

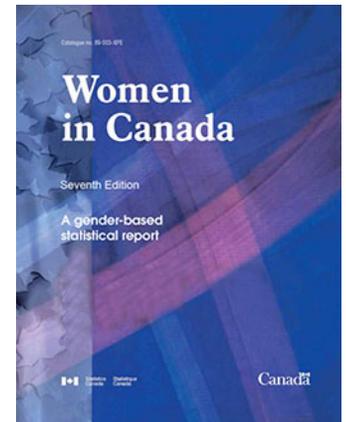
Catalogue no. 89-503-X
ISSN 1719-4407

Women in Canada: A Gender-based Statistical Report

Time use: Total work burden, unpaid work, and leisure

by Melissa Moyser, PhD and Amanda Burlock

Release date: July 30, 2018



Statistics
Canada Statistique
Canada

Canada

How to obtain more information

For information about this product or the wide range of services and data available from Statistics Canada, visit our website, www.statcan.gc.ca.

You can also contact us by

email at STATCAN.infostats-infostats.STATCAN@canada.ca

telephone, from Monday to Friday, 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., at the following numbers:

- Statistical Information Service 1-800-263-1136
- National telecommunications device for the hearing impaired 1-800-363-7629
- Fax line 1-514-283-9350

Depository Services Program

- Inquiries line 1-800-635-7943
- Fax line 1-800-565-7757

Standards of service to the public

Statistics Canada is committed to serving its clients in a prompt, reliable and courteous manner. To this end, Statistics Canada has developed standards of service that its employees observe. To obtain a copy of these service standards, please contact Statistics Canada toll-free at 1-800-263-1136. The service standards are also published on www.statcan.gc.ca under “Contact us” > “Standards of service to the public.”

Note of appreciation

Canada owes the success of its statistical system to a long-standing partnership between Statistics Canada, the citizens of Canada, its businesses, governments and other institutions. Accurate and timely statistical information could not be produced without their continued co-operation and goodwill.

Published by authority of the Minister responsible for Statistics Canada

© Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada as represented by the Minister of Industry, 2018

All rights reserved. Use of this publication is governed by the Statistics Canada [Open Licence Agreement](#).

An HTML version is also available.

Cette publication est aussi disponible en français.

Time use: Total work burden, unpaid work, and leisure

by **Melissa Moyser, PhD** and **Amanda Burlock¹**

Introduction

The increased labour force participation of women has led to changes in the economic structure of families.² Since the mid-1970s, the proportion of dual-earner families has risen by about 20 percentage points (from 39.2% to 58.8%).³ At the same time, the proportion of lone-parent families has nearly doubled (from 8.4% to 14.2%), and the proportion of families in which the wife or female partner was the sole earner also grown.⁴ These changes have contributed to a steep decline in the proportion of families in which the husband or male partner was the sole earner.

With these changes, balancing work and family life has become more challenging for both women and men.⁵ The increasing contributions of women to the economic well-being of their families have eroded traditional gender roles, which assign women primary responsibility for unpaid work (i.e., housework and caregiving), and men primary responsibility for earning. The growing demands of paid work and family life have further eroded the gendered division of labour.^{6,7,8} Faced with economic pressures and global competition, employers often expect high levels of commitment from their lean workforces; rely heavily on communication technology (e.g., e-mail and cellular phones) and laptop computers that make it possible for employees to work at all times and from anywhere; and reward long hours of work and “face time” at the office.^{9,10,11,12,13} At the same time, parents—particularly mothers—are expected to invest heavily in childrearing, spending plenty of ‘quality time’ with their children, fostering their children’s development through exposure to a variety of extracurricular activities, and making constant efforts to enrich their children’s environment.^{14,15,16,17} Delayed childbearing and transitions to adulthood, as well as population aging, also increase the likelihood that both children and elderly parents need support from middle-aged workers.¹⁸ Together, these incongruous trends have renewed interest in how women and men share financial, child care, and household responsibilities.¹⁹

Time is a finite resource, meaning that time spent on one activity reduces the amount of time available for other activities. Knowing how women and men allocate their time to various activities during a typical day is essential to understanding gender inequality in society, as one’s activities in the private sphere (i.e., housework and caregiving) have implications for the extent and nature of their participation in the public sphere (i.e., paid employment), and vice versa.^{20,21}

Using data from the 1986, 2010, and 2015 General Social Survey on Time Use and the 2012 General Social Survey on Caregiving and Care Receiving, this chapter of *Women in Canada* examines gender differences in the allocation

1. The authors gratefully acknowledge preliminary data analysis for this chapter of *Women in Canada* conducted by Charlie Victorino, Rebecca Williams, and Bin Hu.
2. Uppal, Sharanjit. 2015. “Employment patterns of families with children.” *Insights on Canadian Society*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-006-X.
3. Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 1976 and 2017, custom tabulations.
4. Ibid.
5. Jacobs, Jerry A. and Kathleen Gerson. 2005. *The Time Divide: Work, Family, and Gender Inequality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
6. Bianchi, Suzanne M. and Sarah B. Raley. 2005. “Time allocations in families.” Pp. 21-42 in *Work, Family, Health, and Well-being*, edited by Suzanne M. Bianchi, Lynne M. Casper, and Rosalind Berkowitz King. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
7. Crompton, Rosemary. 2006. *Employment and the Family: The Reconfiguration of Work and Family Life in Contemporary Societies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
8. Luxton, Meg. 2001. “Family coping strategies: Balancing paid employment and domestic labour.” Pp. 318-337 in *Family Patterns, Gender Relations*, edited by Bonnie J. Fox. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
9. Blyton, Paul and Ali Dastmalchian. 2006. “Work-life integration and the changing context of work.” Pp. 17-37 in *Work-Life Integration: International Perspectives on the Balancing of Multiple Roles*, edited by Paul Blyton, Betsy Blundson, Ken Reed, and Ali Dastmalchian. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
10. Chesley, Noelle. 2014. “Information and communication technology use, work intensification and employee strain and distress.” *Work, Employment and Society* 28(4): 589-610.
11. Crompton, Rosemary. 2006. *Employment and the Family: The Reconfiguration of Work and Family Life in Contemporary Societies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
12. Mattingly, Marybeth J. and Liana C. Sayer. 2006. “Under pressure: Gender differences in the relationship between free time and feeling rushed.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 68(1): 205-221.
13. Voydanoff, Patricia. 2007. *Work, Family, and Community: Exploring Interconnections*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
14. Bianchi, Suzanne M. 2011. “Family change and time allocation in American families.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 638: 21-44.
15. Hayes, Sharon. 1996. *The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
16. Lareau, Annette. 2003. *Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race, and Family Life*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
17. Roxburgh, Susan. 2012. “Parental Time Pressures and Depression among Dual-Earner Parents.” *Journal of Family Issues* 33(8): 1027-1053.
18. Bianchi, Suzanne M. 2011. “Family change and time allocation in American families.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 638(1): 21-44.
19. Bianchi, Suzanne M., Melissa A. Milkie, Liana C. Sayer, and John P. Robinson. 2000. “Is anyone doing the housework? Trends in the gender division of household labor.” *Social Forces* 79(1): 191-228.
20. Antonopoulos, Rania. 2009. “*The unpaid care work – paid work connection*,” working paper no. 86. Geneva: International Labour Office, Policy Integration and Statistics Department.
21. Ferrant, Gaëlle, Luca Maria Pesando, and Keiko Nowacka. 2014. “*Unpaid care work: The missing link in the analysis of gender gaps in labour outcomes*.” Issues paper, OECD, Development Centre.

of time to housework, caregiving and leisure, and how they have evolved over the past 30 years. The total work burden of women and men—defined as the amount of time spent on paid and unpaid work *in combination*—is also examined. Unless otherwise stated, the estimates presented here pertain to individuals aged 25 to 54 living in the 10 provinces, and exclude institutionalized populations, First Nations reserves, and those residing in the territories. This age group was chosen because it encompasses the years during the life course when earning and caring roles are most onerous. Young adults (aged 15 to 24) and seniors (aged 55 years or older) generally have different patterns of time use from working-age adults, as they are more likely to be full-time students or retired.

Reconciling competing claims regarding gender differences in time use

Previous research has generated competing claims regarding gender differences in time use. On one hand, there is evidence that the total work burden of women and men is now equal in Canada²² and the United States.^{23,24} Women are doing more paid work and less housework than was the case in the past, while preserving time with children.^{25,26,27,28,29,30,31,32} Men are doing less paid work and more unpaid work, particularly child care.^{33,34,35,36,37,38}

On the other hand, there is evidence that men have not increased their participation in unpaid work to the same extent as either women have increased their participation in paid work, or as women have decreased their participation in unpaid work.^{39,40,41,42} As a result, women effectively perform a “second shift” of unpaid work after their paid work.^{43,44,45} Qualitative research also highlights women’s retention of ultimate responsibility for the coordination of children’s lives; the smooth functioning of the household (e.g., planning meals; scheduling medical, dental, and other appointments; and arranging for repairs or deliveries); “emotion work” (i.e., the enhancement of relatives’ emotional well-being and provision of support); and “kin keeping” (i.e., the maintenance of relationships with immediate and extended family by keeping in touch; remembering and acknowledging birthdays and other milestones; and planning and organizing family celebrations and vacations)—even as their economic roles have expanded.^{46,47,48,49,50,51,52} Although women often spend substantial amounts of time doing such mental and emotional work, it is largely invisible to others (except in its absence), typically lacks social recognition, and goes unmeasured in time-use surveys.⁵³

22. Marshall, Katherine. 2006. “Converging gender roles.” *Perspectives on Labour and Income*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE.
23. Bianchi, Suzanne M., John P. Robinson, and Melissa A. Milkie. 2006. *Changing Rhythms of American Family Life*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
24. Pew Research Center. 2013. “Modern parenthood: Roles of moms and dads converge as they balance work and family.” Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center.
25. Bianchi, Suzanne M. 2000. “Maternal employment and time with children: Dramatic change or surprising continuity?” *Demography* 37(4): 401-414.
26. Bianchi, Suzanne M., Melissa A. Milkie, Liana C. Sayer, and John P. Robinson. 2000. “Is anyone doing the housework? Trends in the gender division of household labor.” *Social Forces* 79(1): 191-228.
27. Bianchi, Suzanne M., John P. Robinson, and Melissa A. Milkie. 2006. *Changing Rhythms of American Family Life*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
28. Bianchi, Suzanne M., Liana C. Sayer, Melissa A. Milkie, and John P. Robinson. 2012. “Housework: Who did it, does or will do it, and how much does it matter?” *Social Forces* 91(1): 55-63.
29. Marshall, Katherine. 2006. “Converging gender roles.” *Perspectives on Labour and Income*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE.
30. Pew Research Center. 2013. “Modern parenthood: Roles of moms and dads converge as they balance work and family.” Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center.
31. Sayer, Liana C. 2005. “Gender, time and inequality: Trends in women’s and men’s paid work, unpaid work and free time.” *Social Forces* 84(1): 285-303.
32. Sayer, Liana C. 2004. “Are parents investing less in children? Trends in mothers’ and fathers’ time with children.” *American Journal of Sociology* 110(1): 1-43.
33. Bianchi, Suzanne M., Melissa A. Milkie, Liana C. Sayer, and John P. Robinson. 2000. “Is anyone doing the housework? Trends in the gender division of household labor.” *Social Forces* 79(1): 191-228.
34. Marshall, Katherine. 2006. “Converging gender roles.” *Perspectives on Labour and Income*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE.
35. Bianchi, Suzanne M., John P. Robinson, and Melissa A. Milkie. 2006. *Changing Rhythms of American Family Life*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
36. Bianchi, Suzanne M., Liana C. Sayer, Melissa A. Milkie, and John P. Robinson. 2012. “Housework: Who did it, does or will do it, and how much does it matter?” *Social Forces* 91(1): 55-63.
37. Pew Research Center. 2013. “Modern parenthood: Roles of moms and dads converge as they balance work and family.” Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center.
38. Sayer, Liana C. 2005. “Gender, time and inequality: Trends in women’s and men’s paid work, unpaid work and free time.” *Social Forces* 84(1): 285-303.
39. Bianchi, Suzanne M., Melissa A. Milkie, Liana C. Sayer, and John P. Robinson. 2000. “Is anyone doing the housework? Trends in the gender division of household labor.” *Social Forces* 79(1): 191-228.
40. Bianchi, Suzanne M., Liana C. Sayer, Melissa A. Milkie, and John P. Robinson. 2012. “Housework: Who did it, does or will do it, and how much does it matter?” *Social Forces* 91(1): 55-63.
41. Marshall, Katherine. 2006. “Converging gender roles.” *Perspectives on Labour and Income*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE.
42. Sayer, Liana C. 2005. “Gender, time and inequality: Trends in women’s and men’s paid work, unpaid work and free time.” *Social Forces* 84(1): 285-303.
43. Bianchi, Suzanne M., John P. Robinson, and Melissa A. Milkie. 2006. *Changing Rhythms of American Family Life*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
44. Hochschild, Arlie Russell with Anne Machung. 1989. *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home*. New York, New York: Viking.
45. Milkie, Melissa A., Sarah B. Raley, and Suzanne M. Bianchi. 2009. “Taking on the second shift: Time allocations and time pressures of U.S. parents with pre-schoolers.” *Social Forces* 88(2): 487-517.
46. DeVault, Marjorie L. 1991. *Feeding the Family: The Social Organization of Caring as Gendered Work*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
47. di Leonardo, Micaela. 1987. “The female world of cards and holidays: Women, families, and the work of kinship.” *Signs* 12(3): 440-453.
48. Duncombe, Jean and Dennis Marsden. 1993. “Love and intimacy: The gender division of emotion and ‘emotion work’: A neglected aspect of sociological discussion of heterosexual relationships.” *Sociology* 27(2): 221-241.
49. Erickson, Rebecca J. 2005. “Why emotion work matters: Sex, gender, and the division of household labor.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 67(2): 337-351.
50. Hays, Sharon. 1998. *The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
51. Hochschild, Arlie Russell with Anne Machung. 1989. *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home*. New York, New York: Viking.
52. Mederer, Helen J. 1993. “Division of labor in two-earner homes: Task accomplishment versus household management as critical variables in perceptions about family work.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 55(1): 133-145.
53. Daniels, Arlene Kaplan. 1987. “Invisible work.” *Social Problems* 34(5): 403-415.

The notion that women perform a disproportionate share of unpaid work is supported by evidence that they have heightened perceptions of time pressure—defined as “both a cognitive awareness of not having enough time and the emotional experience of hectic pace, harriedness, and rushing, accompanied by apprehension and frustration”—relative to men.⁵⁴ In 2015, 48.9% of women aged 25 to 54 in Canada reported that, at the end of the day, they often felt that they had not accomplished what they set out to do, compared with 43.4% of men; 68.6% of women reported that they felt under stress when they did not have enough time, compared with 60.0% of men; and 46.3% of women reported feeling constantly under stress trying to accomplish more than they could handle, compared with 39.8% of men.

The competing claims about women’s and men’s time use have different implications regarding gender inequality in society. If women and men have altered their allocation of time doing paid and unpaid work in the direction of convergence, it is suggestive of progress toward gender equality. Conversely, if women’s greater allocation of time to paid work has not led to a significant redistribution of unpaid work to men, it is suggestive of continued enactments of the traditional gendered division of labour on a daily basis and, therefore, a “stalled” gender revolution.^{55,56,57}

How can these claims be reconciled? Gender differences in multitasking—defined as “the simultaneous performance of several tasks or the rapid alteration between them that allows individuals to squeeze in more tasks and get more things done within a limited amount of time”—may be relevant.⁵⁸ While paid work is generally done as a main or “primary” activity, housework and child care are often done in conjunction with other activities (i.e., as “simultaneous” activities), typically leisure.^{59,60,61} For example, a parent may spend time folding laundry, while supervising her/his children and watching television. Previous research largely focuses on unpaid work as a primary activity. Given that women are more likely than men to both do unpaid work and multitask, this practice may systematically underestimate how much time women actually spend on unpaid work activities and their total work burden, and yield a distorted image of progress toward gender equality.^{62,63,64,65} Therefore, data on both the primary and simultaneous activities of women and men are presented in this chapter.

54. Szollos, Alex. 2009. “Toward a psychology of chronic time pressure: Conceptual and methodological review.” *Time and Society* 18(2/3): 332-350.

55. England, Paula. 2010. “The gender revolution: Uneven and stalled.” *Gender and Society* 24(2): 149-166.

56. Hochschild, Arlie Russell with Anne Machung. 1989. *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home*. New York, New York: Viking.

57. Sayer, Liana C. 2005. “Gender, time and inequality: Trends in women’s and men’s paid work, unpaid work and free time.” *Social Forces* 84(1): 286-303.

58. Offer, Shira and Barbara Schneider. 2011. “Revisiting the gender gap in time-use patterns: Multitasking and well-being among mothers and fathers in dual-earner families.” *American Sociological Review* 76(6): 809-833.

59. Bittman, Michael and Judy Wajcman. 2000. “The rush hour: The character of leisure time and gender inequality.” *Social Forces* 79(1): 165-189.

60. Mattingly, Marybeth J. and Suzanne Bianchi. 2003. “Gender differences in the quantity and quality of free time: The U.S. experience.” *Social Forces* 81(3): 990-1030.

61. Mattingly, Marybeth J. and Liana C. Sayer. 2006. “Under pressure: Gender differences in the relationship between free time and feeling rushed.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 68(1): 205-221.

62. Bianchi, Suzanne M., John P. Robinson, and Melissa A. Milkie. 2006. *Changing Rhythms of American Family Life*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

63. Drago, Robert. 2011. “Secondary activities in the 2006 *American Time Use Survey*.” Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

64. Hochschild, Arlie Russell with Anne Machung. 1989. *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home*. New York, New York: Viking.

65. Offer, Shira and Barbara Schneider. 2011. “Revisiting the gender gap in time-use patterns: Multitasking and well-being among mothers and fathers in dual-earner families.” *American Sociological Review* 76(6): 809-833.

Textbox 1: The General Social Survey on Time Use

Established in 1985, Statistics Canada's General Social Survey (GSS) program was designed as a series of independent, annual, cross-sectional surveys, each covering one theme in-depth. The overall objectives of the program continue to be gathering data on social trends in order to monitor changes in the living conditions and well-being of Canadians, and providing information on specific social policy issues.

The first GSS on "Time Use" was conducted in 1986. This theme has been revisited every 5 to 7 years since then, most recently in 2015. The Time Use survey employs a retrospective 24-hour time diary to collect information on respondents' participation in, and time spent on, a wide variety of day-to-day activities, lasting at least 10 minutes. Information is also collected on the location that these activities occurred and, for non-personal activities, the people who were with the respondent at the time of the activity.

For the first time in 2010, the GSS on Time Use included questions regarding participation in, and the duration of, other activities being performed at the same time as the main or "primary" activity, allowing for a better understanding of multitasking. Questions regarding participation in simultaneous activities were retained for the 2015 GSS; however, questions regarding the duration of those activities were not. For this reason, the present analysis complements data on primary activities from the 2015 GSS with data on simultaneous activities from the 2010 GSS. The average duration of time spent on housework, childcare and leisure as primarily activities were comparable in 2010 and 2015, suggesting that the same will be true of simultaneous activities.

The GSS on Time Use had a lower response rate in 2015 than it did in 2010: 38% versus 55%. The response rate for the 2015 GSS was also 8 to 15 percentage points lower than that observed for other cycles of the survey conducted in the past decade. Statistics Canada has endeavored to ensure that the 2015 GSS data are fit-for-use by applying appropriate non-response adjustments to survey weights and validating key survey estimates to several other data sources. Nevertheless, estimates for small population groups may be subject to higher sampling error and greater risks of non-response bias. For this reason, the 2015 GSS data will not support consideration of gendered patterns of time use among Aboriginal peoples, visible minorities, immigrants, or people with disabilities.

For more information on the 2015 GSS, please refer to *General Social Survey 2015 Time Use Survey Technical Note*: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-658-x/89-658-x2017001-eng.htm>.

Total work burden

Two types of work are fundamental to capitalist societies: paid employment associated with the waged economy, and unpaid domestic labour that produces and sustains both the current generation of workers and the children who are the future workforce.^{66,67} For a variety of reasons, women tend to spend more time on unpaid work than do men. In 2015, women in Canada spent an average of 3.9 hours per day on unpaid work as a primary activity—1.5 hours more than did men (2.4 hours) (Chart 1).

The gender gap in time spent on unpaid work is greater when the simultaneous performance of unpaid work with other activities is included in estimates, as more women did unpaid work as a simultaneous activity than did men. Specifically, 60.8% of women did unpaid work as a simultaneous activity in 2015, compared with 40.2% of men. Women spent an average of 2.5 hours more per day on all unpaid-work activities—both primary and simultaneous—in 2010 than did men: 5.4 versus 2.9 hours.

While women tend to spend more time on unpaid work than men, they are less likely to participate in the labour market and, when they do, they are more likely to be employed on a part-time basis.⁶⁸ Based on data from the Labour Force Survey, 82.0% of women in Canada participated in the labour market in 2015, compared with 90.9% of men.⁶⁹ Employed women usually spent an average of 5.6 hours less per week on all jobs than did men (35.5 versus 41.1 hours). Based on data from the 2015 GSS, women spent an average of 3.9 hours per day on paid work, while men spent an average of 5.2 hours per day on paid work (Chart 1).⁷⁰ It is important to recognize that the unpaid work done disproportionately by women for their families facilitates men's higher rate of labour force participation and longer work hours.⁷¹

66. Ferguson, Susan. 2008. "Canadian contributions to social reproduction feminism, race and embodied labor." *Race, Gender and Class* 15(1-2): 42-57.

67. Laslett, Barbara and Johanna Brenner. 1989. "Gender and social reproduction: Historical perspectives." *Annual Review of Sociology* 15: 381-404.

68. Moyser, Melissa. 2017. "Women and paid work." *Women in Canada: A Gender-based Statistical Report*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-503-X.

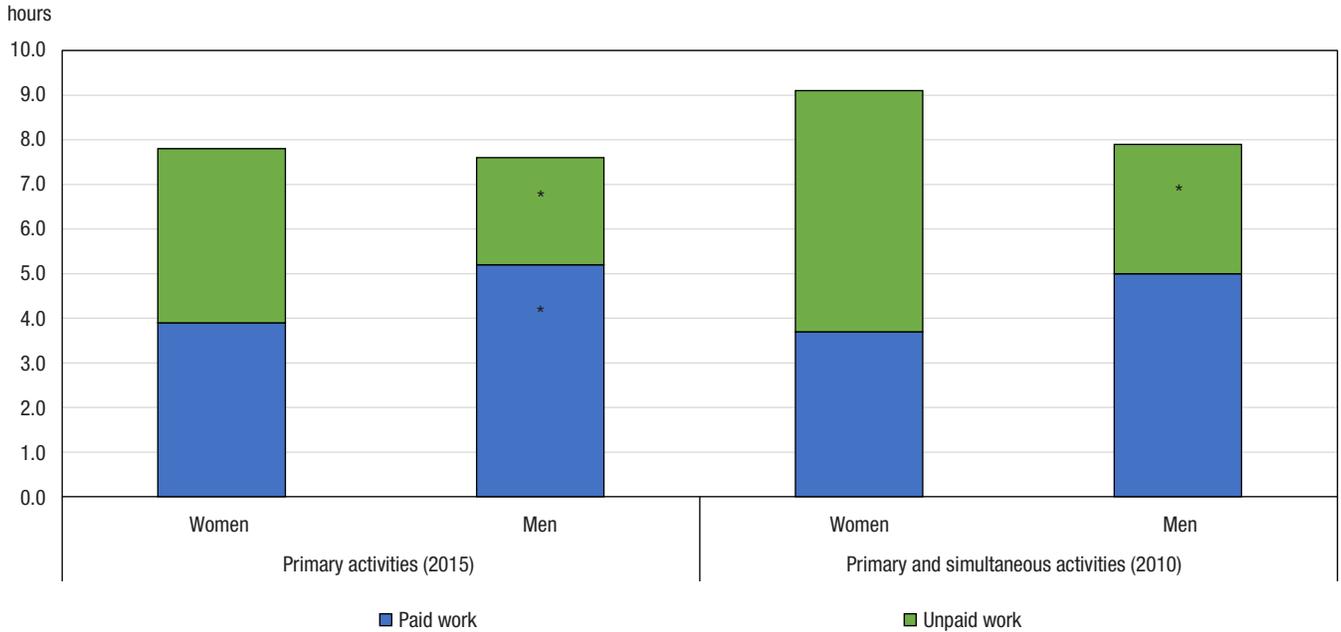
69. Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, Table 14-10-0018-01.

70. Women aged 25 to 54 who participated in paid work spent an average of 7.7 hours per day on that activity, while their male counterparts spent an average of 8.4 hours per day.

71. Ferree, Myra Marx. 1990. "Beyond separate spheres: Feminism and family research." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 52(4): 866-884.

The total work burden of women and men was equivalent in 2015 (7.8 and 7.6 hours, respectively). However, when unpaid work performed as a simultaneous activity was included, women’s total work burden was an average of 1.2 hours greater per day than men’s in 2010 (9.1 versus 7.9 hours).

Chart 1
Average number of hours per day spent on paid and unpaid work (total work burden) as primary and simultaneous activities, women and men aged 25 to 54, Canada, 2010 and 2015



* significantly different from women, within year, at $p < 0.05$
Note: Paid work performed as a simultaneous activity is not included in estimates.
Sources: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2010 and 2015.

Textbox 2: Total work burden of Canadian women and men in the international context

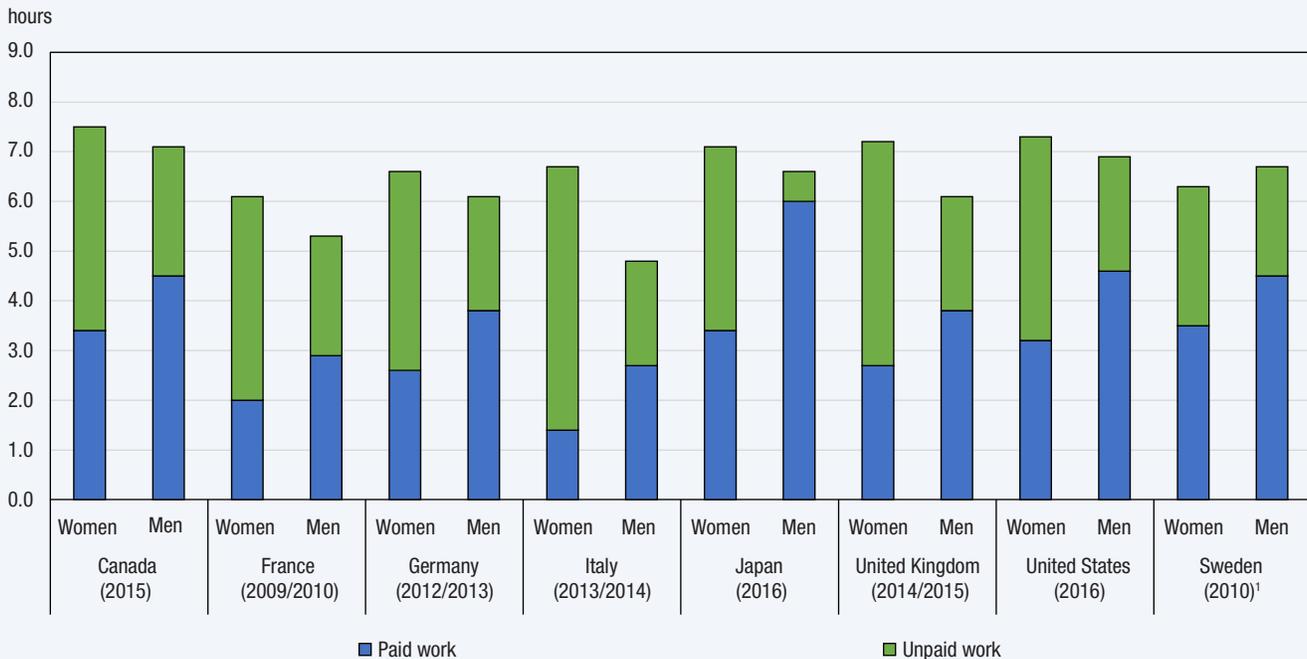
Canadian women and men aged 15 to 64 spent similar amounts of time on unpaid work as their counterparts in other G7 countries, with the exception of Italy, where women spent more time on unpaid work, and Japan, where men spent less time on unpaid work (Chart 2). Women in Sweden spent less time on unpaid work than women in Canada.

Canadian women and men also spent equivalent amounts of time on paid work as their counterparts in the United States and Sweden, but more time on paid work than their counterparts in other G7 countries. The exception to this pattern is Japan, where men spent considerably more time on paid work than their counterparts in other G7 countries and Sweden.

Canadians have the highest total work burden among the G7 countries and Sweden. Italian men, followed by French men and women, have the lowest total work burden.

Chart 2

Average number of hours spent on paid and unpaid work (total work burden), women and men aged 15 to 64, G7 countries and Sweden, latest year



1. The time-use estimates for Sweden are not fully comparable as the age of reference is 25 to 64.

Note: The G7 countries are the seven major advanced economies, as reported by the International Monetary Fund: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States. While not a G7 country, Sweden (and other Nordic countries) is considered a leader in gender equality. The data for each country are the most recent available as of July, 2018.

Source: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

Textbox 3: Time-use measures: Participation rate, and average time spent on an activity among the population and participants

In time-use research, it is standard practice to calculate the average amount of time spent on a given activity in a given period of time among the population. Some members of the population will have participated in the activity, while some have not. It follows that the average amount of time spent on the activity among the population reflects both the proportion of the population that participated in the activity (i.e., the participation rate), and the amount of time that participants within the population spent on the activity. The average amount of time spent on the activity will generally be greater when the denominator consists of participants, as opposed to the population. The reason is that the aggregate amount of time spent on the activity—that is, the numerator—is the same whether the denominator is participants (typically a smaller number) or the population (typically a larger number). When examining activities that everyone does, such as eating and sleeping, the average amount of time spent on the activity is the same for participants as it is for the population.

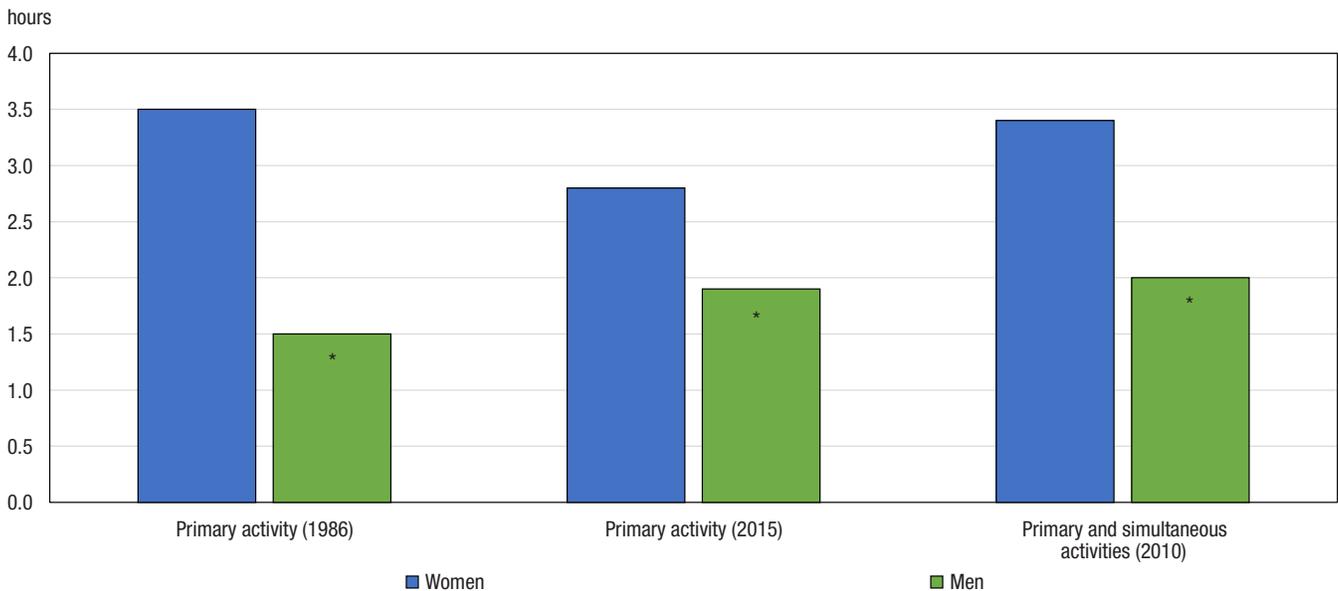
Housework

Women are more likely than men to participate in housework activities, and they spend more time doing so

Housework refers to a wide range of chores geared toward maintaining household members, their home and the property on which it sits, and their vehicles.⁷² It is well-established that women typically spend more time on housework than do men.^{73,74,75,76,77} Indeed, women in Canada spent an average of 2.8 hours per day on housework as a primary activity in 2015—54 minutes more than did men (1.9 hours per day) (Chart 3). That translates to women spending an average of 6.3 hours more than men on housework each week.

Chart 3

Average number of hours per day spent on housework as primary and simultaneous activities, women and men aged 25 to 54, Canada, 1986, 2010 and 2015



* significantly different from women, within year, at $p < 0.05$

Note: Information regarding simultaneous activities was not collected in 1986.

Sources: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1986, 2010 and 2015.

In 2015, a greater proportion of women performed housework than did men (89.9% versus 76.2%). Among those who participated in housework, women spent an average of 36 minutes more per day on that activity than did men (3.1 versus 2.5 hours).

72. Housework includes all unpaid household activities, excluding caregiving: meal, lunch or snack preparation; preserving food, including baking, freezing, sealing or packing foods; indoor house cleaning, dish washing or tidying; taking out the garbage, recycling, compost or unpacking goods; laundry, ironing, folding, sewing or shoe care; repair, painting or renovation; organizing, planning or paying bills; unpacking groceries, packing and unpacking luggage for travel and/or boxes for a move; outdoor maintenance, including car repair, ground maintenance, snow removal or cutting grass; planting (picking), maintaining, cleaning garden or caring for house plants; pet care, including feeding, walking, grooming or playing; shopping for or buying goods; shopping for services; and researching goods or services.

73. Bianchi, Suzanne M. 2011. "Family change and time allocation in American Families." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 638: 21-44.

74. Bianchi, Suzanne M., Melissa A. Milkie, Liana C. Sayer, and John P. Robinson. 2000. "Is anyone doing the housework? Trends in the gender division of household labor." *Social Forces* 79(1): 191-228.

75. Marshall, Katherine. 2006. "Converging gender roles." *Perspectives on Labour and Income*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE.

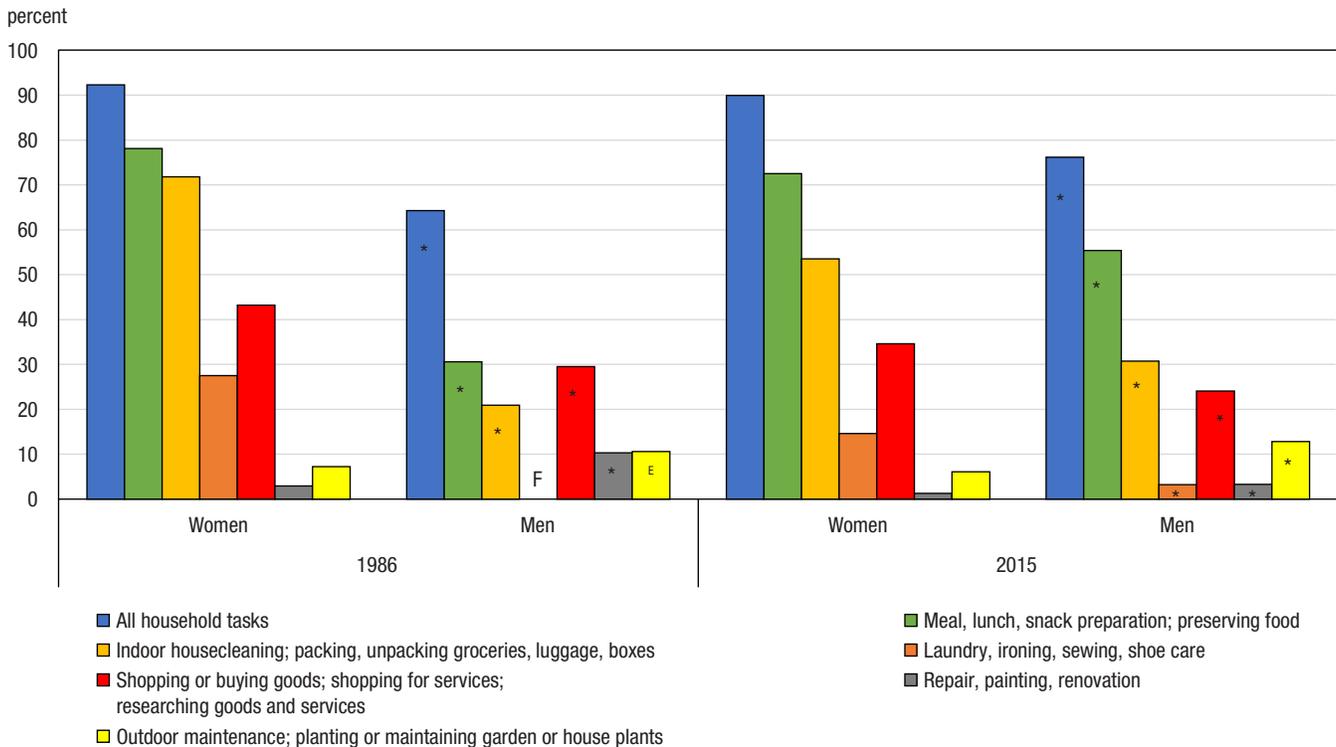
76. Pew Research Center. 2013. "Modern parenthood: Roles of moms and dads converge as they balance work and family." Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center.

77. Sayer, Liana C. 2005. "Gender, time and inequality: Trends in women's and men's paid work, unpaid work and free time." *Social Forces* 84(1): 285-303.

Gender specialization in housework—that is, women and men performing different household tasks—contributes to the gender gap in time spent on housework. Previous research demonstrates that women tend to do tasks that are routine and repetitive, such as cooking, cleaning, laundry, and shopping, while men do tasks that are more episodic or discretionary, such as taking out the garbage, house and car repairs, mowing the lawn, and gardening.^{78,79} Understanding gender as something that individuals “do” as they carry out everyday activities,⁸⁰ feminist sociologists interpret gender-differentiated housework as enactments of feminine and masculine identities.^{81,82}

Consistent with previous research, women in Canada were more likely than men to participate in meal and snack preparation (72.5% versus 55.4%), indoor house cleaning (53.5% versus 30.7%), and laundry (14.6% versus 3.2%) in 2015 (Chart 4). On the other hand, women were less likely than men to participate in outdoor maintenance (6.1% versus 12.8%) and repair, painting, and renovation (1.3% versus 3.3%).

Chart 4
Proportion of women and men aged 25 to 54 participating in various housework tasks, Canada, 1986 and 2015



^E use with caution
^F too unreliable to be published
 * significantly different from women, within year, at $p < 0.05$
Sources: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1986 and 2015.

78. Bianchi, Suzanne M., Melissa A. Milkie, Liana C. Sayer, and John P. Robinson. 2000. "Is anyone doing the housework? Trends in the gender division of household labor." *Social Forces* 79(1): 191-228.

79. Kan, Man Yee, Oriell Sullivan, and Johnathan Gershudy. 2011. "Gender convergence in domestic work: Discerning the effects of interactional and institutional barriers from large-scale data." *Sociology* 45(2): 234-251.

80. West, Candace and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. "Doing gender." *Gender and Society* 1: 125-151.

81. Bianchi, Suzanne M., Melissa A. Milkie, Liana C. Sayer, and John P. Robinson. 2000. "Is anyone doing the housework? Trends in the gender division of household labor." *Social Forces* 79(1): 191-228.

82. Lyolette, Clare and Rosemary Crompton. 2015. "Sharing the load? Partners' relative earnings and the division of domestic labour." *Work, Employment and Society* 29(1): 23-40.

Research from the United States demonstrates that there has been a slight shift in the distribution of housework toward greater gender equality since the mid-1960s.^{83,84,85} As women's labour force participation and work hours have increased, they have reduced the amount of time that they spend on housework.⁸⁶ The same trend has occurred in Canada, as the amount of time that women spent on housework as a primary activity decreased from an average of 3.5 hours per day in 1986 to an average of 2.8 hours per day in 2015 (a difference of 42 minutes per day) (Chart 3). This decrease partly reflects a slight reduction in the proportion of women participating in housework (92.3% in 1986 versus 89.9% in 2015) (Chart 4). The household tasks in which women's participation was most reduced were indoor housecleaning (from 71.8% to 53.5%) and laundry (from 27.5% to 14.6%).

Among women who participated in housework, the amount of time that they spent also decreased between 1986 and 2015, from an average of 3.8 hours per day to an average of 3.1 hours per day (a difference of 42 minutes).

While the amount of time that women spent on housework decreased over the last three decades, the amount of time that men spent on housework increased, from an average of 1.5 hours per day in 1986 to an average of 1.9 hours per day in 2015 (a difference of 24 minutes per day) (Chart 3). This increase largely reflects an increase in the proportion of men who participated in housework, from 64.3% in 1986 to 76.2% in 2015 (a difference of 11.9 percentage points). The household tasks in which men's participation grew the most were meal preparation (from 30.6% to 55.4%) and indoor housecleaning (20.9% to 30.7%) (Chart 4).

Among men who participated in housework, the amount of time that they spent was essentially unchanged between 1986 and 2015 (around 2.5 hours per day).

In summary, women in Canada were more likely than men to participate in housework and, when they did so, women spent more time on housework than did men. Over the past 30 years, the time that women spent on housework decreased by an average of 42 minutes per day, while the time that men spent on housework increased by an average 24 minutes per day. It follows that men made up for a little more than half of the reduction in the time spent on housework by women.

When housework performed as a simultaneous activity is considered, women spent an average of 1.4 hours more per day on all housework than did men (3.4 versus 2.0 hours) (Chart 3). A greater proportion of women performed housework as a simultaneous activity than did men (93.2% versus 79.8%), however, the gender participation gap was similar to the one observed for housework performed as a primary activity at 13.4 percentage points.

Unlike men, the amount of time women spend on housework is related to their paid-work hours

There are three theoretical explanations for gender differences in time spent on housework: the gender perspective (i.e., the gendered division of housework as a repetitious expression of "appropriate" gender roles and relations), mentioned above; the time availability perspective; and the relative resources perspective.⁸⁷ The time availability perspective suggests that housework is allocated rationally within households on the basis of spouse/partners' relative hours of paid work and the amount of housework that needs to be done.⁸⁸ According to this perspective, employment and longer paid-work hours will correspond to less time spent on housework.

Indeed, in 2015, women who were employed on a part-time basis spent an average of 54 minutes less per day on housework (3.0 hours per day) than did women who were not employed (3.9 hours per day), and women who were employed full-time spent an average of 1.4 hours less per day on housework (2.5 hours per day) (Chart 5). Among men, paid work hours did not significantly affect the amount of time spent on housework.

83. Bianchi, Suzanne M. 2011. "Family change and time allocation in American Families." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 638: 21-44.

84. Bianchi, Suzanne M., Melissa A. Milkie, Liana C. Sayer, and John P. Robinson. 2000. "Is anyone doing the housework? Trends in the gender division of household labor." *Social Forces* 79(1): 191-228.

85. Sayer, Liana C. 2005. "Gender, time and inequality: Trends in women's and men's paid work, unpaid work and free time." *Social Forces* 84(1): 285-303.

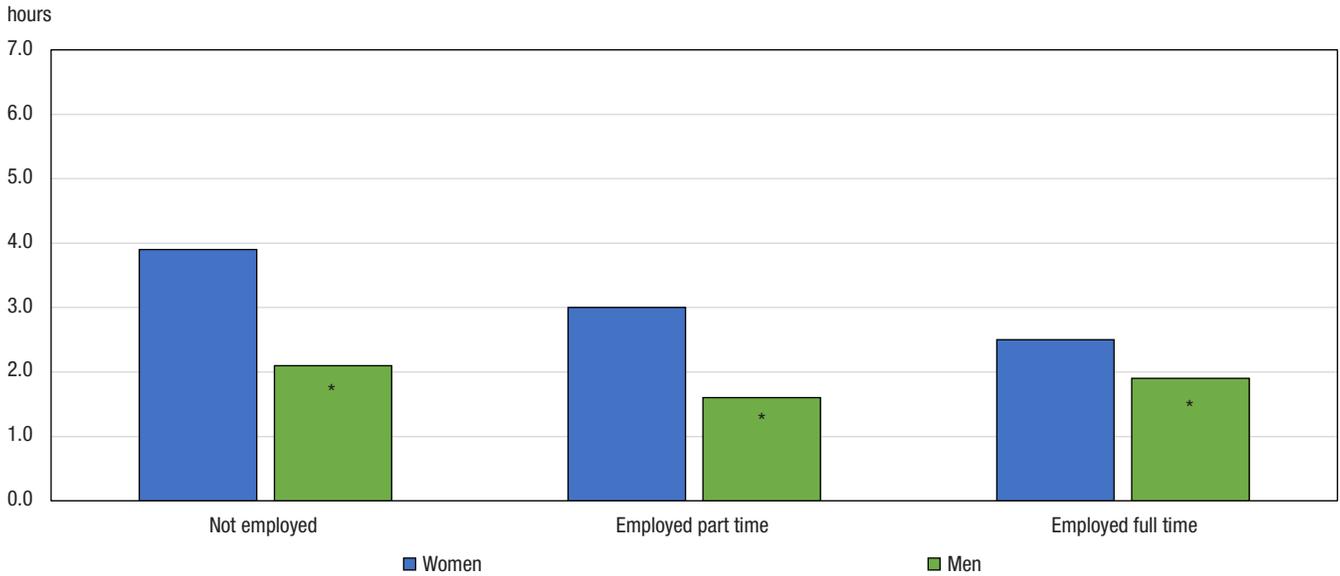
86. Ibid.

87. Bianchi, Suzanne M., Melissa A. Milkie, Liana C. Sayer, and John P. Robinson. 2000. "Is anyone doing the housework? Trends in the gender division of household labor." *Social Forces* 79(1): 191-228.

88. Ibid.

Chart 5

Average number of hours per day spent on housework as a primary activity by employment status, women and men aged 25 to 54, Canada, 2015



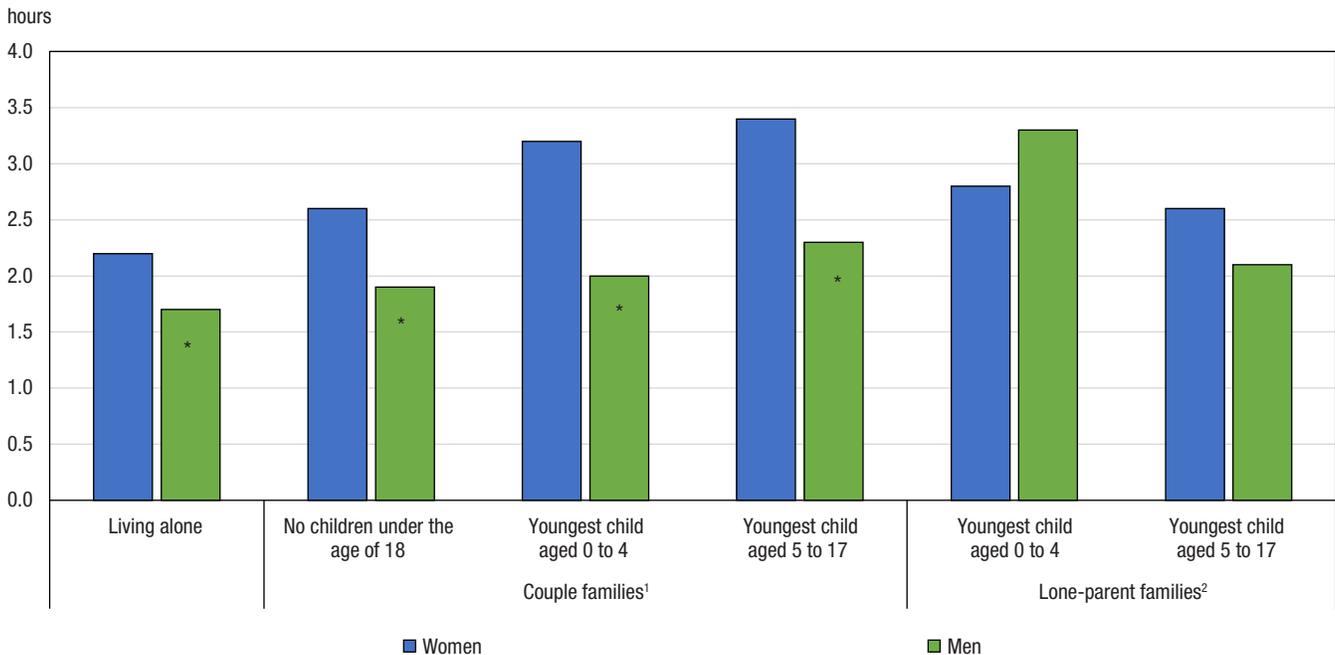
* significantly different from women, within employment status, at $p < 0.05$

Note: Those who were employed part time reported working less than 30 hours per week, while those who were employed full time reported working 30 hours or more per week.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2015.

The time availability perspective also suggests that time spent on housework will increase with family size, as more housework needs to be done. Consistent with this perspective, individuals in families spent more time on housework than did those living alone in 2015, with women in all family types spending more time on housework than their male counterparts, with the exception of lone-parent families (Chart 6). Specifically, unattached women spent an average of 2.2 hours per day on housework—30 minutes more than did their male counterparts. By comparison, women in couples with no children under the age of 18 spent an average of 2.6 hours per day on housework—42 minutes more than did their male counterparts. Women in couple families spent more time on housework when their youngest child was pre-school aged (0 to 4 years) or school aged (5 to 17 years) than they did when they had no children under the age of 18. Men in couple families spent more time on housework when their child was school aged than they did when they had either a pre-school-aged child or no children under the age of 18. Women in couple families whose youngest child was pre-school aged spent an average of 3.2 hours per day on housework—1.2 hours more than did their male counterparts (2.0 hours). Women in couple families whose youngest child was school aged spent an average of 3.4 hours per day on housework—1.1 hours more than did their male counterparts (2.3 hours).

Chart 6
Average number of hours per day spent on housework as a primary activity by family type, women and men aged 25 to 54, Canada, 2015



* significantly different from women, within family type, at $p < 0.05$

1. Couple families refer to families that contain a married or common-law couple. A couple may be of opposite or same sex.

2. Lone-parent families refer to families that contain only one parent and his or her child(ren).

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2015.

The relative resources perspective suggests that the allocation of housework within households reflects power dynamics between women and men, as determined by the relative resources partners/spouses' bring to the relationship.⁸⁹ According to this perspective, higher levels of education and income relative to one's partner/spouse are expected to translate into more power, which is used to avoid doing housework. An alternative interpretation is that the competitive advantage that comes from higher levels of education and income corresponds to less time spent on housework.

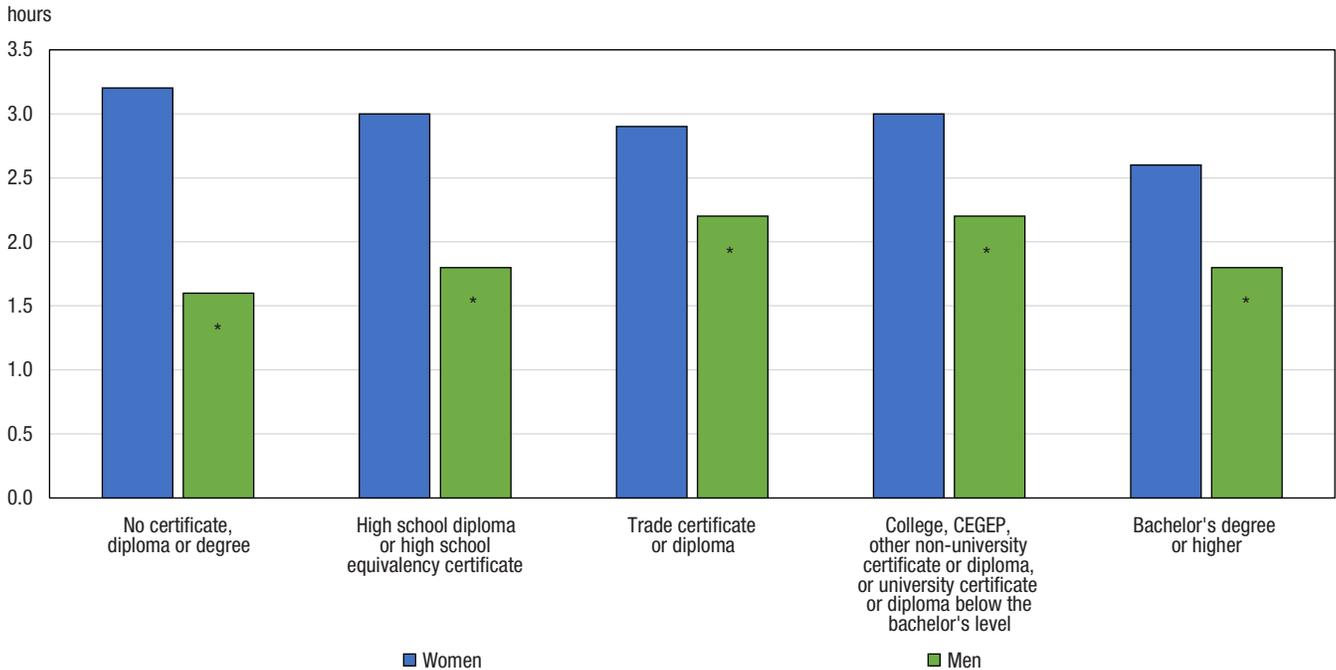
Consistent with the relative resources perspective, having a university certificate, diploma, or degree at the Bachelor's level or above was associated with women spending less time on housework than their counterparts with lower levels of educational attainment in 2015 (Chart 7). For example, women with a university degree spent an average of 2.6 hours per day on housework—36 minutes fewer than women with no certificate, diploma, or degree, who spent an average of 3.2 hours per day on housework. The same pattern was observed among men, in that those with a university degree spent slightly less time on housework (1.8 hours per day) than did those with a trades certificate or diploma (2.2 hours per day) or a college, CEGEP or other non-university certificate/diploma (2.2 hours per day). However, there was no significant difference in time spent on housework among men with a university degree and those with no certificate, diploma or degree.

Notably, the gender gap in time spent on housework was greater among those with no certificate, diploma or degree than it was among those with post-secondary education.

89. Ibid.

Chart 7

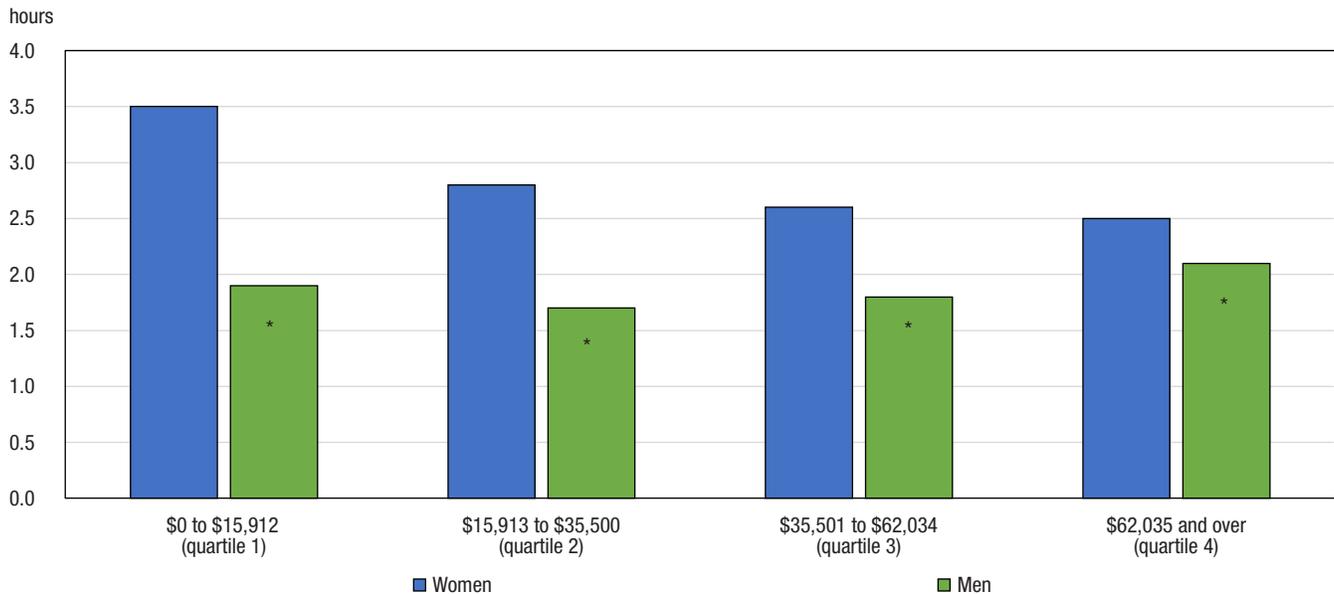
Average number of hours per day spent on housework as a primary activity by highest level of educational attainment, women and men aged 25 to 54, Canada, 2015



* significantly different from women, within level of educational attainment, at $p < 0.05$
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2015.

The amount of time that women spend on housework decreased as one moves up the personal income distribution (Chart 8). For instance, women in the top 25% of the income distribution spent an average of 2.5 hours per day on housework in 2015—one hour less than did women bottom 25% of the income distribution (3.5 hours per day). In contrast, the amount of time that men spent on housework was similar across the income distribution. It may be the case that as women earn more, they can afford to substitute paid services (i.e., outsource) for their own housework.⁹⁰

90. Craig, Lyn, Francisco Perales, Sergi Vidal, and Janeen Baxter. 2016. "Domestic outsourcing, housework time, and subjective time pressure: New insights from longitudinal data." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 78(5): 1224-1236.

Chart 8**Average number of hours per day spent on housework as a primary activity by personal income¹, women and men aged 25 to 54, Canada, 2015**

* significantly different from women, within quartile, at $p < 0.05$

1. Personal income refers to total personal income (before tax), and includes the total income (i.e., wages and salaries, self-employment income, government transfers, investment income, private retirement pensions and any other income) received in the 2014 calendar year from all sources before income taxes and deductions, excluding capital gains or losses.

Note: Quartiles are used to divide the distribution of personal income into four equally-sized groups. The cut-offs for defining the quartiles correspond to the 25th, 50th and 75th percentiles, and were calculated from the pooled sample of women and men aged 15 and over.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2015.

Caregiving

Both mothers and fathers spend more time on child care than thirty years ago, but women have increased their time with children to a greater extent than men

Despite their increased labour force participation and its continuation over the life course, women are the predominant providers of informal (i.e., unpaid) care to children as well as to family members and friends with mental or physical limitations related to aging or chronic health conditions or disabilities. According to data from the 2012 General Social Survey (GSS) on Caregiving and Care Receiving, 62.3% of women aged 25 to 54 in Canada had a child under the age of 13 in the household, and/or served as a caregiver to family members and friends. The comparable figure for men was 56.7%.

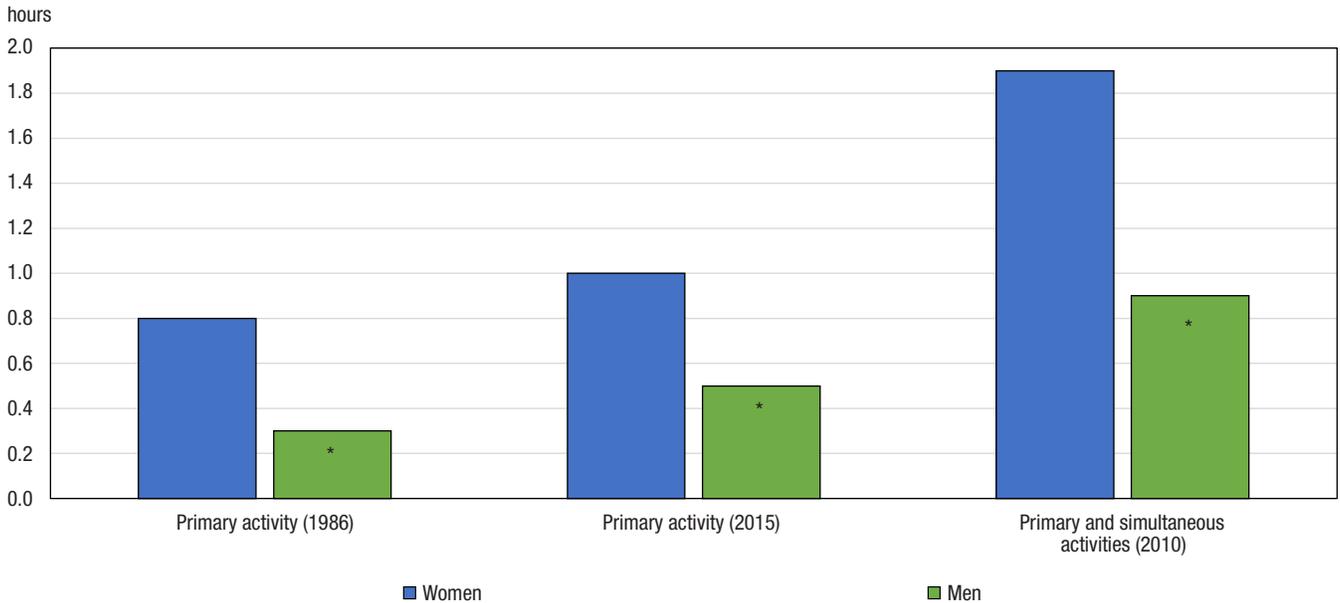
Using the 2015 GSS on Time Use, child care as a primary activity can be distinguished from caregiving provided to an adult, either within the household or outside of it, such as assistance with personal care, grocery shopping, and transportation. These data confirm that women spend more time on child care than do men, and that gender gap has grown over time. Women spent an average of one hour per day caring for children 2015—30 minutes more than did men (30 minutes) (Chart 9). This partly reflects the fact that more women participated in caring for children than did men (37.4% versus 25.3%). Yet even among participants, women spent an average of 36 minutes more per day caring for children than did men (2.6 versus 2.0 hours).

Both women and men spent more time caring for children in 2015 than they did in 1986. Specifically, the average amount of time that women and men spent on child care increased by 12 minutes per day between 1986 and 2015 (from 48 minutes to one hour and from 18 to 30 minutes, respectively). These findings are consistent with studies in the United States, showing that mothers have maintained their time spent with children, even though they are spending more time on paid work and less time on housework, and fathers have augmented their time spent

with children.^{91,92,93,94} This increase in time spent with children over time may partly reflect the ever-more intensive form of childrearing in which previous research demonstrates middle-class parents, particularly mothers, are engaged.^{95,96,97}

Chart 9

Average number of hours per day spent caring for children as primary and simultaneous activities, women and men aged 25 to 54, Canada, 1986, 2010 and 2015



* significantly different from women, within year, at p < 0.05

Note: Simultaneous activities were not collected in 1986.

Sources: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1986, 2010 and 2015.

Notably, the gender gap in time spent on child care was stable between 1986 and 2015 at 30 minutes. Although fewer women participated in child care in 2015 than they did in 1986 (37.4% versus 41.7%), those who participated increased the amount of time that they spent on child care to a greater extent (36 minutes per day, from 2.0 to 2.6 hours per day) than did their male counterparts (24 minutes per day, from 1.6 to 2.0 hours per day).

When child care performed simultaneously with other activities is considered, the gender gap in time spent doing so is greater than when child care is considered as a primary activity only. Specifically, women spent an average of 1.9 hours per day on all child-care activities in 2010—one hour more per day than men (54 minutes per day). This partially reflects the fact that women were more likely than men to combine child care with other activities (42.2% of women did so, compared with 30.1% of men).

91. Bianchi, Suzanne M. 2000. "Maternal employment and time with children: Dramatic change or surprising continuity?" *Demography* 37(4): 401-414.
 92. Coltrane, Scott. 2009. "Fatherhood, gender and work-family policies." Pp. 385-409 in Janet Gornick and Marcia K. Meyers (editors). *Gender Equality: Transforming Family Divisions of Labor*. London and New York: Verso.
 93. Kan, Man Yee, Oriel Sullivan, and Johnathan Gershuny. 2011. "Gender convergence in domestic work: Discerning the effects of interactional and institutional barriers from large-scale data." *Sociology* 45(2): 234-251.
 94. Sayer, Liana C., Suzanne M. Bianchi, and John P. Robinson. 2004. "Are parents investing less in children? Trends in mothers' and fathers' time with children." *American Journal of Sociology* 110(1): 1-43.
 95. Bianchi, Suzanne M. 2011. "Family change and time allocation in American Families." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 638: 21-44.
 96. Hays, Sharon. 1998. *The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
 97. Lareau, Annette. 2003. *Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race, and Family Life*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

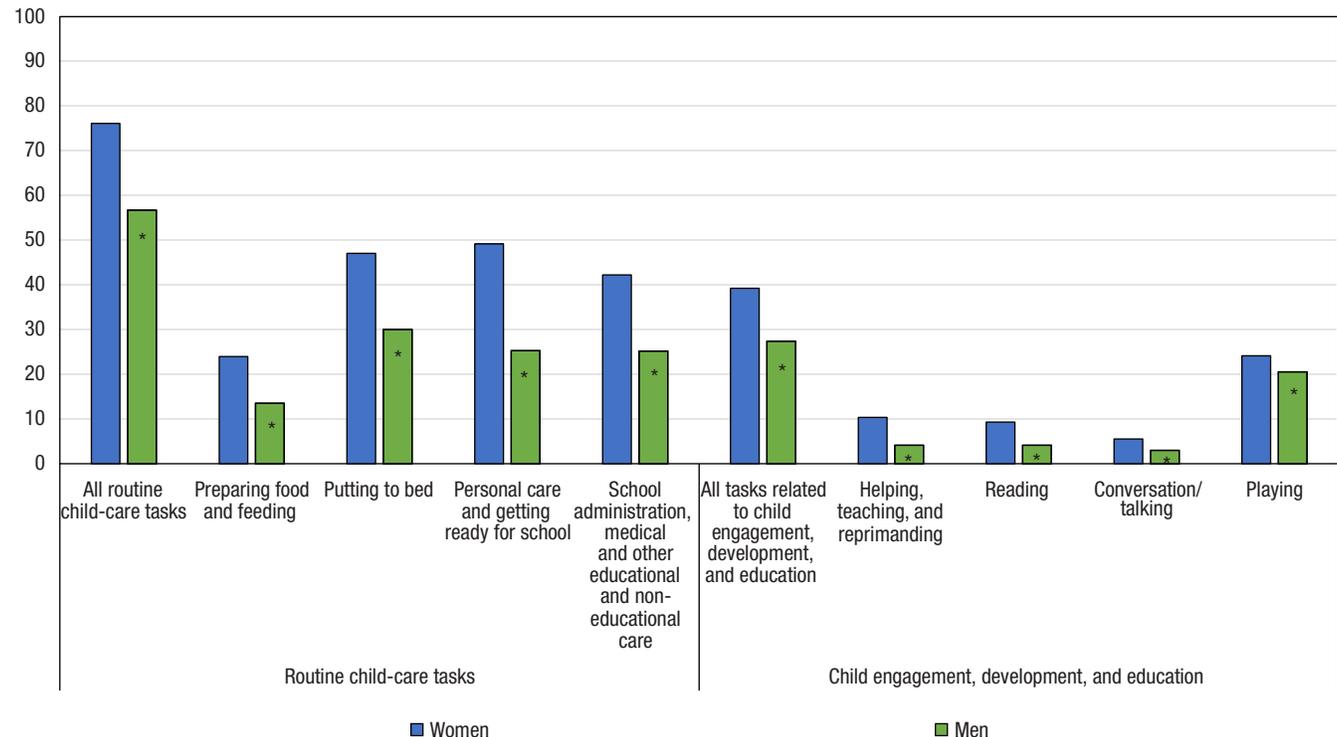
A greater proportion of women than men perform routine child-care tasks on a given day, and spend more time doing so

Like housework, child-care tasks are gendered: women generally spend more time than men on routine tasks related to the physical care of children.^{98,99} In 2010, 76.1% of women in Canada, aged 25 to 54, whose youngest child in the household was under the age of 16 performed routine child-care tasks on a given day, compared with 56.7% of men (a difference of 19.4 percentage points) (Chart 10).¹⁰⁰ Further, these women spent nearly one hour more per day on routine child-care tasks than their male counterparts (2.3 versus 1.4 hours per day, a difference of 54 minutes).

The gender gap in participation and time spent was smaller for tasks related to child engagement, development, and education.¹⁰¹ Around 40% of women whose youngest child was under the age of 16 performed these tasks, as did 27.4% of men (a difference of 11.8 percentage points). Women who participated in child engagement, development, and education spent an average of 36 minutes per day on these tasks—about 12 minutes more than their male counterparts (24 minutes per day).

Chart 10
Proportion of women and men aged 25 to 54 whose youngest child in the household is under the age of 16 participating in various child-care tasks, Canada, 2010

percent



* significantly different from women, within child-care task, at $p < 0.05$

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2010.

98. Sayer, Liana C., Suzanne M. Bianchi, and John P. Robinson. 2004. "Are parents investing less in children? Trends in mothers' and fathers' time with children." *American Journal of Sociology* 110(1): 1-43.

99. Routine child care tasks include food preparation and feeding; getting children ready for school; putting children to bed; personal and emotional care for children; medical care for children; visiting childcare/school establishments; communication related to childcare/school; other educational and non-educational help for children; and travel to and from care for children.

100. Data from the 2010 GSS on Time Use are used because the 2015 GSS on Time Use employed a "light" time-use diary, meaning that fewer child-care tasks were distinguished (from nearly 20 in the 2010 GSS to four in 2015 GSS).

101. Tasks related to child engagement, development, and education include helping, teaching, and reprimanding; reading with children; talking/conversation with children; and playing with children.

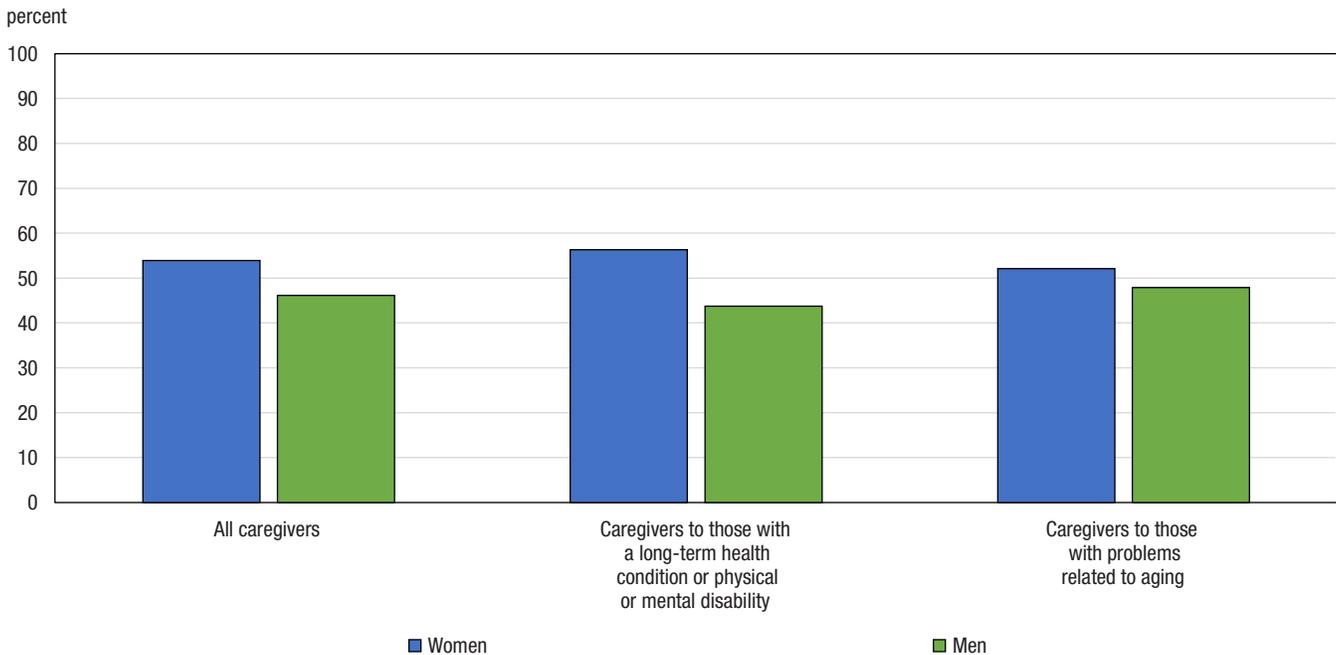
Women are overrepresented among caregivers, particularly when the care recipient has a long-term health condition or a physical or mental disability

Caregiving provided to an adult family member or friend, either within the household or outside of it, plays an important role in maintaining the health, well-being, quality of life, and functional independence of recipients, and reducing demands on health care and social service systems. Women provide a disproportionate share of that support, relative to men. Specifically, the proportion of women who provided care to an adult family member or friend on a given day was three times that of men in 2015 (3.3% versus 1.2%). Among those who provided such care, women spent an average of 1.6 hours per day on adult caregiving—36 minutes more than men (1.0 hour per day).

The time-diary approach used in the GSS on Time Use is likely to underestimate time spent providing care to an adult family member or friend, insofar as such caregiving is often performed on an intermittent—as opposed to a daily—basis. Data from the 2012 GSS on Caregiving and Care Receiving demonstrate that 28.8% of Canadians aged 25 to 54 were caregivers, defined as those who provided help or care in the past 12 months to (a) someone with problems related to one or more chronic conditions or (b) someone with problems related to aging. Of these caregivers, 11.8% saw their primary-care recipient on a daily basis. For this reason, data from the 2012 GSS on Caregiving and Care Receiving are used here to provide a more complete picture of the time spent on caregiving by women and men.

No gender differences were observed among caregivers with respect to the condition of care recipients (i.e., those with a long-term health condition, or physical or mental disability versus those with problems related to aging) (Chart 11).

Chart 11
Percentage distribution of caregivers by condition of recipients, women and men aged 25 to 54, Canada, 2012



Note: No significant gender differences were observed.
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2012.

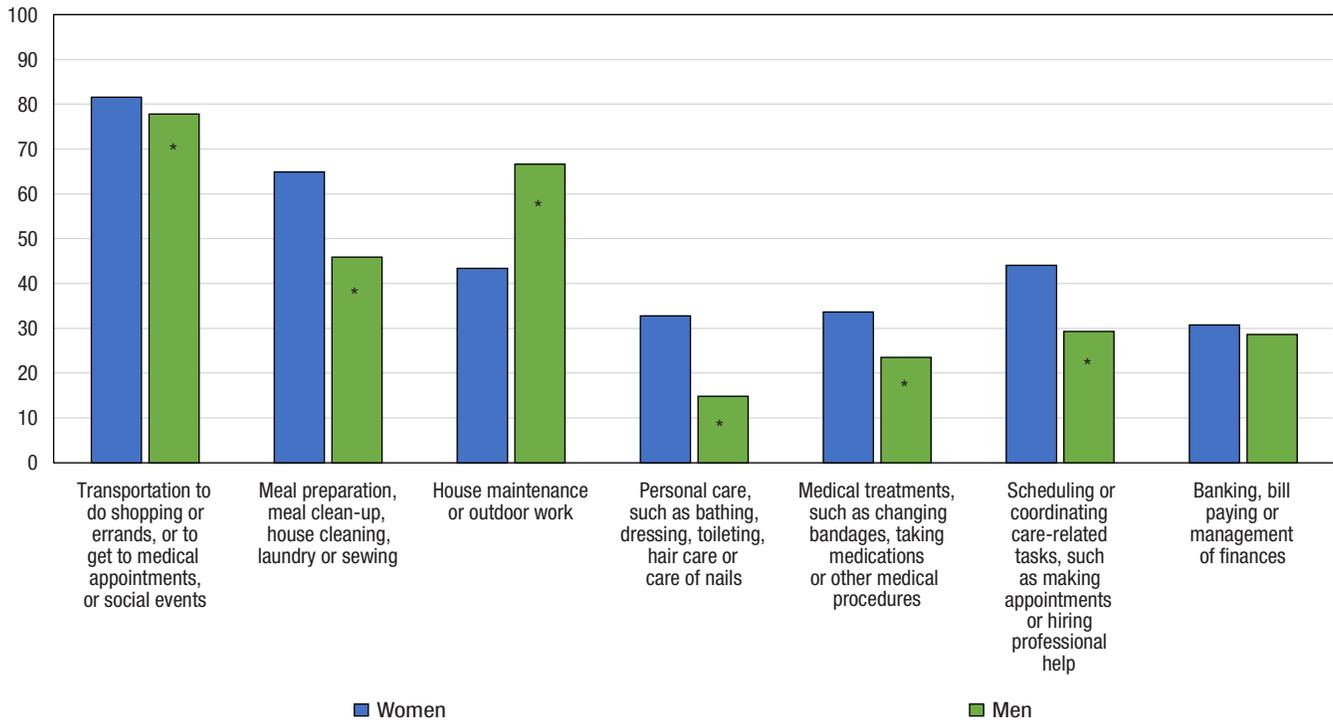
Gender differences were apparent in the tasks with which caregivers provided assistance, with the exceptions of banking, bill paying or management of finances (Chart 12). Female caregivers were more likely than male caregivers to help with personal care (32.8% versus 14.8%); housework, such as meal preparation and clean-up, housecleaning, and laundry (64.9% versus 45.9%); scheduling or coordinating care-related tasks (44.1% versus

29.3%); medical treatments (33.6% versus 23.5%); and transportation (81.6% versus 77.8%). Female caregivers were less likely than male caregivers to help with household maintenance (43.4% versus 66.6%).

In a typical week, female caregivers spent an average of 11.8 hours helping with all caregiving activities—4.4 hours more than did male caregivers (7.4 hours).

Chart 12
Percentage distribution of caregivers by task, women and men aged 25 to 54, Canada, 2012

percent

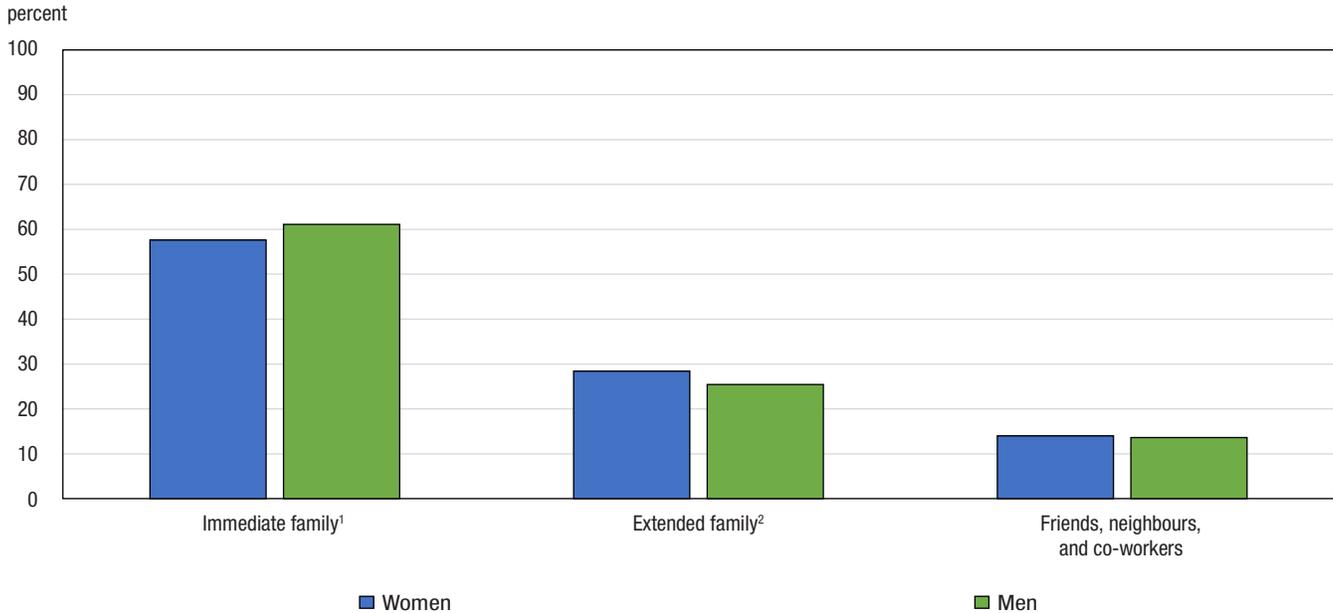


* significantly different from women, within task, at $p < 0.05$

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2012.

For most female and male caregivers, their primary-care recipient was a member of their immediate family: a current or former spouse/partner, child, parent, or sibling (57.6% and 61.1%, respectively) (Chart 13). Equivalent proportions of female and male caregivers had extended-family (i.e., a grandparent, aunt/uncle, or cousin) as their primary-care recipients (28.4% and 25.4%). Similarly, equivalent proportions of female and male caregivers had friends, neighbours, and coworkers as their primary-care recipients (around 14%).

Chart 13
Percentage distribution of caregivers by relationship to care recipient, women and men aged 25 to 54, Canada, 2012



1. Immediate family includes current or former spouse or partner, child, parent or sibling.

2. Extended family includes grandparent, an aunt, uncle or cousin.

Note: No significant gender differences were observed.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2012.

Most caregivers are part of couple families with children

In 2012, the majority of female and male caregivers were part of couple families with children (58.7% and 66.3% respectively), as opposed to other types of families. Women and men in these families were equally likely to be caregivers (49.1% and 50.9%, respectively). Unattached women and men were also equally likely to be caregivers (47.8% and 52.2%, respectively). However, women were overrepresented as caregivers among lone-parent families and couple families with no children: 71.8% of lone mothers were caregivers, compared with 28.2% of lone fathers, and 57.4% of women in couples with no children were caregivers, compared with 42.6% of men in couples with no children.

Leisure

Women spend less time on leisure activities than men, and they are more likely to do such activities at the same time as unpaid work

Leisure is an important part of daily life that enables individuals to relax and recharge; engage in enrichment activities and reflection; and enhance relationships and form social networks upon which they can draw in times of need.¹⁰² Notably, women’s and men’s free time differs in both quantity and quality, as women typically spend less time on leisure activities than do men, and it often overlaps with unpaid work.¹⁰³

Women in Canada spent less time on leisure activities¹⁰⁴ than did men in 2015, although both sexes spent less time on these activities in 2015 than did their counterparts in 1986 (Chart 14). Women spent an average of 3.6 hours per day on leisure activities in 2015—30 minutes fewer than did either men in 2015 (4.1 hours per day) or women in 1986 (also 4.1 hours per day). Women and men in 2015 were equally likely to participate in leisure activities as their

102. Mattingly, Marybeth J. and Suzanne M. Bianchi. 2003. “Gender differences in the quantity and quality of free time: The U.S. experience.” *Social Forces* 81(3): 999-1030.

103. Ibid.

104. Leisure activities include socializing or communicating; exercising; participating in organized recreational, competitive, or outdoor sports; participating in outdoor activities; attending cinema, exhibitions, library, concerts, theatre, entertainment events; attending sports events; visiting museums, art galleries, heritage sites, zoos, observatories; drawing, painting, or crafting; walking; taking a leisurely drive; birdwatching; reading; writing; using some form of technology; reading; watching television or videos; or listening to music or radio.

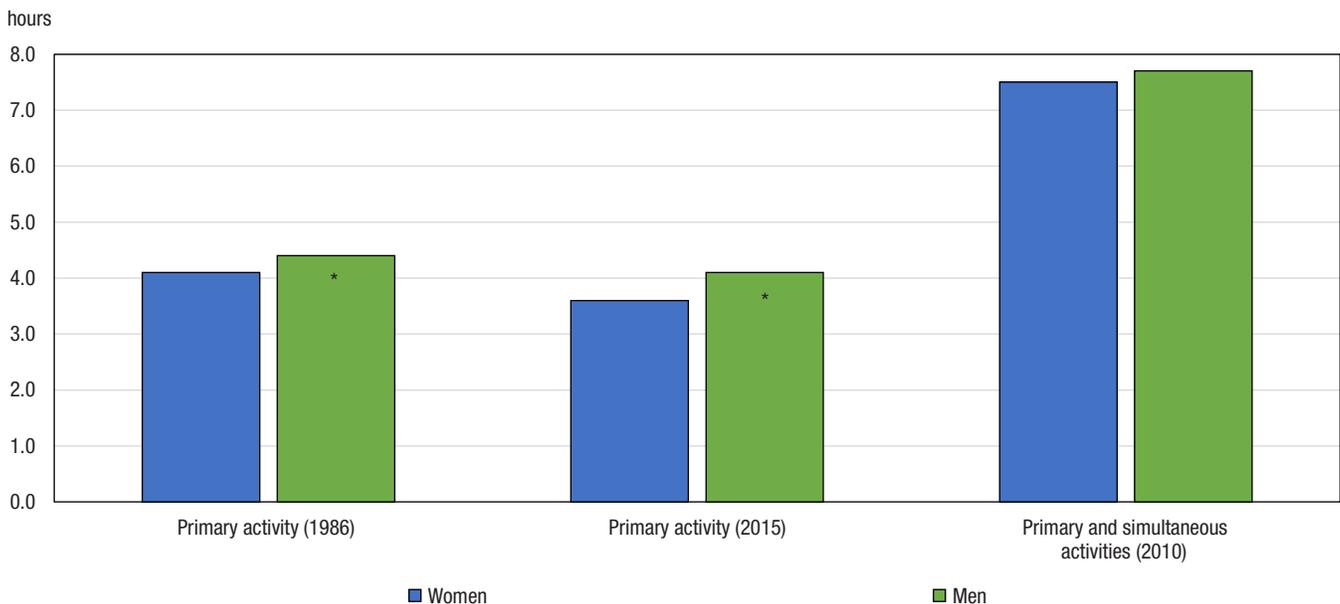
counterparts in 1986, but those who did so reduced the amount of time that they spent on these activities by 24 and 12 minutes, respectively, between 1986 and 2015.

In addition to spending less time on leisure than men, women participated in different types of leisure activities. Specifically, women were more likely than men to participate in reading or listening to music or radio (17.0% versus 11.7%); socializing (38.5% versus 33.0%); and arts and hobbies, leisure activities or writing (14.3% versus 11.5%). On the other hand, men were more likely than women to participate in active sports (20.2% versus 17.1%) and the use of technology (29.3% versus 26.5%).

When women participated in leisure as a primary activity, they were more likely than men to simultaneously do unpaid work or be in the company of their children. Nearly 20% women in Canada performed housework and/or caregiving at the same time as leisure activities in 2015, compared with 6.0% of men. Also, among those whose youngest child was under the age of 16, 53.5% of women did leisure activities with their children, as did 46.5% of their male counterparts. Previous research demonstrates that when leisure is done in combination with housework and/or child care, it tends to be more fragmented and less relaxing and restorative.¹⁰⁵

Chart 14

Average number of hours per day spent on leisure as primary and simultaneous activities, women and men aged 25 to 54, Canada, 1986, 2010 and 2015



* significantly different from women, within year, at $p < 0.05$

Sources: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1986, 2010 and 2015.

Textbox 4: Time use among young Canadians (aged 15 to 24)

The total work burden of young Canadians aged 15 to 24 is less than that of Canadians in the core-working ages of 25 to 54, even when time spent studying or learning is included. Young women spent an average of 6.6 hours per day on studying and learning, paid work, and unpaid household work *combined* in 2015—1.4 hours less than women aged 25 to 54 (8 hours); young men spent an average of 5.8 hours per day on these activities—2.1 hours less than men aged 25 to 54 (7.9 hours).

What do young Canadians do with their free time? Young women and men and their counterparts aged 25 to 54 spent similar amounts of time on personal care; eating or drinking; travelling to and from activities; shopping; socializing; civic, religious and organizational activities; arts and hobbies; watching television or videos; and reading or listening to music or the radio. However, young people spent more time sleeping, resting, relaxing, and sick in bed, and using technology than did those in the core-working ages.¹⁰⁶

105. Mattingly, Marybeth J. and Suzanne M. Bianchi. 2003. "Gender differences in the quantity and quality of free time: The U.S. experience." *Social Forces* 81(3): 999-1030.

106. Statistics Canada, 2015 General Social Survey on Time Use, Table 45-10-0014-01.

Textbox 5: Time use among older Canadians (aged 55 or older)

Canada's population is aging, such that, for the first time in 2016, the Census of Population enumerated more seniors (aged 65 or older) than children aged 14 or younger.¹⁰⁷ This trend reflects both below-replacement-level fertility, which has prevailed in Canada since 1972, and greater longevity.¹⁰⁸ Women are overrepresented among older Canadians (aged 55 or older), particularly at advanced ages, because they have a longer life expectancy than men.¹⁰⁹ Based on the 2016 Census, the number of senior women surpassed the number of senior men by more than 20%, and there were two women aged 85 or older for every man in that age group.¹¹⁰

How do older Canadians use their time? Older women and men allocate their time in ways that parallel traditional gender roles, even though they have generally transitioned out of paid work and active parenthood.¹¹¹ According to data from the 2015 Labour Force Survey, fewer older women were employed than older men (31.1% versus 40.9%).¹¹² Based on data from the 2015 GSS, employed older women spent less time on paid work each day than their male counterparts (4.7 versus 5.6 hours on average). On the other hand, a greater proportion of older women participated in unpaid household work than did older men (93.3% versus 86.5%) and, when they did so, older women spent more time on unpaid household work than did older men (4.1 versus 3.4 hours per day on average).¹¹³

Ninety-five percent of older women and men participated in leisure activities, and those who did spent an average of about 6 hours per day on leisure. As Arriagada (2018) highlights, women and men aged 65 or older engage in different types of leisure activities. Specifically, older women were less likely to participate in watching television or videos than older men (78.6% versus 82.5%), and they were more likely to engage in socializing and communicating (45.6% versus 37.3%); reading (35.0% versus 27.7%); and civic, religious, organization or volunteer activities (9.1% versus 6.4%).

107. Arriagada, Paula. 2018. "A day in the life: How do older Canadians spend their time?" *Insights on Canadian Society*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-006-X.

108. Statistics Canada. 2017. "Fertility: Fewer children, older moms." *Canadian Megatrends*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11-630-X.

109. Arriagada, Paula. 2018. "A day in the life: How do older Canadians spend their time?" *Insights on Canadian Society*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-006-X.

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid.

112. Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, Tables 14-10-0018-01 and 14-10-0031-01.

113. Arriagada, Paula. 2018. "A day in the life: How do older Canadians spend their time?" *Insights on Canadian Society*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-006-X.