. Private organizations run more than 80% of all crèches, though these are frequently subsidized by the communes; only about one-fifth are run directly by the communes. In 1985, costs to parents ranged between three and 30 Sfr per day, depending on parents' income and local arrangements. In several cantons, crèches have become much more expensive in recent years.

Public day care and kindergartens for children aged three to six are found mainly in southern Switzerland, where they reach coverage of 100%, at least in theory (Table 9, Note b). Empirical research showing the negative impact of the lack of child-care facilities on children's social behaviour stimulated a political discussion of public child care and led to new legislation in the early 1960s. As a result, a comparatively high number of children in southern Switzerland is in publicly-provided care. Since 1980, due to the financial situation of the canton, public crèches have been restricted to children of families 'with a difficult family situation': disabled mothers, lone parents, parents in specific occupations, and

low-income families. Public day-care centres for school-aged children are also found more frequently in the French- and Italian-speaking areas.

TABLE 9. Day-care institutions for preschool- and school-aged children, Switzerland 1990/91

Child-care institution	No. of places ^a
<i>Total in German-speaking regions</i>	16,310
Crèches	8,250
Day care (<i>Horte</i>)	4,980
All-day schools (<i>Tagesschulen</i>)	300
Child-minders	2,780
<i>Total French-speaking regions (cantons Vaud, Neuchatel, Geneva only)</i>	12,303
Crèches (partly for pupils)	4,016
Day care (partly for preschool children)	5,715 ^b
All-day schools (<i>Tagesschulen</i>) and child-minders	2,572
<i>Total Italian-speaking region (canton Ticino)</i>	13,903
Crèches (ages 0–3)	403
Kindergartens (ages 3–6)	6,730 ^c
Lunch and <i>doposcuola</i> (After-school care)	6,770
<i>Total of Switzerland (except cantons Valais, Fribourg, and Jura)</i>	42,516

^a Data on the number of places are estimates. Since places in child-care facilities may be divided, the actual number of children in day-care institutions may be much higher.

^b Including children who get lunch or care after school.

^c Kindergartens in the canton Ticino reach a theoretical coverage of 100%. In fact, not all communes provide such opportunities, and not everywhere children get lunch. Taking into account only children, who use these facilities, the coverage sums up to a degree of about 90%.

Source: Eidg. Kommission für Frauenfragen 1992a and 1992b.

In a 1992 survey (Fux et al., 1997), parents were asked which child-care facilities they used. Table 10 differentiates the responses by region, age of child, and parents' division of labour. In most cases, the three possibilities 'child care alternating with partner', 'relatives and friends', and 'no facilities used' made up two-thirds of the answers. There are interesting regional differences, however: play-groups and child care in alternation with other mothers are more common in the

German-speaking part of Switzerland, while child-minders and crèches are more often used by couples in the western part of the country. The table also reflects the specific situation in the canton Ticino, where more than every fourth person uses public day care for their children.

Broken down by age of child, only minor differences appear: institutional solutions (playgroups, crèches, day-care centres, and child-minders) were used by about 15% of parents with children under three. The share increases to about 21% among parents with children between three and 15 years old, and falls to about 14% among parents with older children.

Couples where the mother is working full-time use institutional solutions more often, while playgroups and child care alternating with other mothers are used more frequently by mothers working part-time and by full-time home-makers. Lone fathers alternate with their former partners twice as much as do lone mothers, and also use paid baby-sitters more often.

In summarizing Swiss child-care policies, at least four characteristics must be taken into account:

- a general *lack of facilities*, coupled with the absence of a maternity and parental leave scheme. The costs of most public child-care facilities depend on the parental income and are comparatively *expensive* even for couples with medium incomes;
- an enormous *heterogeneity of institutions* because most are under the responsibility of communities or private associations;
- parents' *obligation to find individual care solutions* for their children. The absence of the state in this area has led to increased importance of non-institutionalized or semi-institutionalized forms of child care, such as care by grandparents, friends, or in alternation with other mothers;
- the introduction of new facilities via *private initiatives*, by parents who could not find a place in publicly-funded child care, who cannot afford current alternatives, or who are not entitled to send their children to a public institution.

TIME USE AND HOUSEHOLD WORK: PERSISTENCE OF A
TRADITIONAL PATTERN DUE TO LACK OF GOVERNMENT SUPPORT

Given the lack of government support, the low employment rate of mothers, and the high degree of gender segregation by profession, it is no surprise that time use and household division of labour have remained very traditional. One can argue, however, that the persistence of the pattern depends on particular restrictions parents face rather than on traditional or even conservative attitudes. Men and women have different patterns of time use across all age groups, with the difference greatest at marriage and the birth of the first child, which indicates a strong relation of time use to family formation. Again, this result is not surprising, because employment conditions, family structures and dynamics, and limited public policies have all contributed to this pattern. Swiss women have a high rate of part-time employment and face a highly segmented labour market. Dominant values still favour a traditional family and division of labour between spouses, and public policies fail to assist in reconciling family work and employment.

Surveys on the use of time in household work were conducted in 1980 and 1991. Though based on different research designs, their results can in general be compared.³

In 1980 women spent an average of 4 hours and 31 minutes per day on household and family work (caring for children, cooking, cleaning, shopping, and so on) and only 1 hour and 43 minutes in paid work (Table 11). Their occupational activity dropped sharply as they reached the age of marriage and the birth of the first child. In contrast, men below retirement age spent less than one hour per day on household and family work. Their time-use pattern remained very stable whereas women's time use was closely related to the family life cycle. Men also had slightly more time for leisure than women.

Looking at married couples, we can see that the pattern becomes more traditional after childbirth. Mothers spend more time on household activities than married women without children, but the difference depends on the age and number of children. At the same time, men with children do not increase their household activities, unless the child is under age four. Although in that case both men and women spend more time on household activities, differences between the sexes sharply increase, as women increase their household activities and men their occupational activities. In general men do not significantly participate in the household, even if they have children.

The 1991 figures were based on different methods, and due to the sample size it is not possible to break them down by age group (Table 12). On the whole, it seems safe to conclude that there was no significant change from 1980 to 1991. However, as more women took up paid employment in the 1980s, reconciling work and family must have become more difficult, because this increase was not

accompanied by a change in the household division of labour or by government policies providing maternity or parental leave and child-care services. As a result, most women leave their jobs after marriage or childbirth. Switzerland shows a sharp decline in the number of female employees aged 25–35. If the wife remains in the labour force, child care must be self-organized and everyday life becomes more difficult.

TABLE 11. Time use by age, sex, and household composition, Switzerland 1979/80^a

Age group ⁷	Housework		Occupation		Education		Leisure ^b	
	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men
<i>All respondents by age group</i>								
<17	1/13	0/27	1/26	3/00	2/22	1/20	6/57	7/41
18–19	1/08	0/12	3/31	4/36	1/24	1/04	6/13	6/47
20–24	2/53	0/33	3/44	4/41	0/26	1/06	5/26	6/23
25–29	5/05	0/48	1/49	6/04	0/10	0/26	5/22	5/37
30–39	5/44	0/52	1/36	6/01	0/05	0/13	5/14	5/46
40–49	5/15	0/40	1/41	5/52	0/09	0/07	5/31	6/00
50–59	5/03	0/26	1/44	6/30	0/03	0/05	5/46	5/42
60–69	4/55	1/00	0/38	3/43	0/03	0/04	6/18	6/13
70–79	4/11	1/39	0/17	1/09	0/05	0/02	6/31	8/30
80+	3/28	1/30	0/03	0/45	—	0/10	6/38	7/18
<i>Total</i>	4/31	1/43	1/41	5/06	0/22	0/22	5/46	6/21
<i>Married respondents by age of children in household</i>								
no children	4/20	0/52	1/43	4/42	0/06	0/07	5/59	6/38
all children <4	6/53	1/04	0/49	6/08	0/02	0/13	5/02	5/32
all children 4–13	5/56	0/49	1/02	5/45	0/04	0/09	5/27	6/10
all children 14–19	5/15	0/31	1/46	5/54	0/03	0/07	5/33	6/05
child(ren) <4 and 4–13 ^c	7/17	1/03	0/34	6/23	0/04	0/21	4/58	5/15
child(ren) 4–13 + 14–19 ^c	6/35	0/35	1/32	5/47	0/15	0/06	5/15	6/01

^a In hours/minutes per day, weekly average.

^b Time not spent on basic needs (sleeping, eating, hygiene), housework, occupation, or education.

^c At least one child in each age group.

Source: FSO 1981.

TABLE 12. Time spent on housework by gender and household type, Switzerland 1990

Type of household	Hours per week for housework	
	Women	Men
With children under 10	36	7
No children under 10	20	6
Single persons below retirement age	10	6
Married couples without children	22	5
Lone parents	22	7
Married couples with children	33	6
Full-time employed	10	5
Part-time employed	23	8
Home-maker	42	0
<i>All households</i>	23	6

Source: Joye and Levy, 1992.

The 1991 survey also shows that time-use patterns are more traditional in families with young children, and more so among married-couple families than among cohabiting couples with children. Married women with children spent much more time on household and family work than singles and married women without children, and surprisingly, also much more than lone parents. Among lone parents, lone mothers spent three times as much time on household and family work as lone fathers. Lone fathers seem to make use of social networks or paid housekeepers to a large extent.

Surveys carried out in 1981 and 1986 document the persistence of traditional patterns in the division of household labour between men and women aged 26–30 (early parental phase) and 46–50 (post-parental phase), when women often re-enter the labour force (Tables 13 and 14). Even in urban areas and in non-traditional living arrangements, men rarely participate in tasks traditionally carried out by women, such as tidying the home or washing clothes. Cohabiting couples, most of them childless, show a slight trend toward a less gender-specific organization of household tasks, but after the birth of a child the traditional pattern reappears.

Once again, we suppose that the stability of traditional patterns in the intrafamilial division of labour is reinforced by the absence of family policy, which demands individual solutions, particularly as concerns child care. It is thus highly possible that some of the respondents do not practise these patterns voluntarily

but are forced to privatize family-related obligations that in most other European countries are strongly supported by the government.

TABLE 13. Organization of household tasks by age groups, Switzerland, German-speaking area 1981 (% distributions)^a

Tasks	Age group 26–30				Age group 46–50			
	mostly he	both	mostly she	Total	mostly he	both	mostly she	Total
Cleaning	1.4	13.3	85.3	100	0.0	6.3	93.7	100
Washing clothes	0	4.8	95.2	100	0.0	0.6	99.4	100
Tidying up the home	2.8	24.1	73.1	100	0.6	8.0	91.4	100
Washing dishes	2.1	32.8	64.1	100	1.2	23.9	74.8	100
Repairs	66.7	19.6	13.8	100	64.1	16.9	19.0	100
Ironing/mending clothes	0.0	0.7	99.3	100	0.0	0.0	100	100
Shopping (small items)	2.8	22.0	75.2	100	5.3	10.9	75.8	100
Shopping (major items)	3.4	65.5	31.0	100	7.4	43.8	48.8	100
Cooking	1.4	27.8	70.8	100	1.9	12.4	85.7	100
Gardening	21.6	42.0	36.6	100	22.5	35.0	42.5	100
Child care	2	84.5	13.6	100	4.6	63.8	31.5	100

^a Results from a survey of non-single women in couples.

Source: Fux 1997, computations based on a survey by Streckeisen et al., 1981.

TABLE 14. Organization of household tasks by age groups, Switzerland, Zurich area 1986 (% distributions)

Tasks	Age group 26–30 (married couples)				Age group 26–30 (cohabiting couples)			
	often he	both	seldom he	Total	often he	both	seldom she	Total
Cleaning	41.6	8.3	50.0	100	50.0	28.3	21.7	100
Washing clothes	25.5	3.9	70.6	100	21.7	28.3	50.0	100
Tidying up the home	16.1	1.1	82.8	100	0.0	69.6	30.4	100
Washing dishes	46.7	18.9	34.4	100	39.2	45.7	15.2	100
Shopping	57.5	27.9	12.3	100	43.5	43.5	13.0	100
Cooking	47.7	18.3	33.9	100	41.3	30.4	28.3	100

Source: Fux 1997, computations based on a survey conducted by Höpflinger, 1986.

NOTES

¹ Art. 34^{quinquies}, the fifth partial revision of Article 34 in the federal constitution.

² The interviewees were asked: 'If you had to choose, which of these measures would you most like to see implemented by the government? (Name not more than three.)'

³ The Federal Statistical Office carried out a time-budget survey in 1979/80, in which people over 14 were asked to note their use of time over a two-day period. The activities were categorized as: 1) activities for the household (cleaning, cooking, child care, shopping, and so on), 2) leisure time, 3) occupation, and 4) personal education. As at the time of this study the old marriage law was still in force, it still used concepts such as 'head of household' and 'married women'. The second time-budget survey differed from the first, in that it was based on individual retrospective estimates of the average hours per week used for certain tasks (registered in intervals of 15 minutes). Times used for household duties and child care are probably underrepresented. Furthermore, in the 1991 survey terms such as home-maker or household duties were not standardized, but defined by the respondents.