

“What Gives” When Mothers Are Employed?

Time Allocation of Employed and Nonemployed Mothers: 1975 and 2000*

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Abstract

In this paper, we compare time allocation of employed and nonemployed mothers using data from 1975 and 2000 time use surveys. Employed mothers spend less time on housework and child care, sleep fewer hours per week, and have less discretionary time. They also report higher levels of stress over their family obligations—compared with mothers who do not devote time to market work, employed mothers are much more likely to feel they spend too little time with their children, and are much more likely to report that they are multitasking most of the time and always feel rushed.

Two trends form the conundrum that motivates this paper. On the one hand, there has been a very large shift of mothers into the paid workforce. Between 1970 and 1990, the labor force rates of women, particularly married mothers with young children, rose rapidly in the United States and other developed countries. Although rates of change slowed after 1990, currently almost 70 percent of mothers of preschoolers and 80 percent of mothers of school-age children work at least some hours outside the home. On the other hand, time diary evidence suggests that during this period of increased maternal labor force participation, maternal time spent in child care did not decrease, and perhaps even increased (Sayer, Bianchi, & Robinson 2004; Gauthier, Smeeding, & Furstenberg 2004). How could mothers reallocate large amounts of time to market work and at the same time continue to provide large amounts of time to childrearing? Something has to give, but what?

In this paper, we explore what mothers “give up” when they are employed and whether this has changed over time. Mothers likely develop a sense of what they must forego if they are to combine mothering with employment. They may not have a completely accurate picture of these tradeoffs but they probably develop a sense of the “opportunity costs” of market work in terms of foregone leisure time and other valued activities such as time with their children. In light of these array of constraints, they make decisions about what is “too much” to give up and what they, their partners and their children can tolerate. Hence, at any given point in time, we find mothers with differing “tastes” for market work and for childrearing arrayed in different labor market positions. Those “tastes” are influenced by demographic and life stage factors but also by mothers’ beliefs about what their children need, what they think they need to have a satisfying life, and what they think they can manage all at once.

Time is finite and, although it can be stretched somewhat by multitasking, there are limits. To understand the choice set that mothers' face in deciding whether and how much to work outside the home, we need a better understanding of what an employed mother's total life looks like, especially in comparison to that of a mother who takes time out of the labor force when her children are young, a strategy still utilized by about 30 percent of married mothers of young children in any given year (Cohen and Bianchi 1999; Gornick and Meyers 2003). To use the terminology of Gauthier et al. (2004), what "finances" increased labor market participation on the part of mothers? What doesn't get done in the home when mothers spend more time in the labor market? Does the descriptive data present a picture of considerable "costs" to maternal employment such that a sizable subgroup of women might reasonably continue to privilege more time in the home over employment at least when children are young?

Using cross-sectional time use data collected at two points in time, 1975 and circa 2000, we examine change over time and differences between employed and non-employed mothers in a comprehensive set of activities. First, we take a look at unpaid family caregiving – primarily housework and child care. Because of the longstanding interest in the relationship between maternal employment and child well-being, we undertake an expanded examination of the activities that mothers do with children and how those may differ between employed and nonemployed mothers.

A second bundle of activities that we examine is a cluster of leisure and personal care activities including sleep. Does socializing, rest and relaxation, civic engagement, and time for oneself and one's spouse appear to fall by the wayside for the employed mother? Has this changed over time?

Finally, do quality-of-life, subjective assessments of employed mothers differ from those of nonemployed mothers? Here we examine mothers' sense of time pressure, satisfaction with parenting and time allocation, and enjoyment associated with family activities.

The goal of the paper is to provide rich description of the activities that differ in the households of employed and nonemployed mothers. The analysis is not causal; it is descriptive of "what is," not "what made it this way." There is also a zero-sum or accounting aspect to our approach using the time diary: More hours in one activity of necessity mean less in others, although we do consider mothers' engagement in simultaneous activities for some measures. We realize that mothers differ on more than employment and we standardize on demographic characteristics that we can measure. However, we are not able to assess the unmeasured differences in "tastes" or "motivations" of the two groups of mothers (or their partners). Hence, our associations with employment are suggestive rather than definitive. We do not know with certainty whether the nonemployed mother would make the same tradeoffs as the employed mother were she to become employed. However, rich description seems the right starting point for trying to enlarge our understanding of the array of factors that influence a family's calculations about the costs and benefits of mother's market work.

Background

Maternal employment is one of the most researched topics among scholars who study the family. Within the maternal employment literature, no topic receives more attention than child care and child well-being. The potential consequences of maternal employment for children has inspired a flood of research over the last several decades that, taken as a whole, has been largely

inconclusive--no clear consensus of universal harm or benefit for children from maternal employment has emerged from the myriad studies conducted with this question at the fore.

Perhaps part of the reason scholars have had difficulty documenting negative effects on children of maternal employment is that employed mothers may go to great lengths to make sure their children get what they need both in terms of time and money (Bianchi 2000). Children are not “marginal” and time with them may be privileged over other activities in the busy lives of mothers, even employed mothers. Over the period of rising maternal employment, mothers’ time with children has been remarkably stable—with some accounts showing that mothers’ time with children has increased since the 1960s (Bianchi 2000; Sandberg and Hofferth 2001; Sayer et al. 2004). The increase in mothers’ time spent in child care has also been documented in other industrialized countries like Canada, Australia, Norway, and the United Kingdom that experienced a rise in maternal employment (Gauthier et al. 2004).

For child care time to remain high as mothers’ employment increased, there must have been a change in the value of spending time with children relative to other things, a decrease in time spent in other activities, or both. Decomposition of trends in time with children into “behavioral” and “compositional” components (Gauthier et al. 2004; Sandberg and Hofferth 2001; and Sayer et al. 2004) suggests that there was an increased “propensity” or “preference” to spend time with children over the 1965-2000 period. Something ratcheted up parents’ willingness to spend time with their children – or at least increased the saliency of time spent in childrearing such that parents more often report time with their children as their primary focus today than in the past.

As parenthood becomes more voluntary and its timing more easily controlled, perhaps those who select motherhood, whether employed or not, desire to spend large amounts of time

with children. Young adults are waiting longer to become parents, and a small, but growing group, are putting it off indefinitely. Particularly with advances in birth control technology, adults have likely become more calculating and selective about when and whether they become parents. Hence, parents today may have a higher “taste” for childrearing than previous generations of parents. Ethnographers also note the strong cultural expectations of devotion to motherhood among those who have children, whether employed or not (Blair-Loy 2003; Hays 2006). Developing the “capacities” of children through an array of structured activities seems also on the rise, particularly in the middle class (Lareau 2003) and is perhaps partly an outcome of the shift in focus toward “child quality” in smaller families (Gauthier et al. 2004). Fear for children’s safety may also have increased, encouraging greater parental vigilance of children and children’s activities (Sayer et al. 2004; Warr and Ellison 2000).

Although employed mothers do not spend as much time with their children as non-employed mothers, research in the U.S. has shown that differences may not be as large as people might presume. For example, Nock and Kingston (1988) found nonemployed mothers spent relatively little time in direct child care. Sandberg and Hofferth (2001) estimated that children 12 and under spent 86% as much time with an employed as a non-employed mother (27 vs. 31 hours per week). Zick and Bryant (1996) estimated that a mother employed throughout her children’s life would spend 82% as many hours directly caring for children as a “stay-at-home” mother. Time diary studies conducted in other industrialized countries in Western Europe, as well as Canada, and Australia also indicated employed mothers devoted less time to their children than their nonemployed counterparts, but that the difference was small relative to the gap in time devoted to paid work (Gauthier et al. 2004).

In the past, nonemployed mothers' time with children was reduced by the high demands of domestic work and perhaps the availability of mother substitutes for childcare, like older children who watched younger children in large families (see Bianchi 2000 for a discussion). As we will show, an employed mother's childcare time today is more like that of the nonemployed than the employed mother of the past. However, nonemployed mothers are still likely to be more "available" to their children than employed mothers, even if they are not directly interacting with their children (Budig and Folbre 2004). Most previous research has relied on direct measures of parental care of children (called primary time in the time diary literature), which may tend to minimize the difference in time with children of employed and nonemployed mothers.

Finally, as noted at the outset, mothers also continue to curtail hours of market work when their childrearing demands are greatest; For example, the majority (54%) of married women ages 25–54 with preschool-age children in the home do not work full-time, year-round (Cohen and Bianchi 1999) and mothers' employment hours remain highly responsive to the age of the youngest child (Bianchi and Raley 2005). Some mothers exit the labor force for the first year or few years of their children's lives, while others may reduce their labor force status to part time (Klerman and Liebowitz 1999). When mothers return to market work, or return to full-time employment, they may structure their employment hours so that they overlap with children's school schedules (Crouter and McHale 2005). These labor force adjustments may minimize changes over time in the aggregate and partially conceal the "costs" of full engagement in the labor force by mothers.

Time spent in other activities

If mothers have not abandoned their children to other caregivers to engage in market work, what have they altered in their daily lives to afford time in the paid labor force? Time trends on housework, exclusive of child care, suggest that one of the major ways that mothers' may have accommodated increased market work over this period was to decrease housework (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, and Robinson 2000). Employed mothers shed about six hours of housework out of their week between 1965 and 1998. However, nonemployed mothers reduced their housework load by an even greater amount: 12 hours per week (Bianchi 2000 Figure 3). Hence employment must entail tradeoffs beyond childcare and housework.

There is relatively little suggestion in the time use literature that overall free time or personal care have changed dramatically over time (Robinson and Godbey 1999), although these topics have been less thoroughly investigated. Some time expenditures, like sleep, may be more central to a mothers' health and well-being than others. Preliminary analysis suggested that employed mothers spent slightly less time than their nonemployed counterparts sleeping, grooming and engaging in freetime activities in 1998 (Bianchi 2000). One set of activities that receives attention from social scientists of various disciplines, particularly in light of its political ramifications, are civic leisure pursuits (Putman 2000). Most recent accounts indicate employment reduces a woman's time available for volunteering, although trends over time are unclear (see Bianchi 2000 for a review).

Feelings about time use and time pressure

Not only has the mass movement of mothers, particularly married mothers, into the labor force prompted concern about whether children are receiving adequate care, and about the physical

and social toll on mothers, it has also ushered in a flurry of speculation over whether families are increasingly feeling time pressured and whether the quality of life has been eroded in today's families. With the dual-earner couple as the modal family type and single motherhood on the rise, most families do not have someone in the home to focus exclusively on nonmarket work. This absence seems to be keenly felt as families struggle to fulfill their obligations to market work, tend to the household's day-to-day needs, and squeeze in some quality time with family members—particularly children (Jacobs and Gerson 2004). Using the Experience Sampling Method (SEM), a technique that estimates the activities and emotions of respondent's daily lives by signaling them periodically throughout the day (via beepers or pagers) and gauging their feelings during each reported activity, Larson's (2001) examination of total workloads (paid plus unpaid labor) suggests greater time pressures in the households of employed mothers.

Employed mothers may face the strongest time pressures because they are logging in a full day of market work and then coming home to an additional shift of housework and caregiving, also known as the "second shift" (Hochschild 1984). Although married employed mothers may receive some "help" from their spouses, they still perform a disproportionate amount of household work relative to their husbands (Sayer 2001). In addition to a global sense of feeling time pressured, or rushed from activity to activity, mothers may experience the absence of certain time expenditures more intensely than others. They may lose out on quality time with spouses and "down time" for themselves. Although mothers may lament the loss of leisure or one-on-one time with their spouse, the bundle of time expenditures that probably evokes the strongest feelings and concerns are those associated with their children (Milkie, Mattingly, Nomaguchi, Bianchi, and Robinson 2004). Employed mothers may feel guilty for

spending time away from their children (despite the fact that employment, for many mothers, may be raising the child's standard of living).

In light of the omnipresent sense that life has become increasingly face-paced over the past few decades, both employed and nonemployed mothers alike may be experiencing a greater sense of “time deepening” (Robinson and Godbey 1999: 39). Time deepening is the notion that people can do more in a given time frame by speeding through activities, substituting activities that can be done more quickly for those that take longer (e.g. picking up a store-bought meal rather than cooking one from scratch), or, most notably, multitasking. All mothers may be engaging in more than one activity simultaneously simply because of a general pressure to maximize efficiency in their time expenditures and accomplish as much as possible in a given day. However, employed mothers may be more likely to multitask because they are squeezing in an extra, time-intensive activity into their day—market work.

In sum, there are an array of activities and subjective assessments of time pressures that warrant investigation. We turn to a discussion of our data, followed by an assessment of the total workloads of employed and nonemployed mothers, the differences that characterize the nonmarket time allocation of each group of mothers, and differences in their subjective assessments of time pressures.

Data

Our data come from nationally representative time diary studies carried out in 1975 and 2000. The 1975 diary study surveyed 1,529 respondents aged 18 and older, yielding a response rate of 72%. Our analysis is based on the 369 mothers, aged 18 to 64, included in the study. The 2000 time point is a combination of two data collections: the 1998-99 Family Interaction, Social

Capital and Time Use Study funded by the National Science Foundation and the 2000-01 National Survey of Parents funded by the Sloan Foundation Working Families Program. The former study interviewed adults aged 18 and over via telephone with a response rate of 56% and a final sample of 1,151. We include the 273 mothers, aged 18 to 64, who were interviewed in that survey. The most recent 2000-01 study sampled parents living with children under age 18. The response rate for the telephone interviews was 64% for a final sample of 1,200. We include the 726 mothers in the study. Examination of the differences between mothers in the two studies suggested minimal differences and so we combine the two for a total sample size of 999. The 2000-01 time diaries are also embedded in a survey with an array of questions about parenting practices and feelings about time pressure.

Activities like childcare often occur in snippets throughout the day that may be difficult to recall and calculate precisely in response to a survey question asking about time spent in child care. Time diary data are collected in a way that guides respondents through their day starting with the question “What were you doing yesterday at midnight?” The interviewer follows the respondent through the day until the entire day’s main activities, or “primary” activities, are recounted. This structure of data collection helps the respondent accurately report activities and forces the respondent to adhere to a 24-hour constraint.

Some have argued that the findings for primary child care activities may be misleading because they do not capture the reduction in mother’s availability to children that seems likely to have accompanied mother’s increased employment outside the home (See Budig & Folbre 2004). A substantial amount of child care is provided in conjunction with other activities, or as a “secondary activity.” Estimates of time caring for children often increase by 30-40 percent when secondary child care is added to primary child care time. Also, parents spend time in activities

where the child may be present but child care is not the focal activity. Much of this time is also time parents are caring for children, even though the care is not focused on the child and may be somewhat passive (Folbre, Yoon, Finnoff, & Fuligni forthcoming). The report of secondary activities, or “what else” the respondent was doing, as well as “with whom” data are available in all of the data sets we use and we make use of this information in developing several of our parenting and leisure measures.

Analysis Plan

The first step of our analysis is to compare the characteristics of the households of employed and nonemployed mothers, given that selection into employment varies by stage in the life course and background characteristics of the mother (e.g., in the educational attainment of the mother). Then we assess overall workloads (market work plus child care and other household work, primarily housework) for employed and nonemployed mothers in 1975 and 2000. We use OLS regression models to assess the association between employment and a series of time allocations while standardizing our estimates for other factors associated with time allocation (e.g. mother’s age and presence of children under age 6).¹ We concatenate the 1975 and 2000 data and estimate a year effect to assess change over time. We also interacted year with employment in all models but it was never significant and hence is dropped from the models. We examine total work hours, housework, childcare, free time activities, personal care (such as sleep), time with friends and relatives, and time with spouse for employed and nonemployed mothers. In addition to time assessed in the diary, we also examine survey measures of employed and nonemployed mothers’ average days per week in selected childcare activities like

¹ We also estimated all models using TOBIT regressions that correct for the censoring at zero. Results were similar and we include the OLS results because of the ease in interpreting the metric as weekly hours.

reading, helping with homework, and supervising activities. We also document the trends and employment differentials in feeling rushed and reporting multitasking using both the 1975 and 2000 data points. Finally, with our most recent 2000 time point, we examine how feelings of time pressure, satisfaction, and enjoyment associated with family time varies by mothers' labor force status.

Measurement of Mothers' Time Expenditures

A mothers' day can be broken down into several categories of primary time expenditures, including market work, housework, childcare, personal care, sleep, and free time pursuits (see Appendix A for a more expansive list of classifications). We add all market work (including work breaks and commuting time) and nonmarket work (including housework, shopping, and child care) to estimate mothers' total weekly workloads.

Free time is a particularly large group of activities that we operationalize into various leisure categories. First, we examine the largest free time expenditure, television viewing, separately from other free time activities. In addition, we use the primary and secondary activity codes as well as "with whom" codes to estimate various measures of leisure. We use Mattingly and Bianchi's (2003) definition of "pure" child-free leisure as any time frame where there is either a primary free time activity only or both the primary and secondary activities are free time pursuits and children are not present. We also examine types of leisure activities derived from Sayer (2001). The classification of free time activities that constitute community and organizational involvement, or "caring civic" leisure, includes participation in political, civic, volunteer, and religious groups and activities. Those that build informal social ties are labeled "social leisure" and include such activities as socializing with friends and neighbors, attending

sports and entertainment events, and engaging in hobbies with friends and family. The third category, active solitary leisure, encompasses all exercising and recreational activities done alone. Finally, a fourth category captures all passive leisure including listening to the radio, reading, thinking or relaxing, and television viewing. (See Appendix B for the classification.)

Mothers' human capital and household characteristics

Mothers' employment status. The main variable of interest in this analysis is employment status, which we defined using the respondent's self-report. We coded respondents who reported full time or part time employment as a "1" for the employed variable and "0" if they "were not employed at all." Mothers who reported they were nonemployed but reporting large amounts of market work on their diary day were recoded to the employed category.

Number of Children. More children demand higher levels of a mothers' time and each additional child reduces the probability of a mothers' employment. The number of children measure indicates a mother's number of own children.

Age of Youngest Child. The presence of very young children reduces the likelihood of mothers' employment, and also increases household workloads for parents given the intense caregiving pre-school aged children require. Hence, we include an indicator for the presence of a child under age six in the family taken from the household roster.

Marital Status. At least in previous decades, married mothers were less likely to be employed than single mothers. Mothers with a residential partner may also be better able to share childcare and household work with their partner and may therefore have different time expenditures. Therefore, married and cohabitating partners are coded as "1" and all others are coded as "0."

Age of Mother. Employed mothers are likely to be older, or past their intense childbearing years. We include four categories of maternal age: aged 18 to 24, aged 25 to 34, aged 35 to 44 and aged 45 to 64, and omit the largest category, aged 35 to 44.

Educational Attainment. Mothers with higher levels of educational attainment are more likely to be employed than less educated mothers. Given that they are also more likely to engage in certain childcare activities, we expect they may have different “tastes” for other types of time expenditures beyond child care. We created four indicators for education: less than high school educated, high school degree only, some college, and college educated. “High school only” is the omitted category in the regression analysis.

Results

In Figure 1, we provide an estimate of the overall workload (paid and unpaid) for employed and nonemployed mothers in our 1975 and 2000 studies. These estimates are not standardized for compositional differences between the two groups of mothers. As shown on the bottom of the figure, in 1975 the split was 44 percent employed, 56 percent nonemployed among mothers of children under age 18. By 2000, this had shifted to a 70/30 split as more mothers joined the paid labor force. Our estimates are that an employed mother at either point in time averaged the same number of hours of paid employment – 36 hours per week. But in the intervening period, weekly hours of childcare increased for each group; other forms of unpaid family work, primarily housework and shopping for the household, changed less (decreasing two hours per week for nonemployed mothers and increasing three hours per week, on average, for employed mothers). At each point, nonemployed mothers spent far more hours in unpaid family work than did employed mothers and overall workloads increased for both groups. Finally, total

workloads were much higher (almost 20 hours per week higher) for employed than nonemployed mothers.

[Figure 1 about here]

However, these averages do not give us a clear picture of the “employment effect,” because characteristics of the two groups differ and may have shifted over time as more women transitioned into the employed group. Employed and nonemployed mothers are not necessarily two different groups of women, but rather women at different stages of their lives. Increasingly, nonemployment may be a temporary status for women—a time when they drop out of the labor force to care for very young children. They may resume employment as their children age and begin schooling.

Table 1 indicates that in both 1975 and 2000 employed mothers had fewer children under age 18 and less often had preschool age children in their households. Employed mothers were more likely to hold a college degree, and were slightly older than their nonemployed counterparts. In 2000, nonemployed mothers were more likely to be married than employed mothers (76% compared to 68%). In 1975 (but not 2000) spousal employment hours were significantly higher for nonemployed married mothers (46 hours) than for employed married mothers (42 hours). We use regression analysis to obtain an estimate of the association between employment and other time uses that is standardized (or net of) these differences between employed and nonemployed mothers.

[Table 1 about here]

Table 2 shows that, net of demographic and family compositional factors, being employed was associated with a 19 hour longer total work week for mothers. Employed mothers

actually average 9 hours less housework and almost 5 hours less child care per week than their nonemployed counterparts. That is, the main thing to “give” when mothers are employed is housework but childcare also “gives.” Interestingly, the reduction of 5 hours per week in childcare associated with employment is similar to the reported increase over time (the year coefficient). That is, employed mothers spent less time with their children at both points – but the employed mother of 2000 tended to report as much time in childcare activities as the nonemployed mother of 1975. The distribution of child care time moved upward by similar amounts for both groups.

[Table 2 about here]

To date, much of what we know about trends in time with children from time diaries actually comes from an examination of trends in primary child care time – time when childcare is reported as the main activity. This is the most consistent child care measure across U.S. time diary studies from the 1960s to the present because not all have measured child care as a secondary activity. Yet child care is often done in conjunction with other activities. We chose the 1975 and 2000 comparison largely because these are the two diary studies where we have the requisite measures of secondary activity and “with whom” time is spent to construct more expansive measures of child care.

Estimates of child care almost double when we include secondary care (table 3). Employed mothers report nine fewer hours of activities with children (net of controls for age of children, education of the mothers, and so forth), about two thirds of which has been counteracted by the six hour increase, on average, in time in primary and secondary childcare activities. The diary also allows us to measure total time with children, estimated to be about 30 hours per week on average and roughly 6 hours greater, on average, in 2000 than in 1975.

However, employed mothers are estimated to spend almost 16 fewer hours per week with their children, other things equal, than nonemployed mothers.

[Table 3 about here]

Other covariates in the model show that estimates of time with children are higher for married than single mothers. They are higher in households with more children and dramatically higher in households with a preschooler. Although a mother's college education is associated with more time spent directly in activities with children (either as a primary or secondary focus), total time with children is not significantly associated with the educational attainment of the mother. Fewer direct child care activities are done on weekend days but overall mothers spend more time with their children on weekend than on week days.

As an additional step in our analysis of mothers' time with children, we examine several survey measures of their time in selected child care activities only available in our 2000-01 National Survey of Parents data set. Table 4 shows estimates of the average number of days per week that mothers report engaging in selected child care activities. In only two cases are there statistically significant differences once demographic characteristics are controlled. Employed mothers report about 0.5 fewer days per week on which they read to their children and 0.8 fewer days per week where the family eats their main meal together. We find no significant differences in the extent to which employed and nonemployed mothers report helping their children with homework, driving their children to activities, supervising their children's activities, or involving their children in household chores.

[Table 4 about here]

What do we conclude? One of the ways mothers have "financed" their increased paid work is to shed unpaid housework. Perhaps not surprisingly, they also do not spend as much

time with their children. We estimate about 16 fewer hours per week. Because time focused on child care activities has risen over time, overall mothers are not devoting fewer hours to primary childcare in 2000 than in 1975. Nonetheless, employment is associated with reductions in child care as a focal activity of about 5 hours per week and in total childcare activities of about nine hours per week. The reports of days spent doing various activities suggest that employed mothers try to find time for high priority activities with children but may be a little less successful than nonemployed mothers at reading daily to their children or gathering the family together for the main meal.

“What Else Gives?”

In Table 5 we document employed and nonemployed mothers’ average time spent in primary activities beyond child care and housework. We display a broad array of activities that might be categorized as differences in “rest and relaxation.” Do employed mothers get less sleep? Our answer is yes – about four hours less per week. Because time is finite, they also have about 15 hours less total discretionary free time, including almost 9 fewer hours of arguably the most relaxing of free time – what we label “Pure” child free time, i.e., free time not spent in charge of children and not spent combining some unpaid domestic activity with leisure. Employed mothers also spend about 7 hours less per week sitting before the television.

[Table 5 about here]

To expand our categorization of leisure to activities of concern to some social observers – for example, the supposed decline in community or civic connection in society documented in Robert Putnam’s (2000) Bowling Alone - we examine a category of leisure activities that Sayer (2001) labels “civic leisure.” Civic leisure includes organizational activities such as PTA

meetings and the like. As shown in table 6, estimates of weekly hours in this type of activity are relatively low (2.8 hours per week) and indeed we estimate a decline with 1.5 fewer hours per week in civic leisure in 2000 than in 1975. Employed mothers are estimated to do almost 2 hours less of this type of activity per week than nonemployed mothers.

[Table 6 about here]

The other three categories shown in table 6 also have to do with the “glue” of relationships – activities that Sayer (2001) includes in a category labeled “social leisure” – socializing, attending events with others and doing hobbies with others. Overall estimates are about 12 hours per week in these types of activities with employed mothers engaging in four fewer hours of “social leisure” than nonemployed mothers. The last two columns focus on time in relationships – time with friends and relatives and, among married mothers, time alone with one’s spouse. Employment appears to take its toll in these areas as well, with employed mothers averaging 2.6 fewer hours per week with friends and relatives and 2.2 fewer hours alone with a spouse than nonemployed mothers.

Subjective Time in 2000

Employed mothers’ differ from nonemployed mothers on a number of subjective dimensions in addition to the objective dimensions of time use. We explore these in Table 7. Employed mothers are twice as likely to report “always feeling rushed” and are about 50 percent more likely to report that they multitask “most of the time.” They are about 1.8 times as likely to say they have “too little time” for themselves and for their spouse. They are 3.7 times as likely to say they have “too little time” with their children and are only about .36 as likely to report that they are completely satisfied with how well their children are doing.

[Table 7 about here]

Conclusion

Although employed mothers spend less time with children than nonemployed mothers, the gap in child care expenditures of almost 5 hours less in primary child care per week (other things equal) seems small given that employed mothers spend about 36 hours a week in paid work on average (in 2000). Therefore, employed mothers must be experiencing time deficits in other pursuits. Employed mothers also spend less time on housework, sleep fewer hours per week, and have much less discretionary time. In addition, they have less time with their spouse and family and friends. These are the activities that “give” to accommodate market work. Further, our analysis of the two groups total workloads, all unpaid and paid work showed the time employed mothers devote to market work is not equally compensated by nonemployed mothers’ time additional time spent in nonmarket work. Hence, employed mothers averaged a 71 hour “work week” in 2000 compared with a 52 hour work week for nonemployed mothers.

That employed mothers enjoy less overall leisure time no doubt arouses concerns about the quality of their “down time” and subsequent health and well-being as they try to balance paid work, childcare, and nonmarket work. Further, the finding that employment restricts mothers’ participation in civic and social pursuits raises more global concerns about how the quality of civic and social organizations is affected, or perhaps diminished, by the demands placed on employed mothers’ time (perhaps a rising concern in light of the large increases in the percentage of employed mothers relative to the past). Employed mothers (and dual-earner families in general) are likely benefiting from the unpaid work of nonemployed mothers, like

their participation in various civic activities (e.g. school bake sales, PTA meetings), but this seems like one of the activities that quickly falls by the wayside with employment.

In addition, the decrease in “pure” leisure time between 1975 and 2000 suggests that both groups may be experiencing a dilution of their free time pursuits. When mothers combine recreational activities, like watching a favorite television program, with work-intensive activities like paying bills or washing dishes, the pleasure gained from the television program is likely to be diminished. Mothers may feel better that they are getting more accomplished in an hour, but they are also likely to feel less relaxed than if they had a full hour of “pure” free time. Clearly, mothers sense that they are spending a great deal of time multitasking giving the finding that both groups report high levels of multitasking “most of the time.” However, employed mothers emerge as the group feeling the greatest time squeeze, given their greater propensity to report multitasking and to feel “always” rushed.

The finding that employed married mothers spend less time with their husbands and are more likely to report they spend too little time with their spouse relative to mothers who are not in the labor force, raises questions about how maternal employment affects couples’ marital quality. Does the spousal relationship take a backseat to employment and childrearing responsibilities?

Further, while employed mothers experience less “give” in child-oriented activities, they also experience strong feelings of time pressure and of not giving enough time to children. Compared with mothers who do not devote time to market work, employed mothers are less likely to report they always know their child’s whereabouts (data not shown) and are much more likely to feel they spend too little time with their children. These are some of the subjective costs

to employment that may be compromising mothers' well-being as they strive to balance work and family obligations.

What we have provided in this paper is a snapshot of the objective and subjective time use differences between employed and nonemployed mothers: employed mothers experience time deficits in an array of activities and experience greater time pressures than nonemployed mothers. As we noted at the outset, however, these two groups are not mutually exclusive—they are merely at different points in the life course. Nonemployed mothers with young children likely spent some time in employment prior to the birth of their children and most return to employment once their children are school age. Our data do not capture the substantial financial and emotional sacrifices nonemployed mothers may be making in order to stay at home with their children fulltime. Even nonemployed mothers who find stay-at-home motherhood satisfying may miss the intellectual stimulation they received while employed prior to the birth of their child(ren). Employed mothers may experience higher levels of time pressure, but they also may still be *enjoying* the activities they pack into their day. Larson, Richards, and Perry-Jenkin's (1994) analysis of single-and dual-earner families revealed that although nonemployed mothers had lower total workloads than their employed counterparts, their average hourly level of happiness during reported activities was significantly lower than that of employed mothers. Thus, future research should explore the differences between employed and nonemployed mothers over the life course.

One final observation. We document substantial tradeoffs when mothers are employed. Employed mothers are in some very real sense "time poor." Their houses are probably less clean, they get less sleep, they do not spend as much time with their children and seem to feel guilty about it. They relax less, do not spend as much time with family, friends or their spouse,

and they report always feeling rushed. Perhaps this begins to shed light on why some 40 years after the “gender revolution” - and despite increased educational, occupational and early career opportunities for women - once children arrive, mothers reduce market employment in favor of more time in the home. Although attitudes toward maternal employment have become more accepting and many couples espouse an ideal of gender egalitarianism in work and family life (Casper and Bianchi 2002), this ideal has proven quite difficult to realize. The tradeoffs entailed - what it takes to “finance” employment – seems costly, at least under current regimes. At risk are satisfying relationships with children, a partner and other adults.

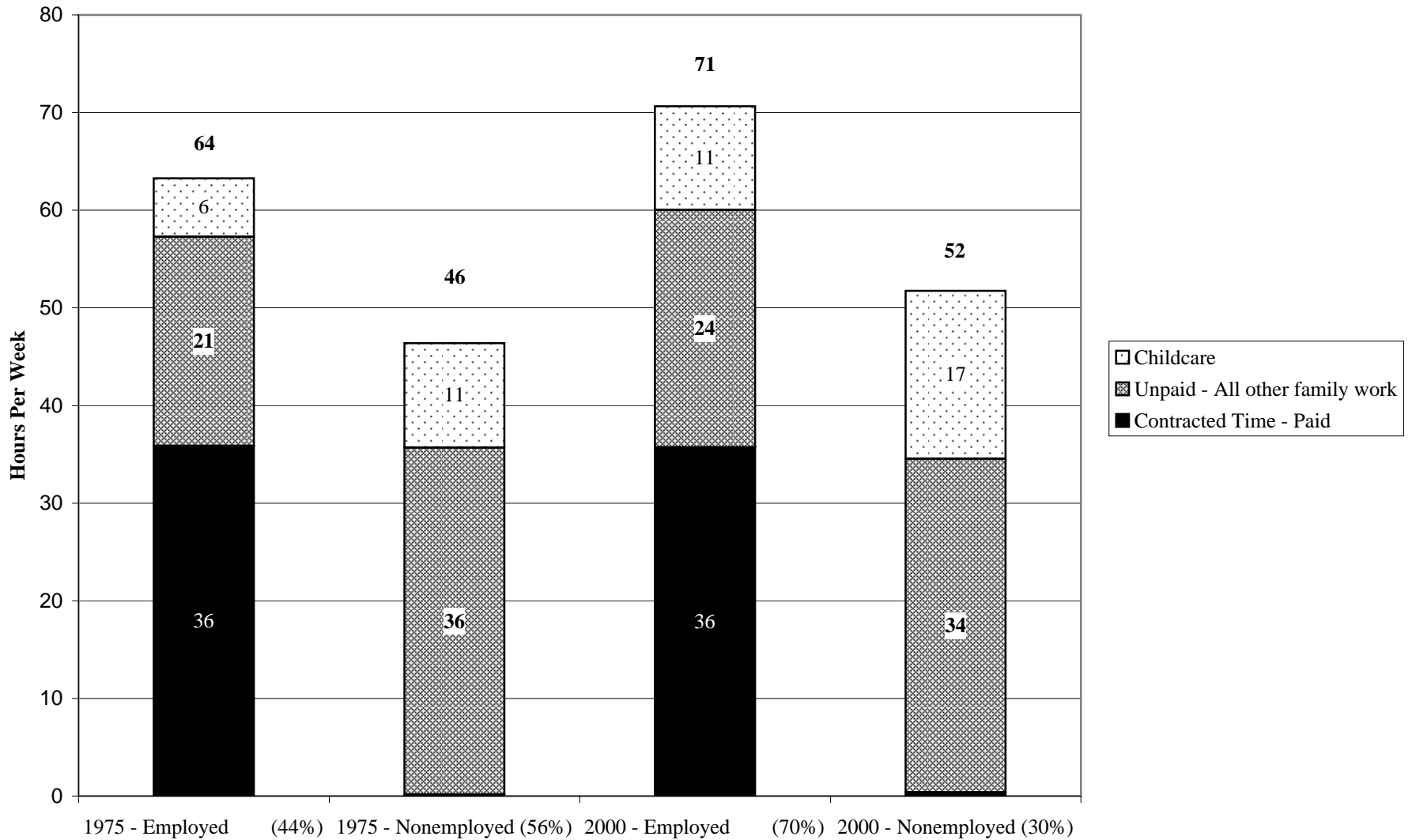
The continued high rate of temporary labor force exits by mothers when children are young and the reduction in women’s labor market hours throughout the childrearing years partially explain why it has been difficult for women, even highly-educated women, to achieve labor market parity with men. The picture we present of what constitutes the “status quo” when these exits do not happen helps make clear why they persist. “Opportunity costs” are substantial and run both ways – it “costs” women to remain in the home but it also “costs” them to leave the home. The time diary data we use in this paper helps us to describe the latter in a way not previously possible.

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Figure 1. Mothers' Total Weekly Work Hours: 1975 and 2000



Source: Time use in Economic and Social Accounts, 1975-76, the 1998-99 Family Interaction, Social Capital, and Trends in Time Use Study, and the 2000 National Survey of Parents

Table 1. Means and Percentage Distributions for Variables in Time Diary Analysis for Mothers: 1975 and 2000

	1975						2000					
	All Mothers		Employed Mothers		Nonemployed Mothers		All Mothers		Employed Mothers		Nonemployed Mothers	
Employed	0.44	(0.48)					0.70	(0.43)				
<u>Family Characteristics</u>												
Married	0.75	(0.42)	0.73	(0.43)	0.77	(0.41)	0.70	(0.43)	0.68	(0.43)	0.76	(0.45) *
Number of Children	2.16	(1.11)	1.96	(1.02)	2.31	(1.16) **	1.96	(0.99)	1.86	(0.84)	2.21	(1.31) ***
Children < 6	0.54	(0.48)	0.45	(0.48)	0.61	(0.47) **	0.53	(0.47)	0.47	(0.46)	0.69	(0.48) ***
Spousal Hours Employed ^A			41.69	(13.84)	45.89	(17.02) *			43.10	(17.49)	42.65	(20.14)
<u>Education</u>												
Less Than High School	0.27	(0.43)	0.23	(0.40)	0.31	(0.44)	0.16	(0.35)	0.12	(0.30)	0.25	(0.45) ***
High School Grad	0.49	(0.48)	0.48	(0.48)	0.49	(0.48)	0.34	(0.45)	0.37	(0.44)	0.29	(0.47) *
Some College	0.11	(0.30)	0.10	(0.29)	0.12	(0.31)	0.27	(0.42)	0.27	(0.41)	0.29	(0.47)
College Grad, Plus	0.13	(0.32)	0.19	(0.37)	0.09	(0.27) **	0.22	(0.40)	0.25	(0.25)	0.17	(0.39) *
<u>Age</u>												
Aged 18 to 24	0.12	(0.31)	0.07	(0.25)	0.15	(0.35) *	0.16	(0.35)	0.13	(0.31)	0.23	(0.44) ***
Aged 25 to 34	0.41	(0.47)	0.42	(0.48)	0.40	(0.47)	0.32	(0.44)	0.33	(0.43)	0.30	(0.48)
Aged 35 to 44	0.31	(0.44)	0.36	(0.46)	0.26	(0.42) *	0.37	(0.46)	0.40	(0.45)	0.32	(0.49) *
Aged 45 to 64	0.17	(0.36)	0.15	(0.34)	0.18	(0.37)	0.15	(0.34)	0.15	(0.33)	0.15	(0.37)
N	369		161		208		999		751		248	

Source: Authors Calculations from Time Use in Economic and Social Accounts, 1975-76 (Juster, Courant, Duncan, Robinson, and Stafford 1979), the 1998-99 Family Interaction, Social Capital, and Trends in Time Use Study (Bianchi, Robinson and Sayer, 2001), and the 2000 National Survey of Parents (Bianchi, Robinson, and Milkie)

Difference between Employed and Nonemployed mothers significant at ***p < .001, ** p < .01 level, * p < 0.05, # p < .10 level

^AMothers who are not married are excluded.

Table 2. OLS Regression Estimates of Mothers' Weekly Hours in Paid and Unpaid Work Activities

	Paid + Unpaid Work	Unpaid Work	Housework	(Primary) Childcare
Intercept	47.5 ***	33.2 ***	23.4 ***	4.4 ***
Year (1975 omitted) 2000	6.4 ***	5.5 ***	-2.1	4.8 ***
Employed	19.1 ***	-15.2 ***	-9.0 ***	-4.6 ***
Family characteristics				
Married	0.8	3.3 *	2.7 *	0.1
Number of Children	2.0 **	3.1 ***	1.6 ***	1.3 ***
Preschooler Present	-0.1	6.1 ***	0.0	6.6 ***
Education (high school only omitted)				
Less Than High School	-1.5	-3.6	-1.1	-1.1
Some College	0.8	2.1	-1.8	1.2
College Graduate	0.3	2.6	-1.6	3.4 ***
Age (35-44 omitted)				
18-24	-2.0	-0.5	-1.9	-0.9
25-34	1.1	-0.6	-2.7 *	2.1 *
45-64	-1.9	0.1	1.3	-1.8
Weekend Diary Day	-24.0 ***	-0.9	1.5	-3.3 ***
R ²	0.26	0.14	0.07	0.21
N	1368	1368	1368	1368

Source: Authors Calculations from Time Use in Economic and Social Accounts, 1975-76 (Juster, Courant, Duncan, Robinson, and Stafford 1979), the 1998-99 Family Interaction, Social Capital, and Trends in Time Use Study (Bianchi, Robinson and Sayer, 2001), and the 2000 National Survey of Parents (Bianchi, Robinson, and Milkie)

***p-value < .001, **p-value < .01, *p-value < .05. The interaction of years and employment were never statistically significant.

Table 3. OLS Regression Estimates of Expanded Measures of Childcare Activities: Time in Secondary Childcare, Primary + Secondary Childcare, and Total Time with Children

	Secondary Childcare	Primary + Secondary	Total Time with Children
Intercept	4.9 ***	9.4 ***	30.1 ***
Year (1975 omitted)			
2000	1.5 *	6.4 ***	5.9 ***
Employed	-4.4 ***	-9.0 ***	-15.8 ***
Family characteristics			
Married	0.5	0.6	3.5 *
Number of Children	-0.1	1.2 **	4.9 ***
Preschooler Present	3.9 ***	10.5 ***	13.7 ***
Education (high school only omitted)			
Less Than High School	-0.9	-2.0	2.0
Some College	0.3	1.5	1.8
College Graduate	0.6	2.7 *	1.4
Age (35-44 omitted)			
18-24	2.6 **	1.7	6.0 *
25-34	0.3	2.4 *	2.2
45-64	-0.3	-2.2	-1.4
Weekend Diary Day	0.0	-3.3 ***	7.8 ***
R ²	0.09	0.23	0.22
N	1368	1368	1368

Source: Authors Calculations from Time Use in Economic and Social Accounts, 1975-76 (Juster, Courant, Duncan, Robinson, and Stafford 1979), the 1998-99 Family Interaction, Social Capital, and Trends in Time Use Study (Bianchi, Robinson and Sayer, 2001), and the 2000 National Survey of Parents (Bianchi, Robinson, and Milkie)

***p-value < .001, **p-value < .01, *p-value < .05. The interaction of years and employment were never statistically significant.

Table 4. OLS Regression Estimates of Days Per Week Spent in Various Activities with Children: 2000

	Reading ^A	Helping with Homework ^B	Driving to Activities ^B	Supervising Activities ^B	Having Help with Chores ^B	Eat Main Meal Together
Intercept	3.4 ***	2.9 ***	1.2 ***	1.5	4.6 ***	5.2 ***
Employed	-0.5 *	-0.3	0.3	0.1	0.1	-0.8 ***
Marstat	0.4	0.3	0.5 **	0.3	-0.1	0.3
Number of Children	-0.3 *	0.3 **	0.4 ***	0.2	0.1	0.0
Kids Under Age 6	2.0 ***	-0.3	-0.6 *	-0.1	0.0	0.0
Less Than High School	-0.1	0.2	-1.0 ***	-1.1 ***	-0.5	-0.2
Some College	0.4	-0.3	0.4	-0.1	0.1	-0.5 *
College Graduate	0.8 *	0.6 *	0.7 **	0.5 *	0.4	0.3
Aged 18 to 24	-0.3	-1.8 ***	-0.1	0.2	-0.3	-1.1 ***
Aged 25 to 34	-0.2	0.1	-0.5 *	0.0	-0.5	-0.1
Aged 45 to 64	0.3	-0.8 **	0.0	-0.1	-0.1	-0.2
R ²	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1
N	501	603	604	604	604	712

Source: Authors Calculations from the 2000 National Survey of Parents (Bianchi, Robinson, and Milkie)

***p-value < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05

^Aasked only of mothers with children aged 3-12

^Basked only of mothers with children aged 5-17

Table 5. OLS Regression Estimates of Mothers' Weekly Hours of Sleep and Discretionary Time: (Primary) Free time, "Pure" Child Free Time, Active Leisure, and Watching Television

	Sleep	(Primary) Free time	"Pure" Child Free Time	Active Leisure	Watching Television
Intercept	59.2 ***	44.5 ***	30.1 ***	3.9 ***	21.0 ***
Year (1975 omitted)					
2000	-2.7 **	-2.3	-3.9 ***	-0.9 **	0.6
Employed	-3.8 ***	-15.0 ***	-8.5 ***	-0.5	-7.0 ***
Family characteristics					
Married	-0.3	-1.0	-2.5 *	-0.7 *	-1.2
Number of Children	-0.8 *	-0.7	-1.1 *	-0.1	-0.8 *
Preschooler Present	1.9 *	-2.6	-3.6 **	-0.4	-1.4
Education (high school only omitted)					
Less Than High School	-1.1	-0.1	-3.5 *	-0.5	2.9 **
Some College	-1.4	-1.1	-0.4	-0.1	-3.7 ***
College Graduate	-1.2	-1.0	1.0	0.8	-4.8 ***
Age (35-44 omitted)					
18-24	2.9 *	-1.3	-3.4 *	-0.7	-3.7 **
25-34	0.4	-1.2	0.0	-0.6	-0.3
45-64	1.3	1.5	0.9	0.4	-1.4
Weekend Diary Day	6.4 ***	15.8 ***	7.1 ***	-0.1	2.3 **
R ²	0.08	0.20	0.10	0.03	0.10
N	1368	1368	1368	1368	1368

Source: Authors Calculations from Time Use in Economic and Social Accounts, 1975-76 (Juster, Courant, Duncan, Robinson, and Stafford 1979), the 1998-99 Family Interaction, Social Capital, and Trends in Time Use Study (Bianchi, Robinson and Sayer, 2001), and the 2000 National Survey of Parents (Bianchi, Robinson, and Milkie)

Note. "Pure" Child Free time is free time where no children are present and freetime is the only primary activity or is combined with other free time pursuits.

***p-value < .001, **p-value < .01, *p-value < .05. The interaction of years and employment were never statistically significant.

Table 6. OLS Regression Estimates of Mothers' Weekly Hours of Social Activities: Civic Engagement, Socializing, Time with Friends And Relatives, and Spousal Time

	Civic Leisure	Social Leisure	Time with Friends and Relatives	Time with Spouse Only (Married Mothers)
Intercept	2.8 ***	12.2 ***	17.2 ***	15.6 ***
Year (1975 omitted)				
2000	-1.5 ***	0.1	-2.0	-2.8 **
Employed	-1.7 ***	-3.8 ***	-2.6 *	-2.2 *
Family characteristics				
Married	0.6	4.1 ***	-4.5 ***	
Number of Children	0.4 *	-0.5	-1.5 **	-1.7 ***
Preschooler Present	-0.5	1.1	1.5	-1.4
Education (high school only omitted)				
Less Than High School	-1.0	0.9	1.3	-1.5
Some College	0.0	0.5	2.0	-0.3
College Graduate	0.4	1.0	0.8	-0.9
Age (35-44 omitted)				
18-24	-0.1	5.1 ***	4.7 *	0.7
25-34	-0.4	0.6	0.3	1.8
45-64	0.1	1.8	-0.3	3.3 *
Weekend Diary Day	3.1 ***	10.3 ***	7.7 ***	2.6 *
R ²	0.08	0.02	0.06	0.05
N	1368	1368	1368	1368

Source: Authors Calculations from Time Use in Economic and Social Accounts, 1975-76 (Juster, Courant, Duncan, Robinson, and Stafford 1979), the 1998-99 Family Interaction, Social Capital, and Trends in Time Use Study (Bianchi, Robinson and Sayer, 2001), and the 2000 National Survey of Parents (Bianchi, Robinson, and Milkie).

***p-value < .001, **p-value < .01, *p-value < .05. The interaction of years and employment were never statistically significant.

Table 7. Odds Ratios for the Association between Maternal Employment and Feelings about Time Use: 1975 and 2000

	1975		2000		Combined	
	Model 1 (no covariates)	Model 2 (Adjusted)	Model 1 (no covariates)	Model 2 (Adjusted)		
<u>"Always" Feeling Rushed^A</u>						
Employed	1.98 *	1.83 #	2.26 ***	2.17 ***	2.16 ***	
Year (=2000)					1.14	
N	228	228	999	999	1227	
<u>Multitasking "Most of the time"^{AB}</u>						
Employed	1.31	1.44	1.45 *	1.42 #	1.47 *	
Year (=2000)					1.52 *	
N	228	228	726	726	954	
<u>"Too Little" Time to Oneself^B</u>						
Employed	-	-	1.46 *	1.82 **	-	
N			713	713		
<u>"Too Little" Time with Spouse^{BC}</u>						
Employed	-	-	1.26	1.86 *	-	
N			502	502		
<u>"Too Little" Time with Youngest (only) Child^B</u>						
Employed	-	-	3.62 ***	3.70 ***	-	
N			716	716		
<u>"Completely" Satisfied with How Well Children Doing^B</u>						
Employed	-	-	0.37 ***	0.36 ***	-	
N			714	714		

Source: Authors Calculations from Time Use in Economic and Social Accounts, 1975-76 (Juster, Courant, Duncan, Robinson, and Stafford 1979), the 1998-99 Family Interaction, Social Capital, and Trends in Time Use Study (Bianchi, Robinson and Sayer, 2001), and the 2000 National Survey of Parents (Bianchi, Robinson, and Milkie).

***p-value < .001, **p-value < .01, *p-value < .05. Model 2 adjusted for number of children, children under age 6, educational attainment, age, marital status. The interaction of years and employment were never statistically significant.

^A1975 analysis restricted to respondents who stayed through third wave of study

^B2000 analysis restricted to 2000-01 National Survey of Parents

^Canalysis restricted to married respondents

Appendix 1. Mothers' Hours Per Week Spent in Primary Activities by Employment Status: 1975 and 2000						
	1975			2000		
	All Mothers	Employed	Nonemployed	All Mothers	Employed	Nonemployed
Total Paid + Unpaid Work	54.0	63.3	46.5	65.1	70.7	51.8 ^{ABC}
Total Paid Work	16.1	35.9	0.1	25.3	35.7	0.4 ^{ABC}
Work	14.9	33.1	0.1	22.8	32.2	0.3 ^{ABC}
Commute	1.2	2.7	0.0	2.5	3.5	0.1 ^{ABC}
Total Unpaid Work	37.9	27.4	46.3	39.8	35.0	51.4 ^{AB}
Housework	23.6	17.1	28.9	18.6	16.1	24.6 ^{ABC}
Childcare	8.6	6.0	10.7	12.6	10.6	17.2 ^{ABC}
Shopping	5.6	4.3	6.7	8.6	8.2	9.6 ^{AC}
Personal Care	17.9	18.5	17.5	16.6	16.3	17.4
Sleep	58.4	56.7	59.7	54.7	53.4	57.8 ^{ABC}
Free Time	37.7	29.6	44.3	31.6	27.7	41.0 ^{ABC}
Education	1.2	1.3	1.2	2.3	1.7	3.8 ^{BC}
Religion	2.3	1.7	2.7	1.3	0.8	2.3 ^{BC}
Organizations	4.2	3.1	5.0	1.9	1.3	3.3 ^{BC}
Event	0.8	1.4	0.3	1.4	1.6	0.8 ^{AB}
Visiting	6.8	5.3	8.0	6.7	6.4	7.4 ^A
Fitness	0.8	0.9	0.8	1.4	1.4	1.5 ^C
Hobby	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2 ^B
Watching Television	14.1	10.3	17.1	11.5	9.6	16.2 ^{ABC}
Reading	2.6	2.4	2.8	1.4	1.5	1.1 ^{BC}
Communication	3.9	2.5	4.9	3.2	2.7	4.3 ^{AB}
N	369	164	205	999	755	244

Source: Authors Calculations from Time Use in Economic and Social Accounts, 1975-76 (Juster, Courant, Duncan, Robinson, and Stafford 1979), the 1998-99 Family Interaction, Social Capital, and Trends in Time Use Study (Bianchi, Robinson and Sayer, 2001), and the 2000 National Survey of Parents (Bianchi, Robinson, and Milkie)

^Aemployed and nonemployed in 1975 statistically significantly different at $p < 0.05$

^Bemployed and nonemployed in 2000 statistically significantly different at $p < 0.05$

^C1975 and 2000 statistically significantly different at $p < 0.05$

Appendix 2. Mothers' Hours Per Week Spent in Child-related, Free time, and Social Activities by Employment Status: 1975 and 2000

	1975			2000		
	All Mothers	Employed	Nonemployed	All Mothers	Employed	Nonemployed
Time with Children						
Secondary Child Care Time	5.2	3.1	6.8	5.7	3.9	10.1 ^{AB}
Primary + Secondary Child Care Time	13.8	9.1	17.6	18.3	14.5	27.2 ^{ABC}
All Time with Children	48.0	38.0	56.0	49.0	42.3	64.7 ^{AB}
Free Time Activities						
"Pure" Free time with adults only	21.0	17.2	24.0	15.6	13.8	33.1 ^{ABC}
Civic Leisure	3.4	2.4	4.2	1.5	1.1	2.6 ^{ABC}
Social Leisure	17.6	14.4	20.1	16.8	15.6	19.4 ^{AB}
Active Leisure	2.2	1.9	2.5	1.4	1.4	1.4 ^C
Passive Leisure	18.4	13.8	22.2	14.7	12.6	19.7 ^{ABC}
Time with Friends and Relatives	13.5	11.7	15.0	11.7	11.1	13.2
Time with Spouse (Married Mothers Only)						
Any Time with Spouse	35.6	35.1	35.8	26.8	24.0	32.8 ^B
Time with Spouse Only	11.8	11.3	12.2	8.6	8.0	9.9
N	369	164	205	999	755	244

Source: Authors Calculations from Time Use in Economic and Social Accounts, 1975-76 (Juster, Courant, Duncan, Robinson, and Stafford 1979), the 1998-99 Family Interaction, Social Capital, and Trends in Time Use Study (Bianchi, Robinson and Sayer, 2001), and the 2000 National Survey of Parents (Bianchi, Robinson, and Milkie)

^Aemployed and nonemployed in 1975 statistically significantly different at $p < 0.05$

^Bemployed and nonemployed in 2000 statistically significantly different at $p < 0.05$

^C1975 and 2000 statistically significantly different at $p < 0.05$

Appendix 3. Means and Percent Distributions of Survey Measures by Employment Status: 1975 and 2000

	Employed		Nonemployed		
	1975	2000	1975	2000	
Average days/week mother read to child ^{DG}	-	3.8	-	4.5	B
N		366		135	
Average days/week mother helped child with homework ^{EH}	-	3.0	-	3.5	B
N		458		145	
Average days/week mother drove child to activities ^{EH}	-	2.4	-	2.1	
N		459		145	
Average days/week mother supervised/watched child's activities ^{EH}	-	2.1	-	1.9	
N		459		145	
Average days/week mother had child help with chores ^{EH}	-	4.8	-	4.7	
N		459		145	
Average days/week family ate main meal together ^E	-	4.3	-	5.0	B
N		536		176	
"Always" Feeling Rushed ^D	41.9	46.0	27.9	28.7	AB
N	117	755	111	244	
Multitasking "Most of the time" ^D	60.7	70.0	55.0	61.5	BC
N	117	544	111	182	
"Too Little" Time to Oneself ^E	-	75.2	-	67.6	B
N		537		176	
"Too Little" Time with Spouse ^{EF}	-	68.1	-	63.1	
N		364		138	
"Too Little" Time with Youngest (only) Child ^E	-	50.7	-	21.6	B
N		536		180	
"Completely" Satisfied with How Well Children Doing ^E	-	31.4	-	55.8	B
N		537		177	

Source: Authors Calculations from Time Use in Economic and Social Accounts, 1975-76 (Juster, Courant, Duncan, Robinson, and Stafford 1979), the 1998-99 Family Interaction, Social Capital, and Trends in Time Use Study (Bianchi, Robinson and Sayer, 2001), and the 2000 National Survey of Parents (Bianchi, Robinson, and Milkie)

^Aemployed and nonemployed in 1975 statistically significantly different at $p < 0.05$

^Bemployed and nonemployed in 2000 statistically significantly different at $p < 0.05$

^C1975 and 2000 statistically significantly different at $p < 0.05$

^D1975 analysis restricted to respondents who stayed through third wave of study

^E2000 analysis restricted to 2000-01 National Survey of Parents

^Fanalysis restricted to married respondents

^Gasked only of mothers with children aged 3-12

^Hasked only of mothers with children aged 5-17

Appendix A. Activity Classification by Names of Activities Belonging to Them

Work

Total work time, without commute. Includes:

- Time spent on main job
- Time spent on unemployment
- Time spent on travel during work
- Time spent on second job
- Time spent on breaks at work

Commute

Time spent on travel to and from work

TOTAL WORK

Total work, commute and education

Housework

Total time doing housework. Includes:

- Time spent on food preparation
- Time spent on food clean-up
- Time spent on cleaning house
- Time spent on outdoor cleaning
- Time spent on clothes care
- Time spent on car repair and maintenance (by respondent)
- Time spent on other repair (done by the respondent)
- Time spent on plant care
- Time spent on animal care
- Time spent on other household work

Childcare

Total child care. Includes:

- Time spent on baby care
- Time spent on child care
- Time spent on helping and teaching
- Time spent on talking and reading
- Time spent on indoor playing
- Time spent on medical for child
- Time spent on other child care

Shopping/Services

Total shopping and using services. Includes:

- Time spent on shopping for food
- Time spent on shopping for clothes and household items
- Time spent on personal care services
- Time spent at medical appointment
- Time spent on government and financial services
- Time spent on car repair services
- Time spent on other repair services
- Time spent on other services
- Time spent on errands
- Time spent on travel related to obtaining goods and services

FAMILY

Sum of Housework, Childcare and Shopping

Sleep

Time spent sleeping or napping

Meal

Eating. Includes:

- Time spent eating
- Time spent on meals/snacks at work

Grooming

- Time spent on showering and bathing
- Time spent on medical care
- Time spent on help and care
- Time spent on personal hygiene and grooming
- Time spent on resting
- Time spent on dressing
- Time spent on other private activities
- Time spent on travel related to personal care

PERSONAL CARE

Sum of Sleep, Meal and Grooming

Education

Total education time. Includes:

- Time spent attending full-time school
- Time spent on other classes
- Time spent on other education
- Time spent on e-mail
- Time spent on homework
- Time spent using library
- Time spent using the internet
- Time spent playing PC or video games
- Time spent on other PC use
- Time spent on education related travel

Religion

- Time spent with religious groups
- Time spent on religious practices (weddings)

Organizations

- Time spent at professional and union organizations
- Time spent at special interest organizations
- Time spent at political and civic organizations
- Time spent at volunteer and helping organizations
- Time spent at fraternal organizations
- Time spent at child, youth or family organizations
- Time spent at other organizations
- Time spent on travel related to organizations

Event

- Time spent on entertainment
- Time spent on movies and videos
- Time spent at theater
- Time spent at museums or art

Visiting

- Time spent on visiting and social activities
- Time spent at parties and other social activities
- Time spent at bars and lounges
- Time spent on travel related to social activities

Fitness

- Time spent on active sports
- Time spent outdoors
- Time spent on walking or hiking

Hobby

- Time spent on exercise
- Time spent on hobbies
- Time spent on domestic craft
- Time spent on doing art
- Time spent on music, drama or dance
- Time spent on games
- Time spent on travel related to recreation

TV

Time spent watching TV

Reading

- Time spent reading books
- Time spent reading magazines
- Time spent reading newspaper

Stereo

- Time spent listening to radio
- Time spent listening to records and tapes

Communication

- Time spent in household conversation
- Time spent thinking and relaxing
- Time spent on travel related to passive leisure

TOTAL FREE

Sum of Education, Religion, Organizations, Events, Visiting, Fitness, Hobby, TV, Reading, Stereo, and Communication

Appendix B. Leisure Activity Classification

<u>Category</u>	<u>Activity</u>
<u>Civic Leisure</u>	Professional or union participation Political or civic group participation Volunteer group participation Religious participation Other group participation
<u>Social Leisure</u>	Socializing with friends and neighbors Eating meals with friends and neighbors Attending sports and other events with friends or family Attending movies and videos with friends or family Attending the theatre or museum with friends or family Attending parties with friends or family Going to bars and lounges with friends or family Engaging in outdoor recreation with friends or family Exercising with friends or family Doing hobbies with friends or family Doing domestic crafts with friends or family Performing music, drama and dance with friends or family Playing games with friends or family Engaging in other recreation with friends or family Having conversations with friends or family Letter writing
<u>Active Leisure</u>	Exercising alone Doing hobbies alone Doing domestic crafts alone Performing or making art alone Performing music, drama or dance alone Playing games alone Engaging in other recreation alone
<u>Passive Leisure</u>	Listening to the radio, records, or tapes Reading books, magazines, newspapers Thinking or relaxing
