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Gender and Work in Scotland: Findings from Understanding Society



EQUALITY AND WELFARE



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Background

The Scottish Government's Gender Pay Gap Action Plan, published in March 2019, set out a broad range of actions to address gender inequalities in the labour market.¹ The Action Plan takes a holistic approach, acknowledging that gender inequalities take different forms at different stages of life and are shaped by a wide variety of factors.

The Action Plan recognises that the period of time following the birth of a child is a pivotal point in many women's careers, with many mothers returning to employment that is lower-skilled or lower-paid, or dropping out of paid employment altogether in order to care for their child. Along with actions relating to flexible working, the Living Wage, and employability services, the Action Plan therefore includes a commitment to "fund research on the career trajectories of mothers returning to employment based on longitudinal data from the Understanding Society survey".

The Action Plan also acknowledges that inequalities in the labour market are strongly influenced by societal attitudes. It therefore includes a range of actions to combat gender stereotyping, unconscious bias, and occupational segregation. As the Understanding Society survey contains information on gender roles and attitudes, we have also analysed this data.

Understanding Society, also known as The UK Household Longitudinal Study, is a large-scale survey which covers a wide range of topics. One of the advantages of Understanding Society is that it is longitudinal, meaning it tracks a given cohort over time. This allows us to see, for example, what happens after people have children. In particular, this report analyses the following data from Understanding Society:

1. **Mothers returning to employment.** Mothers who had taken maternity leave in the last year were asked about their intentions to return to employment. In addition, the job statuses of mothers and fathers after a baby was born were tracked over time.
2. **Gender roles and attitudes.** Responses to two statements on gender roles were collected from married mothers and fathers. In addition, perceptions of which partner is mainly responsible for a number of domestic activities were collected from both spouses.

The sample of Understanding Society is designed so that, on the whole, the same individuals respond in each wave of the study, with some individuals dropping out or returning over time. However, there are cases in which new individuals join the

¹ Scottish Government (2019) *A Fairer Scotland for Women: Gender Pay Gap Action Plan*, available at <https://www.gov.scot/publications/fairer-scotland-women-gender-pay-gap-action-plan>.

sample. For example, the immigrant and ethnic minority sample was boosted in Wave 6 (2014-2016) of the study².

Understanding Society uses the term 'work' to refer to paid work. In this report, we use the term 'employment' instead, recognising that informal childcare and other unpaid domestic responsibilities are equally forms of work. By 'employment', we mean a formal, contractual arrangement (i.e. paid work) which also includes self-employment. The term 'work' is retained only when quoting directly from Understanding Society.

² See the User Guide for more information:

<https://www.understandingsociety.ac.uk/sites/default/files/downloads/documentation/mainstage/user-guides/mainstage-user-guide.pdf>.

Summary of Findings

Mothers Returning to Employment

Mothers were significantly more likely than fathers to be out of employment due to caring responsibilities, both when the newborn was first recorded and in the following wave. The majority of mothers who have taken maternity leave intend to return to employment, and of those who intend to return to employment, the majority intend to do so before the child is 1 year old. The most common reason for not intending to return to employment is a preference to look after the child, but mothers also cite difficulties in finding a job with suitable pay and hours.

The presence of labour market barriers is reflected in the finding that groups of mothers with higher levels of unemployment when the newborn was first recorded continued to be more likely to be unemployed in the next wave. Furthermore, those mothers who did move into employment were more likely to do so part-time. These patterns were especially pronounced for mothers in the child poverty priority groups, who were less likely to be employed and more likely to be carrying out family care.

Gender Roles and Attitudes

Whereas married mothers in employment were more likely than married fathers in employment to agree with the statement that “husband and wife should both contribute to household income”, married mothers not in employment were less likely to agree than their spouses. The pattern was broadly inverted for responses to the statement that “the wife should stay at home while the husband earns”. Interestingly, younger cohorts were no more likely to express progressive attitudes than older cohorts.

Fathers reported spending less time on domestic responsibilities than mothers reported, and this pattern was more pronounced among married couples in which only the father was in employment. In terms of particular activities, both spouses tended to indicate that the mother was mostly responsible for grocery shopping, cooking, cleaning, washing, and childcare, especially in married couples in which only the father was in employment. For gardening and DIY, these patterns were largely inverted, whereas for financial decisions both partners tended to indicate that the activity was mainly shared. In the case of childcare, both spouses tended to indicate that the mother was mostly responsible if only the father was in employment, whereas if both spouses were in employment they both tended to indicate that the activity was mainly shared. In general, both fathers and mothers were generally more likely to state that they mostly did the activity than was indicated by the responses of their spouses, with fathers more likely than mothers to state that the activity was mostly shared.

Mothers Returning to Employment

This section focuses on the employment trajectories of women who have recently had a baby. Mothers who had taken maternity leave in the last year were asked about their intentions to return to employment, and the job statuses of mothers and fathers after a baby was born were tracked over time.

Further analysis of the responses was carried out for single mothers compared to those with a co-resident partner, families with a disabled adult or child compared to those without, families with three or more children compared to those with fewer than three children, families with a child under one year old compared to those without, and age of parent in three categories: under 25, 25-34 and 35 or older. Single fathers were not identified as none had a newborn baby living in their household. There were too few ethnic minority parents for further analysis by ethnicity (22 mothers and 13 fathers).

Intentions to Return to Employment

Mothers who had taken a period of maternity leave in the last year were asked about their intentions to return to employment from Wave 3 (2011-2012) onwards. They were asked if they intend to return to employment, the age of the child when they intend to return to employment, if they intend to return full-time or part-time, and their reason for not intending to return to employment. In Scotland a total of 176 responded to whether they intend to return to employment, and 182 indicated the age of their child when they intended to return. Babies who had been born since the previous wave were identified from Wave 2 (years) onwards.

Whether new mothers intend to return to employment

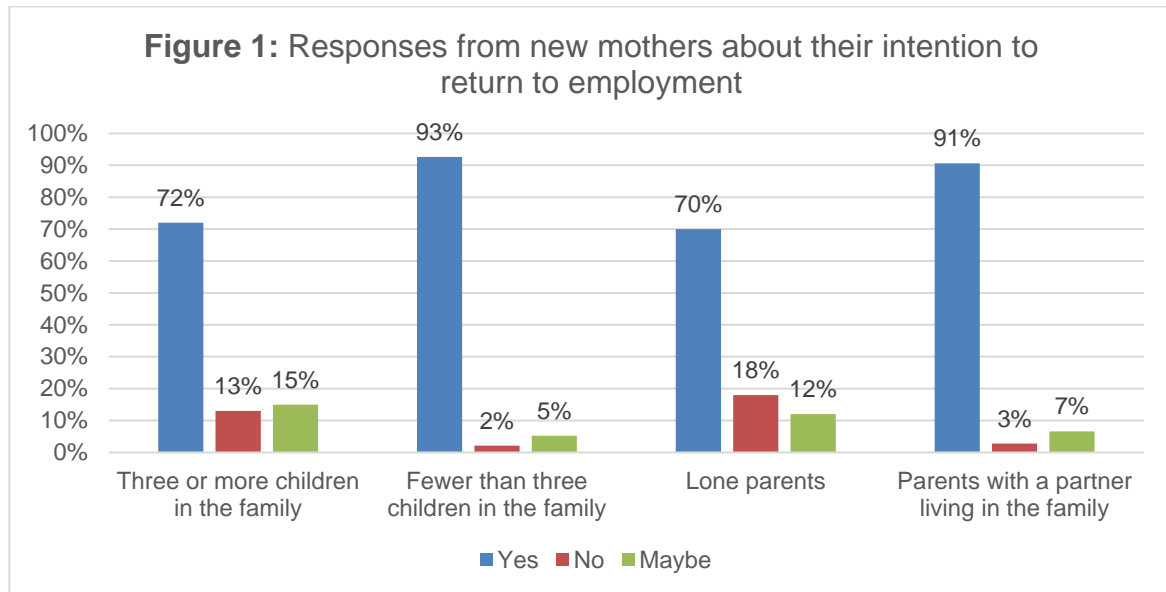
The majority of new mothers (89%) said they did intend to return to employment, compared to 4% who said they did not. One-hundred percent of mothers with no children under 1 in the family said they intended to return to employment.

Mothers in each of the child poverty priority groups³ were less likely than mothers who were not in any of these priority groups to say they intended to return to employment, more likely to be undecided about returning to employment, and more likely to say they did not intend to return to employment. The only exception was mothers with a disabled person in the family: no mothers in this group said they did not intend to return to employment, compared to 5% of new mothers in families with no disabled person.

The most significant difference in responses were seen in families with three or more children compared to families with fewer than three children, and in single

³ These are: families with a disabled adult or child, families with three or more children, families with one or more children younger than one in the family, single mothers, and mothers under 25 years.

mothers compared to mothers with a co-resident partner. These comparisons are shown in Figure 1 (below). Among mothers in families with three or more children, 72% intended to return to employment and 13% did not, compared to 93% of mothers in families with fewer than three children who intended to return to employment and 2% who did not. Similarly, 70% of single mothers intended to return to employment and 18% did not, compared to 91% of mothers with a co-resident partner who intended to return to employment and 3% who did not.



Source: *Understanding Society Wave 3 (2011-2012) onwards.*

Reasons for not intending to return to employment

The most common reason given for not intending to return to employment was, “I prefer to look after my child”, with 80% of mothers who did not intend to return to employment giving this response.

Other common reasons related to difficulties in finding a job with suitable pay and hours (note that mothers could give multiple reasons):

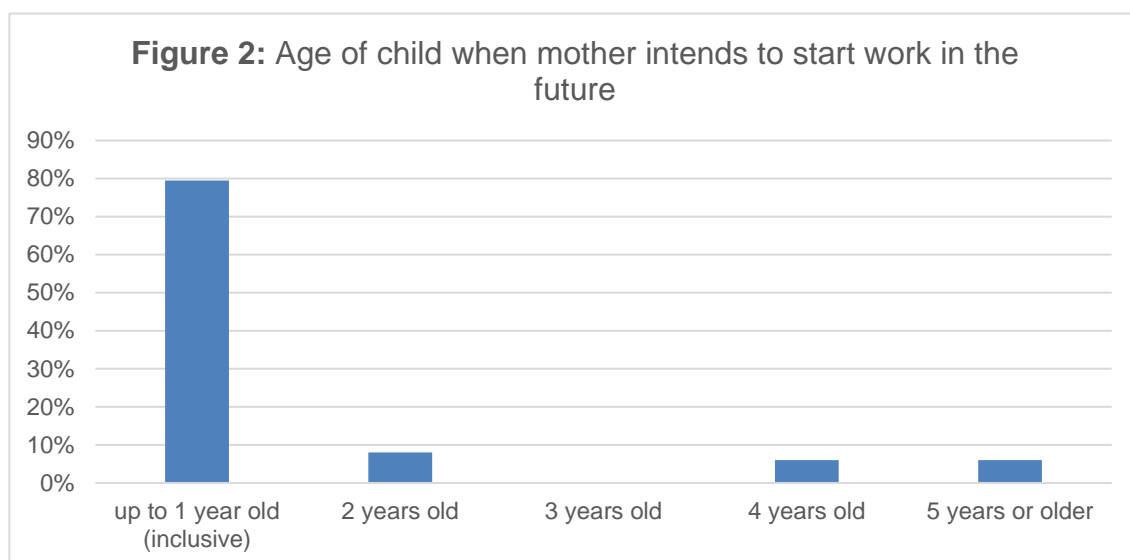
- “I cannot earn enough to pay for childcare” (27%).
- “I cannot find suitable childcare” (20%).
- “There are no jobs with the right hours for me” (20%).

Less common reasons included “I prefer not to work” (8%), and “My family would lose benefits if I was earning” (5%). Nine percent said that there was some other reason for not returning to employment.

There were also a number of reasons for not returning to employment which received no responses. These related to suitability of jobs, education status, caring responsibilities for elderly or ill people, poor health, and disapproval from a partner.

Age of the child when the mothers intends to return to employment

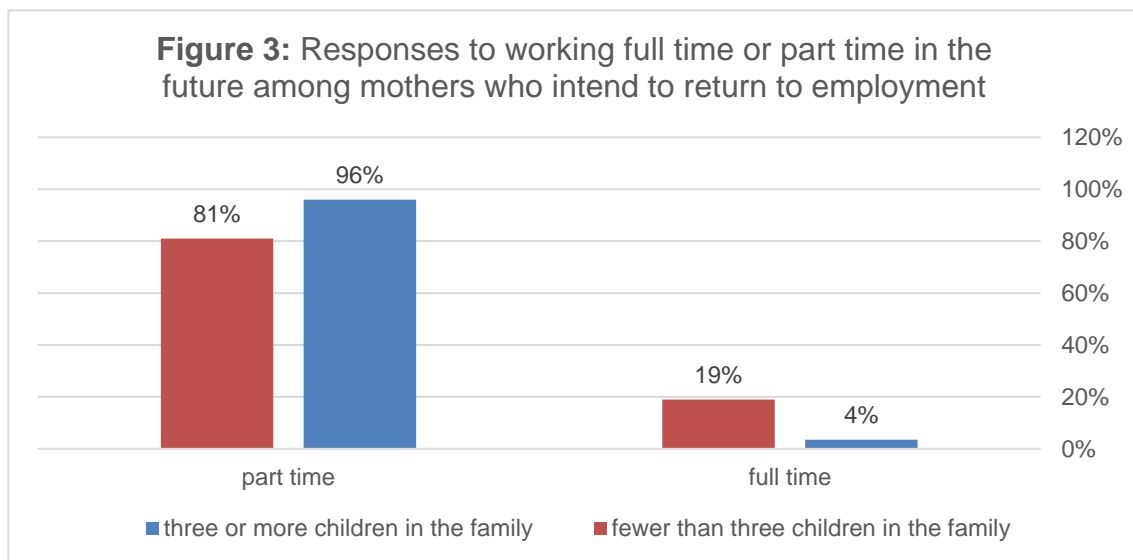
Figure 2 (below) shows the age of the child when the mother intends to go back to employment. The majority of mothers (80%) intend to go back to employment when the child is up to one year old. Sample sizes for the inter-group comparisons were small and so these have not been included.



Source: Understanding Society Wave 3 (2011-2012) onwards.

Whether new mothers intend to return to employment part-time or full-time

In general, new mothers who intended to return to employment were more likely to plan to go into part time employment rather than full time employment. The most significant difference in responses was for mothers in families with three or more children compared to mothers in families with fewer than three children, shown in Figure 3 (overleaf). Nineteen percent of mothers in families with fewer than three children intend to return to full time employment, compared to 4% of mothers with three or more children in the family. Furthermore, the age of the child when the mother intends to return to employment was generally lower for mothers in families with fewer than three children, than it was for mothers in families with three or more children.



Source: *Understanding Society Wave 3 (2011-2012) onwards.*

Employment Trajectories

Job statuses of mothers and fathers were compared between the wave at which the newborn was first recorded in the family and the following wave. The comparisons have been made for all mothers and fathers, broken down by demographic variables and the employment status in the wave before the baby was first recorded. All demographic variables used for the breakdowns were recorded when the newborn baby was first recorded in the family.

Differences in rate of employment

For all mothers and fathers who responded to this part of the survey, there were increases in the percentage who were in employment (either full-time, part-time or self-employed) between the wave when the newborn was first recorded and the following wave. The increases were generally larger for mothers than for fathers, although the percentage of parents in employment generally started higher for fathers than for mothers.

These increases were observed in each of the demographic and employment groups. However, mothers and fathers in the child poverty priority groups were less likely than mothers and fathers who were not in these groups to be employed when the newborn was first recorded. For example, when a newborn was first recorded, 21% of single mothers were in employment, compared to 45% of mothers with a co-resident partner. Although employment increased in all groups in the wave following the birth of the newborn, these initial differences in employment status were still apparent.

Differences in type of employment

There were differences in the type of employment mothers and fathers took up (Figures 9-14, Annex A). At the wave the newborn was first recorded, the rate of full-time employment was higher for all fathers compared to all mothers, and the rate of part-time employment was higher for all mothers compared to all fathers. This pattern continued in the next wave.

Furthermore, for all mothers, the largest increase in employment status between the wave when a child was born and the next wave was seen in part-time employment, with full-time employment and self-employment remaining at similar levels. For all fathers, by contrast, full-time employment increased. The largest change was seen among fathers under age 25, for whom full-time employment increased from 52% to 87%. Meanwhile, part-time employment decreased for all fathers. The largest change was seen for fathers with no children under age 1, for whom part-time employment dropped from 33% to 3%. For all fathers, self-employment remained at a similar level.

Differences in rates of unemployment

Rates of parents who were unemployed or looking for employment varied across demographic variables (Figures 15-16, Annex A). Single mothers, mothers under age 25, and fathers under age 25 were more likely to be unemployed or looking for employment when the newborn was first recorded than all mothers and all fathers, and mothers and fathers in every other group. For single mothers and mothers under age 25 there was also a higher percentage who were unemployed or looking for employment compared to all mothers in the next wave. For all fathers, including fathers under age 25, the percentage who were unemployed or looking for employment fell to 0% at the wave after the newborn was first recorded.

Differences in labour market participation

There were large differences in the percentage of mothers and fathers carrying out family care or who were not in employment for other reasons (Figures 17-18, Annex A). For mothers, the only groups for whom the rate of family care and inactivity dropped was mothers aged 35 or older, and mothers with no children under age one. Mothers in families with three or more children and mothers who were not in employment before the newborn was born had particularly high rates of family care or inactivity at the wave the newborn was first recorded, which remained high in the next wave. By contrast, the percentage of fathers carrying out family care or who were inactive remained at, or fell to 0%, across all groups.

Furthermore, mothers in child poverty priority groups were more likely to be carrying out family care or to be inactive than mothers who were not in these groups. For example, 39% of single mothers were carrying out family care or were inactive when the newborn was first recorded. This compares to 20% of mothers

with a co-resident partner. Despite a general increase in family care and inactivity, these differences were still apparent.

Gender Roles and Attitudes

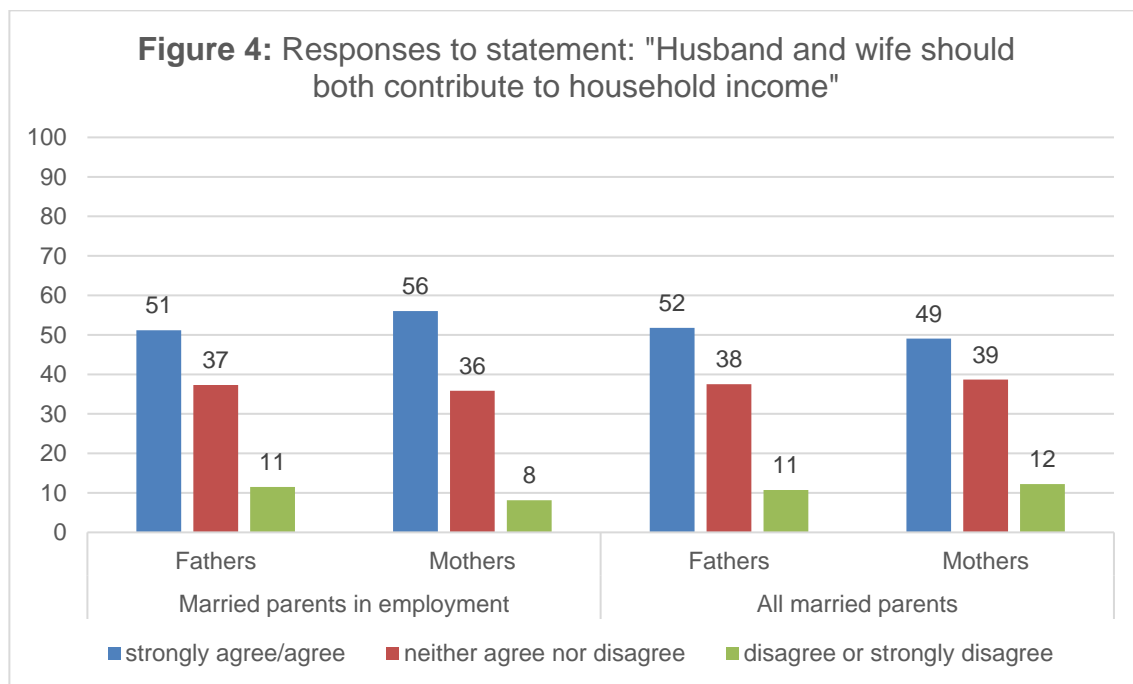
This section focuses on gender roles and attitudes among married fathers and mothers. Responses to two statements on gender roles were collected from married mothers and fathers: “Husband and wife should both contribute to household income” and “The wife should stay at home while the husband earns”. In addition, perceptions of which partner is mainly responsible for a number of domestic activities were collected from both spouses. Information was also collected on reported time spent on domestic responsibilities.

Note that the data analysed here only includes married men and women (not civil partnerships or cohabitations), only includes couples with dependent children in the household, and excludes the small proportion of women who were on maternity leave. Employment includes self-employment.

Attitudes to Gender Roles

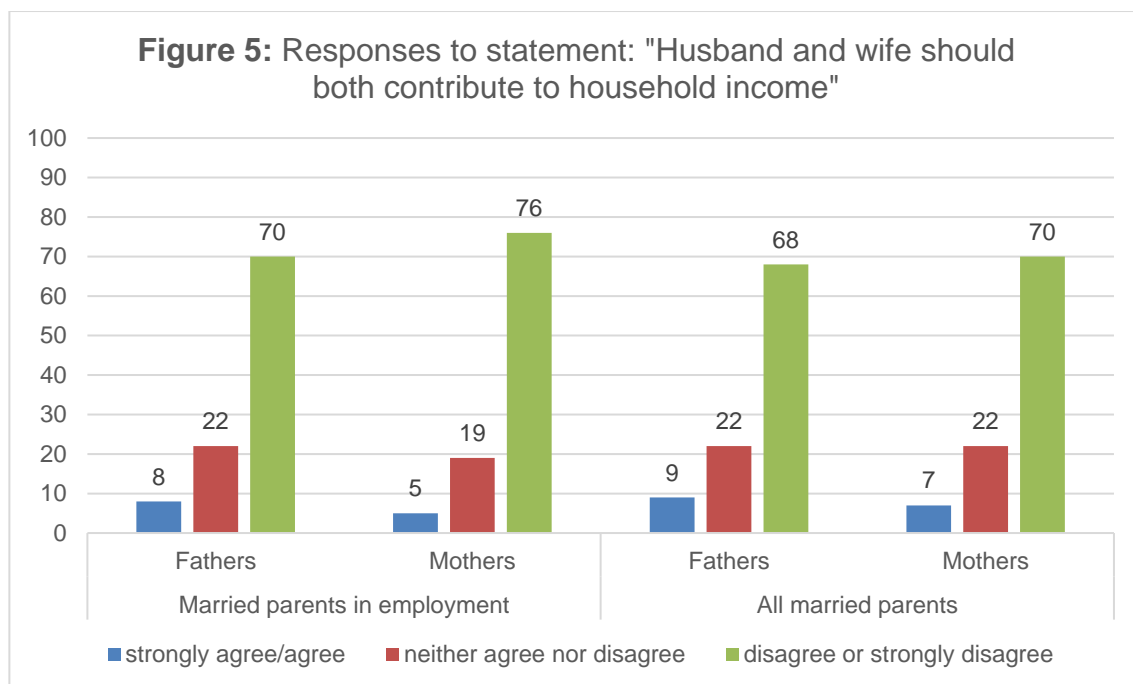
Responses to questions on gender roles were collected in Waves 2 and 4 of the Main Survey (2010-2012 and 2012-2014). The data is broken down by gender, age, and employment status, although the sample of fathers not in employment was too small to consider separately. The sample size of married parents in Waves 2 and 4 was 1,672, although not all of these answered the questions on gender roles. Ninety-two percent of fathers were in employment, compared to 77% of mothers. Since data is only available from two waves, which are fairly close in time to each other, changes between the two waves may not be indicative of actual trends. This section therefore focuses on the latest available wave (Wave 4, 2012-2014).

Figure 4 (overleaf) shows responses to the statement that **“husband and wife should both contribute to household income”**. Among **married parents in employment**, mothers were more likely to agree with the statement, with 56% of mothers agreeing compared to 51% of fathers. However, among **all married parents** – i.e. including those *not* in employment – fathers were more likely to agree with the statement, with 52% of fathers agreeing versus 49% of mothers. This is because married mothers *not* in employment, who represented the majority of parents in the sample not in employment, were less than half as likely to agree with the statement as mothers who were in employment (24% versus 56%; not shown).



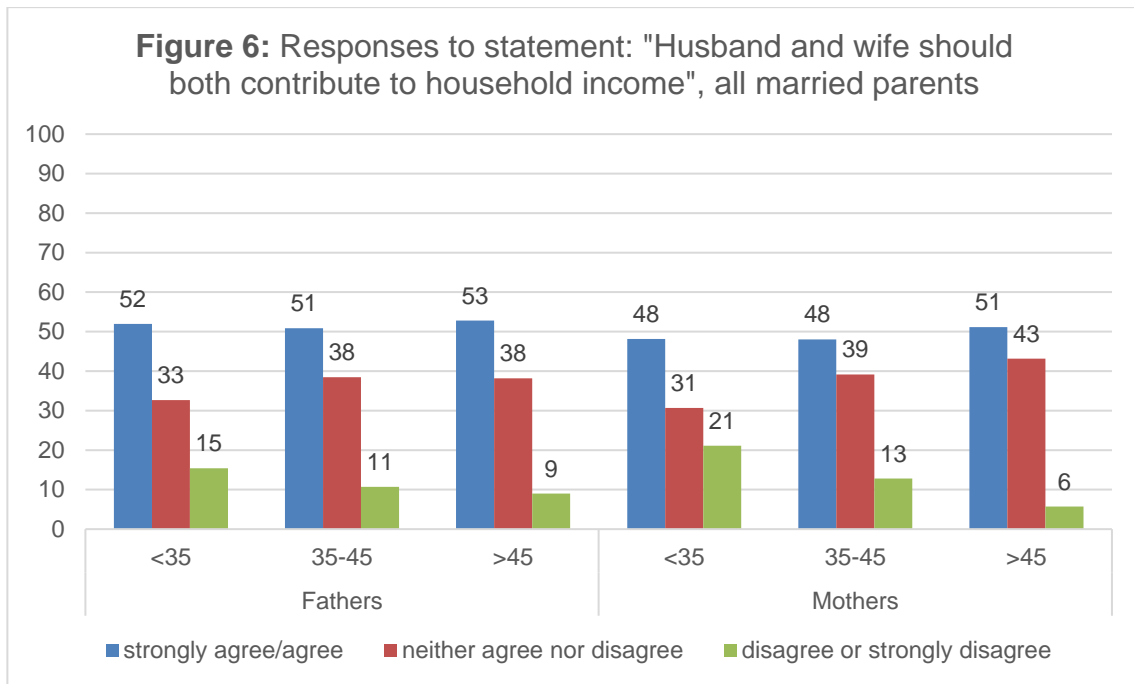
Source: *Understanding Society, Wave 4 (2014-2016)*.

A somewhat inverted pattern was observed for the statement that **“the wife should stay at home while the husband earns”** (Figure 5, below). Among **married parents in employment**, fathers were more likely than mothers to agree with the statement, with 8% of fathers agreeing compared to 5% of mothers. Among **all married parents**, fathers were still more likely to agree than mothers, but the difference was smaller, with 9% of fathers agreeing compared to 7% of mothers. This is because married mothers not in employment were more than three times as likely as married mothers in employment to agree with the statement (18% versus 5%; not shown).

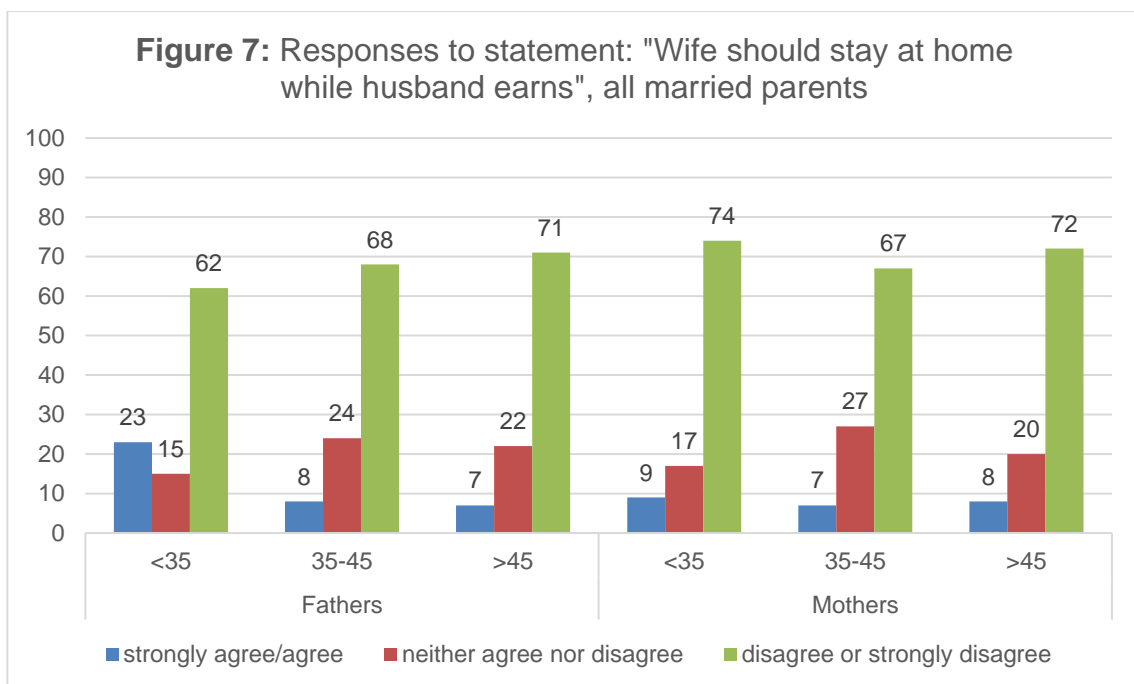


Source: *Understanding Society, Wave 4 (2014-2016)*.

Figures 6 and 7 (below) break these results down by age for **all married parents**. Younger cohorts were generally no more likely than older cohorts to agree with the statement that **“husband and wife should both contribute to household income”**. On the contrary, younger cohorts were more likely to disagree with the statement, with married mothers younger than 35 particularly likely to disagree (21%). This is reflected in responses to the statement that **“the wife should stay at home while the husband earns”**: the youngest cohorts (<35) were the most likely to agree with the statement, although, in this case, fathers younger than 35 were particularly likely to agree (23%).



Source: *Understanding Society, Wave 4 (2014-2016)*.



Source: *Understanding Society, Wave 4 (2014-2016)*.

Responsibility for Domestic Activities

Responses on which partner is mainly responsible for domestic activities were collected in Waves 2, 4, 6, and 8 of the Main Survey (2010-2012, 2012-2014, 2014-2016, and 2016-2018). Eight activities were covered in total: grocery shopping, cooking, cleaning, washing, childcare, DIY, gardening, and financial decisions. Responses were also collected on the amount of time per week spent on domestic responsibilities.

The data is broken down by gender and employment status. In total, 1,229 married couples, all of which were different-sex couples, responded to the questions. In 75% of these couples, both parents were in employment, while in 19% the father was in employment but the mother was not. The mother was in employment but the father was not in 3% of couples and in another 3% neither parent was in employment; both of these groups were too small to consider separately. This section considers data from the latest wave (Wave 8, 2014-2016) as well as changes between the 4 waves.

Similar patterns were observed for **grocery shopping, cooking, cleaning, washing, and childcare** (Figures 19-23, Annex B):

- Among **married couples in which both partners were in employment**, mothers were more likely than fathers to state that they mostly did these activities, and fathers were more likely to state their spouse mostly did them. For childcare, both mothers and fathers indicated that the activity was mainly shared, but fathers were still more likely to give this response than mothers.
- The proportions of both fathers and mothers indicating that the mother mostly did the activity was higher among **married couples in which the father was in employment and the mother was not**, while the proportions indicating that the activity was mainly shared or done by someone else were generally lower. This was particularly true for childcare, for which the proportion of both fathers and mothers indicating that the mother was mainly responsible was around twice as high, while the proportion indicating that the activity was mainly shared was around half as high.
- Among **both groups**, both fathers and mothers were generally more likely to state that they mostly did the activity than was indicated by the responses of their spouses, with fathers more likely than mothers to state that the activity was mostly shared.

A somewhat inverted pattern was observed for **gardening and DIY** (Figures 24-25, Annex B):

- Among **married couples in which both partners were in employment**, fathers were more likely than mothers to state that they mostly did these activities, and mothers were more likely to state their spouse mostly did them.

- For gardening, the proportions of both fathers and mothers stating that the father mostly did the activity were lower among **married couples in which the father was in employment and the mother was not**. However, for fathers this was nearly all offset by a higher proportion indicating that the activity was shared, whereas for mothers it was also offset by a higher proportion indicating that the activity was mainly done by the mother.
- For DIY, on the other hand, the proportions of both fathers and mothers stating that the father mostly did the activity were higher among **married couples in which the father was in employment and the mother was not**, while the proportions indicating that the mother mostly did the activity were lower.
- As with the previous activities, among **both groups**, both fathers and mothers were more likely to state that they mostly did the gardening or DIY than was indicated by the responses of their spouses. On the whole, fathers were still more likely than mothers to state that the activity was mostly shared.

A different pattern was observed for **financial decisions** (Figure 26, Annex B):

- Among **married couples in which both partners were in employment**, both fathers and mothers tended to state that both partners had an equal say in big financial decisions. However, the proportion giving this response was higher for fathers than it was for mothers.
- Among **married couples in which the father was in employment and the mother was not**, the proportions of both fathers and mothers indicating that both partners had an equal say were lower, but still followed the same pattern. The proportions of both fathers and mothers indicating that either the father or the mother had the final say in big financial decisions were higher, although for both father and mothers this difference was greater for the response indicating that the father had the final say.

Respondents were also asked how many hours per week they tended to spend on **domestic responsibilities** (Figure 27, Annex B). They were not asked about how long their spouse tended to spend.

- Among **married couples in which both partners were in employment**, fathers reported spending less hours on **domestic responsibilities** than mothers. Almost two-thirds of fathers in this group reported spending less than 10 hours, while over three-quarters of mothers reported spending more than 10 hours.
- Among **married couples in which the father was in employment and the mother was not**, both genders reported a higher degree of polarisation, although this difference was more pronounced among mothers' responses.

The proportion of fathers in this group stating that they spent 15 hours or more decreased from 12% to 5%, while the proportion of mothers giving this response increased from 40% to 64%, with no mothers stating that they spent less than 5 hours.

For each activity and each couple type, Figure 8 (overleaf) highlights responses which consistently changed in the same direction by at least 1 percentage point between each of the 4 waves.

Among **married partners where only the father is in employment**, the graphic shows the following changes:

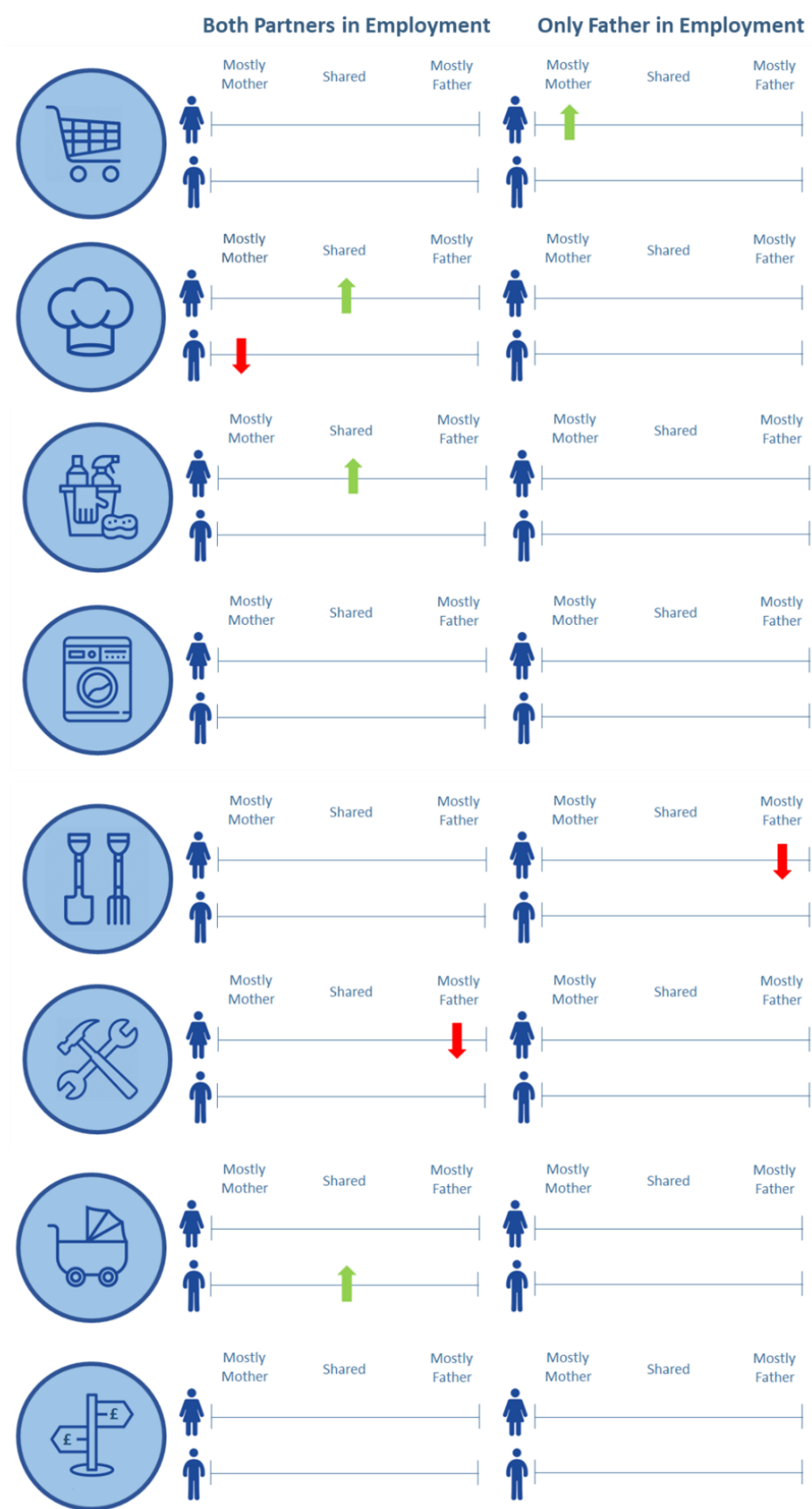
- A decrease in the proportion of fathers reporting that their spouse mainly does the **cooking**, and an increase in the proportion of women reporting that the cooking is mainly shared.
- An increase in the proportion of mothers reporting that the **cleaning** is mainly shared;
- A decrease in the proportion of mothers reporting that the father mainly does the **DIY**;
- An increase in the proportion of fathers reporting that **childcare** is mainly shared.

Among **married parents where only the father is in employment**, the graphic shows the following changes:

- An increase in the proportion of mothers reporting that they mainly do the **grocery shopping**
- A decrease in the proportion of mothers reporting that their spouse mainly does the **gardening**.

All other changes were less than 1 percentage point and/or were not observed over all waves.

Figure 8: Changes in responses to questions on who is mainly responsible for domestic activities



Source: Understanding Society, Waves 2, 4, 6, and 8 (2010-2012, 2012-2014, 2014-2016, and 2016-2018).

Discussion

This report has used data from Understanding Society to investigate two aspects of gender and work: the intentions of new mothers to return to employment and their frequency of doing so; and the gender roles and attitudes of married mothers and fathers. On the whole, the findings reinforce those from similar studies and therefore strengthen the evidence base in these areas.

Mothers Returning to Employment

The fact that women are more likely than men to be out of employment due to caring responsibilities, and more likely to move into part-time employment after having a child, is well established.⁴ Other research on barriers to maternal employment has cited lack of suitable jobs, childcare issues, a preference for caring for children, a lack of qualifications and experience, and issues organising transport.⁵ Mothers are more likely to sacrifice employment than fathers for a variety of reasons, including the fact that fathers often receive a higher salary as well as social expectations around gender roles.⁶ Research has also shown that mothers who do return to employment often shift to lower-paid jobs and, even if they continue in the same job, are less likely to gain promotion.⁷

A particularly relevant finding of the present research is that patterns of maternal employment were especially pronounced for mothers in the Scottish Government's child poverty priority groups, who were less likely to be employed when the newborn was first recorded and more likely to be carrying out family care. A report on the Growing Up in Scotland study similarly found that single mothers, those with less qualifications, those with multiple children, and those with children with long-term health conditions were less likely to return to employment by the time the child was 5. This highlights the linkage between child poverty and maternal employment, as recognised in the Scottish Government's action plans on child poverty and the gender pay gap.⁸

⁴ See, e.g., Government Equalities Office (2018) *Rapid evidence assessment: parents' decisions about returning to work and child caring responsibilities*, available at https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/705820/Parents_decisions_about_returning_to_work_and_child_caring_responsibilities.pdf.

⁵ Scottish Government (2017) *Growing Up in Scotland: patterns of maternal employment and barriers to paid work*, available at <https://www.gov.scot/publications/growing-up-scotland-patterns-maternal-employment-barriers-paid-work/pages/2/>.

⁶ Government Equalities Office (2018) *Return to work: parental decision-making*, available at https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/705898/Return_to_work-parental_decision_making.pdf.

⁷ Government Equalities Office (2019) *Employment pathways and occupational change after childbirth*, available at https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/840062/Bristol_Final_Report_1610.pdf.

⁸ Scottish Government (2018) *Every child, every chance: tackling child poverty delivery plan 2018-2022*, available at <https://www.gov.scot/publications/child-chance-tackling-child-poverty-delivery-plan-2018-22/>. Scottish Government (2019) *A fairer Scotland for women: gender pay gap action*

Gender Roles and Attitudes

The findings of this report relating to gender roles and attitudes are in line with the body of research in this area, including the latest Time Use Survey for Scotland (2014-15) and the latest British Social Attitudes Survey (2019).⁹ These sources confirm, for example, that women tend to spend more time on house work than men and to have more progressive attitudes towards gender roles. The present research has shown, however, that gender roles and attitudes vary by employment status, with married women in employment tending to have more progressive gender attitudes and to spend less time on house work than married women out of employment.

This research is complemented by the findings of the British Social Attitudes Survey, which, unlike this report, considers changes in gender attitudes over time.¹⁰ Although separate results are not available for Scotland, the Survey found that support for various forms of gender equality, including in terms of employment and childcare responsibilities, had increased in recent years. For example, in 2012, 31% of respondents thought that the best way for a family with a child under school age to organise their life was for the mother to stay at home and the father to be employed full-time. By 2018, this figure had dropped to 19%. This is in contrast to the present research, which found that younger cohorts were no more likely to have progressive gender attitudes. If both of these findings are correct, the implication is that recent changes in gender attitudes are not necessarily generational in nature but have rather been shared across age groups.

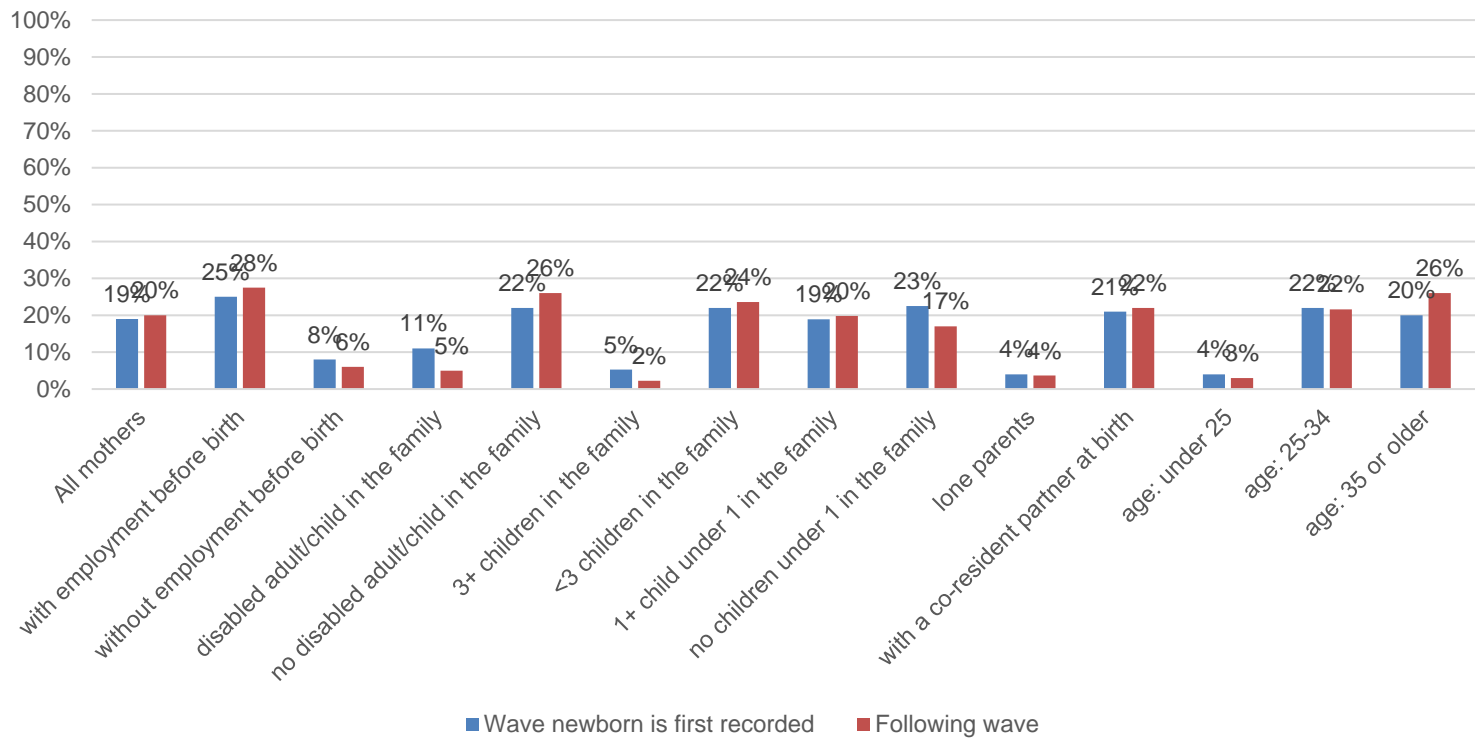
plan, available at <https://www.gov.scot/publications/fairer-scotland-women-gender-pay-gap-action-plan/>.

⁹ Scottish Government (2019) *Time Use Survey 2014-15: Results for Scotland*, available at <https://www.gov.scot/publications/centre-time-use-research-time-use-survey-2014-15-results-scotland>. NatCen Social Research (2019) *British Social Attitudes 36*, available at <http://www.bsa.natcen.ac.uk/latest-report/british-social-attitudes-36/key-findings.aspx>.

¹⁰ NatCen Social Research (2019) *British Social Attitudes 36*, available at <http://www.bsa.natcen.ac.uk/latest-report/british-social-attitudes-36/key-findings.aspx>.

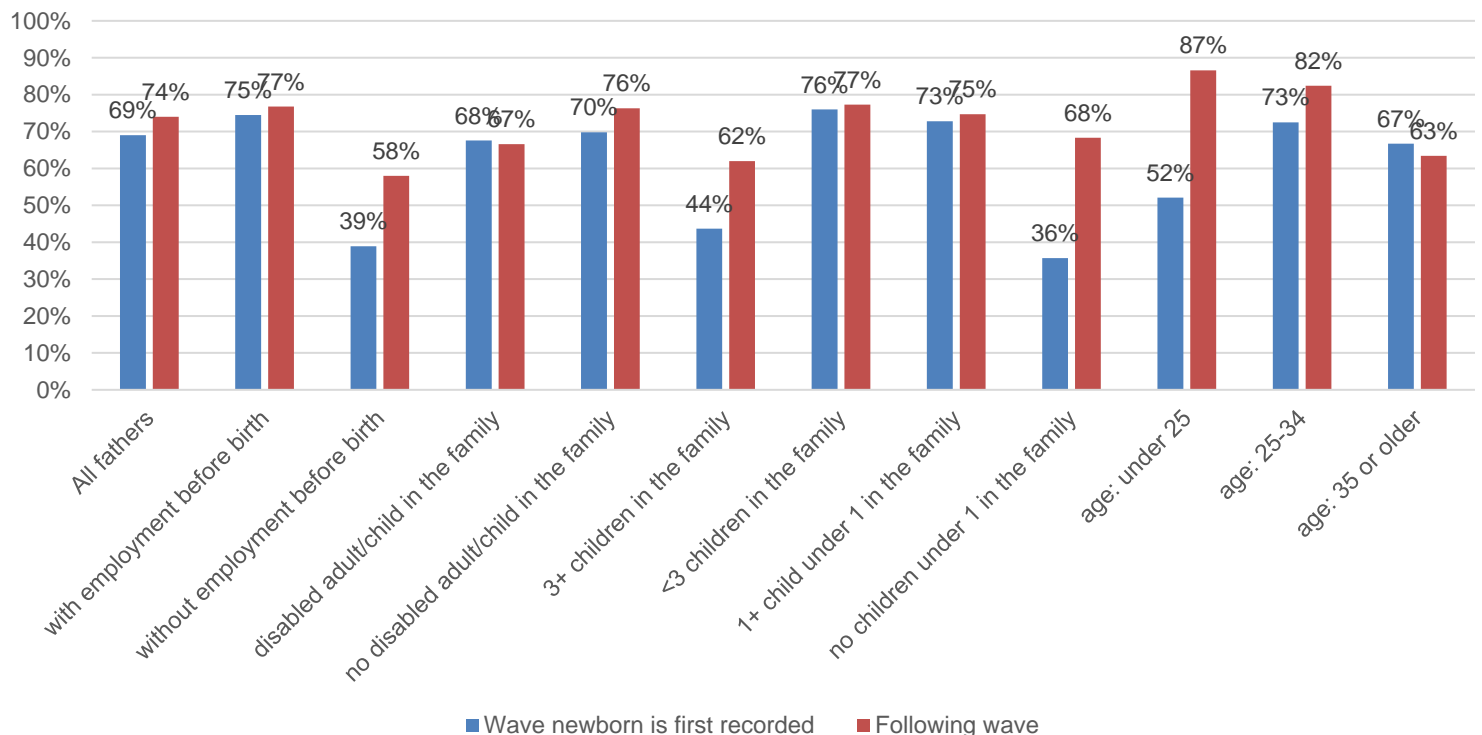
Annex A: Employment Trajectories

Figure 9: Percentage of mothers in fulltime employment



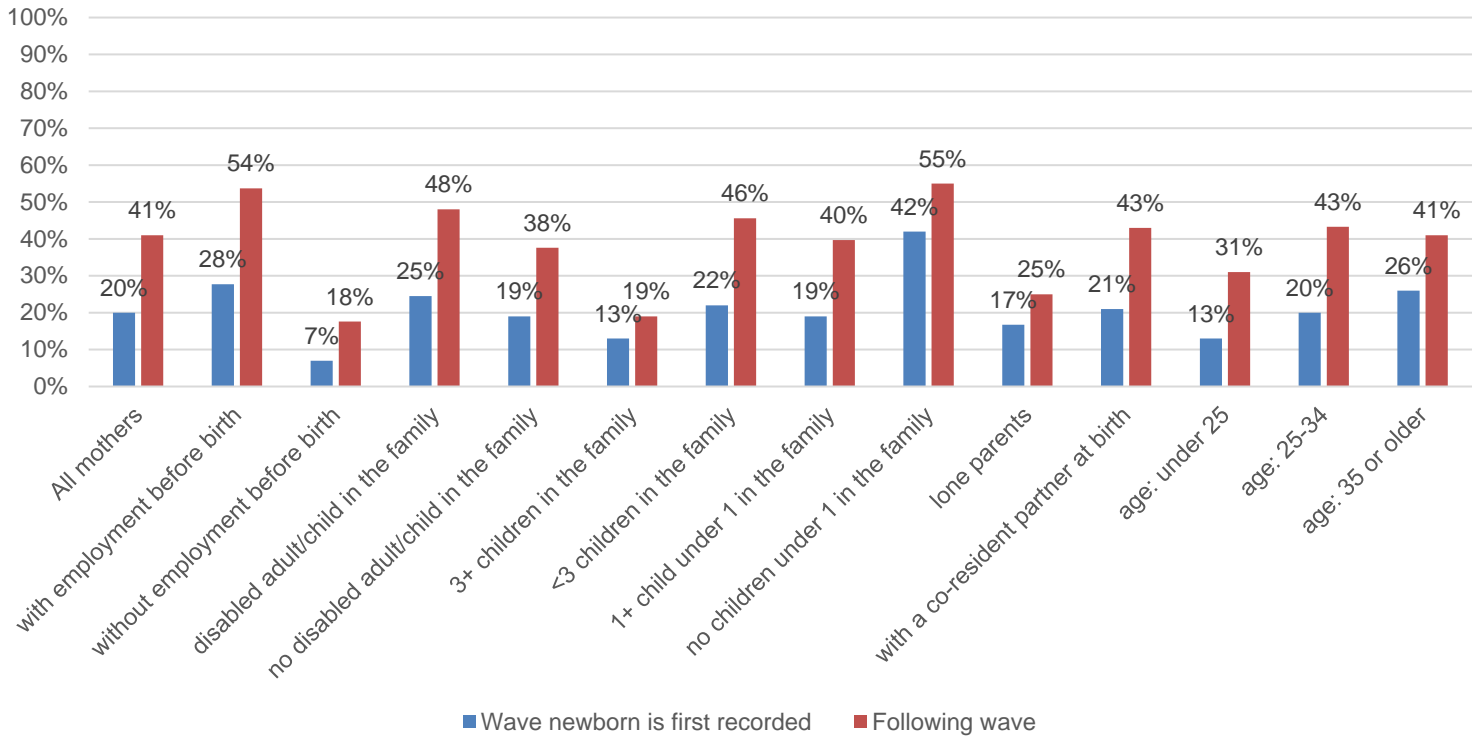
Source: Understanding Society

Figure 10: Percentage of fathers in fulltime work



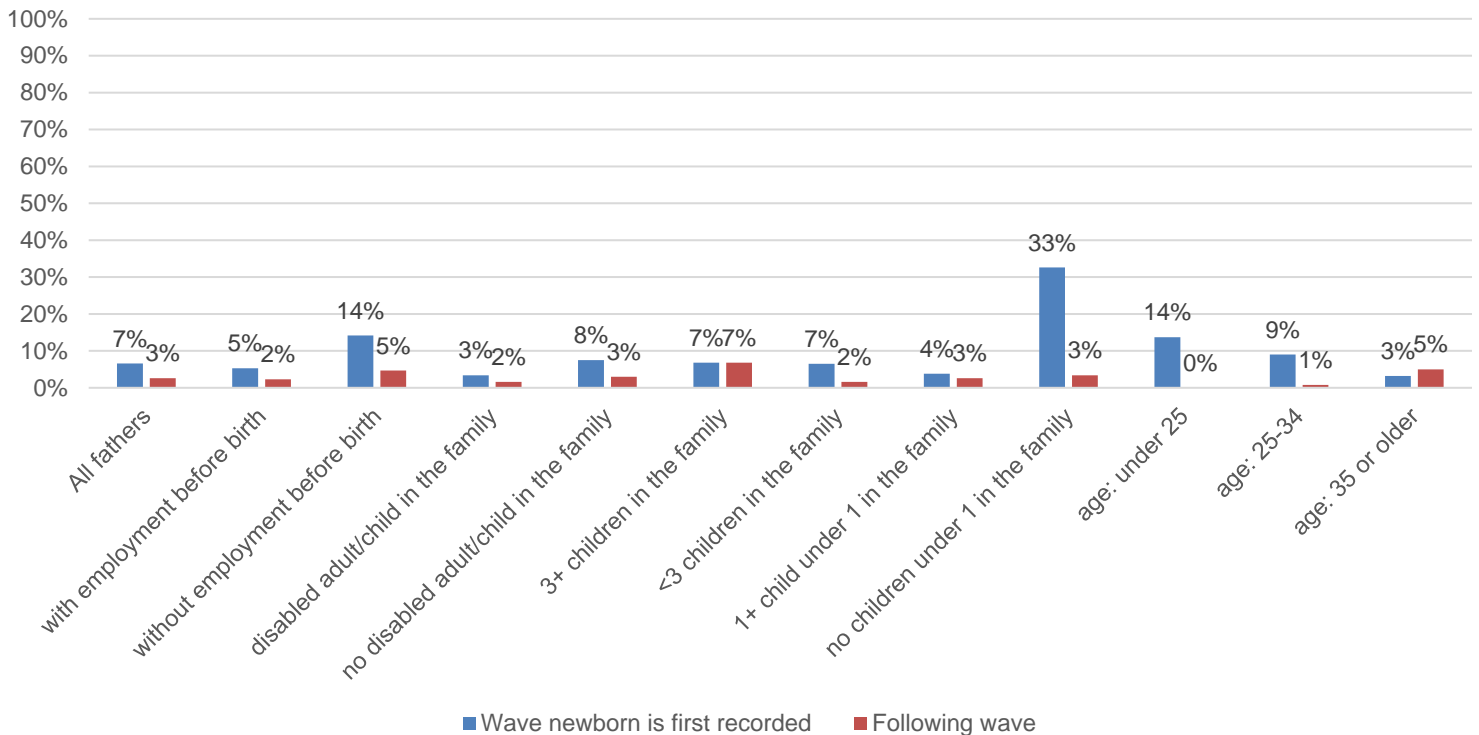
Source: Understanding Society

Figure 11: Percentage of mothers in part-time employment



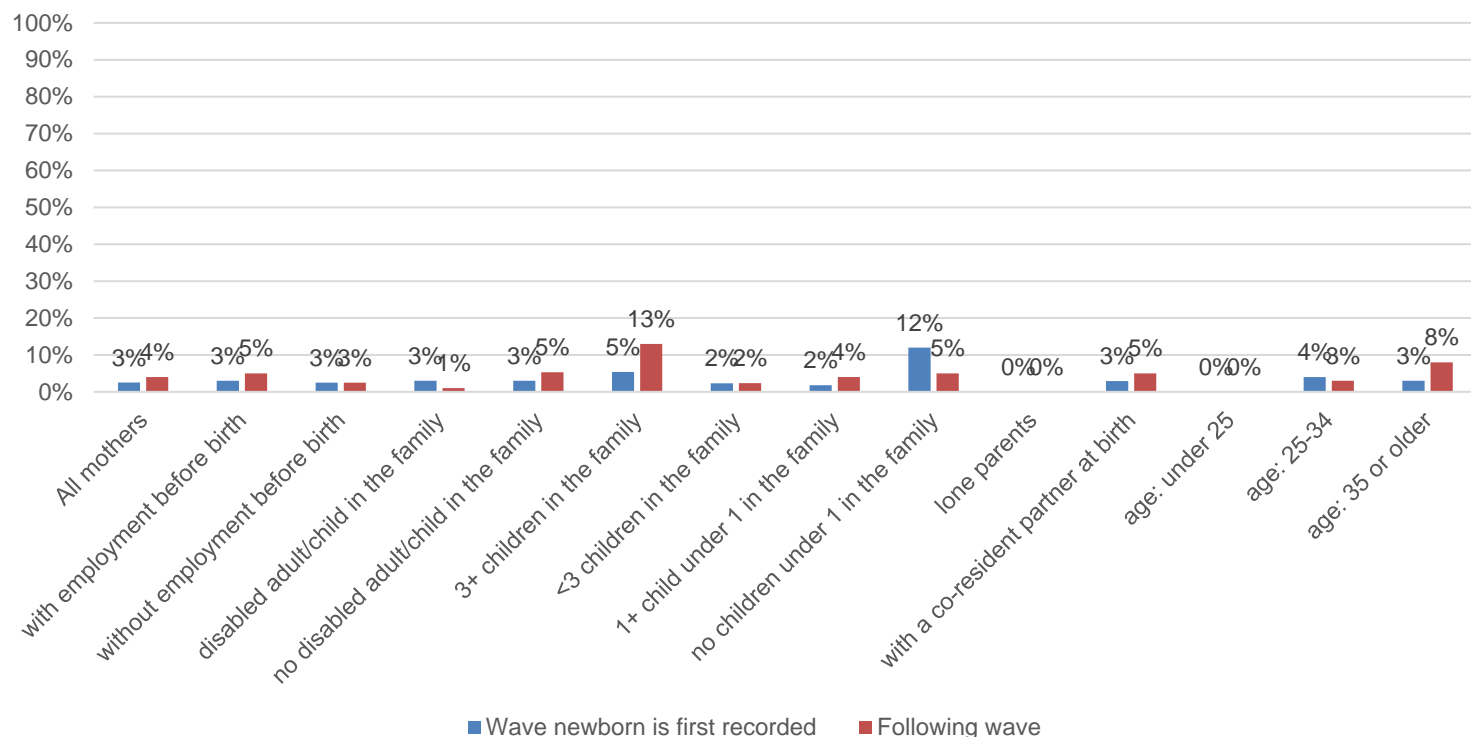
Source: Understanding Society

Figure 12: Percentage of fathers in part-time work



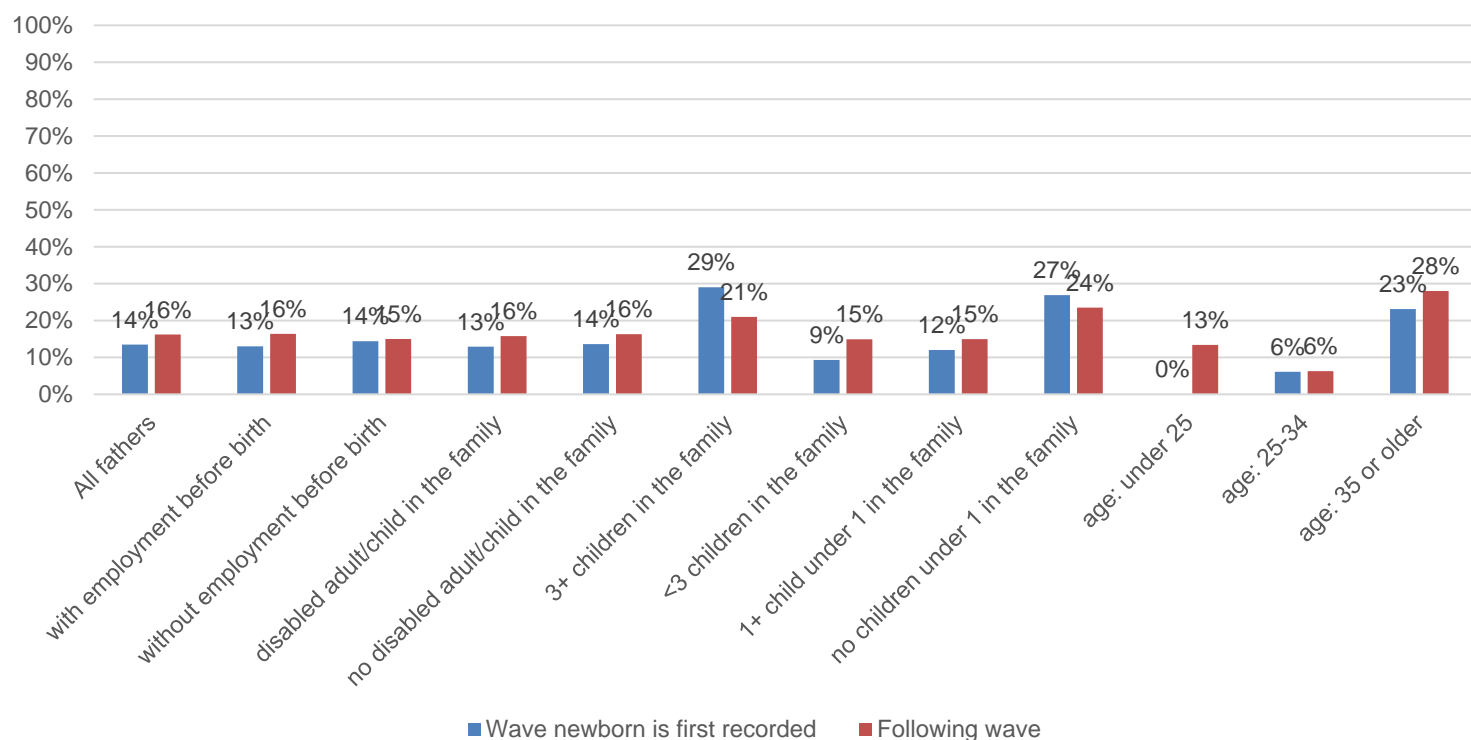
Source: Understanding Society

Figure 13: Percentage of self-employed mothers



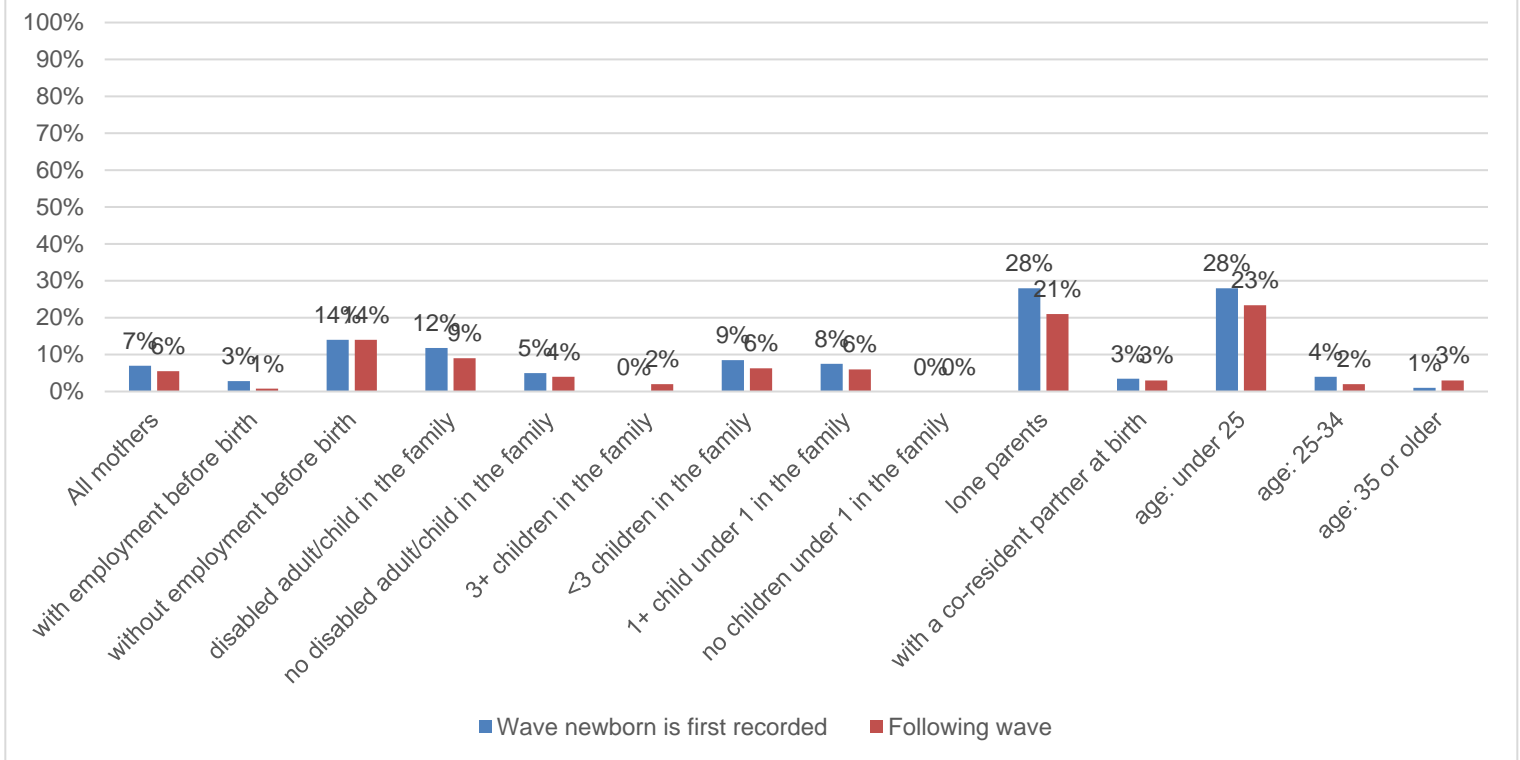
Source: Understanding Society

Figure 14: Percentage of self-employed fathers



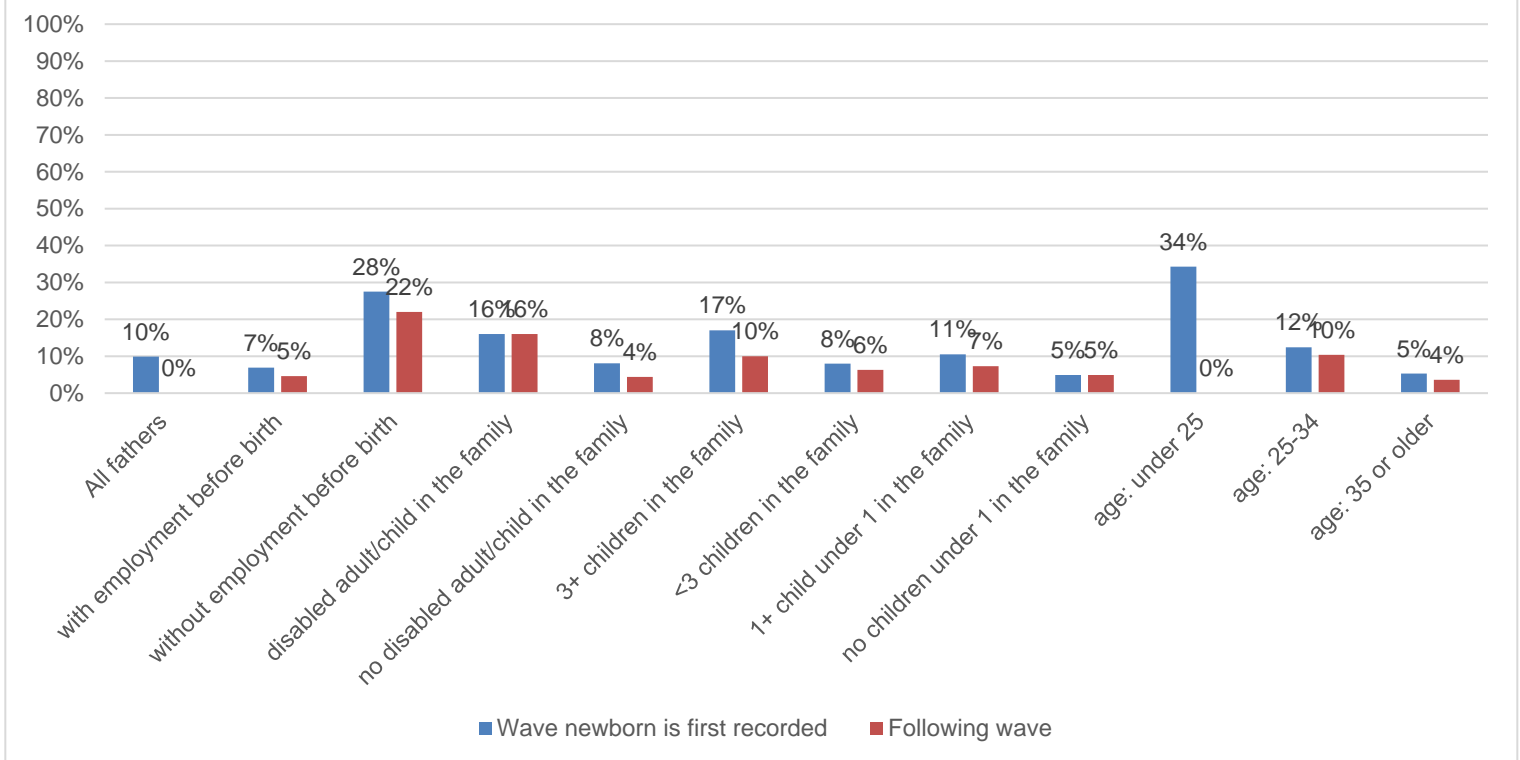
Source: Understanding Society

Figure 15: Percentage of mothers who are unemployed or looking for work



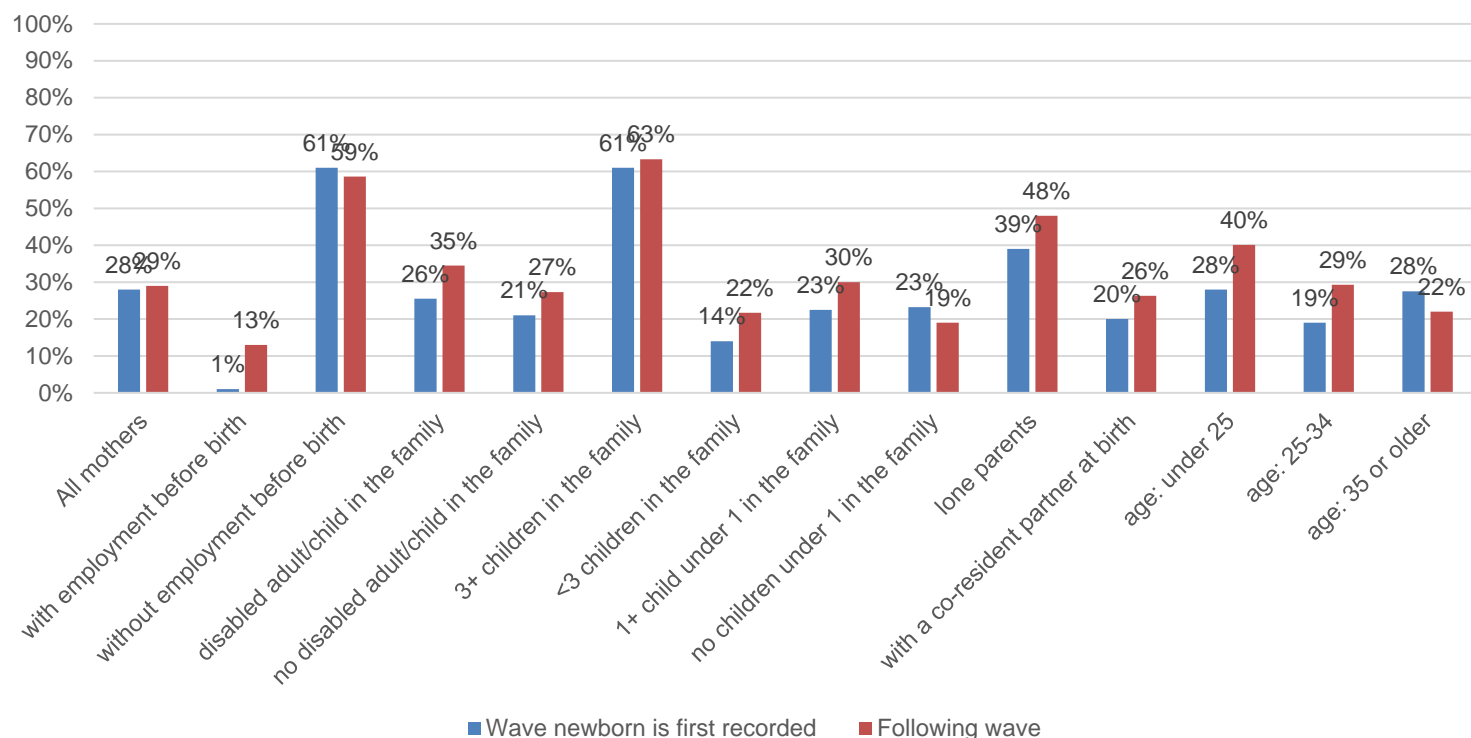
Source: Understanding Society

Figure 16: Percentage of fathers who are unemployed or looking for work



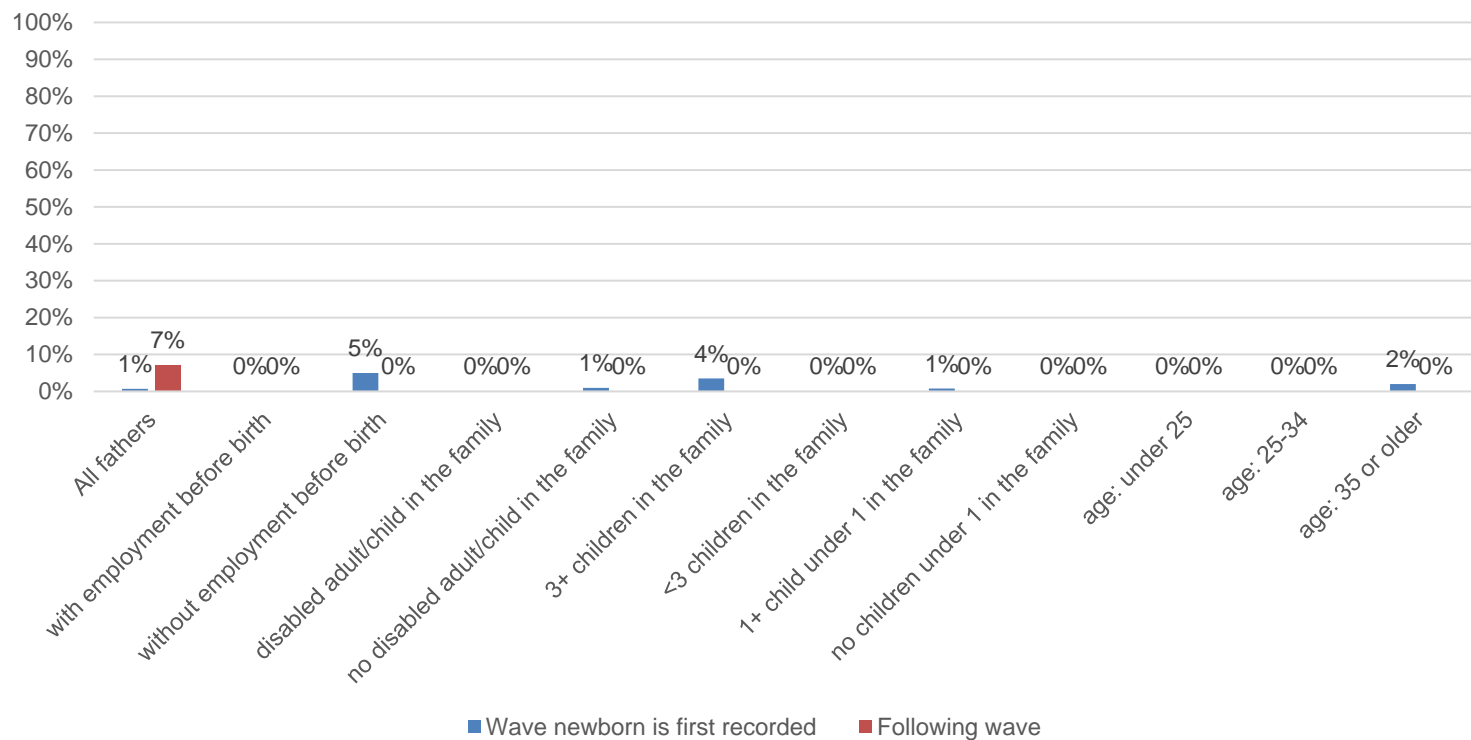
Source: Understanding Society

Figure 17: Percentage of mothers carrying out family care or else inactive



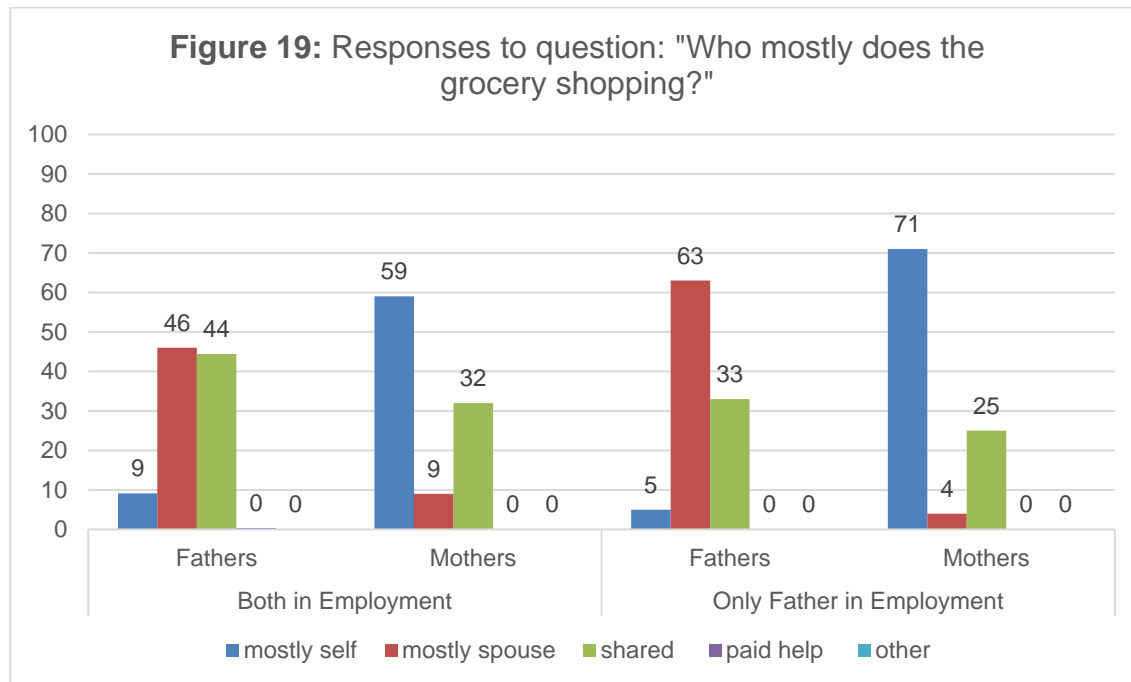
Source: Understanding Society

Figure 18: Percentage of fathers carrying out family care or else inactive

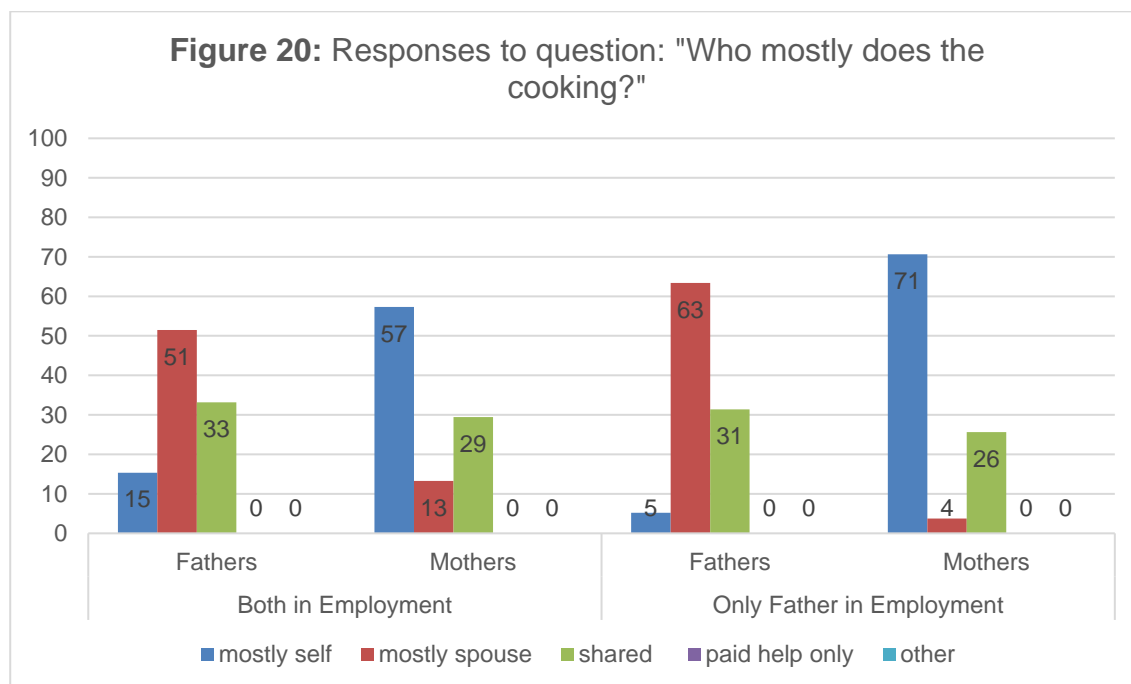


Source: Understanding Society

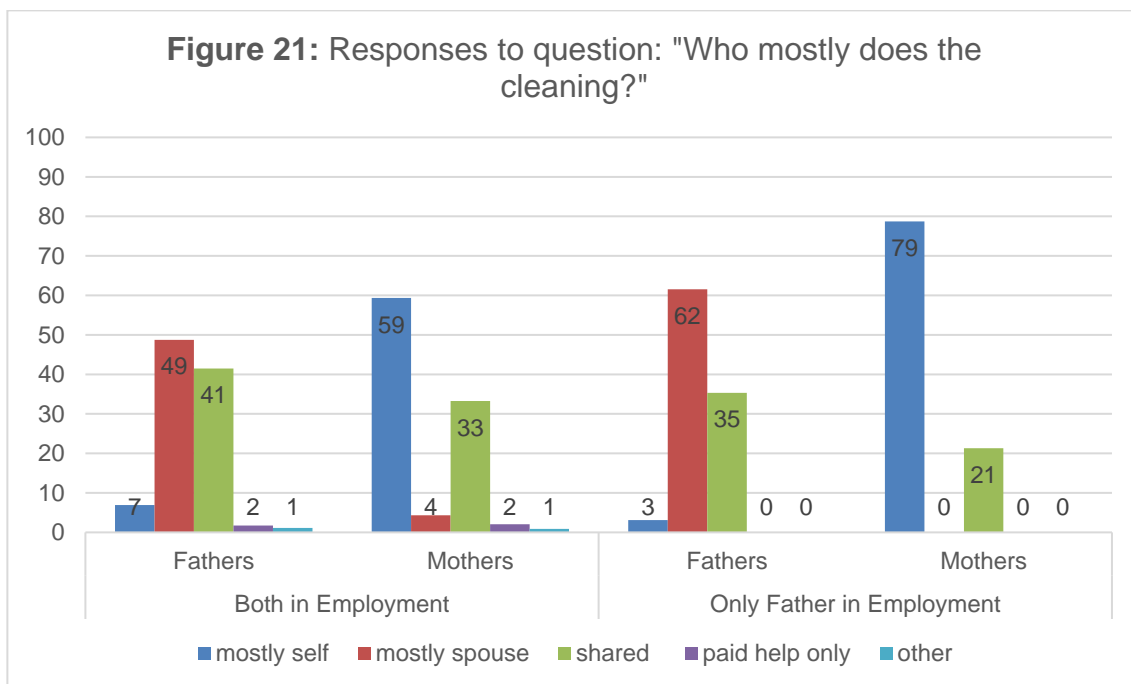
Annex B: Domestic Responsibilities



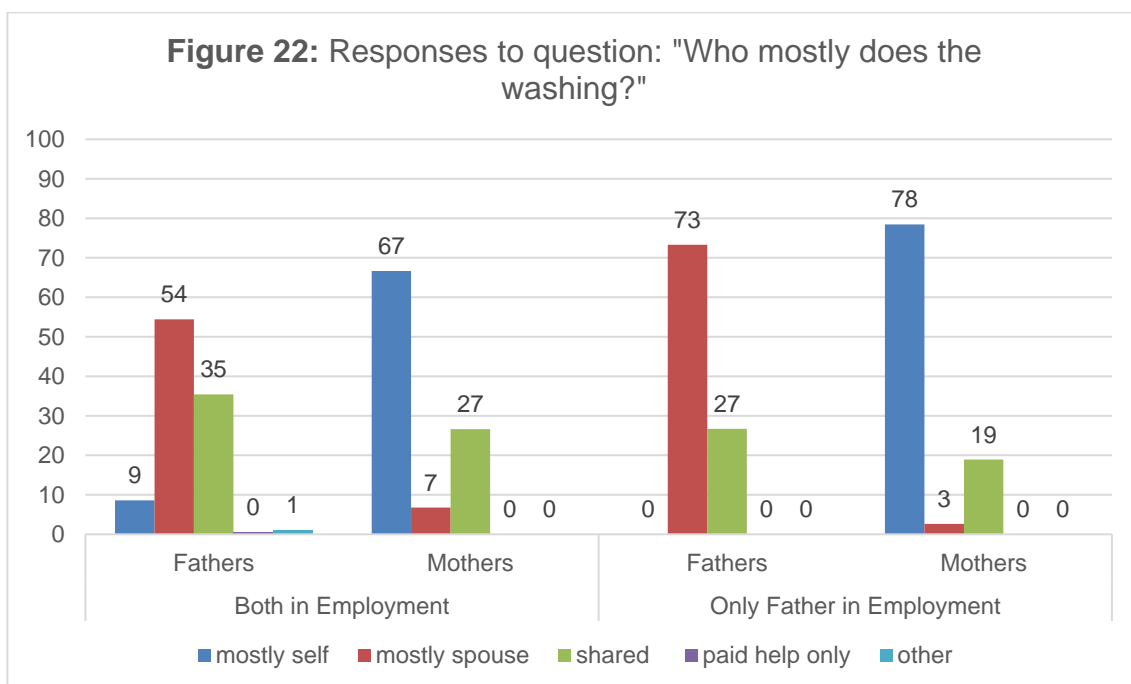
Source: Understanding Society, Wave 8 (2014-2016)



Source: Understanding Society, Wave 8 (2014-2016)

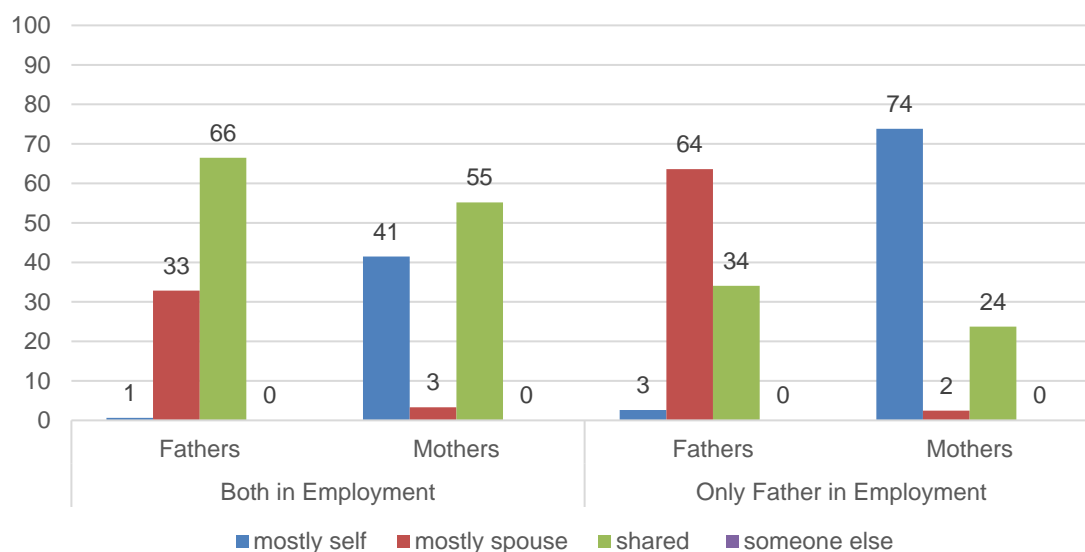


Source: Understanding Society, Wave 8 (2014-2016)



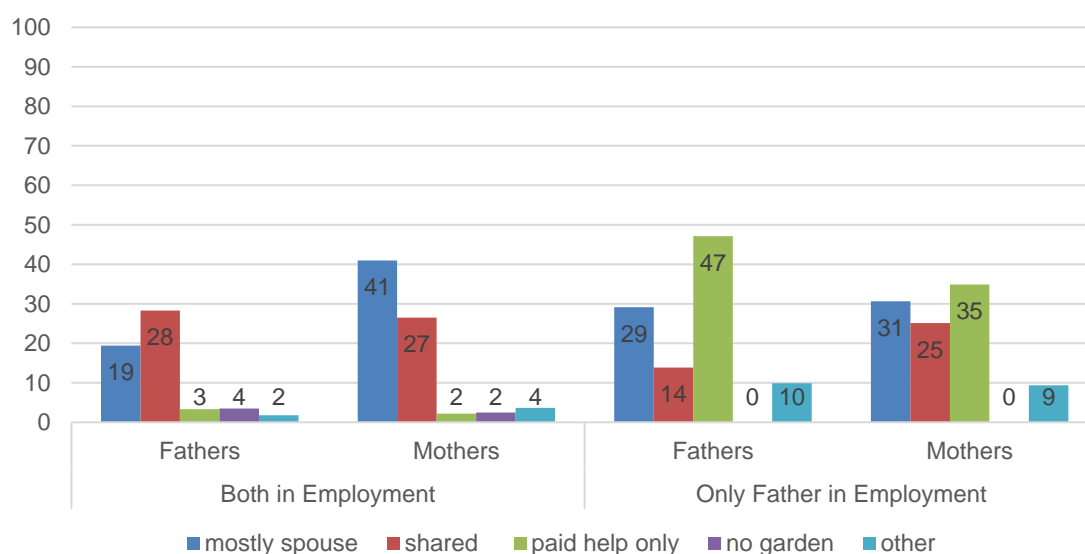
Source: Understanding Society, Wave 8 (2014-2016)

Figure 23: Responses to question: "Who mainly responsible for looking after the children?"

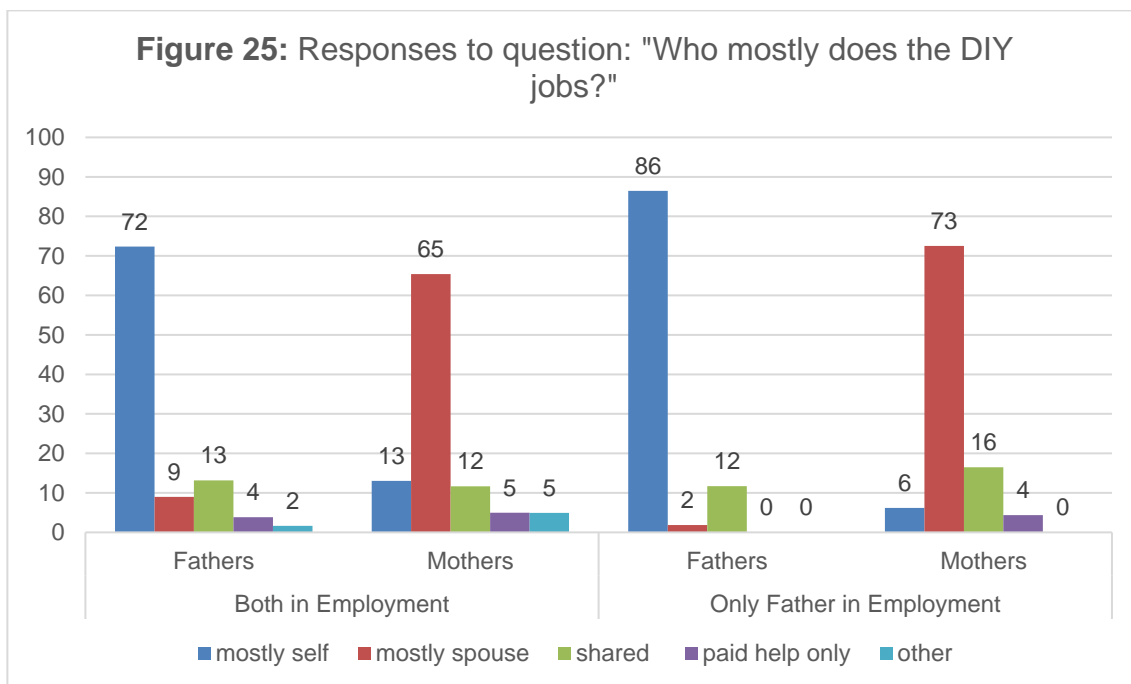


Source: Understanding Society, Wave 8 (2014-2016)

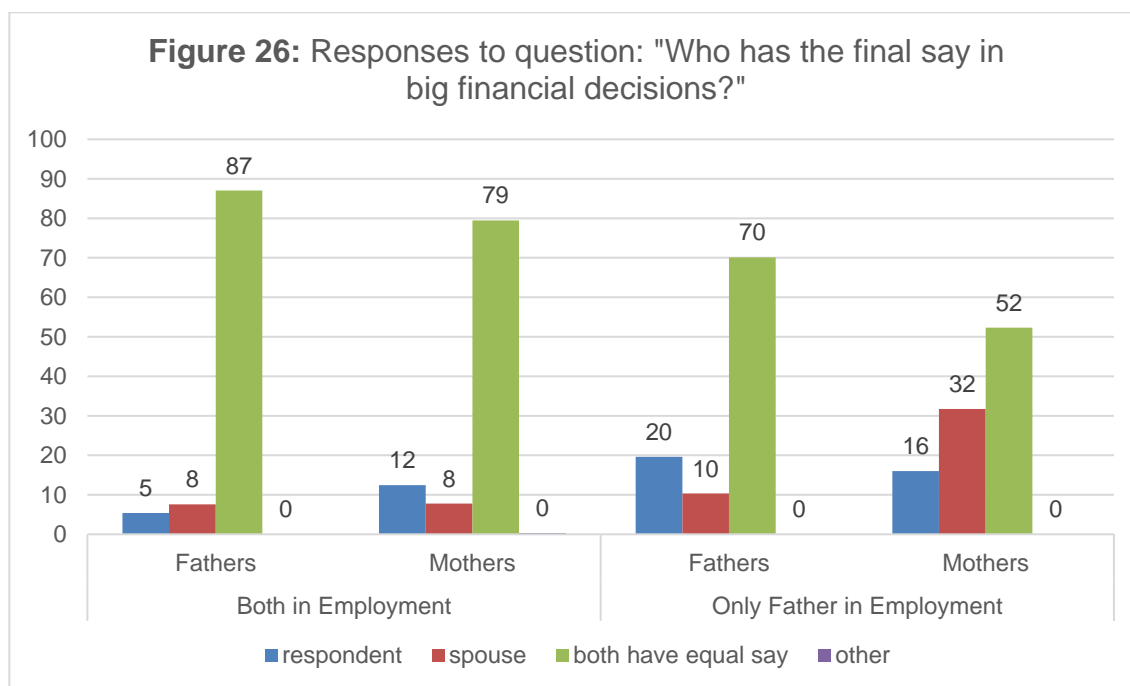
Figure 24: Responses to question: "Who mostly does the gardening?"



Source: Understanding Society, Wave 8 (2014-2016)

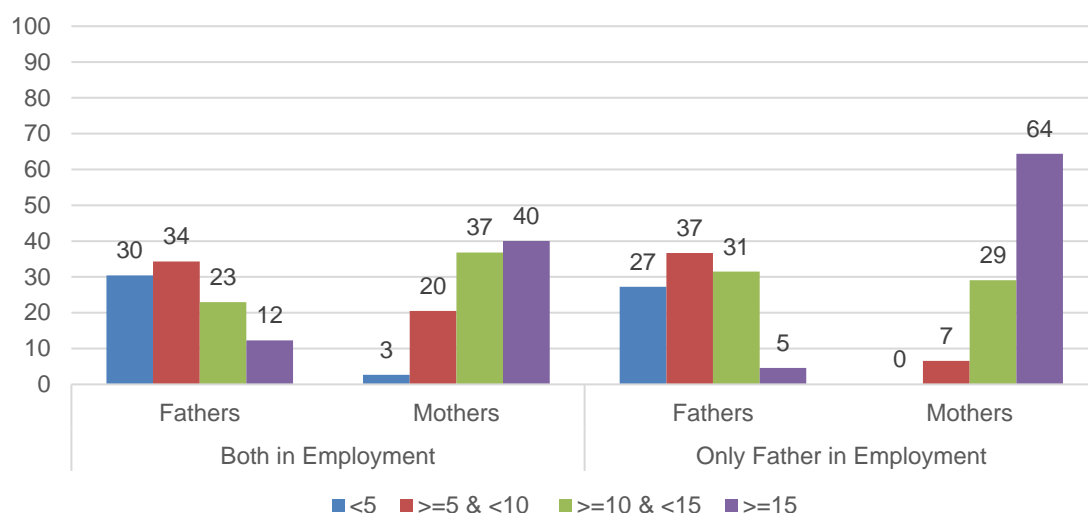


Source: Understanding Society, Wave 8 (2014-2016)



Source: Understanding Society, Wave 8 (2014-2016)

Figure 27: Responses to question: "About how many hours do you spend on housework in an average week, such as time spent cooking, cleaning and doing the laundry?"



Source: Understanding Society, Wave 8 (2014-2016)

How to access background or source data

The data collected for this social research publication cannot be made available by Scottish Government for further analysis as Scottish Government is not the data controller.



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