Feeling Rushed: Gendered Time Quality, Work Hours, Nonstandard Work Schedules, and Spousal Crossover

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ABSTRACT

This article investigates gender differences in couple parents' subjective time pressure, using detailed Australian time use data (n=756 couples with minor children). We examine how family demand, employment hours and nonstandard work schedules of both partners relate to each spouse's non-employment time quality ('pure' leisure, 'contaminated' leisure, multitasking housework and childcare) and subjective feelings of being rushed or pressed for time. Mothers average more contaminated leisure, less pure leisure and do much more unpaid work multitasking than fathers. Results suggest these differences in time quality do partially account for mothers feeling more rushed than fathers. Weekend work is associated with mothers having less pure leisure, but not contaminated leisure. The opposite pertains for fathers. Spousal work characteristics also relate to time use and feeling rushed in gendered ways, with male long hours work positively associated with higher time pressure for mothers, as well as the fathers who work them.

Time scarcity is at the centre of significant concern about the quality of contemporary family life (Edwards & Wajcman, 2005). Excessive time demand and overwork limits opportunity for recuperative activities necessary to health and wellbeing, and may diminish the quality of leisure time (Roger & Amato, 2000; Strazdins, Broom, Banwell, McDonald, & Skeat, 2011). Time pressures, both objective in terms of workload, and subjective in terms of feeling rushed and harried, can arise from both the public sphere of work and the private sphere of the home (Kleiner, 2014). Also, time is both an individual and a family resource - the way each member of a household spends time has implications for how others in the family spend and experience theirs. The time commitments of each partner in couple families thus potentially matter to their spouse's time demand and time stress as well as their own. Yet little research has explicitly examined connections between couples' time commitments and each partner's subjective time pressure. Men and women experience the demands of work and family differently, so there are likely to be gender differences in cross-spousal associations. This paper explores this issue, looking at how family demand, work hours and work schedules of both mothers and fathers relate to the quality of their non-employment time and to each spouse's subjective time pressure.

BACKGROUND

A major factor contributing to family time scarcity is the amount of time spent in market work. The mass entry of women into the paid work force has profoundly changed household time allocation patterns, and represents a major reallocation of family time to the labor market (Strazdins et al., 2011). For example, three decades ago, fathers were the sole breadwinners in most US families, resulting in a family allocation of just over 44 hours a week to paid work. By 2000, most US couples with children were dual-earners, devoting more than 80 hours a week to paid work (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). Furthermore, recent research finds that in neoliberal countries including the UK, USA, Canada and Australia, average individual working hours have increased (Gershuny, 2011). This suggests a reversal of earlier trends towards increasing leisure (Robinson & Godbey, 1997). In Australia, for example, over 40 percent of full-time employees now work more than 50 hours a week (Pocock, Skinner, & Williams, 2012). This applies mostly to men rather than women (Craig & Mullan, 2009). However, we would expect couples in which one partner works long hours to both feel the time pressures they create. Thus we investigate how household work hours, arising both from couples' combined participation and long average work-weeks, contribute to each partner's subjective time pressure.

Potentially adding to family time pressures are contemporary work schedules. A substantial proportion of employees in neoliberal countries work nonstandard hours (Rapoport & Le Bourdais, 2008). There is reason to expect that work timing has additional implications for time pressure over and above amount of hours worked (Craig & Brown, 2014). A body of research suggests that nonstandard work schedules have detrimental effects on employees' health and wellbeing, on their job satisfaction, and on their work-life balance (Bardasi & Francesconi, 2000; Presser, 2003; Shields, 2002; Tausig & Fenwick, 2001). The negative outcomes of nonstandard work are thought to arise at least partly from the constraints it places on how employees can spend their non-work time, including making it difficult to coordinate time with others (La Valle, Arthur, Millward, & Scott, 2002). Finding it hard to fit activities and social contact around work schedules may heighten feelings of subjective time pressure. Like work hours, work schedules potentially affect not only the individual that works them, but others in the family. Nonstandard hours have been connected with greater likelihood of marital problems, marriage instability and divorce (Kalil, Ziol-Guest, & Epstein, 2010; Presser, 2000; Shields, 2002), which may be related to the time pressures involved. Family psychologists note the advantages of couples spending time together to promote bonding (Strazdins, Clements, Korda, Broom, & D'Souza, 2006), but nonstandard hours lead to 'de-synchronization' and reduce shared couple time (Lesnard, 2008; Wight, Raley, & Bianchi, 2008).

Partners also have to adjust their time allocation around the nonstandard hours worker's schedule, for example doing more childcare during evenings or weekends to compensate for their spouse's absence (Craig & Powell, 2011). This may reduce their leisure quality and mean that both nonstandard workers and their spouses experience more subjective time pressure, yet this has not been previously addressed.

As household work hours have gone up and nonstandard work schedules have become more widespread, changes in parenting practices have led to increased time spent caring for children (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006; Sayer, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004). There have also been changes in the composition of time spent with children, in accordance with the ideology of intensive parenting (Hays, 1998). A greater proportion of parents' time with children is now spent in active childcare, educative activities and in child-focused recreation and leisure activities (Craig, Powell, & Smyth, 2014; Gracia, 2014). In addition to paid work, domestic demands matter to how time-poor people are and how time pressured they feel (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004; Kleiner, 2014). The time pressures generated by family demand are particularly high when children are young and their care needs are most pressing (Bianchi et al., 2006).

Thus amount of work, timing of work and high parenting expectations all contribute to time pressures upon contemporary families. Importantly, these factors may not only raise overall workload and compress the quantum of parental leisure time, as previous research has found (Bianchi et al., 2006; Craig & Mullan, 2012), but also influence how that leisure, and other non-employment time, is experienced qualitatively. The quality of non-employment time may in turn be related to higher subjective time pressure. That is, parents may feel more rushed and harried if their non-work time quality, associated with having young children and the employment demands of both partners, is poor. This paper will investigate this possibility.

Gendered work and family roles, time quality and subjective experience of family time

We expect that relationships between non-employment time quality, work and family time demands, and feeling rushed will be different for men and women. Although over recent years there has been some convergence in gender roles (Sullivan, 2006; Wall & Arnold, 2007), men and women still experience the demands of work and family in contrasting ways, with women doing the bulk of childcare and housework and men devoting longer hours to employment (see Bianchi & Milkie, 2010 for an overview). Such gender differences rest upon a history of social attitudes and ideological beliefs, reflexively intertwined with institutional structures underpinning gender patterns in market and care work (Ferree, 2010; Lewis, 2009; Ridgeway, 2009). Despite expansion in women's public opportunities, gender gaps in pay and career advancement remain wide, and workplace organization still largely reflects the assumption that an 'ideal worker' is free of family care demands (Blau & Kahn, 2007; Booth, Francesconia, & Frank, 2003; Williams, 2010). Being free of family care demands is much less likely to be the case for mothers than fathers , because the family remains a primary site for the perpetuation of traditional gender roles, through socialization and enacting gender in everyday interactions and behaviour, centrally including housework and care (Deutsch, 2007; England, 2011; Risman, 2009).

To a significant extent, gender roles are constructed within the family and social meanings and expectations attached to family work differ for men and women (Ferree, 2010; West & Zimmerman, 2009). With family functioning, children's wellbeing and the cleanliness of one's home seen more as a reflection on women's competence as a 'wife and mother' than men's competence as a 'husband and father' (Bianchi, 2000: 95), women are widely expected by both themselves and others to meet the physical and emotional needs of their spouse and children (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). Thus the gendered social organisation of work and care, and both social and internalized gender attitudes,

support a theoretical expectation that mothers, more than fathers, will use their non-employment time to accommodate family demand and to perform household duties. This is consistent with previous research finding mothers protect childcare time when they are employed (Bianchi, 2009; Craig, 2007).

Furthermore, the gendered construction of family roles not only leads men and women to make different use of their time, but makes it likely that subjective experience of family time differs by gender. It is possible that doing housework and looking after children feels subjectively more onerous to mothers because gendered family role expectations mean they have less discretion than fathers over whether and when to perform these activities (Sullivan, 1997). Men's relative freedom over their participation and scheduling of housework and childcare may mean, for example, that they find shared family leisure time more pleasant and relaxing than women do (Craig & Mullan, 2012; Offer, 2015; Shaw, 2008). Also, women are more usually responsible for maintaining household harmony, managing smooth relationships, and performing the emotion work necessary to family life (Mattingly & Sayer, 2006; Strazdins & Broom, 2004). Recent studies have found that women's mood is more sensitive to their partner's work strain than is men's (Levine, Bonner, & Klugman, 2014), and that mental labor in relation to work and family is more negatively associated with mothers', than with fathers', emotional wellbeing (Offer, 2014).

Reinforcing the possibility that family time is experienced differently by gender, studies show that women report feeling more rushed than men (Mattingly & Bianchi, 2003), even if the amount of free time they have is similar (Mattingly & Sayer, 2006). Free time for women does not appear to have the same restorative effect as it does for men. This is important because the subjective experience of time pressure is a mechanism by which lived experience is transformed into depression (Roxburgh, 2004, 2012). The gender contrast in subjective experience could be because, in several ways, mothers' non-employment time differs qualitatively from fathers'. First, mothers' leisure is more often shared with children or done at the same time as childcare – a form of multitasking scholars describe as 'contaminated' leisure (Bittman & Wajcman, 2000; Mattingly & Bianchi, 2003). Such time is not 'pure' leisure for the parent because it entails care work (Budig & Folbre, 2004). Mothers are also more likely than fathers to be the sole adult present during periods of shared parent-child leisure, so by default must respond to the need for care (Craig & Mullan, 2012; Folbre, Yoon, Finnoff, & Fuligni, 2005). Notwithstanding that they may enjoy sharing leisure with children (Bianchi et al., 2006), doing so potentially prevents mothers' non-employment time being an opportunity for them to relax and recharge their energy (Aitchison, 2003; Mattingly & Bianchi, 2003; Shaw, 1997). It also appears that sharing leisure with children actually is more fun for fathers than mothers. Perhaps because mothers feel particularly accountable for children's behaviour in public, shared parent-child leisure been found to be more associated with positive emotional affect for fathers than for mothers (Offer, 2015).

Another gender difference in time quality that may be related to gender differences in subjective time pressure is that mothers multitask unpaid work, particularly combining childcare and housework, more often than fathers do (Offer & Schneider, 2010, 2011; Sayer, 2007). Theoretically, compressing more unpaid work into a shorter time frame by multitasking could be a response to objective time scarcity, and may be associated with higher levels of subjective time pressure. The causal direction could also run the other way, with mothers feeling time pressure *because* they multitask. Also, while multitasking may be a strategy adopted by time-poor employed mothers, some argue that it is actually usually related to women spending more of their time in the home, where pairing two activities is more possible than in the formal workplace (Sullivan & Gershuny, 2013). Supporting this, research has found that in terms of time per day, home-based mothers multitask more than employed mothers do (Sayer, 2007; Sullivan & Gershuny, 2013). Sullivan and Gershuny argued that

therefore multitasking should be regarded as reflecting time availability rather than as a response to, or an indication of, objective time pressure. However, their study did not distinguish between multitasking leisure with childcare (as described above) and multitasking two forms of unpaid work, which others have found associated with negative emotions and psychological distress (Offer & Schneider, 2011). Also, their argument has not been directly tested in relation to self-reported time pressure.

In summary, the gendered construction of family roles implies that men and women will not only spend their non-work time differently, but also that women may find this time subjectively more stressful than men. Also, entrenched gender differences in responsibility for market and care work set up the theoretical expectation that family demands and spousal characteristics, including work hours and work schedules, would have more association with women's, than with men's, subjective time pressure.

Research focus

The central aim of this paper is to shed new light on how couple parents' combined work and family demand relate to gender differences in subjective time pressure. Specifically, it examines how family demand and the employment hours and schedules of both partners in couple families with children relate to aspects of their own and their partners' non-employment time quality (whether leisure is 'pure' or 'contaminated', time spent multitasking housework and childcare) and, in turn, to the subjective time pressure of each spouse. Our expectations are

1. 1a Mothers and fathers' *non-employment time quality* will be negatively associated with family demand and with their own work hours and nonstandard work schedules. 1b Mothers' *non-employment time quality* will be negatively associated with their partners' work hours and nonstandard work schedules

2. Mothers will report higher *subjective time pressure* than fathers, and this difference will be related to *non-employment time quality*

3. 3a Mothers and fathers' *subjective time pressure* will be positively associated with family demand and their own work hours and nonstandard work schedules. 3b Mothers' *subjective time pressure* will be positively associated with their partner's work hours and work nonstandard schedules

METHOD

Data

Data come from the most recent Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Time Use Survey (TUS 2006). A nationally representative survey, the TUS gathers information on the time allocation of all members of sampled households over the age of 15. Respondents keep a time diary recording what they do in five minute intervals over one or ideally two days. Diaries are preferable to other methods of collecting time use information, such as retrospective recall estimates, because they are more valid and reliable; more detailed and less subject to social desirability bias (Kan, 2008; Robinson & Gershuny, 1994). Respondents record their main ('primary') activities and any simultaneous ('secondary') activities they are doing at the same time. The measures of time spent in primary or secondary activity are the base information from which we construct multitasking variables to capture aspects of time quality more detailed than measures derived from surveys (such as the American Time Use Survey (ATUS)), which do not collect secondary activity data. Also, because

the ABS TUS collects data from all adult members of co-resident households, we have data on both members of couples, facilitating cross-spousal comparison. We draw a sample of married and cohabitating couples with minor children, where information is available on both spouses, and at least one spouse is employed. (The term spouse is used to denote a partner regardless of whether the couple are married or cohabitating.) Our analytic sample consists of 756 couples (1483 diaries). Sample description is in Table 1.

Measures and analysis plan

Dependent variables

Our dependent variables are three time use measures capturing aspects of time quality, and one subjective measure: how often people feel rushed or pressed for time. We construct three time use variables. First, leisure is measured as the total hours per week spent in social and community interaction (ABS TUS codes 800-899) and recreation and leisure (ABS TUS codes 900-999). We use the term 'leisure' to encompass all the activities within these codes; socialising, visiting entertainment and cultural venues, attending sports events, religious activities, community meetings and civic ceremonies, sport and outdoor activity, games and hobbies, reading and media consumption. 'Pure leisure' is the sum of weekly hours during which any of these activities are reported as a primary activity only. That is, there is no simultaneous activity recorded with leisure; it is the only thing respondents were doing. We use the terms 'pure leisure' and 'leisure as a sole activity' interchangeably.

The second time use variable capturing non-employment time quality measures the total hours per week respondents spend in leisure multitasked with unpaid work. Unpaid work consists of either housework (ABS TUS codes 400-499); childcare (ABS TUS codes 500-599) or purchasing goods and services (ABS TUS codes 600-799). Either the leisure or the unpaid work could be reported as primary or secondary activity, to construct a measure capturing multitasking more precisely than prior research that inferred it from the presence of children. In subsequent text, we use the terms 'contaminated leisure' and 'multitasked leisure and unpaid work' interchangeably. The final time use variable capturing non-employment time quality ('multitasked unpaid work') is measured as the total hours per week during which any unpaid work activity is multitasked with another unpaid work activity. That is, when any housework, purchasing or childcare activity is done at the same time as another activity within these categories.

Subjective time pressure is measured through a survey question. Respondents were asked to rate their subjective time pressure on a 5 point Likert scale, in answer to the question 'how often do you feel rushed or pressed for time?'. Following prior literature (e.g., ABS, 2013; Craig & Mullan, 2009) we dichotomized this into a binary outcome variable that contrasts those who 'always' or 'often' feel rushed or pressed for time with those who 'sometimes', 'seldom' or 'never' do so. We use the terms 'subjective time pressure' and 'feeling rushed or pressed for time' interchangeably.

Independent variables

Our key independent variables are measures of work and family demand. Because we expect leisure quality to be lowest, and time stress to be greatest, when spouses' combined work hours are high, we calculate couples' joint employment hours. Usual hours worked each week in all jobs are coded in the TUS as 0, 1–15 hours, 16–24 hours, 25-34, 35–49 hours, 40, 41-49 and 50+ hours per week for each respondent. Based on this information, we calculate joint couple employment hours. Preliminary analyses showed that of our sample 24.7 percent were male breadwinner households, 43.6 percent were households in which men worked full-time and women part time and 9.2 percent

were households in which the fathers were not employed full-time. In 22 percent of the households both partners were employed full-time. Distinguishing between dual full-time, full-time/part time and single earner households added little explanatory value to the dichotomous contrast between dual-full-time-employed couples and all other couples, so we create a dichotomous variable indicating dual earner couples employed full-time (each working more than 35 hours per week). This is coded as both working full-time=1, other=0. Please note, however, that because over 90 percent of sampled fathers worked full-time, this variable predominantly measures differences in mothers work time (*mother works full-time* vs part time or not in the work force).

Differences in fathers' work time are measured through a long-hours variable (full time vs overwork, defined as 50 or more hours per week). We wish to know whether overwork has additional associations with leisure, multitasking and time pressure over and above full-time work. In Australia, in families with minor children, long hours are more usually worked by fathers than mothers (Pocock et al., 2012). This is reflected in our sample, in which fewer than two percent of mothers worked over 50 hours a week. This is too few to yield meaningful results, so in our models we include only *fathers overwork* (works 50+ hours=1, other=0).

Nonstandard work schedules are measured in two ways. First, we identify weekend workers using a TUS survey question asking diarists about the days, including the weekend days, on which they worked in the preceding week. We use this information to create a dichotomous indicator, coded works weekend=1, does not work weekend=0. Second, we measure evening/night work. Respondents are classified as evening/night workers if they perform more than 50 percent of their paid work time before 8am and after 7pm on the diary day. A limitation of our data is that it does not allow us to identify whether working at these nonstandard times were part of rotating shifts or fixed schedules.

We capture *family time demand* by entering age of the youngest child (0-4 years=1, 5-9 years=2, 10-14 years=0). Age is the strongest predictor of family time demand; parental workloads are highest when children are young (Bianchi et al., 2006; Ironmonger, 2004).

As with all observational data, such as ours, selection effects may impact on results. Parents are not allocated randomly to their employment hours or schedules. It is possible that characteristics associated with the key independent variables may also be associated with non-employment time quality or subjective time stress. To address this issue we include as controls a number of variables likely to have an independent effect on people's use of time and subjective time pressure. We enter respondents' age (in years), because patterns in employment, unpaid work and leisure vary over the life course (Baxter, 2002; Hendricks & Cutler, 2003). Age data was provided in bands (e.g., 15–19, 20–24, 25–29, etc.), and we take the midpoint of each to generate a continuous variable. We include measures of educational level and household income because human capital and resources could be related to both time use and subjective time pressure (Gershuny, 2005; Hamermesh & Lee, 2007). We control for education at the household level based on whether either or both partners have a college qualification. Households are grouped into four categories: 1=neither partner has a college degree (omitted); 2=mother has a college degree but father does not; 3=father has a college degree but mother does not and; 4=both parents have a college degree.

In the original ABS data set household income is supplied as deciles for equivalised income with nine percent of missing data. Using the same method as Craig and Brown (2014) we impute these missing data using ordinal logistic regression with covariates of the household head of age, years of education, full-time work status; whether the diarist rents his or her dwelling, whether the diarist is in a couple or has children. We recode the imputed equivalised household income deciles into low

(deciles 1-4), middle (deciles 5-7) and high (deciles 8-10). There were missing data only for income, not for other variables. A sample description is provided in Table 1.

Statistical Analyses

Our first analyses investigate associations between the key independent variables and the time use measures capturing quality, using linear regression. Models were run separately for men and women because work-family characteristics, the use and meaning of time differ by gender, and this is the established approach in time use research (see for example Bittman & Wajcman, 2000; Craig et al., 2014; Mattingly & Bianchi, 2003; Mattingly & Sayer, 2006). The use of linear regression has been debated in time use research because of the sometimes-large number of zeros in the dependent variables that arise when individuals record no time spent on an activity. Some scholars argue that Tobit models are more appropriate for time use data, assuming a latent propensity to do an activity and that negative values of this propensity are censored at zero (Sousa-Poza, Schmid, & Widmer, 2001). Others counter that time spent in an activity is not censored and cannot take values less than zero (see, for example, Brown & Dunn, 2011; Stewart, 2009; and Wight, Price, Bianchi, & Hunt, 2009). With one- or two-day diary windows, reported zeros can reflect a sampling problem rather than actual nonparticipation (the activity could be performed on days not observed). Foster and Kalenkoski (2013) compared results from Tobit and OLS estimates and found the signs on the marginal effects were generally similar regardless of model type and of whether the data were drawn from one- or two-day time-diaries. For these reasons and ease of interpretation we used linear rather than Tobit models.

A second set of analyses used logistic regression to investigate associations between the independent variables and whether respondents report being ‘always’ or ‘often’ rushed for pressed for time. (We use the dichotomised outcome and logistic rather than ordinal logistic regression because preliminary analyses revealed that the assumption of proportional odds on the original five-point Likert scale, necessary for an ordinal model, was not met.) We ran the logistic regression analyses in stages. First we used pooled data from both men and women to test gender differences in feeling rushed and relationships with non-employment time quality. The first logistic models included the key independent variables and the demographic variables described above. To the second logistic models we added the measures of non-employment time quality, recoded into hours per day, to see if they have an additional additive effect or account for any association with subjective time pressure. Finally, we ran models separately for fathers and mothers, which allowed us to compare our results with prior time use studies on leisure and feeling rushed (e.g. Bittman & Wajcman, 2000; Mattingly & Bianchi, 2003; Mattingly & Sayer, 2006).

All descriptive statistics and models were weighted to account for unequal distribution of days of the week as appropriate. Standard errors were estimated using Taylor linearization to take into account that the matched husbands and wives are clustered within households and diary days within individuals. Analyses are performed using Stata version 11.2.

RESULTS

Table 1 shows descriptive statistics for the sample. Twenty-two percent of the couple families were dual full-time earner. As noted above, preliminary analyses showed that 24.7 percent were male breadwinner households, 43.6 percent were households in which men worked full-time and women part time and 9.2 percent were households in which the fathers were not employed full-time. Thus the household work hours variable essentially measured differences in *mothers* work time (full vs part time or not in the work force). Moreover, fathers averaged more than 50 hours per week in paid employment in over 40 percent of sampled households. To make clear what the two work variables

are comparing, we use the terms ‘mother works full-time’ and ‘father overworks’ when describing the results.

Four percent of mothers and six percent of fathers worked evenings or nights (defined as above - doing more than half of their paid work hours between 7pm and 8am). Nearly 15 percent of mothers and over 30 percent of fathers reported working on the weekends. Given the high proportion of fathers working long hours, it is likely that many were not shift workers, but rather Monday to Friday workers whose hours extended into the weekend. In nearly 47 percent of households, the youngest child was under five years old; in 28 percent and 25 percent of households they were aged 5 to 9 and 10 to14 years respectively.

Table 1. *Demographic Characteristics and Measures of Time Use Quality Among Married Couple Households with Children (n=756 couple households)*

	Mothers	Fathers	Household
Measures of household and work demand			
Age of the youngest child			%
0 to 4			46.9
5 to 9			28.0
10 to 14			25.1
Mother works full-time			22.5
Father overworks (50+ hours a week)			41.2
Works evenings/nights (%)	4.4	6.1	
Works weekends (%)	14.7	30.6	
Control variables			
Age (mean (SD))	37.0(6.8)	39.3(7.4)	
Household education (%)			
Both no college degree			61.9
Mother no degree, father degree			8.9
Mother degree, father no degree			12.5
Both college degree			16.7
Household income (%)			
Low			27.8
Middle			41.5
High			30.7
Measures of time quality (hours per week)			
Pure leisure (as a sole activity) (mean(SD))	12.4(12.7)	14.7(15.0)***	
Multitasked leisure with unpaid work (mean(SD))	18.5(15.1)	10.1(12.9)***	
Multitasking two forms of unpaid work (mean(SD))	15.7(17.8)	4.2(8.5)***	
Subjective time pressure			
‘Always’ or ‘often’ rushed or pressed for time (%)	68.5	62.1**	

** *p<.01,* *** *p<.001*

There were statistically significant mean gender differences in each of the outcome measures capturing time quality (see Table 1). Compared to fathers, mothers averaged less ‘pure’ leisure as sole activity (12.4 hours a week vs 14.7 hours a week), more ‘contaminated’ leisure - multitasked with unpaid work - (18.5 hours a week vs 10.1 hours a week) and much more time multitasking two forms of unpaid work (15.7 hours a week vs 4.2 hours a week). Nearly 70 percent of mothers and 62 percent of fathers reported that they felt rushed or pressed for time ‘always’ or ‘often’.

Multivariate analyses

Table 2. *Estimates for Linear Regression Models Predicting Non-employment Time Quality (hours per week) for Fathers and Mothers*

	Pure leisure		Multitasking leisure & unpaid work		Multitasking two forms unpaid work	
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers
	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)
Constant	21.18***	16.18***	6.04**	22.69***	-1.77	9.08**
	(4.34)	(3.20)	(3.45)	(4.09)	(2.24)	(4.64)
Mother works full-time	-1.83	-1.97*	-0.97	-2.64*	-0.64	-4.57***
	(1.03)	(0.96)	(0.89)	(1.27)	(0.54)	(1.17)
Father overworks	-2.09*	-0.24	-2.03*	-0.78	-1.26*	1.29
	(0.94)	(0.80)	(0.84)	(1.09)	(0.5)	(0.25)
Father works evenings/nights	-1.03	0.95	-0.90	1.99	1.13	-1.00
	(1.52)	(1.38)	(1.21)	(2.72)	(1.01)	(1.76)
Mother works evenings/nights	-0.44	-1.48	0.19	-1.33	-1.02	1.91
	(1.58)	(1.46)	(1.74)	(2.05)	(0.96)	(2.43)
Father works weekends	-1.59	-0.77	-2.45**	-0.16	-0.97	0.32
	(0.95)	(0.86)	(0.81)	(1.19)	(0.60)	(1.29)
Mother works weekends	-0.55	-3.17*	1.13	1.22	1.18	-0.52
	(1.24)	(0.97)	(1.12)	(1.48)	(1.15)	(1.47)
Age of the youngest child (ref 10-14)						
Youngest child aged 0-4	-6.40***	-7.04***	5.03**	4.68***	4.63***	15.60***
	(1.54)	(1.28)	(1.27)	(1.48)	(0.89)	(1.59)
Youngest child aged 5-9	-2.63	-3.13*	2.36*	-1.04	2.23***	4.59***
	(1.40)	1.27	(1.01)	(1.31)	(0.56)	(1.16)
Age	0.03	0.09	0.03	-0.19	0.08	-0.04
	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.05)	(0.11)
Household education (ref both low)						
Mother no degree, father degree	0.64	-1.64	-0.07	3.42*	0.16	4.19*
	(1.57)	(1.40)	(1.15)	(1.56)	(0.76)	(2.11)
Mother degree, father no degree	-0.16	-1.34	-1. 89	-0.70	0.87	-0.54
	(0.84)	(1.19)	(1.36)	(1.69)	(1.10)	(1.89)
Both parents have college degree	-1.33	-1.30	-0.15	-1.18	1.09	-0.59
	(1.26)	(1.16)	(1.29)	(1.46)	(0.77)	(1.83)
Household income (ref low)						
Middle	-2.88*	-1.87	1.57	1.97	0.17	-1.35
	(1.20)	(1.03)	(0.95)	(1.25)	(0.73)	(1.52)
High	-1.26	-0.42	3.22**	0.36	0.14	-2.42
	(1.39)	(1.19)	(1.16)	(1.44)	(0.75)	(1.64)
R squared	0.050	0.080	0.049	0.077	0.055	0.190

** p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001*

The constant terms in Models 1 to 3 (Table 2) represent the hours per week spent in each aspect of non-employment time quality by a father/mother in a non-full-time-dual-earner couple (i.e. mother works part time or is not in the workforce) household in the lowest third of income range, in which the father did not overwork (i.e. did not work over 50 hours per week), neither parent worked weekends, neither parent worked evenings/nights, the youngest child was aged ten years or over, and neither parent had a college degree.

Mothers' full-time work was associated with them having nearly two (1.97) hours a week less pure leisure than mothers in households with other employment configurations. For fathers, being in a household in which their wife worked full-time was not associated with any variation in pure leisure, most likely because they themselves were also working full-time. However, if fathers overworked (50+ hours a week), they were estimated to have just over two (2.09) hours less pure leisure a week than fathers who worked standard full time hours. With regard to nonstandard schedules, there was no association between evening/night work and pure leisure for either mothers or fathers. For mothers, working weekends was associated with over three (3.17) hours less pure leisure a week. For fathers, there was no association between working weekends and pure leisure.

Mothers working full-time were estimated to spend less time multitasking, both pairing leisure with unpaid work (2.64 hours per week), and pairing two forms of unpaid work (4.57 hours per week), than other mothers (employed part time or not in the workforce). As found above for pure leisure, fathers' multitasking (of either type) had no association with being in a dual full-time earner household. (Recall that almost all fathers worked full-time so it was mainly mothers' hours that varied across household employment configuration.) However, long work hours (fathers' overwork) were associated with fathers spending 2.03 hours per week less time pairing leisure with unpaid work, and over an hour (1.26) per week less multitasking two forms of unpaid work, than fathers working standard full-time hours. These results accord with prior research suggesting that multitasking is a by-product of spending more time at home (Sayer, 2007; Sullivan & Gershuny, 2013), and show that a negative association pertained for fathers who overwork, as well as mothers who work full-time. For fathers, working weekends was associated with 2.45 hours per week less multitasking leisure with unpaid work than standard weekday hours. No such association was found for mothers. This contrasts with the findings above for pure leisure, so implies that the kind of leisure that weekend workers forego is not the same for mothers and fathers. Specifically, it appears that compared to other fathers, weekend-working fathers maintained time in pure leisure, but (compared to other mothers) weekend-working mothers did not. Conversely, compared to other mothers, weekend-working mothers maintained time in contaminated leisure (most usually leisure paired with childcare) while (compared to other fathers) weekend-working fathers did not.

Both mothers and fathers were estimated to have over six hours a week less pure leisure if their youngest child was under five years old rather than aged ten or over. If the youngest child was aged between five and nine, mothers were estimated to spend less time in pure leisure (3.13 hours a week) than if the youngest child was over ten years old. We found no association between fathers having a child aged between five and nine and their time in pure leisure. Contaminated leisure was estimated to be much higher for parents of younger children. Mothers were estimated to multitask unpaid work and leisure 4.68 hours a week more when their youngest child was under five (taking their weekly total all else equal to 27.37 hours). For fathers, the predicted difference by age of youngest child was 5.03 hours when the child under five and 2.36 hours a week when the youngest was aged five to nine (taking their weekly total all else equal to 11.07 and 8.40 hours respectively). Compared to those who had a child aged ten to fourteen years, mothers multitasked two forms of unpaid work for 15.60 hours a week more when they had a child aged under five, and 4.59 hours a week more when they had a child aged

between five and nine (bringing their weekly total to 24.68 and 13.67 hours, respectively). Fathers were estimated to do 4.63 hours per week more unpaid work multitasking if they had a child under five years old, rather than aged ten to fourteen.

Taken together, the findings of the linear regressions partially supported expectations. They suggest that parents' non-employment time quality varied in association with family demand and their own work hours and (weekend) work schedules, with the form of non-employment time quality that was significantly affected different for fathers (contaminated leisure) and mothers (pure leisure). Contrary to our expectation, we found no evidence that mothers' non-employment time quality varied with their partners' work hours or work schedules.

We next ran logistic regression analyses to formally test whether the odds of reporting high subjective time pressure differed by gender (Model 4) and whether the relationship was accounted for by the time quality variables (Model 5) (see Table 3). Model 4 confirmed that net of the independent variables, mothers had higher odds (OR=1.42) of reporting feeling rushed or pressed for time than fathers. Model 4 also showed that higher odds of reporting feeling rushed were associated with being in a couple in which mothers (and fathers) worked full-time (53% [100(1.53-1)]), compared to households in which mothers worked part time or were not in the workforce. Compared to standard full time hours, fathers' overwork (50+ hours a week) was associated with higher odds of feeling rushed (68% [100(1.68-1]). Higher odds of reporting time stress were also associated with having children less than five years old (109% [100(2.09-1)]) or aged between five and nine (54% [100(1.54-1]), rather than aged 10-14. We found no associations between work schedules and subjective time pressure. In Model 5, in which the measures of time quality were included, gender differences in subjective time pressure were not found. The time quality variables were all significant. Each hour spent in leisure was associated with lower odds of feeling rushed: 8% [100(0.92-1)] for pure leisure and 7% [100(0.93-1)] for contaminated. Each hour spent multitasking two domestic activities was associated with 7% [100(1.07-1)] higher odds of feeling rushed. The fact that the non-employment time quality variables were significant in Model 5, but gender was not, implies that gender differences in feeling rushed may be accounted for, at least in part, by gender differences in time quality.

Table 3. *Estimates for Pooled (Fathers and Mothers) Logistic Regression Models Predicting 'Always' or 'Often' Feeling Rushed or Pressed for Time*

	Pooled sample	
	Model 4	Model 5
	Odds Ratio (SE)	*Odds Ratio* (SE)
Gender	1.42**	1.23
	(0.16)	(0.17)
Pure leisure (as a sole activity) (hours per day)		0.92**
		(0.02)
Multitasking leisure and unpaid work (hours per day)		0.93**
		(0.03)
Multitasking two forms of unpaid work (hours per day)		1.07*
		(0.03)
No of episodes		1.01
		(0.01)
Mother works full-time	1.53*	1.54*
	(0.25)	(0.25)
Father overworks	1.68***	1.65***
	(0.23)	(0.23)
Works evenings (ref neither worked evenings/nights on diary day)		

Father works evenings/nights, mother does not work evenings/nights	0.71	0.70
	(0.15)	(0.15)
Mother works evenings/nights, father does not work evenings/nights	0.86	0.84
	(0.23)	(0.23)
Works weekends (ref neither work weekends)		
Father works weekends, mother does not work weekends	1.35	1.32
	(0.22)	(0.22)
Mother works weekends, father does not work weekends	1.39	1.38
	(0.34)	(0.34)
Both work weekends	0.90	0.87
	(0.24)	(0.23)
Age of the youngest child (ref 10-14)		
Youngest child aged 0-4	2.09**	1.82**
	(0.41)	(0.37)
Youngest child aged 5-9	1.54*	1.46*
	(0.28)	(0.26)
Age	1.02	1.02
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Household education (ref neither have degree)		
Mother no degree, father degree	1.29	1.27
	(0.24)	(0.23)
Father no degree, mother degree	1.81	1.77*
	(0.45)	(0.45)
Both parents have college degree	1.17	1.11
	(0.24)	(0.22)
Household income (ref low)		
Middle	1.04	1.09
	(0.17)	(0.17)
High	1.28	1.31
	(0.25)	(0.25)

** p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001*

To tease out the detail we ran separate models for mothers (Model 6) and fathers (Model 7) (see Table 4). The same work and family variables were associated with subjective time pressure as in the pooled Model 4, but not uniformly in the male and female models. Model 6 indicates that if both partners worked full-time, mothers' had higher odds of reporting being often or always rushed compared to mothers in households with other employment configurations (162% [100(2.62-1)]). That is, compared to households in which mothers were home based or worked part time, in households in which mothers worked full-time, they were more likely to feel time-stressed. This aligns with the linear regression results finding that mothers employed full-time had less pure leisure than other mothers. Model 7 finds no significant association between both partners working full-time and fathers' subjective time pressure. Supplementary analyses (not shown) confirmed that the difference between men and women was significant (p<.002), suggesting results for this variable in Table 3 were driven primarily by mothers (whose employment status differs much more across households than does fathers').

Table 4. *Estimates for Logistic Regression Models Predicting Feeling 'Always' or 'Often' Rushed or Pressed for Time for Mothers and Fathers*

	Mothers	**Fathers**
	Model 6	Model 7
	Odds Ratio (SE)	*Odds Ratio* (SE)
Mother works full-time	2.62***	1.02
	(0.65)	(0.22)
Father overworks	1.63*	1.60*
	(0.31)	(0.28)
Father works evenings/nights	0.85	0.61
	(0.26)	(0.19)
Mother works evenings/nights	0.51	1.16
	(0.18)	(0.39)
Father works weekends	1.20	1.15
	(0.24)	(0.22)
Mother works weekends	0.96	1.11
	(0.26)	(0.27)
Age of the youngest child (ref 10-14)		
Youngest child aged 0-4	1.88*	1.79*
	(0.56)	(0.45)
Youngest child aged 5-9	1.65*	1.37
	(0.41)	(0.32)
Pure leisure (as a sole activity) (hours per day)	0.91*	0.93*
	(0.04)	(0.03)
Multitasking leisure and unpaid work (hours a day)	0.95	0.92*
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Multitasking two forms of unpaid work (hours per day)	1.09*	1.02
	(0.04)	(0.06)
No of episodes	1.01	(0.06)
	(0.01)	1.00
Age	1.03	1.01
	(0.02)	(0.01)
Household education (ref neither have degree)		
Mother no degree, father degree	1.56	1.08
	(0.48)	(0.29)
Father no degree, mother degree	1.12	2.75**
	(0.37)	(1.01)
Both parents have college degree	1.16	1.11
	(0.33)	(0.29)
Household income (ref low)		
Middle	1.06	1.14
	(0.22)	(0.23)
High	1.19	1.44
	(0.31)	(0.36)

** p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.00*

Fathers' overwork predicted higher time stress in both the male and female models (63% [100(1.63-1)] for mothers and 60% [100(1.60-1)] for fathers). Supplementary analyses (not shown) found no significant gender difference in the association between fathers' overwork and subjective time pressure. This suggests spousal cross-over in that fathers' long hours were associated with high subjective time pressure not only for the man who worked them, but also

for his wife. Contrary to expectations, we found no evidence that work schedules, either own or spouses', related to subjective time pressure for men or women. We also found that reporting feeling rushed was associated with the age of the youngest child in the household. Compared to having a youngest child aged between ten and fourteen, having a child under five years old was associated with higher odds of feeling rushed (88% [100(1.88-1)] for mothers and 79% [100(1.79-1)] for fathers). Mothers' odds of reporting feeling rushed were also 65% [100(1.65-1)] higher if the youngest child was aged five to nine years.

For mothers, lower odds of feeling rushed were associated with pure leisure, (9% [100(0.91-1)] for every hour), higher odds of reporting feeling rushed were associated with multitasking two forms of unpaid work (9% [100(1.09-1)] for every hour), and there was no association between leisure multitasked with unpaid work and subjective time pressure. For fathers, both pure leisure and leisure multitasked with unpaid work were associated with lower odds of feeling rushed (7% [100(0.93-1)] and 8% [100(0.92-1)] for every hour, respectively, and there was no association with subjective time pressure and multitasking two forms of unpaid work. Supplementary analyses did not confirm significant gender differences, however, so we cannot assume that if mothers and fathers' time in multitasking and leisure were the same in amount, the variables would not have similar associations with subjective time pressure.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Both paid work and family demands matter to how non-work time is spent and how time pressured people feel (Kleiner, 2014; Strazdins et al., 2011). Also, the work commitments of both partners matter to objective household time pressures (Jacobs & Gerson, 2001). However, empirical connections between couples' work hours and work schedules, family demand, and subjective feelings of being rushed or pressed for time are not well understood. Drawing on high quality time use data incorporating secondary activities and information from both members of couples, this paper offers new insight into how time quality and feeling rushed are shaped by gendered work-family time use.

We were interested to probe the puzzling findings in Mattingly and Sayer's (2006) research that free time is associated with lower subjective time pressure for men but not for women. Their data did not allow them to distinguish between pure and contaminated leisure as our data do. It is possible that leisure quality may account for the gender difference in the relationship between (total) leisure and feeling rushed in two ways. Fathers get more pure leisure than mothers, and it may be that leisure time with children is more enjoyable for fathers than for mothers (Bittman & Wajcman, 2000; Mattingly & Bianchi, 2003; Offer, 2015; Shaw, 2008). Fathers average less overall time with children (see Bianchi & Milkie, 2010 for an overview), and this study found that their time in leisure as sole activity is higher and their time in contaminated leisure is lower than mothers' (see Tables 1 and 2). Also, we ran supplementary analyses which showed that mothers were co-present during nearly 80 percent of fathers' contaminated leisure. In these circumstances, mothers usually take the primary care role (Folbre et al., 2005), potentially making the time feel more like work than leisure.

Prevalent social attitudes and institutional structures perpetuate gender gaps in market and care work (Blau & Kahn, 2007; Booth et al., 2003; Ferree, 2010; Lewis, 2009; Ridgeway, 2009; Williams, 2010), and the family remains a primary site for maintaining and enacting gender through paid and unpaid work (Deutsch, 2007; England, 2011; Risman, 2009). Combining child care with leisure may not be as stressful for men because they don't see themselves as 'where the buck stops', that is, the one whose main job is to look out for the kids. Women by contrast may see it more as their duty to do child care, and trying to make it fun by combining it with leisure may feel discordant with that heuristic (Offer, 2015; Shaw, 2008). However, although

this research raises the possibility that due to gendered divisions of labor, pairing childcare with leisure feels more stressful to mothers than fathers, direct gender comparisons did not reach significance so we cannot reject the null hypothesis. Future research with larger samples could reach more definitive conclusions on this point. In any event, from a policy perspective, ensuring mothers have adequate pure leisure (relaxing for both genders but quantitatively lower for mothers) may be prerequisite to reducing gender disparity in subjective time pressure.

Our third measure of non-employment time quality (multitasking two forms of unpaid work) also was also very high for mothers, and associated with higher odds of reporting subjective time stress. Distinguishing between multitasking leisure and multitasking unpaid work thus challenges Sullivan and Gershuny's (2013) argument that multitasking is unrelated to time pressure. Our results align with those of Offer and Schneider (2011) who found multitasking was associated with negative emotions and psychological distress for mothers. Also important is that the association between multitasking and subjective time stress pertained net of mothers' employment hours. Because most fathers worked full-time, the variation between dual full-time earner and other workforce configurations was in mothers' hours, and our results therefore suggest that full-, non- and part-time working mothers find multitasking two forms of unpaid work equally stressful. This is despite our linear regressions finding that higher employment hours predicted less time multitasking, apparently supporting Sullivan and Gershuny's (2013) argument that multitasking is associated with spending more time at home rather than being a response to objective time pressure or an indication of subjective time pressure. Our logistic regression results show that the last part of their argument does not hold. To the contrary, multitasking two forms of unpaid work *is* associated with higher subjective time pressure.

To test further whether positive associations between multitasking unpaid work and mothers' subjective time pressure pertain net of employment hours, we ran supplementary analysis testing the interaction between dual full-time work hours and multitasking two forms of unpaid work. Confirming our original results, the interaction term was not a significant predictor of mothers' subjective time pressure. These findings contribute to the literature by indicating that for mothers multitasking domestic work is equally stressful across all employment configurations. That is, the association between mothers' subjective time stress and multitasking was not solely explained by time availability due to work hours.

That said, there was also a *direct* association between employment hours and subjective time pressure. This is consistent with research by Kleiner (2014) finding employment hours were associated with perceptions of time pressure at home as well as at work. We make an additional contribution here because our results, unlike Kleiner's, are disaggregated by gender and we were also able to investigate whether each spouse was affected by the other's work conditions (spousal crossover). We found that mothers' subjective time stress has a direct association with their partner's overwork. That is, mothers experience more time stress when their partner works long hours (50+ per week). These results also add nuance to Mattingly and Sayers' (2006) finding that full-time work predicts higher odds of being rushed for both men and women. Our results suggest this is only the case for fathers if they work over 50 hours a week. Our new analyses of spousal crossover indicate that stresses of long male hours work are also subjectively felt by mothers.

Thus for both fathers and mothers, subjective time pressure relates to their own work hours, but only mothers' subjective time pressure is also sensitive to their partner's work hours. This is consistent with arguments that women are more sensitive to their partners' work strain and negative emotions than are men (Levine et al., 2014). Again this supports theoretical expectations because women are more usually responsible for the smooth and harmonious running of the household, and more likely to perform emotional labor and take on caring roles

within the family (Folbre, 2001; Strazdins & Broom, 2004). The practical implication is that shorter working weeks are important to whole-of-family wellbeing, as well as less stressful to workers themselves.

Our expectations regarding nonstandard hours were not all borne out. We found no evidence that either non-employment time quality or subjective time pressure was related to evening/night work schedules and no cross-spousal associations with weekend work. We did find, however, that mothers and fathers' time quality varied in association with their own weekend work schedules. Both genders were estimated to have less leisure time if they worked weekends than if they did not, but for mothers it was pure leisure, not contaminated leisure, and for fathers it was contaminated leisure, not pure leisure. This is consistent with previous research finding that mothers protect childcare time when they are employed (Bianchi, 2009; Craig, 2007), and is important because as discussed above pure leisure is negatively associated with subjective time pressure. The null results regarding evening/night schedules should be regarded with caution, as they could be due to insufficient power due to small sample sizes or to measurement issues. Although our indicator of weekend work improves upon prior study by giving an average over the whole week, rather than on the diary day only, we can only capture evening/night work on the diary day itself and so may miss associations with non-employment time quality on other days.

We also acknowledge that this study investigates only some aspects of non-employment time quality and others, quality of sleep for example, could also be relevant to subjective time pressure. A further limitation is that our cross-sectional data do not establish causal direction. This may not be problematic, as some of the connections we identify are likely to represent interplay rather than linear cause and effect. For example, associations between time spent multitasking two domestic activities and higher odds of reporting feeling rushed could equally logically run both ways, with multitasking domestic work used as a strategy to deal with time pressure, and in turn creating more time pressure as multitasking rises. In any event, currently available panel studies, which may potentially clarify causality, do not include the detailed time use data, incorporating secondary activities necessary to distinguish between the aspects of time quality, we examined. Using these detailed time use measures allowed us to contribute new evidence on gender patterns in objective and subjective time pressure.

In looking at both work and family, taking a couple perspective, and exploring detailed aspects of time quality, we built on research that has shown subjective time pressure is positively associated with higher total objective time commitment (Craig & Mullan, 2009), and that pressures from home and work may be both domain-specific and boundary spanning, with the potential to affect stress levels across both work and home (Kleiner, 2014). The results give pointers to possible policy direction, as they indicate that mothers particularly could benefit from changing their leisure mix to include more pure (rather than contaminated) leisure, and that limiting male working hours to less than 50 per week would ameliorate subjective time pressure not only for the men that work them, but also their spouse.

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