



Gender differences in consumption of leisure in Korea: Revisiting the concept of ‘cultural voraciousness’

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Abstract

This study explores gender differences in leisure activity, applying the concept of “cultural voraciousness”, using data from the 2014 Korean Time Use Survey. Drawing on 26,972 diaries kept by adults aged 35-64 years, we measured two aspects of leisure activity: 1) the total daily minutes spent on outdoor leisure, and 2) the sequential complexity index capturing cultural voraciousness (the variety and distribution of leisure activity) within a day. Results showed that Korean men consumed more leisure than women in terms of daily minutes spent on leisure and had more complexity in their leisure activities. The gender gap in leisure time and the complexity score remained large even in later life, when leisure time increased overall, compared with earlier life stages. Another important finding is that socioeconomic factors appear crucial in shaping the leisure consumption of men and women, but the impact of those factors on leisure differed according to gender. Men and women's leisure complexity was associated with current household income. Education was as a significant factor associated with women's leisure time and complexity for all age groups of women.

Keywords: leisure activity, cultural voraciousness, gender difference in leisure, age difference in leisure, variety of leisure activities.

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1. Introduction

This study sets out to examine gender differences in leisure consumption and examine the influence of socioeconomic factors on men's and women's leisure among Korean adults 35-64 years. Empirical findings report that time spent on leisure increases in later life, while obligatory time (e.g. hours spent on paid work, housework, or child care) tends to decline (Cha, 2009; Clarkberg, & Merola, 2003). Parents in the "empty-nest" stage of life, having raised their children to adult independence, may experience an increase in discretionary time comparatively free from care commitments. Without knowing how to spend this excess time now available to them, it is

crucial for older adults to make this discretionary time meaningful and productive (Carpenter & Patterson, 2004; Mitchell, & Wister, 2015).

Many studies in gerontology acknowledge that having enjoyable leisure is a strong predictor of well-being in older adults (Agahi, Ahacic, & Parker, 2006; Kim, Ryu & Choi, 2012; Menec & Chipperfield, 1997; Ryu, Kim & Choi, 2012). Similarly, recent studies of Korean baby boomers (born 1955-1964) argue that participation in various leisure activities in middle-age can help in preparing for later life in retirement (Kim & Kim, 2013; Kim & Nam, 2014; Suh, 2018; Zuzanek, 2004). Against this background, the present study attempts to capture this particular period in life (adults aged 35-64 years) when individuals explore various leisure activities and make their choices meaningful.

Using data from the recent Korean Time Use Survey (KTUS hereafter), this paper addresses the following questions: if the family burden becomes lighter after the "empty-nest" stage, will women enjoy leisure as much as men do – or not? If so, do women's leisure patterns look similar to men's or different? What socioeconomic factors (i.e. education or income) are associated with leisure consumption? Are there differences between men and women in associations between socioeconomic (and other) factors and leisure?

2. Background

2.1 Korean context: Trends in leisure consumption

In the Korean context, spending increased time in leisure emerged as a major social trend only a few decades ago. For many years, Korea was notorious for its long working hours, widely known as a "work addict" society. However, since the new millennium the social trend has changed from a work-oriented society to one emphasizing well-being and work-life balance. Thanks to the five-day work policy, launched in 2004, today we can observe that paid labour hours are slowly decreasing (Choo, Lee, & Song, 2011), and that more employees enjoy paid leave and holidays.

A variety of leisure activities and leisure markets related to leisure consumption has emerged. People have increased their time in leisure as individual *well-being* has become socially valued. According to empirical data, Korean adults enjoy hiking, exercising (walking, cycling, golfing, etc.), and going to the cinema in their free time. Getting together in cafés and restaurants, visiting new exciting places (e.g. V.R., AR centres), and going to the theatre, museums and galleries are popular types of leisure activities among the younger generation. The older generation prefers to spend free time hiking in the mountains or strolling around the neighbourhood and going out on short excursions (Cha, 2012).

Scholars are showing an increased interest in monitoring this new social trend for increased leisure time in Korea. Numerous leisure studies have sought to identify the primary consumers of leisure, the type of leisure pursued (highbrow or lowbrow), and examine the distribution of various leisure activities across different groups in society (Cho, 2016; Choi, Shin & Choi, 2012; Nam & Choi, 2008). Recent Korean studies recognize the importance of capturing leisure inequality in terms of cultural capital, testing class differences in time spent on leisure and the different tastes in leisure pursuits. These studies confirm that higher social status groups spend more time and money on their leisure activities and are omnivorous in their consumption of leisure, thus likely to

engage in various leisure activities (Lee, Choi, & Lee, 2015; Nam & Choi, 2008). Some studies identified a “leisure addict” group (Kim, Huh, & Jang, 2010; Kim & Park, 2014), whose members appear to be consuming a great deal of leisure and they tend to display their leisure activities through social media (Min, 2018). More importantly, studies have found that leisure consumption is associated with a higher level of happiness and a higher level of social networking (Nam, Lee & Kim, 2012).

2.2 Gender inequality in leisure consumption in Korea

Gender inequality in leisure has been a major topic of scholarly debate. Many studies on gender differences in leisure point out that, compared with men, women engage in different types of leisure activity and they spend less time in leisure activities (Bittman & Wajcman, 2000; Chatzitheochari & Arber, 2012; Mattingly & Sayer, 2006; Shaw, 1994, 1998; Sullivan, 1997). Indeed, in terms of time spent in leisure, empirical findings from Korean time use data have confirmed this gender gap, with results indicating that men spend more time in leisure activities compared with women (Cha, 2009, 2012; Cho, 2016).

Previous studies have tried to explain why women were at such a disadvantage. Some argue that women who have relatively less economic power and resources than their husbands may face difficulties in bargaining over their free time (Bittman & Wajcman, 2000; Chatzitheochari & Arber, 2010; Sullivan, 1997). Others argue that women find it challenging to manage a work-life balance. In other words, women are less likely than men to reserve free time or resting time for themselves, tending to spend more time on housework or care work due to their traditional gender role attitude (Mattingly & Sayer, 2006; Warren, 2003). In light of these earlier theories, we may speculate that gender differences in leisure could be mitigated if women gained more bargaining power through accumulating human capital, or negotiating more equal shares of housework and care within the household.

On the other side of the debate in Korea, some scholars argue that women are not always disadvantaged, especially in consuming leisure products or participating in cultural events. In the Korean context, Choi and Lee (2012), emphasized generation and class factors and that these intertwine in the construction of tastes in culture. In line with this thesis, some leisure surveys point out that it is a certain cohort of young women—not men—mostly highly educated, employed and single—the so-called “Gold Miss”—who is recognized as the main consumer of cultural activities such as going to the cinema, theatre, and art galleries (Park & Seo, 2010).

However, few researchers have studied associations between gender and cultural tastes or cultural capital in Korea. A couple of studies examined trends in gender inequality in leisure time using 1999 and 2009 KTUS data (Cho, 2016; Min, 2018). Studies report that, for the most part, economic inequality between men and women, and family structure, explained the gender gap in leisure time (Min, 2018). Following the introduction of the five-day-work policy, launched in 2004, having a long weekend turned out to be a facilitator in reducing the gender gap in leisure time (Lee, Choi, & Lee, 2015; Cho; 2016; Min, 2018; Nam & Choi, 2008). In the case of women, Cho (2016) argues that, since 2004, time spent doing housework has declined for the older age group (over 50's) as well as for younger women who delay marriage and remain single. Still, studies acknowledge that women, compared with men, spend less time in leisure. Due to this scarcity, the impact of time spent in leisure on leisure satisfaction was much stronger for women

than for men, suggesting that having opportunities for leisure may be more important to women's daily lives (Min, 2018).

Gender inequality could be more pronounced in certain life stages. As mentioned above, leisure time is limited when there is a need to provide care for children, but in the empty-nest period and beyond, older women are relatively free of caring responsibility and enjoy leisure time as much as men do. Furthermore, in the Korean context, gender disparities in education and income are greatest in older compared with younger age groups. Therefore, even in periods of life relatively free of care commitments older women may experience a leisure constraint compared to both younger women and to men of similar age. In addition, we still do not know whether the gender gap solely concerns the amount of leisure time, or if men and women consume leisure differently in the activities they choose or in the pace of leisure consumption. Even in Western societies, with some notable exceptions (Katz-Gerro, 2006; Katz-Gerro and Sullivan, 2010), literature dealing with gender differences in cultural taste or gender inequality in leisure consumption is scarce. To address this gap, we tested several questions related to gender, life stage, and leisure consumption.

2.3 Applying the concept of Cultural Voraciousness for testing gender inequality in Korea

In this study, we examine gender inequality in leisure consumption by applying the concept of "cultural voraciousness" (Sullivan, 2007). According to Sullivan (2007), the idea of cultural voraciousness (voraciousness hereafter) allows us to examine both the diversity of one's cultural taste and the pace of leisure consumed by estimating the 'turnover rate' of leisure activity. Katz-Gerro and Sullivan (2007) developed the concept of voraciousness to capture certain quantitative aspects of leisure consumption linked to variety and pace. In many contemporary societies, with leisure time generally increasing, attention has sought to explore how different forms of leisure consumption by various social strata have come to mark new lines of social distinction, with studies examining the connection between voraciousness and cultural capital. Research has also tried to link the concept of voraciousness to theories of changing the pace of life in post-modern society, in connection with the hypothesis of a "harried leisure class" (Linder, 1970). More importantly, voraciousness highlights the activity patterns of leisure that are obscured in measures of the total amount of leisure time analysed in many time use studies (Papastefanou & Gruhler, 2014).

The total amount of leisure time spent shows us what proportion leisure occupies in a day, while voraciousness focuses on the variety of leisure activities and the pace of leisure activity. Therefore, using measures of the total amount of leisure and voraciousness, this study seeks to analyse multiple dimensions of leisure consumption by middle-age adults (aged between 35-64 years) (Willis, & Reid, 1998) in Korea, and gender differences in these dimensions of leisure.

3. Research Methodology

3.1 Data

We use data from the 2014 Korean Time Use Survey (KTUS). The KTUS required respondents to complete a time diary on two randomly allocated consecutive days. To ensure our estimates are

representative across all days of the week we included both days from each respondent in our analysis. Our starting sample is 26,972 diaries completed by adults aged 35-64 years. The mean age of the total sample was 48.6 years. Women made up about 52% of the entire sample (see Table 1 for more information about the sample).

3.2 Measurements

Our measures of leisure activity focus on *out-of-home leisure* (leisure hereafter) based on Sullivan's (2007) definition of out-of-home leisure (e.g., going to the cinema/concert/theatre or other live performance; eating/drinking out in a restaurant, café or pub; playing sport/keeping fit/walking; watching live sport; and attending leisure activity groups). It expresses active consumer behaviour with less risk of 'contamination' from work (paid work, housework or care work) that may occur at home or at the workplace (Katz-Garro and Sullivan, 2010). From the KTUS activity codes, we classified the following six activities as out-of-home leisure:

1. **Cultural activity and participating in cultural events:** visiting the cinema, museum, theatre, galleries, and participating in cultural events.
2. **Health activities:** walking, exercise, cycling, jogging, visiting health clubs, watching or participating in sports events
3. **Other types of outdoor leisure:** short excursions, hiking, mountain viewing, fishing
4. **Eating out:** going to a restaurant or cafe
5. **Social gatherings:** meeting with friends or family members (wedding event, funerals, family reunion events
6. **Other outdoor entertainments:** dancing/drinking, karaoke

This study used two indicators to measure leisure consumption (incorporating the above activities): 1) total leisure time in minutes; and 2) complexity of leisure activity. The total leisure time was calculated by summing the durations of all episodes of leisure activities listed above during the diary day.

With respect to leisure complexity, Katz-Gerro and Sullivan (2006; 2010) measured voraciousness by combining the number of various types of leisure activities and the frequency of those leisure activities over the course of a week. This measure highlights the pace and pattern of leisure consumption. Meanwhile, using a single weekend day diary, Papastefanou and Gruhler (2014) introduced sequential complexity methods, measuring how leisure activity is structured on a *daily basis*. As mentioned by Papastefanou and Gruhler (2014), the complexity score was introduced to capture leisure voraciousness within a 24-hour period. By definition, this complexity index (C) can be expressed as a function of the variety and the dispersion of leisure episodes as computed using the following equation:

$$C = \sqrt{(q/q_{max})^2 / (h/h_{max})^2}$$

Where (q) is a measure of the transition of spells of different leisure activities capturing the variety of daily leisure activities. The dispersion aspect (h) captures the distribution or dispersal of leisure activities within the observed period. As this measure incorporates Shannon's Entropy,

they argued that the complexity index, looking at both the transitions and the dispersal of leisure in a day, could be a proxy of the concept of voraciousness (Papastefanou and Gruhler, 2014). Higher complexity scores indicate many different leisure-related activities throughout the day, meaning that a person had enjoyed more voraciousness on diary day. If we take sleeping into account, the complexity score becomes very small because the denominator is large. Therefore, this study excludes sleep time occurring between midnight and 4:50 am.

3.3 Analytic procedures

In the first part of the analysis, we conducted descriptive analysis of gender differences, overall and differentiating between age groups (35-49 years vs. 50-64 years), in leisure consumption separately on weekdays and weekends. In the second part of the analysis, ordinary least square regression models of leisure time and leisure complexity were estimated. Models were estimated separately for men and women and for different age groups to explore whether there are differences in associations with socioeconomic factors between men and women in different age groups. Table A1.1 in Appendix 1 shows the distribution of SES indicators by gender and age group. It shows that women's educational attainment has caught up with men's quite rapidly among recent cohorts, which underpins the decision to stratify the regression analysis by gender and age group.

We used education level and household income to capture socioeconomic status (SES) and as indicator of human resources. We used household income level instead of personal income from paid work because most women in their late 50s and 60s are not employed (similar to women with young children). Moreover, some early-retired adults might rely on pensions or other financial income rather than paid labour in their late 50s and early 60s. It was therefore important to identify social class at the household-level. Education level was measured in three categories: 1) high school and below [reference]; 2) high school graduates; and 3) 2-year college, and higher. Household income was divided into three groups: 1) low income (less than 3,000 USD per month) [reference]; 2) middle income (3,000-5,000 USD per month); and 3) higher income (more than 5,000 USD per month).

The complexity score represents activity levels during the day, relevant to physical health status or time constraints. Therefore, we included self-rated health status and feeling rushed (rushed hereafter) as control variables in the OLS regressions. Self-rated health (SRH) was measured using a five-point Likert scale relating to the general health status of the respondents ranging from 1 (very good) to 5 (very bad). Time pressure is measured using a four-point scale ranging from 1 (seldom) to 4 (always). Along with these factors, the models also included controls for the day of the week, marital status, age (in years), employment status, and the number of children (aged 6 and under) in the household in the model. Table 1 provides descriptive statistics for the variables included in the multivariate analysis.

4. Results

4.1 Gender differences in the duration and complexity of leisure consumption

Table 2 presents the mean scores of the two leisure consumption indicators for men and women on weekdays and weekends. For the leisure indicators of mean leisure hours and the complexity

of leisure, men show statistically higher scores than women. As weekends are non-working days for many adults, we can see an increase in both indicators on weekends compared with weekdays. However, women still spend less time in leisure on average, with less complexity compared to men on weekends. The results confirm that, compared with men, women experience relatively more constraint in leisure consumption.

Table 1: Sample Description

		Frequency	%
Gender	Men	12,992	48.2
	Women	13,980	51.8
Age	Early middle (35-49 years)	14,494	53.7
	Late middle (50-64 years)	12,478	46.3
Day of week	Weekdays	16,173	60.0
	Saturday	5,373	19.9
	Sunday	5,426	20.1
No. of children in household	None	23,072	85.5
	One	2,756	10.2
	Two	1,054	3.9
	Three or more	90	0.3
Marital status	Married	22,768	84.4
	Single	4,204	15.6
Employment status	Not-working	6,814	25.3
	Working	20,158	74.7
Education attainment	Below high school	5,238	19.4
	High school and some college	15,186	56.3
	University and upper	6,548	24.3
Household income (monthly) ¹	Low (less than 300 manwon KRW)	9,450	35.0
	Middle (300-600 manwon KRW)	12,866	47.7
	High (more than 600 manwon KRW)	4,656	17.3
		Mean	SD
Age	30-64 years	48.7	8.2
Self-Rated Health	1 (very good) – 5 (very bad)	2.7	0.8
Feeling Rushed	1 (seldom) – 4 (always)	2.8	0.9

Notes: 1. Median household income (monthly) for 4-person household was 422 manwon (about 4,000 USD), while the poverty line was 134 manwon (about 1,000 USD) for 4-person household in 2014.

Table 2: Average total leisure time and complexity for men and women on weekdays and weekends: Korea 2014

	Average total leisure time (minutes)		Average Complexity Score	
	Weekday	Weekend	Weekday	Weekend
Men	87.85 (87.20)	129.77 (122.72)	4.63 (3.73)	5.89 (4.66)
Women	79.79 (81.92)	99.67 (102.23)	4.15 (3.60)	4.78 (4.22)
t-value	6.05 ^{***}	13.88 ^{***}	8.34 ^{***}	12.59 ^{***}

Notes: Standard deviation in parenthesis; ***: $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

Figure 1 shows average total leisure time (in minutes) on weekdays and weekends for men and women in different age groups. It can be seen that average leisure time significantly increased by age only for men. Older women, on the other hand do not differ from their younger counterparts. If we look more closely at age group differences separately for men and women, older men spent more time in leisure than younger men on both weekdays (12 mins; $t = -6.18, p < .001$) and weekends (11 mins; $t = -3.35, p < .001$). Yet, it is interesting that older women spent 5 minutes more than younger women on weekdays ($t = -2.88, p < .01$). However, on weekends, the small difference between older and younger women's leisure time was not statistically significant (2 mins; $t = -.78, p = .43$).

Figure 2 shows the mean leisure complexity scores on weekdays and weekends for men and women in different age groups. The results for the leisure complexity scores of men and women, reveal a similar pattern to that found for leisure time. Older men showed a slightly higher complexity score compared to younger men on both weekdays ($t = -2.45, p < .02$) and weekends ($t = -2.12, p < .05$). However, older and younger women's complexity scores were not different statistically (weekday $t = -.62, p = .53$; weekends $t = -.67, p = .50$).

As men's leisure time and complexity is greater among older than younger groups which is not the case for women, the gender gap in these indicators of leisure is widest among the older group than the younger group. On weekdays among those aged 35-49 years, men averaged around 5 minutes more leisure than women ($t = 2.79, p < .01$), which increased to 12 minutes for those aged 50-64 years ($t = 5.64, p < .001$) (corresponding figures for weekends are 26 and 35 minutes). The gender gap in leisure complexity is similarly greater among older adults (50-64 years) compared with younger adults (35-49 years), particularly on weekends. This suggests that the gender gap in leisure does not diminish by age but increases, contrary to expectations about the gender gap in leisure. In connection with the discussion above concerning generational differences, a prior study has shown that younger cohorts spend more money and time consuming various leisure activities in the Korean context (Cho, 2016). This may explain why the gender leisure gap (in both leisure time and complexity) is relatively small for the younger generation compared to older generations. However, since our TUS data is cross-sectional, further investigation is required to examine whether this result reflects a cohort effect.

Figure 1: Average total leisure time on weekdays and weekends for men and women 35-49 years and 50-64 years: Korea 2014

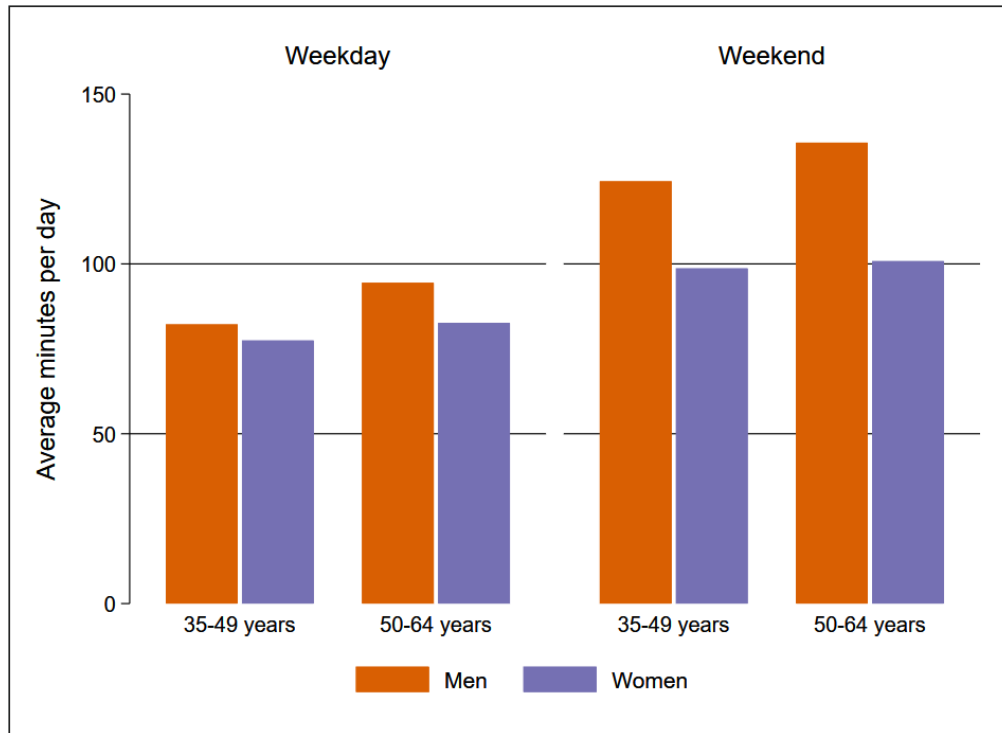
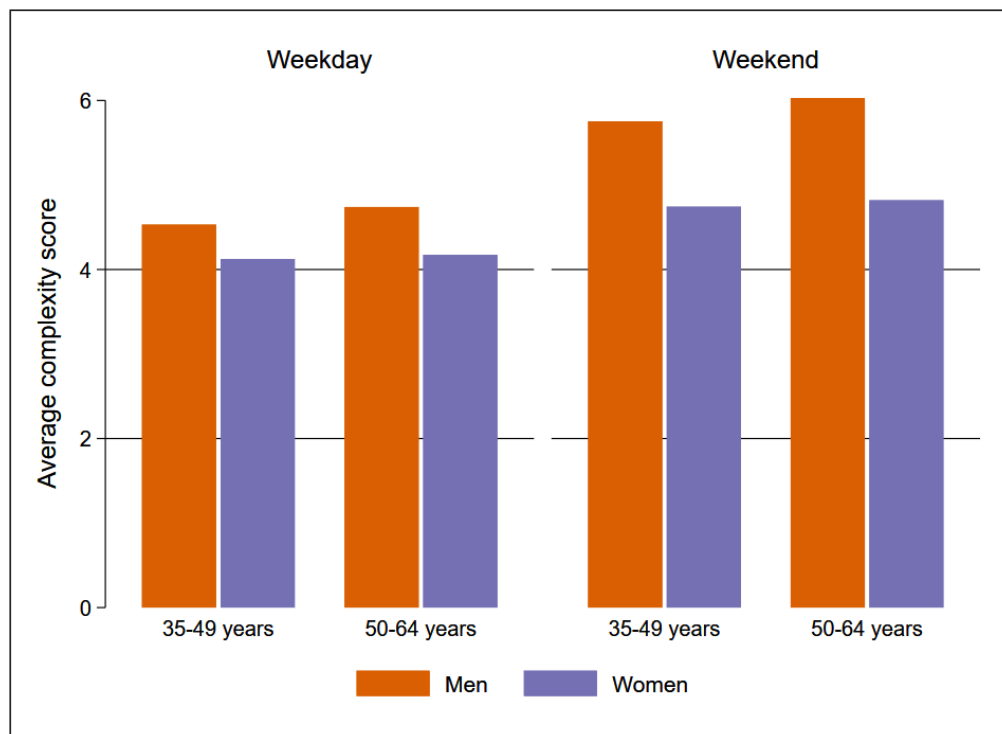


Figure 2: Average leisure complexity on weekdays and weekends for men and women 35-49 years and 50-64 years: Korea 2014



4.2 The association between SES factors and leisure consumption across gender

Above we observed gender differences among the age groups. In this section, we present the results of regression models examining different factors associated with leisure time and leisure complexity separately for men 35-49 years and 50-64 years (Table 3) and women 35-49 years and 50-64 years (Table 4).

After controlling relevant factors, education and household income levels were statistically significant in the model for complexity scores for men (see Table 3). Compared with those in comparatively low socioeconomic groups, men who had graduated from university and above, and those with a high level of household income had higher scores complexity than lower-status groups. The pattern was the same for the leisure hours of older men. However, among younger men (35-49 years), the level of education was not significantly associated with the two indicators of leisure activity. Instead, household income was positively related to the amount of leisure and complexity scores, and with the average leisure time, of men 35-49 years. For the younger male group, income, and not education, is crucial in accounting for their consumption of leisure.

Table 4 presents the results of the regression models for women. For the older group, education level was a significant factor for both leisure consumption indicators. However, for the younger age group women, household income and education were significantly associated with leisure consumption. This implies that women's level of education and their household income plays a vital role in determining their consumption of leisure. Interestingly, the educational difference in leisure consumption was relatively consistent across age groups in women's cases, in contrast to the results for men. The results in the models for women show that higher income is positively associated with both leisure time and leisure complexity.

As expected, coefficients were positive on Saturday and Sunday compared with weekdays. In the model for men, those who are employed, those with young children, those who have relatively poor health status, and those who report feeling rushed spent less time in leisure and had lower leisure complexity, compared with their respective counterparts. These associations were also found in the model estimated for women. Additionally, marital status was significantly associated with women's leisure consumption. Results here showed that single women in both age groups spent significantly more time in leisure, and older single women had significantly higher leisure complexity scores than their married counterparts.

Based on these findings, we were able to identify several important insights. Older men and women with a high level of education and income consume leisure for more extended periods and greater complexity, which is in line with previous findings (Cho, 2016; Choi, Shin & Choi, 2012; Nam & Choi, 2008; Sullivan, 2007). The particular socioeconomic factors that account for leisure consumption were slightly different by gender and age groups. For young men, income is an essential factor, whereas education is the crucial factor in leisure consumption for women in both age groups. This result is in line with expectations based on the voraciousness thesis, and it supports the argument that social resources work differently for men and for women (Katz-Gerro & Sullivan, 2010; see also Shaw, 1994).

Table 3: OLS Regression Results: Men 35-49 years and 54-64 years, Korea 2014

	Men 35-49 years		Men 50-64 years	
	<i>Leisure time</i>	<i>Leisure complexity</i>	<i>Leisure time</i>	<i>Leisure complexity</i>
Education (ref. Below high school)	-	-	-	-
High school and Some college	-0.08 (0.76)	0.02 (0.30)	1.17*** (0.35)	0.46** (0.15)
University and upper	0.38 (0.78)	0.25 (0.31)	2.72*** (0.49)	1.06*** (0.20)
Household income (ref. Low)	-	-	-	-
Middle	1.35*** (0.31)	0.51*** (0.13)	0.97** (0.36)	0.42** (0.15)
High	2.89*** (0.44)	1.03*** (0.18)	2.21*** (0.49)	0.84*** (0.20)
Day of week (ref. Weekdays)	-	-	-	-
Saturday	4.47*** (0.34)	1.42*** (0.14)	3.51*** (0.36)	1.10*** (0.14)
Sunday	3.83*** (0.34)	0.97*** (0.13)	4.47*** (0.39)	1.38*** (0.15)
Numbers of children in household	-0.85*** (0.21)	-0.27** (0.09)	-1.09 (0.59)	-0.42 (0.23)
Age	0.09* (0.04)	0.03* (0.02)	0.02 (0.04)	0.01 (0.02)
Marital status (ref. Married)	-	-	-	-
Single	0.01 (0.43)	0.02 (0.18)	-0.85 (0.49)	-0.39* (0.19)
Employment status (ref. Not-working)	-	-	-	-
Working	-2.20** (0.77)	-0.36 (0.30)	-5.85*** (0.56)	-1.75*** (0.21)
Self-rated health	-1.15*** (0.18)	-0.47*** (0.07)	-1.38*** (0.21)	-0.46*** (0.08)
Feeling rushed	-0.65*** (0.17)	-0.24** (0.07)	-0.95*** (0.19)	-0.36*** (0.07)
Constant	10.67*** (2.10)	4.98*** (0.86)	17.68*** (2.55)	7.41*** (1.03)
R-square	0.08	0.05	0.11	0.08
Number of observations	6,902		6,090	

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses; ***: p<.001; **: p<.01; *: p<.05,

Table 4: OLS Regression Results: Women 35-49 years and 50-64 years, Korea 2014

	Women 35-49 years		Women 50-64 years	
	<i>Leisure time</i>	<i>Leisure complexity</i>	<i>Leisure time</i>	<i>Leisure complexity</i>
Education (ref. Below High School)	-	-	-	-
High school and some college	2.09*** (0.47)	1.03*** (0.20)	0.91** (0.28)	0.44*** (0.12)
University and upper	2.68*** (0.51)	1.26*** (0.22)	1.71*** (0.51)	0.56** (0.22)
Household income (ref. Low)	-	-	-	-
Middle	1.17*** (0.26)	0.51*** (0.12)	0.17 (0.29)	0.11 (0.13)
High	2.32*** (0.37)	0.92*** (0.16)	1.227** (0.44)	0.57** (0.19)
Day of week (ref. Weekdays)	-	-	-	-
Saturday	2.51*** (0.29)	0.79*** (0.12)	1.32*** (0.30)	0.43*** (0.13)
Sunday	1.54*** (0.27)	0.38** (0.12)	1.98*** (0.31)	0.72*** (0.13)
Numbers of children in house	-1.18*** (0.22)	-0.48*** (0.10)	-0.76 (0.61)	-0.48 (0.25)
Age	-0.004 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.001 (0.03)	0.003 (0.01)
Marital status (ref. Married)	-	-	-	-
Single	0.77* (0.36)	0.26 (0.16)	0.86** (0.32)	0.44** (0.14)
Employment status (ref. Not-working)	-	-	-	-
Working	-3.22*** (0.27)	-1.17*** (0.12)	-3.96*** (0.31)	-1.53*** (0.13)
Self-rated health	-1.43*** (0.14)	-0.61*** (0.06)	-1.41*** (0.17)	-0.58*** (0.07)
Feeling rushed	-0.63*** (0.14)	-0.20*** (0.06)	-0.95*** (0.15)	-0.33*** (0.06)
Constant	12.63*** (1.53)	6.20*** (0.67)	16.02*** (2.14)	6.96*** (0.91)
R-square	0.09	0.07	0.11	0.09
Number of observations	7,592		6,388	

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses; ***: p<.001; **: p<.01; *: p<.05,

5. Discussion and Conclusion

Previous studies examined gender inequality in leisure by recruiting dual-earner couples with young children to highlight the most leisure-deprived group of women. This study extended the

focus to the empty-nest period when paid labour decreases and leisure hours become meaningful in one's daily timetable. This paper applied the concept of cultural voraciousness using Korean time-use diary data.

The results tell us that Korean men consume leisure more than women do in both aspects: the amount of time spent on leisure, and the complexity of their leisure pursuits. Results add to previous knowledge showing that Korean women experience fewer hours of leisure and lack in the variety and frequency of their daily leisure than men. If we look more closely at the gender gap in complexity scores, the gender difference was more apparent in the older age group compared with the younger age group. In terms of aging, we identified an increase in all scores of leisure consumption by age among men. It means that in later periods of life, men are able to enjoy more out-of-home activities and a variety of experiences throughout the day. However, for women, the age privilege was not apparent as we identified in men's case. In addition, the gender gap did not shrink, but it firmly remained even in later mid-age.

Weekday and weekend differences are interesting because the gender gap was less apparent on weekdays compared with weekends. Women in the older age group, in particular, were engaged in leisure, but their leisure consumption, both in time spent and voraciousness, did not increase dramatically at the weekend. Compared with the pattern we found for men, it seems that women experience more constraint in enjoying outdoor leisure on weekends than on weekdays. How can we explain this difference?

Perhaps we should consider the fact that men and women display different preferences or tastes in leisure in the Korean context. If women are less likely to devote their time to out-of-home leisure, perhaps they are more likely to engage in sedentary leisure (e.g. religion, reading, or watching television). Alternatively, women may prefer to sleep on weekends and are not oriented to outdoor activities. Perhaps women face more time constraints, which prevent them from enjoying leisure. Related to this time constraint argument, previous research into leisure trends has recognized that the impact of the family factor on the gender gap was stronger in 2009 than in the 1990s (Cho, 2016). Further research is required to examine whether women do more household chores on weekends because the family members are around at home.

Our definition of outdoor leisure could be measuring male-orientated activities in the Korean context in terms of variety and frequency. Hiking in nearby mountains, which is a very popular leisure activity in Korea, could occur quite frequently. Moreover, in most cases, when people go hiking, they are not always alone, as hiking is often combined with social gatherings. The media record a sharp expansion of the mountaineering goods market and mountaineering clubs for women in the past decade (Kim & Park, 2014; Kim, Huh & Jang, 2010). Leisure that reflects women's preferences, for example participating in cultural events (visiting the cinema, theatre or museum) or gathering with friends, are weekly or sometimes monthly events for many adults (Cha, 2012). Therefore, those activities are less likely to register in diary data collecting information for a randomly selected day.

Another crucial finding is that socioeconomic factors stand out in explaining men's and women's leisure consumption. However, the vital contribution of this paper is that different indicators of SES are relevant for men and women. Young men's leisure complexity is associated with current income, while young women's leisure complexity is linked to their educational achievement. From this observation, we can assume that, for men, the financial aspect of spending

money is emphasized in leisure consumption. It follows that younger men from relatively poorer households may be severely deprived of out-of-home leisure in their daily lives.

Considering the impact of education on complexity scores for women of all ages, we would expect that the expression of voraciousness is a matter of their level of education. The fact that the complexity of women's leisure consumption is closely related to their educational level means that education exerts a great influence on culture, leisure career, and taste in the enjoyment of leisure, not just their ability to set aside time for leisure. It seems that cultural resources and tastes are important for initiating outdoor leisure activity for women.

The results indicate that women with less education are likely to continue to experience a disadvantage in accessing active out-of-home leisure in elderly life. However, since women's levels of educational attainment have improved for the recent cohort (See Table A1.1 in Appendix 1), we may expect that more women would be able to consume leisure voraciously and that the gender gap could narrow in Korea in future years. As this paper indicates that relevant factors associated with leisure were different across the age groups for both genders, results suggest a need for gender-sensitive leisure policy to stimulate the leisure consumption.

The paper has several limitations. Using cross-sectional TUS data, we cannot determine whether these findings relate to cohort or age effects. Future research could be worthwhile to examine long-term changes in leisure consumption by men and women as Korean society continues to develop interesting types of leisure activity and emphasizes leisure consumption. In terms of methodology, this study used full seven-day information to explore the complexity measure but focused only on waking-hour activity, which is a limitation. However, future studies could consider including a full 24-hour period, testing one weekday and one weekend. Alternatively, they could explore weekend leisure using two consecutive weekend days examining 48 hours and attach two- or three-year TUS data for the analysis to reveal a clearer picture of how leisure is consumed daily. Yet, the five-year survey interval could be a problem since Korean society shows dramatic differences across survey years.

Appendix 1

Table A1.1: Gender differences in the level of educational attainment: by age group

Age groups	Education level – Men			Education level – Women		
	<i>Below high school</i>	<i>High school and some college</i>	<i>University and upper</i>	<i>Below high school</i>	<i>High school and some college</i>	<i>University and upper</i>
Age 35-49 years	3.88	57.84	38.28	4.58	68.34	27.08
Age 50-64 years	27.52	51.43	21.05	46.12	44.99	8.89

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