Catalogue no. 89-584-MIE — No. 4
ISSN: 1707-7710
ISBN: 0-662-35568-7

Research Paper

Days of our lives: time use and transitions over the life course

The time of our lives: Juggling work and leisure over the life cycle

1998

by Dr. Janet Fast and Judith Frederick

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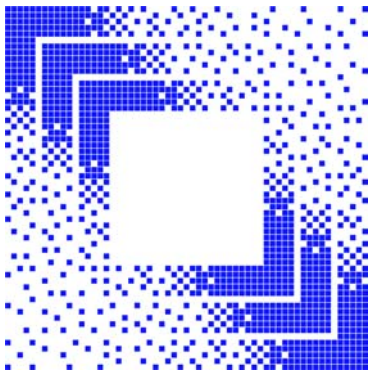

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Statistics Canada
Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division

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1998, no.4

Published by authority of the Minister responsible for Statistics Canada

January 2004

Catalogue no. 89-584-MIE

Frequency: Occasional

ISSN: 1707-7710

ISBN: 0-662-35568-7

Ottawa

Cette publication est disponible en français (nº 89-584-MIF au catalogue)

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.	not available for any reference period
..	not available for a specific reference period
...	not applicable
p	preliminary
r	revised
x	confidentiality to meet secrecy requirements of the *Statistics Act*
E	use with caution
F	too unreliable to be published

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The time of our lives: Juggling work and leisure over the life cycle

Dr. Janet Fast, University of Alberta and Judith Frederick, Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada

This paper represents the views of the authors and does not necessarily represent the opinions of Statistics Canada. This research is the result of collaboration between Dr. Janet Fast of the University of Alberta and Judith Frederick, Nancy Zukewich and Sandra Franke of Statistics Canada. The authors would like to thank Dr. Anne Gauthier of the University of Calgary for providing a peer review of the paper. As well, a debt of appreciation is due to Doug Norris, Janet Hagey and Rosemary Bender for their insightful comments and continued support. Sherry Anne Chapman and Melissa Cooke-Reynolds provided exceptional research assistance.

Time is all there is

The Days of Our Lives series of papers is intended to enhance our understanding of Canadian lifestyles and well-being by examining the influence of major life course transitions on individuals' time use patterns and quality of life indicators. It is our hope that this greater understanding will, in turn, prove useful to policy makers, practitioners and researchers in the education, health and continuing care, human resources and labour market sectors.

Time use surveys are now conducted as a matter of course in many countries around the world, and more join their ranks every year. Time is described as both the "ultimate resource" (Fleming and Spellberg 1999) and the "ultimate constraint on human activity" (Joyce and Stewart 1999). Like other resources, time is finite. Unlike other resources, time is shared equally by everyone. There also is a particularly useful "zero-sum" property to time—there are only 24 hours in a day so spending more time on one activity means that we must spend less time on others (Michael 1996; Robinson 1997). The trade-offs between competing paid, voluntary, domestic, leisure and self-care activities that are thus revealed by time use data say a great deal about our lifestyles, our preferences, and our choices (or lack of choice) (Joyce and Stewart 1999; Moss and Lawton 1982). How individuals use their time also has important implications for their financial security, health, emotional well-being and general happiness (Joyce and Stewart 1999). And, because background data typically are collected at the same time, activities, lifestyles, trade-offs and well-being can be placed within the demographic, socioeconomic and environmental contexts of the persons performing the activities (Fleming and Spellberg 1999).

Time use data have been used to study trends in the behaviour, lifestyles and quality of life of populations over time, across nations and across population sub-groups. They also have been used to study the impact of changes in policies, technology, the economy and other societal conditions on behaviours, lifestyles and quality of life (Fleming and Spellberg 1999). For policymakers and practitioners alike, time use surveys can reveal time constraints and identify niches around which interventions might effectively be designed (North-South Institute 1999). Fleming and Spellberg (1999) provide an extensive list of policy applications of time use data, some of which include:

- measurement and valuation of unpaid work, including volunteer work, which not only brings much-needed recognition to this work but also provides a more accurate description of the national economy and of the contributions of all sectors of society
- monitoring shifts in the locus of work between the informal and formal economies, including those resulting from policy changes such as reductions in publicly-funded care to the chronically ill
- measuring parental and societal investment in children and how these investments affect their growth and development
- informing legal proceedings, such as personal injury and wrongful death claims involving disabled or deceased homemakers, division of marital property, and child support
- informing economic development strategies
- studying labour market behaviour, including employment, unemployment and underemployment
- creating more comprehensive social and economic indicators

The days of our lives over the life cycle

Robinson and Godbey (1997) have proposed a model of the factors that determine how people spend their time. In it, time allocation decisions are described as a function of biological factors (such as age, sex, race), role factors (including paid work hours, marriage and parenthood), status factors (education, occupation and income), environmental factors (such as urbanicity, geographic region and housing type) and temporal factors (day of the week, season and year). In particular, they argue that "there are clear and familiar differences in how time use changes across the life cycle that are prescribed by most societies". Indeed, Elliot, Harvey and Macdonald (1984) suggest that changes in activity patterns may be structured and predictable in terms of changes in roles and obligations as one moves through the life cycle.

Life course transitions often are used as key markers of social and behavioural change in one's life (Kain 1993). They also are likely to be important determinants of quality of life outcomes (Bengston and Allen 1993). Indeed, family life cycle stage has been found to explain more of the variation in women's time use than age alone. For example, it is

now well-documented that the time women spend on unpaid work peaks at the time of family formation, especially birth of the first child, and increases with family size (Niemi 1995).

It is said that life course events are precipitated by differences in societal expectations about role content across the lifespan (Kramer and Lambert 1999; Rodgers and White 1993). According to George (1992) “Role entry and exit are, by definition, [life] transitions”. Role shifts, in turn, imply changes in activity patterns, social interaction and overall quality of life (Cowan 1991; Thoits 1983, 1992; Zuzanek and Smale 1999). Bengston and Allen (1993) further posit that developmental changes are multidirectional and include role gains and losses.

Various authors describe some of the most commonly studied life course transitions. The first is the transition from youth to adulthood which generally occurs between the ages of 15 and 29 and typically involves achieving economic and social independence by leaving school, entering the workforce, leaving the parental home, and establishing one’s own family (Beaujot, Gee, Rajulton and Ravanera 1995; Kain 1993). Rotolo (2000) identifies marriage as one of the most important life course transitions noting that a host of obligations come attached to it. The transition to parenthood has important consequences for parental behaviours, allocation of household and paid labour and individual well-being (Coltrane and Ishi-Kuntz 1992). Beaujot, Gee, Rajulton and Ravanera (1995) observe that a historic lack of interest in the latter stages of the life course has given way to a more intense focus on later life transitions such as widowhood and living arrangements in the face of increasing life expectancy, population aging, and feminization of the older population.

Beaujot et al. (1995) also have observed that the family life cycle has lost the uniformity and formality that it once had. It once was common to conceptualize the life course as a series of discrete events that “happened” to people in a more or less linear fashion, and at more or less fixed, socially prescribed times. Life course patterns now are acknowledged to be more diverse, the timing of transitions less precise and universal, and the transitions themselves more likely to be experienced as extended and complex processes than distinct events (Beaujot, Gee, Rajulton and Ravanera 1995; Kramer and Lambert 1999; Tindale 1999). These more diverse patterns are reflected in a number of well-documented trends. Higher youth unemployment and lower incomes mean a delayed and more gradual transition to independent living. While the majority of people still marry and have children, there is an increased preference for common-law rather than legal marriages among young adults. That these common-law unions often represent trial marriages suggests that marriage, too, is becoming more of a process than an event for some. Parenthood still represents a major life course transition, but increasing women’s labour force participation is associated with delayed and lower fertility. At the same time, there has been an “uncoupling” of marriage and childbearing with an increase in out-of-wedlock births paralleling the increase in common-law unions. Divorce represents a new type of transition and remarriage means that many experience the marriage transition more than once. Parents who divorce may not live with their children full-time; those who remarry may live with children who are not their biological offspring. Extended life expectancy is postponing widowhood to later ages, especially for women. Most older people still live with close relatives, but many more are living alone or with non-relatives.

Zuzanek and Smale (1999) argued that, while age is a primary dimension of life cycle, its effects are mainly physical and assumes functional significance only in conjunction with gender, family status and employment status. Zuzanek (1979) proposed that life cycle can be operationalized as a combination of four major biological or social role continua of life: age, marital status, presence of children, and labour force status. Thus operationalized, the notions of life cycle, life course, or life transitions combine in a meaningful way biological characteristics with social and role characteristics.

All four of these dimensions commonly have appeared as predictor variables in prior studies of how people spend their time, and each has been found to be a significant predictor. Generally, though, these dimensions are studied individually; occasionally two are studied in combination. Rarely, though, are they studied as a comprehensive set of dimensions that collectively represent a powerful determinant of behaviour, lifestyle and quality of life. Also rare are studies that span more than one stage of the life course. It also is uncommon to find research that describes comprehensively the daily lives of those being studied, most focusing instead one or two types of activities in isolation. Zuzanek and Smale (1999) do encourage the use of the life cycle concept in attempts to explain daily time use and weekly rhythms of life, but focus only on the employment and parental status dimensions of the mid-life stage of the life course in their own analyses.

Perhaps most commonly studied are the effects of the presence of young children and labour force status on the paid and unpaid work of young families (Coltrane and Ishi-Kuntz 1992; Lingsom 1995). Some family types are examined separately, or sometimes compared (for example two-parent and single-parent families, or dual-earner and breadwinner families).

While the time use decisions of older persons and later life families were largely ignored in the earliest time use research (to the extent that persons over age 65 often were excluded entirely from time use surveys) (Altergott 1988; Harvey and Singleton 1989; Lawton 1999; Szalai et al. 1972), more recently researchers' attention has been captured by the effect of retirement on seniors' lifestyles (Zuzanek and Box 1988). The earliest of such studies focused on the substitution of paid work time for selected sedentary leisure activities (Harvey and Singleton 1989), with a secondary line of inquiry on changes in the gender distribution of household work time following retirement (Kramer and Lambert 1999; Szinovacz 2000). Even today, though, persons over age 65 tend to be treated by time use researchers as a relatively homogeneous group, with little attention given to the differences drawn by gerontologists (for example, between the "young-old" and "old-old").

Rarer still are studies of the time use of teens and young adults. What little evidence is available suggests a strong connection between the transition from youth to adulthood and the time use patterns of young people (Lingsom 1991; Gauthier and Furstenberg 1999). It suggests, too, that how young people use their time may effect profoundly their acquisition of human and social capital. For example, Furstenberg et al. (1999) have demonstrated that teens from poor families who are involved in extra-curricular, voluntary and other community activities exhibit better educational achievement and less delinquent behaviour. Better understanding this connection is vital to understanding how young people prepare for their future social roles and responsibilities.

This paper represents a comprehensive examination of the daily lives, lifestyles and quality of life of Canadians at all stages in the life course. The transitional events studied in this document include: leaving school and entering the work force; leaving the household of origin to establish one's own household; becoming a spouse or life partner; becoming a parent; retirement; and the transitions associated with old age, death of a spouse and changes in living arrangements.

In this paper we examine the broad patterns of daily life across the entire life cycle. Our analyses consist of comparisons of the time allocation patterns of respondents who have not yet experienced the focal life transition event to those who have. We examine both the way in which time is allocated across the four aggregate activity categories (paid work and education; unpaid work; recreation and leisure; and personal care) and how time is distributed among the sub-categories within each. In order to better understand the personal, policy and practice relevance of time use patterns, we then compare how respondents who have and have not experienced the focal transition event feel about their lives and about how they spend their time.

Data and methods

This series of articles explores the effect of life course transitions on time use and quality of life. In order to examine the effect of a life transition, the study population for each article was divided into two distinct groups: those who had experienced the transition being studied (post-transition group), and those who had not (pre-transition group). In the absence of longitudinal data, there is no way of knowing whether those who had not experienced a particular life course transition ever will experience it.

This study uses data from Statistics Canada's 1998 General Social Survey (GSS) on time use.[1] This was Canada's third national time use survey.[2] The target population for the 1998 GSS was people aged 15 and over living in private households, excluding residents of the territories. The sample was selected using the elimination of non-working banks technique of random digit dialing.[3] Respondents in the sample were assigned a day of the week or "designated day", and were asked to describe chronologically what they did on the day following the designated day. Trained interviewers then coded activities into a detailed classification system. The survey was conducted using computer assisted telephone interviewing from February 1998 to January 1999 and an attempt was made to obtain an interview with one randomly selected person from each household. The final response rate was 78%, yielding a total of 10,749 respondents with usable time use diary information.

The day is divided into four main activities: paid work, unpaid work, self-care and leisure.[4] The average time spent per day on each activity is estimated over a seven-day week, and these means and other descriptive statistics are based on weighted data. Differences reported in the analysis are significant at the <0.05 level, unless otherwise specified.

[1] The GSS is an ongoing annual survey program at designed to monitor changes in the living conditions and well-being of Canadians over time, and to fill data gaps by providing information on social policy issues of current or emerging interest. Each year, the nationally representative survey focuses on a different core topic, time use being one of five core areas.

[2] The other surveys took place in 1986 and 1992.

[3] Statistics Canada estimates that less than 2% of the target population of households do not have a telephone. Survey estimates were adjusted to account for people without telephones.

[4] See Appendix A for detailed activity codes.

Time allocation patterns across the life cycle

In order to illustrate how life events affect the allocation of finite time across competing activities for women and men, we created a simulated life course that proxies the major life transitions. We first divided the sample into age groups that roughly correspond to the time of life when one was most likely to experience each transition. We then assigned individuals to groups representing those who have and have not experienced a given transition.

The population 15 to 24 years of age without children was selected to examine the transition from school to paid work. Parents were excluded in order to eliminate the profound effect of the presence of children on activities. About 60% of both women and men in this age cohort were still in school. Not surprisingly, students tended to be younger than the employed. Among those still in school, about 70% were between the ages of 15 and 19 while a similar proportion of the employed were older, aged 20 to 24. For an in-depth analysis of transitions in this age group see. "Transition from school to paid work: Event to process" in this series (Franke 2004).

The age group 25 to 44 was selected to explore the transitions around marriage and childbearing. In this age cohort, women appear to have completed these transitions at an earlier age than men do. Nearly 85% of women had made the transition to marriage, compared to just 75% of men, and nearly 70% of women, versus 58% of men, had a child in the household. This was likely due to the tendency for women to marry men who were older than themselves compounded by the biological limitations that women experience with respect to the timing of parenthood.

In this overview, our main focus was on the changes produced by evolving family status. For the most part, men continue to work full time in the labour market throughout these transitions. While the employment patterns of single and married women were similar to that of men, the arrival of children tends to interrupt the employment of mothers. As women retain the primary responsibility for family care, new mothers were much more likely than fathers to simultaneously experience a change in their employment status. This additional complexity is dealt with in "Work, parenthood and the experience of time scarcity" in this series (Zukewich 2003). See also "Transitions to union formation" for an exploration of the relationship between union formation and well-being (Zukewich and Cooke-Reynolds 2003).

Respondents aged 45 to 69 years comprise the sample used to compare the employed and retired.[1] Similar to early life transitions, women at this later stage in the life course were more likely than men to have already made this transition. Nearly ½ of mid-life women were not employed, compared to 1/3 of their male counterparts. Subsequent analysis provides a further breakdown of employment status into full-time, part-time, not employed and retired. See "The transition to retirement: When every day is Saturday" in this series (Fast and Frederick 2004).

Respondents[2] aged 70 and over were divided into three groups which proxy the transitions associated with widowhood and changes in living arrangements: married; widowed and living alone; and living with someone other than a spouse. The biggest gender differences in life course transitions were evident in this older group. Nearly 4 out of 5 older men were married or cohabiting compared to just 1 in 3 older women. Because of their longevity, and because women tend to marry older men, women were much more likely to have outlived their spouses. As a result, widowhood is primarily a female experience. Nearly half the women 70 and older were widowed and living alone compared to less than 15% of older men. A further 17% of unattached older women were living with someone other than a spouse compared to just 8% of older men. See "Living longer, living better" in this series (Frederick and Fast 2004).

[1] For simplicity, and consistent with some of the earlier literature on the impact of retirement on time use patterns, the comparison in this overview chapter is between employed and non-employed individuals.
[2] Older adults living in an institutional setting were not covered by the survey.

The following diagram, adapted from the work of Zuzanek and Smale (1999), illustrates the key life course stages used to explore changes in the daily behaviour and subjective well-being prompted by the life course transitions of Canadians.

Key life course stages

Characteristics of key transitions										
	Adolescence		**Young adulthood**			**Middle adulthood**		**Late adulthood**		
Labour force status	Student	Employed	Not differentiated by labour force status			Employed	Retired	Not differentiated by labour force status		
Marital status	Not differentiated by marital status		Single	Married	Not differentiated by marital status	Not differentiated by marital status		Married	Widowed / living alone	Living with others
Children	No child		No child	No child	Parent	Not differentiated by presence of children		Not differentiated by presence of children		
Age	15-24		25-44			45-69		70 +		

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Some respondents did not fit into the transitional categories that we have defined. Excluded groups include 15- to 24-year-old parents and adults aged 70 and older who lived alone but were not widowed, i.e., they never married, or were separated or divorced.

A day in the life

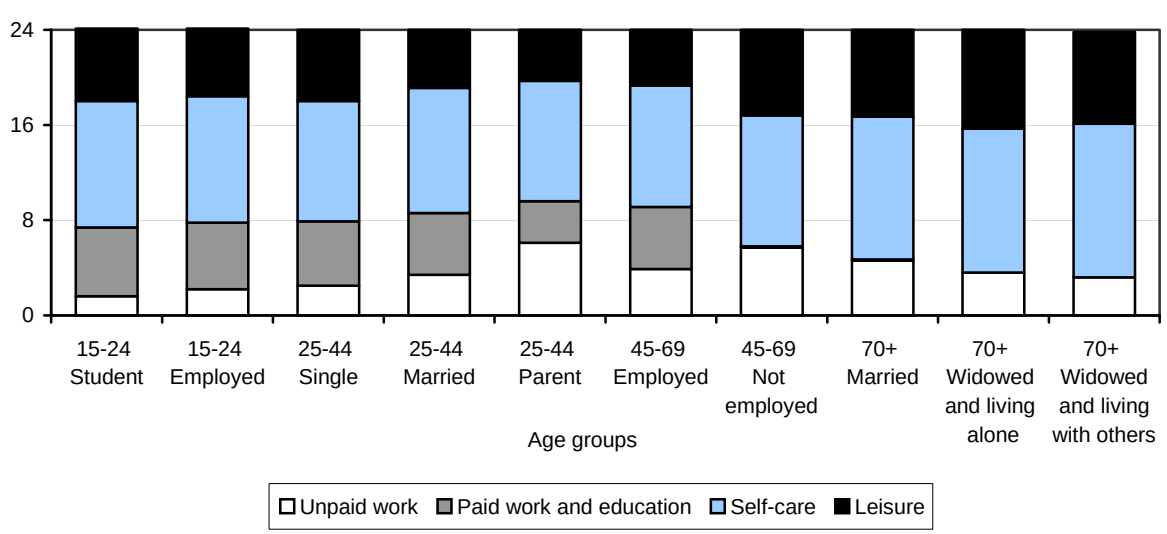
Charts 1 (for women) and 2 (for men) illustrate the distribution of time among competing activities before and after life course transitions and how the patterns of daily life vary across life cycle stages. As Charts 1 and 2 demonstrate, all of the key life course factors (age, employment, marital status, and parental status) shape the way we spend our time.

Both adolescent women and men spend a substantial amount of time getting an education and getting established in the labour market in the earliest stages of the life course. Adolescents, with familial responsibilities still in the future, allocated the least amount of time to unpaid work. Many were still in the parental home.

Time spent on all work activities (education, paid and unpaid work and related travel combined) increased gradually over early life transitions and peaked with the transition to parenthood. However, the mix was different for women and for men. Women, even those employed full time, spent more time on unpaid work than did men at all stages of the life course. Unpaid work peaked for women with the arrival of children and for men at retirement. At older ages, unpaid work time gradually declined, but for the most part remained as high or higher in later life than at any other stage of the life course, with the exception of the childbearing and childrearing years.

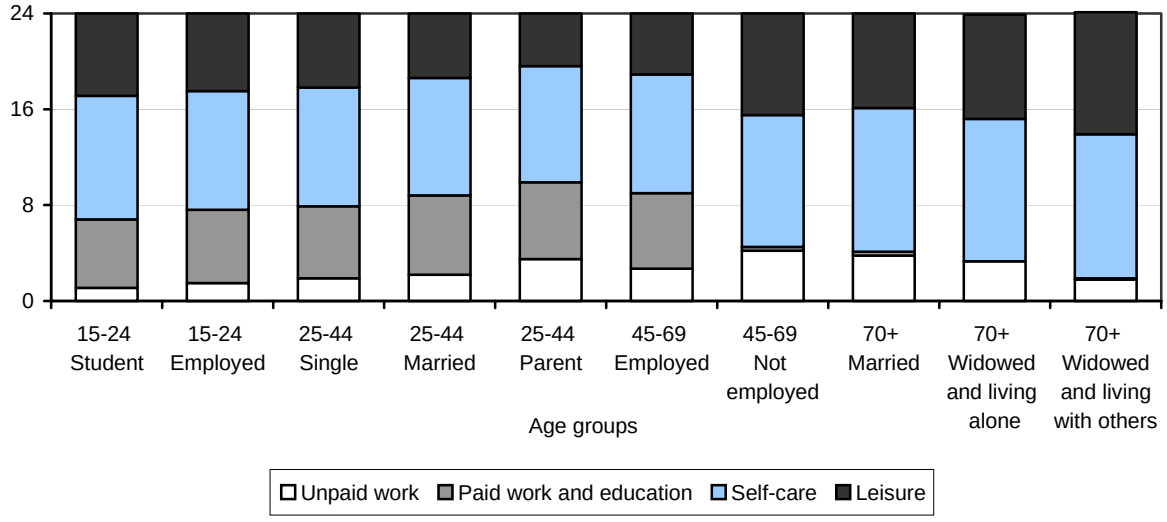
In contrast, men spent more time on paid work and education than women did at all stages, but the *pattern* of paid work for men and women was similar in its relative stability across the working life span. Mothers were the exception. While the time allocated to paid work and education was consistent over other transitional stages, average hours per day of paid work dropped with motherhood. The arrival of children upset the balance in activity patterns established between the sexes up to this point in the life course. Children are likely to result in an interruption of employment for women but not men.

Chart 1
Women's daily activities over the life course



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Chart 2
Men's daily activities over the life course



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

When education, paid and unpaid work activities were combined, the total work time increased gradually from about 25% of daily activities for young students without a job to over 40% for parents. A distinct “time squeeze” upon marriage and childbearing was evident in Charts 1 and 2. Unpaid work escalated slightly on marriage for both men and women but neither cut back significantly on paid work, instead surrendering leisure time. Unpaid work soared on becoming a parent, but rose more sharply for mothers (about 2 hours per day) than fathers (about 1 hour per day). Mothers responded to these new demands by reducing paid work, leisure, and personal care. While fathers trimmed their paid work slightly, most of the additional time spent on unpaid work came from leisure. Later life transitions were

associated with a reversion to more similar activity patterns for women and men. The total time spent on work activities (paid and unpaid) declined by more than ½ hour for employed mid-aged adults, reverting to pre-child levels. Androgyny in lifestyle was most evident among older women and men, 70 years of age and over, as women cut back on the level of domestic work and the unpaid work of their male counterparts remained at its highest level.[3]

Charts 1 and 2 also illustrate how much of the time formerly devoted to paid work was reallocated to leisure activities with the transition to retirement. Women and men in later stages of the life course spent about 3 hours more on leisure activities (both active and passive) than those in prime employment and childbearing stages. This pattern is consistent with much of the literature on the time use of older adults (Altergott 1988; Robinson and Godbey 1997; Verbrugge, et al. 1996), but does signify that those in later stages of life remained active. Indeed, about 2 hours per day were redistributed from paid to unpaid work activities—domestic work, caregiving and volunteer work—following retirement.

The time allocated to meeting biological needs (sleeping, eating and dressing) was the most stable of the main activities over the life course, but self-care also increased slightly in later life.

The social, economic and political environments have changed markedly over time. For example, it was observed earlier in this paper that the life cycle itself has changed dramatically in recent years. What were previously distinct life "events", such as finishing school and entering the labour force, marriage, and retirement are now much more complex and "fuzzy" processes. Today's youth are more likely to combine paid work with school, to leave school for paid work only to return later to continue their education, or train for a new occupation. The timing of the transition to adulthood and independence has changed. Boyd and Norris (1999) found that young people were slower to leave the nest and returned to it during difficult times.[4] Most people marry; many divorce; some remarry. Children in a contemporary family may well be the progeny of an earlier marriage. The incidence of common-law marriage and out-of-wedlock births has increased. Retirement, too, has become a complex process, often involving gradual withdrawal from paid work by way of "bridge jobs" or part-time work, and even multiple retirements. Increased longevity and better health among older adults heralds an extended period of active living following the end of paid work. Such changes raise the question: do life course transitions affect the daily lives of Canadians differently today than in the past?

Moving towards a leisure-based society? Trends over time

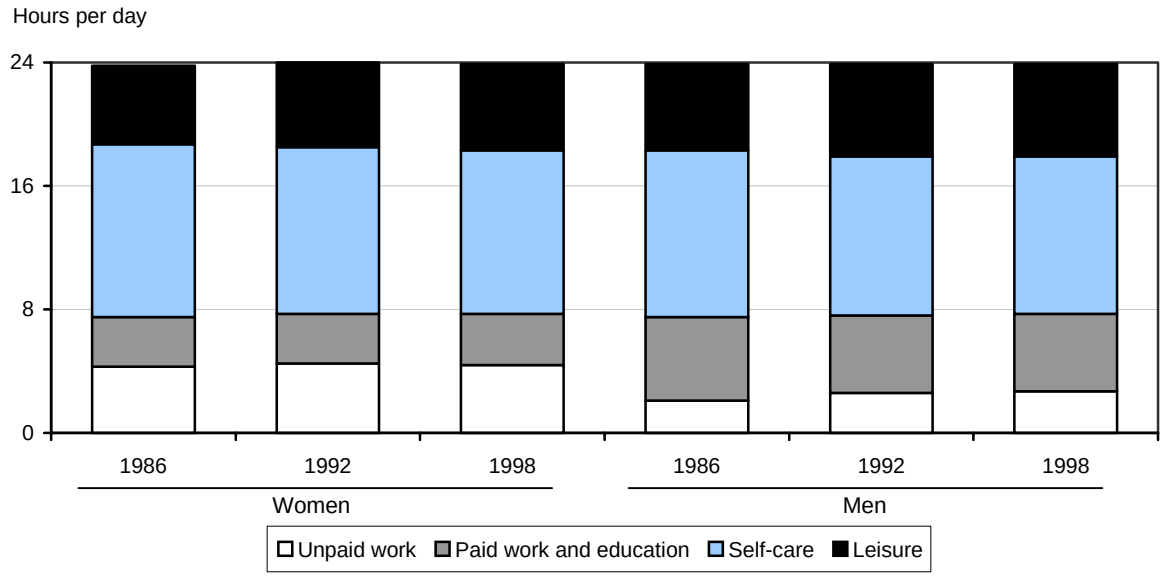
Longitudinal data (interviews with the same people about the same things at more than one point in time) on time use, which would allow age, period and cohort effects to be examined, were not available. However, as indicated earlier, the 1998 General Social Survey (GSS) represented the third time Statistics Canada has collected cross-sectional data on Canadians' time use. Similar national surveys were conducted in 1986 and 1992. Comparing time use patterns within the context of our simulated life cycle allowed us to identify trends in time allocation patterns over the time period for which data were available, and trends in how life course transitions were related to these patterns.

Historically, the reallocation of time has been between work and leisure. However, Chart 3 reveals that total work (unpaid plus paid work) has remained relatively stable since 1986, both among and between women and men. Both allocated more time to leisure activities in 1998 than they did in 1986. Over the time period the increase in leisure has been at the expense of time spent on personal care. Robinson (1997) found a similar trend in the United States. Nevertheless, the relative stability across the four main activities (paid work, unpaid work, leisure and personal care) conceals the changing time use patterns of men and women over the life course. We have to examine the time that women and men at different stages of the life course allocate to these main activities to discover the ongoing changes in behaviour over the years.

[3] Robinson (1997) found the large increase in housework by retired men surprising as they acquired their social attitudes in the years before women's liberation (p. 213). Despite more enlightened attitudes, the data show the biggest gender gap in daily behaviour patterns between 25- to 44-year-old parents.

[4] Boyd, M. and D. Norris. Spring 1999 ."The crowded nest: Young adults at home." *Canadian Social Trends* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11-008): 2-5.

Chart 3
Daily activities for woman and men over time



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Shifting realities

Charts 4 through 11 illustrate how Canadians at different stages of the life course allocated their time in 1986, 1992 and 1998. Several distinct trends over time were apparent. Chart 4 reveals why it was important to examine the more detailed patterns relating to life transitions to provide a more reliable picture of daily behaviour over time. While the previous chart showed that women overall had allocated virtually the same amount of time to paid work and education over the years, differences can be seen when distinct stages of the life course were examined.[5]

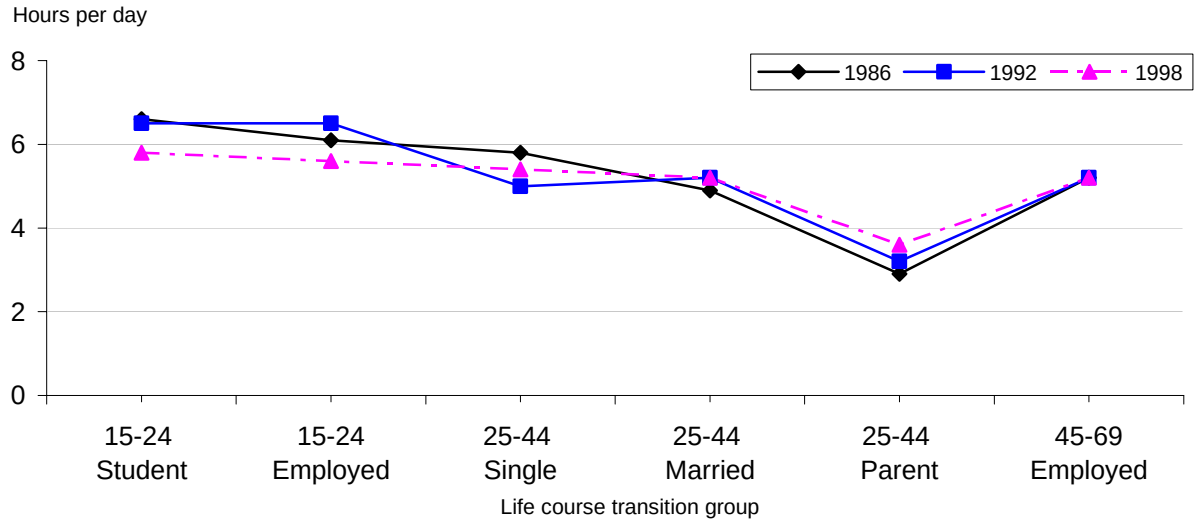
In 1998, adolescent women, both students and the employed, aged 15 to 24, spent less time at paid work and education than earlier cohorts. Both participation rates and average time spent in educational activities declined over the period among students and the employed. A similar decline in paid work was evident among employed adolescents. Perhaps even those lucky enough to find jobs were underemployed. Despite higher youth unemployment rates, female students maintained their participation rate and average time in paid work over the period.

In contrast, married women, and more specifically mothers, aged 25 to 44, allocated slightly more time to paid work than a decade ago. This change was due primarily to increased participation in the labour market of wives, and more specifically young mothers, rather than a change in the average amount of time spent at paid work. What has remained constant over time is the sharp decline in paid work with the arrival of children in a woman's life.

Legislative changes to the length of time that mothers are eligible for maternity/parental leave are an external factor influencing this trend. Fast and Dapont (1997) showed that women interrupted their paid work for childbearing for shorter periods with the introduction of paid maternity leave during the interval covered by the different surveys. This effect was due to the initiation of job security; mothers had jobs to which to return. In the future, mothers (and fathers) may increase the time devoted to baby and child care with increases to parental leave eligibility.

[5] For the simplified life course, young women aged 25 to 44 were differentiated by marital status and not by employment status. The average time spent at paid work among the single, married and parental groups aged 25 to 44, will be lower than other stages in the life course that include only the employed. The average time includes some women aged 25 to 44 who were not employed. However, this classification highlights the drop in the average time spent at paid work by mothers. The sharp drop is due to a decline in labour force participation rates by new mothers rather than a decline in the actual hours worked by employed mothers.

Chart 4
Woman's paid work and education over time



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Chart 5 illustrates the remarkable stability in women's patterns of time allocation to unpaid work over the past decade. Surprisingly, wives and mothers, aged 25 to 44, spent the same amount of time on unpaid work over the period despite spending more time at paid work. The sharp drop in paid work with the transition to motherhood (above) was reflected in an offsetting sharp increase in unpaid work (below). It is evident that younger women were spending less time on productive work (paid work plus unpaid work) in 1998 while wives and mothers were spending more.

Younger women have not reallocated the time previously spent on paid work to unpaid work. Nor have wives and mothers reduced the time they spent on unpaid work to accommodate the increase in the time spent at paid work over the past decade. As we all have just 24 hours a day, these shifts must have had an impact on the time spent on other daily activities. With the drop in time spent on productive work among younger women, they had more time to allocate to either leisure or personal care. The inverse is true for mothers. They have taken time from either leisure or personal care to accommodate the increase in productive activity.

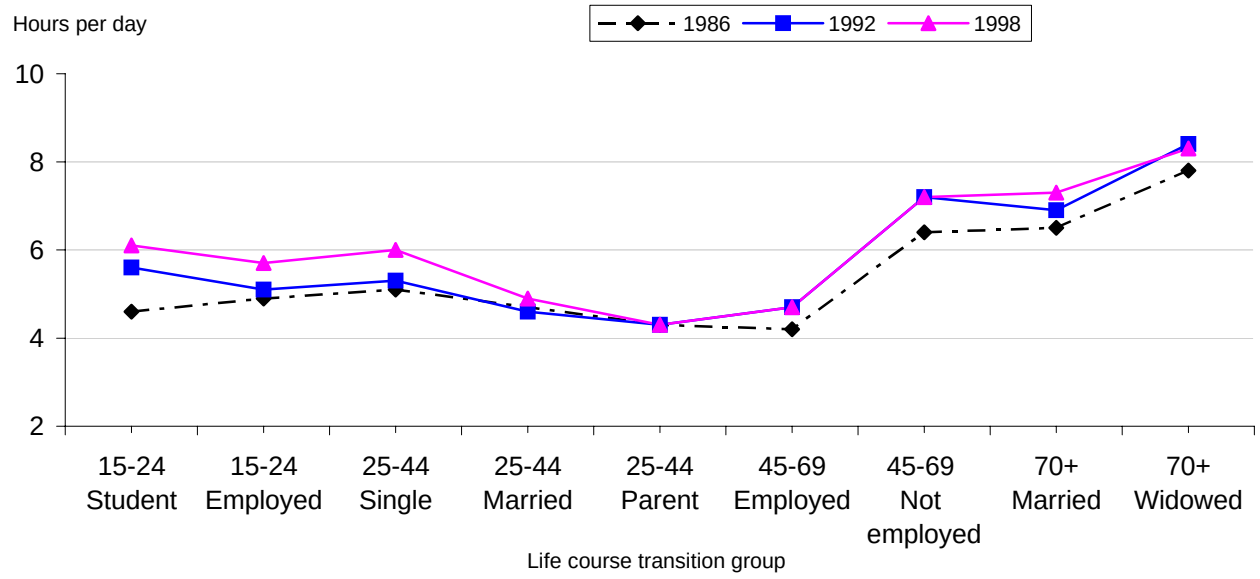
In isolation, Chart 6 suggests that women at all stages of the life course, with the exception of mothers, were moving towards a more leisurely lifestyle. From the previous charts, it was clear that women at earlier stages of the life course had moved in that direction, less work and more leisure. This may, however, be the effect of fewer employment opportunities for young people,[6] rather than free choice. This pattern is also consistent with the observation made by Boyd and Norris (1999) that the transition to adulthood has been delayed among adolescents. In contrast, mothers spent more time on productive work over the last decade while their leisure time has not changed.

[6] The proportion of unattached women, aged 25 to 44, who were students in 1998 more than doubled from 1986 (11% versus 4%, respectively). Young women may have remained at school or returned due to a perceived lack of opportunity in the labour market. However, a similar increase was not evident among their male counterparts over the period (6% and 5%, respectively).

Chart 5
Woman's unpaid work over time

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

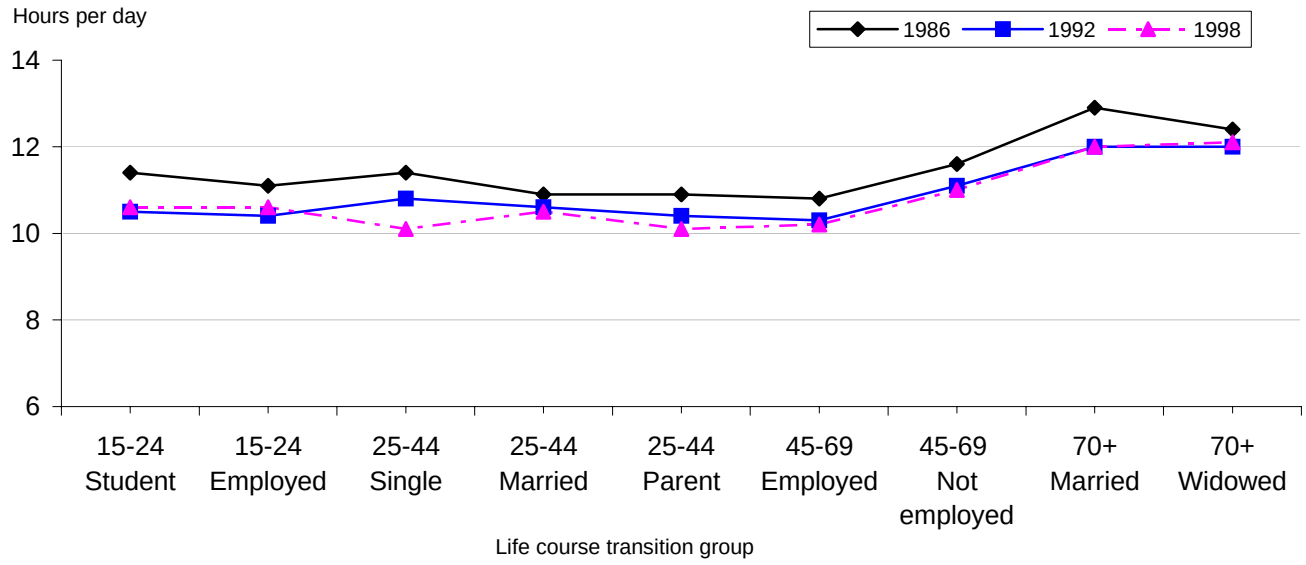
Chart 6
Woman's leisure over time



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Rather, as Chart 7 shows, much of the increase in leisure time for younger women has come at the expense of self-care, as has young mothers' ability to maintain their leisure time in the face of increased paid work demands. Women at all stages of the life course allocated less time to self-care in 1998 than in 1986.

Chart 7
Woman's self-care over time



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

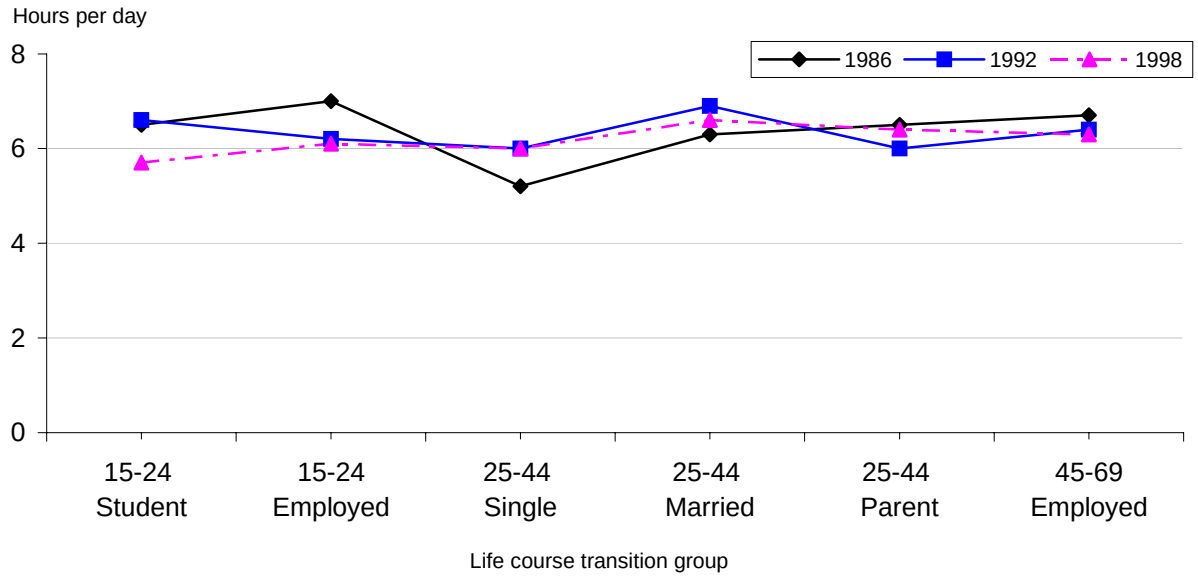
Chart 8 reveals the relative stability in the amount of time men allocated to paid work and education over the life course compared to women.[7] Over the period, adolescent men, aged 15 to 24, spent somewhat less time on paid work and educational activities. Like adolescent women, both participation rates and average time spent in educational activities declined over the period among students and the employed. The participation rate and the time spent at paid work showed a similar decline among employed adolescent men. However, among male students, like their female counterparts, participation rates and average times spent on paid work remained similar over the period. Young, single men, aged 24 to 44, spent somewhat more time on paid work and education, but like their female counterparts, a higher proportion were employed in 1998 (83%) than in 1986 (75%). The increase, therefore, was from a higher participation rate in the labour force rather than from the same number of individuals working longer hours. The effect over time was to increase the relative stability in time spent on paid work and education over the life course.

In contrast, Chart 9 indicates that beginning with fatherhood, men have increased the time they allocated to unpaid work over the period. Little change was evident among younger men whom we might expect to have more egalitarian views about the division of labour given that they were raised in a less traditional culture. But, as previously noted, contemporary younger men were leaving the parental home later than did their predecessors, which may explain why they have not increased the time committed to unpaid work. But this does not help to clarify the lack of change among young married men over the period.

Men's leisure time (Chart 10), unlike that of women's, does not show a consistent increase over time. Men in the prime career-building and childrearing stages have not gained any leisure time over the past decade. It was primarily adolescent men and men who had recently left the labour market who were able to spend more time on leisure activities. Interestingly, among fathers, mid-aged and older men, the reduction in time spent on self-care has largely been reallocated to unpaid work.

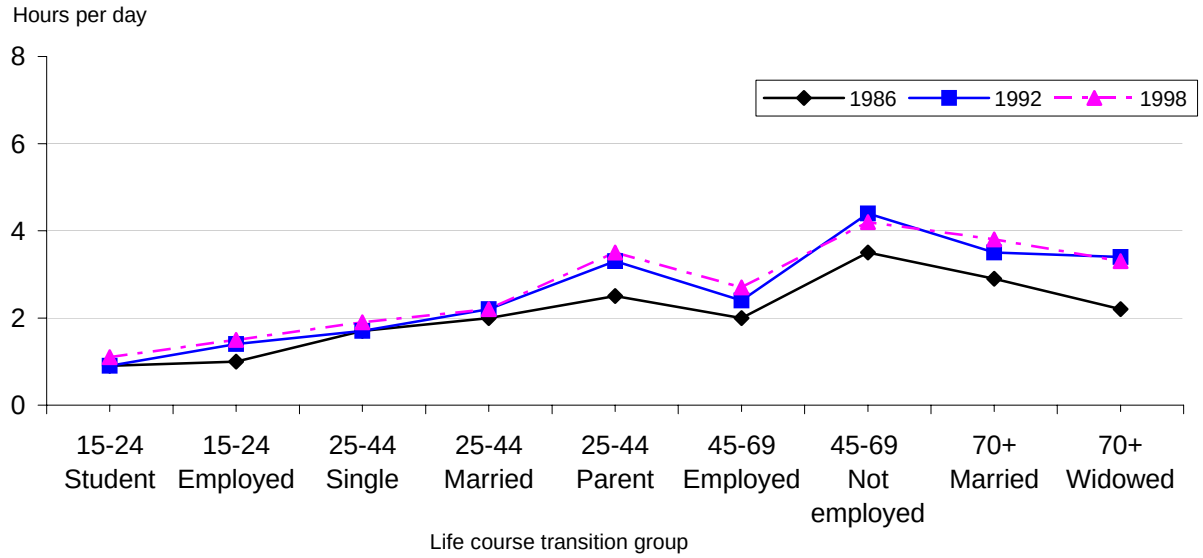
[7] For the simplified life course, young men, aged 25 to 44, were differentiated by marital status and not by employment status. Even though most men, aged 25 to 44, may work full time, included in the group were those who were not employed. This will tend to bring down the average relative to other life course stages that were defined solely by labour force status. Differences over time can be due to a change in the participation rate as well as average time worked.

Chart 8
Men's paid work and education over time



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Chart 9
Men's unpaid work over time



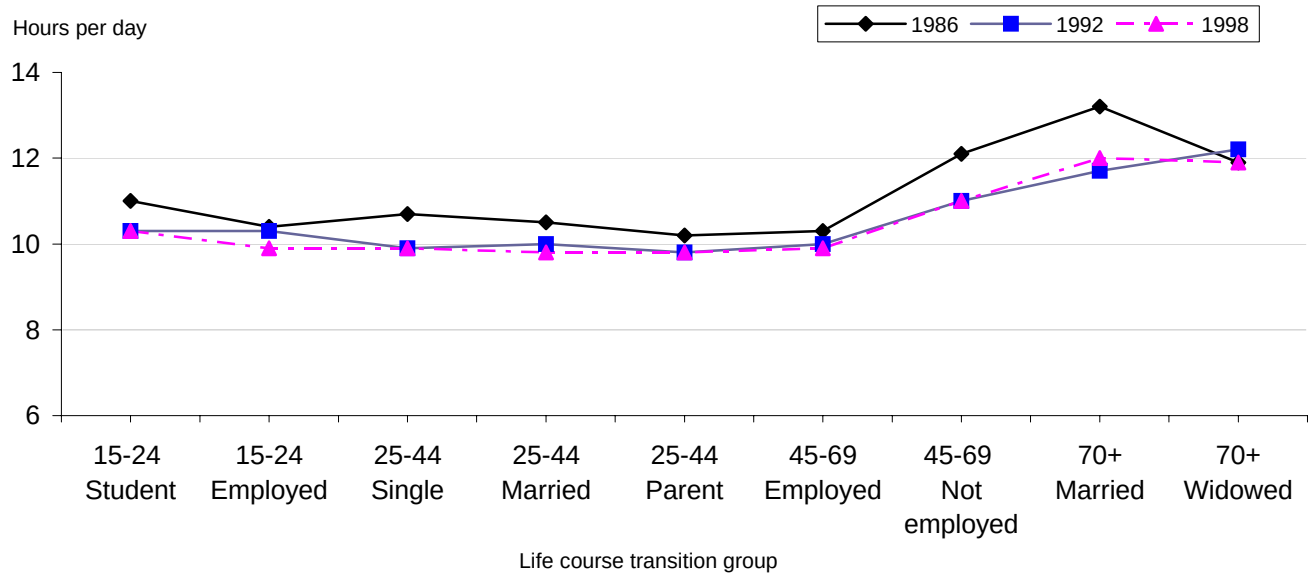
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Chart 10
Men's leisure time over time

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Men, like women, allocated less time to self-care over the period, regardless of life course stage. (Chart 11)

Chart 11
Men's self-care over time



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Moving towards equality?

Charts 12 through 15 illustrate the current state of gender equality with respect to time allocation. These figures suggest a move toward a more egalitarian society over the past decade; women have increased the time spent on paid work and men have increased the time spent on unpaid work.

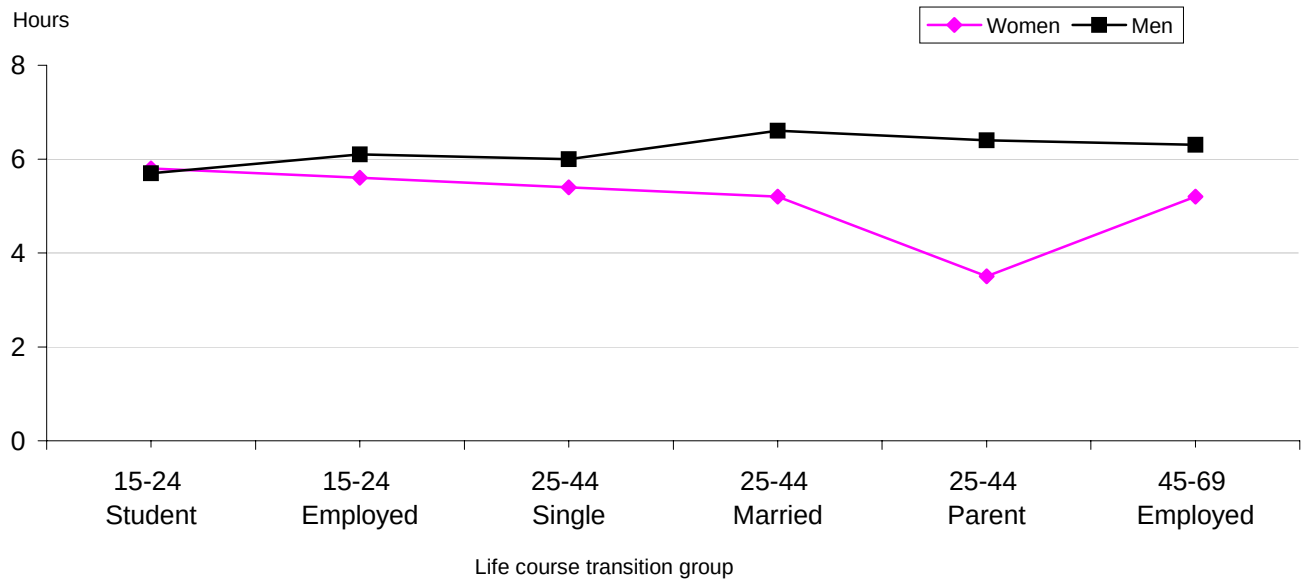
That said, gender differences in paid and unpaid work were still evident and heightened with the transition to parenthood. New mothers reduced the time spent on paid work to cope with increased caregiving work while fathers retained their more traditional role of breadwinner. (Chart 12, Chart 13)

In contrast to earlier stages of the life course, when women consistently spent more time on unpaid work, widows and widowers living alone allocated a similar amount of time to unpaid work. Neither widows nor widowers living alone had someone else in the household to look after or to look after them.

While the leisure gap has declined over the past decade, Chart 14 reveals that men continue to enjoy more leisure time than women at most stages over the life course. The difference was much smaller during the career-building and childrearing years and disappeared between married parents.

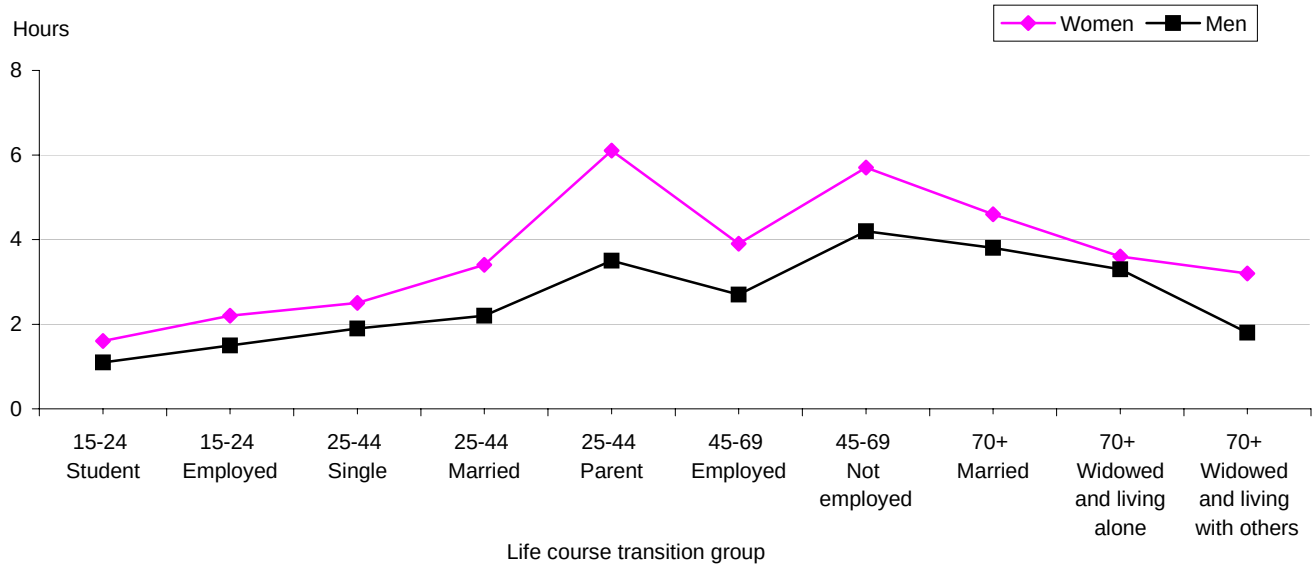
Chart 15 shows that time spent on self-care was similar for women and men over the life course in 1998: both have reduced the time they spent on self-care over the past decade.

Chart 12
Differences in paid work and education, by gender differences



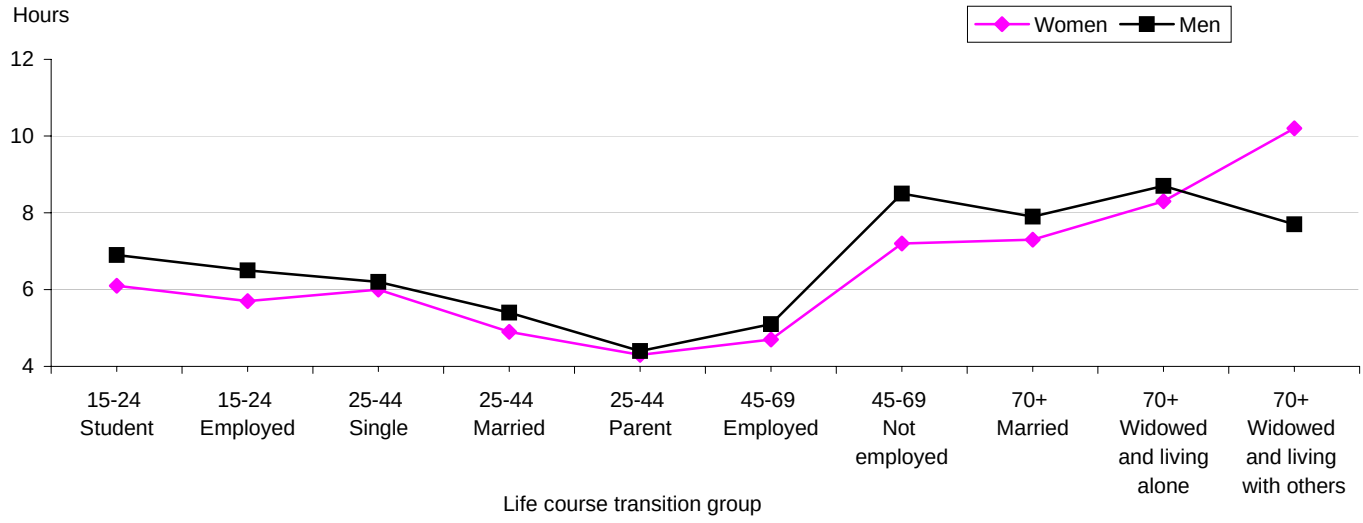
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Chart 13
Differences in unpaid work, by gender differences



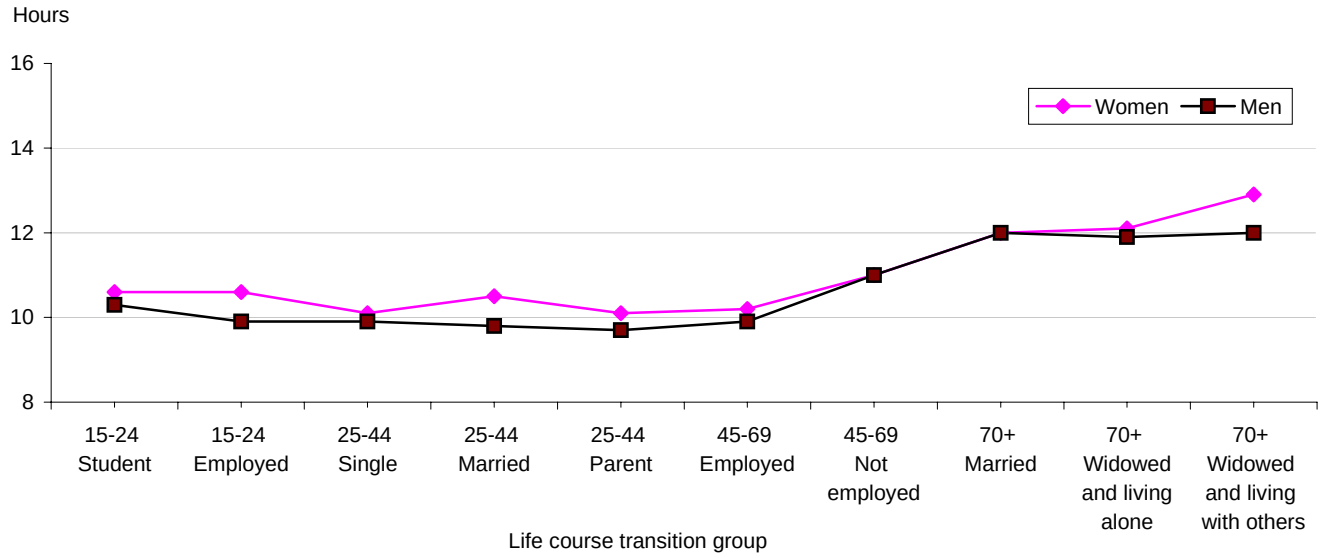
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Chart 14
Differences in leisure time, by gender differences



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Chart 15
Differences in self-care, by gender differences



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Summary of changes over time

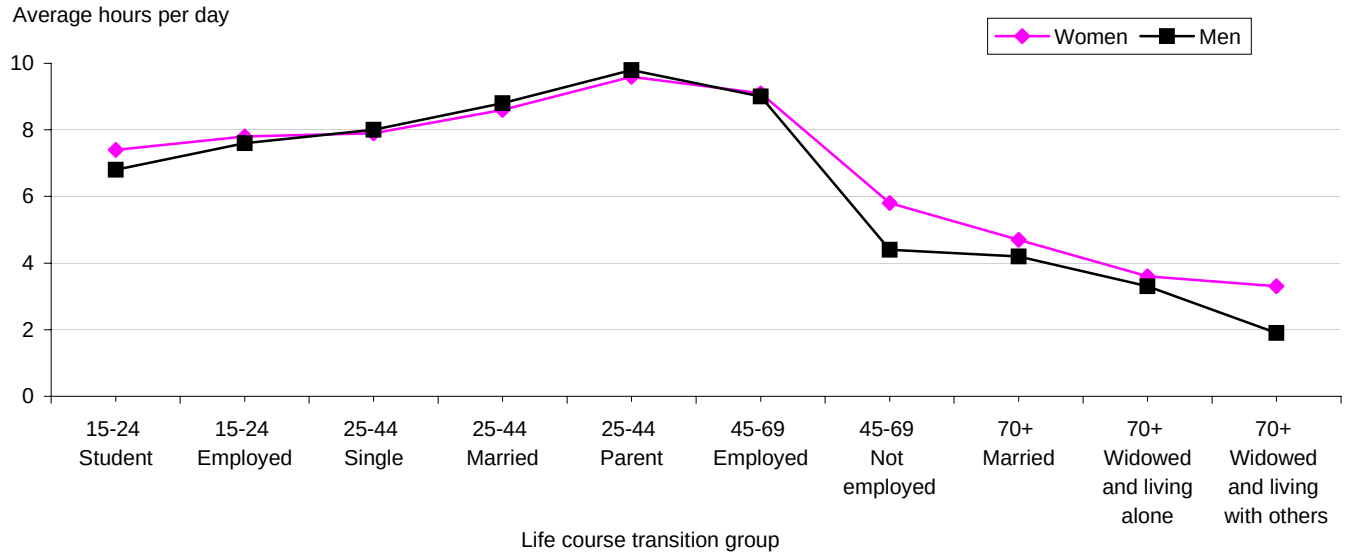
Several distinct trends over time were apparent. The share of the day spent on leisure activities has increased for most women and for adolescent men. While this reallocation of time has had the effect of reducing the "leisure gap" between women and men, it has not eliminated it. Men continue to enjoy more leisure time than women during their adolescence and again after retirement. However, differences have been reduced between women and men during the career-building and childrearing stages.

Fathers, mid-aged men and older men have increased their participation in unpaid work over time. In contrast, the unpaid work of women has remained virtually constant over time. Young wives and mothers, aged 25 to 44, spent slightly more time on paid work in 1998 than 1986. As Chart 16 illustrates, in 1998, the total workload (paid and unpaid work) was similar for men and women, especially among young people, aged 25 to 44, and employed mid-agers, aged 45 to 69. While in most cases gender differences in the distribution of time between paid and unpaid work were smaller in 1998 than 1986, the gender differences persist: women still spent more time on domestic tasks than men and men spent more time on paid work. Women continue to spend more time than men on unpaid work even after both have retired from the labour force.

The relationship between life course transitions and time use patterns also appears to have changed over time. Perhaps the most noticeable differences were related to the transitions to marriage and parenthood. Marriage (including cohabitation) added more to the "time squeeze" experienced by women in 1998 than in 1986 while its effect moderated for men over that same period. In both 1986 and 1998 married women and men enjoyed less leisure time than their single counterparts. But the differences were smaller in 1998 than in 1986 for men (almost 1 ¼ hours per day in 1986 and just over ¾ hour per day in 1998) but bigger for women (less than ½ hour per day in 1986 and over an hour per day in 1998). In addition, married women spent almost an hour less per day on paid work than single women in 1986 while in 1998 married women maintained virtually the same level of involvement in paid work as single women.

The "time squeeze" that arises from parenthood also appears to be increasing. Mothers and fathers both spent more time on unpaid work than childless women and men and that difference grew between 1992 and 1998.

Chart 16
Differences in total productive work, by gender differences

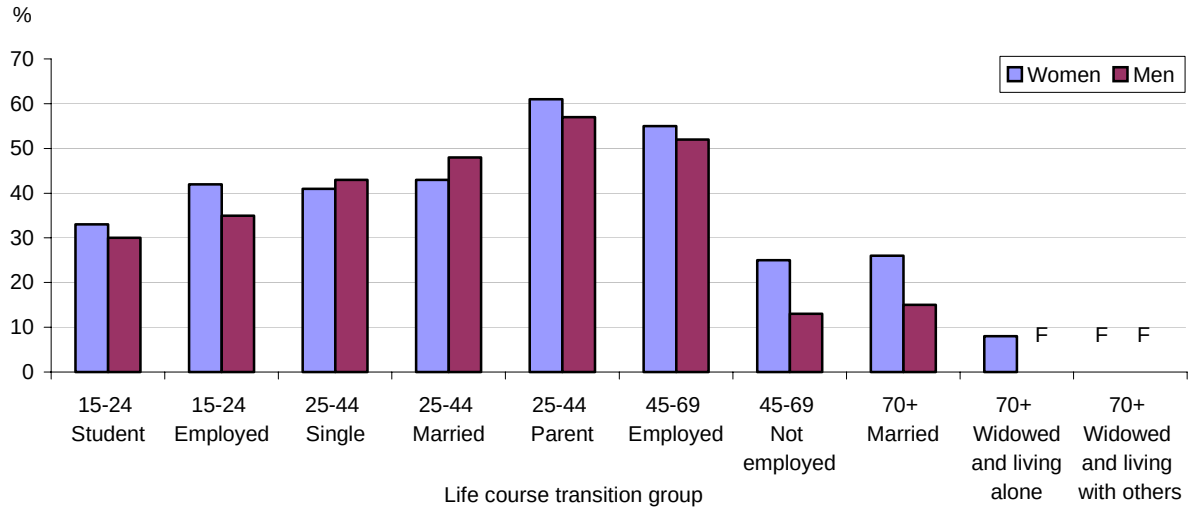


Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Time scarcity

Not surprisingly, Chart 17 demonstrates that parents, with the heaviest work load and the least amount of time for leisure and self-care, were the most likely to feel rushed every day. About 60% of mothers and fathers reported that they felt rushed on a daily basis. Not unexpectedly, the proportion that reported they were rushed every day fell dramatically when paid work no longer consumed much of the day.

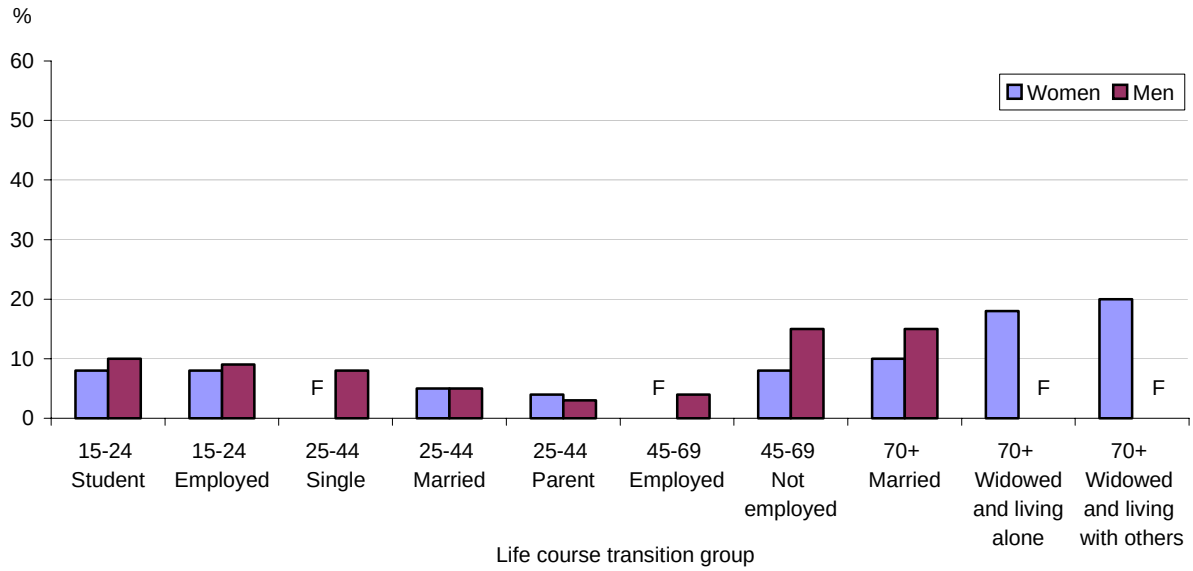
Chart 17
Percent who are rushed every day



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

At the other end of the time scarcity scale were older women and men for whom boredom appeared a bigger threat than time scarcity. The proportion with time on their hands that they didn't know how to use every day increased with the transition to retirement. (Chart 18) No longer did these women and men have a paying job that scheduled most of their day. Men were more likely to feel they had time on their hands than women. The proportion with time on their hands rose with widowhood and peaked among men who lived with someone other than a spouse.[8] It seems that having too much time can be as detrimental as having too little. For some older women and men, being removed from the "time squeeze" does not translate into greater serenity.

Chart 18
Percent with time on their hands every day



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

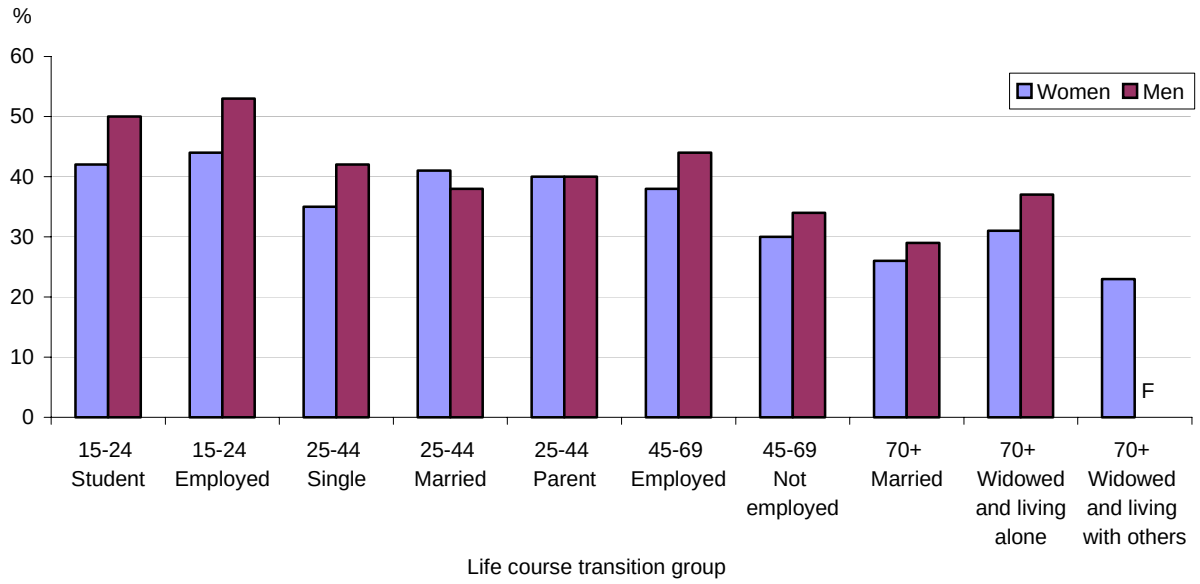
Health and finances

As Chart 19 shows, the proportion of Canadians who were very satisfied with their health declined moderately over the life course. Despite their longer lives, women were less likely than men to be very satisfied with their health over the life course. A higher proportion of both widows and widowers who lived alone were very satisfied with their health than either married older adults or those who lived with others. Better health appears to enable the widowed to continue to live on their own. Those living with a spouse were more likely to have someone in the household to help with daily activities and provide personal care if needed. Those who had made the transition to living with others were the least satisfied with their health.

Chart 20 shows that the proportion very satisfied with their finances increased over the life course. However, the proportion that was very satisfied again fell among those who lived with others, most notably, the women. Failing health, financial problems and lack of a helpmate may have forced these older adults to give up their autonomy and move in with a friend or relative. Financial concerns, more than health problems, were prevalent among women who lived with others.

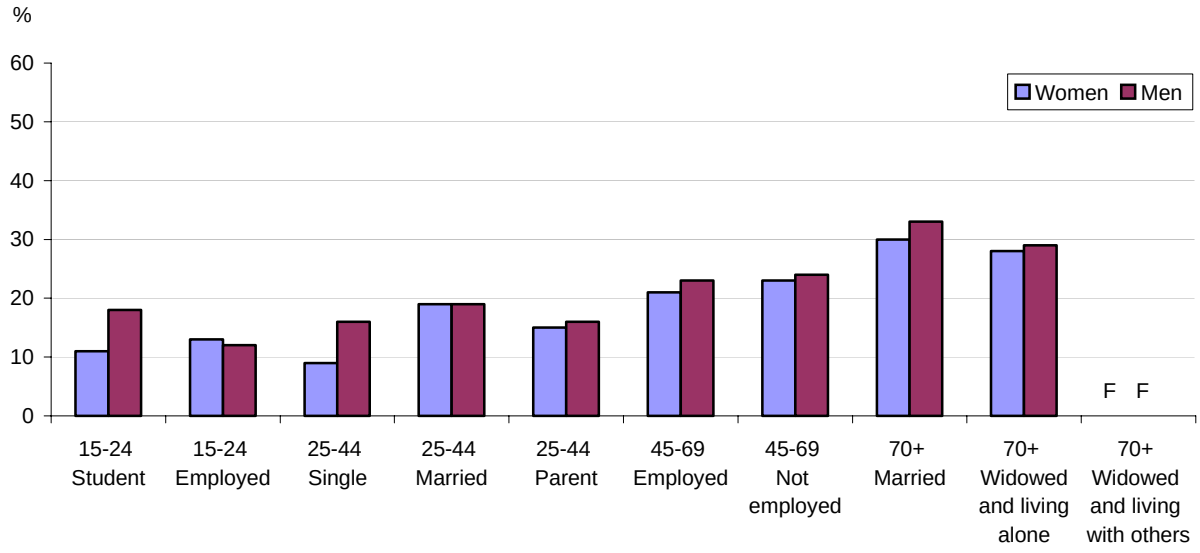
[8] Men who lived with others were much in much frailer health than their female counterparts. The article "Living longer, living better" explores this phenomenon in much greater detail.

Chart 19
Percent very satisfied with their health



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Chart 20
Percent very satisfied with finances



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Measures of psychological well-being

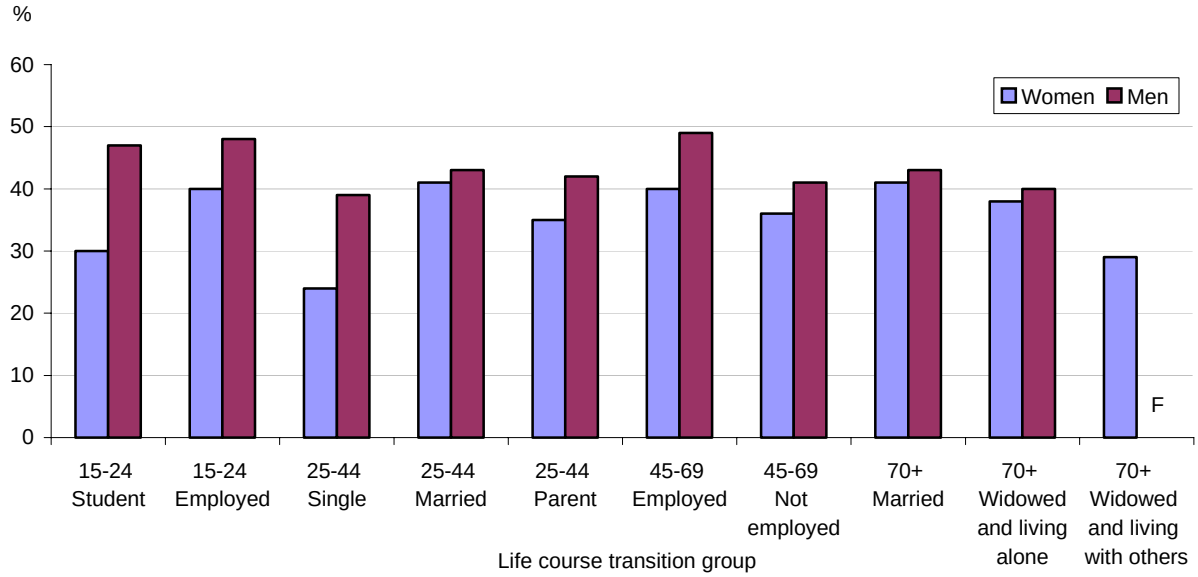
What motivates human activity? The humanistic psychologist Abraham Maslow (1970) was the first to identify a hierarchy of five basic needs. He suggested that the satisfaction of physiological needs (needs for food, water, and protection against extreme heat or cold) came first, followed by safety (protection from physical and emotional harm). Next came psychological needs: social needs (the desire for community, friendship, love and belonging); self-esteem (the need for achievement, respect, recognition and status); and the need for self-actualization (to find meaning, beauty and wisdom in life).

Psychologists have ever since debated the composition of the most fundamental needs of humans. Sheldon et al. (2000) conducted three studies that attempted to determine which of 10 psychological needs suggested by prominent existing psychological theories were the most fundamental for humans. They suggested that these needs might explain the wide variety of human behaviours. Once identified, needs could be "targeted to enhance personal thriving, in the same way the organic needs of plants, once identified, can be targeted to maximize thriving in the plant" (p. 325).

Sheldon et al. based their studies on the assumption that "psychological needs are particular qualities of experience that all people require to thrive" and that "any person feeling much positive mood and little negative mood was thriving" (p. 326). Therefore it is important to be able to associate behaviour and well-being over the stages of the life course.

Sheldon's studies concurred with Maslow that feelings of self-esteem and relatedness were key indicators of well-being. They also included competence and autonomy in lieu of self-actualization. They identified self-esteem as the most essential psychological need to satisfy. Chart 21 shows that a substantial minority of Canadians was very satisfied with their self-esteem at each stage of the life course, and that men tended to be more satisfied than women. Self-esteem appears to be problematic among particular stages of life for women: female students aged 15 to 44, single women 25 to 44 and widows aged 70 and over who lived with others.

Chart 21
Percent very satisfied with self-esteem



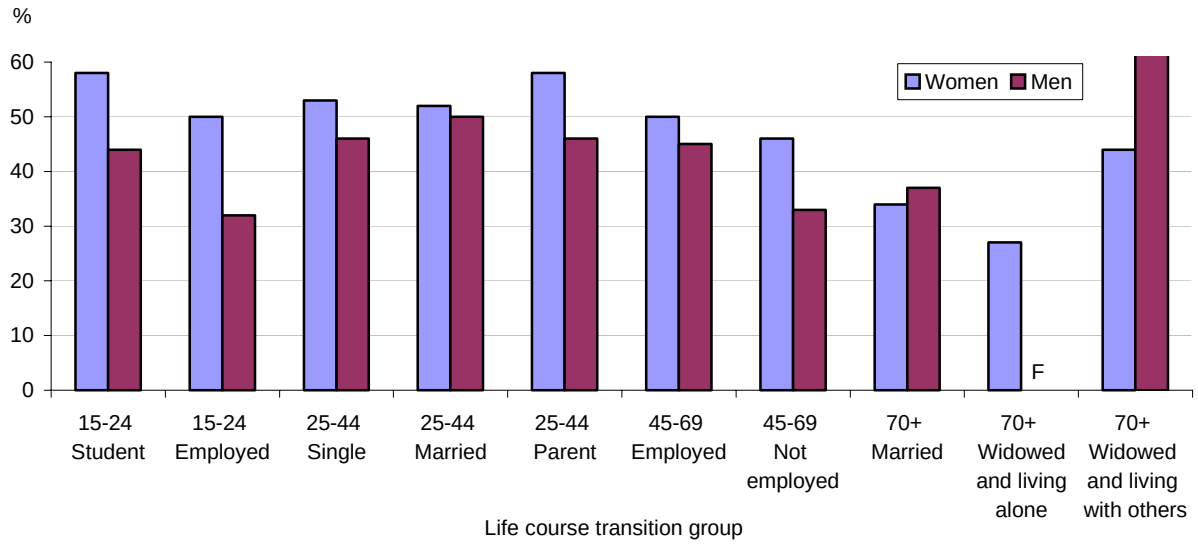
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Competence, which was placed next in the hierarchy, was considered to be a narrower concept than self-esteem. Competence was defined as a feeling of being very capable and effective in your actions and refers to a sense of mastery over daily activities, a belief that day-to-day responsibilities can be handled effectively. Chart 22 provides one

measure of competence. It suggests that nearly half of all Canadians felt unable to handle their day-to-day responsibilities effectively. Women were more likely than men to report they had not accomplished everything they had set out to do that day. This apparent failure to accomplish their daily goals is no doubt due the time scarcity reported earlier among Canadians in the prime of life. Not surprisingly, the proportion that reported they had not accomplished what they had set out to do that day fell with retirement. However, the proportion increased sharply among older men who lived with someone other than a spouse. Health problems and not time pressures were more likely to undermine their feelings of competence in this group.

The subsequent psychic requirement the research team identified to ensure happiness and growth was a sense of autonomy. Autonomy or independence relates to a feeling of being in control of your actions rather than under the influence of external forces. This implies a freedom to choose the kind of activities undertaken and the amount of time to devote to them. Two measures were selected to illustrate the sense of autonomy. Chart 23 suggests that many Canadians (nearly 40%) were very satisfied with their main occupation, the activity they spent most of their time doing. But, both women and men who lived with others were much less likely to report they were very satisfied with the way they spent most of their day. This suggests that having to move in with others greatly diminished feelings of autonomy.

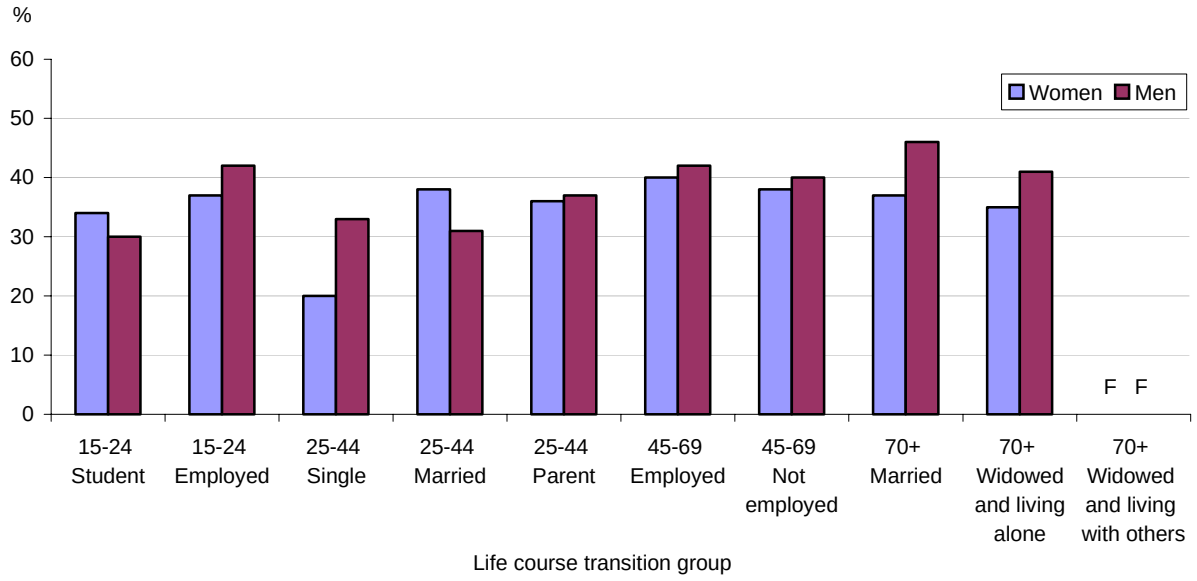
Chart 22
Percent who often felt they had not accomplished what they had set out to do that day



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Chart 24 demonstrates that, even though a significant proportion of respondents were very satisfied with their main activity, many felt trapped in a daily routine, at least until the transition to retirement. Over most of the life cycle, women, most notably mothers, were more likely to report negative consequences from their busy lives than men. At later stages, men who lived with others were particularly likely to feel trapped. As with the high proportion that reported they did not accomplish everything they had set out to do that day, this complaint seems to reflect the physical problems these men faced. Men at this most fragile stage of the life cycle allocated the least amount of time to "productive work" and much more time to passive leisure than at any other life course stage. The economic law of diminishing marginal utility seems applicable here. These men have been forced (perhaps by a lack of options due to poor health or finances) to consume so much leisure time, primarily spent watching television, that they surpassed the point of maximum utility and experienced disutility from their overabundance of free time. Each additional unit of time spent watching television actually reduced their quality of life. While we tend to think of leisure time as "a good thing", there is a point of consumption beyond which it can become "a bad thing".

Chart 23
Percent very satisfied with main activity



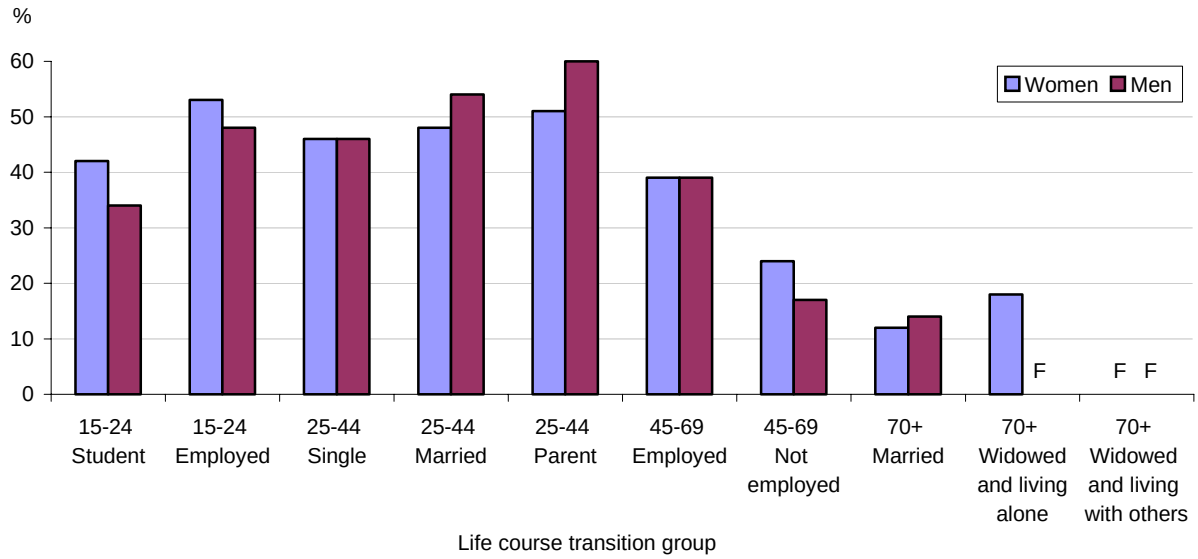
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Chart 24
Percent who felt trapped in a daily routine

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

The last basic need identified by this group of researchers was a feeling of relatedness. Relatedness or belonging refers to “regular contact with people who care about you.” (Appendix A) It is a sense of community, a feeling of belonging and acceptance by family and friends. Again two measures were chosen to illustrate the concept of relatedness. Chart 25 shows that nearly 50% of individuals wanted more time for regular intimate contact with family and friends when school and work occupied most of their day. The problem virtually disappeared for individuals with more uncommitted time.

Chart 25
Percent who want more time with family and friends



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Chart 26 suggests that more discretionary time (than was normally available to individuals who were engaged in school, jobs and raising a family) was needed to develop a strong sense of community. While a strong sense of community seems to be associated with an increase in discretionary time, a decline in time scarcity and a concomitant increase in leisure time, the genesis lies with having ties, like children and friends in the community. Schools, parks, roads and recreational areas assume a new interest. The proportion with a very strong sense of community began to grow with parenthood.

Maslow also included a need for self-actualization, the need to find meaning, beauty and wisdom in life. Perhaps this is best illustrated by how people feel about their life as a whole right now. (Chart 27) Again, a substantial minority of individuals (about 40%) was very satisfied with life as a whole. But, two stages of the life course stand out. Young, single women and men, aged 25 to 44, and unattached older women who lived with someone other than a spouse were much less likely to report being very satisfied with their lives. Perhaps the younger group was less satisfied because so much of their life was as yet unsettled, and older women because so much of their life had been settled for them.

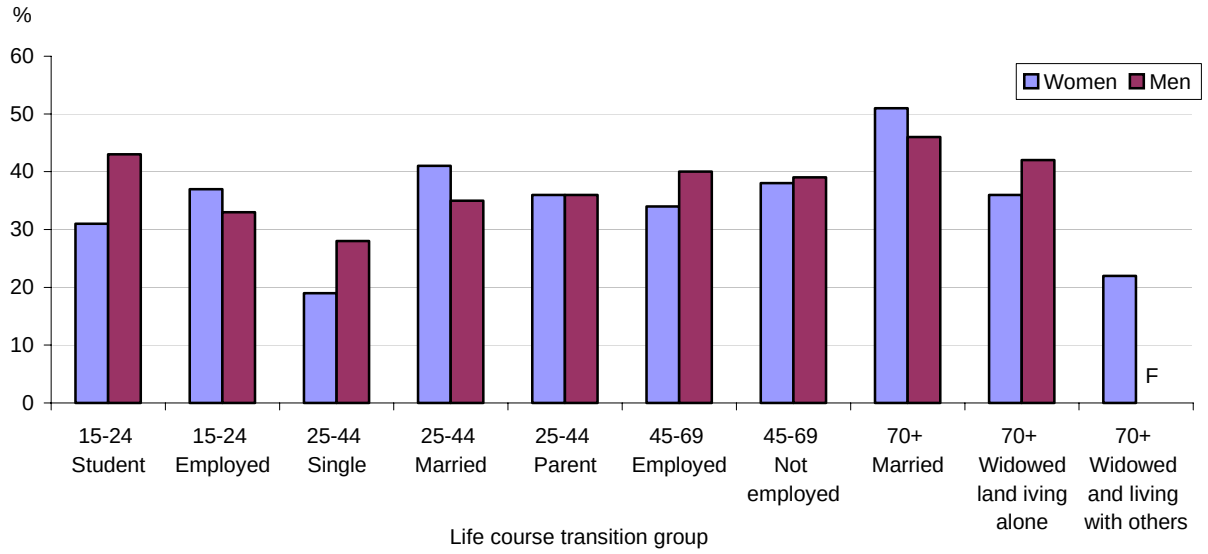
What implications do all of these measures have for happiness? Chart 28 illustrates that nearly 4 in 10 Canadians at all stages of their lives reported being very happy. Again, however, the proportion was considerably lower for young and single respondents. Single adults aged 25 to 44 were the least likely group to report being very happy (less than ¼). Interestingly, the transition to retirement did not appear to improve the proportion that were very satisfied with life as a whole or were very happy. The proportion rose with the transition to becoming an older adult. It appears that age and not retirement leads to an increased sense of self-actualization, of having found meaning, beauty and wisdom in life. Not surprisingly, losing a spouse diminishes this sense.

Despite the popular myths about aging, older adults who were still with a partner were very likely to report they were very happy. Understandably, the proportion fell with the transition to widowhood. It can take years of grieving to reconcile to the loss of a life partner. A closer look at the transitional groups in other papers in this series may provide clues to the factors that might improve reported levels of well-being.

Chart 26
Percent with very strong sense of community

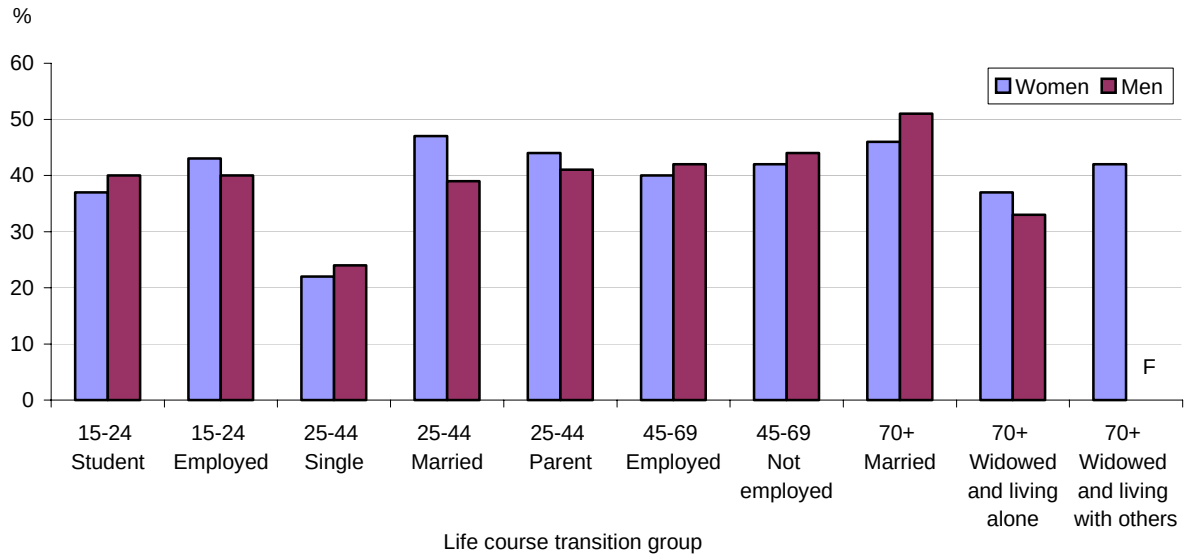
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Chart 27
Percent very satisfied with life as a whole



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Chart 28
Percent very happy



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

The meaning of a day in the life

A highly simplified life course has been used to frame the overview of how daily life might be affected by key life course events. Daily activity groupings also were highly simplified, each one comprising many disparate activities, each of which may be affected in a different way by life course events. The simplified life course was also used to examine measures of time scarcity, well-being and happiness. This primitive picture of daily behaviour and attitudes provides evidence that transitions triggered by life events result in profound changes in one's daily life. Further conclusions require investigation beyond the simple framework used in this paper.

In this paper we have not differentiated between students who had a job and students who did not, which masks potential differences between employed and non-employed students. Data presented here also do not allow us to investigate whether the transition from school to work was experienced differently for those who make the transition directly from high school and those who go on to acquire postsecondary education before entering the labour force. This offers an incomplete picture of the likely effects of the transition from school to the labour force on the daily lives of adolescents and young adults.

There has been much debate among parents, educators and policy makers over the value of employment for high school students. The debate centres on whether engaging in paid work while still in high school enhances or impairs students' current school and future labour market success. The available evidence suggests that there is an "optimal" amount of paid work time of between fifteen and twenty hours for these students (Stone and Mortimer 1998; Hryciuk 1992; Wegman and Davis 1999; Statistics Canada 1994) but little is known about how many hours students actually work for pay relative to time spent on their studies. While there is no direct information in the time use data file on students' grades, there are data on time spent on studies, which is correlated with school performance (Stone and Mortimer 1998). At a minimum, the data will allow us to describe high school students' simultaneous involvement in paid work and education.

For postsecondary students, tuition has been escalating rapidly with a corresponding escalation in levels of student loan debt. It would not be surprising to find that postsecondary students were engaging in more paid work to meet rising tuition costs and keep debt down. Yet little was known about the labour force participation of postsecondary students or what trade-offs were being made in order to find the time for paid work. Nor was much known about the effect these trade-offs might have on students' quality of life.

The highest proportion of time-crunched, stressed, and dissatisfied individuals were found among those at the next life course stage. Single 25- to 44-year-olds were most likely to be highly stressed, unhappy and dissatisfied. What was the source of their dissatisfaction with life? Parents in this age group appeared to experience a severe "time squeeze". Yet the majority of parents do not fit this negative description. Within various employment patterns, does the solution to time pressures lie in differences in activity patterns—that is, which activities were sacrificed in order to make time for family demands? Or does the answer lie in the high incidence of common-law marriages, which often are assumed to be more egalitarian than legal marriages?

The evidence for those in mid-life clearly suggests marked differences in the way in which men and women allocate their time as they withdraw from the labour force in later life. Prior research on older adults' time use seems preoccupied with the notion that the retired adopt an unhealthy lifestyle dominated by passive leisure and social isolation. Even the evidence available in this broad overview of activity patterns over the life course suggests that this was a much too simplistic picture. At a minimum we know that, in addition to substituting recreation and leisure for paid work, the retired also appear to engage in more unpaid work and self-care activities. We also have observed that retirement appears to reduce the "time squeeze" for this cohort without a corresponding improvement in quality of life. This paradox begs for a more detailed examination of the variation in lifestyles and quality of life of the retired and near retired.

It must be noted, too, that for the purposes of this paper, it was assumed that those who were not employed at age 45 to 69 were retired. This may be a fair assumption for men whose lives were still largely dictated by the labour market, but clearly not for women, some of who have had little or no attachment to the labour force. Another question that will be addressed, then, is whether women whose careers have centred on homemaking rather than the labour force experience "retirement".

Among respondents aged 70 and over, there was evidence that social isolation, inactivity, and dependence on others may be a concern for a select group of older adults. A more detailed analysis of the effect of the transitions associated with aging (loss of a spouse, loss of health, changes in living arrangements) on the lifestyle of older adults is needed.

These unanswered questions motivate our further analyses in this series of papers on *Days of our lives*: *Time use and transitions over the life course*.

Appendix A

Detailed Activity Codes

A. PAID WORK AND EDUCATION

1. Paid Work

011 Work for Pay at Main Job
012 Work for Pay at Other Job(s)
021 Overtime Work
022 Looking for Work
023 Unpaid Work in a Family Business or Farm
030 Travel During Work
040 Waiting/Delays at Work
070 Coffee/Other Breaks
080 Other Work Activities
832 Hobbies Done For Sale or Exchange
842 Domestic Home Crafts Done For Sale or Exchange

2. Education

500 Full-Time Classes
511 Other Classes (Part-Time)
512 Credit Courses on Television
520 Special Lectures: Occasional
530 Homework: Course, Career/Self-Development
550 Breaks/Waiting for Class
580 Other Study

3. Commuting

090 Travel: To/From Work
590 Travel: Education
893 Travel: Hobbies & Crafts for Sale

B. UNPAID WORK

4. Cooking/Washing Up

101 Meal Preparation
102 Baking, Preserving Food, Home Brewing, etc.
110 Food (or Meal) Cleanup

5. Housekeeping

120 Indoor Cleaning
130 Outdoor Cleaning
140 Laundry, Ironing, Folding
151 Mending/Shoe Care
152 Dressmaking and Sewing

6. Maintenance and Repair

161 Interior Maintenance and Repair
162 Exterior Maintenance and Repair
163 Vehicle Maintenance
164 Other Home Improvements

7. Other Household Work

171 Gardening/Grounds Maintenance
172 Pet Care
173 Care of House Plants
181 Household Management
182 Stacking and Cutting Firewood
183 Other Domestic/Household Work, n.e.s.
184 Unpacking Groceries
185 Packing and Unpacking Luggage and/or Car
186 Packing and Unpacking for a Move of the Household
190 Travel: Domestic Work

8. Shopping for Goods and Services

301 Groceries
302 Everyday Goods and products (Clothing, Gas, etc.)
303 Take-out Food
304 Rental of Videos
310 Shopping for Durable Goods
320 Personal Care Services
331 Financial Services
332 Government Services
340 Adult Medical and Dental Care (Outside Home)
350 Other Professional Services (Lawyer, Veterinarian)
361 Automobile Maintenance and Repair Services
362 Other Repair and Cleaning Services
380 Other Shopping and Services
390 Travel: Shopping for Goods and Services

9. Child Care

200 Child Care (Infant to 4 Years Old)
211 Putting Children to Bed
212 Getting Children Ready for School
213 Personal Care for Children of the Household
220 Helping/Teaching/Reprimanding
230 Reading/Talking/Conversation with Child
240 Play with Children
250 Medical Care - Household Child
260 Unpaid Babysitting
281 Help and Other Care - Household Children
291 Travel: Household Child

10. Adult Care

271 Personal Care - Household Adults
272 Medical Care - Household Adults
282 Help and Other Care - Household Adults
292 Travel: Household Adults

11. Civic and Voluntary Activity

600 Professional, Union, General Meetings
610 Political, Civic Activity
620 Child, Youth, Family Organizations
630 Religious Meetings, Organizations

651 Fraternal and Social Organizations
652 Support Groups
660 Volunteer Work, Organizations
671 Housework and Cooking Assistance
672 House Maintenance and Repair Assistance
673 Unpaid Babysitting
674 Transportation Assistance
675 Care for Disabled or Ill
676 Correspondence Assistance
677 Unpaid Help for a Business or Farm
678 Other Unpaid Help
680 Other Organizational, Voluntary and Religious Activity
691 Travel: Civic & Voluntary Activity
800 Coaching
892 Travel: Coaching

C. SELF-CARE

12. Night Sleep

450 Night/Essential Sleep

13. Meals (excl. Restaurant Meals)

050 Meals/Snacks at Work
430 Meals/Snacks/Coffee at Home
431 Meals/Snacks/Coffee at Another Place (excl. Restaurants)
540 Meals/Snacks/Coffee at School
642 Meals/Snacks/Coffee at Religious Services
661 Meals/Snacks/Coffee at Place of Volunteer Work

14. Other Personal Activities

400 Washing, Dressing
410 Personal Medical Care at Home
411 Private Prayer, Meditation and Other Informal Spiritual Activities
460 Incidental Sleep, Naps
470 Relaxing, Thinking, Resting, Smoking
480 Other Personal Care or Private Activities
492 Travel: Other Personal Activities
640 Religious Services/Prayer/Bible Readings
692 Travel: Religious Services

D. LEISURE

15. Socializing

060 Idle Time Before/After Work
440 Restaurant Meals
491 Travel: Restaurant Meals
701 Professional Sports Events
702 Amateur Sports Events
711 Pop Music, Concerts
712 Fairs, Festivals, Circuses, Parades
713 Zoos
720 Movies, Films
730 Opera, Ballet, Theatre
741 Museums
742 Art Galleries
743 Heritage Sites

751 Socializing with Friends/Relatives (No Meal)
752 Socializing with Friends/Relatives (With Meal)
753 Socializing with Friends/Relatives (Non-residential or institutional)
754 Socializing with Friends/Relatives (Institutional, e.g. Hospital, Nursing Home)
760 Socializing at Bars, Clubs (No Meal)
770 Casino, Bingo, Arcade
780 Other Social Gatherings (Weddings, Wakes)
791 Travel: Sports and Entertainment Events
792 Travel: Socializing (Between Residences)
793 Travel: Other Socializing
950 Talking, Conversation, Phone

16. Watching Television

911 Watching Television (Regular Scheduled TV)
912 Watching Television (Time-shifted TV)
913 Watching Rented or Purchased Movies
914 Other Television Watching

17. Other Passive Leisure

900 Listening to the Radio
920 Listening to CDs, Cassette Tapes or Records
931 Reading Books
932 Reading Magazines, Pamphlets, Bulletins, Newsletters
940 Reading Newspapers
961 Reading Mail
962 Other Letters and Mail
980 Other Media or Communication
990 Travel: Media and Communication

18. Active Sports

801 Football, Basketball, Baseball, Volleyball, Hockey, Soccer, Field Hockey
802 Tennis, Squash, Racquetball, Paddle Ball
803 Golf, Miniature Golf
804 Swimming, Waterskiing
805 Skiing, Ice Skating, Sledding, Curling, Snowboarding
806 Bowling, Pool, Ping-pong, Pinball
807 Exercises, Yoga, Weightlifting
808 Judo, Boxing, Wrestling, Fencing
809 Rowing, Canoeing, Kayaking, Windsurfing, Sailing (Competitive)
810 Other Sports
811 Hunting
812 Fishing
813 Boating
814 Camping
815 Horseback Riding, Rodeo, Jumping, Dressage
816 Other Outdoor Activities/Excursions
821 Walking, Hiking, Jogging, Running
822 Bicycling
891 Travel: Active Sports

19. Other Active Leisure

560 Leisure and Special Interest Classes
831 Hobbies Done Mainly for Pleasure
841 Domestic Home Crafts Done Mainly for Pleasure

850 Music, Theatre, Dance
861 Games, Cards, Puzzles, Board Games
862 Video Games, Computer Games
863 General Computer Use (Excluding Surfing the Net or Playing Games)
864 Surfing the Net (As a Leisure Activity)
871 Pleasure Drives as a Driver
872 Pleasure Drives as a Passenger in a Car
873 Other Pleasure Drives, Sightseeing
880 Other Sport or Active Leisure
894 Travel: Other Active Leisure

20. Residual Time

001 Missing Gap in Time
002 Refusals

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