Parents, employment, gender and well-being: a time use study

by

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

Transformations in the economy have led to changes in employment practices that can create a mismatch between parents' work schedules and family routines. At the same time, approaches to child-rearing have become more time-intensive, with expectations of increased parental involvement in all aspects of children's lives compared to previous generations. Mothers are subject to a more intensified maternal role and for fathers, the provider role is no longer sufficient. There are strong social pressures for more active participation in children's lives and to nurture greater emotional connectivity in the parent-child relationship. These transformations in parenting and employment practices have contributed to a situation where parents now report increased levels of time pressure and greater dissatisfaction with the balance between work and the rest of their lives.

The purpose of this study was to develop a broader understanding of how mothers and fathers with school-age children allocate their time, how it varies by household composition, season of the year, and work schedule, and how time use is related to subjective well-being. Given the role that leisure may play in creating a more satisfactory work-life balance, special attention was given to the amount of time available for leisure, with whom this time was spent and the relationship to quality of life. The gender relations perspective provided a theoretical framework since role expectations and experiences of parenthood differ for mothers and fathers. By considering individual, interpersonal, institutional and socio-historical levels of influence, patterns of behaviour may be better understood within the Canadian social context.

This study is a secondary analysis of the 2005 Canadian General Social Survey, Cycle 19. Using a sub-sample of 2,062 parents of school-age children (ages 5-17 years), patterns of time use and perceptions of quality of life were assessed and compared by gender according to household composition, season of the school year, work schedule and flexible work option. Work schedules were categorized as traditional (daytime, no weekends), non-standard (evening, weekend and rotating shifts) and irregular (unpredictable, with "on call", casual, or other irregular patterns).

Gender inequality in the allocation of time to important life spheres remained substantial even when faced with very complex challenges in coordinating employment arrangements, family routines, and the school year schedule. With the exception of single fathers, men spent more time on employment-related activities than women regardless of work schedule, while women continued to perform greater amounts of domestic and child care activities. Combined workloads of paid and unpaid labour were significantly different only among single mothers and fathers. For married or

cohabitating parents, the distribution of paid and unpaid labour was asymmetrical but the combined workload was not significantly different. Fathers continued to be privileged with greater amounts of leisure time. This was especially noticeable for men with non-standard work schedules and fathers of teenage children.

Seasonal differences in time use indicated that women's routines were more linked to the school year than men's because of their greater child care responsibilities. When irregular or non-standard schedules were in place that could create more optimal conditions for reconsidering time allocation, parents still followed activity patterns that reproduced traditional gender roles. For women, non-standard schedules were the most detrimental to quality of life, whereas for men irregular schedules decreased well-being. Flexible schedules also perpetuated inequality in the distribution of paid work, unpaid work and leisure although quality of life actually improved for women. This improved quality of life may be attributable to more time spent on activities with physical health benefits or increased options for daily schedules, but it also leads to questions about how much control mothers actually have over their time and whether they recognize or care to challenge the inequalities that persist in the distribution of labour and leisure. Quality of life was diminished by conditions that contributed to a deviation from traditional role expectations. Some of these included not having a partner, women's work schedules that conflicted with other family members, and for men, having an irregular and unpredictable work schedule. Since these conditions are characteristic of a sizable minority of Canadians parents, their experiences should not be dismissed but rather given greater attention. Additionally, future discussions of work-life integration should consider access to leisure since time for leisure was shown to contribute to parents' quality of life.

The gender relations perspective proved to be helpful in interpreting and understanding the dynamics of time use and behaviour. The four levels of interaction were highly interconnected, but changing institutional conditions such as employment schedules did not lead to greater equality. Instead, non-traditional work schedules widened the gender gap, particularly for child care and domestic activities. Dominant parenting practices were shown to be so deeply imbedded that stereotypical patterns remained a prevailing force guiding men's and women's daily activities. The GSS data, despite some limitations, provided considerable insight into the effect of parents' employment and gender on time use and well-being. The findings of this study underscore the relevance of considering multiple levels of influence when assessing parenting practices, gendered behaviour, and quality of life for employed parents.

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The inspiration for this study began several years ago when our family first faced the challenges of integrating two non-traditional work schedules with the school routines of three young children. Trying to meet these demands and still find opportunities for leisure was sometimes difficult, but with the support of numerous friends, neighbours and my co-workers at Cambridge Public Library, we found strategies for coping with the day-to-day juggling act. In the process, the quest for a better understanding of parents' experiences in a changing work environment began.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

The Canadian economy has undergone vast transformations since the post-war era affecting all sectors of society including the family. Characteristics of late modernity, such as increasing globalization, the development of highly efficient communication technologies, and the re-organization of work space and time (Giddens, 1990), now shape and define many workplace cultures. No longer is a traditional Monday-to-Friday workweek the norm. Instead, longer hours, flex-time, telework, irregular shifts, and working on weekends and evenings have become commonly accepted workplace practices (Higgins & Duxbury, 2002). At the same time, workforce demographics have also undergone a substantial shift. Women's participation in paid employment has risen along with the number of dual-earner families (Vanier Institute of the Family, 2004). In most families with school-age children, both parents work outside the home and face different challenges than previous generations in coordinating roles and responsibilities. The traditional model of male breadwinner and female homemaker, once a cornerstone of industrial societies, has mostly disappeared (Crompton, 1999) and been replaced by alternative employment models and living arrangements.

There has also been a change in child-rearing practices. The amount of time, money and energy devoted to the activities and interests of children has increased, particularly among middle-class families who follow a model of involved parenting. The movement toward more structured, purposive childhoods has altered the nature of women's traditional maternal care and increased their workload through added activities such as planning, scheduling, coordinating and monitoring children's 'free' time (Arendell, 2001). When combined with changing workplace practices, such as longer or irregular work hours parents, mothers especially, often find themselves under tremendous pressure to negotiate job commitments and family needs (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001). As they respond to these demands, some of the consequences for employed mothers have been feelings of increased time pressure, a perceived lack of work-life balance, and a decreased sense of emotional well-being (Zuzanek, 2000). Fathers, too, have experienced a shift in role expectations. In addition to maintaining the role of provider, there are greater expectations of involvement and interest in children's daily care and activities. Men's sense of work-life balance may differ from women's though, leading to a less acute experience of role conflict since there is still less emphasis on caregiving responsibilities for men than for women (Dermott, 2005). Yet, Daly (2008) argues that since women's experiences have been in the forefront of work-family issues,

challenges men face in integrating work and the rest of their lives have been overlooked. In a culture that holds mothers primarily responsible for child care, there may be little workplace recognition or support for father's greater participation in children's lives. Furthermore, single parents, who are often in sole charge of daily care and financial responsibilities, may experience the challenges of integrating work and family even more deeply when employment practices are structured with the assumption of a partner to share responsibilities at home.

Tensions between work, family and personal time may be more acute when family members' schedules are not synchronized. The school year continues to operate on a traditional weekday schedule with an extended vacation period during the summer, but much of labour force has a different temporal routine. It is not uncommon for professionals to work long hours, and for sales and service employees to regularly work weekends and/or irregular or rotating shifts. This has sometimes led to a situation of 'temporal arrhythmia' in families where parents' work schedules do not parallel one another or their children's school week routines (Almeida, 2004; Brown & Warner-Smith, 2006).

It is evident that there are structural and temporal mismatches between the workplace, workforce, and education system. Among families where parents' work hours are at odds with those of the education system, difficulties in finding enough time for self and family may be exacerbated. Even when parents do have a Monday-to-Friday work week there remains the lengthy period of children's summer holidays which rarely matches parents' vacation allotment. Without government policies that allow for universally accessible and affordable child care, seasonal variations of the school year may compound parents' levels of stress. As such, it is hardly surprising that work-life balance has emerged as one of the most challenging and pressing issues for employees with caregiving responsibilities (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001).

1.1.1 Work-life balance

Clark (2000) defines work-life balance as "satisfaction and good functioning at work and at home, with a minimum of role conflict" (p. 751). Although this definition appears simple and straight-forward, it masks the complexity of the dominant work-life balance discourse. Discourse, outlined originally by Foucault, refers to "structured ways of knowing which are both produced in, and shape culture" (Green, 1998, p.123). These ways of knowing are power-laden and become institutionalized as practices, which in turn shape social interactions and behavioural expectations. The dominant work-life balance discourse suggests that when work becomes all-consuming either in number of hours, timing of the work schedule, or intensity of pace, it can lead to the neglect of important relationships and responsibilities with negative implications for emotional and psychological well-being, physical health, and overall quality of life. Critical theorists have noted that the dominant discourse continues to frame work-life balance as a

problem of individual time management (e.g. Patterson, 2001, Posen, 2004) and is primarily directed at women trying to reconcile employment and caregiving responsibilities (Gambles, Lewis & Rapoport, 2006). The debate on work-life balance has begun to shift though, by challenging notions of individualism, the use of management language to frame personal issues, and questioning the ways in which the work-life balance discourse "minimizes, and thus reinforces, existing organizational and social power dynamics" (Caproni, 2004, p. 216). Fletcher (2005) suggests that by viewing work as separate from the rest of life, 'balance' is not possible. Instead, it should be reframed as 'work-life integration' because it is impossible to keep involvement with different spheres of activity separate as the 'balance' discourse implies. Most of the focus to date has been on negative effects such as work-family conflict and role strain, but there is a growing recognition that other outcomes such as work-family enrichment or enhancement are also possible (Whitehead, Korabik & Lero, 2008).

These issues make assessing work-life balance challenging both conceptually and empirically. Objective measures often use hours of paid employment as an indicator of balance or imbalance. For example, a review of the Working Time Directive of the European Commission recommended that employees work no more than 48 hours per week and employers allow for flexible time scheduling to accommodate caregiving (Commission of the European Communities, 2004). Yet at a structural level this ignores issues that can influence the allocation of unpaid work at home such as gender, ethnicity and social class (Gerstel & Sarkisian, 2006). Others believe that work-life balance is a subjective issue (Guest, 2001; Nippert-Eng, 1996) requiring consideration of other life spheres, including personal time and space, care time and space, and work time and space (Williams, 2001).

Recognition of caregiving and leisure (or personal time) may be particularly important for understanding attributes of work-life balance and quality of life for employed parents since these individuals continue to have greater amounts of unpaid household labour and less leisure time than non-parents (Craig, 2006a; Fast & Frederick, 2004). Age of children may also influence time allocation for caregiving. Although parents' childcare time has increased steadily during the past 25 years, it is unevenly distributed between children of different age groups. Children up to the age of 12 receive greater amounts of parent-child contact time and teens receive less (Ironmonger, 2004). While this would be expected because of the greater physical and emotional independence of teenagers, care time for teens has declined disproportionately throughout the 1980s and 1990s (Zuzanek, 2000). The care of adolescents may be qualitatively different though and, therefore, more difficult to measure in time use studies. The mental labour of monitoring and control, as teens become increasingly independent, is not usually included in care work but can require a substantial time commitment by parents (Kurz, 2002).

Living arrangements also affect parents' time use. In single-parent households, mothers spend less time in direct child care and contact time with children, but more time working for pay and have a

higher combined workload than married mothers or fathers (Bianchi, Robinson & Milkie, 2006). Single mothers also experience higher levels of time pressure, lower satisfaction with work-life balance and higher levels of stress (Zuzanek, 2000). Much less is known about single fathers living with their children. Whether this is due solely to fewer numbers of single fathers or a cultural bias toward the importance of the maternal role in child rearing is unclear.

Although leisure has been much neglected in discussions of work-life balance in North America, evidence from Australia, the United Kingdom and Europe suggests that it can play a role in enhancing feelings of work-life balance for parents (see Crosbie & Moore, 2004; Guest, 2001; Jonson & Green, 2002; Kay, 1998; Musson & Tietze, 2004; Pocock, van Wanrooy, Strazzari & Bridge, 2001). Leisure also has the potential to provide other health benefits to those experiencing time pressure, transitory employment and job instability associated with late modernity (Cartwright & Warner-Smith, 2003). Among adults, leisure participation has been associated with increased levels of life satisfaction, psychological well-being, happiness and self-esteem as well as lower levels of depression (Iso-Ahola, 1997; Kaczynski, 2007; Lawlor & Hopker, 2001). Having a family, a partner, spending time with them, and having opportunities to interact with both neighbours and friends are associated with stronger perceptions of subjective well-being. These factors are equally important to both men and women (Helliwell and Putnam, 2005). In addition, physically active leisure can be beneficial to well-being and health and may also moderate the harmful effects of stress (Iso-Ahola, 1997). In a study of Australian women's health, higher amounts of time pressure and busyness appeared to negatively impact health, but detrimental effects were less evident among women who were satisfied with the amount of time they had for personal leisure (Brown, Brown & Powers, 2001). Leisure has also been identified as a method of coping with stressful situations at work (Iwasaki, 2003) and with chronic stressors (Hutchinson & Kleiber, 2005). Therefore, it is somewhat surprising that leisure has been so overlooked in North American research on work-life balance. It has the potential to play a valuable role for those with non-traditional work arrangements who may be experiencing higher levels of stress and associated health problems while coping with demands of work, family and the cultural norms of intensive parenting.

1.1.2 Time pressure

It is not simply the allocation of time to various life domains and the timing of these activities, but also the experience of time itself that affects perceptions of work-life balance. For men and women with family responsibilities, this can be multi-layered and complex, especially when employment schedules do not match other family members' daily routines. As Caproni (2004) points out, maintaining a sense of temporal control in the workplace *vis-à-vis* the unpredictable nature of family life creates a complex and dialectical tension in the experience of time. Whether due to higher total workloads, less free time, or the

way in which time is structured, perceptions of time pressure have increased among Canadians (Hamermesh & Lee, 2003; Zuzanek, 2004).

Time pressure may be conceptualized simply as the feeling of not having enough time to get things done and constantly being rushed. It is associated with higher levels of committed (i.e., domestic and caregiving responsibilities) or contracted time (paid employment) and lower levels of discretionary or "free" time (Robinson & Godbey, 1999). Fragmented time, caused by the intrusion of others' needs on an individual's time, is also associated with feelings of time pressure (Zuzanek, 2004). Jacobs and Gerson (2004) argue that time pressure, like work-life balance, is not simply a personal problem or part of processes beyond one's control. Rather, it is a function of social structural arrangements and can only be alleviated by "making fundamental changes in the ways modern work is organized" (p. 149). As individuals, employers, and policy makers begin to recognize that many issues associated with heightened time pressure, work-life imbalance and decreased quality of life are related to societal issues beyond an individual's time management skills, interest has arisen in how alternative work arrangements might influence perceptions of work-life balance and quality of life.

1.1.3 Non-traditional work arrangements

Non-traditional work arrangements are broadly defined and may refer either to the terms of employment *arrangements* or workplace *schedules*. Government agencies define non-standard work as employment arrangements that include part-time employment (less than 30 hours per week at a main job), temporary employment (contract, seasonal, casual, or any other arrangement with a pre-determined end date), self-employment (with no paid employees), or holding multiple jobs (two or more jobs at the same time) (Krahn, 1995). This type of employment has also been labelled 'precarious' because the prevalence and positioning of these arrangements indicates that they are most common among the lower ranks of organizations (Henly & Lambert, 2005) and typified by income instability, less control over the labour process and limited access to regulatory protection (Vosko, Zukevich & Cranford, 2003). Non-traditional work schedules, on the other hand, pertain to workers who have schedules which differ from a Monday-to-Friday daytime work week such as flextime, shift work, or "on call" schedules. A few schedule options, such as flextime, are usually initiated at the request of an employee because of a perceived benefit to managing personal responsibilities, but may also be promoted by employers because of potential benefits to worker productivity. Shift work, particularly with irregular or rotating schedules, is almost always imposed by employers (Presser, 2003). Length of the work week can also be a concern. Provincial labour legislation does attempt to limit the number of hours an employee may work, but on a structural level commitment to standardizing or limiting hours worked is unevenly applied both within and between provinces (Labour Standards Division, 2005).

Employment arrangements have received the most attention previously, but work schedules are also important because of their effect on the distribution of household labour, access to leisure activities, opportunities for community involvement, and the relationship to overall quality of life. It would be expected that regular weekday work schedules mirroring the education system and, by extension, children's extracurricular activities, would create less stress for parents. Additionally, options such as flextime that allow greater temporal autonomy would result in a more positive experience whereas non-standard hours or irregular shifts that are imposed on employees (either as a condition of employment or as an implicit expectation of the workplace) would be associated with difficulties in family scheduling. With little control or predictability over the timing of the work, there may be negative repercussions for family interaction, time with children, distribution of domestic responsibilities and opportunities for leisure. Moreover, if each parent has a different non-traditional work arrangement, there are likely further implications for time use, time pressure, caregiving and family functioning. Parents must find a way to cope with structural factors beyond their control that may influence quality of family life, personal relationships and well-being. Along with the amount of time spent working, the timing of work activities itself is an important factor in family routines, rituals and activities (Strazdins, Clements, & Korda, 2006).

With the many possibilities for parents' employment schedules, only the rhythm of the school year remains constant for families. By law, children are required to attend school between the ages of 6 to 16 in almost all areas of Canada (Melchiorre, 2004). Therefore, parents of children in this age group must organize and arrange caregiving and children's activities within the temporal boundaries of the education system. In dual-parent families, mothers most often have the greatest burden of responsibility in coordinating and executing family schedules while fathers play a supporting role (Arendell, 2001; Duxbury & Higgins, 2001). Single parents, by default, usually manage these responsibilities on their own, although little is known about how this affects the temporal experiences of custodial single fathers. By studying the structure and allocation of time, insight may be derived about cultural practices in parenting, mutability of gender roles, and workplace demands as they influence the rhythm and routines of employed parents.

1.2 Purpose of the study

The way in which time is allotted, where and with whom it is spent, and subjective feelings about time reveal much about social roles, economic circumstances, and cultural identity. The use of time has been studied longitudinally to monitor change in social conditions and behaviour, as well as cross-sectionally to develop an understanding of the influence of socio-demographic or economic factors on experiences and lifestyles. Therefore, time use research is a versatile tool for analyzing and explaining normative patterns of behaviour in a variety of contexts. One of the emerging social issues that time use research can

address is the changing nature of employment and its relationship to leisure and other important domains of family life.

To date, there has been little research on the time allocation of parents with non-traditional work schedules and how the timing of the work day may influence other aspects of their lives. Given the number of dual-earner families in the workforce, greater numbers of single-parents, the increasing prevalence of non-traditional work schedules, and a cultural environment of intensive parenting, there is a need for research exploring the affect of alternative work schedules on the lives of Canadian parents. This study seeks to develop a broader understanding of time use for parents with school-age children and the relationship to perceptions of time pressure, work-life balance, stress, and well-being.

Parents' decisions about time allocation are multi-layered and complex, and the relationship of their work schedules to other life spheres such as leisure is not well established. Gender, marital status, age of children and timing of the work day are interwoven and must be considered when attempting to explain behavioural outcomes. By documenting the ways in which time is allocated and with whom it is spent, it may be possible to trace the influence of larger structural and cultural forces on parents' lives.

Specifically, the research seeks to address the following questions:

1. How do employed mothers and fathers of school age children allocate their time (including child care time and leisure time) and to what extent does this vary by household composition and season of the school year?
2. How does work schedule affect the allocation of time for mothers and fathers of school-age children? What impact does flexible scheduling have on time use?
3. What factors are most predictive of employed parents' time allocation to different spheres of activity?
4. Is there a relationship between time use, household composition, and work schedules to perceptions of quality of life for mothers and fathers of school-age children?

1.3 Significance

In response to a variety of social forces including increasingly globalized economies, technological advancements, and demands of employers and consumers, non-traditional work schedules represented the employment experiences of 4.1 million Canadians, or 28% of the labour force in 2005 (Williams, 2008). While there has been a substantial commitment to research on precarious employment *arrangements* in Canada (see Vosko, 2006), there is a relatively small body of literature on the influence of non-traditional work *schedules* on families and much of it is limited to small-scale or exploratory studies. Nevertheless, as a growing workplace trend, it is important to understand how the timing of parents' employment affects the rhythm of family life particularly when it is at odds with other social institutions such as

schools. Since parents of preschoolers experience the greatest domestic burden, there is already a substantial amount of research that addresses the temporal demands and experiences of this lifecycle stage. Furthermore, very young children are less likely to have the highly structured extracurricular leisure activities with which parents of school-age children frequently contend. The result is that while work and family issues may change, they do not disappear as children grow older and parents continue to experience challenges related to scheduling, time pressure and work-life balance (Pavalko & Gong, 2005).

Because time for personal leisure may play a role in perceptions of quality of life for parents, and since there is some evidence that what people do outside of their work and family responsibilities can enhance health, morale and overall productivity, leisure time will also be taken into consideration. Specifically, this study will highlight how different work schedules affect parents' opportunities for personal leisure. The relationship between non-traditional work schedules and parents' time use needs to be better understood so that policy makers, employers and individuals can make informed decisions about how these schedules may influence time use and subjective well-being for Canadian parents.

Chapter 2
Literature Review

Current experiences of parenthood differ from previous generations' and reflect changes in socio-cultural values associated with child-rearing practices. Academic and popular literature is replete with scientific and anecdotal evidence about what constitutes 'good' and 'bad' parenting practices and parental responsibility for children's positive or negative outcomes in the future. Parents' concerns about their own employment requirements and time scarcity often stem from anxieties about the potential negative impact on the upcoming generation of children. Since non-traditional work arrangements are an emergent work format, there are only a limited number of studies that address the relationship of parents' time use, work arrangements and leisure to indicators of quality of life, particularly from a Canadian perspective. In this chapter, literature relevant to parents' employment and caregiving responsibilities, their experiences and allocation of time, and the relationship to leisure will be reviewed. The gender relations perspective will be outlined first as a theoretical framework for understanding experiences of child-rearing, employment, leisure and time since these areas are inter-related and mothers and fathers often experience them differently.

2.1 The gender perspective and parents' use of time

There is a substantial body of literature concerning the intersection of gender, family, employment and leisure from a feminist perspective which leaves no doubt that gender has a profound influence on behaviour. The gender relations perspective considers gender within the context of broader social structures and cultural beliefs rather than viewing it as a definitive individual characteristic. Gender is conceptualized as dynamic and evolving, a ". . . product of ongoing, multilevel processes of social construction and reconstruction" (Nelson, 2006, p.66). Notions of gender are developed and recreated in everyday interactions to reflect ideologies based on culture and historical time frame (Thompson, 1993). The guiding precept of the gender relations perspective is that to understand how gendered behaviour is shaped and experienced, it is important to consider social and structural factors at all levels as well as interactions between them.

This approach offers a versatile opportunity to explore gender relations at both micro and macro levels of society. Thompson (1993) outlines four streams of analysis in which gender is expressed, including individual, interactional, institutional, and socio-historical levels. To these, Connell (1998) adds the 'world order' level because of pervasive systems of patriarchy that are expressed in a global economy. Because the gender relations perspective is a social systems theory in which all levels or layers

interact, change in one area will have consequences for another, influencing the way gender is perceived, acted or presented in a socio-historic and cultural context. Gender is constructed, negotiated, reproduced or resisted in everyday life through interaction among different layers within a particular social milieu.

Time use studies of parents have mostly focused on the household and individual levels of interaction and less attention has been given to institutional influences such as the state provision of childcare or, at the socio-historical level, the organization of the school year. As Pacholok and Gauthier (2004) have identified, macro-level policies and cultural influences can have important implications for the different allocation of time by parents to employment, housework and child care. By extension, leisure is another domain of activity influenced by macro-level policies as well as micro-level interactions (Kay, 2000). Shaw (1999) suggests that leisure is well suited to gender relations analysis because it goes beyond the traditional leisure benefits approach and addresses ". . . both negative and positive outcomes, both societal and individual outcomes, and . . . the impact of different types of leisure practice in different social and cultural contexts" (p. 278). In this way, the gender perspective provides a logical framework for understanding how mothers' and fathers' leisure is influenced by interpersonal, institutional and societal dynamics. Finally, on a more abstract level, the gender relations perspective seems to align with Gidden's (1984) theory of structuration. It presents an opportunity to show how individuals can work as agents to enact change in relation to the confines of existing social structures. Ideologies associated with parenthood are particularly suitable for gender relations analyses because of mothers' and fathers' different experiences of family life.

Because parenthood is a defining feature of identity for most individuals and because child-rearing practices are culturally embedded, parenthood becomes a reference point around which decisions, experiences and patterns of behaviour revolve. Therefore, the next section will begin with an overview of dominant ideologies of parenthood and child-rearing practices, followed by an exploration of relevant literature on changing workplace demographics, cultures and employment practices. Selected time use studies relevant to the work-family interface and the role of leisure will be outlined as they relate to institutional policies such as work arrangements and ideologies of parenthood. Finally, a brief overview of the gendered nature of time will allow for some consideration of socio-cultural influences that may effect how mothers and fathers experience and allocate time.

2.2 Parenting practices in Canada

With each generation, new ideas emerge and form popular perceptions of 'good' parenting practices that determine how individuals internalize their own behaviour and evaluate others'. Cultural notions of motherhood and fatherhood differ and both must be considered in order to appreciate and situate parenting roles, interactions and expressed value systems (Walzer, 1998). Traditionally, there have been

expectations of complementary and dichotomous gender behaviours and roles for mothers and fathers (Cowan & Cowan, 1992). With increasingly convergent demands in the employment sector, however, men and women are facing changing attitudes toward labour force participation and domestic responsibilities and there is an opportunity to forge new patterns of behaviour. Therefore, it is helpful to begin by exploring ideologies of motherhood and fatherhood and their relationship to current parenting practices.

Ideologies are sets of shared, interrelated cultural beliefs about the nature of the world that guide behaviours, social practices, and interpretations of events (Tepperman & Curtis, 2004). They are inextricably linked to power relations and serve to perpetuate the interests and position of the dominant social group and disadvantage the less powerful party. This hegemonic position remains largely unnoticed and unchallenged by most of the population, exerting moral and intellectual leadership in order to maintain the status quo as both natural and beneficial (Crossley, 2005) . Within a particular culture, ideologies of motherhood and fatherhood are shaped by broader social, historical, and economic conditions and the associated power relations (Crosby & Sabbatini, 2006). By providing a brief exploration of ideologies of motherhood and fatherhood, a picture begins to emerge of cultural beliefs, values, and role expectations, as well as constraints and opportunities for Canadian parents.

2.2.1 The ideology of motherhood

The centrality of nurturing and a devotion to children's needs are key components of the ideology of motherhood that have long historic roots. When work and home became spatially and temporally separated following the Industrial Revolution, gender roles became even more rigidly defined. As de Toqueville noted in 1835, "In America, more than anywhere else in the world, care has been taken constantly to trace clearly distinct spheres of action for the two sexes . . . You will never find American women in charge of the external relations of the family, managing a business, or interfering in politics" (1969, p. 601). Instead, mothers were expected to create a haven from the outside world and true womanly behaviour was tied to nurturing, domesticity, upholding moral values and generally "being the angel in the house" (Eyer, 1992, p. 102). This concept of appropriate feminine behaviour has been remarkably enduring (Woollett & Phoenix, 1991) even though much of this deterministic behaviour has been dismissed as a social construction (Eyer, 1992; Lorber, 2000). Mothers' responsibilities for child-rearing and acceptable practices were strongly influenced by prevailing assumptions about children's roles and worth. Children's physical and moral development were mothers' primary concerns, but in the early 1930s there was a shift toward child rearing practices guided by children's expressed needs and interests (Hays, 1996). Mothers were responsible not only for daily care and management of children's lives; they were also expected to ensure that children developed into contributing and responsible citizens

(Epstein, 1988; Phoenix & Woollett, 1991). Thus, mothers were held morally accountable for children's welfare and upbringing and, arguably, they still are (Risman, 2004).

More recently 'good' mothering, at least among middle-class women, is more linked to the *process* of mothering (Walzer, 1998). Mothers are now responsible not only for children's well-being while at home, but are also expected to continuously monitor activities outside the home so that their children are safe, stimulated, and properly educated (Furedi, 2001). In this climate, McMahon (1995) outlines the qualities of good mothers as women who are loving, sensitive, caring, empathetic, devoted and responsive to their children's needs. These qualities are integral to the 'ethic of care' (Gilligan, 1982) and play a pivotal role in contemporary approaches to child rearing. Feelings of responsibilities to others, interconnectedness, and nurturing behaviour in the context of marriage, family and social networks underlie many of the values, actions, and attitudes that women adopt in caring for children and creating their own standards of good motherhood. The activities that sustain relationships among family members or, the 'emotion work', are largely performed by women and strongly associated with the motherhood role (Erickson, 2005). Drawing from traditional roots and contemporary practices, the dominant discourse on motherhood is summarized, as follows:

> A good mother is always available to her children, she spends time with them, guides, supports, encourages and corrects as well as loving and caring for them physically. She is also responsible for the cleanliness of their home environment . . . A 'good' mother is unselfish, she puts her children's needs before her own (Wearing, 1984, p. 72).

Douglas and Michaels (2004) elaborate: "For the best mothers, their kids are the center of the universe. The best mothers always smile. They always understand. They never lose their temper . . . Their love for their children is boundless, unflagging, flawless, total" (p. 6). Indeed, the "angel of the house" metaphor has been only slightly updated to include the possibility of employment. This has been the source of much debate in the *Mommy Wars* (Steiner, 2006) between mothers who stay home with their children and consider employment to be hazardous and detrimental, and those who participate in the labour force. Other books written for broader audiences such as *The Feminine Mistake* (Bennetts, 2007) deliver the message that mothers who choose not to be employed are irresponsible because of the financial risk associated with not having one's own income. The argument is that relying on a partner's income could have devastating repercussions for their children in the event of divorce, illness, disability or death. These books are consistent with the dominant discourse that places children's needs at the forefront, while mothers' remain secondary.

The ideology of motherhood is very much intertwined with cultural notions of a 'good' childhood. Children are elevated to a 'sacred position' where the fulfillment of their needs and desires becomes paramount (Zelizer, 1985), while the mother's goals and activities occupy a subordinate

position (Nippert-Eng, 1996). Within this context, *intensive mothering* has emerged, characterized by child-rearing practices that have ". . . become expert-guided and child-centered, they are also more emotionally absorbing, labour intensive and financially expensive than ever before" (Hays, 1996, p. 46). Total devotion to children is expected, and the resulting loss of self-identity has been labeled the 'new problem that has no name' or, "the Mommy Mystique" (Warner, 2005, p. 13). In analyses of media portrayals of motherhood, Douglas and Michaels (2004) observed that, "With intensive mothering, everyone watches us, we watch ourselves and other mothers, and we watch ourselves watching ourselves" (p. 6). The concept of surveillance is important. The threat of being labelled a "bad" mother is a powerful form of social control since mothers are ultimately held responsible for all aspects of their children's development. The notion of risk takes centre stage and anxiety ensues. If mothers deviate from culturally prescribed standards, they risk damaging their children's emotional well-being, physical health and safety, and future achievement potential (Furedi, 2001).

2.2.2 A concerted cultivation approach to child-rearing

Intensive mothering is part of the "concerted cultivation" model of child-rearing. In order to provide a foundation for success in adulthood, middle-class parents actively assess and foster children's talents, as well as cultivate cognitive and social skills through various avenues including: a broad range of structured leisure activities; frequent interaction with teachers, coaches and other important adults in their children's lives; teaching children to self-advocate; and, a greater use of reasoning for disciplinary behaviour (Lareau, 2003). Lareau also introduced another child-rearing approach, "the accomplishment of natural development", which characterizes lower income and otherwise disadvantaged families. In this model, emphasis is placed on sustaining natural growth and connections with family and community, but there is little focus on skill development.

The concerted cultivation model reflects values of the dominant social group and is thought to better prepare children for future labour market participation and economic security. In practice, it creates a temporal experience of greater structure and time commitments for the child and, by extension, the family. The pace of life is rapid and often dependent on time frames imposed by school and extracurricular commitments. As Schneider & Waite (2005) comment, ". . . the calendars of the middle class are now segmented beyond work and school into hours spent commuting to exercise classes, athletic games for parents and their children, and social activities that require a level of orchestration that challenges the limits of the palm pilot" (p. 68). Being a good mother remains a time-consuming endeavour even when children are older. Attention shifts from an emphasis on meeting physical needs to educational and psychological support and encouragement (Bryson, 2008). As a middle class construction of appropriate child-rearing methods, concerted cultivation is supported by both parents, but

in reality it has added substantially to maternal workloads in particular. While both parents in dual-earner couples may be committed to facilitating this structured approach to child-rearing, women usually assume responsibility for the added and often invisible work of planning, scheduling and organizing. Arendell (2001) describes this as, "a new veneer" (p.195) on traditional gendered divisions of household and family labour, leaving mothers little time for their own leisure pursuits and personal needs.

During the past 20 years, increased time spent by mothers caring for children – whether employed or not – has been noted in most industrialized nations including Canada and reflects a time-consuming, intensive parenting approach to child-rearing (Gauthier, Smeeding & Furstenberg, Jr., 2004; Stalker, 2006; Zuzanek & Smale, 1997). Unfortunately, it is usually accompanied by a loss of time for mothers' sleep, personal leisure and housework. Researchers have also observed that better-educated parents devote more time to child care (Gauthier et al., 2004) suggesting that there may be different behaviours and expectations for raising children than among lower educated parents (Sayer, Gauthier & Furstenberg, Jr., 2004) consistent with Lareau's (2003) child-rearing models.

2.2.3 The ideology of fatherhood

Contemporary notions of fatherhood have moved from a total focus on the provider role to one of greater involvement with children (Marsiglio, 1995), particularly in the context of intact families (Cabrera, Tamis-Lemonda, Bradley, Hofferth, & Lamb, 2000). The ideology of fatherhood now includes greater expectations of nurturing, caregiving and emotional connections with benefits for both fathers and their children (Pleck, 1997). This may be tied, in part, to the 'sacred' status of the child and a concerted cultivation approach to middle-class parenting. Some fathers view time spent caring for their children as a 'long-term investment' with rewards of greater intimacy and more satisfying relationships (Gatrell, 2005). Also of importance is a cultural expectation that fathers share more in childcare and housework than in past because of increased numbers of mothers in the workforce (Kimmel, 2004). Townsend (2002), however, argues that being a 'good' father remains closely associated with the provider role. Among men in his study, the four key ingredients to success as an adult male were having a good job, marrying well, having children and providing a home for the family. By providing the material resources that allowed their children to live in safe neighbourhoods, attend good schools, and participate in a variety of extracurricular activities, these men believed that hours of paid work were an important aspect of successful fatherhood. For them, the provider role retained primacy over direct caregiving.

Hours of paid employment do not usually diminish when men become fathers. If anything, they increase (Sanchez & Thomson, 1997; Stalker, 2006). There is little difference between fathers and childless men in time spent working for pay (Craig 2006b; Pacholok & Gauthier, 2004). Nevertheless, when gender role attitudes are taken into consideration, Kaufman and Uhlenberg, (2000) noted

differences in hours of paid employment related to fathers' approaches to child-rearing. Those who expressed more traditional ideologies increased their hours of employment by 11 hours per week, on average, when they became fathers. On the other hand, fathers with egalitarian views about child-rearing actually decreased hours of employment by 9 hours. In contrast to mothers, fathers' employment activities are not notably affected by the number or ages of children (Maume, 2006).

In analyses of time spent in child care for American parents between 1965 and 2000, fathers in dual-parent households still did only half as much routine child care as mothers although they participated more equally in interactive child care activities such as playing, talking or reading to children (Bianchi et al., 2006). Payne (2004) confirms that the gender lens of appropriate male and female activities remains firmly in place. She found that ". . . although the *idea* [sic] of more active involvement in the private sphere was unproblematic for many of these fathers, willing participation in activities that were labeled 'feminine' was not" (p.139). So, while fathers in dual-parent households may be willing, at least in theory, to be more involved with their children, there are many other domestic activities such as cleaning, cooking and laundry where men's participation lags far behind women's (Coltrane, 1999; Fast & Frederick, 2004). This may be due, in part, to beliefs that mask inequality and power relations, although men are certainly capable of performing these tasks or nurturing their children (Coltrane & Adams, 2001). It may also be tied to deeply-held individual perceptions of masculinity, supported by a broader ideology that implicitly assumes mothers will have primary responsibility for home and family, regardless of employment status.

LaRossa (1988) distinguishes between the culture of fatherhood and men's conduct as fathers, particularly among middle-class men who are more likely to espouse non-traditional views of fatherhood. Interactions with older children are more often characterized by play and frequently carried out as a 'secondary' activity (e.g., while watching television or engaging in other chores). LaRossa refers to the latter as the "technically present, but functionally absent father" (p.454) and believes that it characterizes much of the conduct of fatherhood. While this may have changed in the past two decades, perceptions that fathers are lacking in the requisite ability to meet the current socially-prescribed, child-rearing standards may persist (Hulbert, 2003). There may be some women who are reluctant to relinquish control of the household sphere, their "domestic fiefdom" (Moses, 2006, p. 229) where they can maintain a stronger power position within the family. At the same time, men may feel they require permission from women to participate in certain child care tasks, thereby impeding greater involvement in these responsibilities (Daly, 2008). Gatrell (2005) also suggests that some mothers are ambivalent about greater father involvement, "fearing that it may change the balance of power in the parental relationship unfavourably" (p.147) and so continue to perform most of the child care. While this may be true for some, Folbre (2008) asserts that most women would prefer the cooperation and active involvement of a

father who is willing to share child care duties more equally and several studies suggest that when this occurs, women experience higher levels of life satisfaction (e.g., see Marshall, 1993; Stevens, Kiger & Riley, 2001).

Time use studies that only measure primary activities reveal an increase in father's child care activities which would appear to relieve women of some small portion of domestic responsibility (Bianchi et al., 2006). By analyzing both primary and secondary activity data, however, Craig (2006b) reached a different conclusion. Because men's child care activities included less physical labour, were less rigidly scheduled, and involved fewer multi-tasking activities, fathers' domestic work could not be easily substituted for mothers'. She concluded that, "social and employment policy makers cannot assume that masculinization of women's work patterns is concomitant with a masculinization of their care responsibilities" (p. 276).

In Canada, secondary time use data are not available at the national level. Nevertheless, primary activity data, considered the most conservative estimate of household labour (Lee, 2005), indicate that employed mothers continue to spend more time caring for children, although the gender gap has been decreasing slightly for parents of children under the age of five (Stalker, 2006). For older children (age 6-11), who still require adult care and supervision and who are likely to be involved in a range of extracurricular activities, there has been little change in parental care time since 1986. In 1998, fathers spent less than 60 percent of the time that mothers did with their school-age children (Zuzanek, 2000). Adolescents have far less contact with their parents than younger children, and it is mothers rather than fathers who remain more involved (Zuzanek, 2000), with the exception of sport participation (Hawkins, Amato & King, 2006). As LaRossa comments, "The division of child care . . . has not significantly changed, that – despite the beliefs that fathers are a lot more involved with their children – mothers remain, far and away, the primary child caregivers" (1988, p.456). While the gender gap may have narrowed since LaRossa's study, there remains a disjunction between the ideology of involved fatherhood and the reality of day-to-day family routines. Bianchi and Raley (2005) conclude that even though fathers' participation in domestic activities has increased, it remains gender specialized.

2.2.4 Convergent roles or mirror images?

Thus it would seem that current notions of more gender equitable practices are often at odds with behaviour in the private sphere. Gershuny, Godwin and Jones (1994) refer to this phenomenon as 'lagged adaptation', where the adjustment in household behaviours may take many years, or even generations to meet cultural expectations. Hochschild (1989), on the other hand, believes it is a 'stalled revolution'. Hochschild contends that the mother's job, or the first shift, is often devalued in the marital dynamic that results in an ongoing rationalization of her unequal share of housework. This continues to privilege

males and reinforce the power position of the patriarchy in the home (Wearing, 1990). Sullivan (2004) takes a different point of view. She asserts that changes in gendered behaviour are neither stalled nor lagged. Instead, change occurs slowly over time and it may take decades for gender ideologies to shift. She cites the results of multinational, longitudinal time use studies to show that meaningful change has occurred in both the employment and domestic spheres for Western nations. Whether 'lagged adaptation', a 'stalled revolution', or simply a slow rate of change is the explanation, the reality of most employed mothers' lives continues to include an extra burden of domestic activity compared to fathers, regardless of the amount of money earned or socio-occupational status (Kay, 1998).

Bittman (1998) suggests that 'pseudomutuality', or ". . . an ideological embracing of mutuality without any adoption of mutual practices" (p. 32) may also lead to the disjunction between intention and action in sharing household labour. He believes that misapprehension and a redefinition of equality at the interpersonal level creates a situation where men diminish the size of their partner's contributions but inflate their own. Women collude in the process in order to maintain peace and stability within the home. The underlying premise is not to question the size of the contribution, but rather to appreciate any domestic efforts their partners make, thereby reinforcing existing power dynamics. Without a meaningful shift in gender ideology at the household level, any movement toward greater equality would be hampered. According to Risman (2004), who sees gender as a social institution, a shift must occur in the individual, interactional and cultural components of the social structure before new behaviours emerge. She refers to 'habituated action' as a non-reflexive component of the gender structure – a taken-for-granted, cultural norm where actors recreate inequality without intent. There is always an opportunity through human agency to modify, resist or recreate the current structure of gender through intentional choice and social interaction; but, the institution of gender is deeply embedded and provides the basis for cultural rules and expectations even when men and women occupy the same structural positions.

For many of these reasons, contemporary motherhood and fatherhood resemble asymmetrical mirror images, rather than converging roles, at least in dual-earner families. There is a cultural expectation that each parent be responsible, nurturing and involved with children; additionally, it is expected that both parents should be committed employees, helping to support the family financially. It is the degree to which the ideology supports mothers and fathers in each arena that differs. The central tenet of fatherhood still remains the provider role and there does not appear to be any lessening or challenge to this belief (Bianchi et al., 2006). Even when couples share child care almost equally, traditional ideologies are preserved. In a study of working class families where parents had alternating shift work schedules in order to care for young children, both husbands and wives viewed women's employment as 'helping' their husbands fulfill the provider role by contributing financially and husbands were seen to be 'helping' wives by caring for children when wives were at work. Each saw themselves as

a proxy for the other, thereby preserving core beliefs about mothers' and fathers' roles (Deutsch & Saxon, 1998).

Although it is mothers who have increased the time they spend working for pay, they also continue to spend more time than fathers caring for children and doing domestic work (Craig, 2006b; Fast & Frederick, 2004; Stalker, 2006). The gender gap in unpaid domestic labour for parents is narrowing, but it is more attributable to mothers doing much less housework rather than fathers doing much more (Bittman, 1998; Craig, 2006a). Therefore, it is essential that gender and the power structures underlying gender relations in the family be considered. Since child-rearing practices and appropriate behaviours for mothers and fathers are also delineated by other structural factors, such as social class and marital status (Phoenix & Woollett, 1991), these must also be taken into account in order to gain a better understanding of parents' experiences.

Studies of single mothers (including both employed and non-employed) show that they spend similar amounts of time in direct child care, but less total time with their children than their married counterparts (Bianchi et al., 2006). Less is known about the time use patterns of single fathers living with their children, since until fairly recently mothers were almost always the custodial parent and few quantitative studies have had sufficient numbers of single fathers to provide stable results. As a result of joint custody arrangements, numbers of single-father households are increasing. In Canada, single fathers now represent 19.1% of lone-parent families (Milan, Vezina & Wells, 2007) and, as such, merit greater attention than has been given in terms of how they allocate time to family, work and leisure. Evidence from the United Kingdom indicates that while all mothers spent more than twice as much time on primary child care and half as much time in paid employment as fathers, single mothers and fathers spent more time in child care and less time working for pay than their counterparts who were married or cohabitating (Kalenkoski, Ribar & Stratton, 2005). Only market and child-care activities were analyzed in this study, so the effect on leisure or other domestic activities remains unknown.

2.3 The landscape of employment

The changing nature of employment is another key factor influencing how mothers and fathers experience and allocate time. Workplace cultures, practices and demographics are situated in the broader economic environment. As such, it is helpful to outline important attributes of the economy that provide a structural context for behaviour. While it is challenging to pinpoint an exact stage of economic development in Canada due to regional differences in access to political, material and other market resources, there are some consistencies that indicate a tendency toward late modernity, outlined by Giddens (1991). During this stage of development the pace and scope of social change is rapid. Institutions and culture undergo continuous transformations that profoundly impact behaviours and existing social practices. Disembedded

expertise vies to replace traditional knowledge so that core aspects of social life, such as notions of family, work and education may be questioned and restructured. Late modernity is also characterized by the rise of trans-national corporations and distinct social forms such as the nation-state and, in addition, includes dimensions of industrialism, capitalism, surveillance and a re-organization of space and time (Garner, 2000).

Characteristics of late modernity are especially discernible in a changing work environment where communications technology has facilitated information and business networks locally, nationally and internationally. One result is that location and temporality have ceased to dictate work environments, practices and hours. There is evidence of the impact of increasing globalization in trends toward non-standard work hours (Presser, 2003) and overwork (Sloan Work and Family Research Network, 2005) that alter dynamics of both work and personal life. Furthermore, the faster pace of life is apparent in perceptions of increased time pressure and heightened stress levels, especially among families with children living at home (Daly, 1996; Figart and Golden, 2000; Gleick, 1999; Schor, 1991; Zuzanek, 2004). The forces that have shaped the economic environment have also altered traditional weekly rhythms so that work may occur during non-traditional or anti-social hours. This has created greater challenges for parents in synchronizing time with family and creating time and space for personal needs and interests. One of the most important economic transformations affecting families has emerged in workforce demographics.

2.3.1 A changing workforce

Since the mid-1970s there has been a substantial growth in women's labour force participation. The employment rate of mothers with children between 6 to 15 years old has increased from 46.4% in 1976 to 79.4%% in 2007 (Statistics Canada, 2008) although in recent years growth has been much slower, suggesting a less destabilizing effect of maternal employment than in the 1970s and 1980s. In 2004, three-quarters of employed mothers had full-time jobs and age of the youngest child had little effect on full-time status. Seventy-four percent of mothers with children less than three years old worked full-time compared to 71% of mothers of 3- to 5-year-olds and 75% of mothers whose youngest child was between 6 to 15 years of age (Statistics Canada, 2006a). In 2006, women aged 24 to 54 had the highest employment rates, coinciding with the years they are most likely to have children living at home (Statistics Canada, 2007).

Marital status has some effect on employment levels for mothers, but little effect on fathers. Single mothers of children under age 16 are less likely than mothers in dual-parent households to be employed full time in contrast to the 1970s when the reverse was true. Recently, however, the percentage of employed single mothers has risen substantially from 49.9% in 1995 to 69.9% in 2006, just 3.7% less

than the current rate of 73.6% for employed, married mothers (Statistics Canada, 2007). More mothers than fathers are part-time workers: 19% of women age 25 to 44 and 20% of 45 to 54 year olds compared to approximately 5% of men in each age group. The most frequently cited reason for part-time employment among women in the younger age group (40%) was because of child care and other personal responsibilities compared to just 6% of men in the same age category who cited these reasons (Statistics Canada, 2007).

Men's employment rates during the same period have declined slightly in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2008). Folbre (2008) indicates that this pattern is occurring in the United States too, calling it a "puzzling trend [that] holds across virtually all family structures and educational levels" (p.382). Still, there are more fathers than mothers participating in the labour force (Statistics Canada, 2008) and fathers continue to spend more time than mothers working for pay (Statistics Canada, 2006b).

Therefore, in Canadian households, most parents are in the workforce and most work for more than 30 hours per week in full-time jobs. Three-quarters of mothers are employed and dual-earner households are no longer the exception but rather the norm. Many other families are headed by lone parents and have no supporting partner at home. Workforce participation rates quite clearly demonstrate that the traditional ideology of male breadwinner and female homemaker has become an "obsolete cultural relic" (Moen & Roehling, 2005, p.196). The problem, however, is that this model has formed the basis of workplace practices and policies which generally ignore women's caregiving responsibilities or, for that matter, the need or desire for men's greater involvement in household activities or the unique challenges of single-parenthood. The discrepancy between policy and the current workplace demographics has not gone unnoticed by government, as the following passage indicates:

> The most remarkable changes include greater labour market participation of women, the increase in dual-wage earner families, the rise in numbers of lone-parent families, the aging of the population, changing immigration patterns, the growth of non-standard work, and new working arrangements . . . Existing Canadian workplace practices and regulatory models remain largely based on an old industrial model and a social pattern of the able-bodied white male principal income earner working for a single employer on a full-time permanent basis. This model does not reflect or correspond to the realities and complexities of the new workforce (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC), 2005, introduction, para.1).

This indicates an awareness by government of both fundamental social changes and the lack of a timely and appropriate policy response. Furthermore, it is not just the combination of parenting practices and workforce demographics that have influenced parents' allocation and experience of time, changes in the temporal demands of work must also be considered.

2.3.2 The changing workplace

One of the most striking features of late modernity is the re-organization of space and time. No longer does work need to take place during 'regular' business hours, instead it can occur at any time of day or night in practically any location. Moreover, work schedules, locations and terms of employment may vary according to the needs and demands of employers, customers and, in the case of flexible scheduling, employees themselves. This has resulted in a very different work experience compared to the post-war manufacturing economy when many workplace and social policies were implemented (Vosko et al., 2003). As such, the increasing prevalence of non-traditional work arrangements is noteworthy.

In 2001, approximately 4 in 10 employed Canadians were engaged in non-standard work either because they were unable to find permanent, full-time jobs, or because of a deliberate choice in order to accommodate other needs such as caregiving or education (Kapsalis & Tourigny, 2004). Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) report that in 1965 three-quarters of Canadian workers had a standard, full-time, permanent job; now only one-third of the workforce works standard hours in a permanent position. More than one in six paid workers is self-employed and temporary work comprises 13% of paid employment. The proportion of Canadians working part-time has doubled since 1965 to almost one in five (HRSDC, 2005). It is not just models of employment that have changed either; hours of work are no longer standardized. This may be particularly challenging for parents when family schedules remain linked to traditional school hours and vacation periods.

2.3.2.1 Non-standard work schedules

Somewhat overlooked in discussions of work-life balance have been non-standard work schedules. Presser (2003) defines non-standard work schedules as employment that occurs primarily during evenings (between 4 pm and midnight), nights (between midnight and 8 a.m.), weekends and/or on a rotating basis that changes between days, evenings and/or nights. These types of schedules are sometimes referred to as 'anti-social' or 'atypical' because of a complete divergence from the rhythms and routines of traditional social, family, and community life. They are driven by three interrelated factors in the social and economic structure: an increasingly globalized economy, shifting workforce demographics, and changing technology. Presser elaborates:

> We have then a process whereby macro changes external to the family affect the temporal nature of employment, offering more job opportunities at late and rotating hours as well as on weekends. Out of necessity or preference (and the data suggest mostly the former), employees increasingly take such jobs, which in turn affect the temporal nature of family life, particularly the 'at home' structure of American families in the evenings, nights and at weekends (2006, p.36-37).

Non-standard work schedules are almost always imposed by the employer leaving the employee disadvantaged in terms of relative control over the timing of work.

The 2000/01 Canadian Community Health Survey indicated that almost one-third of workers aged 18 to 54 (30% of men and 26% of women) employed year-round had a non-standard schedule and most worked this schedule not by choice, but because of job requirements (Shields, 2002). Many of these workers were employed in sales and service sectors with a relatively low income (Higgins & Duxbury, 2002). Non-standard work times, ". . . have evolved to meet economic imperatives, not parents' needs, and, in lower status jobs, such hours are unlikely to be combined with good pay or with choice in start and stop times" (Strazdins et al., 2006, p.407).

Studies of non-standard work schedules have revealed negative repercussions for family scheduling, marital happiness, satisfaction with family life, quality of health, and children's behaviour and educational attainment (Ahasan, Niguyddub & Khaleque, 2002; Barnes, Bryson & Smith, 2006; Grosswald, 2004; Herbert, 1983; Heymann, 2000; Pocock et al., 2001; Presser, 2003). Daly (2004) has also raised questions about temporal process and the dynamics of control among families with non-standard shift workers. He suggests that parents may experience a greater sense of powerlessness over control of time or circumstances related to work, which may be exacerbated by their low-income status. Additionally, at home they may have less control over the orchestration of family activities due to frequent evening and weekend absences. Non-standard work schedules may cause parents to lose or relinquish control over time in both work and family settings with consequences for perceptions of time pressure, stress and lack of satisfaction with their use of time. Parent-child relationships may be affected in different ways. In a study of parents' relationships with their teenage children, fathers with daytime work schedules were more knowledgeable about their teenagers compared to men with non-traditional shifts. This was due, in part, to men's reliance on mothers to communicate information, and difficulties when shift work limited opportunities to spend time with one's spouse. Mothers with non-standard shifts, though, had higher relationship intimacy and more knowledge of their teens than mothers with daytime schedules (Davis, Crouter & McHale, 2006). Researchers suggest that this may be due to mothers making time with their teens a priority to compensate when work schedules limit the amount of contact.

Much of the research on non-standard work schedules and family functioning focuses on families with younger children rather than teens because of heightened challenges for child care and difficulties in establishing regular family activities, rituals and routines (Barnes et al., 2006; La Valle, Arthur, Millward, Scott & Clayden, 2002; Pocock et al., 2001; Presser, 2003; Strazdins, Korda, Lim, Broom & D'Souza, 2004). Women have experienced these problems to a greater extent than men because of the gendered nature of domestic responsibilities and the additional time many women spend on housework and child care (Fast & Frederick, 2004; LaValle et al., 2002). In an investigation of the impact of non-standard

work arrangements on family relationships and children's well-being using Canada's National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth, associations were found between non-standard work schedules and social and emotional difficulties among younger children, more depressive symptoms among adults, and a negative impact on family functioning (Strazdins et al., 2006). Therefore, timing of the work day can have important implications for families. This study is notable because it is one of the few that have explored the impact of non-standard work schedules on the well-being of Canadian parents and children using quantitative data, even though Sunter (1993) and Krahn (1995) identified an emerging need for this type of research more than a decade ago.

The prevalence and positioning of non-standard work schedules indicates that they are most common among the lower ranks of organizations (Henly & Lambert, 2005; Presser, 2003). Although low-income workers have received less attention from scholars in terms of how they cope with work and family responsibilities, there is a growing body of research that has begun to outline repercussions for family life and family members' well-being. In one of the few time use studies to investigate alternative work schedules, Zuzanek (2000) found that parents working night shifts had the highest combined workload of paid and unpaid labour, the lowest level of contact time with children, and the least amounts of free time and sleep. Women working evening shifts experienced the highest level of time pressure and the least amount of job satisfaction, the least satisfaction with life and, interestingly, the highest amount of contact time with children. This, in itself, raises questions about the value of "off-shifting", where parents choose to work non-standard shifts in order to provide continuous parental child care (Higgins & Duxbury, 2002). It also lends support to issues raised in qualitative studies about shift work and sleep deprivation (Garey, 1999; Hattery, 2001) and the consequences to mental health and marital quality among non-standard shift workers (Perry-Jenkins & Haley, 2004; LaValle et al., 2002).

Even less well understood are the effects of irregular or unpredictable shifts. Many studies of non-standard work schedules fail to distinguish between shifts that regularly occur during non-standard hours and those that are scheduled less than a week in advance. In certain sectors, this is becoming an increasingly prevalent phenomenon in response to unpredictable manufacturing, sales and service needs of the employer. In Canada, irregular shifts comprise a substantial segment of the workforce, affecting more than 1.3 million Canadians (Williams, 2008). Most research on non-standard schedules looks at timing of the work day, but more attention is needed for the different outcomes of stable and unpredictable routines because of the impact on temporal autonomy. One study that does explore irregular work shifts found that individuals with highly variable work hours reported lower job quality and were more likely to report higher levels of stress and lower levels of self-assessed health than workers with traditional, set work schedules (Heisz & LaRochelle-Côté, 2006). Another study, based on the 1998 General Social Survey, indicated that when hours of work were controlled for, women with irregular

shifts were less time stressed than other work schedules. For men, irregular shifts were associated with decreased satisfaction with work-life balance (MacDonald, Phipps & Lethbridge, 2005). Therefore, more research on the effects of irregular or unpredictable work schedules is needed because this is a relatively under-researched area and has additional complicating factors beyond the timing of the work day.

2.3.2.2 Flexible scheduling

Flexible scheduling is used by approximately one-third of employees but the prevalence and opportunity varies according to employment sector, gender, education and occupational strata (Higgins & Duxbury, 2002). While flexible schedules do not reduce work time or increase free time or time spent with children, workers with flexible scheduling report greater life satisfaction, job satisfaction, and lower levels of time pressure than those with traditional work schedules (Zuzanek, 2000). It is considered one of the best options in alleviating work-family conflict caused by a mismatch between the workplace and workforce structural characteristics (Kossek & Friede, 2006). Higgins and Duxbury explain that flexible scheduling:

> . . . reduces stress by increasing an employee's ability to control, predict and absorb change in both the work and family settings. It has also been linked to improved employee attitudes and morale, an increased ability to balance work and family demands, increased productivity, lower absenteeism and heightened commitment to the organization (2002, p.44).

Their explanation incorporates both the 'business case' and 'family case' for flexible scheduling. The 'business case' appeals to employers by promoting flexibility as a cost-effective way to decrease employees' work-family stress so that productivity remains high while turnover stays low, thereby maximizing employer payback (Kelly, 1999; Kossek & Friede, 2006). The 'family case' portrays flexible scheduling as a way for employees to protect and increase time with family, primarily to ensure that children have adequate care and parents' stress levels are decreased (Noonan, Estes & Glass, 2007). Flexible temporal boundaries may not be entirely beneficial though. 'Flexibility' can lead to longer work hours as employees respond to market demands and the drive for greater productivity (Everingham, 2002) and this may contribute to workplace expectations of longer work hours, especially among professional cultures (Crosbie & Moore, 2004). The provision of flexible scheduling, however, does not appear to be linked to family responsibilities or the employment demands of one's spouse (Gerson & Jacobs, 2001) as one might expect. Research indicates that in Canada, more men than women have flexible schedules and it is most common among highly educated managers and professionals in the private sector (Higgins & Duxbury, 2002; Statistics Canada, 2004).

This points to the importance of exploring gender differences in relation to time use and flexible schedules. Sirianni (1991) suggests that while rigid schedules reinforce unequal gender divisions of paid

labour and domestic activities, flexible schedules allow for the possibility of altering these patterns. At present, though, the evidence remains rather ambiguous. There is some indication that autonomy over time is more often used by women to take on more domestic activities (Brannen, 2002; Hochschild, 1989), so the benefits of flexible scheduling may be inherently contradictory. Workplace flexibility may aid in the reproduction of traditional gender roles and obligations that disadvantage women, but it may also be welcomed by mothers because of greater perceived control over the timing of work in order to meet demands of child care and other domestic obligations (Felstead & Jewson, 2000). In a study of women working for a Canadian financial corporation, flexible scheduling was highly valued as a component of telework because it allowed mothers to more optimally plan their daily responsibilities, but it did little to challenge gender role expectations (Shaw, Johnson & Andrey, 2003; Hilbrecht, Shaw, Johnson & Andrey, 2008). On the other hand, in another study of workplace flexibility policies and time spent in domestic labour by husbands and wives, researchers found that in general, policy use had little relationship to time spent in domestic activities by either the individual or their spouse. The exception was women with flexible schedules and hours of housework. Contrary to expectation, they actually did less housework while their spouses did more. Husbands' flextime policies, conversely, had no effect on wives' domestic labour (Noonan, et al., 2007). The authors speculate that women may arrange work hours so that they are unavailable during the peak morning and supper-time 'rush hours' of family life, although this is contrary to research by Brannen (2002) who has observed that flexible hours can reinforce "gendered patterns of responsibility and the ethic of care" (p.13).

Other research has shed further light on the effects of flexible work schedules on the experience of time. For example, Estes (2005) observed little difference in mothers' household labour using quantitative measures because many of the tasks, such as planning activities or coordinating transportation are not easily detected through time use surveys. In analyses of open-ended questions though, she found that many mothers believed flexible scheduling facilitated the accomplishment of work, parenting and other domestic tasks. In other words, it made it easier to do things they were already expected or committed to do regardless of their work arrangement. Perceptions of time pressure and other measures of well-being in relation to work schedules indicate that women with flexible work hours show lower levels of time pressure, higher levels of satisfaction with work-family balance, job satisfaction, satisfaction with life and with their use of time compared to the general employed population. On the other hand, men with similar employment arrangements experience more time pressure and are less satisfied with work-family balance and with their use of time (Zuzanek, 2000).

Although there are conflicting reports about whether the amount of time devoted to work has actually increased (see Jacobs and Gerson, 2004; Robinson & Godbey, 1999; Schor, 2000), there is a perception that work has become more predominant in people's lives (Haworth & Veal, 2004) and that

the intensity has increased (Burchell, Ladipo, & Wilkinson, 2002; Nolan, 2002). Again, further research is needed on gender differences, parenthood, and the relationship between work schedules, time allocation, quality of time and the influence of various social contextual factors on subjective measures of time use and well-being.

2.4 The landscape of leisure – selected themes and ongoing challenges

Leisure is an area that may be very relevant for conveying ideological messages because individuals have some choice in activity. How individuals define and experience leisure, how much leisure time they have, and the role leisure plays in their lives may reveal much about ideologies as well as possible disjunctions between culture and conduct. This leads to several questions about how mothers and fathers experience leisure and how ideologies of motherhood and fatherhood are expressed through leisure. Much of the research in this area, at least since the 1980s, has been guided by a feminist approach and, more recently, the gender relations perspective. Rather than chronicling this large body of research, selected themes or trends will be presented that relate to motherhood, fatherhood and child-rearing practices in contemporary society.

2.4.1 Motherhood and leisure

With cultural expectations of intensive mothering and the temporal demands of employment, mothers' leisure does not comfortably conform to residual time or activity definitions of leisure. By exploring the meaning of leisure for mothers, Deem (1986) found that conventional definitions of leisure were lacking. It was not that mothers' lives were devoid of leisure; rather, it was interwoven with other aspects of daily life and conceptualized in different ways. Malestream definitions and popular notions of leisure as time or activity did not resonate with their experiences. Mothers often viewed leisure as time free from the responsibilities of child care or personal time just for themselves (Green, Hebron & Woodward, 1987; Harrington, 2001; Kay, 2001). Even paid work could be described as a type of personal time, ". . . because time at work was protected from the intrusions of children's needs" (Kay, 2001, p.121). Consequently, for mothers, the idea of leisure as 'freedom from' or 'freedom to' may be more relevant (Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw & Freysinger, 1996). The experiential view of leisure is also useful because it recognizes the salience of context and diversity while avoiding time and activity definitions of leisure which may be problematic for women (Deem, 1986; Shaw, 1985). Because mothers' time is so often bound and defined by their role as caregivers, this view of leisure seems fitting although it is also inherently challenging to incorporate into time use studies.

Clough (2001) sets the question of employed mothers' leisure experiences within the context of changing social and workplace structures, recognizing the intersection of workplace and household

demands. In a study of female academics, four types of leisure patterns emerged: family, partner, work-related and personal leisure. Personal leisure or time for self was highly valued but more likely than other forms to be delayed or cancelled if family or work demands arose. Like the mothers in Kay's (2001) study, the women in Clough's study were very committed to their jobs, but children were their top priority, work was second, and leisure last. All felt a sense of entitlement to personal leisure but this was not always recognized or supported by their families. Clough found that spouses or ex-spouses ". . . were often the 'gatekeepers' to their personal leisure, but they were also important facilitators" (p.137). This study emphasizes the significance of "personal" leisure and the need to distinguish women's personal leisure (i.e., time for self or self and friends outside the family context) from other forms of leisure such as family or partner leisure.

In terms of family leisure, women reported mixed feelings. They often derived satisfaction from it, but sometimes resented the implicit expectation to organize and arrange activities (Clough, 2001). This experience of family leisure has also been observed by Shaw (2001), where the realities of family life for mothers combined with pressure to find mutually enjoyable activities can sometimes create a greater burden for women. The additional expectations of scheduling and planning as well as the emotional work of ensuring that everyone is enjoying themselves can create a less relaxing and potentially stressful experience for mothers. This may restrict women's own opportunities for enjoyment and relaxation and lead to a more work-like experience of family leisure (Shaw, 1992).

Using both time use data and in-depth interviews, Harrington (2001) studied gender differences in the context of family leisure activities among Australian families. She found that parents differentiated between family leisure, couple (or partner) leisure, and individual leisure. Regardless of the type of activity pursued, a predominant theme that emerged for mothers' leisure was the importance of creating an 'oasis', or time away from obligatory household and workplace tasks. Mothers' personal leisure, however, occupied a precarious position while children's and family leisure retained top priority. Other research has shown that fathers are better able to maintain their own access to leisure time, independent from children and family responsibilities (Silver, 2000; Such, 2006).

In many ways, mothers' leisure experiences reflect and conform to the dominant discourse of 'good' mothering. Because of the pressure to be constantly available to children, time for personal leisure is often unpredictable and/or fragmented, which makes it difficult to plan or pursue activities outside the home (Bryson, 2007). Within leisure, however, there is also an opportunity for mothers to resist these orthodoxies and challenge constraints. Wearing (1990) suggests that many women do not completely embrace the ideology of motherhood, and leisure can become a site where these struggles are played out even among mothers who have very little autonomy. She found that mothers ". . . who made a concerted and recalcitrant effort to carve out leisure for themselves, gained in terms of time and space

just for themselves and also in terms of their self-esteem, general sense of well-being, ability to control their situation of unpaid labour in the home and the stresses involved in childcare" (Wearing, 1990, p.54). Gaining some control over their own time challenged the dominant discourse on motherhood that promotes constant availability to others. Resistance through leisure can have broader social implications as behaviours and experiences gain wider social acceptance and challenge traditional gendered practices, allowing women a sense of empowerment and control (Shaw, 1999).

For the mothers in Wearing's study, leisure was very much associated with 'freedom from' the responsibilities of motherhood so that for these women, leisure was a time spent by oneself or with friends but away from their infants. Harrington (2001) and Clough (2001) also recognized 'partner' or 'couple' leisure as a qualitatively different type of leisure experience. While distinct in character from family activities with children, Harrington has identified a purposive component to couple leisure as a valued opportunity to maintain or strengthen the marital bond. While a positive or negative experience of couple leisure may be affected by the state of the relationship, parents in her study seemed to be overwhelmingly positive in their assessments of couple leisure, whereas with family leisure there were more contradictory feelings expressed by mothers. Therefore, the social context of leisure is especially relevant to consider for women.

2.4.2 Fatherhood and leisure

Fathers' leisure experiences have been much less researched compared to mothers' although, by androcentric default, men's leisure has been the focus of most of the earlier studies because of an interest in the work-leisure relationship. This topic, which occupied social scientists such as Wilenksy (1960), Dumazedier (1967) and Parker (1971), was essentially an analysis of men's, but not necessarily fathers' experiences. For men, work was their primary activity and leisure, conceptualized as 'free' time or "time not sold" (Soule, 1957, p.16), was secondary. This temporal definition of men's leisure remains a standard feature of many time use studies. There was little expectation of unpaid labour beyond routine 'masculine' household maintenance tasks; child care was the undisputed domain of women. Foundational theories such as Wilensky's spillover and compensation hypotheses did not consider how parenthood might influence the work-leisure relationship but instead focused on how leisure was influenced by paid employment. In other words, work retained primacy and the effect of fatherhood on men's leisure was generally ignored.

Gender researchers have traditionally been concerned with understanding and making visible women's lives while men's experiences and the construction of masculinity have been somewhat overlooked in gender research on leisure (Henderson & Shaw, 2006) – even though men also face intense cultural pressures and external constraints that affect their allocation of time (Bryson, 2007).

More recently, with greater recognition of men's different experiences and increasing attention to the ideology of involved fatherhood, more research is being conducted in this area (see Dyck & Daly, 2006; Kay, 2006; Such, 2006). Most of the earlier literature on fathers' leisure was set in the context of family leisure, rather than focusing fathers' experiences of personal leisure or the meaning of leisure in their lives. While both parents may participate in the same activity, mothers and fathers experiences may be quite different.

In Shaw's (1992) study of family time, fathers were more likely than mothers to view family time as leisure and significantly less often saw it as work or a combination of work and leisure. Additionally, fathers reported family leisure participation as relaxing, enjoyable and freely chosen more often than mothers. More recently, there has been greater interest in men's leisure experiences as a basis for developing closer relationships and enjoying more active involvement with their children. Like motherhood, leisure can provide fertile ground for analysis of current fathering practices and behaviours because of the notion of freedom of choice, as well as characteristics and qualities of the activities themselves (Shaw, 1996). Sport, in particular, appears to be a popular form of leisure where fathers can strengthen and enhance relationships with their children (Harrington, 2006). Kay (2006) also contends that due to the changing nature and conditions of fatherhood, leisure is well situated to allow for explorations of intimate relationships in Western societies, especially when the contrasting social trend toward individualism is taken into account.

Time use research shows that mothers and fathers interact with children in different ways, particularly in the type of child care activities they typically perform so that fathers are more likely to equate playing with children to leisure. Dermott (2005) concludes that ". . . these emotional and pleasurable elements of parenting may also be intrinsically tied up with the self-identity of fatherhood" (p. 105). Such (2006) reports that because of playful behaviours, meanings and experiences of leisure for some fathers are closely related to time spent with children. She distinguishes between the discourse of 'being with' children, which men associated with leisurely and playful interactions and 'being there' for children, which was more frequently used by mothers to describe caregiving responsibilities. Such's study also confirmed that fathers were much more likely to take time for personal leisure than mothers, using strategies such as blocking off their own activities on family calendars to make it 'official'. She notes that mothers seldom used a similar strategy to create time for self.

In addition to the types of activities parents pursue with children, time use studies have highlighted the discrepancies in quality of leisure time between mothers and fathers. Mattingly and Bianchi (2003) found that married men had significantly more time for leisure than married women and that fathers' leisure was 'contaminated' significantly less often by a concurrent non-free-time activity such as housecleaning and/or child care responsibilities. Men were also less likely than women to spend

their leisure time in the company of children with no other adults present. Bittman and Wajcman (2000) addressed fragmentation of men's and women's leisure by isolating the longest episode of leisure in time diaries and determined that men's leisure periods were of longer duration. Furthermore, by observing the number and length of all leisure activity episodes as well as whether a secondary activity was being performed, they found that men's leisure is less likely to be interrupted and is less often associated with unpaid work. Sullivan (1997) also explored time fragmentation by examining the last leisure period of the day for husbands and wives and how often it was interrupted by domestic obligations. Results indicated that fathers were half as likely to have their leisure ended by interruptions due to domestic activity (usually child-care) than women. Fathers, therefore, not only experienced differences in the quantity of time available for leisure, they also experienced differences in quality. Because this has implications for perceptions of time pressure and men devote different amounts of time to other activities like employment and household labour, time itself also has gender connotations. Taken together it indicates the importance not only of social context, but also gender and temporality.

2.5 The gendered nature of time

In her discussion of the nature of time and social theory, Adam (1990) identified four aspects of time that are critical in shaping temporal experiences: time (duration of activity or event), timing (when it occurs), tempo (pace or intensity) and temporality (rhythm, routine and processes). Each may be studied separately, but together they help create a more comprehensive picture of the meaning and complexity of time for individuals and society. Research on leisure and work indicates that the amount of time allocated to these domains varies by gender, parental status and living arrangements. In addition, timing is affected by social and structural factors external to parenthood. Institutional policies of schools and the workplace exert an influence over the length and timing of the workday, especially in the case of long work hours and shift work schedules. Pace or intensity may be captured through measurements of time pressure that often accompany time diary research. Due to demands of work and family, pace is often perceived differently by mothers and fathers. To understand work-life balance issues and the role of leisure, it is also important to consider temporality because of the different and often competing time structures that parents must reconcile in order to manage the demands of daily life. Gendered temporal experiences suggest that the meaning and role of leisure time, perceptions of work-life balance and challenges of integrating work, family and children's school schedules may vary for mothers and fathers because of their distinct life situations (Knights, 2006).

As separate domains, paid production at work and unpaid production in the household have acquired different temporal values and rhythms. According to Adam (1995), time devoted to paid employment has been commodified and disembodied. It is clock-oriented and has been decontextualized.

'Masculine' experiences of time are associated with the workplace and are also known as linear, monochronic or industrial time (Daly, 1996; Davies, 1990; Dermott, 2005; Sullivan & Lewis, 2001). Conversely, household or domestic time is grounded in recurring rhythms and patterns of activities (Daly, 1996) that are cyclical rather than linear, task-based instead of clock-based, and embedded in meaning instead of decontextualized (Tietze & Musson, 2003). 'Feminine' temporal conditions inherent in home and leisure experiences lend themselves to polychronous time structures where more than one activity may be occurring or ongoing. As a component of domestic time, 'family time' is process oriented rather than strictly commodified. Both the purpose and outcome of spending time together is social interaction; the quality of time is not necessarily related to the quantity, nor is the outcome readily measurable (Brannen, 2002).

Issues of integrating linear and cyclical temporal rhythms are magnified when dealing with scheduling demands of workplaces that no longer adhere to deeply ingrained cultural rhythms and school and leisure activity schedules that still do. There has been little time use research that examines the effects of season, yet the ebb and flow of seasonal variation in climate and activities, or celebrations of religious and secular events add additional dimensions to choices individuals make in how to spend their time. Indeed this was recognized by Statistics Canada who, after their initial national time use survey of 1986, recognized the need to extend data collection from only two months to all twelve months of the year. Not only were the number of activities constrained by a two-month window, but the amount of time spent on different activities was also seasonally dependent (Zuzanek & Smale, 1997). In the most recent time use survey of 2005, data were collected for all but the last two weeks of December (Statistics Canada, 2006b), no doubt in recognition of the Christmas holiday season which has a substantial effect on time spent with family, time spent working, preparing meals and, last but not least, shopping. This has particularly strong effects on mothers' use of time and feelings of time pressure (see Bella, 1992). Given the availability of data for all twelve months of the year, it is somewhat surprising that so few time use studies consider the effect of season.

Little research was uncovered that explored variations in time use for parents between the school year and summer, although it is intuitively apparent that without the framework of school hours, the time and timing of activities for children and their parents differs. The effect of the school year has long-standing socio-historical roots and references to differences between summer and winter activities can be found in earlier ethnographic studies such as *Crestwood Heights* (Seeley, Sim & Loosley, 1956) where the authors commented, ". . . sociologically speaking, there are really two seasons – a social-and-work season and a vacation . . . winter is a period of activity and summer the period of lethargy" (p.77). They continue, "The social-and-work season absorbs the entire winter months as charted on the traditional calendar, and much of the spring and fall" (p. 78). These differences are influenced both by climate and

the routines of institutions external to the family. One earlier study by Michelson (1971) explored the effect of seasonal differences on mothers' social participation, choice of activity, and location of interaction. Michelson found that participation in social activities was "more seasonally volatile than sociological literature has acknowledged" (p. 1078) and that the greatest variation was found with discretionary activities such as visiting relatives or engaging in sports. Michelson (1985) also addressed parents' use of time during summer vacations as part of a larger study of the effect of maternal employment on children's lives. He reported that mothers spent less time spent on primary child care activities, had more leisure and experienced less time pressure during the summer. Fathers also decreased the amount of time spent caring for children and their leisure increased too. He noted that changes in leisure activities likely occurred in response to the weather. Because changing seasonal rhythms and activities are part of the Canadian temporal experience, it is likely that many of the seasonal differences identified in this study and Michelson's earlier work still persist.

The need to combine and cope with different temporal structures in work and household spheres may be experienced differently by mothers and fathers. There is some evidence to suggest that fathers experience less time stress than mothers because of different role expectations. Dermott (2005) noticed that very few men reported difficulties in reconciling work and family time to achieve work-life balance. For participants, paid work time represented commitment and responsibility rather than a simple exchange of time for money. On the other hand, the quantity of time with children was not directly associated with their commitments or self-identity as fathers. Spending at least some time with children allowed for the possibility of being a 'good' father. For instance, attendance at important events such as birthdays, school plays, sports days or organized leisure activities were seen to be markers of involved fatherhood, even though the actual time commitment for these events was often minimal and infrequent. The symbolic value of time in these instances was of greater importance than the quantity of time. Fathers' time is more individual, with men having greater temporal autonomy. Conversely, mothers' time with their family ". . . is more collective than individual since it is linked to the demands or claims of other members of the family" (Knights, 2006, p.256). Notions of 'feminine' time challenge those of 'masculine' time embedded in the workplace. It may be the tension or intersection between these two conceptions of time that contributes to heightened experiences of time pressure, time fragmentation and time stress for mothers. Most research uses the activity definition of leisure, so fails to reflect some of these important experiential components related to gender (Shaw, 1985).

2.6 The contribution of time use research

This draws into question the utility of time use surveys to meaningfully address temporal experiences if quantity and frequency of events is not entirely related to the significance of an activity in everyday life

(Bryson, 2007). Using a quantifiable and linear approach to time, we can determine what people are doing and when, but it is difficult to appreciate fully why or the meaning attached to an activity (Knights, 2006). Nevertheless, studying reoccurring patterns of behaviour and time use among population sub-groups has value in understanding social trends and informing policy development. Oakley (2005) notes that in addition to qualitative studies, quantitative research on women and other population subgroups is necessary in order to distinguish individual experience from group oppression. She comments, "Only large-scale comparative data can determine to what extent the situations of men and women are structurally differentiated" (p. 249). Time use research began almost a century ago in an effort to understand working class living conditions and influence policy development (Szalai, 1973) and it continues to be a valuable research method to show the influence of factors such as gender, employment status, and parenthood on people's lives. As Robinson summarizes, time diaries are ". . . something akin to the physical artifacts (like bones and tools) available to anthropologists. In their patterns and traces, they invite several insightful speculations about the nature of human behavior" (1999, p.55). Illuminating similarities and differences in the allocation of time provides a key to understanding temporal conditions and inequalities. Time budget data are well suited to macro-level analyses of population groups. They can tell researchers how often, when, and for how long activities occur, with some consideration of spatial and social factors, although this method is less effective in conveying how people feel about the way they spend their time or the impact of previous, concurrent, or anticipated activities (Gershuny, 2004).

Bryson (2008) has expressed concern about the gendered nature of time use research. Because it is based on a research tradition and assumptions of male academics in the Western world, there are inherent biases that have led to the under-reporting of unpaid labour and not enough attention given to time-related stresses of multitasking with which so many women approach domestic and caregiving responsibilities. She challenges the linear clock-time assumptions of time use research by stating that "assumptions of time-use studies rest upon a temporal standpoint that disregards the patterns of women's lives" (2008, p.145). Furthermore, many of the studies have tended to ignore the constrained and fragmented aspects of "free" time for women with childcare responsibilities. Although these criticisms have merit, there is a growing group of feminist time use researchers (for example, see Craig, 2007; Folbre, 2006; and Sullivan, 1997, 2004) who have structured their research to include relational factors that assist in clarifying gender differences in experiences and behaviour. When factors such as social context and qualitative measures like perceptions of time pressure, stress and work-life balance are considered in the analyses, it is possible to learn more about the experience of time to flesh out the dynamics of everyday life. Bryson concludes that if feminist researchers are alert to assumptions on which many time use studies are based, ". . . if they are handled carefully, time-use studies can offer major insights into how people live and record their lives" (2008, p. 148). By presenting information

about the full range of civic, economic, domestic and caring work in which people are engaged, this type of research can still play a role in highlighting the contrast between men's and women's unequal access to different spheres of activity. As Sirianni (1991) notes,

> Time not only structures the opportunities we have and the plans we make but the attention we distribute and the recognition we grant. It serves as a sign of respect, a measure of responsibility, an index of care and commitment in our everyday work relations and in our homes, in the shops, and in the streets" (p.267).

Therefore, time allocation is related to judgment of worth and for mothers and fathers, and it is closely aligned with role identities as parents and workers.

2.7 Summary: time use, leisure, and the daily experiences of employed parents

When examining the experiences of employed parents, time use research often focuses on the distribution of paid and unpaid workloads between parents (Bianchi & Raley, 2005; Bianchi et al, 2006). This has important implications for accessibility to children (Strazdins et al., 2006), opportunities for and quality of leisure (Bittman & Wajcman, 2000; Sullivan, 1997), and perceptions of time pressure (Schneider & Waite, 2005; Zuzanek, 2000). Non-traditional work arrangements affect a substantial portion of the Canadian labour force and may have an effect on time allocation, scheduling and the experience of time pressure and work-family balance. Moreover, because mothers and fathers experience time, parenthood, work and leisure differently, it is possible that some types of work schedules may be more beneficial or detrimental to well-being, family relationships, and overall quality of life and this may differ for single and dual-parent households. Furthermore, there is a gap in the literature in addressing the relationship of parents' time use to broader seasonal rhythms.

Very little research on parents' non-standard schedules (particularly irregular work shifts) or flexible schedules draws attention to personal time or leisure. Much of the discourse on flexible scheduling is framed as either the business or family case and the role of leisure is rarely acknowledged, at least in North American literature, although flexible scheduling may allow more opportunities for personal leisure than other non-traditional work options. Furthermore, because of the lack of synchronization with children's school routines, parents with non-standard or irregular work schedules may have less control over time for caregiving, work and leisure. Somewhat overlooked to date has been the role of leisure and its potential to provide these parents with some autonomy in a different life sphere.

The neglect of leisure in most of the literature on work-life balance is a significant shortcoming, given evidence of the links between leisure, well-being and health (Iso-Ahola & Mannell, 2004). It may be that leisure has been overlooked because it is not recognized as important and/or because it is difficult to measure in a meaningful way. Still, work-life balance may be possible only when leisure is given equal

consideration along with work and care giving (Williams, 2001). The extent to which leisure may affect perceptions of work-life balance may vary, however, since gender exerts an influence on the experience of both leisure and time. Nevertheless, it may be possible to incorporate leisure in a more relevant way by looking not only at time and activity, but also considering social context.

Work-life balance and subjective well-being have become issues of increasing concern to Canadians and throughout the Western world. Duxbury and Higgins (2001) report that workers were more stressed and that both mental and physical health declined from 1991 to 2001, as did life satisfaction. This coincides with the increasing prevalence of non-standard work arrangements and stronger social expectations of involved or intensive parenting practices.

It is highly unlikely that the societal forces which have influenced the adoption of alternative work schedules are going to change in the near future or that the breadwinner/ homemaker family model will re-emerge as a dominant family form. Additionally, ideologies of intensive mothering, involved fathering, and the prevalence of a concerted cultivation model of child-rearing are deeply entrenched in North American culture and have a profound effect on parents' behaviour. Caring for, nurturing, and encouraging children to develop their abilities and talents extends the period of intensive child care well into the elementary and high school years. As employers continue to respond to a changing economy, it is imperative that researchers gain a better understanding of time use among Canadian parents as they adapt the rhythms of their lives to demands of the workplace and family. Furthermore, the role of personal leisure and its association with temporal experiences may provide greater insight into how well-being is affected by the degree to which parents can successfully integrate time for work, family and leisure.

Chapter 3
Methodology

This chapter outlines the methods that will be used to assess parents' allocation of time and the relationship to subjective well-being. This study is a secondary analysis of the 2005 Canadian General Social Survey (GSS), Cycle 19. It is a large-scale, nationally representative, omnibus survey that allows for the cross-sectional examination of associations between parents' time use, background characteristics, and subjective assessments of factors associated with their experiences of time and overall quality of life. First, the methodological framework is reviewed, followed by a discussion of the composition of the GSS, the sample of respondents, and method of data collection. The plan of analysis is then presented.

3.1 Methodological framework

Time use research has been conducted with a variety of methodological approaches, but most studies conducted by national statistical agencies use quantitative methods (Harvey & Pentland, 1999). In general, these studies have followed a post-positivist perspective where social behaviour is measured in an "objective" manner with an approximation of truth as the goal (Crotty, 1998). For this study, however, the gender relations perspective is subsumed under a larger umbrella of critical inquiry to guide the analyses and interpretation of results. Critical inquiry seeks to illuminate power relationships that are culturally and historically situated, expose ideological underpinnings of social behaviour and challenge commonly held assumptions and values, particularly as they relate to certain groups in society being privileged over others (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000). By using the time diary methodology, generalizable results can be obtained that demonstrate which groups occupy a dominant or subordinate position and indicate factors that might allow the dominant groups to maintain power.

The guiding precept of the gender relations perspective is that to understand how gendered behaviour is enacted, it is important to consider the interaction between individual, interpersonal, institutional and socio-cultural levels of influence. Consistent with this view and literature reviewed in the previous chapter, time use and experiences of time differ according to gender and the associated socio-cultural expectations of parental duties and roles. Time diary analyses, based as they are on the linear, sequential measurement of human activity have been criticized because they suggest an inherent 'male-time' bias and therefore are not as well suited to measure women's more fragmented temporal realities of multi-tasking, child care and leisure (Bryson, 2008). Furthermore, time-consuming mental labour, such as coordinating and arranging schedules, planning summer activities for children, and facilitating family leisure is most often performed by women (Shaw, 2008) and not easily captured in these studies either.

This type of mental labour can occupy a substantial amount of time and contribute to perceptions of time-pressure and stress, but is not usually addressed in time diary surveys (DeVault, 1991). This has implications for understanding how subjective assessments of well-being may differ between men and women and will be considered in the interpretation of results. Therefore, it is recognized that the time diary methodology does fall short of providing definitive answers to how time is perceived and experienced differently by men and women.

A broader caution for secondary analysis of national statistical data is that these data are both a political and social product. Implicit value assumptions guide what information is to be collected and the categories used (Neuman, 2003). For this reason, certain variables may have been over-emphasized, while others were downplayed or omitted entirely. For the GSS, some biases are evident when trying to assess caregiving activities for children and other adults. While child care has been subdivided into different activity categories in the survey, it remains rather ill-equipped to measure time when parents are responsible for children in their care. Therefore, understanding the amount of time spent caring for family members can be complicated and reflects the extent to which this activity remains unrecognized and, by extension, under-valued. Despite this drawback, time diary studies continue to be used by academics, governments, and policy makers for indicators of behavioural trends within and between population groups. These studies paint a recognizable portrait of Canadian society that allows inferences and speculations about the nature of gender differences and inequalities. These speculations are necessarily bound up in the identity and experience of the researcher. Accordingly, this will influence the focus of the investigation, construction of variables, and interpretation of results.

This research proceeds on the following premises. First, it is acknowledged that time budget research may not fully address individual constructions of gender and what it means to be a mother or a father. Gendered experiences vary widely and are influenced by culture, ethnicity, marital status, sexuality and other social and economic factors. Second, the identity of the researcher will affect not only how variables are derived from a time diary data base, but also how the findings are interpreted, communicated, and assigned importance. Categories of activity use for this study, for example, differ somewhat in their construction from other researchers' and from Statistics Canada's suggestions (see Béchard & Marchand, 2006) due to both personal experiences and understandings and theoretical insights. Nevertheless, there are many similarities to other time use studies in the construction of variables. Third, this research also ensues with the understanding that despite some limitations, there is value in time diary research in determining comparative differences among population groups so that ultimately inequalities may be recognized and addressed. Accordingly, this information can potentially be used to enlighten individuals, institutions and policy makers to enact social change.

3.2 Canadian General Social Survey

The General Social Survey is conducted on an annual basis by Statistics Canada to gather information about social trends and monitor changes in Canadian society. It is also used to generate data on specific issues of interest to policy makers and employers with the goal of improving the quality of life for Canadians. One of the specific objectives of the 2005 GSS outlined by Statistics Canada is for employers "to identify working conditions that balance employees' work and family obligations" (2006b, p.4). This is the fourth time the GSS has focused on time use. Statistics Canada previously collected time use data in 1986 (Cycle 2), 1992 (Cycle 7) and 1998 (Cycle 12), which allows for longitudinal analyses. Variables have remained relatively consistent between cycles, but to ensure that questions remain relevant the survey is regularly updated to reflect newer activities of interest and also to ensure comparability with other national surveys such as the American Time Use Survey (ATUS) conducted by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (Allan, Dryburgh & Horler, 2006).

For the time use portion of the GSS, data were collected for a one-day period using a time diary method. The designated day represented a typical day in the life of the individual, beginning at 4:00am and ending at 4:00 am the following day. Respondents were asked to provide information about what activities they did, for how long, where activities took place and with whom. Relevant to this study, the survey also asked questions about perceptions of time, stress, health, well-being, work-life balance and many other demographic factors (Statistics Canada, 2006a).

3.2.1 Methods

Data were collected over a 12 month period using 11 monthly samples beginning in January 2005 and using a complex sampling framework (Statistics Canada, 2006b). The final data collection period took place from November to mid-December. The target population included all individuals living in Canada age 15 and older but excluded those living in the three Territories and individuals who were institutionalized. Even distribution of the sample was achieved through the Elimination of Non-Working Banks technique of Random Digit Dialing. Because people's activities typically vary by day of the week, the sample was representative of all seven days. Therefore, each randomly selected telephone number was assigned a "designated day" and there was a two-day window during which to administer the survey.

Each selected household was sent a letter prior to the interview in order to encourage participation. The letter outlined the purpose of the study, assured participant confidentiality and provided confirmation that the research was being conducted by Statistics Canada. Data were collected through Computer Assisted Telephone Interviews (CATI) using land-line telephones only. Households without a land-line telephone were excluded. This represented less than 5% of the target group in 2005. CATI

allowed interviews to be conducted while simultaneously entering responses in BLAISE software (Allan et al., 2006). Only one member of each household was interviewed.

Based on usable time diary information, the response rate was 58.6%, or 19,597 respondents. The criterion for usable time diary information was that at least 20 hours of daily activity were recorded. Information that was missing or refused was classified as "residual time" to complete a 24 hour period for time diaries with greater than 20 but less than 24 recorded hours of activity.

Time use data from the GSS are available in two different file formats. The summary file concentrates on the duration of activities and daily allocation of time. It is used most frequently by statistical agencies to show how the total amount of time allocated to different activities differs according to a variety of socio-demographic conditions (Michelson, 2005). The episode file looks at each instance of activity and brings together other relevant information such as social contact and location. Essentially, "It allows us to assess time-use within the qualitative context in which it was embedded in real life" (Michelson, 2005, p. 56). For this study, both summary and episode files were used.

In addition to two different types of files, two versions of the data were released by Statistics Canada. The first was a public access micro-file data set with sensitive variables suppressed. The second, accessible only through a Statistics Canada Research Data Centre, was the complete and confidential data base. Since age of children and month of the year variables were either suppressed or grouped in categories not useful for this study in the publicly accessible version, analyses of data were conducted using the confidential GSS data base at the Southwestern Ontario Research Data Centre (SWORDC), located at the University of Waterloo. All output files of statistical tests were vetted by a Statistics Canada analyst prior to being released to ensure that respondents' confidentiality would not be compromised.

3.2.2 The sample

The target population for this study was employed parents of children living at home between the ages of 5 to 17 years old. This coincides with age groupings provided in the GSS, although it is recognized that most Canadian youth are required to attend school only until age 16. To be included in the study, parents indicated that they worked at a business or job or were full-time students during the previous week. All parents in the sub-sample were biological parents, step-parents or guardians who lived with at least one school-age child, and some had non-resident children in this age group as well. Only parents reporting time use on a work day were selected. To qualify as a work day, respondents reported at least two hours of paid work or studying/attending school for job-related purposes. In addition, parameters were set for the quality of time diaries. Those with 90 minutes or more of residual or unaccounted time (activity code DUR002) and diaries with fewer than 10 activity episodes were eliminated from the sample.

Household composition and living arrangements are critical to understanding parents' use of time so the sample was grouped according to gender, age of children and marital status. Individuals were classified according to whether they were in a dual-parent (either married or cohabitating) or single parent household. Married or cohabitating parents were further categorized into two different sub-groups based on age of children: those with at least one child between 5 to 12 years old (elementary school students) although possibly children in other age groups too, and those where there were no children aged 5 to 12 years old (though possibly a preschool child) but at least one child aged 13 to 17 years old (high school students). Having a child in elementary school can increase time spent in child care activities and social contact time. Adolescents are more independent, are able to remain unsupervised for longer periods, and require less physical child care. Although these differences affect the use of time, the age groups of children have been combined for single parents. The size of the sample of single parents – in particular, single fathers living with their children – compromised statistical power when further sub-divided by age group of children.

3.3 Operationalization

In addition to gender, the main components of the study were work schedules, time use, leisure, and subjectively assessed quality of life. In this section, operationalization of these concepts will be outlined.

3.3.1 Work schedule

There are many types of employment schedules that can be identified or derived from variables in the GSS. For this study, schedules were selected for comparison based on whether the participant worked on weekdays or weekends as well as participants' responses to the question, "Which of the following best describes the hours you usually work at your main job?" (GSS code MAR_Q410). Choices included: a regular daytime, night-time or evening shift; rotating shifts; split shift; compressed work week; on call or casual; irregular; and, "other". Three categories emerged. The first was a traditional work schedule which means a regular daytime schedule or shift during the Monday-to-Friday workweek. The second, a non-standard work schedule, was comprised of individuals who worked evenings, nights and/or rotating shifts throughout the week including those with scheduled work hours on the weekend. The third category was an irregular work schedule. Most individuals in this category described their work hours simply as "irregular", but it also included parents with a compressed work week, or who were "on call" or casual employees. With an irregular schedule, parents were generally notified of a work shift one week or less in advance.

Since length of the workday can be important to perceptions of work-life balance and time pressure, a variable was created that combined minutes spent in all paid work activities including: time

spent working for pay (main job, secondary job, overtime), work breaks, travel to and from work, meals at work and any other associated 'at work' activities such as idle time or time spent waiting. In addition, because attending school for the purpose of employment is work-like, time spent studying and attending school for job-related purposes (as opposed to leisure or special interest classes) was combined with the employment variable. The total amount of overall work time was multiplied by five to approximate a five-day work week. The three categories of work hours were created: part-time (< 35 hours/week), full-time (35 – 48 hours/week) and long hours (> 48 hours per week). These categories were not used as independent variables, but rather to provide descriptive information about work schedules and employment demographics.

Two other temporal aspects were of interest to the study: flexible schedules and season of the year. For flexible work schedules, respondents were asked, "Do you have a flexible schedule that allows you to choose the time you begin and end your work day?" to which they answered either yes or no. Season of the year was divided into two categories based on Seeley et al.'s (1956) description of seasonal activity variation: the school year (September to June) and summer (July and August). These were the two periods of greatest interest in terms of how children's schedules would affect parents' behaviour because of the influence of family relationships on allocation of time.

3.3.2 Time use

The GSS includes a time use module that uses a 24-hour time diary to obtain information about daily allocation of time. Time diary data have been tested extensively and have been found to be highly reliable at the aggregate level, and are more valid than frequency and duration surveys in presenting a representation of daily patterns of time allocation (Juster, 1985; Niemi, 1993; Robinson, 1985; Robinson & Godbey, 1999). Time use was measured in minutes per day spent in various activities. Because of the many possible activities an individual may engage in during the day, time use was grouped into four main categories based on Robinson and Godbey's (1999) typology of time which includes contracted, committed, personal and free time. A detailed list of GSS time use variables used to construct categories of daily activity is found in Appendix A.

3.3.2.1 Contracted time

Contracted time involved time spent in doing paid and non-household work. It included all activities related to employment and training for main jobs, secondary jobs, unpaid work in family businesses, and looking for work. It also included work breaks, travel during work, overtime work with or without pay, and job-related education. The activity groups constructed for this category included:

a. *Paid work excluding travel* (GSS codes DUR011 to DUR021, DUR030 to DUR080).

b. *Unpaid non-household work* (GSS codes DUR023, DUR022).
c. *Travel to or from work* (GSS code DUR090).
d. *All educational activities related to employment training* (GSS codes DUR500, DUR511, DUR512, DUR530, DUR540, DUR550, DUR580, DUR590).

3.3.2.2 Committed time

Included in committed time were activities necessary for meeting household and caregiving responsibilities. Household labour included activities related to the ongoing functioning and maintenance of the household such as meal preparation, house cleaning, laundry, home maintenance, financial administration, caring for plants and pets, shopping for groceries and household items, automobile maintenance, banking and government services. Variables were derived as follows:

a. *Food preparation* (GSS codes DUR101 to DUR110). This included cooking, baking, and preserving food.
b. *Indoor housekeeping* (GSS codes DUR120, DUR140, DUR151, DUR152, DUR173). This category included indoor cleaning, laundry, mending and sewing.
c. *Outdoor housekeeping* (GSS codes DUR130, DUR163, DUR171, DUR182). This consisted of outdoor cleaning, vehicle maintenance, gardening/grounds maintenance, and stacking or cutting firewood.
d. *Home repair and maintenance/DIY* (GSS codes DUR161, DUR162, DUR164). This included interior and exterior maintenance and repair and other home improvements.
e. *Household management and administration* (GSS code DUR181). This covered activities such as organizing and planning events, paying bills, etc.
f. *Other housekeeping activities* (GSS codes DUR183 to DUR190). This consisted of other miscellaneous housekeeping duties and travel related to housekeeping.
g. *Pet care* (GSS code DUR172). This involved of care of domestic pets.
h. *Grocery and other household shopping* (GSS codes DUR301, DUR302, DUR310, DUR361, DUR362). This included shopping for groceries and large and small household items, as well as vehicle services and other repair and cleaning services.
i. *Other shopping and services* (GSS codes DUR303, DUR304, DUR331, DUR332, DUR350, DUR370, DUR380, DUR390). This consisted of government, professional and financial services, shopping for take-out food, DVD/video rental, and related travel.

A wide range of activities formed the basis of several derived caregiving variables. They were grouped according to the type of activity and for whom the activity was undertaken. Child care activities were divided into three subcategories based on previous literature which suggests that each has a different

contribution to children's intellectual, physical, emotional and educational outcomes (see Craig, 2007). *Interactive child care* included activities such as playing with, conversing, helping, teaching, listening or reading to children. These activities are considered important for cognitive, linguistic and social development. *Physical child care* included activities like helping children get ready for school or for bed or assisting with other personal care. This group of activities is associated with nurturing emotional security. *Travel, communication or advocacy, and minding* involved driving or assisting with travel arrangements, attending medical or school appointments and passive minding. With the exception of the latter, (which comprised a very small portion of reported child care activities) these are associated with advocating and intervening on the child's behalf and providing transportation services when required. Activities in this subcategory may or may not involve direct contact with the child. Adult care is listed separately since it is qualitatively different from caring for one's children but may still involve aspects of personal care, medical care, shopping and related travel. These four categories of caregiving were derived as follows:

a. *Interactive child care* (GSS codes DUR220 to DUR240, DUR281).
b. *Physical child care* (DUR200 to DUR213).
c. *Child care - travel and advocacy* (GSS codes DUR291, DUR250, DUR260).
d. *Care of household adults* (GSS codes DUR271, DUR272, DUR282, DUR292).

3.3.2.3 Personal time

Personal time included activities required to meet personal physical or biological needs. It accounted for sleeping, eating meals at home, dressing, bathing, and any other personal or private activities. In addition, time spent outside the home in medical or dental care or for other personal care services such as visiting spas, hair-dressers or aestheticians was also included here. Derived variables are, as follows:

a. *Sleep* (GSS codes DUR450, DUR460). This includes both nighttime sleep and napping.
b. *Eating at home* (GSS codes DUR430, DUR431).
c. *Personal needs* (GSS codes DUR400, DUR410, DUR480, DUR492). This included dressing, bathing, and attending to any other personal or private activities.
d. *Other personal care services* (GSS codes DUR320, DUR340). This included medical, dental, spa, salon and other personal care activities that generally occurred outside the home.

3.3.2.4 Free time

The fourth type of time is free time, commonly conceptualized in time diary studies as leisure. Rather than sub-dividing activities into groups such as active or passive leisure, as suggested in the GSS documentation (Bedard & Marchand, 2006) leisure activities were listed independently. While many

activities such as reading or hobbies are traditionally labeled as 'passive', the level of personal satisfaction and other benefits related to social, intellectual or psychological engagement provide positive outcomes similar to more physically active leisure pursuits (Mannell, 1999). Therefore, an active/passive designation was not particularly useful. Free time activities were categorized in the following way:

a. *Watching TV/DVDs* (GSS codes DUR911, DUR912, DUR913, DUR914).
b. *Socializing at home* (GSS codes DUR751, DUR752, DUR792, DUR950, DUR951). This included socializing with friends and/or relatives at a private residence and may or may not include meals.
c. *Socializing outside the home including travel* (GSS codes DUR440, DUR491, DUR753, DUR754, DUR760, DUR780, DUR793). This consisted of socializing and/or eating at non-private settings such as restaurants, bars or clubs.
d. *Entertainment/cultural events including travel* (GSS codes DUR520, DUR701 to DUR743, DUR791). This category consisted of attending or visiting a broad range of entertainment, cultural, historical, zoological and artistic events.
e. *Physical activity and sport including travel* (GSS codes DUR801 to DUR822, DUR880, DUR891). This included traditional sport and fitness activities such as walking, participating in a sport or exercising at a fitness club.
f. *Art, music, drama and dance* (GSS code DUR850). Participation in creating art, music, drama or dance is included in this category.
g. *Hobbies and crafts* (GSS codes DUR831, DUR832, DUR841, DUR842). This consisted of creating hobbies or crafts for pleasure or for sale.
h. *Reading for pleasure* (GSS codes DUR931, DUR932, DUR940). This included reading books, newspapers and magazines for non-employment related reasons.
i. *Reading or writing letters* (GSS codes DUR961, DUR962).
j. *Bingo, casinos, arcades* (GSS code DUR770).
k. *Playing board games, cards or doing puzzles* (GSS code DUR861).
l. *Playing computer or video games* (GSS code DUR862).
m. *Other computer activity excluding games* (GSS codes DUR863 to DUR867). This included general computer use, surfing the Internet, reading or writing e-mail messages, and participating in chat or social groups not for employment-related reasons.
n. *Listening to music and radio* (GSS codes DUR900, DUR920).
o. *Relaxing, resting or thinking* (GSS code DUR470).

p. *Other leisure activities including travel* (GSS codes DUR560, DUR871 to DUR873, DUR893, DUR894, DUR980, DUR990). This consisted of miscellaneous activities such as driving for pleasure, attending special interest classes for fun, and travelling for free time activities.

3.3.2.5 Other types of time

While the Robinson and Godbey (1999) typology is limited to four main time use categories, there are two other activity categories that do not easily fit into contracted, committed, personal or free time. These are religious and volunteer activities, which share a sense of obligation qualitatively different from other categories. Each may include aspects of committed, personal and free time. While some leisure researchers consider volunteerism a form of leisure (see Stebbins, 1982), others have sometimes treated it as a separate category use because it contains aspects of both committed and free time and, therefore, is not easily classified as either (e.g., Zuzanek, 2005). These variables were constructed as follows:

a. *Religious activities.* (GSS codes DUR411, DUR630, DUR640, DUR642, DUR692). This was comprised of both private prayer as well as formal religious activities such as worship services or study groups and included associated travel
b. *Voluntary and civic activities.* (GSS codes DUR600, DUR610, DUR620, DUR651, DUR652, DUR660, DUR661, DUR671 to DUR680, DUR691, DUR800, DUR892). This included coaching or involvement with formal charitable, community or cultural organizations as well as more informal activities such as unpaid babysitting, unpaid help with maintenance and repair, or providing transportation assistance to someone other than a household member.

When the total amount of time spent in each category was summed for the respondent and any residual or unaccounted time was taken into account (GSS code DUR002), it totalled 1,440 minutes, or 24 hours. On average, residual time for the sub-sample was less than one minute. Therefore, although it has been calculated, it is not reported in tables outlining parents' time use since means are rounded to the nearest minute.

3.3.2.6 A note about primary and secondary activities

Although people frequently do more than one thing at a time, the GSS only accounts for primary activities in time diaries. One concern with using only primary activity measures is that some activities remain under-reported. In particular, caregiving and media use are problematic. Primary child care activities provide the most conservative estimate of time spent caring for children (Bittman 2000; Lee, 2005). When secondary activities – those activities simultaneously undertaken with another activity – are included in the analyses, reported hours of child care increase substantially since child care is frequently reported as a secondary activity. Some studies have found that when secondary activities are included,

estimates of childcare are between three to four times higher than those estimates measuring only primary child care time (Bittman, 2000; Ironmonger, 2004). Ironmonger, in fact, argues that child care entries in diaries as primary or secondary activities are purely arbitrary. He suggests that caring for children should always be listed as the primary activity, much as travel has been conventionally treated as a primary activity, no matter what else one is doing in order to accentuate the restrictions and constraints imposed by this type of activity.

While there is much debate on how to best measure child care and parental time, Budig and Folbre (2004) argue that child care is not merely a set of activities but also a state of mind. Therefore, based on Budig and Folbre's conceptualisation and interviewer instructions for the passive child care segment of the American Time Use Survey (ATUS), child care can be defined as "any time that a respondent is aware of what a child in his or her care is doing and is near enough to provide immediate assistance" (Fedick, Pacholock & Gauthier, 2005, p. 69). Indeed, Budig and Folbre suggest the inclusion of "responsibility time" as a separate category that encompasses primary, secondary and parents' "on call" time for child care. Measuring child care is obviously a methodological sticking point that has not yet been resolved among time use researchers. For the purpose of this study, child care time is a relevant consideration because of the implied contribution of committed or "responsibility time" to time pressure as well as the division of unpaid labour.

There is some recognition of the complicated nature of assessing child care in the GSS. The survey measures child care time in no less than four separate ways, each yielding surprisingly different results. Primary child care activities are measured through time diaries. Since 1992, a separate child care module has been included in the GSS that may provide a proxy for secondary child care activities (code CCD_DUR). Child care can also be extrapolated from social contact information related to all other primary activities. Four variables address time spent with children: household children < 15 years (DURSOC03), household children >15 years (DURSOC05), non-resident children < 15 years (DURSOC06) and non-resident children > 15 years (DURSOC07). Finally, respondents were asked to estimate how many hours he or she spent on child care during the previous week (code UWA_Q110). In an analysis of how these measures compare to one another and to other national surveys, Fedick et al. (2005) reported that the primary activity measure is the most conservative of all and that the measure of social contact time, the least. The child care module (CCD_DUR) estimates time with children at 2.5 to 3.5 times higher than child care as a primary activity (depending on demographic segment). Although it is most consistent with international surveys that use secondary activity data, the child care module reports activity only for children less than 16 years of age and was completed by fewer than one-third of the sub-sample (n = 610) in the 2005 GSS. Consequently, it was decided that along with primary activity time, social contact time with children would be used as an alternate and less conservative measure of time

spent in child care. Social contact with children includes both resident and non-resident children, based on Budig and Folbre's (2004) assertion that child care is both an activity *and* a state of mind. Physical child care and opportunities for interactive care, in particular, are likely to have similar effects on parents' allocation of time and subjective well-being when spending time with their children, regardless of custodial status or living arrangements.

3.3.3 Conceptualization and operationalization of leisure

Although leisure is regularly conceptualized by statistical agencies as activities that take place during 'free' time, literature reviewed in the previous chapter indicates that free time activities are not always experienced as leisure. Furthermore, different cultural expectations of mothers and fathers mean that for mothers, especially, traditional definitions of leisure hold less meaning. It is also important to recognize that almost any type of activity may be considered leisure depending on one's vantage point (Shaw, 1985).

Given these gender differences, it is challenging to operationalise parents' leisure according to a simple time or activity definition. Therefore, leisure was measured in two ways. Initially, a traditional time and activity definition of a leisure activity was applied by measuring time spent in "free time" activities. In this case, and consistent with studies conducted by various statistical agencies, social context was ignored. Next, social contact information from the time diaries ("who was with you?") was assessed. From the many possible combinations of social contacts, six main social connections were observed: (1) personal leisure (alone); (2) couple leisure (with partner or with partner and friends); (3) family leisure (with child(ren) and spouse); (4) leisure with children (resident and/or non-custodial); (5) leisure with friends (outside family relationships); and, (6) leisure with others (including extended family, co-workers and others).

3.3.4 Subjective measures of quality of life

Quality of life, as measured by economists, is usually related to external indicators such as annual income, consumption, employment patterns and housing conditions. In the context of this study, subjective indicators are of greater interest since perceptions of well-being are an important outcome of temporal experiences and may reveal more about how individuals cope in the face of structural and temporal constraints. This is supported by Helliwell and Putnam (2005) who comment, "A *prima facie* case can be made that the ultimate 'dependent variable' in social science should be human well-being and, in particular, well-being as defined by the individual herself, or 'subjective well-being'" (p. 435). The GSS contains several variables designed to elicit general information about Canadians' well-being. Germane to this study are modules about perceptions of time pressure, stress, heath, happiness, life

satisfaction, and satisfaction with work-life balance. These variables contribute information about mental and physical health and emotional well-being and together will be referred to as subjective quality of life measurements. For this study, they were distinguished from the more commonly recognized economic quality of life indicators.

Two indices were constructed to measure time pressure and overall perceptions of well-being. The time pressure index is based on the time crunch index (cf. Robinson and Godbey, 1999) included in the survey (codes TCSQ120 through TCSQ200) and three other variables measuring perceptions of feeling rushed (codes GTU_Q110, GTU_Q120, and GTU_Q140). Raw scores of these three variables were combined with the time crunch index. The minimum score was 8.0 and the maximum, 29.0. The reliability measure for the time pressure index was α =.73 but it differed slightly by gender. For fathers, α = .71 and for mothers, α =.74.

According to Kahneman and Riis (2005), well-being may be measured in two ways: experienced (i.e., momentary) or evaluated (i.e., global subjective evaluation of one's life). These two components are distinct conceptually and empirically, but are thought to be correlated and may exert a bi-directional influence on each other. While it is preferable to measure both experienced and evaluated well-being, it is not possible to do so using the GSS since this survey lacks the Experience Sampling Method (ESM) component most often used to measure experienced well-being. Nevertheless, reports of life satisfaction are closely associated with evaluated well-being (Kahneman & Riis, 2005) and this information is available in the survey. In addition, Helliwell and Putnam (2005) have noted that both mental and physical components of health should be included in measures of well-being. Therefore, an index consisting of eight variables was created using physical and mental health factors to measure subjective well-being. There was a high degree of inter-correlation between variables in the life satisfaction module and with self-assessed physical health, happiness and stress. Five of the variables (codes LS_Q110 to LS_Q210) measured satisfaction with health, work, time use, finances and life as a whole. The other three variables (codes HAL_Q110, HS_Q110, and MSS_Q110) measured perceptions of health, happiness and stress. Preliminary reliability tests also included variables related to work-life balance, community belonging, and physical and mental health limitations to activity participation; however, these variables did not enhance the reliability of the index. With the eight variables outlined above, the reliability was α = .77 for the total sample, with α = .75 for men and α = .79 for women. Because the range of index scores was quite broad (12 – 64), the index was standardized. After checking the distribution of the scores, outliers were eliminated. This lead to a minimum *z*-score of -2.81 and a maximum of 2.45, M = .00, SD = 1.00. When outliers were replaced, the minimum *z*-score was - 4.75 and the maximum z = 2.45, with M = - .0488, SD = 1.07.

In addition, self-assessed stress (code MSS_Q110) was evaluated separately. While it was highly correlated with time pressure ($r = .45$, $p < .001$ for men; $r = .50$, $p < .001$ for women) the two concepts are conceptually different. According to Zuzanek (2004), time pressure is related to excessive demands on one's time that reflects circumstances largely outside of an individual's control such as long work hours, time fragmentation or role conflicts resulting from competing temporal demands of work and family. By contrast, psychological stress is rooted in ". . . excessive demands on human capacity to deal with the physical and emotional challenges of work and life in general" (Zuzanek, 2004, p. 133). Respondents were asked to think about the amount of stress in their life and whether they considered most days stressful. Answers ranged from 1 to 5, where 1 was 'not at all stressful' and 5 was 'extremely stressful'. Further questions explored factor that may have contributed to feelings of stress.

Work-life balance was measured by asking respondents whether they were satisfied or dissatisfied with the balance between their home life and job (code MAR_Q510). For those who were dissatisfied, a list of potential reasons was presented and interviewers were asked to mark all that applied. These reasons included lack of time for family, for self, for work, lack of suitable employment, health limitations and other reasons related to family or employment situations (codes MAR_Q520_C01 to C08).

3.4 Data analysis

Four research questions were outlined in the introductory chapter. To assist in presenting the plan of analysis, they are repeated below:

1. How do employed mothers and fathers of school age children allocate their time (including child care time and leisure time) and to what extent does this vary by household composition and season of the school year?
2. How does work schedule affect the allocation of time for mothers and fathers of school-age children? What impact does flexible scheduling have on time use?
3. What factors are most predictive of employed parents' time allocation to different spheres of activity?
4. Is there a relationship between time use, household composition, and work schedules to perceptions of quality of life for mothers and fathers of school-age children?

For the first two questions, general demographic information is provided for respondents using gender, household composition, season of the year, work schedule and flextime option as independent variables. Distribution of factors such as age, income, level of education, spousal employment status, number of children in each household and presence or absence of a pre-school child in the home are noted. Means of time use for daily activities were determined in order understand how mothers and

fathers allocate time. Independent Samples *t*-tests were conducted to determine the extent to which time use varied according to gender and significant differences were noted. Analysis of variance was undertaken to determine the relative importance of gender for household composition, season, work schedule, and flextime categories. For the third question, main time use categories were correlated to determine how time spent in one activity affected time spent in others. Multiple linear regression analysis was then conducted to explore whether differences in time use of mothers and fathers could be attributed to other factors. The following activity categories were selected for further analyses based on pre-existing literature that indicates their importance to a gender relations perspective: employment, child care (all categories), housework, sleep, leisure, and three common types of leisure including physical activity, social activities and watching TV/DVDs. Based on theoretical considerations and previous studies of gendered behaviour control variables included: marital status, age of respondent, age group of school child, household income, level of education, spousal employment status, presence of a preschool child, number of children in the family, school year or summer, and presence of a flextime work options.

From the GSS episode files, time spent with different types of social contacts was determined. For leisure time, each of the six types of social contacts was assessed as a percentage of parents' total leisure. Social contact with children during leisure was further explored as a percentage of total social contact with children during the 24-hour period. This was of interest because of the association between involved fatherhood and leisure reported in the literature. The percentage of time spent with all social contact groups was correlated with measures of subjective quality of life. It should be emphasized that these relationships do not indicate the quality of the experience itself, which is not possible to assess through GSS variables. Rather, they represent associations only between the allocation of leisure time to specific social contacts and global measures of quality of life.

For question four, quality of life was assessed by determining levels of time pressure, stress, well-being and satisfaction with work-life balance. Independent Samples *t*-tests for equality of means and analysis of variance (ANOVA) were conducted to determine whether there were significant differences between mothers and fathers according to work schedule and household composition. Correlations of these factors with time allocation for major activity categories initially determined the strength of the relationships and additional correlation tests were run separately for men and women to see whether there were any notable differences by gender. Multiple linear regression was conducted for time pressure and well-being using the predictive variables outlined above for allocation of time. Chi-square tests indicated whether there were significant differences between mothers and fathers and between different work schedules in satisfaction or dissatisfaction with work-life balance. Logistic regression was employed in addition to better understand the influence of other factors on work-life balance using the same predictive variables.

When assessing the relationship between time use and quality of life indicators, it should be noted that correlations between subjective measures included here and behaviour (allocation of time) are often low by traditional standards. These measures represent different types of information (psychological and behavioural) and relationships are typically lower than correlations between the same type of information (Zuzanek, 1979). Nevertheless, if the relationship is statistically significant – even if weak by conventional standards – it may provide useful insight into how patterns of behaviour can influence perceptions of well-being. Moreover, assessments of relationships between time use and quality of life measurements are more accurate when recorded closer to the time of experience. This is, after all, much of the appeal in using ESM research for time use studies. Still, as previously mentioned, retrospective reports are certainly related to real-time reports even though there may be methodological issues such as systematic biases in recall (Kahneman & Krueger, 2006). It must be remembered though that the GSS is a *general* survey and it is expected to indicate social trends rather than produce refined results. As such, assessments of these relationships are taken as general indicators.

Analyses were undertaken using SPSS 16.0. As with many national surveys, Statistics Canada included bootstrap weights to improve the quality and accuracy of estimates by calculating individual variances more precisely based on survey design. The *Bootvar Program for Variance Estimation* was developed so that bootstrap weights could be used with SPSS software. Although *Bootvar* macros were obtained through Statistics Canada during the course of analyses, the most recent version of SPSS for which they had been tested by Statistics Canada was SPSS 11.0. Therefore, the program was incompatible with SPSS 16.0 software used in the SWORDC where analyses had to be conducted.

Instead, other efforts were made to make significance tests yield meaningful inferences. Since there were multiple tests of significance performed on the data, the p threshold was set at $\leq .025$ instead of the more commonly used $p \leq .05$, somewhat in the spirit of a Bonferroni Correction,. For analysis of variance, the Scheffe Test was used since it is considered a conservative test of post-hoc multiple comparisons and is effective with unequal cell sizes (Vogt, 1999). This was sometimes the case, for example, when comparing single fathers to other groups. The Complex Samples module of SPSS 16.0 was employed to give accurate standard errors and p-values, taking into account the stratification and weighting of the GSS when conducting cross-tabulations, Chi Square tests, and linear and logistic regression analyses.

3.5 Interpretation of data

The time use and attitudinal data is interpreted in light of the gender relations perspective. Assessing parents' time use is multi-layered and complex because individual, interactive, institutional and societal factors needed to be considered. In order to weave these strands together, equal attention was first given

to the individual and inter-personal factors such as gender, marital status, and age of children. Then, the institutional element of work schedule was placed under a separate lens. Finally, contextual influences such as season of the year and cultural practices of parenting were incorporated into the picture in order to situate parents' time use, the influence of changing employment practices and the relationship to quality of life.

Chapter 4
Characteristics and time use of employed mothers and fathers

Findings related to sample characteristics are presented first in this chapter. These are followed by specific analyses to address the first research question which asks how parents' allocation of time varies by household composition, age of children, and school year season. All analyses used survey weights.

4.1 Sample characteristics

Of the 19,597 Canadians who completed the 2005 GSS, there were 2,062 parents living with their school-age children and either working or attending school for job-related reasons for at least two hours on the diary day. After weighting,55% of the respondents were male (n = 1,134) and 45% were female (n = 938). Most lived in dual parent households (86.6%) and the rest were single parents (13.4%). Among those who were married or cohabitating, 77.3% had a partner who was also employed. Information requested about partners' jobs was limited and there was a substantial amount of missing data concerning partner's work hours and schedules. Of those who provided information about a partner's employment arrangements (n = 1,076), 88.1% reported that their partner had a traditional work schedule compared to 11.9% who indicated "other" types of employment arrangements. Most partners or spouses were employed full-time and worked an average of 38.7 hours per week.

There were almost four times as many single mothers as single fathers, and in dual-parent households with children there were more fathers than mothers regardless of the age group of children (see Table 1). Single parents were not sub-divided according to children's ages for analyses because of low numbers in each category; however, knowing the general distribution of age groups may be of help in interpreting some findings. There were more single parents of younger children than teenagers: 123 single mothers and 37 single fathers had at least one child in the 5- to 12-year-old age group; and, 92 mothers and 25 fathers were single parents of teenagers.

Approximately two-thirds of the sample (n = 1,418) had at least one child between the ages of 5 to 12 years old. The other third (n = 644) were parents of teenagers. Just less than one-half of the respondents (47.8%) had one school-age child, 40.5% had two children, 9.6% had three children and the remaining 2.1% had four children between the ages of 5 to 17 years old. For 18% of the respondents (n = 371) a preschool child was also living in the home.

Most parents (85.5%) were between 30 to 49 years of age. Seventy-five respondents (3.6%) were in their twenties and 223 (10.8%) were 50 years or older. The mean age was 41.4 years old (SD = 6.6), with a median age of 41. Age distribution of parents followed an expected pattern based on the ages of

Table 1: Household composition by gender

	Men		Women		Total Sample	
Household composition	*n*	% of sample	*n*	% of sample	*n*	% of sample
Single parent, child 5-17	62	3.0%	214	10.4%	276	13.4%
Dual parent, child 5-12	774	37.5%	484	23.5%	1,258	61.0%
Dual parent child 13-17	298	14.5%	229	11.1%	528	25.6%
Total	1,134	55.0%	928	45.0%	2,062	100.0%

their children. Table 2 shows mothers' and fathers' ages by household composition. On average, fathers were slightly older than mothers in the same household category with the exception of single fathers where the median age was 44 years old compared to 40 years old for mothers.

Table 2: Parents' age (years) by gender and household composition

	Men			Women		
Household composition	Median	*M*	*SD*	Median	*M*	*SD*
Single parent, child 5-17	44	42.9	8.2	40	40.1	7.1
Dual parent, child 5-12	40	40.3	6.2	39	38.7	5.1
Dual parent child 13-17	45	46.2	5.5	45	45.0	4.7

Almost one-quarter of the sample (n = 477) had a high school education or less while the rest had attained at least some post-secondary education (see Table 3). Generally, men were more educated than women. Of those who had at least one university degree (n = 606), 56.3% were male (n = 341) compared to 43.7% who were female (n = 265). At the other end of the spectrum, there was also a higher percentage of men (14.1%) than women (9.3%) with a high school education or less. More men than women had training in trades or technical fields. More women than men had a community college diploma or certificate.

Table 3: Parents' educational attainment by gender

	Men		Women		Total	
Highest level of education	*n*	% of sample	*n*	% of sample	*n*	% of sample
Post-graduate degree	117	5.8%	78	3.8%	195	9.6%
Bachelor degree	224	11.0%	187	9.2%	411	20.2%
Community college diploma/cert.	167	8.2%	204	10.0%	370	18.2%
Trade/technical diploma/certificate	168	8.2%	102	5.0%	270	13.2%
Some post secondary	162	7.9%	153	7.5%	314	15.4%
High school diploma	186	9.1%	128	6.3%	314	15.4%
Less than high school diploma	102	5.0%	60	3.0%	163	8.0%
Total	1,126	55.3%	912	44.7%	2,038	100.0%

Income was calculated based on total household income. Almost one quarter of the sample (n = 486) were in the highest income category of $100,000 per year or more, and approximately one in six respondents (n = 341) was living at or below the low income cut-off level for a family of four with a combined household income of less than $40,000 per year (Statistics Canada, 2006c). The remaining parents were distributed fairly evenly between the three middle income categories (see Table 4).

Table 4: Combined household income

Household income	Frequency	Percent
Less than $40,000	341	16.5
$40,000 to $59,000	337	16.3
$60,000 to $79,000	315	15.3
$80,000 to $99,999	272	13.2
$100,000 or more	486	23.6
Not asked, not stated, don't know	311	15.1
Total	2,062	100.0

Single parents were disproportionately represented in the lowest income groups. More than one-half of all single mothers (52.4%) and one in five single fathers (20.8%) earned $40,000 or less while just 2.8% of single mothers and 7.9% of single fathers were found in the highest income category of $100,000 CAN or more. Those in dual-parent households had a substantially higher income. Approximately one-quarter of married or cohabitating parents with children ages 5 to12 years old (23.3% of mothers and 25.5% of fathers) were found in the highest income bracket compared to 12.7% of mothers and 13.7% of fathers with children of the same age whose income was less than $40,000. Life cycle stage also played a role. For married or cohabitating parents of teens, 35.4% of fathers and 27.0 % of mothers had a combined household income of $100,000 CAN or more, with only 7.3% of fathers and 11.7% of mothers of teenagers in the lowest income category.

Parents' jobs were diverse and represented all sectors of the Canadian economy. The largest occupational sectors were: sales and services (19.3%); professionals (19.2%); trade, transport and equipment operators (13.8%); and, clerical workers (12.7%). Women were more likely to be employed as clerical, sales and services or technology workers. Men, on the other hand, dominated trade and transport, manufacturing and primary industries. Men were also more often employed in management or professional positions (see Fig. 1).

By multiplying daily time spent on employment-related activities by five, parents' weekly hours of work could be sub-divided into three groups: part-time workers (< 35 hours/week), full time workers (35 – 48 hours/week) and long hours workers (> 48 hours/ week). Most parents worked full time

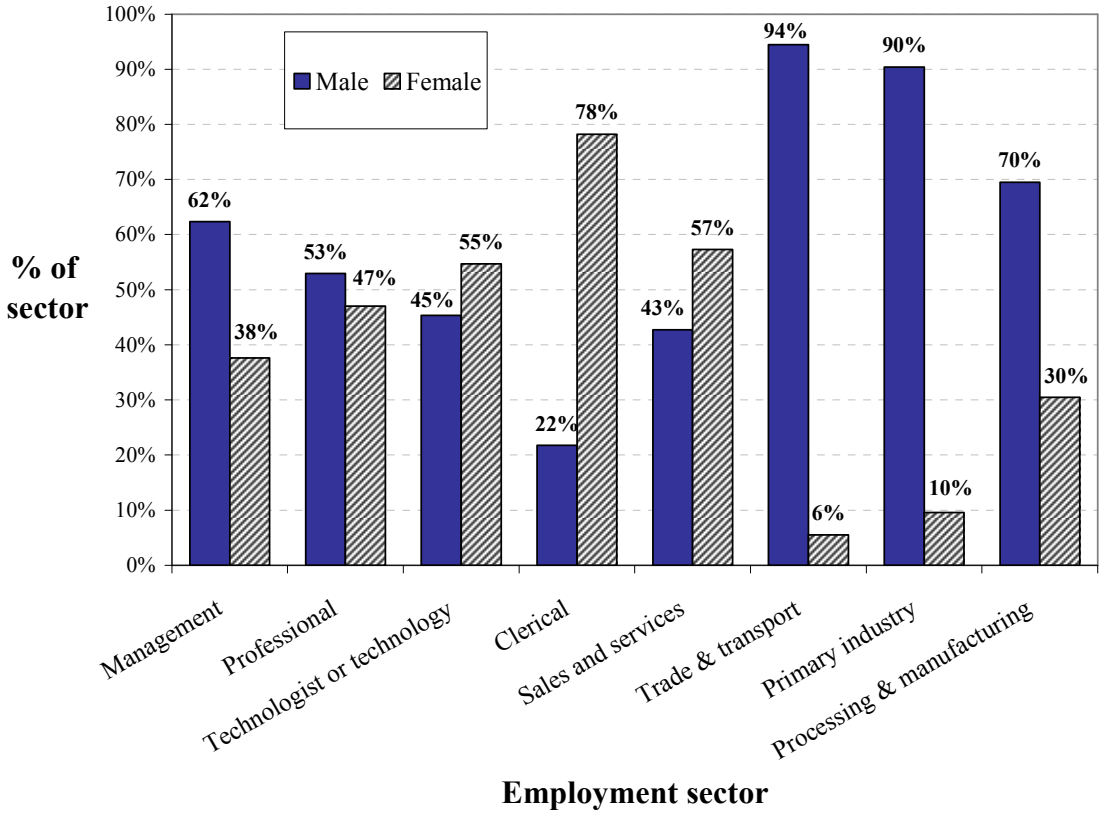


Figure 1: Employment sector by gender

(43.6%), but an almost equal percentage (41.2%) worked for more than 48 hours per week. The distribution of the sample by gender and weekly work hours is found in Table 5. Consistent with national trends, more women than men worked part-time. Respondents who worked 30 hours per week or less were asked their main reasons for doing so. Significantly more women than men worked part-time because of child care needs (x^2 (1, 156) = 5.29, p <.001). More men (41.4%) than women (32.5%) indicated not being able to find full-time work, but the difference was not significant (x^2 (1, 156) =

Table 5: Weekly work hours by gender

	Men		Women		Total Sample	
Hours of work	*N*	% of sample	*N*	% of sample	*N*	% of sample
Part-time (< 35 hours)	114	5.5%	199	9.7%	313	15.2%
Full-time (35 - 48 hours)	420	20.4%	479	23.2%	899	43.6%
Long hours (> 48 hours)	600	29.1%	250	12.1%	850	41.2%
Total	1134	55.0%	928	45.0%	2062	100.0%

0.88, p =.45). No other reasons suggested in the GSS such as personal illness, elder care responsibilities, a full-time job with less than 30 hours per week, or not wanting full-time work had high enough cell counts for disclosure. In other words, these factors had little effect for most parents in this life-cycle stage.

There was little difference by household composition in the percentage of part-time workers although there were some differences between single- and dual-parent households (see Table 6). Single parents were more likely to work full-time and less likely than parents from dual-parent households to work long hours. In all likelihood, single parents' sole responsibility for domestic activities and child care affects their ability to work longer hours, and the financial obligations of supporting a household on one's own make part-time work less feasible. Furthermore, there was little difference in work hours by age of children. The percentage of respondents in dual-parent households with younger children and teenagers were almost equally distributed among categories of work hours as indicated in Table 6.

Table 6: Weekly work hours by household composition

Number (per cent)

Household composition	Part-time (< 35 hours)	Full-time (35 - 48 hours)	Long hours (> 48 hours)	Total within household category
Single parent, child 5-17	42 (15.2)	143 (51.8)	91 (33.0)	276 (100.0)
Dual parent, child 5-12	184 (14.6)	531 (42.2)	543 (43.2)	1,258 (100.0)
Dual parent, child 13-17	87 (16.5)	225 (42.6)	216 (40.9)	528 (100.0)
Total sample	313 (15.2)	899 (43.6)	850 (41.2)	2,062 (100.0)

For many families, parents' vacation time is an important aspect of family life since it creates opportunities for parents, children and often extended family to spend time together. In addition, there are the more commonly associated benefits to well-being such as rest, relaxation, and reduced stress derived from taking holidays. When asked, "How many days of paid vacation did you take during the past year?", approximately one-third (n = 603) of parents reported no paid vacation days at all. For those who did have a paid vacation, 12.9% took one week, 17.6% had two weeks, and 26.3% had three weeks. The remaining 10.6% (n = 196) had four weeks or more of paid vacation. Access to paid vacations varied according to gender, marital status and age of children. Men were more likely than women to have paid vacation days. Parents of teenagers were more likely to take a vacation than parents of younger children. Single mothers were the least likely to have a paid vacation compared to single fathers who had the highest percentage with paid vacations (see Fig. 2).

Respondents represented all regions of Canada but more than six in ten (62.3%) were from Ontario and Quebec (see Fig. 3). Most lived in urban centres (n = 1,676) with fewer living in rural areas or small towns (n = 376) and just ten individuals living in Prince Edward Island.

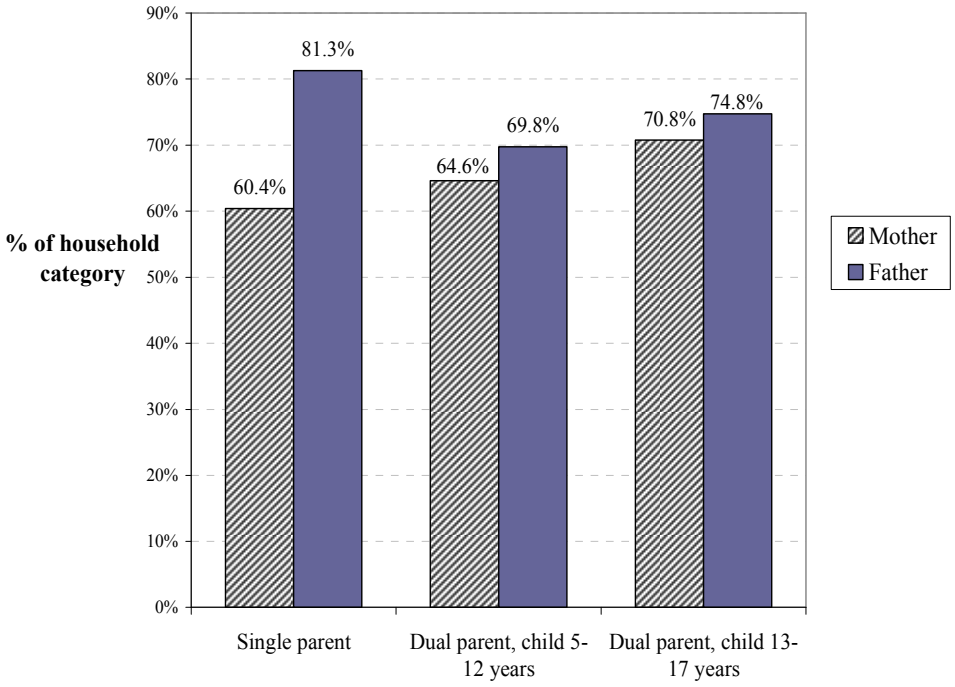


Figure 2: Percentage of parents with paid vacation days by gender and household composition

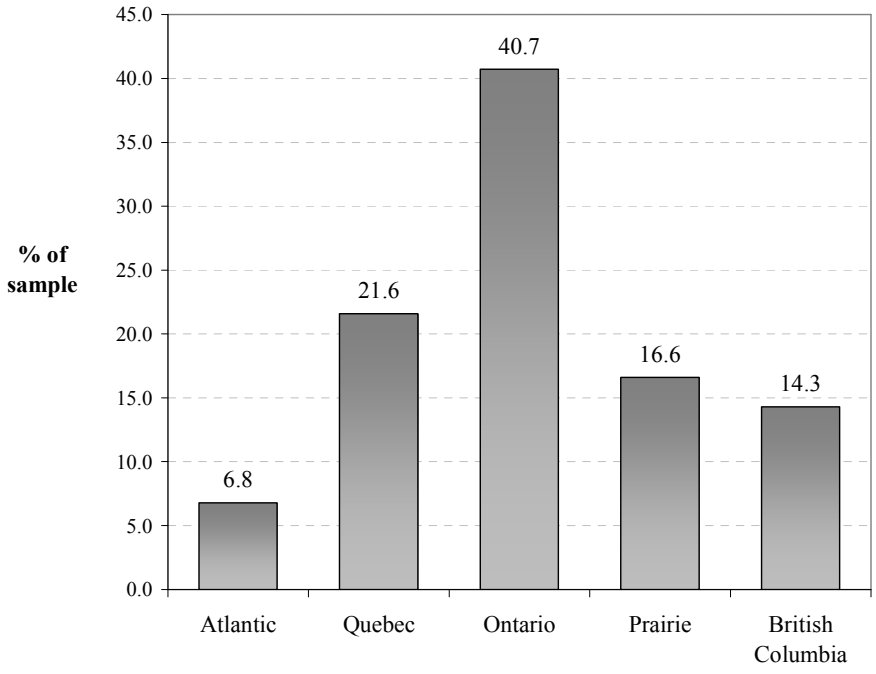


Figure 3: Region of residence

Interviews were conducted on all days of the week. Most parents (89.0%) were interviewed on weekdays, with 11.0% interviewed on the weekend. Thursdays and Fridays were the only days where more interviews were conducted with women than men (see Table 7).

Table 7: Interview day by gender

	Men		Women		Total Sample	
Day of the week	*N*	% of sample	*N*	% of sample	*N*	% of total
Sunday	68	3.3	52	2.5	120	5.8
Monday	207	10.1	162	7.8	369	17.9
Tuesday	219	10.6	163	7.9	382	18.5
Wednesday	236	11.5	161	7.8	397	19.3
Thursday	178	8.6	184	8.9	362	17.6
Friday	158	7.7	166	8	324	15.7
Saturday	66	3.2	41	2	107	5.2
Total	1,134	55.0	928	45.0	2,062	100.0

The month during which interviews occurred was of particular interest because of differences in time use that may arise when children are in school or on summer holidays. During the school year, 925 men and 780 women were interviewed. When children were on vacation during July and August, 209 men and 148 women participated in the study. Because of the lower number of summer participants, the effect of season on time use is observed by gender only.

The number of episodes in each time diary is an indication of participation in different activities and often interpreted as a marker of busyness. Participants reported from 10 to 57 activity episodes per day, with a mean of 18.57 episodes per person (SD = 5.70). On average, men reported 17.39 episodes (SD = 5.23) and women, 19.65 episodes (SD = 5.99) per day. A one-way ANOVA revealed significant differences based on household composition, ($F(5, 2060) = 20.83$, $p < .001$). The Scheffe post-hoc test indicated that married or cohabitating fathers with children in either age group had significantly fewer activity episodes than all mothers or single fathers (see Fig. 4).

4.2 Time use of employed mothers and fathers

4.2.1 The effect of household composition

The first research question explores how gender, household composition and season of the year influence time use. Table 8 illustrates parents' daily allocation of time to various activities by gender and household composition. Significant gender differences are noted with shaded cells. The results of Independent

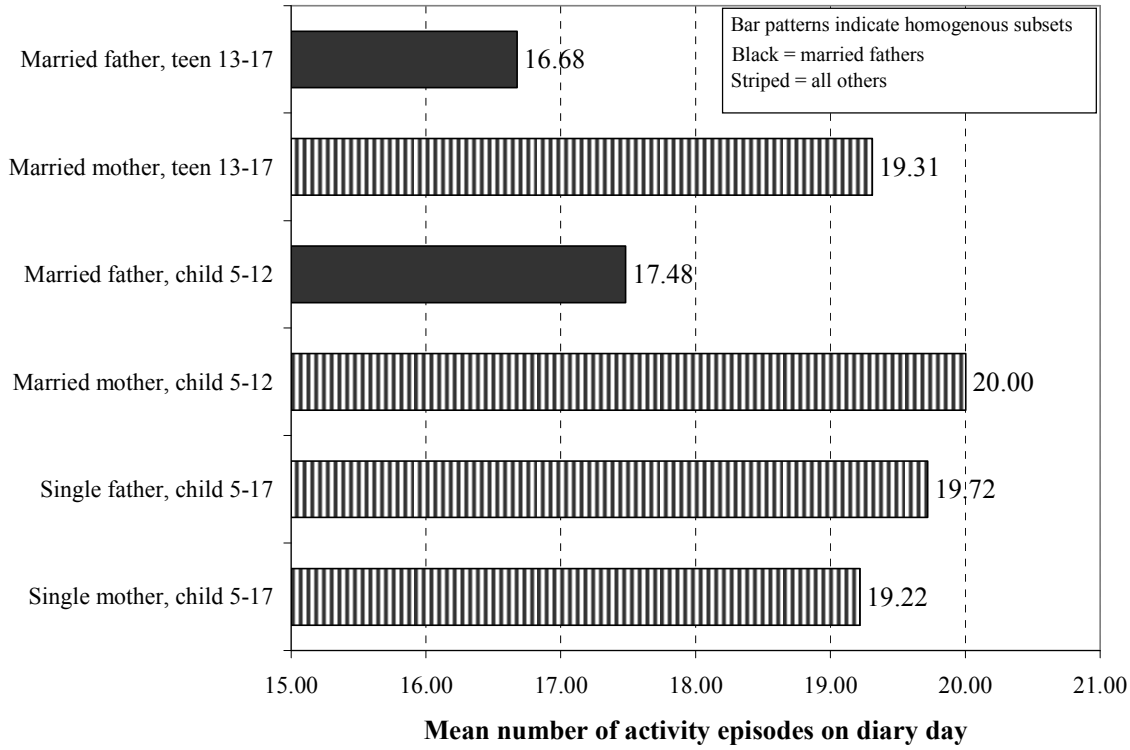


Figure 4: Mean number of activity episodes by household composition

Samples T-tests for equality of means for gender and category of household composition are found in Appendix B, Tables B-1, B-2 and B-3. Since time use calculations included responses from all respondents, some of whom may not have participated in a specific activity on that day, figures listed in time use charts provide a somewhat abstract representation of the amount of time devoted to each activity. For main categories of activity, Table C-1 in Appendix C shows the number of parents who participated in the activity on the diary day and the mean time expenditure (including standard deviation) in each category for participants. Most respondents participated in the main activity categories of interest although involvement in child care and specific leisure activities such as physical activity or social leisure was comparatively low in relation to other activity domains.

Regardless of household composition, women consistently spent more time on indoor housekeeping and personal care, and had less overall time for leisure than men. Single mothers and fathers had the greatest similarities in time use for committed and contracted activity categories with a few unexpected differences. Single mothers did not spend significantly more time than fathers on child care that involved travelling or communicating on behalf of children. In fact, single fathers were the only group of fathers who spent more time in this activity than mothers (24 minutes for single fathers compared to 12 minutes for single mothers). Additionally, single fathers spent considerably more time

Table 8: Time use by gender and household composition

(mean minutes per day)

		Single parents		Dual parent, child 5-12 years		Dual parent, child 13-17 years	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Activity	*N=*	*62*	*214*	*774*	*484*	*298*	*229*
WORKLOAD	Employment-related activities						
	Paid employment	464	480	532	426	513	458
	Unpaid employment-related activities	11	3	4	2	9*	2*
	Travel to/from employment	41	49	56	44	48	42
	Total employment-related activities	*516*	*531*	*591*	*472*	*570*	*501*
	Domestic work						
	Food preparation	33	42	24	53	25	54
	Indoor housekeeping	16	39	8	38	10	46
	Outdoor housekeeping	6	6	8	3	14	10
	DIY/home improvement	2	2	7	2	4	4
	Household administration	1	4	4	3	1	5
	Pet care	1	4	1	2	2	4
	Other housekeeping including travel	6	2	2	3	2	4
	Total domestic work	*66*	*99*	*53*	*104*	*58*	*126*
	Caregiving						
	Child care - interactive (talk-based)	14	17	24	32	5	6
	Child care - physical	12	25	18	38	3	5
	Child care - travel, advocacy, other	24	12	9	19	3	11
	Child care - sub-total	*50*	*54*	*51*	*89*	*11*	*22*
	Care of household adults	0*	3*	1	1	9	10
	Total caregiving	*50*	*57*	*52*	*91*	*20*	*32*
	Shopping						
	Grocery and household shopping	10	13	7	16	11	14
	Other shopping and services	21	11	7	12	9	16
	Total shopping	*31*	*24*	*14*	*28*	*19*	*30*
	Education						
	Total education-related activities	13	24	13	25	12	14

	Total workload	676	735	723	719	680	703
PERSONAL NEEDS	Eating at home	40	37	45	46	48	44
	Personal care	34	49	35	44	36	49
	Sleep	446	452	452	464	452*	468*
	Personal care services (outside the home)	0	1	1	1	1	1
	Total personal needs	521	539	533	555	536	562
VOLUNTARY	Total volunteer/civic activities	14	7	7	11	6	6
RELIGION	Total religious activity	3	1	2	3	1	2
LEISURE	Socializing at home	41	33	25	26	24*	36*
	Socializing outside the home	40	15	15	16	18	13
	Total social leisure	*81*	*48*	*40*	*40*	*41*	*49*
	Watching TV, DVDs, videos	82	68	81	59	97	74
	Physically active leisure	16	11	15	16	19	13
	Attending movies, sports, cultural events	9	5	6	8	12	9
	Reading books, magazines, newspapers	11	9	8	8	18*	9*
	Reading and writing letters	2	1	1	1	0	0
	Rest and relaxation	8	7	9	10	8	6
	Listening to music/radio	1	1	0	0	1	0
	Bingo, casinos, arcades	0	0	1	0	2	0
	Board and non-electronic games	0	1	0	1	1	0
	Computer and video games	6	0	2	1	1	0
	General computer use & surfing (not games)	5	5	7	7	11	5
	Hobbies	0	2	1	0	1	1
	Arts, crafts, music, drama, dance	4	1	1	0	0	0
	Other leisure	2	1	1	1	3	1
	Total leisure activity	227	158	174	152	216	168
TOTAL	Total of activity categories + residual time	1440	1440	1440	1440	1440	1440

Note: Highlighted cells indicate significant differences by gender at the $p \leq .025$ level.
* Significant at the $p \leq .05$ level.

See Appendix B, Tables B-1, B-2 and B-3 for *t*-test scores

than any of the other household composition groups on "other shopping and services" (see Table 8). A more careful examination shows that this category is comprised of buying take-out meals, renting DVDs or other similar entertainment. This would be consistent with less time spent preparing food and having more leisure. Single mothers, on the other hand, had a significantly higher total workload than single fathers (M = 676 mins for men, M = 735 mins for women; t = 2.61, p = .010) and much of this was due to greater time spent preparing meals, doing indoor housekeeping, and physical child care perhaps as a result of different income levels.

Leisure activities of single parents revealed more pronounced gender differences than married or cohabitating parents of children in either age group. Single men enjoyed significantly more social leisure than women (M = 81 mins for men, M = 48 mins for women; t = -2.48, p = .014) and in particular, they were more likely to socialize outside the home at restaurants, bars or clubs. Compared to single mothers, single fathers also spent more time playing computer or video games (M = 6 mins for men, M < 1 min for women; t = -3.46, p = .001). While single fathers watched more television than single mothers, the difference was not significant – unlike dual-parent households with either age group of children.

When parents were married or cohabitating gender differences in time use were much more pronounced, especially if there was a child in elementary school. Most categories of contracted and committed time along with personal care and sleep differed significantly for mothers and fathers (see Table 8). Compared to fathers, mothers of children in this age group did significantly more domestic work (M = 53 mins for men, M = 104 mins for women; t = 11.32, p < .001) and child care (M = 51 mins for men, M = 89 mins for women; t = 8.78, p < .001) while fathers spent significantly more time on employment-related activities (M = 591 mins for men, M = 472 mins for women; t = -11.60, p < .001) and had more leisure time (M = 174 mins for men, M = 152 mins for women; t = -3.36, p = .001). Mothers spent significantly more time on personal care (M = 35 mins for men, M = 44 mins for women; t = 5.70, p < .001), as was the case for all household demographic categories. Mothers with younger children also enjoyed a significantly longer sleep time than fathers (M = 452 mins for men, M = 464 mins for women; t = 2.25, p = .025). Married or cohabitating parents with children in this age group had the lowest amount of leisure time compared to those with older children or single parents – even though the majority of single parents also had children in the same age range. With the decreased amount of leisure, there were few differences between men and women in how this time was spent. Watching television was the only activity in which men spent significantly more time than women (M = 81 mins for men, M = 59 mins for women; t = -5.26, p < .001).

Parents of teenagers aged 13 to 17 showed some distinctive time use patterns compared to those with younger children. Involvement in paid employment increased for mothers and fathers, although men still spent significantly longer working for pay than women (M = 570 mins for men, M = 501 mins for

women; $t = -3.70$, $p < .001$). Mothers remained significantly more involved in domestic work ($M = 58$ mins for men, $M = 126$ mins for women; $t = 8.61$, $p < .001$) and actually increased the amount of time spent on indoor housekeeping and household administration when children were older (see Table 8). Given the ages of their children, it was not surprising to see that time parents spent caring for children decreased substantially for all types of primary child care. Nevertheless, mothers still spent significantly more time than fathers driving and communicating with others on behalf of their children ($M = 3$ mins for men, $M = 11$ mins for women; $t = 3.64$, $p < .001$). At this life-cycle stage, care of elderly parents starts to become more prevalent. Accordingly, time devoted to care of adults increased substantially but was not significantly different for men and women (see Table 8).

Fathers of teenagers in dual parent households watched significantly more television ($M = 97$ mins for men, $M = 74$ mins for women; $t = -3.23$, $p = .001$) and used the computer for non-game-related activity more often than mothers ($M = 11$ mins for men, $M = 5$ mins for women; $t = -2.41$, $p = .016$). In addition, men spent twice as much time reading for pleasure (18 minutes versus 9 minutes for women). Women, on the other hand, socialized at home more frequently than men (36 minutes for women and 24 minutes for men). Despite these different allocations of time, however, fathers of teens had significantly more leisure time overall than mothers in the same household category ($M = 216$ mins for men, and $M = 168$ mins for women; $t = -4.35$, $p < .001$).

Time spent caring for children measured primary care activities only which, as previously discussed, has been recognized as an extremely conservative measure of caregiving. Using social contact time with children as a proxy measure of child care when secondary activity data are unavailable, Table 9 provides more information about caregiving activities through a comparison by household composition and gender of time devoted to primary child care, social contact with children, and primary care as a percentage of social contact time. The time spent in contact with children followed the same pattern of primary child care already identified for gender and household with one exception: single fathers had more contact time with children than single mothers, but this difference was not significant ($t = -0.50$, $p = .618$). The highest percentages of primary care occurred in dual-parent households with younger children (see Table 9), due largely to greater physical care needs of children in this age group. Social contact time with teenagers was lower, which was not unexpected due to their developmental stage and greater need for independence, but it is of interest to see how the primary care measure does not adequately depict the amount of time parents continue to spend with their older children. This time may well be experienced as caregiving in the sense of parental responsibility. The reduction in social contact time from childhood to adolescence is not nearly as steep as the decline in primary activity time. Since primary care time is the measure most often used as an indicator of time parents spend with children, it presents a somewhat incomplete – if not distorted – view of time with children.

Table 9: Time spent in primary child care activities and in contact with children

(mean minutes per day)

Household composition	Gender	*N*	Primary child care activities	Social contact time with children	Primary care as a percentage of social contact with children
Single parent	Female	214	54	200	26.9%
	Male	62	50	215	23.3%
Dual parent, child 5-12	Female	484	89	260	34.2%
	Male	774	51	181	28.2%
Dual parent, child 13-17	Female	229	22	176	12.5%
	Male	298	11	128	8.6%

To develop a more detailed picture of parents' leisure experiences, social contact information was analyzed from the GSS episode files. In total, 6,493 episodes of leisure activities were reported. As outlined earlier, six categories of social contact were developed based on with whom the time was spent: alone, family (with partner and children), couple (with partner, and with or without friends), children (no other adults present), friends (no children or partner present), and "others" (extended family members outside the household and others). Most leisure activities took place with immediate family and household members (50.1%) or alone (38.1%), with a few activities pursued in the company of friends (4.4%) or others outside the household (7.5%). As expected, single parents were more likely than married or cohabitating parents to spend time with friends and others whereas those in dual-parent households spent more time doing activities as a family, particularly when younger children were present (see Table 10). Independent Samples t-tests were conducted for gender differences in the percentage of social contact for each of the six social categories in relation to total leisure time. No significant differences by gender were found for single parents for any type of social contact during leisure. Among dual-parent households with elementary school children, mothers spent a significantly higher proportion of their leisure time than fathers in the company of children only ($t = 4.95$, $p < .001$). For parents of high school students, gender differences were significant for three of the six social categories. Mothers continued to spend significantly more leisure time with children only ($t = 2.68$, $p = .008$). They also spent a greater proportion of their leisure time with friends ($t = 2.33$, $p = .020$). Men, on the other hand, spent a significantly higher percentage of their leisure time as a couple or with their partner and adult friends ($t = -3.19$, $p = .002$).

There has been some discussion in recent literature about fathers' leisure participation with children as an expression of involved parenting and as a space to create stronger emotional bonds with children. Although time use data do not convey whether parents included children in leisure activities by

Table 10: Social contacts during leisure episodes by gender and household composition

Percentage of leisure activity episodes (number)

Social	Single parent *		Dual parent, child 5-12		Dual parent, child 13-17	
contact	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Alone	44.8 *(117)*	52.0 *(320)*	36.7 *(883)*	30.6 *(440)*	44.8 *(462)*	34.0 *(252)*
Family	unavailable	unavailable	21.7 *(523)*	20.9 *(301)*	15.7 *(162)*	17.4 *(134)*
Couple	unavailable	unavailable	21.3 *(513)*	19.1 *(275)*	24.8 *(256)***	18.1 *(134)***
Children	23.1 *(61)*	31.5 *(193)*	8.4 *(202)***	18.6 *(268)***	6.8 *(70)* **	17.2 *(127* **
Friends	9.7 *(25)*	7.3 *(45)*	3.1 *(76)*	4.4 *(63)*	2.6 *(27)***	6.7 *(49)* **
Others	11.9 *(31)*	8.2 *(50)*	8.7 *(209)*	6.3 *(91)*	5.4 *(56)*	6.7 *(50)*
Total	89.5 *(234)*	99.0 *(608)*	100.0 *(2406)*	100.0 *(1438)*	100.0 *(1033)*	100.0 *(741)*

* Social contact during leisure with partner and partner and children omitted due to insufficient numbers for file disclosure

** Significant gender difference at the $p \leq .025$ level.

choice or because of child care responsibilities, it is possible to explore the percentage of parents' social contact time with children spent in leisure time activities. As indicated in Table 11, there were no significant differences between mothers and fathers in the percentage of social contact with children spent in leisure. In single-parent households, parents spent more of their time with children in leisure activities compared to mothers and fathers in dual-parent households, likely because of the responsibility time component of child care and not having a partner present who could care for the children. Parents of teenagers spent a greater percentage of contact time with children in leisure activities compared to parents of children in elementary school. A much greater percentage of contact time with younger children is concerned with primary care whereas with teenagers, the nature of these activities changes and time with parents involves proportionately more leisure.

Table 11: Mean percentage of social contact with children only for parents' total leisure activities

(Mean percentage of daily leisure time activities)

Household composition	Gender	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*df*	*p*
Single parent	Female	188	26	32	-0.389	233	0.698
	Male	47	28	27			
Dual parent, child 5-12	Female	463	9	19	2.070	1149	0.039
	Male	688	7	18			
Dual parent, child 13-17	Female	203	11	22	0.470	419	0.639
	Male	218	10	24			

It is also illuminating to see how parents most enjoyed spending their time. Because time diary data in the GSS do not include contextual information beyond social contact and location of activities, it is not possible to say with certainty whether an activity is truly experienced as leisure by the parent. Parents were asked to indicate the activity they had enjoyed most during the diary day. Since enjoyment contributes to the experience of leisure, this additional information allows a somewhat more detailed portrayal of leisure experiences to form. Both mothers and fathers ranked watching television or DVDs, eating meals or enjoying coffee breaks at home, and working for pay as the three most enjoyable activities, followed by sleeping and playing with children (see Table 12). Of these activities, television viewing is the only diary activity actually coded as leisure although the list suggests that playing with children may be experienced as leisure. The remaining activities for men and women varied somewhat but there were many similarities. For women, the remaining activities were all coded as leisure with the exception of "don't know". That such a high percentage of mothers "don't know" what they enjoyed doing most may suggest that enjoyment, per se, was not something they regularly reflected upon when considering their daily routines. While men spent more time in physically active leisure, it was women

Table 12: Parents' ten most enjoyed activities on the diary day by gender

Gender	Activity	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	Watching scheduled TV programming	118	10.8	10.8
	Meals/snacks/coffee at home	106	9.7	20.4
	Working for pay	74	6.7	27.2
	Playing with children	61	5.6	32.8
	Sleeping (night sleep)	57	5.2	38.0
	Relaxing, thinking, resting, smoking	33	3.0	41.1
	Socializing at a private residence (no meals)	30	2.8	43.8
	Talking, conversing with household member	29	2.7	46.5
	Preparing meals	25	2.3	48.8
	Reading to/talking/conversation with children	24	2.2	50.9
Female	Watching scheduled TV programming	98	11.4	11.4
	Meals/snacks/coffee at home	64	7.4	18.8
	Working for pay	48	5.6	24.4
	Sleeping (night sleep)	43	5.0	29.4
	Playing with children	42	4.9	34.3
	Reading books	34	3.9	38.2
	Do not know	30	3.5	41.7
	Walking, hiking, jogging, running	26	3.0	44.7
	Socializing at a private residence (no meals)	23	2.7	47.4
	Talking, conversing with household member	20	2.3	49.7

who listed a physical activity (walking, hiking, jogging) as one of the most enjoyable ways to spend time. Conversely, although women spent significantly more time preparing food, men listed it as one of their most enjoyable activities.

A two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to see whether household composition or gender was a stronger determinant of how parents spent their time for the categories of activity which appeared most relevant to a gender relations perspective. The activities selected included those where gender roles may be contested or in transition, as well as those which might have an effect on perceptions of well-being. The domains of activity identified for further analysis were: total employment-related activities, all three types of childcare, domestic activities, sleep, total leisure activity, physically active leisure, social leisure and watching TV/DVDs. Although time spent on personal care activities is strongly gendered, it was excluded from these analyses because it remains at relatively consistent levels for men and women regardless of social or demographic characteristics.

The two-way ANOVA for time spent in employment-related activities indicated that the gender main effect was significant (F (1, 2005) = 19.72, $p < .001$) but that the household composition main effect was not. Gender differences in the amount of employment-related activity reported in dual-parent households were significant, although not for single parent households (see Table 8). A significant gender and household interaction effect was found (F (2, 2005) = 20.45, $p < .001$) and is explained by the finding that the differences between men and women for time spent on employment-related activities were more pronounced among dual-parent households (see Fig. 5).

For each category of child care, there was a significant household main effect (interactive: F (2, 2005) = 44.97, $p < .001$; physical: F (2, 2005) = 80.11, $p < .001$; travel and advocacy: F (2, 2005) = 13.18, $p < .001$). Again, this was due primarily to differences between living with younger or older children in dual-parent households, and distinctive patterns of time allocation in single-parent households where parents are responsible for all aspects of household labour and cannot share or divide these tasks with a partner. For interactive child care, time allocation was highest among dual-parent households when children were between the ages of 5 to 12 years old and lowest among parents of teens (see Fig. 6). Interactive child care did not have a significant gender main effect, and neither was the interaction effect of gender and household significant for this type of child care.

Women spent a similar amount of time on physical child care compared to interactive child care for each of the household categories, but men in each category did significantly less. There was a significant gender main effect for physical child care, with married or cohabitating women doing more than men especially when elementary school children were present (F (1, 2005) = 32.14, $p < .001$). The very strong significant main effect for household composition (F (2,2005) = 80.11, $p < .001$) followed a pattern of decreased time expenditure when children were older for dual-parent households, with single

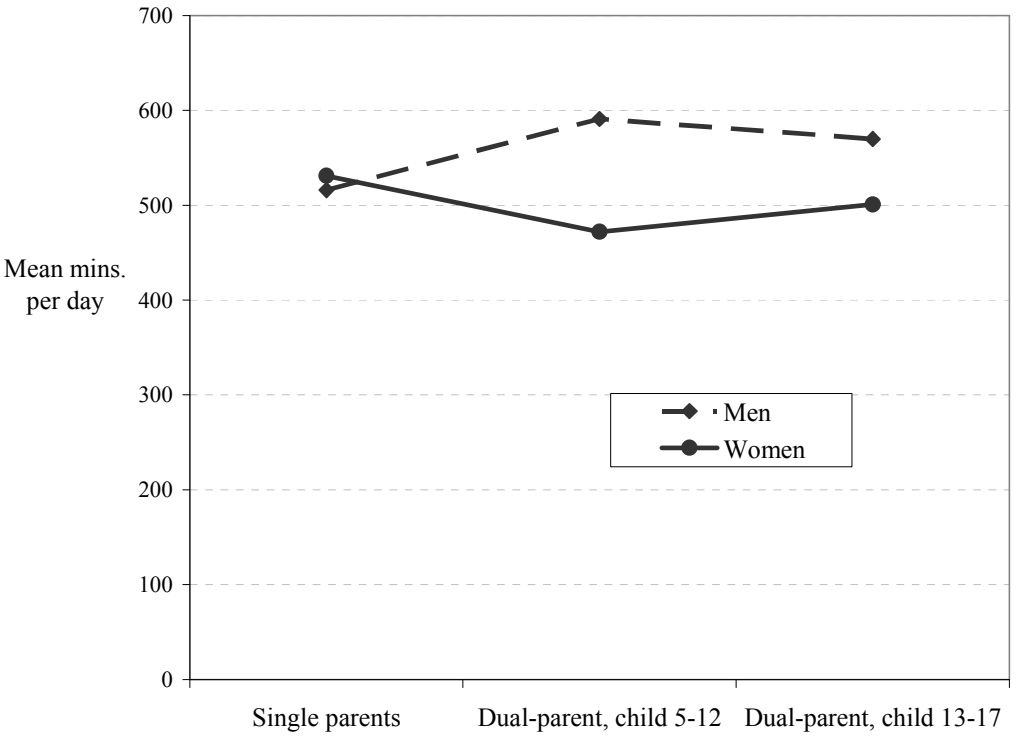


Figure 5: Employment-related activities by gender and household composition

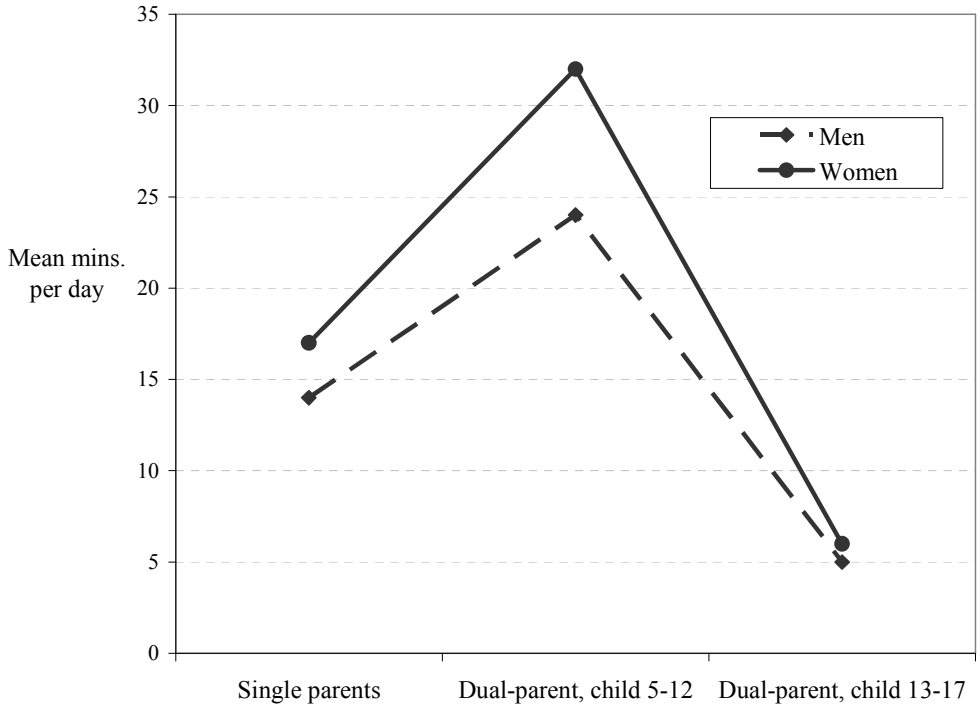


Figure 6: Interactive child care by gender and household composition

parents' time for physical child care falling somewhere in between the two dual-parent household groups (see Fig. 7). This can be explained by single parents having proportionately greater numbers of younger children in the subsample and circumstances unique to having full responsibility for all household, child care and employment activities. The interaction effect of gender and household composition was significant (F (2, 2005) = 12.32, $p < .001$) for physical child care. Women always had greater responsibilities in this area, but the gap between mothers and fathers narrowed considerably for parents of teens.

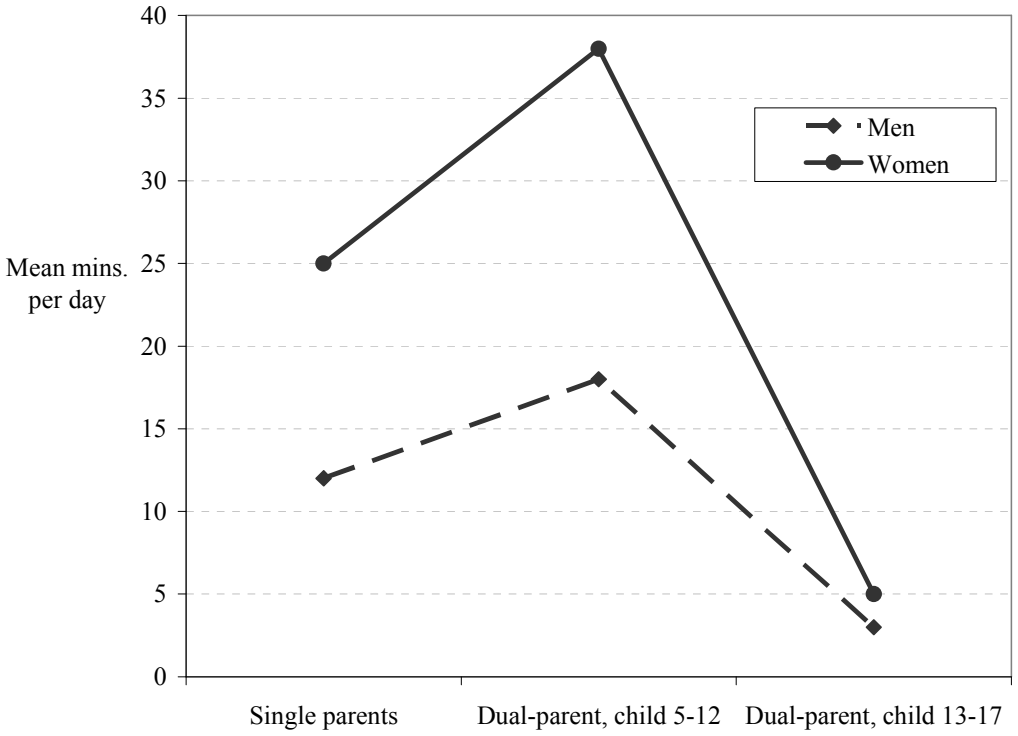


Figure 7: Physical child care by gender and household composition

For travel and advocacy on children's behalf, there was a significant main effect for household composition (F (2, 2005) = 13.18, $p < .001$), but not for gender. While single fathers allocated the most time of all groups to travel and advocacy for their children, in dual-parent households mothers always spent more time than fathers (see Fig. 8). The interaction effect of gender and household was significant (F (2, 2005) = 11.79, $p < .001$). Although the effect of gender worked in an opposite direction for single parents, as with other types of childcare for dual-parent households, time spent on this activity decreased for men and women with older children. The Scheffe post hoc test indicated that single parents and dual-parent households with younger children were uniquely different from parents of teens.

Domestic activities had significant main effects for both household (F (2, 2005) = 4.51, $p = .011$) and gender (F (1, 2005) = 105.32, $p < .001$). The main effect of gender was remarkably strong and the

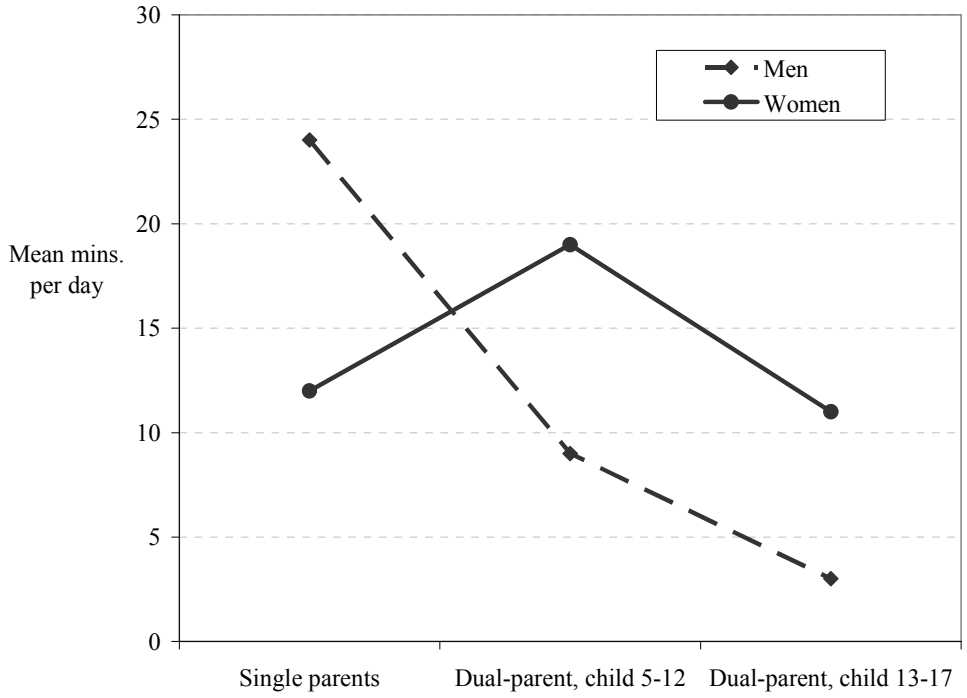


Figure 8: Child care - travel and advocacy by gender and household composition

highest for all categories of time use chosen for further analysis. Mothers did significantly more domestic work than fathers regardless of marital status or age of children. Single mothers did less domestic work than married mothers, whereas single fathers did more than married fathers. This indicates that the division of household labour when living with a partner reinforces traditional gender role patterns. Single fathers did more domestic work than married fathers although still significantly less than mothers regardless of marital status or age of children (see Fig. 9). Despite the greater efforts of single fathers, the interaction effect of gender and household was not significant.

The total amount of time spent in all leisure activities was affected significantly by both gender (F (1, 2005) = 43.57, $p < .001$) and household composition (F (2, 2005) = 12.59, $p < .001$). That gender had a stronger main effect than household composition confirms men's higher amounts of leisure time compared to women's regardless of the age of their children or marital status. Single parents and dual-parent households with teens had more leisure than dual-parent households with younger children (see Fig. 10). Parents' leisure time increased with older children as child care responsibilities lessened. In addition, there was a significant interaction effect between the variables (F (2, 2005) = 5.75, $p = .003$). Single fathers had the most leisure of all household groups. Although more single fathers had younger children than teenagers, they spent less time on employment-related activities, housework and physical child care which allowed more time for leisure. Single mothers, who also had greater numbers of younger children than teens, were most similar in their lower amounts of leisure time to married or cohabitating

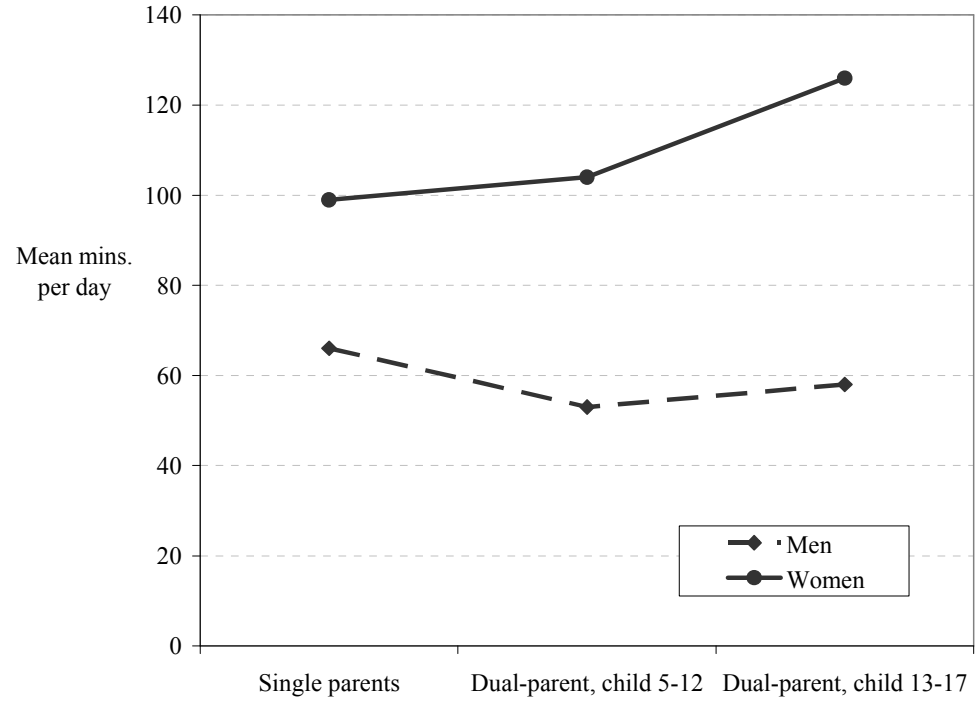


Figure 9: Domestic activities by gender and household composition

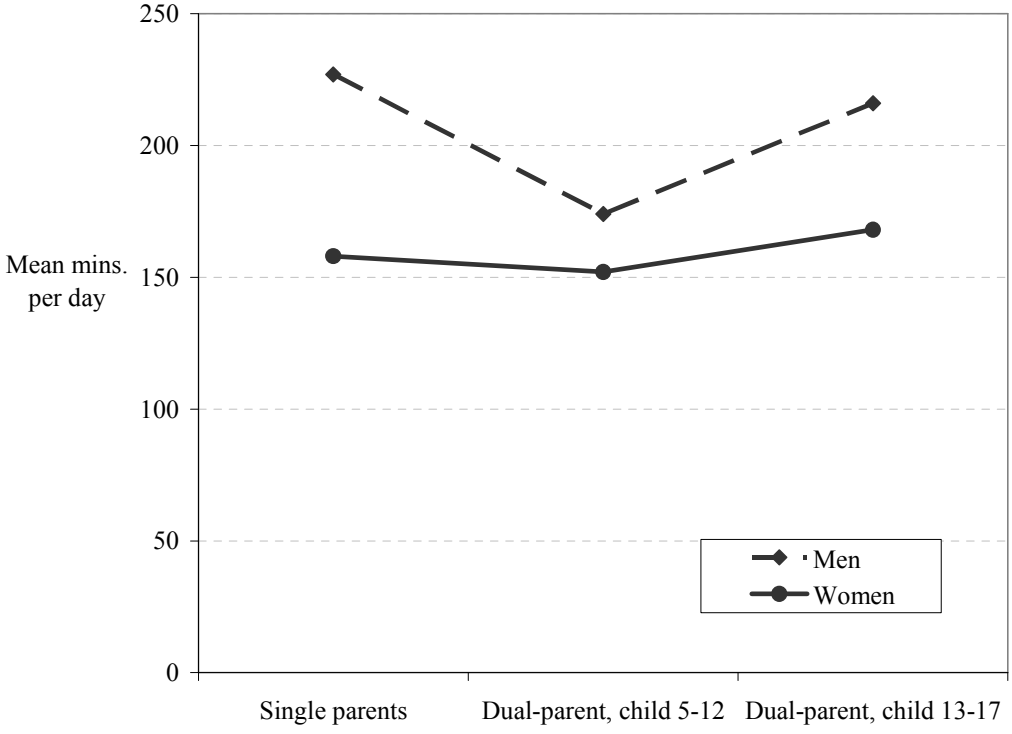


Figure 10: Total leisure by gender and household composition

mothers with elementary school children. Unlike the fathers, leisure time did not increase by much when children were in high school.

Time spent on different types of leisure activities also varied by gender and household composition. For social leisure, household composition had a significant main effect (F (2, 2005) = 10.17, $p < .001$) due primarily to the single fathers who spent about twice as much time in this activity as fathers in dual-parent households. Gender by itself was not significant, but the interaction effect between gender and household composition was (F (1, 2005) = 5.65, $p = .004$). Single mothers and mothers of teenagers spent similar amounts of time in social leisure, the latter being higher than for fathers in either of the dual-parent household categories (see Fig. 11). Mothers and fathers of younger children in dual-parent households spent the same amount of time socializing (40 minutes per day). This was the lowest of all household categories and reflective of parents' decreased time for leisure when children are younger.

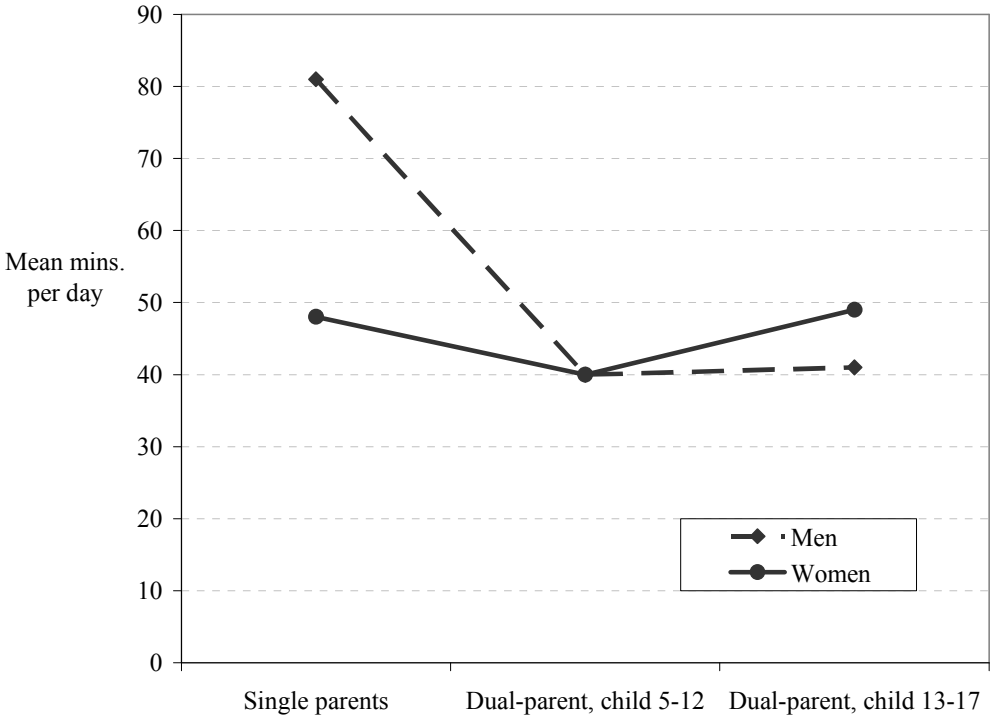


Figure 11: Social leisure by gender and household composition

Watching television or DVDs had significant main effects for both gender (F (1, 2005) = 16.72, $p < .001$) and household composition (F (2, 2005) = 6.94, $p = .001$) although the interaction effect was not significant. Men consistently spent more time than women watching television. Although the amount of time was similar for single fathers and married fathers with younger children, it increased substantially

when children reached their teens. Similarly, mothers of teens watched considerably more television than other mothers (see Fig. 12). The Scheffe post hoc test confirmed that single parents and dual-parent households with younger children comprised a homogenous subset, watching television for significantly less time than married or cohabitating parents with teens.

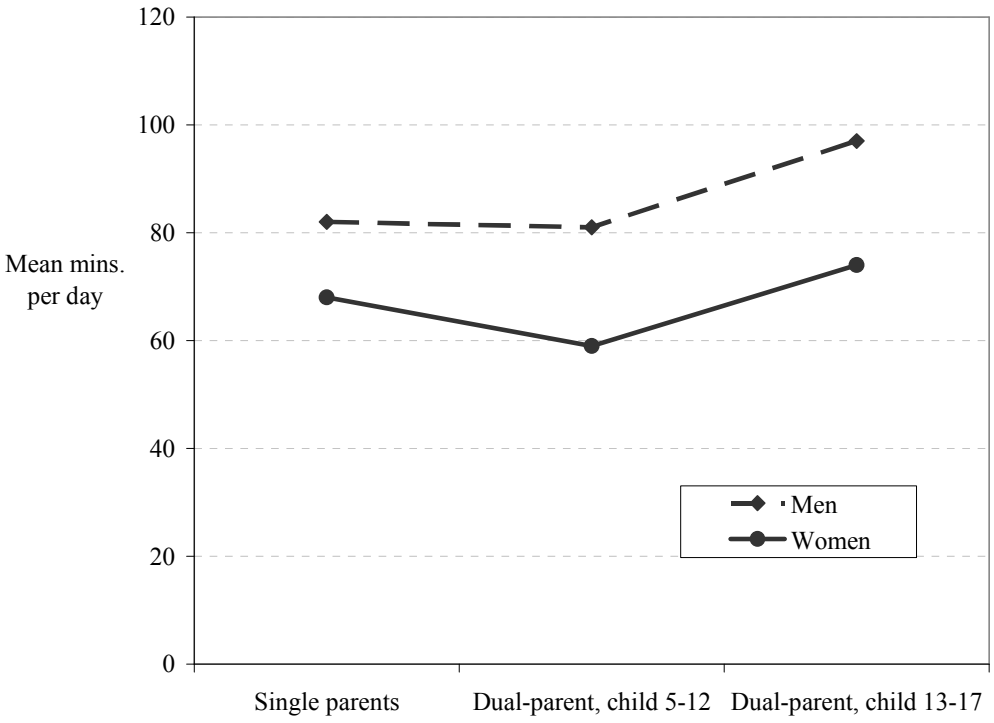


Figure 12: Watching TV/DVDs by gender and household composition

4.2.2 The influence of the school year

The rhythm of the school year also created differences in time use for parents. For ten months of the year, from September through June, the timing of activities is closely tied to provincially mandated hours of the education system. This includes regular school holidays that are rarely synchronized to parents' employment schedules. Child care concerns may become amplified when full-time care is required for younger children during summer months or teenagers are left unsupervised for extended periods of time. Seasonal variations in climate also affect whether parents are likely to drive children to and from school or other activities. Finally, children's extracurricular activities may require a certain amount of parental involvement. Whether this increases or decreases during the school year or summer may be dependent on the extent to which activities are used as a substitute for formal child care arrangements or as a leisure pursuit. Because the number of respondents surveyed during summer months was too low to subdivide by

household composition, comparisons are limited to gender only in order to maintain numbers large enough for statistical analysis.

Table 13 shows how parents' time use differed by season of the school year. The results of Independent Samples T-tests for Equality of Means for gender differences among activity categories are found in Appendix B, Tables B-4 and B-5. Mean time allocation to main activity categories for parents participating in the activity on the diary day by season of the year are found in Appendix C, Table C-2. To determine whether differences in time use were due to gender or season of the year, a series of two-way ANOVAs were conducted for the selected activity categories previously outlined and results are presented, when significant, in the discussion of seasonal variation in time use that follows.

Significant differences by gender were most apparent during the school year when schedules were more rigidly enforced by an institution external to the family. In addition to activities such as employment, domestic activities and personal care that usually followed traditional gender role patterns, women spent significantly more time than men during the school year in other areas of contracted or committed activity such as education for work-related reasons (for men M= 14 mins, for women M = 24 mins; t = -2.34, p = .019) and all types of shopping (grocery and household shopping, for men M= 8 mins, for women M = 14 mins; t = -4.79, p < .001; other shopping and services, for men M= 8 mins, for women M = 13 mins; t = -3.55, p < .001). There was weak evidence of significance in women's greater combined workload of 12 hours, 6 minutes per day (t = -2.23, p = .026), which was 16 minutes more than men's. Conversely, men had significantly more free time (for men M= 189 mins, for women M = 154 mins; t = 5.97, p < .001). They spent more time during the school year than women watching television (for men M= 90 mins, for women M = 64 mins; t = 6.97, p < .001) and socializing outside the home (for men M= 20 mins, for women M = 14 mins; t = 2.45, p = .014). Men also spent significantly more time playing video and computer games during the school year (t = 2.98, p = .003).

By comparison, the summer brought a substantial change to women's total workload and in leisure time. Women spent a little less time in employment-related activities and doing domestic work, but rather unexpectedly there was a considerable decrease in time spent caring for children too (from 68 minutes of total caregiving during the school year to 44 minutes in the summer). Men's time caring for children also diminished from 42 minutes during the school year to 33 minutes in the summer. Travel and advocacy for children was the only type of child care in which mothers were significantly more involved than fathers. During the summer, mothers still had greater responsibility for taking children to activities and appointments (for men M= 5 mins, for women M = 13 mins; t = -2.65, p = .009).

To better understand what was responsible for the reduction in child care time, specific variables from which each category was derived were compared. Table 14 shows the time spent in each child care activity. The reduction in significant gender differences from school year to summer is notable. While

Table 13: Time use by gender and season of the school year

(mean minutes per day)

Time use by season and gender		School year		Summer	
		Men	Women	Men	Women
Activity	*N=*	*925*	*780*	*209*	*148*
WORKLOAD	Employment-related activities				
	Paid employment	524	448	523	436
	Unpaid employment-related activities	6	2	5	4
	Travel to/from employment	52	44	57	49
	Total employment-related activities	*582*	*493*	*584*	*488*
	Domestic work				
	Food preparation	25	52	22	44
	Indoor housekeeping	9	41	7	35
	Outdoor housekeeping	7	5	20	7
	DIY/home improvement	6*	2*	7	2
	Household administration	3	3	2	9
	Pet care	1	3	2	2
	Other housekeeping including travel	2	2	4	6
	Total domestic work	*53*	*109*	*64*	*106*
	Caregiving				
	Child care - interactive (talk-based)	19	23	16	15
	Child care - physical	14	29	12	16
	Child care - travel, advocacy, other	9	16	5	13
	Child care - sub-total	*42*	*68*	*33*	*44*
	Care of household adults	3	4	3	5
	Total caregiving	*45*	*72*	*36*	*49*
	Shopping				
	Grocery and household shopping	8	14	9	17
	Other shopping and services	8	13	10	11
	Total shopping	*16*	*27*	*18*	*28*
	Education				
	Total education-related activities	*14*	*24*	*5*	*10*
	Total workload	710*	726*	707	682
PERSONAL NEEDS	Eating at home	45	42	49	50
	Personal care	35	46	34	50
	Sleep	450	459	460	477
	Personal care services (outside the home)	1	1	0	1
	Total personal needs	531	548	544	578
VOLUNTARY	Total volunteer/civic activities	8	9	3	5
RELIGION	Total religious activity	2	2	2	1
LEISURE	Socializing at home	23*	29*	38	39
	Socializing outside the home	20	14	7	13
	Total social leisure	*42*	*43*	*45*	*51*
	Watching TV, DVDs, videos	90	64	65	71
	Physically active leisure	15	13	22	19

	Attending movies, sports, cultural events	8	8	8	5
	Reading books, magazines, newspapers	11	8	10	11
	Reading and writing letters	1	0	1	1
	Rest and relaxation	7	8	15*	7*
	Listening to music/radio	0	0	1	1
	Bingo, casinos, arcades	1	0	2	0
	Board and non-electronic games	1	1	0	1
	Computer and video games	2	1	1	1
	General computer use & surfing	7	6	13	6
	Hobbies	1	1	1	0
	Arts, crafts, music, drama, dance	1	0	0	0
	Other leisure	2	1	1	1
	Total leisure activity	189	154	184	175
TOTAL	Total of activity categories + residual time	1440	1440	1440	1440

Note: Highlighted cells indicate significant differences by gender at the $p \leq .025$ level.

* Significant at the $p \leq .05$ level.

See Appendix B, Tables B-4 and B-5 for *t*-test scores

there was a significant gender gap for more than half of the variables during the school year, only travel and advocacy for children approached significance during the summer. Combined with women's greater participation in all travel and advocacy activities for children during the summer, the overall category remained significant. For other types of child care, it was evident that the school exerted a strong pull during the rest of the year. Time spent helping, teaching or reprimanding was substantially higher for all parents during the school year since these activities are closely associated with homework time, so the decline was anticipated. Physical child care showed the greatest seasonal variation. In the summer, much less time was spent trying to keep children on schedule or assisting with their personal care (see Table 14). In addition, travel time for children declined, likely in response to not having to take children to school and school-related activities. The only increases in the summer months were for care of infants and preschoolers and for taking children to medical appointments. Often, parents schedule medical and dental appointments during summer when children do not have to miss school. Although it was expected that child care would increase for parents when the school was not fulfilling this secondary role, this was not the case. Rather, it was apparent that primary child care time was very much linked to the school year.

Primary child care made up a greater proportion of parents' social contact time with children during the school year. For mothers, primary care constituted 30.0% of all time spent with children during the school year compared to 20.1% during the summer. Fathers had less social contact time with children compared to mothers (see Table 15) and, like mothers, the proportion of time spent in primary child care was lower during the summer months (21.2%) than during the school year (24.4%). This suggests that

Table 14: Child care activities by season and gender

(mean minutes per day)

	School year		Summer	
Child care activity	Men	Women	Men	Women
N=	*925*	*780*	*209*	*148*
Child care - interactive (talk-based)				
Helping, teaching, reprimanding	8*	11*	1	2
Reading, talking to, conversation	3	3	3	2
Playing with children	7	6	9	10
Helping and other child care	2	3	3	1
Subtotal	*19*	*23*	*16*	*15*
Child care - physical				
Child care - infant to 4 yrs old	0	1	3	3
Putting children to bed	6	9	5	6
Getting children ready for school	4	10	2	3
Personal care for household children	4	9	2	5
Subtotal	*14*	*29*	*12*	*16*
Child care - chauffeuring, advocacy, etc.				
Medical care	1	1	0	3
Unpaid babysitting - household children	0	0	0	0
Travel for household children	8	15	5*	11*
Subtotal	*9*	*16*	*5*	*13*
Total child care activities	*42*	*68*	*33*	*44*

Note: Highlighted cells indicate significant difference by gender at the $p \leq .025$ level

* Significant at the $p \leq .05$ level.

time with children during the summer takes on a more relaxed pace when demands of school and extracurriculars are lessened.

Table 15: Time spent in primary child care activities and in contact with children by gender and season (mean minutes per day)

Season	Gender	*N*	Primary child care activities	Social contact time with children	Primary child care as a percentage of social contact with children
School year	Male	925	42	172	24.4%
	Female	780	68	227	30.0%
Summer	Male	209	33	155	21.2%
	Female	148	44	219	20.1%

Each type of child care was tested using a 2-way ANOVA for gender and season. For time spent in interactive child care talking or playing with children, gender did not have a significant main effect but season did (F (1, 2007) = 7.11, p = .008). Both men and women decreased the amount of time spent interacting with children during the summer, which likely indicates less time helping with homework or reading to children, something that is strongly encouraged by the education system especially for parents with elementary school children.

On the other hand, there were significant (and almost equal) main effects of gender (F (1, 2007) = 13.75, p < .001) and season (F (1, 2007) = 13.76, p < .001) for time spent on physical child care. Women did more physical care than men in both seasons, but for all parents the amount of time spent on this activity decreased during the summer (see Fig. 13). Much of parents' time spent on physical child care during the school year involved activities like packing lunches, emptying backpacks, getting children ready for school in the morning or into the bath and bed at night. Without the weekday schedule imposed by the education system, these activities either disappeared or, in the case of bath and bedtime, likely became less structured or rigidly imposed. The interaction effect of gender and season for physical child care was significant too (F (1, 2007) = 9.84, p = .002). Men's involvement in physical child care decreased only slightly in the summer but there was a large difference for women between school year and summer.

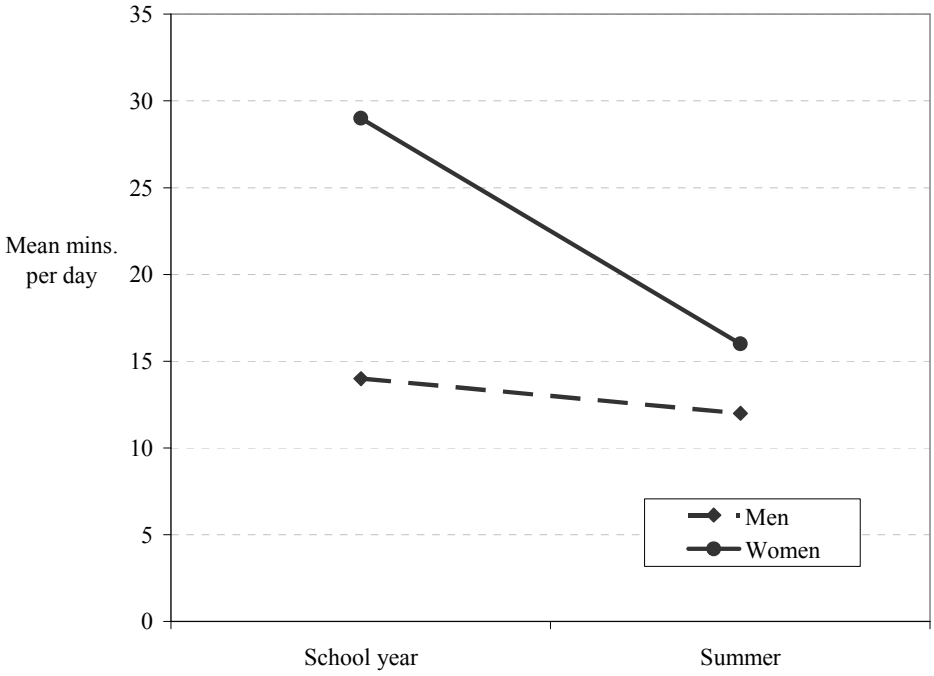


Figure 13: Physical child care by gender and season

For travel and advocacy on behalf of children, there was a significant main effect for gender (F (1, 2007) = 11.28, p = .001) but not for season and no significant interaction effect was found. Whether during the school year or summer, women were largely responsible for transporting children to school and other activities and commitments such as medical or dental appointments.

Time spent on employment-related activities was testing using a two-way ANOVA for gender and season. There was a strong significant main effect for gender (F (1, 2007) = 70.77, p < .001) but not for season. Men spent much more time on employment-related activities than women and there was little difference for men or women regardless of season (see Fig. 14). The interaction effect of gender and season was not significant.

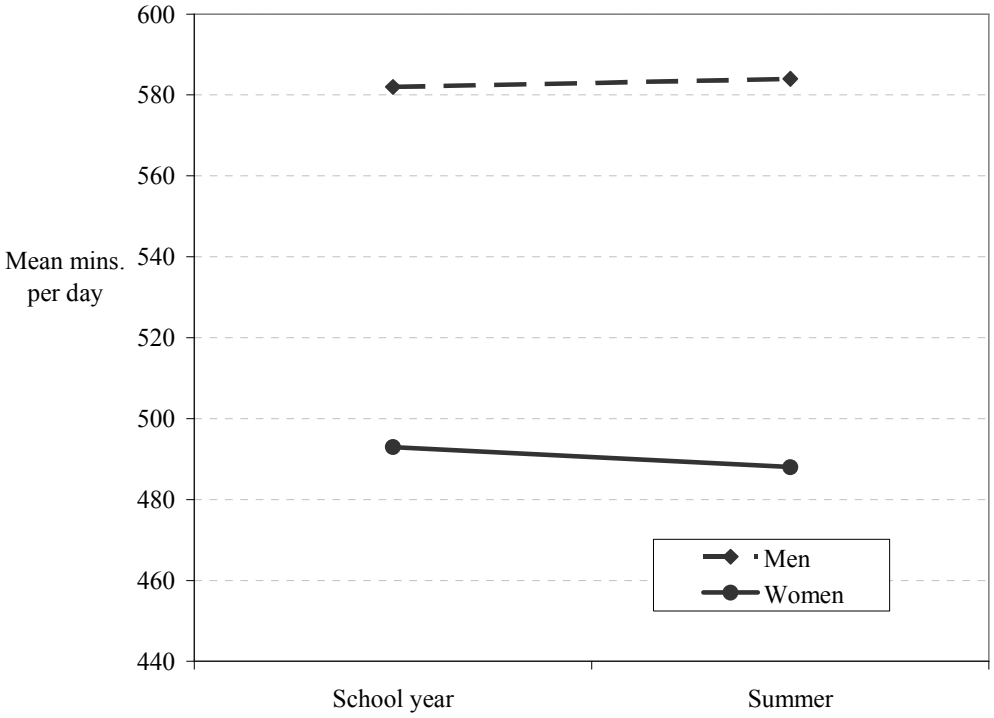


Figure 14: Total employment-related activities by gender and season

Similarly, for time spent on domestic activities, the only significant main effect was for gender (F (1, 2007) = 89.43, p < .001) and there was no significant interaction effect for gender and season. Compared to other domains of activity, the strength of the gender effect on domestic activity is unparalleled and employed mothers disproportionately shouldered the burden of unpaid household labour. Combined with the main gender effect for physical child care and travel advocacy for children, this strongly suggests that the second shift continues for Canadian women throughout the year.

Time spent sleeping was significantly effected by both gender (F (1, 2007) = 7.86, p = .005) and season (F (1, 2007) = 9.26, p = .002). On average, parents slept longer in the summer than during the

school year, with women gaining 17 minutes and men, 9 minutes per day. Mothers slept longer than fathers regardless of the season (see Fig. 15) but there was no significant interaction effect between gender and season.

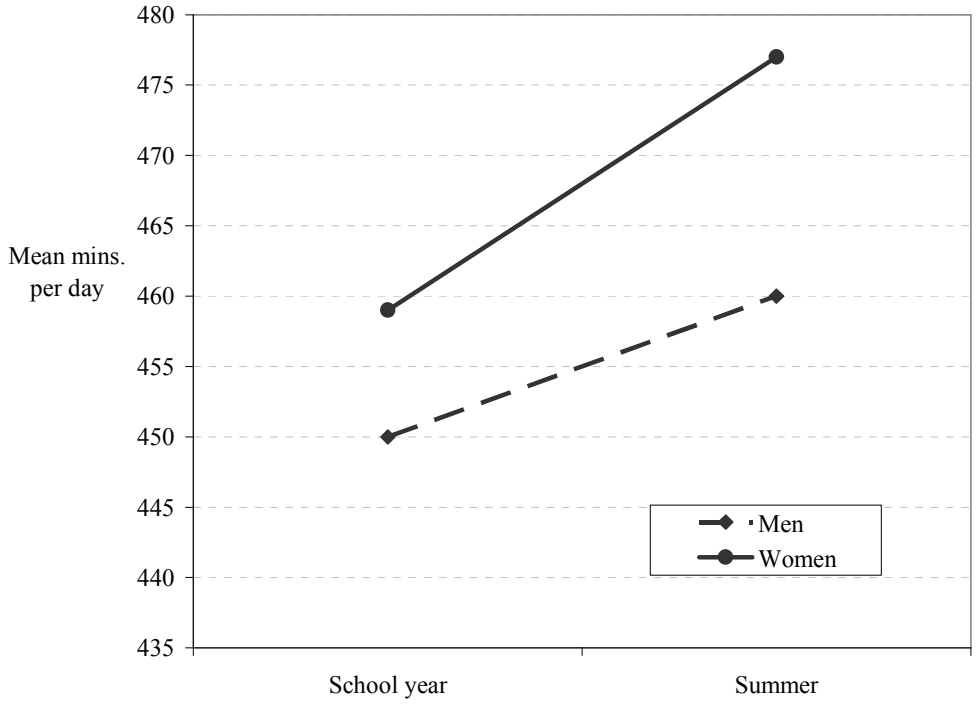


Figure 15: Sleep time by gender and season

The gender difference in total leisure time during the summer was not significant. This was also somewhat unexpected since significant gender differences in leisure time had been found for all categories of household composition. Nor was there a significant difference in time spent viewing television – which decreased in summer for men but increased for women. Instead, socializing at home and physically active leisure increased for parents during the summer. There were only two specific areas of leisure activity with notable gender differences. Men's longer time spent on rest and relaxation (M = 15 mins) compared to women (M = 7 mins) approached significance (t = 2.16, p = .033), while their greater time spent on general computer activities (13 mins for men, 6 mins for women) was significant (t = 2.25, p = .025).

In the two-way ANOVA for total leisure time, gender was significant (F (1, 2007) = 7.79, p = .005) but season was not. The gender gap in leisure time during the school year largely influenced this result, even though the gap narrowed during the summer. The interaction effect of gender and season approached, but did not reach significance for leisure. While women's leisure time increased during the summer by 21 minutes per day, men's differed by only 5 minutes from season to season (see Fig. 16).

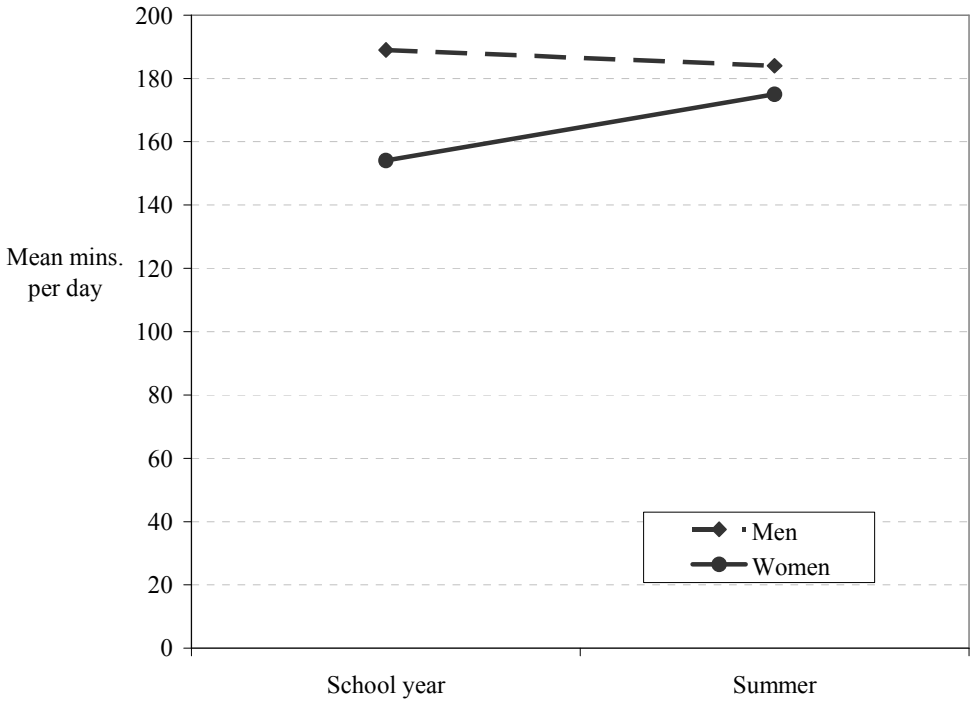


Figure 16: Total leisure activities by gender and season

No significant main or interaction effects were found for social leisure. Physical activity, however, had a significant main effect of season (F (1, 2007) = 9.59, p = .002). Parents' participation in physically active leisure increased during the summer, as might be expected with Canada's cold winter climate, but there was no significant main effect for gender. Women generally spent less time on physical activities throughout the year (see Fig. 17) and no interaction effect was found between season and gender.

Television viewing had different directions in seasonal variation for men and women but there was no significant main effect for season. Unusually, there was no main gender effect for television viewing either. Gender differences that were significant during the school year disappeared during the summer when mothers' overall leisure time increased. This led, however, to a significant interaction effect between gender and season for television viewing (F (1, 2007) = 14.31, p < .001). Time spent on this activity declined for men in the summer, but increased for women (see Fig. 18). This was notable because it was one of the very few situations where women allocated more time per day to watching television than men.

Time spent with various social contacts during leisure activities varied from school year to summer (see Table 16). During the school year, fathers spent a significantly higher proportion of their leisure time than mothers in family leisure activities (t = 2.95, p = .003) and in couple leisure (t = 6.87, p < .001). Mothers, on the other hand, were far more likely than fathers to engage in leisure activities with

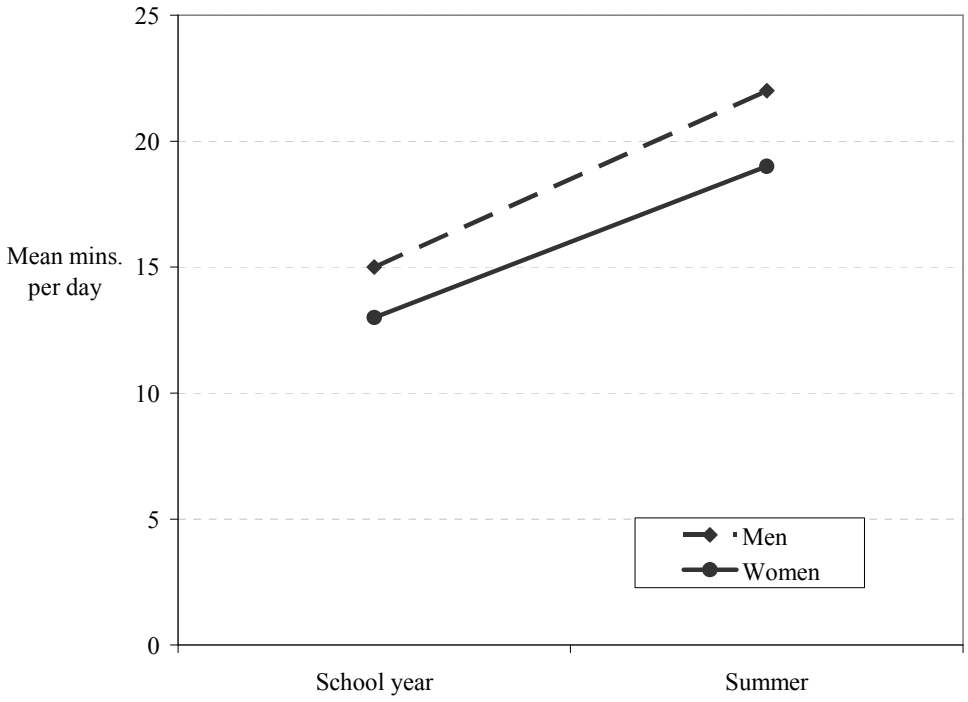


Figure 17: Physically active leisure by gender and season

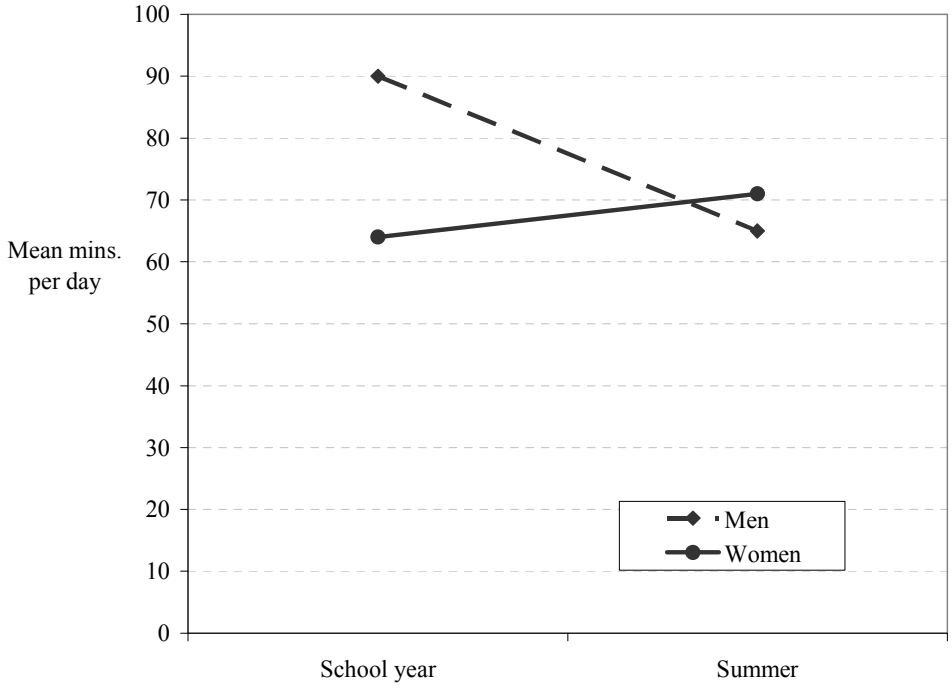


Figure 18: Watching TV/DVDs by gender and season

Table 16: Social contacts during leisure episodes by gender and season

Percentage of leisure episodes (number)

Social contact	School year		Summer		Total leisure episodes
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
Alone	39.2 (1,195)	36.4 (850)	40.9 (268)	35.3 (161)	38.1 (2,474)
Family	18.5 (563)*	14.9 (348)*	20.3 (133)	18.4 (84)	17.4 (1,128)
Couple	21.8 (664)*	14.5 (338)*	18.7 (122)	16.6 (76)	18.5 (1,199)
Children	9.0 (275)*	21.2 (495)*	8.9 (58)*	20.5 (93)*	14.2 (921)
Friends	3.1 (95)	5.6 (132)	4.9 (32)	5.5 (25)	4.4 (285)
Others	8.4 (255)	7.5 (174)	6.2 (41)	3.7 (17)	7.5 (487)
Total	100.0 (3,046)	100.0 (2336)	100.0 (654)	100.0 (457)	100.0 (6,493)

* Gender difference is significant at the $p \leq .025$ level.

children only (t = - 7.401, $p < .001$). During the summer when women's leisure time increased, the significant differences in family and couple leisure disappeared but there was weak evidence that a significant difference remained in the proportion of leisure time women spent with children (t = -2.177, p =.030) compared to men.

4.3 Chapter summary

The first section of the chapter outlined the sample characteristics of Canadian parents with school-age children. Frequency and distribution of demographic variables suggested that the sub-sample was representative of the population being investigated. Parents' time use was then explored from the level of household composition. By sub-dividing the sample into three groups, each representing a different household arrangement, the effect of individual and interpersonal factors on gendered behaviour was apparent. This section also revealed how seasonal variations affected parents' use of time. The rhythm of the school year, with historical roots reaching back to an agrarian society, showed how the socio-historical level of influence shaped parents' responsibilities and affected their leisure time on a more individual and interpersonal level. Special consideration was given to with whom parents spent their leisure time. Gender differences emerged that were likely attributable to cultural expectations of motherhood and fatherhood.

Chapter 5
The influence of work schedules on parents' time use

The timing of the workday was an institutional factor that determined the amount of time parents allocated to various activities and with whom they spent their time. This section begins by examining demographic and time use characteristics of parents according to work schedule. This is followed by two-way ANOVAs for selected categories of time use to determine whether the timing of the work day and gender interact to influence behaviour in terms of time spent on various daily activities. The effect of flexible scheduling on time use is then considered.

5.1 Characteristics of parents according to work schedule

Although there are many different types of schedules, when asked to best describe the hours usually worked at a main job, three groups emerged that shared similar characteristics in terms of timing of the work day, days of the week most commonly worked, predictability of work shifts, and access to flexible scheduling. As mentioned earlier, participants were asked to describe the hours typically worked at their main job. Those who had regular, weekday hours were assigned to the "traditional" work schedule category. Parents who most often worked weekends, evenings and/or rotating shifts were included in the "non-standard" work schedule group. The third type of work schedule was identified as "irregular". This included individuals who described their schedule as irregular, on call or casual, or a compressed work week. Those with irregular work schedules had shifts scheduled throughout the week, but were less likely to work on weekends compared to parents with non-standard schedules (see Fig. 19). Irregular shifts were less predictable, often scheduled one week or less in advance. Of the 2,062 respondents, 107 did not provide information about their work schedule or chose to describe it as "other". Because of the uncertainty regarding the rhythm of their work week, these individuals have been excluded from analyses related to work schedule.

There were some differences in the distribution of work schedules by gender and household composition (see Table 17). Mothers were more likely than fathers to have a traditional work schedule which gave more predictability to their work hours and greater synchronization with children's schedules. There was much less variation between mothers and fathers with non-standard work schedules with the exception of single parents. In this case, there were more fathers than mothers with this schedule, but numbers still remained relatively low. More fathers than mothers had irregular schedules, especially when children were in their teens.

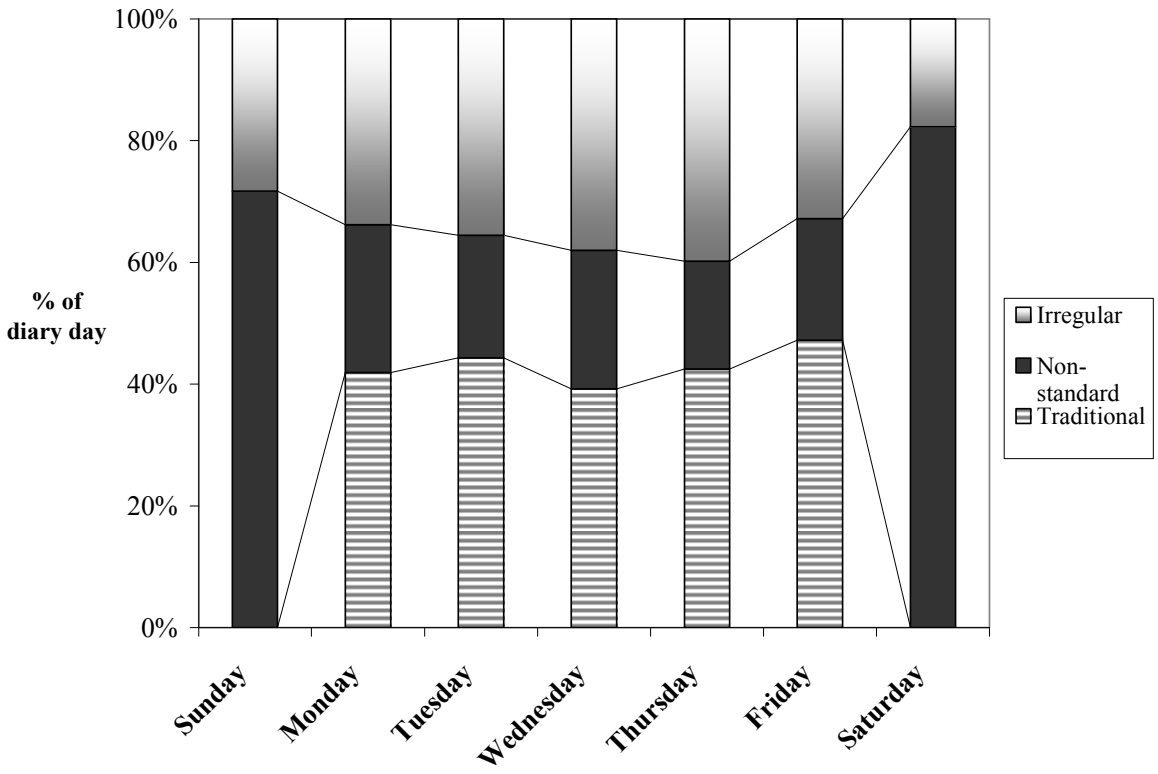


Figure 19: Work schedule by interview day

Table 17: Work schedule by household composition

	Traditional		Non-standard		Irregular		Total	
Household composition	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*N*	%
Single mother	146	71.6	36	17.6	22	10.8	204	100.0
Single father	39	63.9	13	21.3	9	14.8	61	100.0
Dual-parent mother, child 5-12	309	70.1	80	18.1	52	11.8	52	100.0
Dual-parent father, child 5-12	503	67.2	125	16.7	121	16.2	749	100.0
Dual-parent mother, child 13-17	157	72.7	43	19.9	16	7.4	216	100.0
Dual-parent father, child 13-17	183	64.2	52	18.2	50	17.5	285	100.0
Total	*1,337*	*68.4*	*349*	*17.8*	*270*	*13.8*	*1,956*	*100.0*

Compared to other work schedules, parents with traditional schedules were more frequently employed as professional or clerical workers and were represented almost equally with irregular work schedules among management workers. Workers with non-standard schedules were disproportionately found in sales and services, and processing and manufacturing occupations. Irregular work schedules were also common among the sales and services sectors and workers in trade and transport, but also well represented among professional and management occupations (see Table 18).

Table 18: Distribution of work schedules by occupational sector

(Percentage of schedule)

Occupational sector	Traditional	Non-standard	Irregular
Management	12.3	7.1	12.4
Professional	22.5	11.8	20.4
Technologist or technology	9.2	7.3	6.3
Clerical	16.2	6.2	8.8
Sales and services	17.0	30.6	23.5
Trade & transport	14.4	14.2	16.3
Primary industry	2.0	6.3	6.9
Processing, manufacturing utilities	3.9	14.1	3.8
Not stated, don't know	2.6	2.3	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Ontario, Quebec and the Prairie region had the highest proportion of parents with traditional work schedules (71.2%, 72.1% and 68.3% respectively) compared to those in the Atlantic region (60.3%) and British Columbia (58.0%). The latter two regions had a higher proportion of parents with non-standard work schedules (28.3% for the Atlantic, and 20.3% for British Columbia). British Columbia and the Prairies had more parents with an irregular schedule than the other regions – 21.7% and 16.0%, respectively (see Fig. 20).

There were no significant differences for work schedules by categories of household composition, but there were some differences in weekly hours of work. Only 7.9 % of parents with a traditional work schedule worked part-time (< 35 hours/week), but the highest proportion of full-time workers (47.7%) and individuals working more than 48 hours per week (44.4%) had this work schedule. Those with non-standard work schedules were more likely to work part-time (27.4%), but there were also more full-time workers with non-standard work schedules (39.1%) than full-time workers with irregular schedules (30.2%). The lowest proportion of full-time workers was found among parents with irregular work schedules (See Fig. 21). The incidence of long hours workers with an irregular schedule (44.0%) was almost identical to those with a traditional schedule (44.4%).

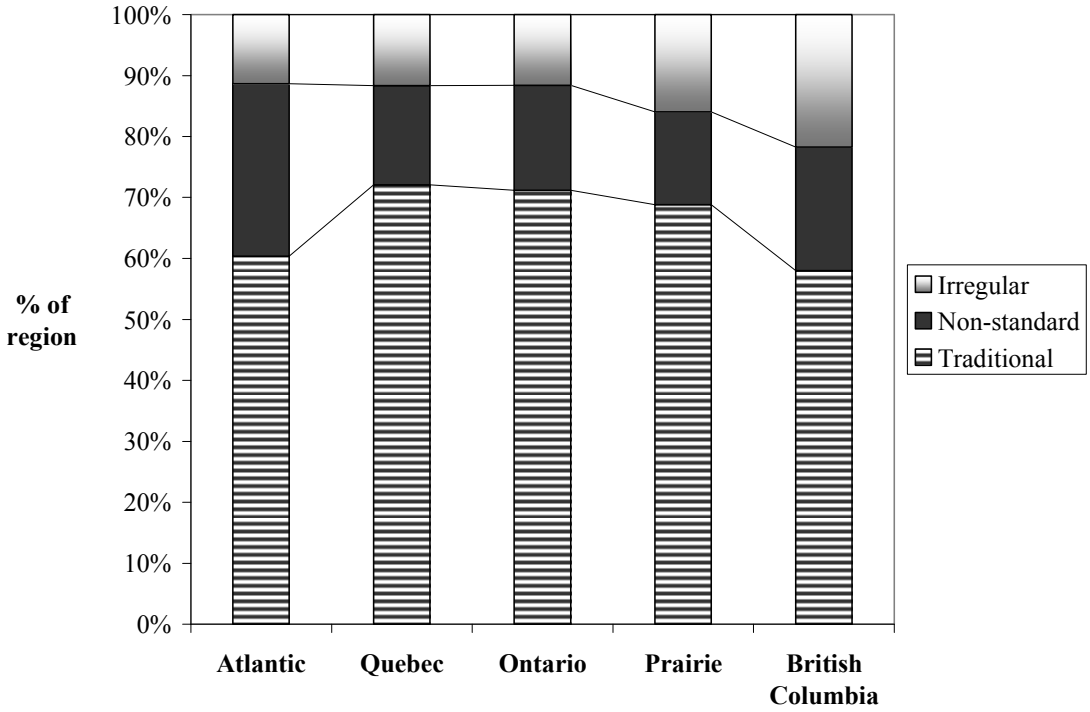
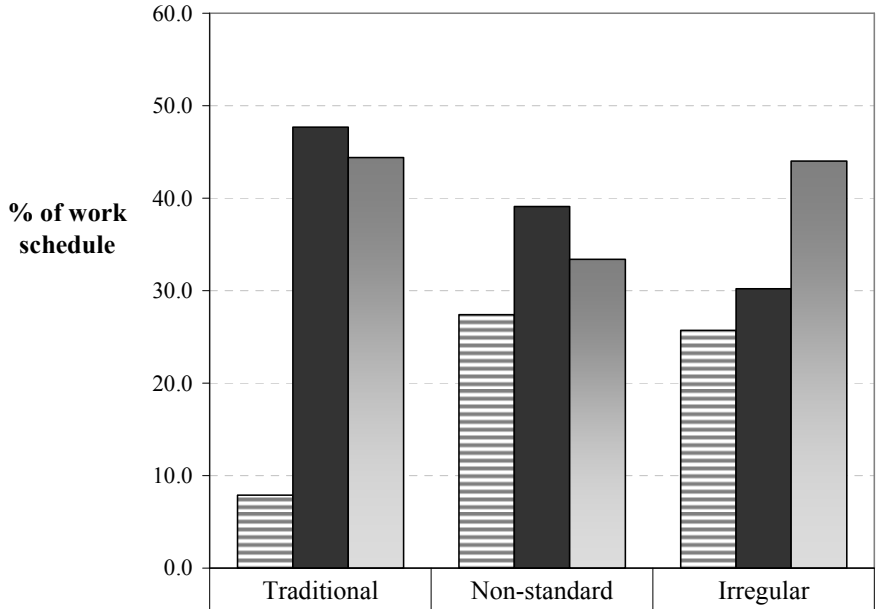


Figure 20: Region of residence by work schedule



	Traditional	Non-standard	Irregular
Part-time (< 35 hours)	7.9	27.4	25.7
Full-time (35 - 48 hours)	47.7	39.1	30.2
Long hours (> 48 hours)	44.4	33.4	44

Figure 21: Work schedule by weekly hours of work

There were some relationships between household income and work schedule. Parents with non-standard schedules had the widest income fluctuation, but generally these respondents had a lower combined household income than parents with either a traditional or irregular work schedule. More than four in ten parents with a non-standard schedule (41.7%) had a combined household income of less than $60,000 compared to one-third (33.7%) of those with irregular schedules and 29.9% with traditional schedules. At the other end of the income range, 19.5% of non-standard workers had a household income of $100,000 or more compared to approximately one-quarter of those with traditional (25.5%) and irregular schedules (25.1%).

Based on income distribution, it was expected that there would be some association between work schedule and educational attainment. An almost equal proportion of traditional and irregular workers held at least one university degree (31.4% and 30.6%, respectively) compared to those with a non-standard work schedule (21.9%). Conversely, parents with non-standard work schedules had the highest percentage of workers with a high school education or less (32.2%), followed by almost equal proportions of individuals with traditional (21.5%) and irregular work schedules (21.0%).

Reasons for working a particular type of schedule were not explored in the GSS. While some types of employment were associated with particular work schedules, it was not possible to determine whether the schedule was selected as a means of work-life integration, to accommodate child care responsibilities, or imposed by employers on individuals without regard to other factors in employees' lives. When asked whether they were limited in the amount or kind of activity that could be done at work, home or leisure, 5.6% of those with a traditional schedule, 8.1% with a non-standard schedule, and 12.2% with an irregular schedule responded positively. This difference was significant (x^2 (2, 2046) = 15.762, p = .002). It is possible that parents with activity limitations may work an irregular schedule to better accommodate physical or mental health conditions.

5.2 The effect of work schedules on time use

Parents' use of time varied by work schedule (see Table 19) and significant gender differences were found in many categories of activity as indicated in the table. Results of Independent Samples T-tests are found in Appendix B, Tables B-6, B-7 and B-8. Mean time spent in main activity categories by respondents participating on the diary day for each work schedule is found in Appendix C, Table C-3. For all schedules, women spent significantly more time on domestic work, child care, total caregiving, and personal care whereas men spent more time on employment-related activities and watching television. This continues a gendered time use pattern that was evident regardless of household composition. There were, however, some interesting variations in time allocation by work schedule that may be

Table 19: Time use by gender and work schedule

(mean minutes per day)

		Traditional		Non-standard		Irregular	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Activity	*N=*	*725*	*612*	*190*	*160*	*179*	*90*
WORKLOAD	Employment-related activities						
	Paid employment	548	483	486	429	534	419
	Unpaid employment-related activities	1	1	11	4	8	5
	Travel to/from employment	59	50	40	40	45	30
	Total employment-related activities	*608*	*534*	*537*	*472*	*587*	*454*
	Domestic work						
	Food preparation	23	49	25	53	25	45
	Indoor housekeeping	8	34	11	51	11	62
	Outdoor housekeeping	9	6	14	5	7	4
	DIY/home improvement	4*	2*	13	7	7*	0*
	Household administration	2	4	2	5	5	4
	Pet care	1*	3*	1	3	0	4
	Other housekeeping including travel	2	2	3	3	2	4
	Total domestic work	*49*	*99*	*69*	*127*	*58*	*123*
	Caregiving						
	Child care - interactive (talk-based)	20	18	17	27	15	37
	Child care - physical	15	26	8	25	13	26
	Child care - travel, advocacy, other	9	15	5	13	7	19
	Child care - sub-total	44	59	30	64	34	82
	Care of household adults	3	3	2	5	3	3
	Total caregiving	*47*	*63*	*32*	*69*	*37*	*85*
	Shopping						
	Grocery and household shopping	6	13	11*	20*	10	16
	Other shopping and services	7	11	11	13	9*	15*
	Total shopping	*13*	*24*	*22*	*33*	*19**	*32**
	Education						
	Total education-related activities	5	9	12	7	10	13

	Total workload	723	728	672	708	711	707
PERSONAL	Eating at home	45	41	47	46	46	48
NEEDS	Personal care	35	47	36	49	35	45
	Sleep	447	460	457	468	459	457
	Personal care services (outside the home)	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Total personal needs	528	549	540	563	540	551
VOLUNTARY	Total volunteer/civic activities	8	6	5	11	10	14
RELIGION	Total religious activity	1	1	5	3	2	7
LEISURE	Socializing at home	21	28	45	36	26	33
	Socializing outside the home	14	14	24	12	22	16
	Total social leisure	*35*	*42*	*69*	*48*	*48*	*49*
	Watching TV, DVDs, videos	87	66	90	68	69	50
	Physically active leisure	17	14	19*	8*	12	21
	Attending movies, sports, cultural events	8	8	8	8	5	5
	Reading books, magazines, newspapers	11	9	9	7	9	13
	Reading and writing letters	1	0	0	0	2	2
	Rest and relaxation	7	7	11	8	14	9
	Listening to music/radio	1	0	0	0	1	0
	Bingo, casinos, arcades	1	0	3	0	0	0
	Board and non-electronic games	0	1	1	0	1	2
	Computer and video games	3	0	1	1	2*	0*
	General computer use & surfing	8	6	4	5	9	8
	Hobbies	1	1	0	2	1	1
	Arts, crafts, music, drama, dance	1	0	0	0	1	0
	Other leisure	1	1	2	1	3	1
	Total leisure activity	181	155	218	155	177	160
TOTAL	Total of activity categories + residual time	1440	1440	1440	1440	1440	1440

Note: Highlighted cells indicate significant differences by gender at the $p \leq .025$ level.
* Significant at the $p \leq .05$ level.
See Appendix B, tables B-6, B-7 and B-8 for *t*-tests

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relevant to the ongoing negotiation or construction of gender roles in response to changing patterns of employment.

A traditional work schedule was associated with the greatest number of gender differences in time use between mothers and fathers. Men spent significantly more time in almost all employment-related activities including time spent working (M = 548 mins for men, M = 483 mins for women; t = 9.60, p < .001) and travelling to and from work (M = 59 mins for men, M = 50 mins for women; t = 3.03, p = .003). Women, on the other hand, spent significantly more time than men on domestic activities (M = 49 mins for men, M = 99 mins for women; t = -13.16, p < .001) including food preparation (M = 23 mins for men, M = 49 mins for women; t = -13.11, p < .001) and indoor housekeeping (M = 8 mins for men, M = 34 mins for women; t = -12.78, p < .001). While men spent more time in traditionally "male" activities such as DIY/ home improvement and outdoor housework, the gender difference was not significant. A traditional work schedule was conducive to fathers and mothers spending similar amounts of time on interactive child care (20 minutes for fathers, and 18 minutes for mothers). Even though their work schedules were more closely synchronized with children's school schedules, fathers with traditional work schedules still spent significantly less time than mothers on physical child care (M = 15 mins for men, M = 26 mins for women; t = -5.49, p < .001) and travel and advocacy on behalf of children (M = 9 mins for men, M = 15 mins for women; t = -3.03, p = .002). A continuing gendered division of household labour also meant that women spent significantly more time shopping for groceries and household needs (M = 6 mins for men, M = 13 mins for women; t = -4.75, p < .001) as well as other types of shopping and services (M = 7 mins for men, M = 11 mins for women; t = -3.58, p < .001). Despite spending less time than men in employment-related activities, women's heavier responsibilities for other categories of committed time such as child care and housework meant that the total workload for men and women was roughly equivalent (12 hours, 3 minutes for men, and 12 hours, 8 minutes for women).

Differences were also found in time allocated to personal needs and leisure. Women with traditional work schedules slept significantly longer than men (M = 447 mins for men, M = 460 mins for women; t = -2.85, p = .004) and spent more time on personal care (M = 35 mins for men, M = 47 mins for women; t = -7.73, p < .001), while men spent significantly more time eating meals at home (M = 45 mins for men, M = 41 mins for women; t = 2.32, p = .020). Men's leisure time exceeded women's by almost half an hour per day (181 mins for men compared to 155 mins for women). Most of the difference was found in time spent watching television or DVDs (for men – 87 mins; for women – 66 mins; t = 5.10, p < .001), but men also spent significantly more time playing computer and video games (M = 3 mins for men, M = < 1 min for women; t = 3.83, p < .001). The only leisure category in which mothers spent significantly more time than fathers was socializing at home (M = 21 mins for men, M = 28 mins for women; t = -2.39, p = .017).

Having a non-standard work schedule also seemed to reproduce many stereotypical gendered behaviours, and in some areas actually intensified a traditional division of labour. Men with non-standard work schedules spent significantly more time working for pay than women (8 hours, 6 minutes for men, and 7 hours, 9 minutes for women; $t = 2.75$, $p = .006$) but less time working than men in any of the other household categories (see Table 19). For these fathers, time not spent at work was allocated to increased domestic activity and to leisure. They spent similar amounts of time preparing food and doing indoor housework compared to men with irregular schedules, but significantly less time than women with non-standard work schedules on these activities (food preparation - $M = 25$ mins for men, $M = 53$ mins for women, $t = -6.45$, $p < .001$; indoor housekeeping - $M = 11$ mins for men, $M = 51$ mins for women, $t = -5.89$, $p < .001$). Instead, men substantially increased time spent doing outdoor housekeeping and DIY/ home improvement (see Table 19). With a little extra time on their hands, fathers chose to take on more of the traditionally male household tasks, rather than more equally sharing the heavier responsibilities for indoor housekeeping or cooking.

Despite working many evening and weekend hours that were often at odds with their children's school routines, women's caregiving time did not decrease when they had a non-standard schedule. Indeed, the opposite was the case. They spent more time than mothers with traditional schedules on interactive child care (27 minutes compared to 18 minutes) and time spent on physical child care and communication and advocacy remained almost equivalent to other schedules (see Table 19). Mothers with non-standard schedules seemed to make time with children a high priority and continued to meet their interactive, physical, and travel/advocacy needs despite having work schedules often very different from their children. This may have been related to a higher percentage of part-time workers with this schedule. Conversely, men's time in all areas of child care decreased with a non-standard schedule.

For time allocated to shopping, there was rather weak evidence of a significant gender difference in shopping for grocery and household items where women spent more time than men ($M = 11$ mins for men, $M = 20$ mins for women; $t = -2.04$, $p = .042$), but not for other types of shopping. Having time off during hours when stores were not busy may have created conditions for men's greater participation in shopping. Ultimately, with a non-standard schedule men's total workload was less than women's (11 hours, 12 minutes for men compared to 11 hours, 48 minutes for women). The gender gap of 36 minutes was greatest compared to other work schedules but, nonetheless, not significant.

Men with non-standard work schedules enjoyed the greatest amount of leisure time compared to women and to men with other types of schedules (see Table 19). Women, on the other hand, had almost the same amount of leisure time, regardless of work schedule. Fathers with a non-standard schedule watched the most television (1 hours, 30 minutes per day), and they spent twice as much time as women with the same schedule socializing outside the home (24 minutes for men versus 12 minutes for women; *t*

= 2.35, p = .019). Furthermore, men with non-standard schedules also used their leisure to engage in physical activities more often than women (19 minutes for men versus 8 minutes for women) and this difference approached significance (t = 2.07, p = .039).

Having an irregular work schedule seemed to further entrench gender roles rather than creating new patterns of behaviour. While there were not as many significant gender differences in time use compared to parents with traditional schedules, the degree of difference, particularly in typically gendered areas of behaviour was heightened. Mothers decreased the amount of time spent on employment-related activities so that relative to mothers with other schedules and all fathers, they spent the least amount of time working for pay (see Table 19). On the other hand, an irregular schedule allowed a substantial increase in domestic activities. Mothers with irregular schedules spent more than one hour per day on indoor housekeeping (62 minutes compared to 11 minutes for men, t = -7.00, p < .001) and more than twice as much time as men preparing food (53 minutes for women, 25 minutes for men, t = -3.82, p < .001). In addition, while time spent caring for pets was greater for all mothers, it was significantly higher than fathers when women had an irregular work schedule (M < 1 min for men, M = 4 mins for women; t = -2.53, p = .012). Consistent with traditional gender patterns, men were more involved in outdoor housekeeping and DIY/ home improvement, although the gender difference only approached significance for the latter activity and was not significant for the former. Irregular schedules allowed women to spend significantly more time than men in all categories of child care (interactive care - M = 15 mins for men, M = 37 mins for women; t = -3.54, p < .001; physical care - M = 13 mins for men, M = 26 mins for women; t = -3.43, p = .001; travel and advocacy - M = 7 mins for men, M = 19 mins for women; t = -3.69, p < .001; and total child care - M = 34 mins for men, M = 82 mins for women; t = -5.17, p < .001) and these women allocated the most time of all mothers to interacting with their children (see Table 19). Conversely, men with irregular schedules spent the least time in interactive child care. Women with irregular schedules did more shopping than men, but there was only weak evidence of a significant gender difference in this area (M = 19 mins for men, M = 32 mins for women; t = -2.00, p = .046). Significant gender differences in employment-related activities (M = 587 mins for men, M = 484 mins for women; t = 4.55, p < .001), domestic work (M = 58 mins for men, M = 123 mins for women; t = -5.74, p < .001), and total caregiving (t = -5.13, p < .001) appeared to cancel each other out so that the combined workload for mothers and fathers with an irregular employment schedule differed by only 4 minutes although the proportion of the workload allocated to paid and unpaid activities was considerably different.

An irregular schedule was the only work format where the difference between men's and women's leisure time was not significantly different, although men's leisure still exceeded women's (177 mins for men compared to 160 mins for women). Men's increased time in paid employment reduced the amount of leisure available. Although women with irregular work schedules allocated the least time to

employment-related activities (454 mins per day), they did not increase time spent in leisure by any substantial amount; instead, more time was allocated to child care, pet care, and indoor housekeeping. Compared to men, women spent more time in physically active leisure (21 mins versus 12 mins), socializing at home (33 mins versus 26 mins) and reading (13 mins versus 9 mins), but the only leisure activity with a significant gender difference was watching television or DVDs where men's viewing time continued to exceed women's (M = 69 mins for men, M = 50 mins for women, t = 2.33, p = .021). As time for men's leisure decreased, the number of significant gender differences in leisure activities did too.

Contact time with children varied greatly by gender and schedule. Mothers and fathers with traditional schedules spent an equal percentage of contact time with children in primary care activities (29.9%) even though men with a traditional work schedule had the least social contact time with children overall (see Table 20). Fathers with non-standard schedules had the most contact time with children (3

Table 20: Time spent in primary child care activities and in contact with children by work schedule and gender

(Mean minutes per day)

Work schedule	Gender	*N*	Primary child care activities	Social contact time with children	Primary child care as a percentage of social contact with children
Traditional	Male	725	47	157	29.9%
	Female	612	63	211	29.9%
Non-standard	Male	190	32	194	16.5%
	Female	160	69	243	28.4%
Irregular	Male	179	37	180	20.5%
	Female	90	85	242	35.2%

hours, 14 minutes), but spent only 16.5% of the time with children on primary care activities (32 minutes). On the other hand, mothers with a non-standard work schedule spent 28.4% of contact time in primary child care (1 hours, 9 minutes). Mothers with an irregular schedule had the greatest amount of social contact time with children in primary care activities (35.3%), whereas fathers with this schedule spent only one-fifth of their contact time with children (20.5%) in primary child care. Again, they were able to interact with children, but child care was not recognized as the main activity. Like fathers with non-standard schedules, this indicates not only their lower participation in direct care but also suggests a more relaxed attitude by fathers toward responsibility for caregiving when involved in another activity and an assumption that mothers were the primary parent.

For each work schedule, women spent a significantly greater portion of their leisure time with children (traditional: $t = -6.38$, $p < .001$; non-standard: $t = -2.93$, $p = .004$; and irregular: $t = -2.68$, $p = .008$). It may be that women are more likely than men to combine child care responsibilities with leisure regardless of whether or not their work schedule allows this to be easily arranged. In addition, men spent a significantly higher proportion of their time in couple leisure than women (traditional: $t = 4.11$, $p < .001$; non-standard: $t = 2.26$, $p = .025$; and irregular: $t = 2.86$, $p = .005$). Preserving time for couple leisure, or not having to combine their leisure with child care may help to explain this difference. Or, more likely, the higher proportion of single mothers in the sample and their low amounts of couple leisure affected the results accordingly. Mothers spent a higher percentage of leisure time with friends, and men spent more time with others outside the household regardless of work schedule (see Table 21) but the gender difference was not significant in either case. Therefore, gender and associated socio-cultural child-rearing practices appear to have a greater effect overall on social contact during leisure than institutional influences like the timing of the work day.

Table 21: Social contacts during leisure episodes by gender and work schedule

Per cent of leisure episodes (number)

Social contact	Traditional		Non-standard		Irregular	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Alone	41.0 (949)	35.8 (669)	33.7 (217)	34.7 (148)	39.7 (231)	40.6 (115)
Family	17.1 (397)	15.1 (283)	25.3 (162)	19.4 (83)	16.7 (87)	14.7 (42)
Couple	21.4 (495)*	15.8 (295)*	22.6 (145)*	16.8 (71)*	21.8 (127)*	11.1 (31)*
Children	8.8 (203)*	20.8 (390)*	9.1 (58)*	20.1 (85)*	10.1 (59)*	22.2 (63)*
Friends	3.8 (88)	5.0 (94)	2.9 (19)	5.8 (24)	2.4 (14)	5.6 (16)
Others	7.9 (183)	7.5 (140)	6.4 (41)	3.2 (13)	9.2 (53)	5.9 (17)

*Significant difference within work schedule category at the $p \leq .025$ level.

Two-way ANOVAs were conducted for the selected categories of time use with gender and work schedule as predictor variables to determine which activities were most affected by work schedule. For time spent on work-related activities there was a significant main effect for both gender (F (1, 1900) = 92.37, $p < .001$) and schedule (F (2, 1900) = 28.68, $p < .001$). Men worked for pay for longer hours than women regardless of work schedule. Time spent working varied by schedule, but was different for men and women. Men with non-standard work schedules spent the least amount of time on employment-related activities whereas for women, the lowest employment-related time was characteristic of irregular work schedules. There was also a significant interaction effect between gender and work schedule (F (2, 1900) = 4.54, $p = .011$). While the gender gap for traditional and non-standard work schedules was very

similar, for parents with irregular schedules there was a decrease in employment-related time for women and an increase for men (see Fig. 22).

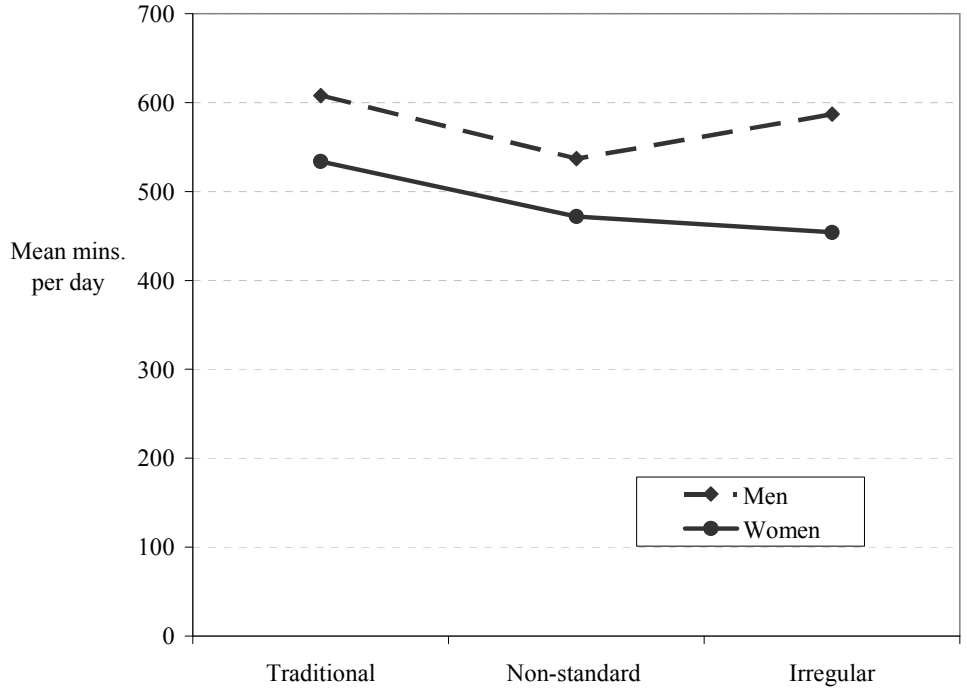

Figure 22: Total employment-related activities by gender and work schedule

Of the three child care categories, interactive care was the area where fathers were most likely to allocate time. This was certainly the case for parents with traditional work schedules where men's time actually exceeded women's but it did not happen with the other two schedules where men's interactive care time decreased slightly and women's time increased by far greater amounts (see Fig. 23). Although no significant main effect was found for schedule, there was a significant main effect of gender (F (1, 1900) = 9.18, p = .002). Because the non-traditional work arrangements appeared to create deeper divisions between mothers and fathers in time allocated to interactive child care, there was a significant interaction effect for schedule and gender (F (2, 1900) = 6.77, p = .001). Although parents with traditional schedules spent almost equal amounts of time interacting with children, there was a large gender gap for non-standard schedules which widened further to a significant level for mothers and fathers with irregular work schedules.

For physical child care, there was a highly significant main effect for gender (F (1, 1900) = 42.28, p < .001). Mothers' work schedules made little difference to the time spent in this activity and there was almost no variation in time allocated to physical child care regardless of the timing of their work day. There was no significant main effect for work schedule, although for fathers, those with a non-standard

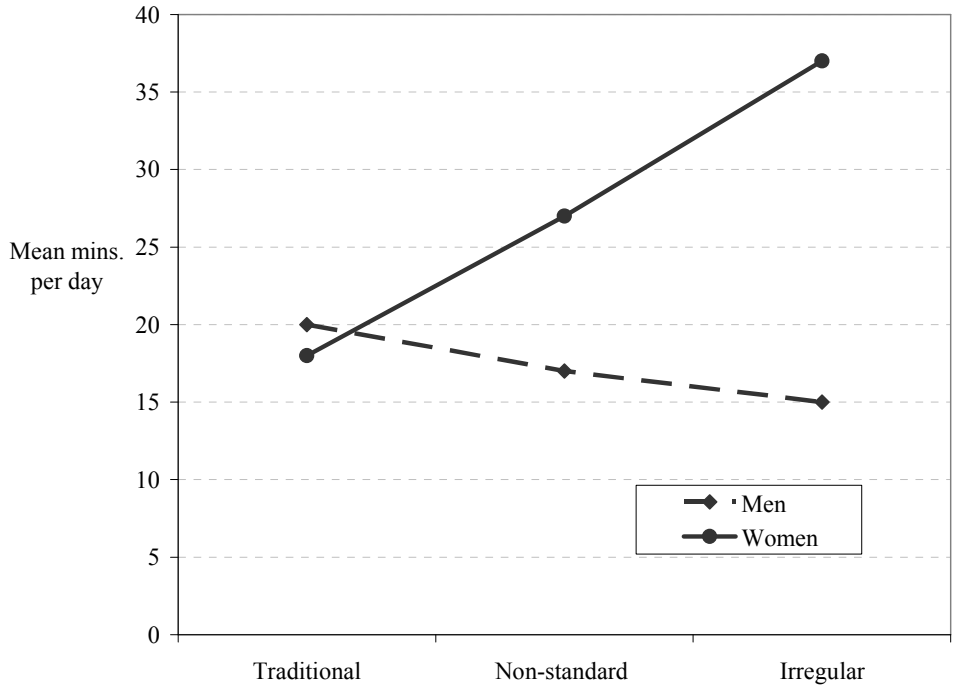

Figure 23: Interactive child care by gender and work schedule

work schedule did substantially less physical child care than other men (see Fig. 24). The interaction effect for gender and schedule was not significant in this case. Similarly, for travel and advocacy for

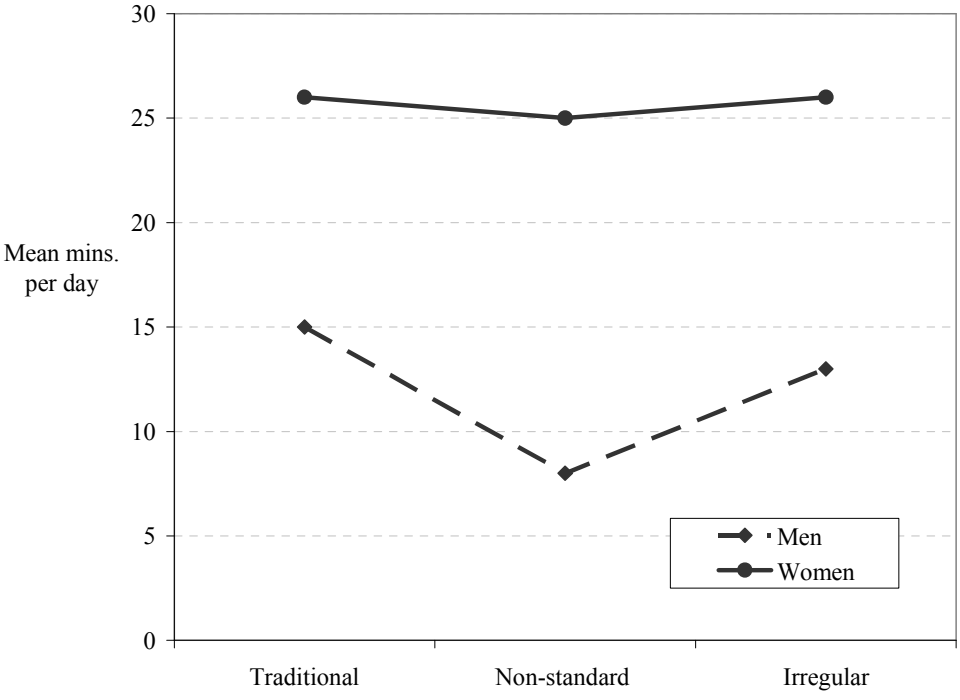

Figure 24: Physical child care by gender and work schedule

children, there was a significant main effect of gender (F (1, 1900) = 16.87, $p < .001$) but schedule was not significant and neither was the interaction between schedule and gender. Women performed more of this type of child care, and those with an irregular schedule spent the most time doing so (see Fig. 25). Mothers with a non-standard schedule allocated slightly less time to travel and advocacy on behalf of children than other mothers, which probably indicates structural limitations when trying to coordinate their work hours with the hours of operation for other organizations such as schools, health care providers and recreation programs.

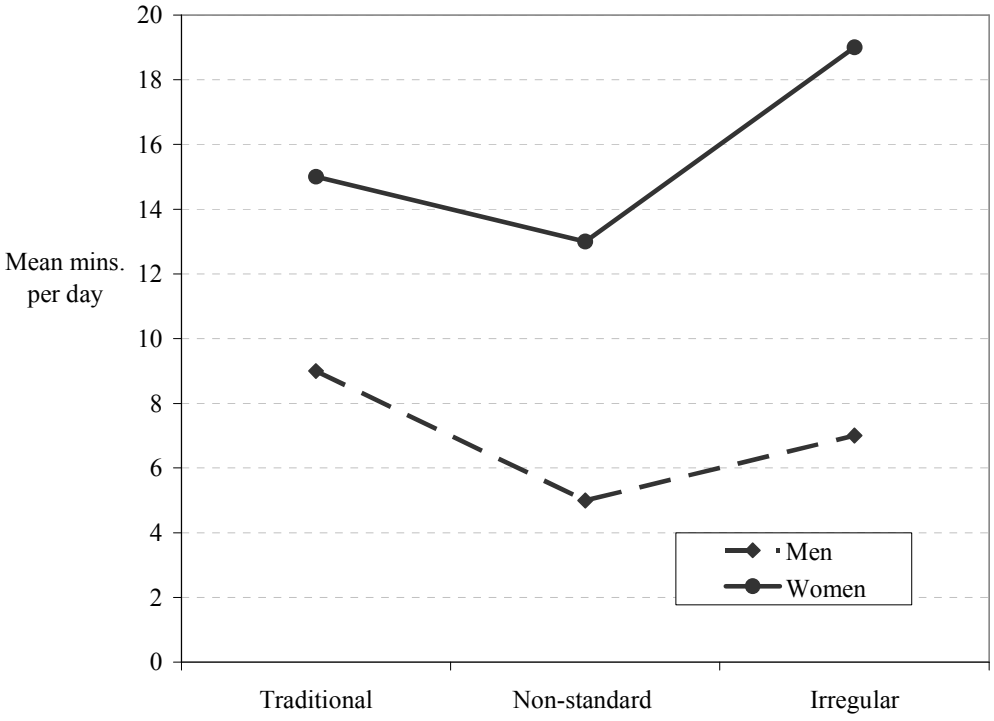

Figure 25: Child care - travel and advocacy by gender and work schedule

It was expected that time spent on domestic activities would have a strong and significant main effect of gender (F (1, 1900) = 148.26, $p < .001$) but the effect of schedule was more difficult to predict. By varying the timing of the work day, opportunities may be created to undertake more domestic or home care tasks when energy levels are higher and children are otherwise occupied in school. To some extent, this did occur and the main effect of schedule was also significant (F (2, 1900) = 15.51, $p < .001$) although considerably weaker than gender. Parents with traditional work schedules spent the least time on domestic activities compared to those with non-standard work schedules who spent the most (see Fig. 26). No significant interaction effect was apparent for gender and work schedule.

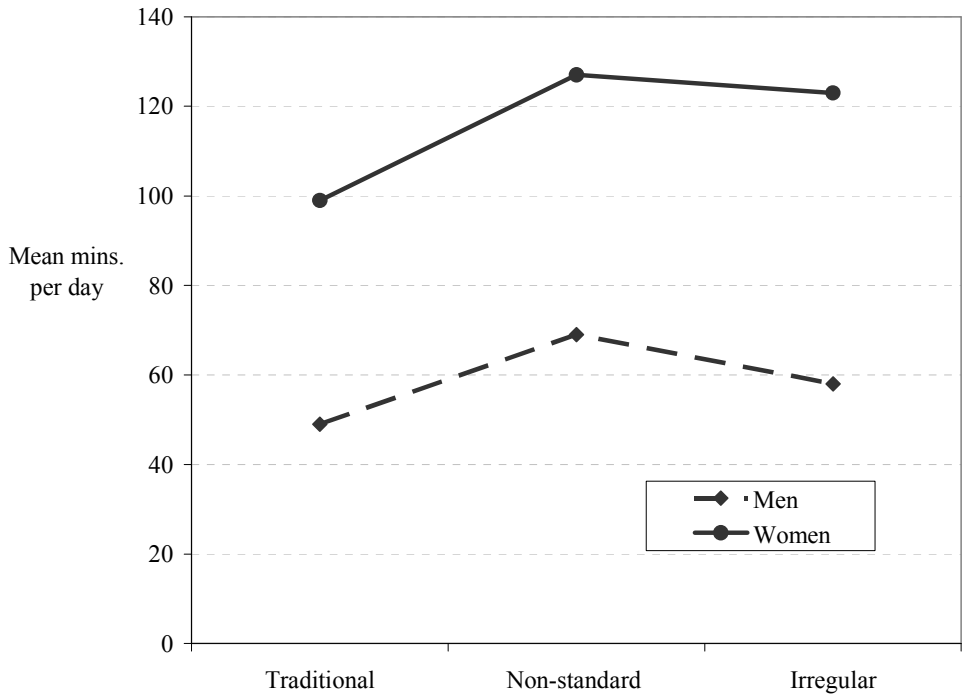

Figure 26: Total domestic activities by gender and work schedule

Men are usually privileged with greater amounts of leisure time and this was substantiated by a significant main effect for gender (F (1, 1900) = 22.15, $p < .001$) when tested with work schedule. Mothers had less time for leisure than fathers and the amount of time varied remarkably little regardless of the timing of women's work days (2 hours, 35 minutes for traditional and non-standard schedules, and 2 hours, 40 minutes for irregular schedules). Men, on the other hand, showed a less consistent pattern. Work schedule on its own was not significant but there was a weak but significant interaction effect between schedule and gender (F (2, 1900) = 4.03, $p = .018$). Fathers with traditional and irregular work schedules had similar amounts of leisure time and more leisure than women, but men with a non-standard work schedule had significantly more leisure than any other group (see Fig. 27).

Three categories of leisure activities, including physical activity, social leisure and watching television were explored further because of their relationship to subjective well-being, which is discussed later in Chapter 7. For physical activity, no significant main effect was found for either gender or work schedule, but there was a weak interaction effect between the two variables (F (2, 1900) = 3.82, $p = .022$). The effect of schedule worked in almost opposite directions for men and women. While a traditional work schedule had little effect on physical activity time by gender, fathers with a non-standard work schedule spent significantly more time being physically active than mothers, and fathers with irregular work schedules spent the least time of all. Conversely, mothers with non-standard work schedules were less physically active than other mothers during their leisure time and mothers with irregular schedules,

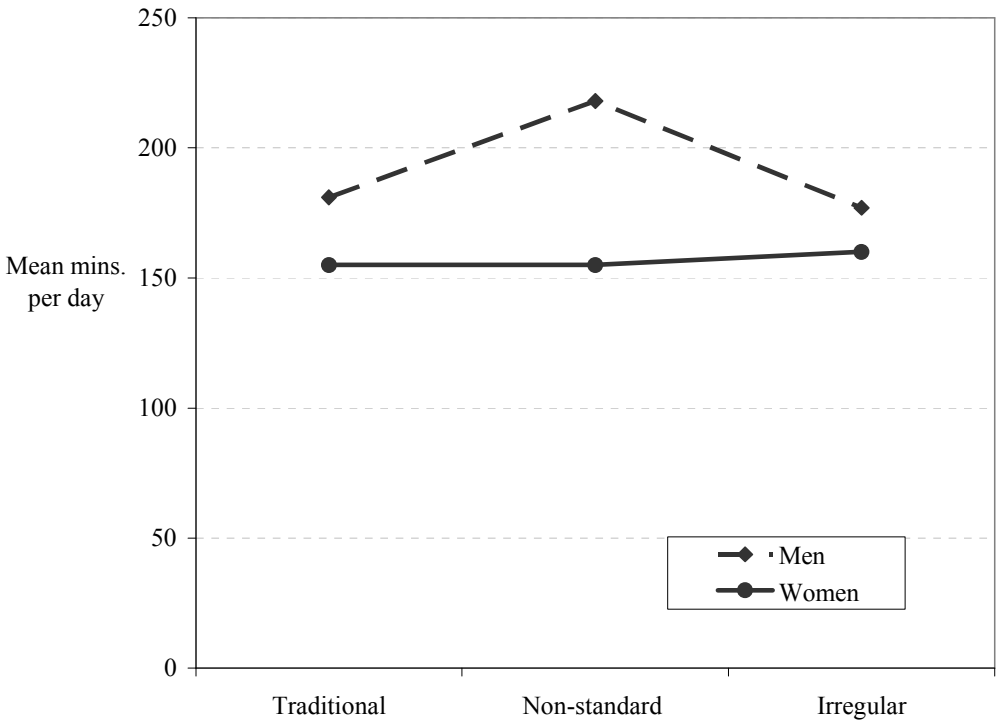

Figure 27: Total leisure activities by gender and work schedule

the most (see Fig. 28). As far as opportunities for physically active leisure were concerned, the different effects created by the interaction of gender and work schedule are worth exploring further. The data suggest perhaps that for women with non-standard work schedules, child care and domestic responsibilities may present a limitation not experienced by men with the same schedule. For those with irregular schedules, men's greater time spent in employment-related activities limits their access to leisure in general, and physical activity in particular.

Social leisure consisted of two sub-categories, socializing at home and getting together with others outside the home (e.g., bars, restaurants, clubs, etc.). Time spent in these activities varied by work schedule, but parents generally spent more time socializing at home than in outside venues. Work schedule, but not gender, had a significant main effect on total social leisure time (F (2, 1900) = 8.65, $p <$ .001). Men with non-standard work schedules accounted for much of the difference since they had significantly more social leisure than any other group (see Fig. 29). Women with a non-standard work schedule enjoyed only slightly more social leisure than other groups of women; however, it was enough to create a weak but significant interaction effect between work schedule and gender (F (2, 1900) = 4.46, p = .012), particularly when the lower levels of social leisure for parents with traditional work schedules were taken into account.

Watching television occupied the most time of all leisure activities among parents of school-age

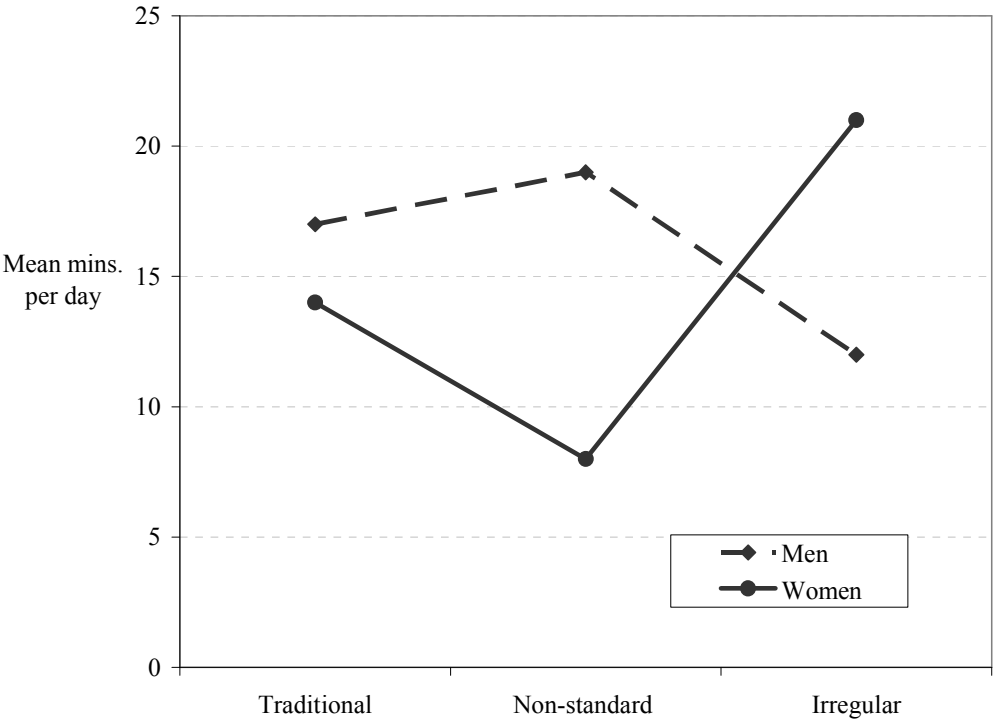

Figure 28: Physically active leisure by gender and work schedule

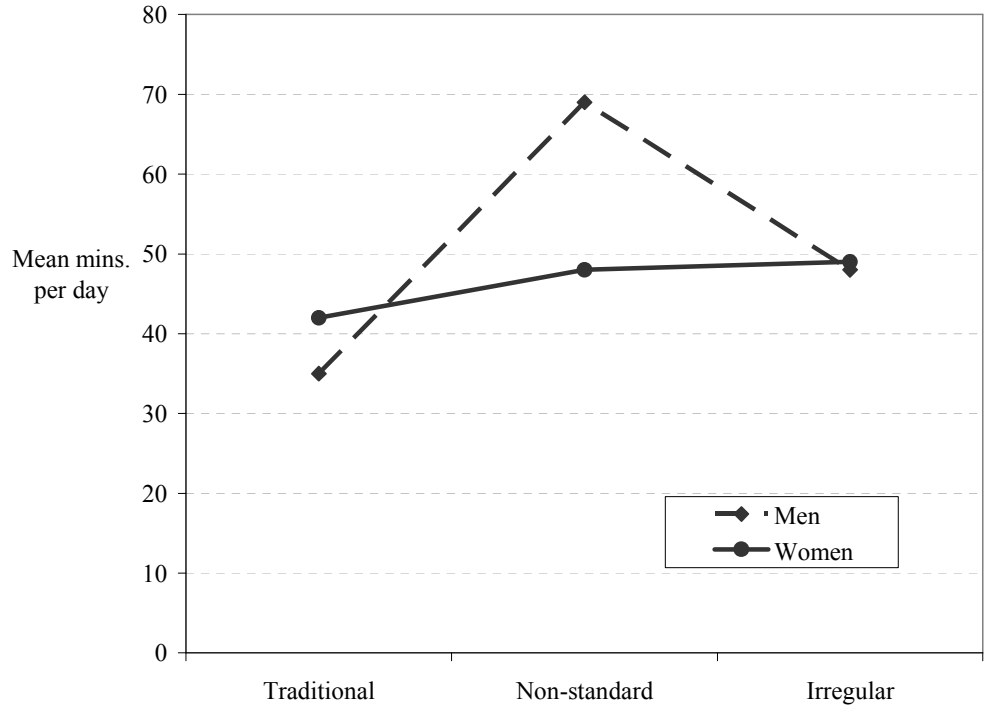

Figure 29: Total social leisure by gender and work schedule

children. Men watched more television than women and there was a significant main effect for gender (*F*

(1, 1900) = 18.49, $p < .001$). Work schedule had a significant main effect too (F (2, 1900) = 5.32, p = .005). Those with traditional and non-standard work schedules watched very similar amounts of television and constituted a homogenous subset in the Scheffe post hoc test, while parents with irregular work schedules watched considerably less. Figure 30 depicts the relationship between gender and work schedule for time spent watching television and DVDs. There were no significant interaction effects found for schedule and gender for this type of leisure activity.

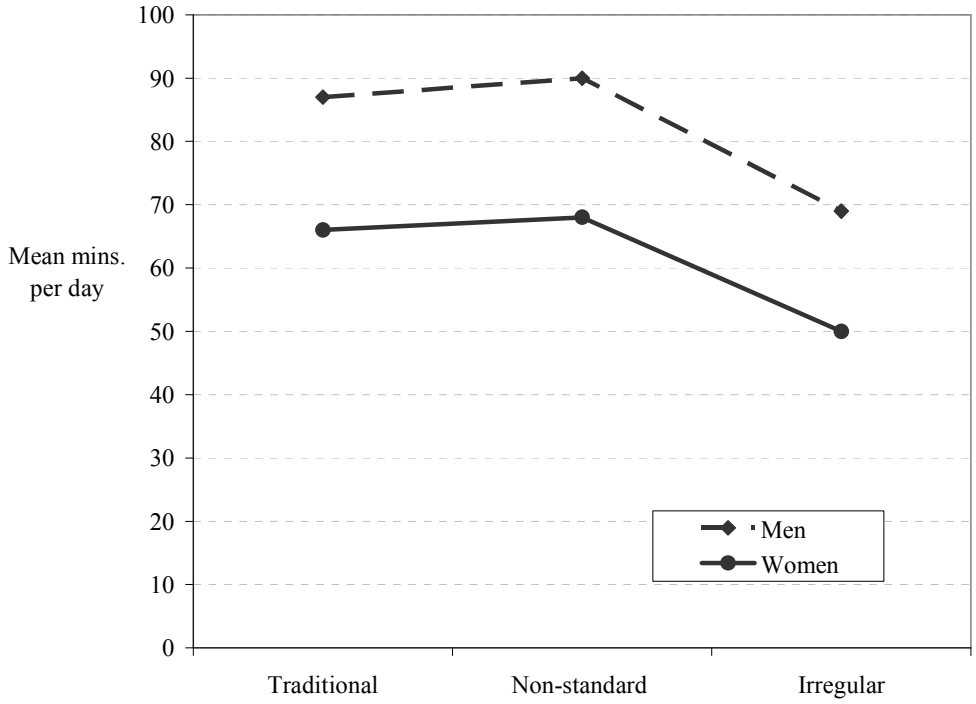

Figure 30: TV/DVD viewing by gender and work schedule

Finally, in consideration of the contribution of the effects of sleep to subjective quality of life, time spent sleeping was also tested by gender and work schedule in a two-way ANOVA. No significant main effects were found for either of these variables and the interaction effect was not significant either. Women with traditional and non-standard schedules slept longer than men with these schedules and the gender gap in sleep time was approximately 12 minutes for each of these schedules. The difference in sleep time for parents with irregular schedules was only 2 minutes (see Fig. 31).

Length of sleep, however, is not the same as quality of sleep. When participants were asked, "Do you regularly have trouble going to sleep or staying asleep?", 36.4% of those with an irregular work schedule responded positively compared to 30.7% of non-standard schedule workers and 25.2% of parents with a traditional work schedule. This difference was significant (x^2 (df = 2) = 5.77, p = .003). Women experienced more problems than men with sleep (see Fig. 32) and a significant difference in

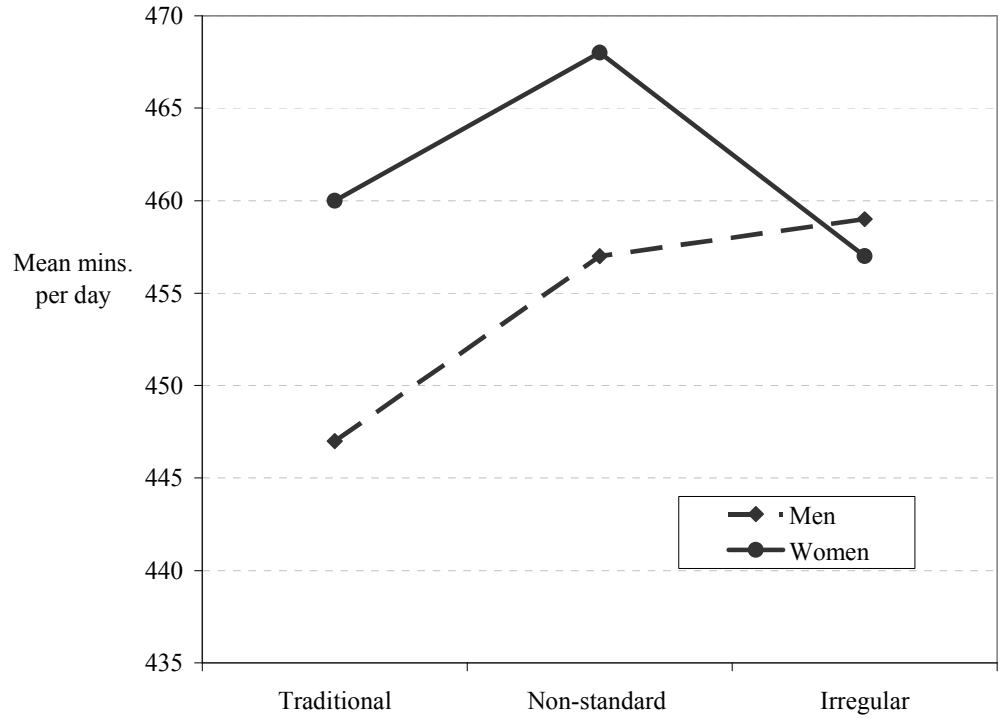

Figure 31: Total sleep by gender and work schedule

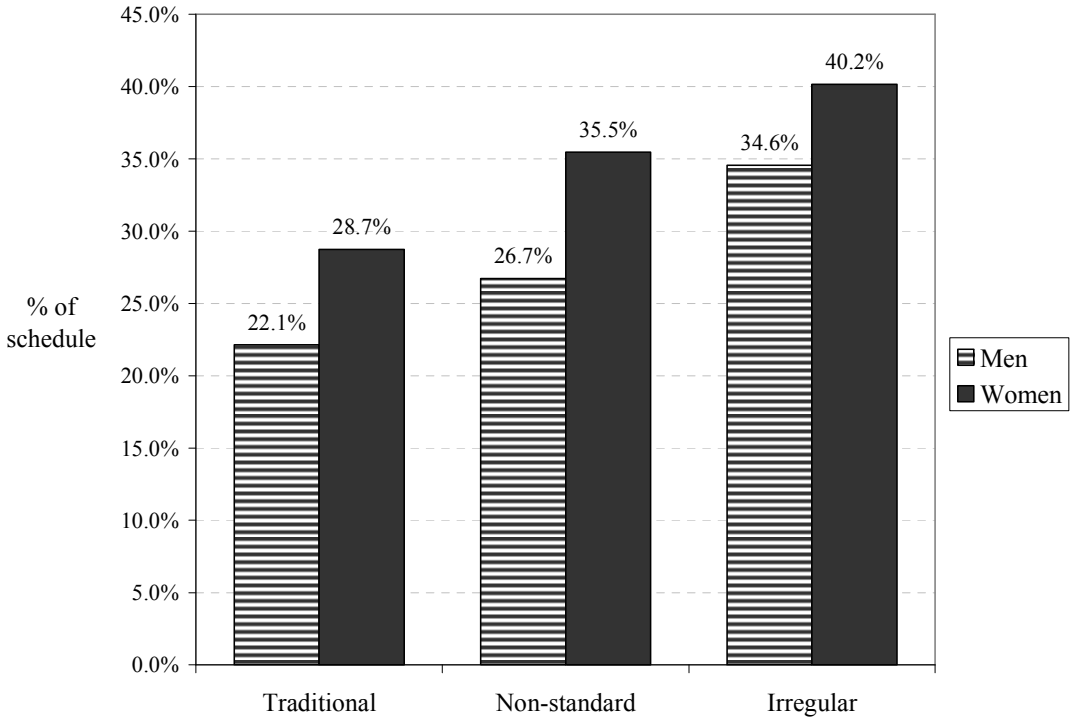

Figure 32: Percentage of parents who reported problems getting to sleep or staying asleep by gender and work schedule

sleep problems was also found for gender and work schedule (x^2 (df = 5) = 27.67, p = .001). Based on both the amount of time spent sleeping and the percentage with problems getting or staying asleep, men and women with irregular schedules are most likely to have a poorer quality of sleep. This may, in turn, effect their perceptions of physical and psychological health and well-being.

5.2.1 Characteristics of parents with flexible work schedules

The last institutional factor to consider is the effect of flexible scheduling on parents' use of time. This may be especially important since attributes of flexible schedules such as temporal autonomy have been linked to subjective well-being in previous studies. In addition, the literature is divided as to whether flextime increases or decreases gender divisions in unpaid labour. Of the 1,954 parents who answered the question, "Do you have a flexible schedule that allows you to choose the time you begin and end your work day?," 44.3% (n = 865) responded positively. There were significantly more men (n = 528) than women (n = 335) with flexible work arrangements (x^2 (1, 2061) = 16.369, p < .001). Flexible schedules were more common among dual-parent households. Fathers of teens were most likely to have a flexible schedule, and single mothers, the least (see Table 22). The difference in access to a flexible schedule by household composition and gender was significant (x^2 (5, 1954) = 23.01, p = .005).

Table 22: Household composition by gender and flexible scheduling

Number (per cent)

Household composition	Gender	Not flexible	Flexible
Single parent	Men	35 (58.8%)	25 (41.2%)
	Women	134 (66.5%)	68 (33.5%)
Dual parent, child 5-12	Men	394 (52.6%)	355 (47.4%)
	Women	263 (59.5%)	179 (40.5%)
Dual parent, child 13 - 17	Men	136 (47.9%)	148 (52.1%)
	Women	126 (58.4%)	90 (41.6%)
Total		1,089 (55.7%)	865 (44.3%)

Flexible schedules were even more strongly associated with work schedule and gender (x^2 (5, 1954) = 87.19, p < .001). For parents with non-standard work schedules, fewer than one-quarter of the men (24.0%) and approximately one-third of the women (33.7%) had a flexible schedule. Fathers and mothers with irregular work schedules were most likely to have a flexible work arrangement compared to other groups. Those with a traditional work schedule were in between the other two groups (see Table 23).

A flexible schedule was associated with occupations in management, professional, and primary industry while parents employed in the processing and manufacturing, trade and transport, and sales and

Table 23: Work schedule by gender and flexible scheduling

Number (per cent)

Work schedule	Gender	Not flexible	Flexible
Traditional	Men	356 (49.2%)	368 (50.8%)
	Women	372 (61.0%)	238 (39.0%)
Non-standard	Men	145 (76.0%)	46 (24.0%)
	Women	106 (66.3%)	54 (33.7%)
Irregular	Men	65 (36.3%)	114 (63.7%)
	Women	45 (50.4%)	45 (49.6%)
Total		1,089 (55.7%)	865 (44.3%)

service occupations were much less likely to have flexibility (see Fig. 33). There was a corresponding relationship to income. Fewer than 40% of those with a combined household income of less than $80,000 had a flexible schedule. Among those earning $80,000 to $99,999, the percentage of respondents increased to 46.5% and for those in the highest income category of $100,000 or more, the figure was 58.5%. This pattern is consistent with other studies where those with flexible schedules were more

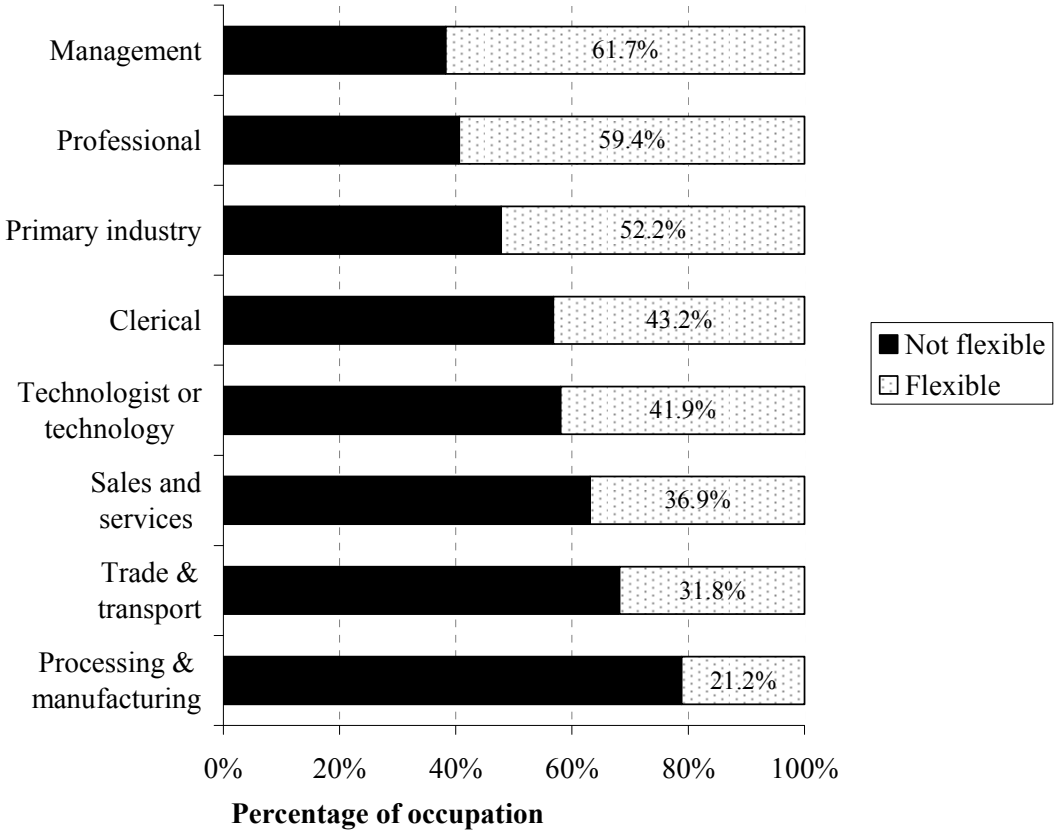

Figure 33: Percentage of respondents with flexible schedules by occupational sector

often male, higher income earners, and employed in managerial or professional positions. In addition, parents with flexible schedules tended to be older. Only one-quarter (24.8%) of those between the ages of 20 to 29 compared to 50.4% of those in the oldest age group (age 50 or older) had a flexible scheduling arrangement.

5.2.2 Flexible schedules and the allocation of time

The presence or absence of a flexible work schedule changed the overall allocation of time to some activities such as paid employment and personal needs, but had little effect on typically gendered behaviour (see Table 24). The results of Independent Samples T-tests for gender differences for parents with and without flexible schedules are found in Appendix B, Tables B-9 and B-10. Appendix C, Table C-4 shows mean time use for parents with and without flexible schedules participating in main activity categories on the diary day. Results of two-way ANOVAs using gender and flexible scheduling as independent variables for the selected time use are outlined below, when significant, in discussions of time use categories.

Whether or not parents had a flexible schedule, men spent significantly more time than women in employment-related activities (see Table 24), although paid employment time was less for parents with flexible schedules (by and average of 7 minutes per day for men, and 36 minutes for women). In a two-way ANOVA for work-related activities, there was a strong, significant main effect for gender (F (1, 1901) = 106.86, $p < .001$) and there was also a significant main effect for flexible scheduling (F (1, 1901) = 16.58, $p < .001$). The decrease in employment-related activities was steeper for women (see Fig. 34), but the effect of the independent variables was unrelated and no significant interaction effect was found.

Large time differences between mothers and fathers remained evident for preparing food and doing indoor housekeeping and there was little variation regardless of whether or not the parent had a flexible schedule. In other areas of domestic activity, men whose schedules were not flexible spent significantly more time than women on outdoor housekeeping (M = 10 mins for men, M = 6 mins for women; t = 2.31, p = .021) and DIY/home improvement (M = 8 mins for men, M = 3 mins for women; t = 2.33, p = .020). These gender differences were not apparent when parents had a flexible schedule. Instead, women with flexible schedules spent significantly more time than men caring for pets (M = 1 mins for men, M = 4 mins for women; t = -4.11, $p < .001$). For total domestic activities, mothers had a significantly higher workload than fathers regardless of whether or not their schedule was flexible (schedule not flexible - M = 58 mins for men, M = 109 mins for women, t = -9.99, $p < .001$; flexible schedule - M = 51 mins for men, M = 104 mins for women, t = -9.92, $p < .001$). A flexible schedule lightened the domestic activity load slightly, but the difference was minimal (by 7 minutes for men, and 5

Table 24: Time use by gender and flexibility of work schedule

(mean minutes per day)

		Non-flexible Schedule		Flexible Schedule	
		Men	Women	Men	Women
Activity	*N*=	606	523	528	336
WORKLOAD	Employment-related activities				
	Paid employment	527	480	520	444
	Unpaid employment-related activities	6	1	5	3
	Travel to/from employment	53	47	53	45
	Total employment-related activities	*586*	*528*	*577*	*492*
	Domestic work				
	Food preparation	24	51	25	47
	Indoor housekeeping	9	41	8	38
	Outdoor housekeeping	10	6	9	6
	DIY/home improvement	8	3	3	2
	Household administration	3	4	3	4
	Pet care	2	2	1	4
	Other housekeeping including travel	2	2	2	3
	Total domestic work	*58*	*109*	*51*	*104*
	Caregiving				
	Child care - interactive (talk-based)	18	21	20	23
	Child care - physical	13	25	14	28
	Child care - travel, advocacy, other	9	15	7	16
	Child care - sub-total	*40*	*60*	*41*	*67*
	Care of household adults	3	4	4	3
	Total caregiving	*43*	*64*	*45*	*70*
	Shopping				
	Grocery and household shopping	7	15	9	13
	Other shopping and services	8	11	8	13
	Total shopping	*15*	*26*	*17*	*27*
	Education				
	Total education-related activities	17	7	8	12
	Total workload	719	734	699	705
PERSONAL NEEDS	Eating at home	44	42	48	44
	Personal care	36	48	34	45
	Sleep	447	453	454	474
	Personal care services (outside the home)	1	1	1	1
	Total personal needs	527	544	537	564
VOLUNTARY	Total volunteer/civic activities	5	6	10	11
RELIGION	Total religious activity	2	2	2	2
LEISURE	Socializing at home	24	31	27	28
	Socializing outside the home	15	13	20	14
	Total social leisure	*40*	*44*	*47*	*42*
	Watching TV, DVDs, videos	90	67	80	60
	Physically active leisure	13	10	20	19
	Attending movies, sports, cultural events	8	6	7	9

	Reading books, magazines, newspapers	8	8	14*	9*
	Reading and writing letters	0	0	1	0
	Rest and relaxation	10	8	7	7
	Listening to music/radio	0	0	1	0
	Bingo, casinos, arcades	2	0	0	0
	Board and non-electronic games	1	1	0	1
	Computer and video games	3	1	1	0
	General computer use & surfing	7	6	8	6
	Hobbies	1	1	1	1
	Arts, crafts, music, drama, dance	1	0	1	0
	Other leisure	1	1	3	1
	Total leisure activity	184	153	192	158
TOTAL	Total of activity categories + residual time	1440	1440	1440	1440

Note: Highlighted cells indicate significant differences by gender at the $p \leq .025$ level.
* Significant at the $p \leq .05$ level.
See Appendix B, tables B-9 and B-10 for *t*-tests

minutes for women). For time spent shopping, women with flexible schedules spent significantly more time than men in all categories (grocery and household shopping - $M = 9$ mins for men, $M = 13$ mins for women, $t = -2.28$, $p = .023$; other shopping - $M = 8$ mins for men, $M = 13$ mins for women, $t = -2.63$, $p = .009$; total shopping - $M = 17$ mins for men, $M = 27$ mins for women, $t = -3.02$, $p = .003$). With a non-flexible schedule, there was a significant gender difference for grocery and household shopping ($M = 7$

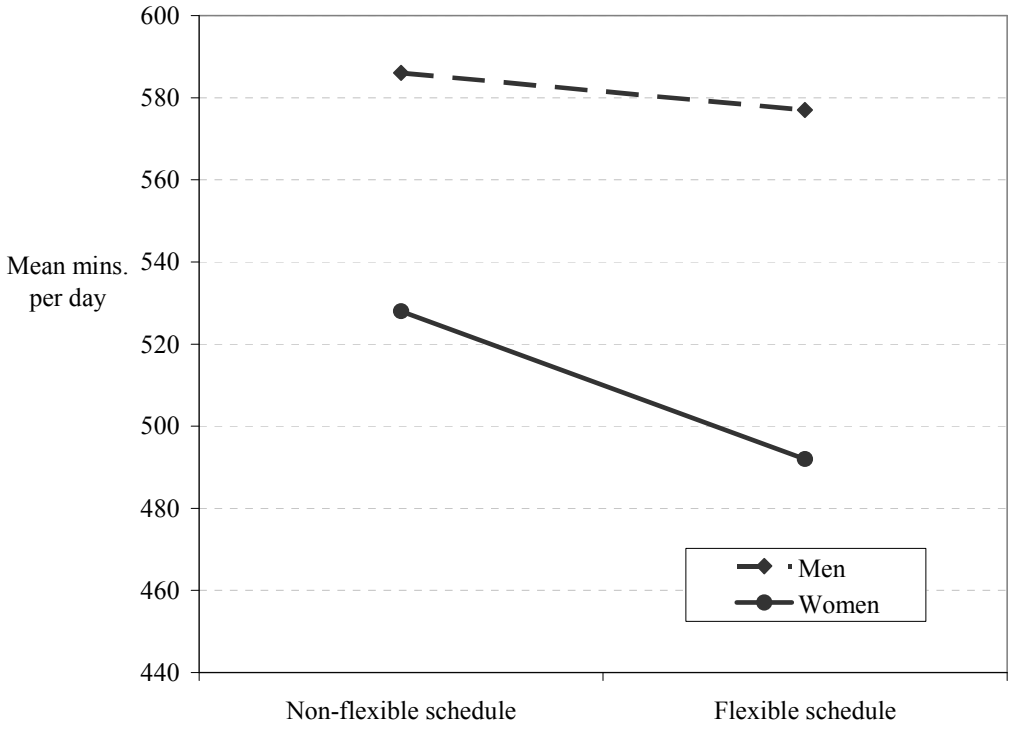

Figure 34: Employment-related activities by gender and flexible scheduling

mins for men, $M = 15$ mins for women; $t = -4.81$, $p < .001$), but not for other types of shopping and services.

Flexible scheduling increased caregiving time but, again, there was little overall difference (2 minutes more for fathers, and 6 minutes more for mothers). Although the amount of time for interactive child care increased slightly with a flexible schedule (see Table 24), gender differences were not significant for either flexible or non-flexible schedules. Significant differences for the other two types of child care were found regardless of whether the parents' schedules were flexible (physical care - $M = 14$ mins for men, $M = 28$ mins for women, $t = -5.71$, $p < .001$; travel and advocacy - $M = 7$ mins for men, $M = 16$ mins for women, $t = -4.81$, $p < .001$) or not flexible (physical care - $M = 13$ mins for men, $M = 25$ mins for women, $t = -5.68$, $p < .001$; travel and advocacy - $M = 9$ mins for men, $M = 15$ mins for women, $t = -2.55$, $p = .011$). The amount of time allocated to caregiving overall remained very stable for both men and women, suggesting that parents did not use flexible scheduling to renegotiate primary child care responsibilities. In addition, changes that occurred in the total amount of social contact time men with flexible schedules versus non-flexible schedules had with their children were almost imperceptible (see Table 25). On the other hand, mothers with flexible schedules had more contact with children (by 27 minutes per day), and the percentage of social contact time with children spent in primary care activities, by gender, remained almost the same.

Table 25: Time spent in primary child care activities and in contact with children by gender and flexible schedule

(Mean minutes per day)

Schedule flexibility	Gender	*N*	Primary child care activities	Social contact time with children	Primary child care as a percentage of social contact with children
Not flexible	Male	606	40	168	23.7
	Female	523	60	209	28.6
Flexible	Male	528	41	169	24.2
	Female	336	67	236	28.3

Flexible schedules had little impact on time spent on personal care where a strong, significant gender division remained ($M = 34$ mins for men, $M = 45$ mins for women; $t = -5.60$, $p < .001$). This type of schedule, however, did affect time spent sleeping. Women with flexible schedules spent significantly more time sleeping than men ($M = 454$ mins for men, $M = 474$ mins for women; $t = -3.18$, $p = .003$), whereas for parents with a non-flexible schedule there was only 5 minutes' difference between mothers

and fathers (see Fig. 35). When tested in a two-way ANOVA, significant main effects were found for both gender (F (1, 1901) = 9.14, p = .003) and flexible scheduling (F (1, 1901) = 11.00, p = .001), although the interaction effect was not significant. Overall, women slept for longer than men, and having a flexible schedule increased the amount of time spent sleeping for both mothers and fathers.

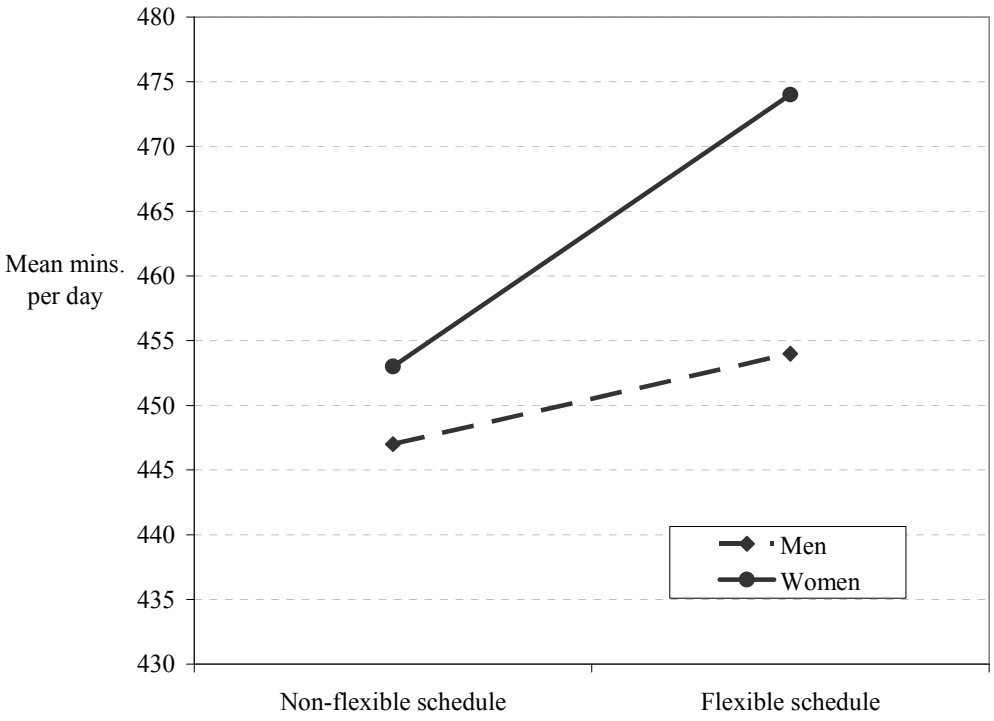

Figure 35: Time spent sleeping by gender and flexible scheduling

With a flexible schedule, the total amount of leisure time increased (see Table 24) but it remained significantly different by gender with men enjoying more leisure time than women (M = 192 mins for men, M = 158 mins for women; t = - 4.14, p < .001). There were some differences that appeared in types of leisure activities. Television viewing decreased for both men and women with flexible schedules although significant gender differences remained (non-flexible schedules - M = 90 mins for men, M = 67 mins for women, t = 5.02, p < .001; for flexible schedules - M = 80 mins for men, M = 60 mins for women, t = 3.84, p < .001). When television viewing time was tested in a two-way ANOVA with gender and flexible scheduling, gender was significant (F (1, 1901) = 30.07, p < .001) and there was weak evidence of a significant main effect for flexible schedules (F (1, 1901) = 4.75 p = .029); however, there was no interaction effect since viewing time decreased by approximately the same amount for men and women with flexible schedules compared to those without (see Fig. 36).

Flexible scheduling had little effect on time spent socializing, which was confirmed when no significant main effects or interaction effect was found for gender and flexible schedule. On the other

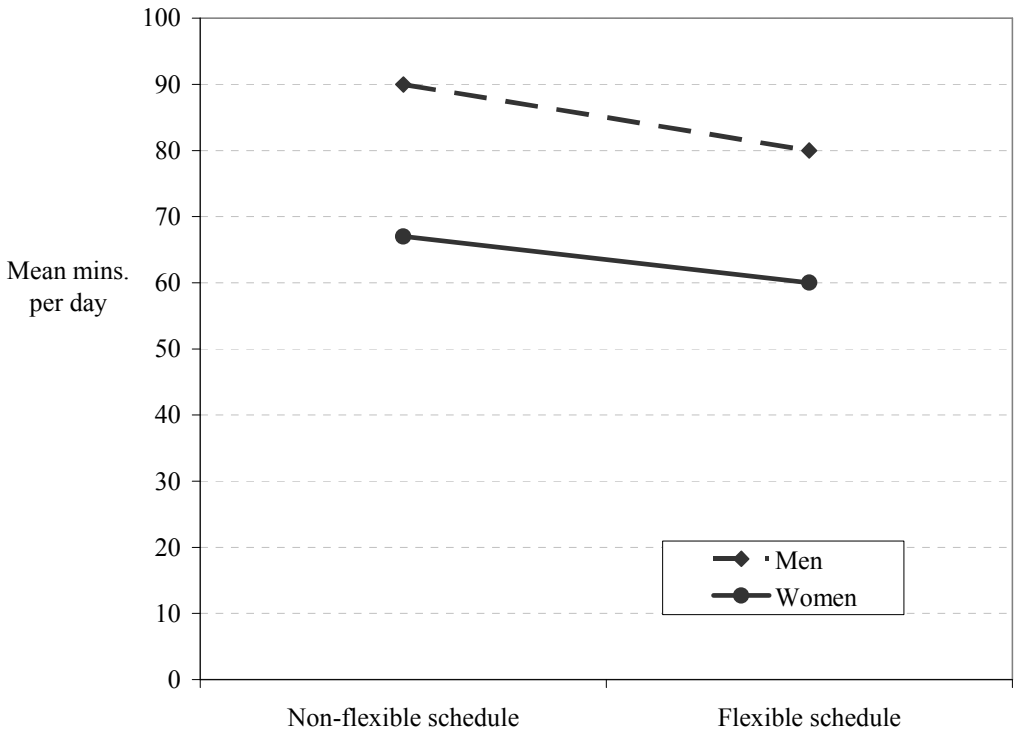

Figure 36: Watching TV/DVDs by gender and flexible scheduling

hand, a flexible schedule allowed both men and women to increase time spent in physically active leisure (see Fig. 37). Women with a flexible schedule increased physical activity time by 9 minutes per day, and men by 7 minutes. There was a moderate, significant main effect for flexible scheduling (F (1, 1901) = 13.98, $p < .001$), but not for gender and no interaction effect was found.

Parents whose schedules were not flexible had the most pronounced gender differences for social contacts during leisure (see Table 26). Significant differences for men and women were found in the categories of family leisure ($t = 2.98$, $p = .003$) and couple leisure ($t = 4.68$, $p < .001$) where men spent a greater proportion of leisure time than women (again, possibly due to greater numbers of single women in the sample); and, leisure with children only ($t = -6.04$, $p < .001$) where women had a higher proportion of time than men. Leisure with friends approached, but did not reach significance ($t = -2.05$, $p = .041$). With a flexible schedule, the gender difference in the proportion of leisure time spent as a family virtually disappeared as men decreased the amount of time spent with a partner and children. Men also spent a lower proportion of their leisure time as a couple, and a greater percentage of leisure time alone or with others outside the household. The only notable increase for women with a flexible schedule was in the percentage of leisure time spent with others.

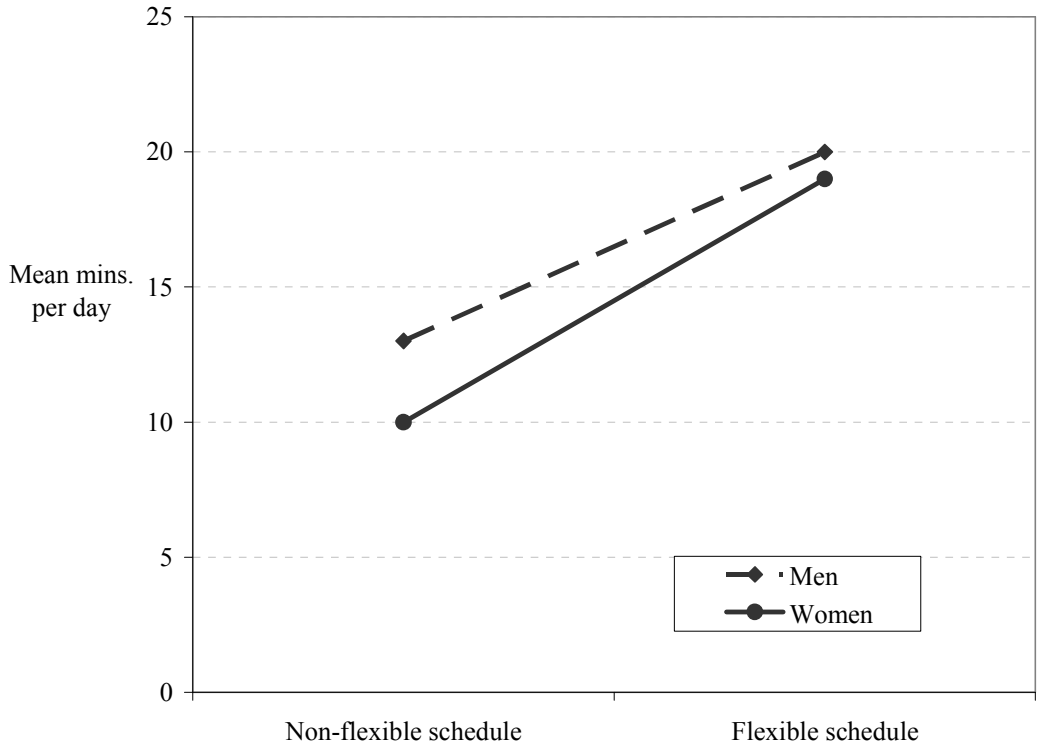

Figure 37: Physically active leisure by gender and flexible scheduling

Table 26: Social contacts during leisure episodes by gender and flexible scheduling

Per cent of leisure episodes (number)

	Not flexible		Flexible		Total
Social contact	Men	Women	Men	Women	episodes
Alone	36.2 (615)	36.3 (544)	42.5 (782)	35.7 (383)	38.0 (2,324)
Family	20.9 (354)*	16.1 (241)*	16.4 (302)	15.5 (166)	17.4 (1,064)
Couple	23.7 (403)*	15.8 (236)*	19.8 (364)	15.1 (162)	19.1 (1,165)
Children	9.4 (159)*	20.9 (313)*	8.8 (161)*	20.8 (223)*	14.0 (857)
Friends	3.5 (60)	5.4 (81)	3.3 (61)	4.9 (53)	4.2 (255)
Others	6.4 (108)	5.5 (82)	9.2 (169)	8.0 (86)	7.3 (445)
Total	100.0 (1,699)	100.0 (1,498)	100.0 (1,839)	100.0 (1,073)	100.0 (6,109)

*Significant difference within schedule category at the $p \leq .025$ level.

In summary, flexible schedules created conditions that allowed for a lighter combined workload with no significant differences by gender. Although flexible scheduling did not increase or decrease gender differences to any extent in main time use categories, it allowed more time to be spent in activities beneficial to physical health like sleep and physically active leisure and was associated with less time

spent watching television. These effects were more apparent for mothers than for fathers, although unfortunately women had less access to flexible arrangements than men. Still, a flexible work schedule did little to alter traditional patterns in caregiving and domestic work.

5.3 Chapter summary

This chapter explored how parents' time use differed according to employment schedules and gender. Three separate schedules were identified: a traditional Monday-to-Friday, day-time schedule; a non-standard schedule that included predictable afternoon, evening, weekend and/or rotating shifts; and an irregular schedule, which was similar to a non-standard schedule but included an element of unpredictability in scheduling. Characteristics of each type of schedule were reviewed according to demographic factors. Differences and similarities in parents' time use according to schedule type were assessed and the impact on gendered behaviour was considered. In addition, the effect of flexible scheduling on parents' time use was analyzed. This allowed further insight into how institutional arrangements and individual decision-making combined to influence time allocation, leading to slightly different outcomes for mothers and fathers. When leisure time social contacts were examined, work schedules occupied a much less prominent role next to expectations and responsibilities related to gender, age of children and relationship status.

Chapter 6
Time use trade-offs: the influence of demographic and socio-economic factors

In this chapter, factors predictive of employed parents' time allocation to different spheres of activity are explored. First, relationships between main categories of time use are examined. Because there are many things that can influence how parents spend their time, selected demographic and socio-economic factors were tested to better understand their effect on time allocation.

6.1 Relationship of time use categories

Because of the zero-sum nature of time use diaries during a 24-hour period, allocation of time consists of a series of trade-offs between preferences, obligations and biological needs (Robinson & Godbey, 1999; Staikov, 1973). When time in one activity increases, there is a corresponding reduction in time spent in others. Correlations between the activity categories indicate how time use for one activity may be influenced by time spent in another. Table 27 shows the relationship between selected contracted, committed and free time activity categories. The strength of the relationships between employment-related activities and other main time use categories are notable. Leisure is the activity most negatively

Table 27: Correlation between selected categories of time use - all parents

Pearson 'r' * *(N = 2,062)*

	Employ-ment & education-related activities	Total domestic activities	Total caregiving	Total personal needs	Total leisure activities
Employment & education-related activities	1.00				
Total domestic activities	-.39	1.00			
Total caregiving	-.26	.08	1.00		
Total personal needs	-.39	-.07	-.11	1.00	
Total leisure activities	-.42	-.18	-.22	-.16	1.00

* Correlations are significant at the $p < .01$ level (2-tailed).

affected by time spent working for pay (r = -.42, p < .001), followed by domestic activities (r = -.39, p < .001) and personal needs (r = -.39, p < .001) – most of which is accounted for by time spent sleeping. As employment-related activity increased, parents were more likely to cut back on these activities than they were on time spent on caring for children (r = -.26, p < .001). When employment-related, domestic and caregiving activities were combined into a total workload, it was not surprising to find an even stronger negative relationship between leisure and total workload (r = -.70, p < .001; not shown in Table 27).

The strength of the relationships varied according to gender. For fathers, there was no correlation between caregiving and domestic activities (see Table 28). In fact, time spent on domestic activities had little relationship to any other category of activity at all. Instead, correlations between leisure time and other activities were noteworthy. The strongest relationship for men was between leisure and employment-related activities (r = -.54, p < .001). As employment-related time increased, there was a corresponding decrease in leisure. Longer hours of caregiving also reduced time available for leisure (r = -.22, p < .001).

Table 28: Correlation between selected categories of time use – fathers

*Pearson 'r'** (n = 1,134)*

	Employ-ment & education-related activities	Total domestic activities	Total caregiving	Total personal needs	Total leisure activities
Employment & education-related activities	1.00				
Total domestic activities	-.33	1.00			
Total caregiving	-.15	.04*	1.00		
Total personal needs	-.37	-.09	-.13	1.00	
Total leisure activities	-.54	-.13	-.22	-.17	1.00

* Correlation is not significant, p = .141 (2-tailed).

** Correlations are significant at the $p \leq .01$ level (2-tailed).

Table 29 indicates that for women, time spent in employment-related activities also had a strong, negative correlation with leisure (r = -.39, p < .001), with caregiving (r = -.29, p < .001) and with personal needs (r = -.40, p < .001). Women who worked longer hours spent less time caring for children and they

also cut back on leisure, sleep and meals at home. Greater amounts of time spent on domestic activities for women were also incompatible with more time spent on employment-related activities (r = -.35, p < .001) and with time for leisure (r = -.17, p < .001). When committed and contracted activities were combined, there was a very strong negative correlation between total workload and leisure for women (r = -.66, p < .001), although it was not as high as for men (r = -.73, p < .001).

Table 29: Correlation between selected categories of time use - mothers

Pearson 'r' ** *(n = 928)*

	Employ-ment & education-related activities	Total domestic activities	Total caregiving	Total personal needs	Total leisure activities
Employment & education-related activities	1.00				
Total domestic activities	-.35	1.00			
Total caregiving	-.29	.02*	1.00		
Total personal needs	-.40	-.13	-.13	1.00	
Total leisure activities	-.39	-.17	-.20	-.13	1.00

* Correlation is not significant p = .621 (2-tailed).
** Correlations are significant at the $p \leq .01$ level (2-tailed)

6.2 The influence of other factors on parents' time use

As noted in the literature, other demographic and socio-economic factors may have influenced the way in which parents allocated their time. In this section, the effects of these factors on selected categories of activity were tested using multiple linear regression. The dependent variables were the ten time use categories related to gender and subjective well-being previously tested. For each of these activities, predictor variables included: gender, age, age group of children, presence of a preschool child in the home, marital status, number of children, educational attainment, income, work schedule, season of the year, flexible scheduling and, finally, whether the respondent's partner was employed. A list of dummy and continuous variables used in the regression models is found in Appendix D. Time spent in other activity categories was not included in these regression models since, as indicated with correlation

coefficients, mean time use in one activity category is often not independent of others. Complete models of multiple linear regression for all of the time use categories are found in Appendix D as well.

For time spent in employment and education-related activities, the regression was significant, (Wald F (14, 1,749) = 14.32, $p < .001$). Of the predictors investigated, being female ($B = -73.001$, $p < .001$) and having a spouse who was not in the work force ($B = -36.666$, $p = .002$) had a significant effect on time allocated to employment. All forms of work schedules were significant predictors of time allotted to work-related activities too. Having a traditional work schedule had the strongest relationship ($B = 163.060$, $p < .001$), followed by an irregular schedule ($B = 127.620$, $p < .001$), a non-standard schedule ($B = 87.361$, $p = .002$), and not having a flexible work arrangement ($B = -30.795$, $p = .001$). This confirms that with all factors being held constant, parents with traditional work schedules spent the most time in employment and education-related activities compared to others. In addition, a flexible schedule was associated with reduced time in these activities.

The regression for interactive child care time was small but significant (Wald F (14, 1,749) = 8.28, $p <.001$). Only two predictor variables had a significant effect. Parents of elementary school children spent more time in interactive child care than parents of teens ($B = 15.427$, $p < .001$). Also, having a higher level of educational attainment was positively related to time spent interacting with children ($B = 8.955$, $p = .001$). There was weak evidence of significance for three other variables: having a preschooler in the home, being in a younger age group of parents, and diary data having been collected during the school year.

The regression model for physical child care was highly significant, (Wald F (14, 1,749) = 31.66, $p < .001$) and this was mostly due to demographic predictor variables. Age of children had the strongest effect: parents with a preschooler had more physical child care responsibilities ($B = 22.122$, $p < .001$) followed by parents with at least one child between 5 to 12 years old ($B = 17.021$, $p < .001$). Being female was also a significant predictor of greater time spent on physical child care ($B = 12.952$, $p < .001$) and single parenthood was predictive of less time for physical child care ($B = -11.715$, $p < .001$). In dual-parent households, having an employed partner increased time spent on physical child care ($B = 9.998$, $p < .001$). Since younger children generally have younger parents, there was a weak but significant effect of parents' age ($B = -.372$, $p = .006$). Finally, time devoted to physical child care was higher during the school year and lower in the summertime ($B = 7.593$, $p < .001$).

Similarly, demographic predictor variables were most influential for time spent travelling and communicating on behalf of children and, again, the regression model was significant (Wald F (14, 1,749) = 5.75, $p < .001$). The variables that most effected time spent on travel and communication for children were parents' higher level of education ($B = 4.947$, $p = .010$) and having an employed spouse or partner ($B = 6.062$, $p = .001$). Demographic factors were also influential. Having children in the 5 to 12-

year-old age group had the strongest effect ($B = 8.739$, $p < .001$) since children in this age group are less independent and require more chauffeuring by parents, followed by being female ($B = 5.387$, $p = .013$), and being interviewed during the school year ($B = 6.061$, $p < .001$). There was also weak evidence of significance for the number of children in the family affecting time spent travelling and communicating on behalf of children ($B = 2.317$, $p = .026$). As the number of children in the family increased, so did time parents spent on this activity.

When the time spent in domestic activities was assessed, the regression was significant overall (Wald F (14, 1,749) = 14.66, $p < .001$). Time spent performing domestic activities was predicted most strongly by being female ($B = 48.538$, $p < .001$) and having an employed spouse ($B = 26.859$, $p < .001$). The only factors to significantly effect time allotted to domestic activities in a negative direction were single parenthood ($B = -17.773$, $p = .022$) and having a traditional work schedule ($B = -44.740$, $p = .012$). Although single mothers spent more time doing domestic activities than single fathers, they spent considerably less time than mothers in dual-parent households. Traditional work schedules were associated with more time spent on employment-related activities and, as noted in the time use correlations, this was accompanied by a decrease in time spent on household work.

For total leisure activities, results for the regression model indicated a small, but significant outcome (Wald F (14, 1,749) = 4.99, $p < .001$). Of the demographic variables, being male was the most significant predictor ($B = -37.531$, $p < .001$). Significant but weak negative associations with time for leisure were also found for those with a preschooler in the home ($B = -29.466$, $p = .001$) and a higher number of children in the family ($B = -11.859$, $p = .019$). For the socio-economic variables tested in the model, having a traditional work schedule was predictive of lower amounts of leisure time ($B = -48.692$, $p = .006$) as was an irregular work schedule ($B = -54.683$, $p = .007$).

When the regression for time spent watching television/DVDs was conducted, the result was also significant (Wald F (14, 1,749) = 6.82, $p < .001$). Of the predictor variables included in the model, being male was the most significant ($B = -24.844$, $p < .001$), but several other factors were also influential. Having younger children negatively influenced time spent watching television (parents of 5 to 12 year olds: $B = -.14.296$, $p = .021$; preschooler in the family: $B = -17.804$, $p = .002$). Parents with teenagers spent less time in primary child care activities and, therefore, had fewer limitations on the amount of leisure time available overall. Having a larger family was also a significant negative predictor of time spent watching TV since their leisure time was more limited ($B = -.7.796$, $p = .017$). Season had a small, but significant effect as well ($B = 11.353$, $p = .024$) so that time spent watching television was likely to be higher during the school year. Only two of the socio-economic variables were predictive of time spent watching television. More highly educated parents watched less TV ($B = -17.453$, $p = .004$) and an irregular work schedule predicted less viewing time ($B = -38.109$, $p = .004$).

The regression model for time spent in social leisure was not significant. Marital status was the only factor predictive of time spent socializing. Respondents who were single were significantly more likely to spend time engaged in social leisure (B = -21.860, p = .010). With the proportion of time that single men, especially, spent in social leisure, it was not particularly surprising that being single was significant in predicting social leisure time.

Physically active leisure and amount of sleep are both associated with physical health. For physically active leisure, the result of the regression analysis was small, but significant (Wald F (14, 1,749) = 2.94, p < .001). Respondent's income had the only significant predictive effect on physical activity (B = 1.276, p = .010). Higher income levels were associated with greater participation in physically active leisure. There was weak evidence of significance for a few other factors. Having an employed spouse, for example, was positively associated with time spent in physically active leisure (B = 5.651, p = .056). Similarly, a flexible schedule predicted more physical activity (B = 5.026, p = .063) as did the summer season (B = -6.168, p = .068).

The regression model for sleep was significant (Wald F (14, 1,749) = 3.13, p < .001) although, like physical activity, it was relatively weak. Having a flexible work schedule was most predictive of time spent sleeping (B = 18.977, p = .001), followed by being female (B = 17.083, p = .002). Other factors that were significant in helping to predict more time spent sleeping included being married or cohabitating (B = 22.395, p = .014) and, for obvious reasons, not having a preschool child in the family (B = -17.166, p = .018) . There was weak evidence of significance for season of the year affecting time spent sleeping. Overall, parents were more likely to sleep less during the school year (B = -13.491, p = .034).

6.3 Chapter summary

The zero-sum nature of time use data means that allocation of time to one activity will have a direct effect on time use in other areas. Interrelationships and trade-offs between various categories of time use were evident when tested for the entire sample and then for mothers and fathers separately. For certain activities, gender affected the strength of the relationships differently. Regression analyses revealed other factors that were predictive of time allocated to different activities. Demographic factors appeared to be more influential than work schedules for most categories of time use.

Chapter 7
Time use, gender, work schedules and the quality of life

The final research question asks whether there is a relationship between household composition, work schedules and quality of life for mothers and fathers of school-age children and whether the type of social contact during leisure effects perceptions of well-being. Since three of the variables selected as subjective indicators of quality of life – stress, time pressure and well-being – were similar in terms of measurement and focus, these are assessed first. Self-assessed stress was measured by asking respondents to indicate on a five-point scale the amount of stress in their life on most days. Responses ranged from 1, "not at all stressful" to 5, "extremely stressful". Additional questions then followed to determine main causes of stress. The next two factors measured respondents' perceptions of time pressure and well-being. Both indices are described in detail in Chapter 3. Work-life balance was examined separately. Respondents were asked "Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the balance between your job and home life?", to which they answered either "yes" or "no". Those who were not satisfied were subsequently asked several questions pertaining to reasons for dissatisfaction with work-life balance. This section will report descriptive results of factors related to quality of life and then correlate these factors with time spent in main categories of activity, work schedule and social connections during leisure time.

7.1 Self-assessed stress

Almost one in three parents (30.6%) reported that their days were either "quite a bit" or "extremely stressful" and only one in 20 (5.2%) thought that their days were "not stressful at all". The majority (64.1%) indicated a level somewhere in between. Perceived daily stress levels varied by gender. Mothers reported significantly more stress than fathers (M = 3.12, SD = .91 for mothers and M = 3.03, SD = .83 for fathers; t = -2.25, p = .024).

Household composition was a strong indicator of perceived stress. Thirty-seven point one percent of single parents reported that their days were "quite a bit" or "extremely stressful", compared to 32.1% of parents in dual parent households with younger children and 23.7% of parents with teens. The effects of gender and household composition on self-assessed stress were tested in a two-way ANOVA. The main effect of household composition was significant (F (5, 1991) = 10.08, p <.001), although gender was not significant in this model and there was no significant interaction effect. For household composition, the Scheffe post-hoc test showed two separate groups. As Figure 38 depicts, married or cohabitating parents of teens had much lower stress levels (M = 2.91, SD = .88) and were distinctly different from single parents (M = 3.18, SD = .96) and married parents with elementary school children (M = 3.11, SD =

.90). Spending more time on child care and having less time for leisure could be one cause of greater stress for parents of younger children and for single parents. Another contributor may be fewer financial resources, particularly for single mothers in this study.

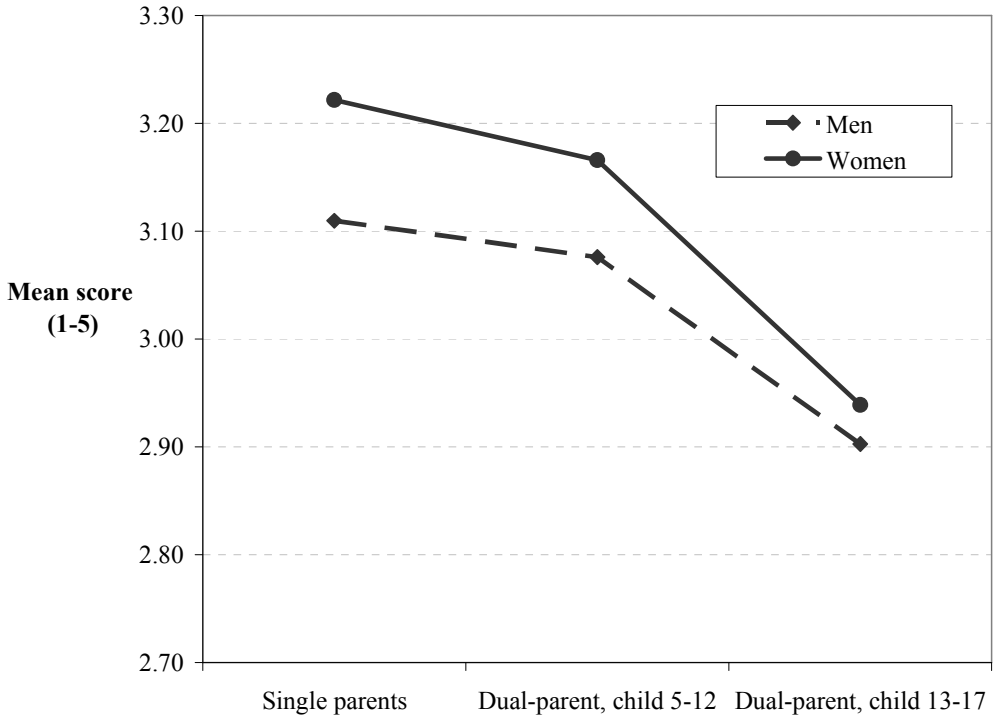

Figure 38: Self-assessed stress by gender and household composition

Work schedule had a more limited effect on self-assessed stress. Those with an irregular work schedule reported higher levels of stress (M = 3.21, SD = .87) than parents with either a traditional or non-standard work schedule, where the mean for self-assessed stress was the same (M = 3.06, SD = .89 for traditional schedule and SD = .94 for non-standard schedule). When tested with gender in a two-way ANOVA, neither work schedule nor gender had a significant main effect but there was an interaction effect of gender and schedule on level of stress (F (2, 1895) = 4.45, p = .012). Mothers and fathers with traditional work schedules reported the most similar levels of stress (M = 3.01, SD = .89 for men and M = 3.13, SD = .88 for women). Larger differences were found for the other two types of work schedules (see Fig. 39). Men with non-standard work schedules reported the least stress (M = 2.95, SD = .96) and women with this schedule, the most (M = 3.19, SD = .89). Irregular schedules had different effects on mothers and fathers too. With this type of schedule, fathers reported the greatest amount of stress for the total sample (M = 3.29, SD = .86) whereas mothers had the lowest stress level of all groups of women (M = 3.08, SD = .88). An irregular work schedule created a situation where men worked very long hours compared to women and had less time for leisure than other men. Women with irregular schedules spent

greater amounts of time on caregiving and domestic work. It may be that the opportunities to spend more time in stereotypically gendered activities lessened some of the stress resulting from a possible role conflict, especially compared to those with non-standard schedules. Non-standard and irregular work schedules effected men and women very differently. For women, trying to meet caregiving needs when their work schedule was not synchronized with the rest of the family no doubt added additional stress, whereas men with non-standard work schedules seemed to largely abdicate these responsibilities and had more leisure time as well.

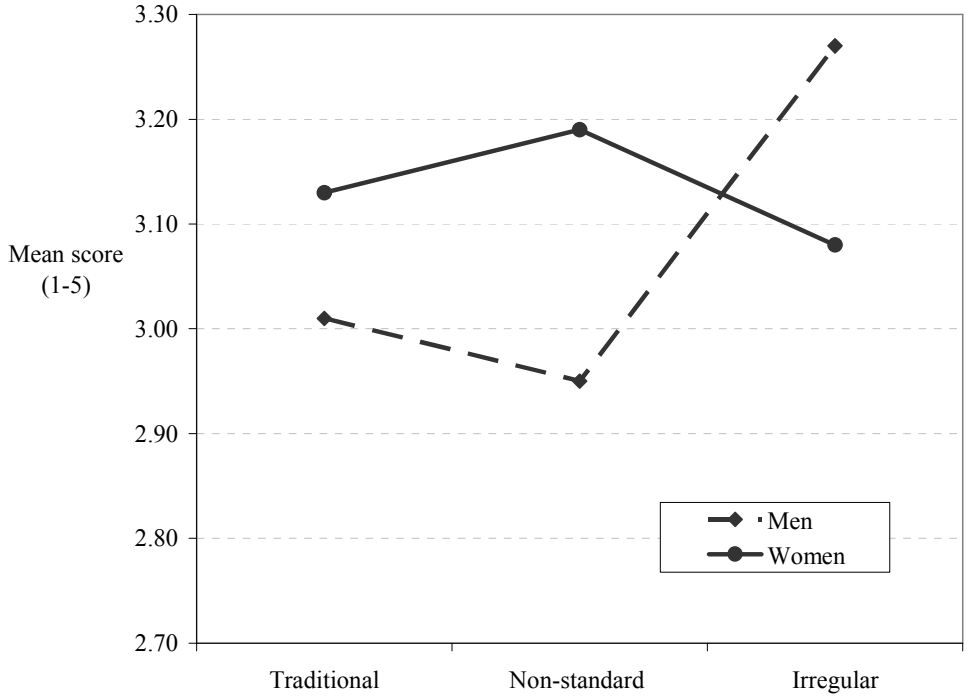

Figure 39: Self-assessed stress by gender and work schedule

A flexible work option affected stress levels very little and there were no significant differences found. Women with a flexible work option were less stressed (M = 3.11, SD = .87) than those whose schedule was not flexible (M = 3.15, SD = .89) but the reverse was true for men where a flexible schedule was associated with a higher stress level (M = 3.09, SD = .84) than a non-flexible schedule (M = 2.99, SD = .96). For men, this may have had something to do with the nature of their work. Those with flexible schedules were more often professionals and managers who often worked long hours with traditional or irregular schedules, whereas men with a non-flexible work option frequently had a non-standard work schedule with fewer hours of work and child care, and more time for leisure.

Parents were asked about aspects of their lives that may have contributed to feelings of stress. These included: work, financial concerns, family, not enough time, health, and "other". Because the numbers of parents reporting health and other concerns were too low for separate disclosure, they have

been combined into one category, “other”. In addition, almost one-quarter of respondents (24.3%) were either not asked this question or chose not to respond.

Work was the most frequently listed cause of stress by parents (see Table 30). This was followed by financial concerns and not having enough time, which were equally prevalent sources. Consistent with traditional gender role expectations, fathers reported work as a stressor more often than mothers (44.4% of fathers compared to 29.7% of mothers) while mothers more often cited family (14.6%), not enough time (14.4%), and other reasons (6.5%). This suggests that stress may be a more complex issue for women.

Table 30: Reasons for stress by gender

(Percentage of respondents)

Cause of stress	Male	Female	Total
N =	*1,134*	*928*	*2,062*
Work	44.4%	29.7%	37.8%
Financial concerns	10.9%	12.5%	11.6%
Not enough time	9.2%	14.4%	11.6%
Family	7.2%	14.6%	10.5%
Other (incl. health)	2.4%	6.5%	4.2%
Not stated	26.0%	22.3%	24.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Causes of stress were different for parents depending on whether they were lone parents or in a dual-parent household. While work remained paramount for all, it was notably less important as a stressor for single parents with only 25.5% citing it as the main cause of stress compared to 40.9% of married or cohabitating parents with younger children and 36.6% of dual parent households with teens. Single parents were far more concerned with finances (18.4%), which is not unexpected due to the high proportion of single parents found in the lowest income categories. Compared to parents in dual-parent households, single parents more often reported family concerns (15.0%) and not enough time (14.4%) as causes of stress (see Table 31).

Parents’ sources of stress varied according to work schedule too. One of the greatest differences was found in the area of financial concerns, cited by 18.0% of parents with non-standard schedules, 15.3% of parents with irregular schedules, and only 9.6% of those with a traditional work schedule. This likely reflects the occupational sectors most prevalent among different work schedules. Non-standard workers, who are often employed in sales and services, generally had lower household incomes. Those with irregular schedules enjoyed a higher income level, but the erratic and irregular nature of their employment suggests that the lack of a regular paycheque may be a source of stress when trying to

Table 31: Reasons for stress by household composition

(Percentage of household composition category)

Cause of stress	Single parent	Dual parent, child 5-12	Dual parent, child 13-17	Total
N =	*276*	*1,258*	*528*	*2,062*
Work	25.5%	40.9%	36.6%	37.8%
Financial concerns	18.4%	10.7%	10.2%	11.6%
Family	15.0%	9.9%	9.5%	10.5%
Not enough time	14.4%	11.0%	11.4%	11.6%
Other (incl. health)	3.7%	4.6%	3.7%	4.2%
Not stated	23.0%	22.9%	28.5%	24.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

manage household finances. Parents with irregular work schedules also reported not having enough time more often than either of the other groups (see Table 32). Having less control over both the amount of time and timing of their work week probably contributed to these perceptions. Having greater autonomy over time does not always translate into having "enough" time though. Parents with flexible work options, for example, more often listed "lack of time" (12.7%) compared to those whose schedule was not flexible (9.7%).

Table 32: Reasons for stress by work schedule

(Percentage of schedule)

Cause of stress	Traditional	Non-standard	Irregular	Total
N =	*1,337*	*350*	*269*	*1,955*
Work	41.1%	31.9%	39.5%	39.3%
Financial concerns	9.6%	18.0%	15.3%	11.9%
Family	10.8%	10.0%	7.6%	10.2%
Not enough time	10.1%	11.1%	15.2%	11.0%
Other (incl. health)	4.7%	3.9%	3.0%	4.4%
Not stated	23.7%	25.0%	19.4%	23.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

7.2 Time pressure

Parents' experiences of time pressure were strongly and positively correlated with their perceptions of stress ($r = .50$, $p < .001$ for mothers, $r = .45$, $p < .001$ for fathers). Overall, women reported significantly higher levels of time pressure than men ($t = -7.42$, $p < .001$). There were some seasonal variations, but they were not significant. During the summer, feelings of time pressure increased for both men and women. Even though the school no longer exerted an influence on the timing of daily activities, there

were additional responsibilities for ensuring child care for younger children and adequate supervision for teens. There may also be different schedules to which parents must adhere when children are enrolled in day camps or involved in other types of care or summer leisure activities. When time pressure was tested in a two-way ANOVA for season and gender, gender remained highly significant as a main effect ($F(3, 2007) = 27.85$, $p < .001$) but there was no significant main effect found for season or an interaction effect between the two independent variables.

Household composition significantly influenced parents' feelings of time pressure ($F(2, 2060) = 24.05$, $p < .001$). Like self-assessed stress, the Scheffe post hoc test revealed that parents of teens in dual-parent households experienced significantly less time pressure than single parents or parents in dual-parent households with elementary school children. When time pressure was tested in a two-way ANOVA, significant main effects were found for both household composition ($F(2, 2060) = 20.19$, $p < .001$) and gender ($F(1, 2005) = 39.89$, $p < .001$). Regardless of household composition, women experienced more time pressure than men and parents with younger children or who were single felt more time pressure than married or cohabitating parents of teens. Fathers with teenagers experienced the least time pressure of all groups (see Fig. 40). Gender and household composition acted independently of one another and no significant interaction effect was evident.

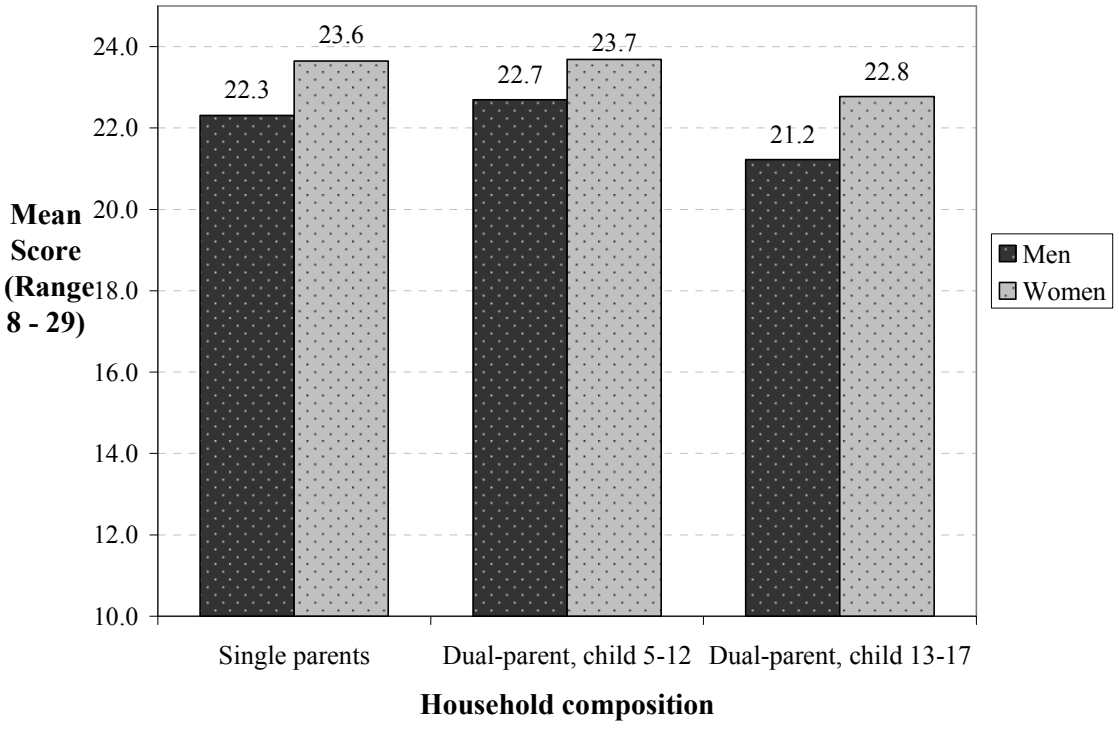

Figure 40: Perceptions of time pressure by household composition and gender

Compared to household composition, work schedule was relatively unconnected to feelings of time pressure. Overall, the relationship between time pressure and work schedule was not significant, but when analyzed by gender and work schedule some associations were found. Compared to fathers, mothers with traditional schedules experienced significantly more time pressure (t = -2.54, p = .001). Similarly, mothers with non-standard work schedules had significantly higher levels of time pressure than men with the same schedule (t = -3.99, p < .001). No significant differences were found for men and women with irregular schedules. There was little variation in the amount of time pressure experienced by women with different work schedules. Compared to other men though, fathers with irregular schedules experienced the highest amount of time pressure (see Fig. 41).

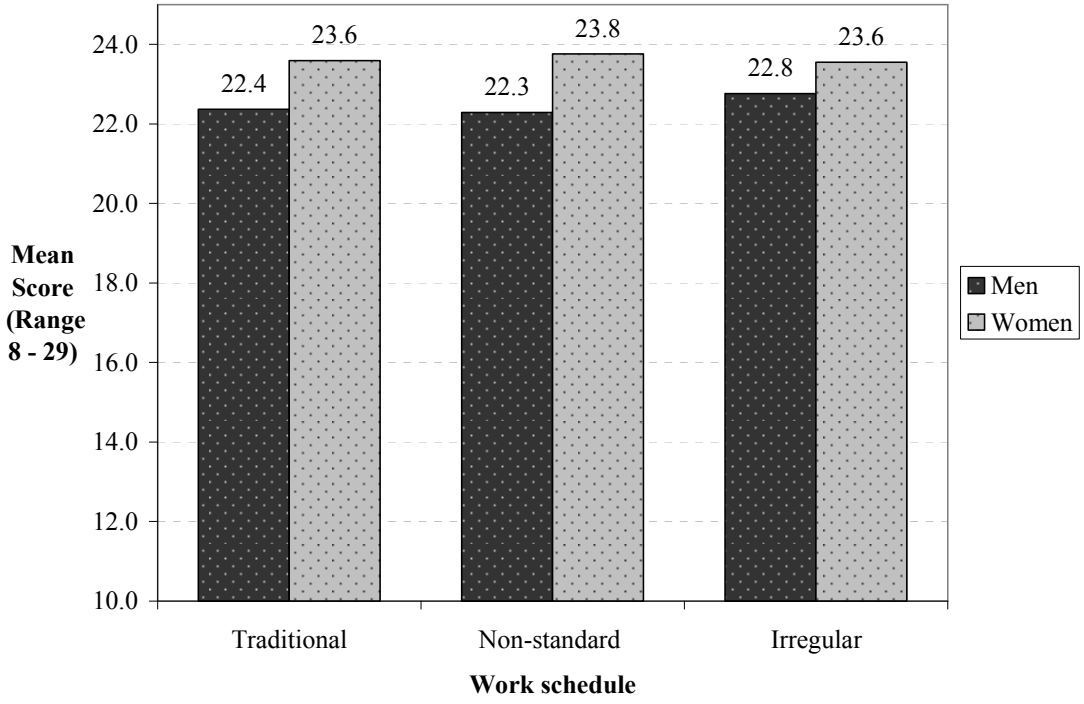

Figure 41: Perceptions of time pressure by work schedule and gender

Having a flexible schedule and greater control over one's time did help to reduce time pressure. A one-way ANOVA exploring the effect of flexible schedule on perceptions of time pressure indicated that when parents did not have a flexible schedule, time pressure was heightened significantly (F (df = 1952) = 3.84, p < .001).

Since other factors may have played a role in experiences of time pressure, multiple linear regression was used to test what else might be a significant predictor of time pressure. In addition to the demographic and socio-economic variables used in regression models for categories of time use, other covariates included time spent in employment and education-related activities, domestic, caregiving and

leisure activities. These were selected because of the relationship of committed, contracted and free time activities to perceptions of time pressure previously identified in the literature. The regression model was significant (Wald F (18, 1745) = 9.44, $p < .001$) and is presented in Appendix E. In addition to the significant predictors of being female ($B = .791$, $t = -3.68$, $p < .001$) and not having a flexible schedule ($B = -.457$, $t = -2.34$, $p = .019$), in this model all work schedules were predictive of time pressure but the strength of the relationships varied. An irregular work schedule had the greatest effect ($B = 1.647$, $t = 3.23$, $p = .001$), followed by non-standard ($B = 1.811$, $t = 2.99$, $p = .003$) and traditional work schedules ($B = 1.647$, $t = 2.82$, $p = .005$). Other factors that predicted greater time pressure were single parenthood ($B = -.935$, $t = -2.81$, $p = .005$) and parents' younger age ($B = -.045$, $t = -2.94$, $p = .003$).

Time use was measured in minutes but converted to increments of 15 minutes for regression analysis. Covariates with a significant effect were time spent caregiving ($B = .082$, $t = 4.18$, $p < .001$), time spent on domestic activities ($B = .069$, $t = 3.44$, $p < .001$) and time allocated to employment and education-related activities ($B = .035$, $t = 2.58$, $p = .010$).

7.3 Well-being

As outlined in Chapter 3, the well-being index included variables related to both mental and physical health, and also included satisfaction with time use, health, finances, and life in general. These variables were chosen because of the strength of their inter-correlations and in recognition of the relationship of both physical and mental health as important contributors to feelings of well-being. Scores ranged from -4.75 to 2.45 with a mean of - .05 and median of - .04. Parents' experiences of time pressure were strongly and negatively correlated with overall perceptions of well-being ($r = -.44$, $p < .001$).

Like stress and time pressure, perceptions of well-being were associated with gender. Men experienced a significantly stronger sense of well-being than women ($t = 4.80$, $p < .001$). A one-way ANOVA showed a significant effect for household composition too (F (2, 2033) = 30.99, $p < .001$) and the Scheffe post hoc test identified two separate groups: one for single parents, and the other for married or cohabitating parents with children in either age group. Unlike time pressure and stress, where parents of younger children were more alike regardless of marital status, the reverse was true for perceptions of well-being. Living with a partner or spouse had a strong, positive impact on well-being. A two-way ANOVA also confirmed significant main effects for gender (F (1, 1982) = 14.31, $p < .001$) and household composition (F (2, 1982) = 16.47, $p < .001$) were significant and that they acted independently of one another. Single mothers had the lowest levels of well-being and married fathers of teens, the highest (see Fig. 42). When gender differences in well-being were compared for separate categories of household composition, only single mothers and fathers were significantly different ($t = -2.26$, $p = .025$).

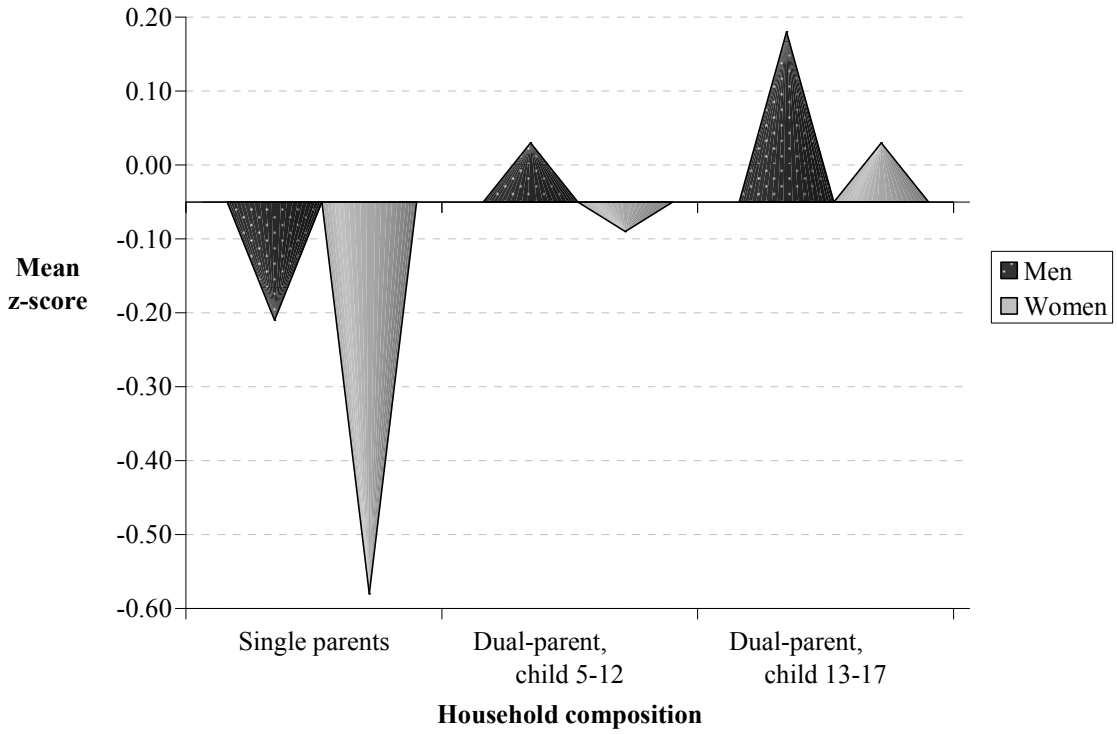

Figure 42: Feelings of well-being by household composition and gender

Overall, the effect of work schedule on well-being was not significant (F (2, 1944) = 1.54, p = .214) but there were differences by schedule and gender. Even though the gender difference in perceived well-being was not significant for parents with irregular work schedules, for parents with traditional and non-standard work schedules, fathers experienced significantly higher levels of well-being than mothers (traditional – t = 4.26, p < .001; non-standard - t = 2.67, p = .007). For parents with irregular schedules, the gender difference was not significant because men's scores dropped so substantially compared to fathers with other work schedules while women's well-being remained lower (see Fig. 43).

Not having a flexible work hours option significantly reduced parents' sense of well-being (t = -4.28, p < .001). A two-way ANOVA testing the effects of gender and flexible scheduling on well-being indicated that there were significant main effects for both gender (F (1, 1894) = 15.80, p < .001) and flexible schedules (F (1, 1894) = 21.13, p < .001). For mothers, the effect of flexible scheduling on well-being was particularly strong. Without a flexible schedule, their well-being score was M = -.32 (SD = 1.15) compared to fathers' score of M = .03 (SD = 1.03). With a flexible schedule, mothers' and fathers' well-being scores were almost equal (fathers - M = .08, SD = .93; mothers – M = .09, SD = 1.07). There was a significant interaction effect too (F (1, 1894) = 16.50, p < .001). While having more control over time was a benefit to all, it had a particularly strong, positive effect for women (see Fig. 44).

Figure 43: Feelings of well-being by work schedule and gender

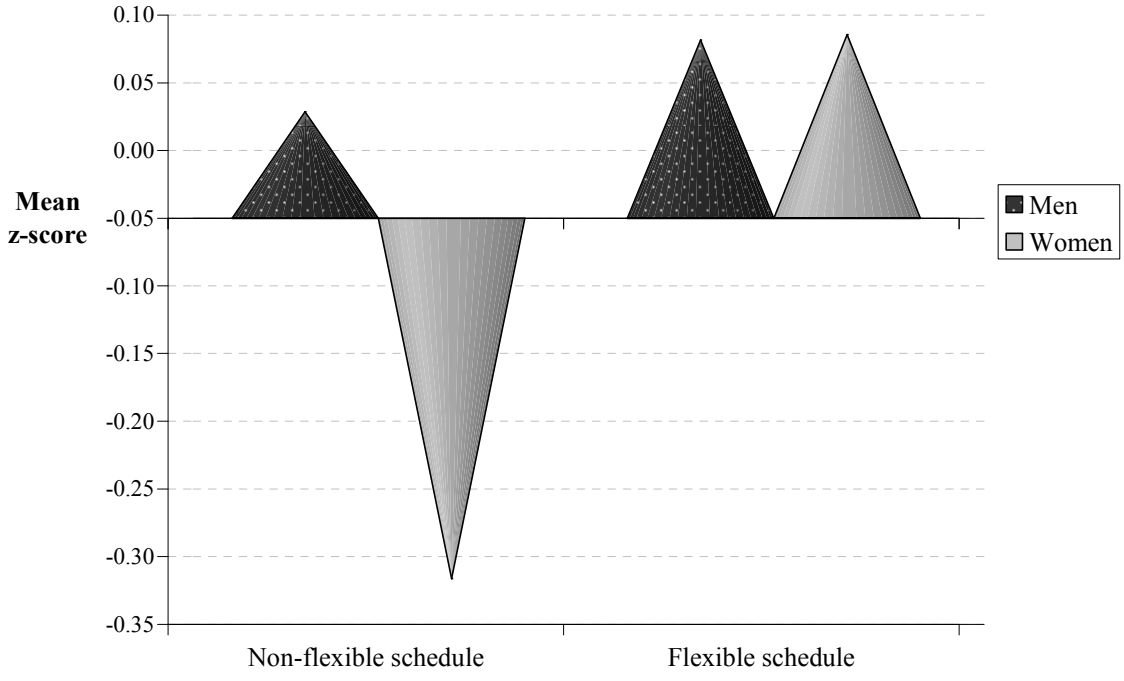

Figure 44: Feelings of well-being by flexible scheduling and gender

Well-being was also assessed through multiple linear regression to better understand predictive factors for parents (see model in Appendix E). Using the same control variables tested with time pressure, the model was significant (Wald F (18, 1745) = 5.42, $p < .001$) but there were fewer significant predictor variables. The most important determinant in the model was household income ($B = .070$, $t = 4.32$, $p < .001$). Parents with higher income levels had stronger perceptions of well-being. Having a flexible schedule remained significant too ($B = .157$, $t = 2.59$, $p = .010$). In addition, being married or cohabitating had a positive effect on well-being for parents ($B = .229$, $t = 2.08$, $p = .038$). For time use categories, only domestic activities were significant. Spending greater amounts of time on these activities was predictive of lower levels of well-being ($B = -.015$, $t = -2.49$, $p = .013$).

7.4 Work-life balance

When asked, "Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the balance between your job and home life?", almost two-thirds of parents (64.5%) responded that they were satisfied. Significantly more fathers ($n = 789$) than mothers ($n = 559$) were satisfied with their work-life balance (x^2 (2, 1947) = 12.17, $p = .002$). Those who reported feelings of dissatisfaction were asked to indicate some of the reasons. Three of the five most important sources of dissatisfaction were related to a lack of time. The most frequently cited reasons were: not having enough time for their family (56.9%), spending too much time on the job (37.1%), and not having enough time for other activities (9.0%). Employment-related reasons (17.3%) and "other" reasons (5.6%) accounted for the remaining sources of dissatisfaction. Although women listed "not enough time for family" (59.6%) more often than men (54.2%), the difference was not significant (x^2 (1, 571) = 1.73, $p = .205$). Few differences were found between men and women for other sources of dissatisfaction with work-life balance (see Table 33).

Table 33: Sources of dissatisfaction with work-life balance by gender

($n = 571$)

	Reason for dissatisfaction *(Percentage of respondents)*				
Gender	Not enough time for family	Spends too much time on the job	Not enough time for other activities	Employment-related reason(s)	Other
Men	54.2%	37.2%	8.1%	18.5%	5.2%
Women	59.6%	37.0%	9.9%	16.1%	6.0%
Total	56.9%	37.1%	9.0%	17.3%	5.6%

There were greater differences in satisfaction when assessed by household composition. Fewer single parents (60.9%) than parents from dual parent families were satisfied with their work-life balance. Married or cohabitating parents of teens were the most satisfied (75.0%) followed by parents in dual-

parent households with younger children (70.3%). The difference between categories of household composition was highly significant (x^2 (2, 1919) = 16.26, p <.001). Most likely, the temporal demands of caring for younger children and the effect of single-parenthood on access to free time and other resources contributed greatly to the sense of imbalance or dissatisfaction.

Work schedule was not significantly related to work-life balance, although differences in satisfaction by schedule type suggests that there is weak evidence to support work schedule as a contributor (x^2 (2, 1921) = 7.12, p = .029). Parents with a traditional work schedule had the highest levels of satisfaction (71.9%), and those with an irregular schedule, the least (64.1%). Non-standard schedule workers were in between these two groups, with 68.3% satisfied with the balance between job and home life. Interestingly, when assessed separately by gender, work schedule was highly significant for men's sense of work-life balance (x^2 (2, 1077) = 16.23, p < .001) whereas for women, it appeared to have little impact (x^2 (2, 844) = 0.54, p = .761). Men with irregular work schedules were much less satisfied than fathers with other types of schedules. Mothers with flexible schedules were significantly more satisfied with the balance between work and the rest of their life (x^2 (1, 844) = 7.28, p = .007) compared to those whose schedules were not flexible. Again, this may be related to type of employment. For fathers, having a flexible schedule had virtually no effect on satisfaction with work-life balance at all (x^2 (1, 1077) = .073, p = .787).

7.5 Relationship between time use and quality of life

The connection between how parents spend their time and subjective indicators of quality of life will be explored in this section. Although two different classes of information (behavioural and psychological) are being tested, it is still possible to find meaningful outcomes as indicated by results of bivariate correlations. It bears repeating that because of the different nature of these data, the strength of the relationships may be low by conventional standards; however, any significant correlation will be noted as an indicator of a relationship. Relationships between main categories of time use activity and well-being, time pressure and stress were assessed using Pearson's correlation coefficient. Total leisure time had among the strongest associations with quality of life variables (see Table 34). Higher amounts of time for leisure were associated with enhanced perceptions of well-being (r = .14, p < .001), lower levels of time pressure (r = -.20, p < .001), and decreased stress (r = -.13, p < .001). The only significant correlation with time spent on employment and education-related activities was increased time pressure (r = .06, p =.007), but the relationship was rather weak. Of the three types of child care, physical care had the most consistent correlations. It was associated with decreased well-being (r = -.11, p < .001), more time pressure (r = .18, p < .001), and higher levels of stress (r = .11, p < .001). Domestic activities had a

Table 34: Relationship between time use, well-being, time pressure and stress for selected categories of activity - all parents

Pearson '*r*' (Sig. 2-tailed)*

	Watching TV, DVDs	Social leisure	Physically active leisure	Total leisure	Employ-ment and education-related activities	Sleep	Total domestic activities	Inter-active child care	Physical child care	Travel and commu-nication for child
Well-being index	.07	n.s.	.08	.14	n.s.	.07	-.13	n.s.	-.11	n.s.
(N = 2,037)	.001		.000	.000		.001	.000		.000	
Time pressure index	-.14	-.05	-.09	-.20	.06	-.08	.12	n.s.	.18	.09
(N = 2,062)	.000	.018	.000	.000	.007	.000	.000		.000	.000
Self-assessed stress	-.15	n.s.	n.s.	-.13	n.s.	-.11	.06	n.s.	.11	.07
(N = 2,041)	.000			.000		.000	.006		.000	.002

* Correlation is significant at the $p \leq .025$ level (2-tailed).
n.s. Not significant.

similar relationship to parents' quality of life as it had a moderate negative effect on well-being (r = -.13, p < .001), and a positive association with time pressure (r = .12, p < .001) and stress (r = .06, p = .001). The strongest correlation with time spent sleeping was in a reduced stress level (r = -.11, p < .001), although the direction of causality is unclear. It may be that more sleep reduces stress levels or that elevated levels of stress negatively affect sleep. Of the three main leisure activities, the strongest correlations were found for watching TV. This was most frequently identified as the most enjoyed activity of the day. Time parents spent watching television was associated with less stress (r =- .15, p < .001), lower levels of time pressure (r = -.14, p < .001), and enhanced well-being ((r = .07, p = .001). To a lesser extent, time pressure was also reduced by participation in physical activity (r = -.09, p < .001) and spending time in social leisure activities (r = -.05, p = .018).

When correlations were tested separately for mothers and fathers, some gender differences became apparent. For mothers, the relationships between variables related to subjective quality of life and leisure were stronger than for fathers (see Table 35). For fathers, there was no significant correlation between well-being and amount of leisure time, whereas for mothers the relationship was much more important (r = .15, p < .001). Although women have less time for leisure, it appears to have stronger positive effects than for men. Leisure was associated with reduced time pressure to a greater extent for women (r = -.21, p < .001) than for men (r = -.16, p < .001) and levels of stress were similarly effected (for women, r = -.14, p < .001; for men, r = -.11, p < .001). Other differences were found for specific leisure activities. For men, watching television was positively, although somewhat weakly, related to enhanced well- being (r = .09, p = .002) but for women this relationship was not significant. Watching television decreased stress by a similar amount for men (r = -.15, p < .001) and women (r = -.14, p < .001). Likewise, decreased time pressure associated with watching television was almost the same for men (r = -.12, p < .001) and women (r = -.13, p < .001). Among fathers, there were no significant relationships found for social leisure and physical activity to quality of life variables. Mothers' quality of life, on the other hand, was positively affected by both activities. There was a moderate significant relationship for women between well-being and physically active leisure (r = .16, p < .001) and well-being and social leisure (r = .11, p = .001). In addition, women's time pressure decreased with greater physical activity participation (r = -.16, p < .001) or, as before, the direction of the effect may be opposite so that women with lower levels of time pressure were able to participate more often in physically active leisure.

Although time spent in employment-related activities had no significant relationship to fathers' well-being, there was a weak negative effect for mothers (r = -.08, p = .017). Men's employment activities were more strongly related to greater time pressure than women's (r = .11, p < .001 for men; r = .10, p = .003 for women). For domestic labour, there was no correlation between the (limited) time men

Table 35: Relationship between time use, well-being, time pressure and stress for selected categories of activity - mothers and fathers

Pearson '*r*' (Sig. 2-tailed)*

	Gender	*n*	Watching TV, DVDs	Social leisure	Physically active leisure	Total leisure	Employ-ment and education related activities	Sleep	Total domestic activities	Inter-active child care	Physical child care	Travel and communi-cation for child
Well-being index	Male	1,124	.09	n.s.	n.s.	.n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	-.07	-.09	n.s.
			.002							.021	.004	.
	Female	913	n.s.	.11	.16	.15	-.08	.11	-.14	n.s.	-.09	n.s.
				.001	.000	.000	.017	.001	.000		.006	
Time pressure index	Male	1,134	-.12	n.s.	n.s.	-.16	.11	-.10	n.s.	.07	.13	.08
			.000			.000	.000	.001		.020	.000	.007
	Female	928	-.13	n.s.	-.16	-.21	.10	-.09	.11	n.s.	.18	n.s.
			.000		.000	.000	.003	.007	.001		.000	
Self-assessed stress	Male	1,124	-.15	n.s.	n.s.	-.11	. n.s.	-.09	n.s.	n.s.	.08	.08
			.000		.	.000		.003			.008	.008
	Female	917	-.14	n.s.	n.s.	-.14	n.s.	-.14	.10	n.s.	.12	n.s.
			.000			.000		.000	.004		.000	

*. Correlation is significant at the $p \leq .025$ level (2-tailed).
n.s. Not significant.

spent on domestic activities and any of the measures of quality of life. Mothers, on the other hand, showed significant correlations for all. Time spent on domestic activities was associated for women with decreased well-being (r = -.14, p < .001), increased time pressure (r = .11, p = .001), and higher levels of stress (r = .10, p = .004). Women with irregular and non-standard schedules spent the most time on housework and this may have contributed to their lower levels of well-being. Mothers' subjective well-being was not affected by time spent in interactive child care. For fathers, however, there was a weak negative relationship between interactive child care and well-being (r = -.07, p = .021). There was also evidence of greater time pressure (r = .08, p = .007) and stress (r = .08, p = .008) when men were involved in travel and communication on behalf of their children, although the relationships were weak. For women, these relationships were not significant. Physical child care had much stronger associations with subjective well-being for both men and women. The relationship between time pressure and physical child care was moderate for fathers (r = .13, p < .001) and stronger for mothers (r = .18, p < .001). Mothers also had a stronger relationship between physical care and increased stress (r = .12, p < .001) compared to men (r = .08, p = .008). Perceptions of well-being were also affected negatively by time spent on physical child care, and the relationship was almost equal for mothers and fathers (r = -.09, p = .004 for men, and r = -.09, p = .006 for women).

Finally, sleep was significantly associated with all quality of life variables for women. Greater amounts of sleep were related to enhanced well-being (r = .11, p = .001), lower time pressure (r = -.09, p = .007), and decreased stress (r = -.14, p < .001). For men, there was no significant correlation between sleep and well-being, but there were significant negative correlations between sleep with time pressure (r = -.10, p = .001) and with stress (r = -.09, p = .005). Again, the direction of causality is undetermined. Furthermore, it is unclear whether it works in the same or different ways for men and women.

When work-life balance was correlated with time spent in various activities, the Kendall's tau correlation coefficients indicated that there were a few significant relationships. For the total sample, satisfaction with work-life balance was positively, although weakly related to time spent sleeping (τ = .06, p = .001), total leisure time (τ = .08, p < .001) and two leisure activities: watching TV (τ = .07, p < .001) and physically active leisure (τ = .06, p = .004). All of these relationships were stronger for women than for men (see Table 36). Women indicated more sleep-related problems overall, so the stronger correlation is understandable but, again, it is difficult to assess whether for mothers, being less rested contributes to an overall sense of dissatisfaction with their work-life balance or if it is the other way around. The stronger relationships between work-life balance and leisure for women suggest that although they have less leisure time, mothers may value these opportunities to a greater extent than men whose leisure time is comparatively – and usually significantly – higher.

Table 36: Relationship between selected categories of time use and satisfaction with work-life balance for mothers and fathers

Kendall's Tau 'τ' (Sig. 2-tailed)*

	n	Watching TV, movies, DVDs	Social leisure	Physically active leisure	Total leisure	Employ-ment and education related activities	Sleep	Total domestic activities	Inter-active (talk-based) child care	Physical child care	Travel and communi-cation for children
All parents	1,870	.07	n.s.	.06	.08	-.07	.06	n.s.	n.s.	-.08	n.s.
		.000		.004	.000	.000	.001			.000	
Fathers	1,062	n.s.	-.07	n.s.	.06	-.06	.06	n.s.	n.s.	-.10	n.s.
			.006		.017	.019	.021			.001	
Mothers	808	.09	n.s.	.08	.09	-.14	.08	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
		.002		.018	.002	.000	.007				

*. Correlation is significant at the $p \leq .025$ level (2-tailed).
n.s. Not significant.

When tested by gender, the positive correlation between physical activity and work-life balance disappeared for men, but the strength of the relationship increased for women (τ = .08, p = .018). Physically active leisure was not as common for women, but when mothers were active it apparently conferred greater benefits than for men. Similarly, watching television had no relationship to satisfaction with work-life balance for men but there was a positive relationship for women (τ = .09, p = .002). Like physical activity, women spent less time on this activity than men, but may have valued the opportunity for relaxation time more highly since they had fewer opportunities to do so. Interestingly, for men there was a significant negative correlation with work-life balance and time spent in social leisure (τ = -.08, p = .006).

For the total sample, other significant relationships negatively associated with work-life balance were time spent in employment and education-related activities (τ = -.07, p < .001) and physical child care (τ = -.08, p < .001). For women, the negative relationship with employment-related activities was stronger than for men (see Table 36) and this may be associated with difficulties fulfilling traditional gender role or personal expectations when hours of work become excessively lengthy. While men were affected by longer work hours too, there is greater compatibility between the provider role and long work days than between caregiving and long hours of employment. When the relationship between physical child care and work-life balance was assessed separately by gender, the significant correlation disappeared for women but it became stronger for men (τ = -.10, p = .001). Even though men did significantly less physical child care than women, it appeared to have a much more detrimental effect on their sense of work-life balance.

In addition to the demographic and socio-economic variables used to predict time use means, time spent on employment-related activities, domestic activities, total caregiving and leisure were tested in a logistic regression model to determine what other factors might predict satisfaction with work-life balance. Because of problems associated with work schedule collinearity, only non-standard and irregular work schedules were included in the model since, as suggested by descriptive data, these schedules are more likely to be a source of dissatisfaction with work-life balance. The regression model for work-life balance is found in Appendix E.

The regression was significant (Wald F (15, 1665) = 4.43, p < .001) but satisfaction with work-life balance was not predicted by time spent on caregiving, domestic or leisure activities. There was weak evidence to suggest that length of the work day was significant (Wald F = 4.25, t = 2.06, p = .040). Instead, the strongest predictor of satisfaction with work-life balance was parents' age. Younger parents were much more likely to be dissatisfied with work-life balance than older parents

(Wald F = 12.76, t = -3.57, p < .001). A younger age usually coincides with having younger children and, certainly, parents of teens were more likely to be satisfied with work-life balance than were parents of elementary school children.

Being married or cohabitating (Wald F = 10.58, t = 3.25, p = .001) was also strongly predictive of satisfaction with work-life balance. When odds ratios were calculated, single parents were 2.07 times more likely than married or cohabitating parents to be dissatisfied with their work-life balance. Being interviewed during the school year (Wald F = 6.68, t = -2.58, p = .010) also predicted greater dissatisfaction. Being interviewed during the summer meant that there was a 64% less likelihood of reporting dissatisfaction. In addition, having at least some post-secondary education predicted more satisfaction with work-life balance (Wald F = 5.16, t = -2.27, p = .023) An irregular work schedule was the only type of work schedule that significantly predicted dissatisfaction (Wald F =6.56, t = -.2.56, p = .010), but there was weak evidence for significance that a non-standard work schedule was associated with greater dissatisfaction too (Wald F =3.87, t = - 1.97, p = .049). Finally, two other household factors approached significance. Having a preschooler in the family was a predictor of dissatisfaction with work-life balance (Wald F = 3.91, t = -1.98, p = .048) as was having a child in elementary school (Wald F = 3.99, t = -2.00, p = .046). Parents of teens were 38% more likely to be satisfied with work-life balance.

7.6 Relationship between leisure time social contacts and quality of life

A concern of parents trying to cope with demands of employment and responsibilities at home is being able to spend "family time" or "quality time" with children in order to strengthen and maintain relationships. To a lesser extent, this sentiment is expressed for time that parents can spend together as a couple too. For parents, leisure often provides a forum for either family or couple time. In this section, the relationship between time spent with various social contacts during leisure and subjective well-being is explored first for the entire sample, and then by gender to better understand how these connections may affect quality of life for mothers and fathers.

There were relatively few significant correlations for the entire sample between the percentage of time spent with various social contacts during leisure and quality of life variables (see Table 37). Spending a higher percentage of leisure time with family was associated with reduced levels of stress (r = -.08, p < .001) but had no significant effects on either well-being or time pressure. Parents' well-being was enhanced by spending more leisure time as a couple (r = .09, p < .001) while

relationships between couple leisure and decreased time pressure and stress approached but did not reach significance.

Table 37: Relationship between well-being, time pressure, self-assessed stress and percentage of leisure time with various social contacts

Pearson 'r'** (Sig. 2-tailed)

	N	Alone	Family[a]	Couple[b]	Children[c]	Friends	Others
Well-being index	*2,037*	n.s.	n.s.	.09 .000	-.09 .000	n.s.	n.s.
Time pressure index	*2,062*	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.10 .000	-.06 .009	n.s.
Self-assessed stress	*2,041*	n.s.	-.08 .000	-.05* .027	.08 .000	n.s.	n.s.

***** Correlation approaches significance.
****** Correlation is significant at the $p \leq .025$ level (2-tailed).
[a] Partner and children
[b] Partner, with or without friends
[c] Children only, no other adults present
n.s. Not significant

The most consistent relationships were found for percentage of leisure time spent in the company of children only. When parents spent more leisure with children and no other adults were present, there was a relationship between parents' decreased well-being ($r = -.09$, $p < .001$), increased time pressure ($r = .10$, $p < .001$), and higher levels of stress ($r = .08$, $p < .001$). This may compromise the quality of leisure time as it indicates that parents may find leisure with children more work-like and perhaps less enjoyable for themselves – although children likely do not have the same experience. Or, it may be that children's presence during a leisure activity is related more to a child care or "responsibility" time. This has implications for idea of "freedom to" choose an activity, and "freedom from" caregiving obligations. Adults' leisure with friends is not well researched in terms of subjective well-being; however, for parents in this study there was a significant correlation between spending more leisure time with friends and reduced levels of time pressure ($r = -.06$, $p = .009$).

When correlations between leisure time social contacts and subjective well-being variables were analyzed separately by gender, the relationships were quite different for mothers and fathers (see

Table 38). No significant correlations were found for the two social contact categories of "friends" and "others" according to gender, so these two categories have been omitted from the table. While no significant correlations were evident for the total sample when most leisure time was spent alone, for

Table 38: Relationship between well-being, time pressure, self-assessed stress and percentage of leisure with selected social contacts by gender

Pearson 'r' * (Sig. 2-tailed)

			Social contact during leisure[a]			
	Gender	*N*	Alone	Family[b]	Couple[c]	Children[c]
Well-being index	Male	*1,124*	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	-.10 .001
	Female	*913*	n.s.	.09 .005	.10 .004	n.s.
Time pressure index	Male	*1,134*	.07 .023	n.s.	n.s.	.12 .000
	Female	*928*	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Self-assessed stress	Male	*1,124*	n.s.	-.09 .002	n.s.	-.10 .000
	Female	*917*	n.s.	n.s.	-.08 .011	n.s.

[a] "Friends" and "others" are omitted since significant correlations were found when analyzed by gender.
[b] Partner and children
[c] Partner, with or without friends
* Correlation is significant at the $p \leq .025$ level (2-tailed).
n.s. Not significant.

fathers there was a reduction in perceptions of time pressure (r = -.07, p = .023) but women remained largely unaffected. Spending leisure time as a family had different outcomes for mothers and fathers. Women showed a significant relationship between increased well-being and family leisure (r = .09, p = .005), and for fathers, having a higher proportion of family leisure was associated with lower stress levels (r = -.09, p = .002).

Even though fathers spent a greater proportion of their leisure time than mothers as a couple, there were no significant relationships with any of the quality of life variables for men. For mothers,

on the other hand, a higher proportion of couple leisure was associated with increased well-being (r = .09, p = .004) and decreased stress (r = -.08, p = .011). Mothers spent significantly more of their leisure time than fathers alone with their children; but, this did not appear to influence their feelings of well-being, time pressure or stress. For fathers, the opposite was the case. Spending a higher proportion of leisure time with children had a moderate negative relationship to well-being (r = -.10, p = .001) and a positive association with increased time pressure (r = .12, p < .001). While spending time as a family during leisure was related to decreased stress for fathers, men's stress levels were higher when they spent a greater proportion of time with children but without a partner present (r = .10, p < .001). These relationships were stronger in summer than throughout the school year. During school holidays, when men spent more of their leisure time with children only, there was a stronger correlation with increased time pressure (r = .17, p = .003), higher levels of stress (r =- .16, p = .018), and decreased perceptions of well-being (r = .16, p = .023). For mothers, season did not have any similar effects.

Spending time with friends also affected men and women differently. There were no significant correlations for men but for women there was a significant relationship between reduced perceptions of time pressure and spending a higher proportion of leisure time in the company of friends (r = -.09, p = .006). Leisure time with others such as non-household family members, neighbours or co-workers did not appear to be significantly related to any of the subjective well-being variables.

7.7 Relationship between leisure time social contacts and work-life balance

The relationship between satisfaction with work-life balance and with whom parents spend their leisure was tested using the Kendall's Tau correlation. For the total sample, only two significant relationships were identified. Spending time in family leisure activities with a partner and children was related to greater satisfaction with work-life balance (τ = .05, p = .011), as was a higher proportion of couple leisure (τ = .05, p = .020). While this highlights the importance of family leisure activities and couple leisure for parents trying to integrate work and the rest of life, caution should be taken when interpreting the results. It is possible that these outcomes may have had more to do with the positive influence of being married or cohabitating on work-life balance. When relationships were tested separately by gender, family leisure was not significantly related to work-life balance for either mothers or fathers. Couple leisure was not significant for men, although there was weak evidence that relationship remained significant for women (τ = .07, p = .045), inferring again that couple leisure

confers more benefits to women than men on a work day even though men spend a significantly higher percentage of their leisure as a couple than women. It also suggests that couple leisure may be experienced differently by mothers and fathers. Only one other significant relationship between leisure time social contacts and work-life balance was identified by gender. For men, there was a negative relationship between work-life balance and spending a greater proportion of time with others (τ = -.07, p = .020). It may be that men's satisfaction with work-life balance might benefit more from spending leisure with friends and family members rather than other individuals with whom relationships are not as personal.

7.8 Chapter summary

This chapter examined the relationship of time use and gender to subjective indicators of quality of life. Four different measures were used to assess parents' quality of life including stress, time pressure, well-being and work-life balance. After exploring differences by gender according to household composition and work schedule, other demographic, socio-economic and time use factors were introduced that might help to explain different outcomes for men and women.

The final section provided a more in-depth exploration of the relationship between quality of life and with whom parents' spent their leisure time. Although there were many similarities in relationships of various social contacts to quality of life indicators, there were some consistent differences according to gender. This suggests that mothers' and fathers' experiences of leisure on work days are influenced by socio-cultural expectations of responsibilities at the individual and interpersonal levels as well as institutional factors affecting leisure time such as work schedules and season of the year.

Chapter 8
Discussion and conclusion

The purpose of this study was to explore how mothers and fathers allocate their time, how this is affected by different levels of influence outlined in the theoretical framework, and the relationship between time use and quality of life indicators. In this section, results of the previous chapter are reviewed with special attention to the theoretical perspective. Understanding parents' time use is complex, but the gender relations perspective is an appropriate framework to reflect the centrality of gender in the findings. By using this framework as an over-arching guide, multiple influences on time use can be addressed along with associations of time use with quality of life. Because the levels of influence interact, change in one level has the potential to shape or be shaped by changes in behaviour at other levels. This makes it difficult, if not impossible, to definitively isolate the contribution of individual, interactional, institutional or socio-historical factors. Therefore, consideration will be given to similarities and differences in parents' time use with a focus first on findings about the important variable of gender and then how gender fits in with the other important factors analyzed. This will be followed by a discussion of the theoretical significance and ways in which it might enhance our understanding of gender relations. Finally, some limitations of the research are outlined, along with suggestions for future avenues of study and implications for policy development.

8.1 The influence of household composition

The first research question asked how mothers and fathers of school-age children allocated their time and how this varied according to household composition and season of the year. These factors are important not only at the individual and interpersonal levels where parents' roles are situated according to gender, marital status and age of children, but they are also more broadly associated with socio-historical traditions that shape cultural expectations of parenting practices, domestic roles and responsibilities, and different experiences of time during the school year and summer.

8.1.1 Single parenting

Because of the size of the sample in the GSS and increasing numbers of single fathers, it was possible to consider the effect of being a single parent on time use for both men and women who were lone parents. This allowed a glimpse into how traditional gendered behaviour is influenced by the presence or absence of a partner.

Single mothers occupied the most disadvantaged position in terms of both time and money. Without a partner to assist with household tasks, child care and the financial responsibilities of maintaining a household, mothers' time in paid employment was greater than married mothers' and even exceeded that of single men. Single mothers' combined workload was the highest of any group, leaving little time for personal leisure and a decreased amount of sleep compared to other mothers. A lower income level suggests that single mothers were less likely to outsource some of their workload by purchasing meals out, child care or domestic help. Single fathers, on the other hand, spent less time in employment-related activities than married fathers and increased the amount of time spent in traditionally female tasks such as food preparation and indoor housekeeping. While men's involvement in these activities remained low compared to single women, they were higher than for men in dual-parent households. Evidently, when circumstances warrant, traditional patterns of behaviour can be quite malleable. Yet, social norms can also be difficult to override. If behaviour is an indicator of social expectations, spending less time housekeeping and cooking was more acceptable for single men than single women. These mothers may have tried to conform to higher standards of domestic activity than men because of stereotypical gender associations and behavioural expectations or, it may be that men were able to contract out some domestic activities. The same pattern was evident for child care. Although total child care and social contact time with children was very similar for lone parents, single mothers still did a disproportionate amount of the more work-like, physical child care than single fathers.

Compared to married or cohabitating parents, there were more similarities than differences between single mothers' and fathers' time use for committed, contracted and personal needs activities. Leisure activities for single parents, though, showed stronger gender differentiation than among their married counterparts. Without a partner resident in the home, single parents were able to choose activities without consideration of a spouse's interests. Single fathers, for example, spent the most time playing video and computer games compared to other men. They also spent significantly more time socializing outside the home at restaurants, bars or others social venues. Single mothers did not socialize as much outside the home, consistent with traditional gender behaviour. It may also be that they did not have a sufficient income to support this type of leisure activity. Instead, single mothers spent more than twice as much time socializing at home as outside the home, although single fathers still spent more time than mothers socializing at home too. On the other hand, single parents were also more constrained in their choice of leisure by having no one with whom to share child care responsibilities. "Free" time was not entirely unencumbered. Single mothers and fathers spent a

substantially higher proportion of their leisure time with children compared to married or cohabitating parents and activities were likely selected based on the possibility of including children.

Owing largely to less time spent in employment-related activities compared to married or cohabitating men, single men had the greatest overall amount of leisure. Although time allocated to work was similar for single mothers and fathers, the difference in leisure time was highly significant. Women spent more time on traditionally feminine household and child care tasks while men were able to pursue leisure activities instead. It may be that some of their activity choices were based on including children as a form of involved fatherhood. Certainly, more time was spent by fathers attending movies and sport events, playing computer games, and engaging in physical activity. All of these pastimes have the potential to be mutually enjoyable family activities for parents and children. Yet, it may be that single fathers, too, feel constrained in their leisure choices. Although they do not have to consider a partner's preferences when deciding what they would like to do during their leisure, single parents may be more influenced or pressured by what their children want to do and this could also be reflected in some activity choices. Married or cohabitating parents are not immune to children's preferences either though. Depending on the dynamics of family relationships, children may have an equal or even stronger voice in determining how time is spent and some parents may be more inclined to follow children's wishes rather than the other way around (Thorpe & Daly, 1999). The notion of choice and constraint in parents' leisure and the relationship to household composition would be worth exploring in future research since this is something that is affected by socio-historical influences as well as interpersonal interactions.

Although there were some associations between time use and quality of life, being a single parent presented unique challenges that also affected perceptions of stress, well-being and work-life balance. Single parents were the most likely to find their days "quite a bit" or "extremely stressful" and mothers experienced higher daily stress levels than fathers. Single mothers spent more time in employment, which was associated with increased time pressure, decreased well-being and more dissatisfaction with work-life balance for women. In addition, the lack of leisure time for single mothers may have been an important factor. For women, leisure is positively associated with well-being and negatively related to time pressure and stress; but, single mothers had relatively little time for leisure on work days with the amount of time they allocated to committed and contracted activities.

Time spent caring for children was only higher for single fathers compared to single mothers in the travel and advocacy category. For men, this activity is associated with greater time pressure and

more stress. Having to adhere to schedules determined by institutions outside the family may intensify these feelings, particularly if work schedules are not synchronized with other organizations. On the other hand, single fathers' greater amounts of leisure time may have compensated to some degree since leisure for men was also related to lower levels of time pressure and stress.

Overall, single parents reported the highest levels of dissatisfaction with work-life balance. In this case, it did not appear to be related to time use as much as it was influenced by demographic characteristics. Not having a partner, being the parent of an elementary school or preschool child, and being interviewed during the school year were all stronger predictors of dissatisfaction with work-life balance than the way in which time was allocated. The importance of having a partner to well-being was also confirmed in positive associations between quality of life variables and couple leisure for women and family leisure for men in dual-parent households. Additionally, perceptions of well-being were more strongly associated with having a partner than they were with gender. This supports research reported by Helliwell and Putnam (2005) where marriage was strongly correlated with happiness, life satisfaction and enhanced well-being for both men and women alike.

8.1.2 Dual parenting

When a partner was present different dynamics seemed to influence behavioural choices. Household labour and child care responsibilities could be divided, and when this happened a traditional gender pattern emerged. This was especially true for parents of younger children. Having elementary school children did not affect men's participation in employment-related activities, although it did affect women's participation presumably since mothers assumed a greater proportion of child care. For care involving travel and advocacy on children's behalf, this was particularly apparent. Mothers, it seemed, were more likely to take time off work or organize their day so they could drive children to various activities, take them to medical/dental appointments, or communicate with teachers to ensure that children's needs were being met. This is consistent with Lareau's (2003) concerted cultivation model of child-rearing where children are involved in many extracurricular and enriching activities, and with mothers in Arendell's (2001) study who assumed responsibility for planning, organizing and carrying out these activities. This form of child care also has potential ramifications for negative perceptions of women's commitment to employment, but positive associations with an intensive motherhood model of child rearing. It seemed that mothers with younger children were caught within the cultural contradictions of motherhood identified by Hays (1996). To be model employees, they should act as unencumbered individuals; but, as good mothers, they are expected to place children's

needs ahead of their own or their employers'. It may be that women's higher levels of stress, time pressure and dissatisfaction with work-life balance are in some ways attributable to the ongoing tension that this contradiction creates in their lives.

It is impossible to determine from the GSS whether or not women encouraged their partners to participate more equally or if they simply accepted an unequal burden of responsibility. It is likely that many women would be supportive of greater sharing of household responsibilities, and research indicates that they are more satisfied when this occurs than women in households with an unequal division of labour (Marshall, 1993; Stevens et al., 2001). Regardless, the cultural contradictions heighten challenges employed mothers face in trying to make the best use of their time in order to integrate work and the rest of life. It may also be a source of conflict in relationships when mothers challenge the hegemonic masculinity that maintains women's position as the primary parent. Yet, fathers who wish to be more involved with their younger children also face personal, social, and financial and workplace pressures that are difficult to challenge or resist (see Daly, 2008) and so this highly gendered division of labour persists and was especially evident among parents of elementary school children. Mothers had the most contact with children of all ages and more than one-third of this time was spent in direct care, suggesting that their "responsibility time" was roughly three times more than what was indicated by the primary care measure.

8.1.2.1 Life with elementary school children

Parents with children in elementary school are often busy with children's school-related and extracurricular activities while their own needs and interests are given a lower priority or pushed aside, at least until children are older (Bialeschki & Michener, 1994). When leisure time was limited, as was the case for parents of children age 5 to 12, gender differences in parents' leisure activities almost disappeared. The only activity in which fathers spent significantly more time was watching television. For fathers, watching television was related to enhanced well-being, decreased time pressure, and lower levels of stress – outcomes more often associated with physically active leisure, although this relationship with physical activity was not evident for men in this study. For mothers, watching television also constituted a relatively large portion of workday leisure activities and was related to decreased time pressure, stress, and greater satisfaction with work-life balance. While watching television does not provide the physical health benefits of fitness or sport activities, it did seem to contribute to psychological well-being and, as such, should not be dismissed as an activity

without value. In addition, many parents really enjoyed watching television as demonstrated by the frequency with which it was reported as the most enjoyable activity of the diary day.

Married or cohabitating parents of elementary school children spent a lower proportion of their leisure time alone, with children only, or with friends compared to single parents. Participation in family leisure activities was highest of all groups of parents, and the proportion of time spent in couple leisure was similar to dual-parent households with teens. Although family leisure was positively related to satisfaction with work-life balance for the entire sample, there were some different relationships between the percentage of leisure time spent with family and quality of life for mothers and fathers. For men, it was related to decreased levels of stress and for women, enhanced feelings of well-being. The lack of a significant relationship with time pressure for either mothers or fathers is interesting. Making time for a family activity during an already busy work day can be challenging and it was expected that this might contribute to a greater sense of time pressure. That it did not indicates that perhaps certain family leisure activities are regularly included for some families in their daily routine or that they are choosing to do activities together that require little additional planning or effort. For example, watching television together may not constitute family leisure in the most interactive sense, but it still qualifies under the parameters of this study and was likely an easy, low-stress way in which families spent time together. Harrington (2001) refers to watching television and family leisure as "an uneasy alliance" (p. 369). In her study, mothers were more likely to pursue another domestic activity at the same time, such as ironing, in order to add more "value" to the activity. Fathers also saw television viewing as mostly unproductive but they also recognized it as an opportunity to spend time with children on a work day. As one father in her study commented, "I do it [watch television] all the time because by the end of the day that's all you want to do. It would be good to go out and do something all the time but obviously you can't because you don't have the time, money or energy" (p.370). Some literature shows that family leisure can be work-like and even stressful at times, particularly when mothers have full responsibility for planning and organizing activities (Shaw & Dawson, 2001), but more mundane daily pastimes such as watching television together may present a more relaxing environment where at least some conversation takes place and where, as Harrington reported, mothers may be able to take care of other domestic obligations.

Spending time alone with children was the only type of social contact that differed significantly by gender for parents with elementary school children, but it still constituted a considerably lower proportion of their leisure time compared to single parents' – even though single parents mostly had children in the same age group. The presence of a partner, therefore, was shown to

affect not only the distribution of paid and unpaid labour, but the amount of time spent with children during leisure. Fathers' leisure, in particular, was less constrained by child care time when they were part of a dual-parent household. These findings have also been noted by Bittman and Wacjman (2002) in their study of Australian parents and by Bianchi et al. (2006) who analyzed American time diary surveys from 1965 to 2000.

8.1.2.2 Life with teenagers

With older children, time use patterns shift as primary child care requirements decrease and opportunities to spend time together may be curtailed by teens' greater time expenditures on homework, part-time jobs, and expanding social networks (Zuzanek, 2005). At this stage of family life, the GSS data showed that time spent in employment-related activities was less for fathers but greater for women, presumably because children no longer required as much of their time. Mothers of teens also invested more time in domestic activities, especially indoor and outdoor housework. With fewer child care responsibilities for women, leisure time increased but not to the same extent as for men. This raises the larger question of why women do substantially more housekeeping when their children are teenagers while men devote considerably more time to leisure instead. According to Kay's (1998) study of dual-earner families, fathers had a greater sense of entitlement to leisure whereas for mothers, leisure was something they could do if there was time left over from household and caregiving responsibilities. The parents in Kay's study though had small children. Presumably teenagers are not only more independent but, in some cases, also contribute to housekeeping and preparing meals. The answer to why women increase their housework while men increase leisure time when children are older is likely bound up less with women's decreased child care responsibilities and more with the social-historical level of influence that shapes expectations for women's standards of domesticity, men's stronger sense of entitlement to leisure, and cultural values and meanings assigned to different types of activities.

The results indicate that, in many ways, life does become easier when children are older and this was especially true for fathers. More leisure time, and decreased time spent on employment-related and child care activities were associated with the lowest levels of stress and time pressure, the strongest perceptions of well-being, and the greatest satisfaction with work-life balance of all respondents. Mothers of teens had similar experiences, but it likely was due primarily to fewer child care responsibilities since employment-related time and housekeeping activities increased so substantially. It is doubtful that the type of social contacts during leisure made much of a difference

since, with exception of a slightly higher proportion of time spent with friends by mothers, there was little difference between parents of elementary or high school students in the percentage of time with whom they spent their leisure.

8.2 Seasonal variations or, "Some *still* like it hot" [1]

Dividing the year into school year and summer seasons allowed some insights into the influence of historically-derived cultural rhythms on time use at the interactional or family level. The decreased amount of time that parents devoted to child care during the summer seemed to be directly tied to the absence of routines dictated by the education system. Because schools perform a secondary role of child care, it was expected that parental child care would increase and not decrease during summer months. On further reflection, considering that only primary activity data were collected, it does make sense that when time spent helping with homework, getting children ready for school, and providing transportation back and forth to school was eliminated, care time would decrease accordingly. The extent of the effect of the school year on mothers was not anticipated though, whereas changes in leisure or domestic activities related to the weather were more predictable based on Canada's climate.

Even though parents still had to go to work during the summer and arrange care for children, without the daily timelines imposed by the school, mothers' workloads were lighter and they had more time for leisure during July and August. Still, additional research needs to be conducted in this area since the extra work usually assumed by mothers including organizing care, scheduling activities and transportation, and the emotion work of ensuring that children are happy and comfortable with the arrangements can be considerable (Erickson, 2005; Hochschild, 1996). It could be that because most of these efforts take place in advance of children's summer holidays, once summer has arrived and arrangements are in place, mothers can relax somewhat more.

For fathers, the expenditure of time on committed, contracted and leisure time activities remained almost the same throughout the year, but time spent on various activities within these categories shifted in response to the weather. While outdoor activities such as cutting the lawn or yard maintenance increased substantially in the summer, less time was spent indoors watching television and there was an increase in physically active leisure. By examining the breakdown of child care activities, it was apparent that fathers' time use was also linked to children's school routines

[1] This refers to the title of Michelson's (1971) earlier work, "Some like it hot: Social participation and environment use as function of the season" *The American Journal of Sociology, 76*(6), 1072-1083.

particularly in the area of helping or teaching; but compared to mothers', this was not as potent a force. Unlike mothers, fathers did not experience a decrease in employment-related time during the summer. This may be partially due to employment demands in male-dominated occupational sectors such as construction and primary industry, where summer is often the busiest time of the year.

For mothers especially, summer was associated with more relaxed routines. In addition to less child care, they reported longer hours of sleep and greater satisfaction with work-life balance. During the summer, mothers did not transfer their "unused" child care time to more housekeeping; instead, they increased the amount of time for leisure. Given the significant gender differences for leisure time in all categories of household composition, it was rather remarkable that no such gender gap was found during the summer months. While mothers' leisure increased, fathers' remained relatively stable and even declined slightly. This indicates that the strength of the school year effect on women's allocation of time compared to men's is actually quite considerable and should be taken into consideration in future studies of motherhood, parenting practices and family dynamics. Seasonal differences in time use were identified by Michelson (1971) more than 35 years ago and yet very few studies during the intervening years have addressed the influence of season on time allocation. Research involving parents and children often takes place during the school year since this is considered the most "normal" period of activity, indicating that there is already a tacit recognition that experiences vary by season (e.g., see Zuzanek, 2005). However, for studies such as the GSS that extend data collection throughout the year, public access to the month of data collection would be highly beneficial and relevant since parents' experiences are very much linked to the rhythm of the school year. Currently, this information is only available in the confidential data set of the GSS which may be a deterrent for some researchers to consider seasonal variations in time use for parents as well as other population sub-groups.

8.3 The influence of work schedule

Timing of the work day and work week is an influence situated both at the institutional level of employment and at the socio-historical level where it is connected to globalization and other trends associated with late modernity. Almost one-third of the parents in this study had something other than a Monday-to-Friday work week. Moving away from a traditional schedule has altered communal social rhythms and affected individual behaviour and interpersonal interactions. Non-traditional work schedules may create opportunities that allow access to activities at different times of the day or they may impose structural barriers by restricting contact with children, partners and other institutions

whose schedules follow a different routine (Barnes et al., 2006). This may allow individuals to challenge traditional gender norms as suggested by Sirianni (1991), or simply inhibit efforts to fulfill parental expectations and responsibilities within the family. Yet, there was little evidence in this study to suggest that non-traditional schedules have challenged the unequal distribution of paid and unpaid domestic labour in a meaningful way. If anything, these work schedules deepened the gender divide particularly in the areas of child care and household activities.

8.3.1 Traditional work schedules

For the purpose of this discussion, a traditional schedule provides the metre by which non-standard and irregular schedules are measured. Traditional schedules, where parents' work days are most closely synchronized with children's school schedules, had the greatest number of significant differences in gender behaviour but this type of schedule was not associated with the highest levels of stress or time pressure. Mothers and fathers with traditional work schedules reported the most satisfaction with work-life balance and strongest perceptions of well-being. The rhythm of their work days was such that family members could be home at the same time. This would have allowed more opportunities for interaction which may have contributed to maintaining and strengthening family relationships. It could also have created better conditions for the negotiation of the division of household labour, at least among dual-parent families. The time use data indicate though that on work days, parents engaged in very stereotypical behaviours and the division of household labour followed a gender-specialized pattern. Fathers spent more time in paid labour but had much more leisure time than mothers. Women with a traditional work schedule clearly demonstrated evidence of the "second shift" (Hochschild, 1989). They spent longer hours in paid employment compared to other mothers, and had a much greater role in domestic work, child care, and shopping than men. This was the only work schedule where mothers had a significantly higher combined workload of paid and unpaid work than fathers.

That fathers did not more equally share housework and childcare and still had more time for leisure lends credence to Hochschild's (1989) notion of a "stalled revolution". Women's labour force participation rates during the past decade have remained relatively stable, climbing much more slowly than they did in the 1970s and 1980s, while at the same time men's participation rates have slowly declined. Since more than a generation has passed since women began to re-enter the work force *en masse*, it seems that there should have been ample time to adjust and redistribute many of the domestic chores. Even though Gershuny et al. proposed the concept of "lagged adaptation" in 1994, it

does not appear that many significant inroads have been made in addressing women's higher workloads since then. Still, as Sullivan (2004) notes, meaningful change may be slow to occur and there is enough longitudinal time use evidence now to suggest that gender ideologies are contributing to some shifts in the division of unpaid labour. Involved fatherhood is often touted as evidence that men's behaviour is changing and that they now share more equally in raising children. Evidence from this study and others (Bianchi et al., 2006; Craig, 2007) indicates that this was generally not the case. While fathers with traditional schedules were equal partners in interactive care, a pattern of gender specialization remained where they did significantly less physical child care or travel and advocacy on behalf of children. Therefore, one must question the length of time that needs to pass before fathers adapt and share more equally in unpaid labour and child care – or whether they ever will, as suggested by a "stalled revolution". Cultural expectations about the division of labour and different levels of commitment to child-rearing for mothers and fathers are remarkably strong and enduring. Ultimately, as Craig (2007) comments, "the greater challenge is not to identify the factors that result in more domestic equity, but to explain why the factors have such a minor impact" (p. 9). This is likely one of those questions though, that remains bound up with hegemonic masculinity – a term which captures the cultural context, but is less helpful in explaining its endemic persistence.

8.3.2 Non-standard work schedules

Non-standard schedules had very different effects on both time use and quality of life for mothers and fathers. The greatest time use differences were located in the spheres of domestic work and child care where women had a significantly higher workload, and for leisure where men spent significantly more time than any other group. For mothers, non-standard schedules were associated with higher stress levels than other mothers' schedules and with the most time pressure and the lowest perceptions of well-being of the entire sample. Fathers with non-standard work schedules experienced the least amount of stress and time pressure, along with a level of well-being that differed little from men with traditional schedules. With a non-standard schedule, satisfaction with work-life balance was less than for fathers with traditional schedules, but greater than for men with irregular schedules.

One of the biggest challenges faced by mothers with non-standard schedules was having hours that limited their availability to children while still maintaining a level of care and contact that rivaled and even exceeded mothers with traditional schedules. Another challenge was the relatively low level of income that may have influenced the decision to take employment with hours opposite to their partner's. While the GSS does not indicate if this was a factor, off-shifting parental child care

has been identified in other studies as a way for child care to be shared more equally and reduce child care costs (see Higgins & Duxbury, 2002; Hattery, 2001). It seems likely that some mothers in this study would have chosen to off-shift care. If so, each parent would have sole responsibility for child care and domestic labour when not at work. This may have contributed to lower levels of well-being for mothers similar to those experienced by lone parents. Despite having challenging schedule constraints, mothers with non-standard schedules remained the primary parent. Compared to mothers with traditional schedules, they spent more time on interactive care and almost equal amounts of time on the other two types of child care. Working afternoon and evening shifts may have allowed them to be more available children during the hours right before or after school or, they may have made more of an effort to spend time with their children to compensate for employment-related absences during evenings and weekends as noted in the study by Davis et al. (2006) of mothers' relationships with adolescents.

Men with non-standard schedules largely seemed to abdicate child care responsibilities. Even though their hours allowed them to have the most social contact with children compared to other fathers throughout the day, they spent the lowest percentage of that time in primary care. In addition, the percentage of time spent only with children during leisure was almost the same as other fathers and significantly lower than mothers with the same schedule. Yet, they did more leisure activities as a family. Based on these patterns, it appears that fathers with non-standard schedules were much more reliant on their partners to assume responsibility for child care and leisure activities with children. Of all men, they were the least likely to conform to a model of involved fatherhood.

Men with non-standard schedules were notable for greater time allocation to outdoor housekeeping activities and both men and women did more DIY/home repair. More so than any other group, they likely had a higher level of energy during the day and fewer interruptions from other family members. DIY/home repair activities are traditionally thought of as a more 'masculine' pursuit, but perceptions may be changing. Some activities such as painting, for example, may be viewed as a form of home decorating activity more equally shared by men and women than other activities with more "masculine" associations like repairing a roof or tackling plumbing projects. As such, DIY/home repair may be more gender neutral in the range of activities included. Without further details about who was doing what, it is impossible to determine whether there was any shift in gender behaviour or simply more opportunities to do these types of activities. In addition, because of the prevalence of non-standard workers with lower incomes they may have had little choice but to attempt these jobs on their own.

Fathers with non-standard schedules enjoyed the greatest amounts of leisure time, which was related to lower levels of time pressure and stress and less dissatisfaction with work-life balance. They spent the most time watching television of any group, which was positively associated with well-being. They also did the most physically active leisure, slept for longer than men with traditional schedules, and complained of fewer problems getting to sleep or staying asleep than men with irregular work routines. The area that suffered most for fathers with non-standard schedules was direct interaction with children. Although they were more accessible than other fathers, as indicated by the amount of social contact time with children, they were less likely to be directly involved in care and, as a result, probably less involved in or aware of other activities in their children's lives. While they upheld traditional gender patterns of behaviour, they did not conform to current practices of involved fatherhood. This experience is distinctly different from women's with this schedule who not only conformed to traditional expectations of managing domestic responsibilities, but also spent considerable amounts of time upholding the tenets of intensive mothering. Mothers must expend an enormous amount of mental, emotional and physical effort to meet to these standards of child-rearing especially when family members' schedules are not synchronized (Perry-Jenkins, 2004). Therefore, it is understandable that levels of well-being were the lowest and levels of time pressure were the highest for women with non-standard schedules compared to any other group.

8.3.3 Irregular work schedules

Parents with this type of schedule were concentrated mainly in occupational sectors such as sales and services and manufacturing, but they were also found among managers and professionals such as teachers or health care workers. Irregular work schedules were distinctive because of the added complexity of unpredictability in planning the work week. While irregular schedules were less prevalent on weekends than non-standard shifts, there was little advance notice of when work would occur. This would create additional challenges for parents when trying to schedule child care, health care or social and leisure activities. Depending on the employer, the nature of their work, and personal circumstances, an individual may have had little control or "choice" in accepting or refusing a work shift. Unfortunately, this is not something that was explored in the GSS.

Like non-standard schedules, an irregular schedule resulted in very different experiences for mothers and fathers in terms of time allocation and perceptions of quality of life; however, in this situation, mothers fared better than fathers. Men with an irregular schedule had the highest daily stress levels while women had the lowest. Although mothers' perceptions of time pressure were

higher than fathers' in general, women with irregular schedules experienced the least time pressure relative to other women, and men with irregular schedules the most time pressure relative to other men. Similarly, although mothers were more dissatisfied with work-life balance overall, men with irregular schedules were the only group to be significantly more dissatisfied than men with other schedules. Finally, feelings of well-being were the lowest for men with irregular work schedules compared to other men and fell well below the mean score for all parents. Although women with irregular work schedules did not score highly on the well-being index either, they fared better than their male counterparts and women with non-standard schedules.

Compared to parents with traditional schedules, there were almost as many significant gender differences in time allocated to committed, contracted and personal needs activities. Because men's leisure time was so limited, there were fewer gender differences in these activities with the exception of watching television, which remained a bigger part of fathers' lives compared to mothers'. The gender differences in other activities followed traditional patterns and were even more amplified than among parents with non-standard work schedules, as indicated by the results of *t*-tests. This was more the result of women's heightened participation in traditionally feminine activities rather than men's greater involvement in more stereotypical male pursuits.

In many ways, time use patterns of fathers with irregular schedules most closely resembled fathers with traditional schedules. They spent similarly long hours working for pay, although fathers with irregular schedules spent a little more time on domestic activities and devoted less time to caring for children. They were also more involved in shopping activities, likely because of easier access to stores during daytime hours. Fathers with irregular schedules slept for slightly longer and spent similar amounts of time on other activities, including leisure, compared to fathers with traditional schedules. The distribution of leisure activities was different though; fathers with irregular schedules spent more time in social leisure and rest and relaxation, but less time watching television or participating in physical activities than those with traditional schedules. In short, there was not much in their allocation of time to suggest why quality of life was so much lower for fathers with irregular schedules, so it is likely attributable to other factors.

The uncertainty, unpredictability and lack of control over their schedule are probably sources of concern and causes of dissatisfaction. Not only does unpredictability make it difficult to plan activities, it also presents challenges in meeting financial responsibilities especially for those with a lower household income. For men, most of whom embrace the provider role as part of being a good father (Bianchi et al, 2006; Townsend, 2002), this unpredictability adds a dimension of stress not

experienced by fathers with other schedules and may add to their greater dissatisfaction with work-life balance. The lack of temporal autonomy also likely contributed to feelings of time pressure, since schedules may be fragmented when activities have to be changed at short notice to accommodate employers' or customers' demands. In a way, this situation echoes mothers' experiences of time pressure except that mothers' activities are more often subject to children's rather than employers' demands.

Women with irregular schedules spent less time working for pay, but were able to do more housekeeping and child care than mothers with traditional schedules. Much of the increase in domestic activity time was devoted to indoor housework, but it was the time spent on child care that really set these women apart from the others and from men with the same schedule. Compared to their male counterparts, they spent at least double the amount of time in each of the different types of child care. All mothers spent relatively equal amounts of time on physical child care, but mothers with irregular schedules greatly extended the amount of time spent on interactive care and also increased their travel and advocacy time. As a result, time allocated to primary child care as a percentage of overall social contact with children was the highest of all groups. This suggests that irregular schedules were highly compatible with an intensive mothering approach to raising children. If mothers were not the primary providers for the family, they may have had more "choice" in whether to accept or refuse a shift and may have based their decisions more on children's needs rather than financial considerations or opportunities for career advancement. In this way, an irregular work schedule may have been more compatible with traditional gender role expectations for women.

Women with irregular schedules did not have significantly less time for leisure than their male counterparts which, in itself, was unusual. This was partially due to a slight increase in their leisure time and a decrease in leisure for men with irregular schedules. Although they had only five minutes more leisure than women with other work schedules, the timing of their employment activities seemed to create different opportunities. They watched the least television of all groups and were the most physically active. These mothers had more time for reading, which was listed among the most enjoyable activities on the diary day for women. They also spent more time than other mothers socializing outside the home and on general computer and Internet use. There seemed to be a greater variety of leisure activities compared to other mothers which likely contributed to a richer leisure experience.

Still, there were some problems associated with irregular work routines for mothers. More than one in four women with an irregular schedule reported difficulties either getting to sleep or

staying asleep. Compared to parents with other schedules, they were more likely to have physical or mental health issues that limited the activities in which they could engage, and their levels of well-being were almost as low as for women with non-standard schedules. Without knowing why mothers "chose" this type of schedule, it is difficult to conclusively link employment conditions to quality of life. Lack of predictability or control over shifts, greater responsibilities for home and family, or potential health limitations may all have contributed to their dissatisfaction even though reported levels of stress and time pressure were the lowest of all women. What is clear is that irregular schedules had different effects on mothers' and fathers' time use and quality of life, and that more research is needed in this area to explore the mechanisms and dynamics at work since, according to a recent Statistics Canada report (Williams, 2008), irregular shifts affect a substantial segment of the Canadian labour force.

8.3.4 Leisure and work schedules

Work schedules had little effect on gender differences in the types of social contact during leisure. For men, patterns of social contact were almost identical for traditional and irregular schedules. For both groups, roughly 40% of men's leisure time was spent alone, 48% with family members, and 12% with people outside the household. Considering differences in quality of life indicators between men with traditional and irregular schedules, it is not likely that social contacts during leisure made much of a difference. Men with non-standard schedules had a slightly different allocation of leisure time to various social contacts. Less time was spent alone (34%), more time was spent with family members (57%), and only 9% of the time was spent with non-household members. This is probably more attributable to both the greater amount of time available for leisure, and limited opportunities to engage in activities with non-household members who did not share a similar schedule.

For women, non-standard schedules also decreased the amount of leisure time that could be spent with friends and others outside the home to about 9% of social contacts compared to about 12% with other schedules. Given the significant relationship between social leisure and women's feelings of well-being, this may have played a role in the lower levels of well-being experienced by women with non-standard schedules. Like their male counterparts, more time was spent with household members (56%) compared to women with traditional (52%) or irregular schedules (48%). For women, though, who already spent greater amounts of time with children, leisure time with a non-standard schedule was more restricted and the timing of shifts seemed to further constrain opportunities to pursue leisure with others outside the household.

The most striking similarity between the three schedule types for women was the proportion of leisure time allocated to leisure with children. Around 21% of mothers' leisure took place with children only, whereas for men it was about half that amount. Gender remained a stronger force than the timing of the work day in determining which parent spent more leisure time with children. Although leisure may present an ideal opportunity for involved fatherhood, men did not appear to be taking advantage of this time to connect with their children, at least on workdays. Or, it could be that this experience was not coded appropriately. Time spent playing with children was included in interactive child care rather than leisure. If, as indicated by Such (2006) and Kay (2006), playing with their children is experienced as leisure by fathers, perhaps the variable should have been coded as such rather than as interactive care. That this activity is included among the top five activities enjoyed most by both mothers and fathers suggests that it could be leisure for some. Still, this does not entirely capture women's experiences where, according to the same authors (Kay, 2006; Such, 2006), mothers are more likely to experience playing with children as child care. This dilemma points to one of the difficulties encountered when trying to accurately assess experiences based on allocation of time and social contacts without accompanying affective information.

The other similarity among schedules was that fathers spent a greater proportion of their leisure time with their partners than mothers did. It may be that individual and interactional levels of influence are more important here, even though institutional constraints of specific work schedules may restrict opportunities to spend time with others. Another explanation could be that the couple was in the same room, but each reported a different primary activity. Using the television example presented earlier, if women were doing a domestic activity while watching television, they may have chosen to report doing the ironing (domestic activity) rather than watching television, whereas their partner would have reported watching television (leisure) instead. Since their partner was present, it would have been coded as "couple leisure" for the father, but as a "domestic activity" for the mother. Without secondary activity data or information about the spouse's activities, it cannot be assumed that both individuals reported the time as leisure. Another factor to remember when considering fathers' significantly greater proportion of couple leisure is that there were substantially higher numbers of single mothers in the sample compared to single fathers.

Women's greater responsibilities for children extended to mothers including them more often in their leisure. This was either on their own as the only parent present, or in a family leisure situation at the expense of time that could have been spent with their partner in couple leisure. For women, couple leisure was associated with lower levels of stress, enhanced well-being and greater satisfaction

with work-life balance. Having limited time for couple leisure may have led women to value it more highly. For men, there were no significant relationships between time spent in couple leisure and quality of life indicators. Further research is warranted in this area though since results of previous research by Harrington (2001) indicated that both mothers and fathers viewed couple leisure as an important factor in maintaining the quality of marital relationships.

8.3.5 What difference does a flexible schedule make?

Since flexible scheduling has been shown to be beneficial in other studies of work-family balance (e.g., Duxbury & Higgins, 2001), assessing the time use of Canadian parents with flexible schedules was helpful in determining whether flexibility was an important factor in lightening parents' workloads, facilitating a more equitable redistribution of unpaid labour and child care, and the extent to which flexible work hours were related to quality of life. Having a flexible schedule may be part of individual choice or interpersonal negotiation, but it is ultimately linked to institutional workplace practices.

Fewer than half of the parents in this study reported having a flexible schedule. These parents followed a pattern identified in previous research (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001) of being mainly management or professional workers, male, in an older age group, and having a higher income level. This is in opposition to the dominant discourse for flexible scheduling, which positions it as a family-friendly arrangement, especially beneficial to mothers who are trying to juggle the demands of employment and care of younger children (see Kornbluh, Isaacs & Waters Boots, 2004). Flexible schedules could be found among all three types of work arrangements, but they were most prevalent with irregular or traditional schedules and least common among non-standard schedules. This is consistent with the literature about non-standard shift work where work hours are often fixed and employees have little autonomy over the timing of the work day (see Presser, 2003).

Parents' time use was assessed according to whether or not they had a flexible schedule in order to determine whether having more control over time translated into different patterns of time allocation. By comparing mothers and fathers use of time it was apparent that flexible schedules had very little impact on gendered behaviour, consistent with Brannen's (2002) study of women with flexible schedules, although there were other effects beneficial to health and well-being. Time spent on employment-related activities was significantly lower with flexible schedules, resulting in lower combined total workloads for both men and women. With less time spent on committed and contracted activities, parents slept for longer (especially mothers) and participation in physically

active leisure increased. This suggests that the potential health benefits would support both the business and family case for flexible scheduling and make broader access to this arrangement worthwhile.

Physically active leisure and more time spent sleeping were related to higher levels of well-being and decreased time pressure, while longer hours of work had the opposite effect. This may have been part of the equation that contributed to the better quality of life associated with flexible schedules. Controlling for other factors, not having a flexible schedule was a significant predictor of greater time pressure and decreased perceptions of well-being. Mothers' well-being benefitted from flexible schedules to a much greater extent than fathers', as did their level of satisfaction with work-life balance. Even though the gendered division of unpaid labour was not altered, it was likely that having a flexible schedule allowed them to do all the things they needed to do during the course of their day but with more control over the timing of activities. This has been supported in previous research on mothers with flexible schedules working from home. Although control over time can be somewhat illusionary when trying to integrate demands of employers, family, domestic tasks and to adhere to cultural norms of intensive mothering, flexible scheduling has been shown to allow mothers to optimally plan their days which they viewed as a positive contribution to work-life balance (Hilbrecht et al., 2008; Shaw et al., 2003). This does lead to other questions though about how much control mothers actually have over their time and whether they recognize or care to challenge persistent inequalities in the distribution of labour and leisure. For fathers, flexible scheduling was not associated with satisfaction with work-life balance. Being able to schedule work time to fit in with other responsibilities and activities was perhaps not as critical as it was for mothers who likely had to organize their time more precisely to align with children's schedules and care requirements. While time spent on primary care activities did not change in any substantial way, social contact time with children increased by almost half an hour for women with flexible work schedules. For men, there was virtually no difference.

Without a flexible schedule there were more significant gender differences in leisure time social contacts. Men spent more time in family and couple leisure and women spent more time with children. For men, having a flexible schedule allowed them to decrease time spent with family members and increase time spent with others. It may be that they had more opportunities to participate in leisure activities outside the home and could more easily fit in with the schedules of non-household members. This was not necessarily a benefit to men though, since higher amounts of leisure with others were negatively correlated with work-life balance; however, it did not affect

perceptions of time pressure, stress or well-being. It may be men spent more time in work-related socializing which might have influenced their feelings about work-life balance.

8.4 Gender relations and the persistence of traditional gender roles

The GSS provides a detailed account of Canadians' time use for primary activities. This allows considerable insight as to how institutional arrangements of employment and school schedules intersect with individual needs, interpersonal expectations, and broader socio-historical trends to create different temporal experiences for mothers and fathers. The gender relations perspective has elements of both a structural and ecological framework that allows the consideration of multiple levels of influence that result in a particular expression of gender through behaviour. It is a structural theory, in that it is concerned with social structures that might constrain behavioural choice, but it also allows for human agency so that change can occur in response to situational factors. It is partly an ecological approach too because within this framework, levels of influence are recognized that radiate from the individual and interactional levels outward to the institutional and socio-historical context (Thompson, 1993). To understand how gendered behaviour is enacted, reproduced and/or resisted it is essential to reflect upon the interaction between these levels of influence. In addition, the notion of change is implicit in the framework where shifts in ideologies or institutional practices can influence or be influenced by human agency (Sullivan, 2004). As such, the gender relations perspective contends that notions of gender are socially constructed, dynamic rather than static, and responsive to cultural images and individual realities. By examining some of the factors associated with different levels of influence in relation to parents' time use, the persistence of traditional gender roles provides a central theme around which variations occur.

8.4.1 Individual level

At the individual level, there are many theories about how gender becomes internalized and then reflected in actions and activities (see Nelson, 2006, p.37-69 for an outline of main perspectives on gender behaviour). A social constructionist approach would say that individual notions of gender are developed, reinforced, resisted and reconstituted through interaction with others and through social institutions. Media images, for example, of what it means to be a good mother or father, or a social consensus that certain activities are either "feminine" (e.g., doing the laundry) or "masculine" (e.g., taking out the garbage), help to preserve a culturally situated gender schema (see Bem, 1981). The GSS does not delve into gender attitudes, so it was not possible to determine individual perceptions of

gender roles from this survey. Because of the consistency with which women and men engaged in traditional gendered behaviour though, it is likely that an individual's notions of appropriate gender roles are often expressed through their actions. The ethic of care (Gilligan, 1982) may shape women's feelings of responsibilities to others, and motivate many of the behaviours that women adopt in caring for children and creating their own standards of good motherhood. In addition, many women do take great pleasure in being mothers and may find that activities and responsibilities associated with motherhood are often quite enjoyable (DeVault, 1991; Oakley, 2005; Risman, 2004). Similarly, fathers who chose to spend more or less time in activities with 'masculine' associations, such as doing sport activities with children, may take great personal satisfaction in pursuing these activities without seeing them necessarily as an overt display of masculinity. In other words, it may be the activity itself – not necessarily the gender connotations – that motivate an individual, although it may be possible that for some activities part of the pleasure is the affirmation of masculinity or femininity of their role as a father or mother.

At the individual level, personal circumstances were shown to alter gendered behaviour. The absence of a partner, for instance, almost certainly guarantees that activities more commonly associated with a mother's or father's role will all be carried out by lone parents. There were significant relationships between single parents' time use and lower quality of life, but they were not necessary causal and may be bound up with other emotional, psychological and financial factors. For instance, longer hours spent working for pay seemed particularly detrimental for women, whereas more time spent caring for children was related greater time pressure and more stress for men. But it is also probable that personal circumstances which contributed to the allocation of greater amounts of time to these activities were equally or perhaps even more detrimental to quality of life and, as suggested by the results, may disadvantage women to a greater extent than men.

8.4.2 Interactive level

At the interactive level, gendered behaviour is shaped through an individual's engagement with others. As the results of this study show, the presence or absence of a partner in the household makes a tremendous contribution to shaping mothers' and fathers' time use in relation to traditional roles reflecting different interactional environments. Children's age group is also an important factor. Caregiving responsibilities for younger children are substantial and these responsibilities diminish for parents of teens. The data support previous findings that mothers still do the majority of primary care giving for all age groups of children and a greater proportion of domestic activities (Bianchi et al.,

2006; Craig, 2007; Jacobs & Gerson, 2004), but whether this is by choice, necessity, or even negotiated in dual parent households remains unanswered. In addition, children may have expectations of different behaviours for mothers and fathers and, as Thorpe and Daly (1999) have reported, children are active agents in family processes and can exert an influence on the way in which time is spent. As mentioned previously, it may be possible that single fathers' preferences for leisure activities were partially in response to children's interests and ideas of what were appropriate father-child leisure activities. Unfortunately, the GSS does not explore reasons for activity choice but further directed research on process and control in families' use of time and the relationship to gender expectations would be helpful.

Interaction with friends and extended family can also be influential in shaping behaviour. On a day-to-day basis, there were fewer opportunities for interaction with non-household members – as indicated through the limited social contact in leisure activities – but, as other research has indicated, the amount of time spent does not necessarily equate to the importance of the encounter (Dermott, 2005). Socializing with friends and extended family may be very meaningful in influencing perceptions of appropriate gendered behaviour or in helping to challenge the dominant discourse on motherhood and fatherhood. Similarly, co-workers and employers may exert a considerable influence on individuals to conform to workplace cultures that required greater amounts of time at work as a way of proving one's worth as an employee. It may be that men feel this pressure more strongly than women because of fathers' identification with the provider role (Townsend, 2002) and the accompanying assumption that there is a mother at home who can arrange her days to assume a disproportionate amount of the child care.

There are a couple of other factors that may be influential at the individual and interactional levels of influence. The first, identified by Risman (2004), is simply the idea of a "nonreflexive habituated response" (p.433). In other words, people continue to behave in certain ways out of the force of habit which leads to an unconscious reproduction of gender behaviour. The second factor is that even when inequalities are recognized and an individual may desire to challenge or change existing norms, it may require considerable personal effort and energy to do so. Without the cooperation or support of other important people in their lives, mothers and fathers may feel that they have little choice but to accept the status quo and, rather than face what may be concerted resistance from those around them, decide to abandon the effort to enact change.

8.4.3 Institutional level

The workplace and education system were the two social institutions with which this study was primarily concerned. Changes in the timing of the work day usually occur in response to customers' and employers' demands, and not normally to an employee's personal needs or family commitments. The one exception identified in this study was flexible scheduling. For the three main types of schedules – traditional, non-standard, and irregular – it was expected that the latter two schedules might create opportunities for mothers and fathers to engage in different types of activities at different times of the day that could instigate some changes in gendered behaviour. This did not appear to happen. Women continued to maintain high levels of domestic work and child care despite having schedules that must have been at odds with the rest of the family and they still spent almost equal amounts of time on personal care. There was almost no change in the amount of mothers' leisure time, although the percentage of time they were able to spend with friends and others outside the home decreased with a non-standard work schedule.

For men, changes in the timing of the work day had the effect of enhancing traditional male behaviour – particularly for fathers with non-standard schedules. Very little time was spent caring for children, especially in comparison to men with traditional schedules, and there was an increase in outdoor housework, home improvement activities and in the amount of leisure time. Men with irregular schedules spent less time caring for children too. The only area of traditionally gendered domestic activity responsive to different timing of the workday was shopping. Unlike men with traditional schedules who did significantly less shopping than women, fathers with other types of schedules not only increased the amount of time spent shopping, but significant differences between mothers and fathers disappeared. This was the one area where timing of the work day seemed to affect gender roles.

The way in which men and women with flexible schedules allocated their time suggested that flexible schedules reproduced rather than challeneged traditional gender norms, but it did not change time use in the same way that non-standard and irregular schedules did. With greater control over the timing of the work day, results indicated that men and women were able to reallocate time to more health-enhancing activities such as sleep and physical activity but in terms of gendered behaviour, flexible schedules made very little difference. Therefore, having a flexible schedule did not appear to influence gender relations although it may have influenced expectations for mothers in terms of being able to more easily schedule child care and domestic activities.

There were certainly seasonal influences on gendered behaviour that can be linked to the educational system. In terms of the structure of the school year and week, parents have little choice but to follow the school schedules. It seems that parents' involvement in school-related activities may be greater than in previous generations, particularly when children are in elementary school, due in part to a large body of educational research pointing to the relationship between parental involvement and children's scholastic achievement (e.g., see Hill & Taylor, 2004). Mothers with younger children seem to be most affected by these expectations, likely because of the dominant discourse of involved motherhood and the moral accountability still assigned to mothers in caring for children (Risman, 2004). As indicated in the results, mothers disproportionately assumed these responsibilities and, in keeping with the tenets of involved mothering, may have felt more responsible for their children's achievements compared to fathers. In addition, interactions with teachers and other parents who collude in these assumptions likely did more to reproduce than to resist or challenge gender role expectations. In this way, the performance of gendered behaviour is reinforced by expectations of the education system.

8.4.4 Socio-historical level

At this level of influence, considerations of culture, ethnicity, and social location intersect with historical time period to create perceptions of appropriate gender behaviour, which are then enacted throughout the other levels of influence. As employees and as parents with children living at home, mothers and fathers in this study were in similar structural situations. Yet despite these similarities, men's time use and quality of life appeared more centred on their employment situation whereas for women, this was not as clear. Mothers were more likely to allocate time so that children's needs were met, even when faced with very complex challenges in coordinating employment arrangements, family routines, and the school year schedule. Without government policy to support universal access to child care, there is little to suggest that the unequal division of unpaid labour between mothers and fathers will change, especially with the cultural pressures of intensive mothering (Hays, 1996) and concerted cultivation approaches to child-rearing (Lareau, 2003) that build on the maternal burden of responsibility (Arendell, 2001). Children still need to be cared for and, as noted previously, mothers continue to be held morally accountable whereas men are not as accountable for the quality of family life (Risman, 2004). Whether fathers will respond by participating more fully in other aspects of child care remains to be seen. At this point in time, dominant parenting practices appear to be so deeply embedded that stereotypical patterns remained an important factor guiding men's and women's

different allocation of time to daily activities. In addition, the ability to fulfill gender and parental role expectations appeared to be linked to quality of life. Subjective well-being seemed to be diminished by conditions that contributed to a deviation from role expectations and yet these same conditions also offered an opportunity to challenge traditional gendered behaviour. Some of these circumstances included not having a partner, women's work schedules that conflicted with other family members', and for men, having an irregular and unpredictable work schedule. These conditions are characteristic of a sizable minority of Canadians and have been increasing in prevalence. As such, their experiences should not be dismissed, but rather given greater attention.

8.4.5 Gender relations and the dynamics of change

The gender relations perspective rests on a multi-level framework where all levels of influence are inter-connected. This assists in the interpretation of behaviour patterns, but the process by which change is enacted remains somewhat elusive. A central tenet in the perspective is that gender is dynamic and evolving. Change in any of the four levels can lead to new ways of thinking about gender and provide an impetus for behavioural change which, in turn, would allow greater equality between men and women. Dominant gender ideologies can either be supported or destabilized by events that occur on a personal level or through social, economic and cultural forces acting on any other level of the theoretical framework. In the absence of longitudinal data, it is difficult to make an accurate assessment of extent, nature, and effects of change. Instead, for a cross-sectional study, only similarities and differences can be assessed. As mentioned previously, the results showed that gender roles remain specialized and enduring for parents of school age children. Differences in household composition, whether by marital status or age of children, do create situations where gender roles may become less important, as in the case of single parents, or they may be exaggerated, as in dual-parent families with younger children. Yet the dominant theme remains one of difference and inequality between mothers and fathers both in allocation of time and subjective well-being.

New forms of scheduling that have arisen in response to socio-economic change create a different set of structural limitations and opportunities; but, as yet, it appears that it is only fathers with traditional work schedules who have become more involved in interactive child care – at least on work days. Days off may reveal a different or perhaps compensatory model of paternal care-giving, or it may be that child care remains gender specialized. Meaningful change may be occurring, but it could be uneven in terms of types of activities performed and the length of time it takes for a significant shift to have occurred. Sullivan (2004) believes that change is not cataclysmic, as

predicted by many of the theorists of late modernity; rather, it takes years, even generations to occur. The dynamics of change are also addressed by Risman (2004). In her structural theory of gender, she proposes that for change to occur, it must be supported at all levels. At the moment, there is widespread recognition of inequality at the individual level by mothers and fathers, but it has yet to be challenged effectively at the institutional or cultural level. Without new institutional policies in place, it is likely that transformations in gendered behaviour will remain slow and uneven when they do occur.

8.5 Strengths and limitations

Strengths and limitations can be related to methodology, theoretical understanding, data analysis and interpretation of results. In addition to drawbacks associated with the survey mentioned in other parts of the study, in this section some strengths and limitations will be outlined along with recommendations for future research. First, however, the significance of the study will be summarized.

The significance of the research is that it highlights the ways in which parents with school-age children allocate their time, and links time use to quality of life and subjective well-being. More specifically, this study explored how work schedules influence parents' time allocation, how this differs by gender, and how this is related to perceptions of time pressure, stress, well-being and satisfaction with work-life balance. It is important to understand how the timing of the work day affects the amount of time allocated to important life spheres including employment, child care, household labour and opportunities for leisure since many Canadians now have a non-traditional schedule but many of our government, employment and educational policies continue to be linked to traditional work schedules. This research also provided a more in-depth look at child care. By dividing child care into three different types, greater insight was derived about mothers' and fathers' participation in caregiving and the ways in which this reflects or challenges dominant ideologies of motherhood, fatherhood and child-rearing practices. In addition, this study contributes to the literature about single parents in Canada. There are very few studies that examine time use of single fathers and this research sheds new light on how they use their time in comparison to single mothers and married fathers. It also reveals the extent to which not having a resident partner contributes to changes in gender behaviour or creates new patterns for single men and women living with their children. By studying parents with school-age children, the influence of seasonal school-year rhythms becomes especially apparent. There has been little research to date addressing the differences in mothers' and

fathers' time use in relation to the education system and its seasonal variations. Finally, the special focus on leisure reveals the extent to which time for leisure and with whom it is spent is related to quality of life, indicating that leisure should not be overlooked in future discussions of work-life balance.

The strengths and limitations of this study arise from both the design of the GSS as well as those that might occur with any secondary analysis of data. As noted by others, among the main advantages of secondary data analysis are quantity of data, data quality, accessibility and timeliness (Greenstein, 2001; McCall & Appelbaum, 1991; Neuman, 2003; Stewart, 1984). This was certainly the case with the GSS. With the size of the sample it was possible to have a diverse and representative sub-sample, leading to generalizable results. On the other hand, one of the greatest limitations of any secondary data analysis is that the survey does not contain questions needed to provide the best possible explanations for the topic of investigation, or in the case of public access micro-data files, important variables may be suppressed. Moreover, procedures in place for working with confidential data sets can limit timely access to tests results as well as the number of tables that can be released because of concerns about respondents' anonymity and the potential for residual disclosure. In addition, there are also some strengths and limitations specific to the General Social Survey.

An important point to remember is that the purpose of the GSS is to monitor social change, with an additional objective of allowing employers to identify circumstances that allow Canadians to optimally balance their work and family life. The survey does an excellent job of collecting time diary data for primary activities and information related to social trends, but due to the very superficial nature of questions about work-life balance it is less effective in identifying what factors contribute to the integration of work and the rest of life. Currently, respondents are only asked reasons for dissatisfaction with work-life balance, but there is much to be learned from the majority of parents who were satisfied with their level of work-life integration. This is something that could be addressed in future surveys since most parents are employed and they often face tremendous pressures to conform to time-intensive parenting practices, leaving little time for other activities.

Questions pertaining to employment arrangements are similarly brief; nevertheless, the results do provide some indication of relationships between social and employment situations, how parents spend their time, and perceptions of quality of life. Observations of significant relationships are an important first step in determining whether problems and issues are arising among the broader population and how they affect certain demographic groups. Positive or negative associations with interpersonal or institutional factors and subjective well-being can be identified for further analysis.

The results of this study strongly suggest that more research is needed to better understand the different outcomes of non-standard and irregular work schedules for men and women. An in-depth exploration of perceptions of choice, decisions about time allocation, whether expectations of working a particular schedule match the reality, and why these types of schedules affect mothers and fathers differently would be helpful to parents for making more informed choices about how work arrangements influence time use and quality of life. Additionally, such research would facilitate workplace and government policies so that there are fewer obstacles to work-life integration for time-pressured parents.

Another limitation of the GSS that has already been touched upon is that it records only the main activity of the participant and ignores secondary activities. This is an important limitation to understanding time spent in household labour since parents often carry out other activities while caring for their children (Budig & Folbre, 2004; Lee, 2005). National time use studies in some other countries such as the UK and Australia are already collecting secondary activity information, which has led to a better understanding of parents' roles and responsibilities in those countries (e.g., see Craig, 2007 and Sullivan, 1997). Another drawback is that the GSS can only measure activity time and not time associated with mental and emotional labour. The "emotion work" involved with creating time for family (Hochschild, 1996) and maintaining relationships can be time consuming and contribute to both time pressure and stress (Erickson, 2005) but it is not recorded in time diaries. Without this information, we are left with only a limited appreciation of how mothers and fathers differ in response to their role and relationship expectations and how this relates to time pressure, stress and overall quality of life.

As outlined previously, relying on time diary information to understand temporal experiences has other limitations. Time budget studies have been criticized for not addressing subjective experiences of time in an in-depth way and, therefore, cannot be translated to complete explanations of human behaviour. The results presented in the previous chapter for relationships between quality of life and leisure time social contacts do not reflect the quality of the leisure experience itself nor the quality of other daily activities. Similarly, measuring caregiving only in the amount of time devoted to primary care activities does not address the quality of interaction or feelings about these activities. Instead, time use studies can only indicate a relationship with time allocation shaped by different levels of influence and more global quality of life measurements. Further research using the Experience Sampling Method may prove a valuable tool, especially as it applies to leisure and time spent with different social contacts. While ESM is impractical for national surveys because of

expense and greater participant burden, this research method could be used for smaller subsamples with a more specific research focus. Another possibility would be to combine time diaries with qualitative studies – an approach that has yielded some intriguing and important results in previous research (e.g., Shaw, 1985). Yet another possibility is to use the GSS data to discover trends in time use, and follow up with qualitative research to provide in-depth information and explanations.

This study was a cross-sectional analysis, limiting results to a particular population group at a certain point in time. Longitudinal data are better for measuring social trends. A goal of future research would be to compare results from previous and future cycles of the GSS that include the time use module with the same sub-sample to monitor behavioural change. In addition, it would be of interest to look at other population sub-groups. For example, how do gender differences in time use change when single parents marry or begin cohabitating with a new partner? One might also ask if step-parents' time use differs significantly from biological parents. This introduces a different dynamic which could have further implications for integrating schedules of step-children who may be either resident in the home or have regular (or irregular) visitation arrangements. Recent immigrants are another group whose time use is of interest since they may more readily take jobs with unusual hours in order to gain work experience in Canada. In addition to non-traditional schedules, immigrant parents still have to contend with school schedules, and may have different cultural or religious traditions that differ from parents born and raised in Canada which affect their use of time and different views or traditions of parenting.

Cross-national research could also be conducted to situate Canada's employment trends and gender differences in a more global context. The Multi-National Time Use Study, for example, provides time use data harmonized from 24 participant countries including time use data from Canada's General Social Survey. A cross-cultural analysis could reveal how dominant ideologies of child-rearing, workplace practices and government policy combine to create culturally and geographically distinct patterns of behaviour.

The theoretical framework chosen to guide the analyses helped to broaden understanding by considering multiple levels of influence on patterns of behaviour and, which then provided a basis for interpreting the results. Because of the complex interplay of factors affecting how parents use their time, the gender relations perspective was useful in disentangling or isolating at least some of the influences. Other theories could be applied too that have a more specific focus on scheduling such as scheduling congruity theory (Avery & Stafford, 1991) or "family time economies" as proposed by Maher, Lindsay & Franzway (2008). A stronger focus on life course issues might utilize Marler and

Moen's (2008) notions of "time convoys" and "social convoys" to identify job settings toxic to family relationships and suggest ways in which parents might gain more control over temporal demands in order to reduce role conflict at various points in their lives. The different emphases in these theories may yield more diverse results and additional insights. The intersection of these theories and the gender relations perspective could also be explored.

8.6 Implications for policy development

Based on the results of the research, some implications for policy development are provided in this final section that may enhance parents' quality of life as they respond to the challenges of integrating work, family and time for self. First, recommendations are presented for institutional consideration. This is followed by a few suggestions for enhancing the General Social Survey so that researchers can develop a more comprehensive understanding the effect of employment, season, and childcare responsibilities on parents' time use.

8.6.1 Suggestions for government, workplace and education policy

Although the data represent a diversity of family and workplace situations, there are some measures that would appear to be helpful to many parents if they were given serious consideration. Government, workplace and educational practices can affect parents' time use and perceptions of quality of life. Therefore, these suggestions are offered in the hope that they may help parents to improve their ability to cope with their day-to-day lives. It must be stressed, however, that each family is different. What works for some parents may compound difficulties for others. As such, there should be some room for personal choice in whether or not parents take advantage of suggested policy changes. With that in mind, the following recommendations are provided:

1. *Flexible work options.* Flexible work hours were associated with enhanced well-being, more time for physically active leisure and greater amounts of sleep. This is conducive to better health, productivity and quality of life. As such, this work option should be made more widely available, especially to women since mothers appeared to benefit most from greater flexibility in scheduling, even though the distribution of domestic labour and child care changed little.
2. *For irregular work schedules* – At least one month's notice of work shifts should be provided to employees wherever possible. By reducing the unpredictability of parents' weekly routines and paying greater attention to potential health consequences of irregular rhythms such as

poor sleep patterns, feelings of time pressure may be reduced and quality of life may improve. In addition, being able to plan family events, leisure activities and schedule medical or other appointments would likely decrease stress and contribute to enhanced well-being.

3. *For non-standard work schedules* – Employees should have the right to request a limit to the number of evening and weekend shifts they are required to work. In some sectors, such as manufacturing, this may not be practical, but for other sectors like sales and services, it should be possible to accommodate parents' requests particularly in light of results that showed a negative association of non-standard work schedules with quality of life, especially where mothers were concerned.
4. *Information provision to parents about work schedules.* Little is known about why parents "choose" a particular work schedule, but given the lack of literature about non-standard work schedules and irregular work schedules in Canada, it is likely that decisions about employment could be better informed. Information about the association of various work schedules to stress, time pressure, well-being and work-life balance for parents should be available from Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, workplace Human Resources departments, and job-search websites such as Workopolis.com or Monster.ca.
5. *Reduce employment-related time* – Time spent in employment and education-related activities was strongly correlated with less time for leisure which, in turn, was associated with parents' higher levels of time pressure and stress. Government and workplace policies should aim to reduce parents' employment-related time. For example, the government should endeavour to set limits on work hours that apply not only to workers, but also to managers, professionals, and employment sectors such as tourism that are currently exempt from such legislation. In addition, employers should direct more attention toward evaluating worker productivity not by "face time" at the workplace, but successful accomplishment of work tasks.
6. *More options for accessible and affordable child care.* It is quite possible that parents' "chose" certain work schedules to accommodate care giving needs. Schools and workplaces should work toward providing accessible daycare on-site, so that families with preschoolers or elementary school children requiring before and after-school care would spend less time travelling to and from caregivers. This may translate to more leisure and would likely reduce feelings of time pressure and stress.

7. *Information provision to educators about parents' work schedules.* With the trend in educational and child-rearing practices toward greater parental participation in children's school activities and projects, educators should be provided with accessible information about the effect of non-traditional work schedules on parents' time. Educators should carefully consider homework expectations and potential ramifications for the quality of family life. This is of particular importance when children are in elementary school and demands on parents' time are heavier, and in situations where parents' schedules do not match that of the education system.
8. *Greater attention to the role of leisure in quality of life*. In future studies of work-life balance conducted by government or employers, leisure should be included as an important contributor to parents' quality of life. In past, leisure has been generally overlooked in research on work-life balance. This study establishes that leisure is positively associated with employed parents' subjective assessments of quality of life.

8.6.2 Suggestions for changes to the GSS

In addition, there are a few recommendations for future time use cycles of the GSS that would enhance our understanding of social trends and allow a more complete picture of factors contributing to work-life integration to emerge. The following changes are suggested:

1. Because of the strong seasonal influences, particularly in the area of childcare, month of data collection should not be suppressed in public access micro-data files.
2. Secondary activity data should be provided to develop a better understanding of responsibility time (Budig & Folbre, 2004) when parents are available to children, aware of what they are doing, and can provide assistance when necessary. This will assist in a more comprehensive view of activity choices and constraints.
3. A better measure of work-life balance should be included. The Job-Family Role Strain Scale (Bohen &Viveros-Long, 1981), for example, has been used extensively in other research and would add considerably to understanding this important issue.
4. Respondents should be asked whether their usual work schedule was a personal choice or condition of employment. If a personal choice, further questions could investigate whether the main reason was to accommodate child care, mental or physical health limitations, education, care of other adults, or whether it was the only type of work available.

5. Finally, the Bootvar macros released for use with SPSS software should be updated to ensure that bootstrap weights provided with the survey data are usable in Statistics Canada Research Data Centres. There was a substantial gap between the current version of SPSS used the SWORDC and the earlier version of SPSS for which the Bootvar program had been tested. If the data continue to be provided in the SPSS format, Statistics Canada should ensure that researchers are able to take advantage of the Bootstrap weights included in the survey.

It is hoped that these suggestions for policy development will be helpful in responding positively to challenges faced by parents in their daily lives. In conclusion, this study establishes that there are differences in both time use and subjective well-being associated with different types of work schedules for parents of school-age children. It confirms gender differences in the effect of work arrangements and household composition, as well as the persistence of behaviours based on traditional notions of motherhood and fatherhood. It recognizes the contribution of the education system in the organization of family responsibilities and highlights the effect of seasonal variation on women's lives, in particular. It also indicates that culturally situated parenting practices such as intensive mothering are evident in women's use of time, but questions the extent to which men are involved fathers because of the way in which child care responsibilities remain gender specialized. Finally, it suggests a broader range of research to offer further insight into the social consequences of changing work practices and presents recommendations for policy development in order to create more optimal conditions for the work-life integration of Canadian parents.

Appendix A
List of GSS variables and descriptions

From Appendix C: C19ANALM – GSS19 Summary File

RECID	Record identification.
SURVMNTH	Survey month of data collection.
AGE	Age of respondent at time of the survey interview.
SEX	Sex of respondent.
MARSTAT	Marital status of the respondent.
CHR0004	Number of respondent's child(ren) 0 to 4 years of age living in the household.
CHR0512	Number of respondent's child(ren) 5 to 12 years of age living in the household.
CHR1314	Number of respondent's child(ren) 13 to 14 years of age living in the household.
CHR1517	Number of respondent's child(ren) 15 to 17 years of age living in the household.
CHRTIME6	Number of respondent's child(ren) living at home.
GTU_Q110	How often do you feel rushed? Would you say it is:
GTU_Q120	Compared to five years ago, do you feel more rushed, about the same or less rushed?
GTU_Q130	How often do you feel you have time on your hands that you Don't know what to do with? Would you say it is:
GTU_Q140	Do you feel that the days are just too short to do all the things you want?
GTU_Q150	On which main activity would you choose to spend more time if you could?
DDAY	Designated day of interview.
DVTDAY	Type of day of the designated day of interview.
DIARYDAY	Date of interview (mm/dd).

DUR002	Total duration (in minutes) for refused information.
DUR011	Total duration (in minutes) for work for pay at main job.
DUR012	Total duration (in minutes) for work for pay at other job(s).
DUR021	Total duration (in minutes) for overtime work.
DUR022	Total duration (in minutes) for looking for work.
DUR023	Total duration (in minutes) for unpaid work in a family business/farm.
DUR030	Total duration (in minutes) for travel during work.
DUR040	Total duration (in minutes) for waiting/delays at work during work hours.
DUR050	Total duration (in minutes) for meals/snacks at work.
DUR060	Total duration (in minutes) for idle time before/after work hours.
DUR070	Total duration (in minutes) for coffee/other breaks at work.
DUR080	Total duration (in minutes) for other work activities.
DUR090	Total duration (in minutes) for travel: to/from paid work.
DUR101	Total duration (in minutes) for meal preparation.
DUR102	Total duration (in minutes) for baking, preserving food, etc.
DUR110	Total duration (in minutes) for food/meal cleanup.
DUR120	Total duration (in minutes) for indoor cleaning.
DUR130	Total duration (in minutes) for outdoor cleaning.
DUR140	Total duration (in minutes) for laundry, ironing, folding and drying.
DUR151	Total duration (in minutes) for mending clothes/shoe care.
DUR152	Total duration (in minutes) for dressmaking and sewing.
DUR161	Total duration (in minutes) of interior maintenance and repair.
DUR162	Total duration (in minutes) of exterior maintenance and repair.
DUR163	Total duration (in minutes) for vehicle maintenance.
DUR164	Total duration (in minutes) for other home improvements.
DUR171	Total duration (in minutes) for gardening/grounds maintenance.
DUR172	Total duration (in minutes) for pet care.
DUR173	Total duration (in minutes) for care of plants.
DUR181	Total duration (in minutes) for household management (organizing/planning activities, paying bills, etc.).
DUR182	Total duration (in minutes) for stacking and cutting firewood.
DUR183	Total duration (in minutes) for other domestic/household work.

DUR184	Total duration (in minutes) for unpacking groceries.
DUR185	Total duration (in minutes) for packing and unpacking luggage and/or car.
DUR186	Total duration (in minutes) for packing and unpacking for a move of the household.
DUR190	Total duration (in minutes) for travel: domestic work.
DUR200	Total duration (in minutes) for child care (infant to 4 years old).
DUR211	Total duration (in minutes) for child care - Putting children to bed.
DUR212	Total duration (in minutes) for child care - Getting children ready for school.
DUR213	Total duration (in minutes) for child care - Personal care for children of the household.
DUR220	Total duration (in minutes) of helping, teaching, reprimanding.
DUR230	Total duration (in minutes) of reading to/talking/conversation with children.
DUR240	Total duration (in minutes) for playing with children.
DUR250	Total duration (in minutes) for medical care - household children.
DUR260	Total duration (in minutes) for unpaid babysitting - household children.
DUR271	Total duration (in minutes) of personal care - household adults.
DUR272	Total duration (in minutes) of medical care - household adults.
DUR281	Total duration (in minutes) for help and other child care - household children.
DUR282	Total duration (in minutes) for help and other care - household adults.
DUR291	Total duration (in minutes) for travel: household children.
DUR292	Total duration (in minutes) for travel: household adults.
DUR301	Total duration (in minutes) for grocery store, market, convenience store.
DUR302	Total duration (in minutes) for shopping for every day goods and products.
DUR303	Total duration (in minutes) for take-out food.
DUR304	Total duration (in minutes) for rental of videos.
DUR310	Total duration (in minutes) for shopping for durable household goods.
DUR320	Total duration (in minutes) for personal care services.
DUR331	Total duration (in minutes) for financial services.

DUR332	Total duration (in minutes) for government services.
DUR340	Total duration (in minutes) for adult medical and dental care, including having prescriptions filled.
DUR350	Total duration (in minutes) for other professional services.
DUR361	Total duration (in minutes) for car maintenance and repair.
DUR362	Total duration (in minutes) for other repair and cleaning services.
DUR370	Total duration (in minutes) for waiting for purchases or services.
DUR380	Total duration (in minutes) for other shopping and services.
DUR390	Total duration (in minutes) for travel to/from shopping or obtaining services.
DUR400	Total duration (in minutes) for washing, dressing.
DUR410	Total duration (in minutes) for personal medical care at home.
DUR411	Total duration (in minutes) for private prayer, mediation and other informal spiritual activities.
DUR430	Total duration (in minutes) for meals/snacks/coffee at home.
DUR431	Total duration (in minutes) for other meals/snacks/coffee: non-socializing.
DUR440	Total duration (in minutes) for meals at restaurant.
DUR450	Total duration (in minutes) for night sleep/essential sleep.
DUR460	Total duration (in minutes) for naps/lying down.
DUR470	Total duration (in minutes) for relaxing, thinking, resting, smoking.
DUR480	Total duration (in minutes) of other personal care/private activities.
DUR491	Total duration (in minutes) for travel to/from restaurant.
DUR492	Total duration (in minutes) for travel for personal care activities.
DUR500	Total duration (in minutes) for full-time classes.
DUR511	Total duration (in minutes) for other classes (part-time).
DUR512	Total duration (in minutes) for credit courses on television.
DUR520	Total duration (in minutes) for special lectures (occasional outside regular work or school).
DUR530	Total duration (in minutes) for homework: course, career, etc.
DUR540	Total duration (in minutes) for meals/snacks/coffee at school.
DUR550	Total duration (in minutes) for breaks/waiting for class.
DUR560	Total duration (in minutes) of leisure and special interest classes.

DUR580	Total duration (in minutes) for other education related activities.
DUR590	Total duration (in minutes) for travel related to/from school.
DUR600	Total duration (in minutes) for professional/union/general meetings.
DUR610	Total duration (in minutes) for political, civic activities.
DUR620	Total duration (in minutes) for child/youth/family organizations.
DUR630	Total duration (in minutes) of religious meetings/organizations.
DUR640	Total duration (in minutes) for religious services/prayer/Bible reading.
DUR642	Total duration (in minutes) for meals/snacks/coffee at religious services.
DUR651	Total duration (in minutes) for fraternal and social organizations.
DUR652	Total duration (in minutes) for support groups.
DUR660	Total duration (in minutes) for volunteer organizational work.
DUR661	Total duration (in minutes) for meals/snacks/coffee at place of volunteer work.
DUR671	Total duration (in minutes) for housework, cooking assistance.
DUR672	Total duration (in minutes) of house maintenance/repair assistance.
DUR673	Total duration (in minutes) for unpaid babysitting.
DUR674	Total duration (in minutes) for transportation assistance to someone other than a household member.
DUR675	Total duration (in minutes) for care for disabled or ill person.
DUR676	Total duration (in minutes) for correspondence assistance.
DUR677	Total duration (in minutes) for unpaid help for farm/business.
DUR678	Total duration (in minutes) for other unpaid work/help.
DUR680	Total duration (in minutes) for other civic, voluntary or religious activities.
DUR691	Total duration (in minutes) for travel to/from civic or voluntary activities.
DUR692	Total duration (in minutes) for travel: religious services.
DUR701	Total duration (in minutes) for professional sports events.
DUR702	Total duration (in minutes) for amateur sports events.
DUR711	Total duration (in minutes) for pop music concerts.
DUR712	Total duration (in minutes) for fairs, circuses, parades, amusement parks, ice follies.
DUR713	Total duration (in minutes) for zoos, botanical gardens, planetarium,

	observatory.
DUR720	Total duration (in minutes) for movies/films at a theatre/cinema, art films, drive-in movies.
DUR730	Total duration (in minutes) for classical music concerts, opera, ballet, theatre.
DUR741	Total duration (in minutes) for museums (excluding art museums).
DUR742	Total duration (in minutes) for art galleries (art exhibition).
DUR743	Total duration (in minutes) for heritage sites.
DUR751	Total duration (in minutes) for socializing at a private residence (no meals).
DUR752	Total duration (in minutes) for socializing at a private residence (with meals, excluding restaurant meals).
DUR753	Total duration (in minutes) for other socializing with friends/relatives at a non-private and non-institutional residence.
DUR754	Total duration (in minutes) for socializing with friends/relatives at an institutional residence.
DUR760	Total duration (in minutes) for socializing at bars, clubs (no meals).
DUR770	Total duration (in minutes) for attendance at casinos, bingo or arcades.
DUR780	Total duration (in minutes) for other social gatherings.
DUR791	Total duration (in minutes) for travel to/from attending sports, movies or other entertainment events.
DUR792	Total duration (in minutes) for travel to/from socializing at private residences.
DUR793	Total duration (in minutes) for travel to/from other socializing.
DUR800	Total duration (in minutes): participation in coaching sports (unpaid).
DUR801	Total duration (in minutes): participating in football, baseball, etc.
DUR802	Total duration (in minutes): participating in tennis, squash, etc.
DUR803	Total duration (in minutes): participating in golf, miniature golf.
DUR804	Total duration (in minutes): participating in swimming, water-skiing.
DUR805	Total duration (in minutes): participating in skiing, ice skating, etc.
DUR806	Total duration (in minutes): participating in bowling, pool, etc.
DUR807	Total duration (in minutes): participating in exercises, yoga, etc.

DUR808	Total duration (in minutes): participating in judo, boxing, wrestling, etc.
DUR809	Total duration (in minutes): participating in rowing, canoeing, etc.
DUR810	Total duration (in minutes): participation in other sports.
DUR811	Total duration (in minutes): participation in hunting (as a sport).
DUR812	Total duration (in minutes): participation in fishing (as a sport).
DUR813	Total duration (in minutes): participation in boating (motorboats and rowboats).
DUR814	Total duration (in minutes): participation in camping.
DUR815	Total duration (in minutes): participating in horseback riding, rodeo, etc.
DUR816	Total duration (in minutes): participating in other outdoor activities/excursions.
DUR821	Total duration (in minutes): participation in walking, hiking, jogging, running.
DUR822	Total duration (in minutes): participation in bicycling.
DUR831	Total duration (in minutes): hobbies done mainly for pleasure.
DUR832	Total duration (in minutes): hobbies done for sale/exchange.
DUR841	Total duration (in minutes): home crafts done mainly for pleasure.
DUR842	Total duration (in minutes): domestic home crafts done for sale or exchange.
DUR850	Total duration (in minutes): for singing or playing music, drama, dance.
DUR861	Total duration (in minutes): games, cards, puzzles.
DUR862	Total duration (in minutes): for playing video games.
DUR863	Total duration (in minutes): computer - general use (as a leisure activity).
DUR864	Total duration (in minutes): computer - surfing the Net (as a leisure activity).
DUR865	Total duration (in minutes) for computer - E-mail use.
DUR866	Total duration (in minutes) for computer - Chat groups.
DUR867	Total duration (in minutes) for computer - Other Internet communication.
DUR871	Total duration (in minutes): pleasure drives as driver.
DUR872	Total duration (in minutes): pleasure drives as passenger.
DUR873	Total duration (in minutes): other pleasure drives (bus tour).
DUR880	Total duration (in minutes): other sports or active leisure.

DUR891	Total duration (in minutes)in travel to/from participating in active sport/outdoor activities.
DUR892	Total duration (in minutes)in travel to/from coaching activities.
DUR893	Total duration (in minutes)in travel to/from the sale of hobbies and crafts.
DUR894	Total duration (in minutes)in travel to/from leisure activities.
DUR900	Total duration (in minutes) for listening to the radio.
DUR911	Total duration (in minutes) for watching scheduled T.V.programming.
DUR912	Total duration (in minutes) for watching recorded programming/time-shifted viewing.
DUR913	Total duration (in minutes) for watching rented/purchased movies.
DUR914	Total duration (in minutes) for other television watching.
DUR920	Total duration (in minutes) for listening to CD's, tapes, records.
DUR931	Total duration (in minutes) for reading books.
DUR932	Total duration (in minutes) for reading magazines.
DUR940	Total duration (in minutes) for reading newspapers.
DUR950	Total duration (in minutes) for talking, conversation, with household member only(face-to-face).
DUR951	Total duration (in minutes) for talking on the phone.
DUR961	Total duration (in minutes) for reading personal mail.
DUR962	Total duration (in minutes) for writing/typing letters, sending greeting cards.
DUR980	Total duration (in minutes) for other media or communication.
DUR990	Total duration (in minutes) for travel: media, communication.
DURSOC01	Total duration (in minutes) for social contact - Alone.
DURSOC02	Total duration (in minutes) for social contact - with spouse/partner.
DURSOC03	Total duration (in minutes) for social contact - with household child(ren) less than 15 years of age.
DURSOC04	Total duration (in minutes) for social contact - with parent(s) or parent(s)-in-law who is living in the household.
DURSOC05	Total duration (in minutes) for social contact - with other members of the household (include children 15 years of age and older)
DURSOC06	Total duration (in minutes) for social contact - with respondent's non-

	household child(ren) less than 15 years of age.
DURSOC07	Total duration (in minutes) for social contact - with respondent's non-household child(ren) 15 years of age and older.
DURSOC08	Total duration (in minutes) for social contact - with parent(s) or parent(s)-in-law who is not living in the household.
DURSOC09	Total duration (in minutes) for social contact - with other family member(s) who is not living in the household.
DURSOC10	Total duration (in minutes) for social contact - with friend(s) who is not living in the household.
DURSOC11	Total duration (in minutes) for social contact - with another person(s) who is not living in the household.
TOTEPISO	Total number of episodes during the reference day.
ENJOYAC	The most enjoyable activity specified on the designated day.
ENJOYS01	Most enjoyable activity was done alone.
ENJOYS02	Most enjoyable activity was done with spouse/partner.
ENJOYS03	Most enjoyable activity was done with household children under 15 years of age.
ENJOYS04	Most enjoyable activity was done with parent(s) or parent(s)-in-law who are living in the household.
ENJOYS05	Most enjoyable activity was done with other members (including children 15 and older) who are living in the household.
ENJOYS06	Most enjoyable activity was done with children of the respondent under 15 years of age who are living outside the household.
ENJOYS07	Most enjoyable activity was done with children of the respondent 15 years of age and older who are living outside the household.
ENJOYS08	Most enjoyable activity was done with parent(s) or parent(s)-in-law who are living outside the household.
ENJOYS09	Most enjoyable activity was done with other family members living outside the household.
ENJOYS10	Most enjoyable activity was done with friends.
ENJOYS11	Most enjoyable activity was done with other person(s).

CCD_DUR	Total time (in minutes) spent looking after all children less than 15 years of age.
TCS_Q110	Do you plan to slow down in the coming year?
TCS_Q120	Do you consider yourself a workaholic?
TCS_Q130	When you need more time, do you tend to cut back on your sleep?
TCS_Q140	At the end of the day, do you often feel that you have not accomplished what you had set out to do?
TCS_Q150	Do you worry that you don't spend enough time with your family or friends?
TCS_Q160	Do you feel that you're constantly under stress trying to accomplish more than you can handle?
TCS_Q170	Do you feel trapped in a daily routine?
TCS_Q180	Do you feel that you just don't have time for fun any more?
TCS_Q190	Do you often feel under stress when you don't have enough time?
TCS_Q200	Would you like to spend more time alone?
HAL_Q110	In general, would you say your health is:
HAL_Q120	Do you have any difficulty hearing, seeing, communicating, walking, climbing stairs, bending, learning or doing any similar activities?
HAL_Q150	Does a physical condition or mental condition or health problem reduce the amount or the kind of activity you can do: ... at home?
HAL_Q160	Does a physical condition or mental condition or health problem reduce the amount or the kind of activity you can do: ... at work or at school?
HAL_Q170	Does a physical condition or mental condition or health problem reduce the amount or the kind of activity you can do: ... in other activities, for example, transportation or leisure?
ACTLIMIT	Respondent is limited in the amount or kind of activity he/she can do at home, at work, at school or in other activities because of a physical condition or mental condition or health problem.
HAL_Q210	Do you regularly have trouble going to sleep or staying asleep?
MSS_Q110	Thinking about the amount of stress in your life, would you say that most days are:
MSS_Q115	Are they stressful because you feel you do not have enough time?

MSS_Q130	What is your main source of stress?
MSS_Q140	Do you think this is your main source of stress because you feel you do not have enough time?
HS_Q110	Presently, would you describe yourself as:
LS_Q110	Please rate your feelings about them, using a scale of 1 to 10 where 1 means "Very dissatisfied" and 10 means "Very satisfied". What about: your health?
LS_Q120	Please rate your feelings about them, using a scale of 1 to 10 where 1 means "Very dissatisfied" and 10 means "Very satisfied". What about: your job or main activity?
LS_Q130	Please rate your feelings about them, using a scale of 1 to 10 where 1 means "Very dissatisfied" and 10 means "Very satisfied". What about: the way you spend your other time?
LS_Q140	Please rate your feelings about them, using a scale of 1 to 10 where 1 means "Very dissatisfied" and 10 means "Very satisfied". What about: your finances?
LS_Q210	Using the same scale, how do you feel about your life as a whole right now?
MAR_Q100	Last week, was your main activity working at a paid job or business, looking for paid work, going to school, caring for children, household work, retired or something else?
MAR_Q171	How many days of paid vacation did you take during the past 12 months?
NOCS2001_C10	National Occupational Classification(2001) of the respondent - Last 12 months - 10 categories.
MAR_Q365	Is your job permanent?
MAR_Q410	Which of the following best describes the hours you usually work at your main job? Is it:
MAR_Q420	Do you have a flexible schedule that allows you to choose the time you begin and end your work day?
MAR_Q440	At your main job, given the choice, would you, at your current wage rate, prefer to work:
MAR_Q510	Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the balance between your job and

	home life?
MAR_Q520_C01	Why are you dissatisfied - not enough time for family (include spouse/partner and children)?
MAR_Q520_C02	Why are you dissatisfied - spends too much time on job/main activity?
MAR_Q520_C03	Why are you dissatisfied - not enough time for other activities (exclude work or family related activities)?
MAR_Q520_C04	Why are you dissatisfied - cannot find suitable employment?
MAR_Q520_C05	Why are you dissatisfied - employment related reason(s) (exclude spending too much time on job)?
MAR_Q520_C06	Why are you dissatisfied - health reasons (include sleep disorders)?
MAR_Q520_C07	Why are you dissatisfied - family related reason(s) (exclude not enough time for family)?
MAR_Q520_C08	Why are you dissatisfied - other?
EDU10	Highest level of education obtained by the respondent - 10 groups.
MAP_Q100	Last week, was your spouse's/partner's main activity working at a paid job or business, looking for paid work, going to school, caring for children, household work, retired or something else?
MAP_Q120	Was he/she studying full-time or part-time?
MAP_Q150	How many hours did he/she work?
MAP_Q170	Did he/she work regular hours or a split shift?
INCMHSD	Total household income.

From Appendix F: C19EPISODE – GSS19 Episode File

RECID	Record identification.
TOTEPISO	Total number of episodes during the reference day.
ACTCODE	Activity code of the episode.
DURATION	Duration (in minutes) of the episode.
ALONE	Social contacts - alone?
SPOUSE	Social contacts - with spouse?
CHILDHSD	Social contacts - with children of the household less than 15 years of age?
PARHSD	Social contacts - with parent(s) or parent(s) in-law living in the household?
MEMBHSD	Social contacts - with other member(s) of the household (including children of 15 and older)?
NHSDCL15	Social contacts - with child(ren) of the respondent living outside the household, less than 15 years of age?
NHSDC15P	Social contacts - with child(ren) of the respondent living outside the household, 15 years of age and older?
NHSDPAR	Social contacts - with parent(s) or parent(s) in-law living outside the household?
OTHFAM	Social contacts - with other family member(s) living outside the household?
FRIENDS	Social contacts - with friends living outside the household?
OTHERS	Social contacts - with others living outside the household?
ENJOYAC	Is this activity the most enjoyable?

Appendix B

Independent Samples T-tests for gender differences in time allocation

Table B-1: Independent Samples T-tests for time use categories with significant differences by gender for single parent households

(minutes per day)

Activity		*M*	*SD*	*t*	*df*	*p***
Indoor housekeeping	Women	39	50.71	3.26	274	0.001
	Men	16	32.67			
Total domestic work	Women	99	86.98	2.76	274	0.006
	Men	66	67.08			
Child care - physical	Women	17	38.02	2.57	274	0.011
	Men	14	27.53			
Care of household adults	Women	3	16.45	2.03	258	0.043*
	Men	0	3.22			
Total workload	Women	735	167.28	2.61	274	0.010
	Men	676	118.93			
Personal care	Women	49	31.15	3.49	274	0.001
	Men	34	21.60			
Socializing outside the home	Women	14	46.16	-3.25	274	0.001
	Men	40	74.87			
Total social leisure	Women	48	79.96	-2.48	274	0.014
	Men	81	129.24			
Computer and video games	Women	0	3.77	-3.46	274	0.001
	Men	6	22.40			
Hobbies	Women	2	17.15	2.06	213	0.041*
	Men	0	0.00			
Arts, crafts, music, drama, dance	Women	0	2.62	-2.22	274	0.028
	Men	4	27.80			
Total leisure activity	Women	158	121.27	-3.75	274	0.000
	Men	227	144.31			

* Significant at the $p \leq .05$ level
** Significant at the $p \leq .025$ level

Table B-2: Independent Samples T-tests for time use categories with significant differences by gender for dual parent households with at least one child 5-12 years old

(minutes per day)

Activity		*M*	*SD*	*t*	*df*	*p**
Paid employment	Women	426	171.53	-10.66	1256	0.000
	Men	532	173.86			
Travel to/from employment	Women	44	61.39	-3.40	1256	0.001
	Men	56	57.77			
Total employment-related activities	Women	472	181.97	-11.60	1256	0.000
	Men	592	177.38			
Food preparation	Women	53	45.04	13.22	1256	0.000
	Men	24	33.18			
Indoor housekeeping	Women	38	60.92	12.33	1256	0.000
	Men	8	25.31			
Outdoor housekeeping	Women	3	13.87	-3.44	1256	0.001
	Men	2	13.94			
DIY/home improvement	Women	2	19.26	-2.77	1256	0.006
	Men	7	36.26			
Total domestic activity	Women	104	88.30	11.32	1256	0.000
	Men	53	70.41			
Child care - interactive	Women	32	55.81	2.68	1256	0.007
	Men	24	45.94			
Child care - physical	Women	38	46.97	9.50	1256	0.000
	Men	18	29.70			
Child care - travel, advocacy	Women	19	46.94	5.57	1256	0.000
	Men	9	18.68			
Total child care	Women	89	91.55	8.78	1256	0.000
	Men	51	65.03			
Total caregiving	Women	91	92.76	8.74	1256	0.000
	Men	52	65.55			
Total education-related activities	Women	25	96.17	2.54	1256	0.011
	Men	13	73.38			
Grocery and household shopping	Women	16	35.38	5.58	1256	0.000
	Men	7	23.15			
Other shopping and services	Women	12	24.91	3.18	1256	0.002
	Men	7	24.24			
Total shopping	Women	28	50.83	5.39	1256	0.000

	Men	14	38.99			
Personal care	Women	44	30.70	5.70	1256	0.000
	Men	35	28.18			
Sleep	Women	464	92.48	2.25	1256	0.025
	Men	452	88.13			
Total personal needs	Women	555	107.04	3.79	1256	0.000
	Men	533	98.17			
Watching TV, DVDs, videos	Women	59	66.77	-5.26	1256	0.000
	Men	81	77.51			
Total leisure activity	Women	152	110.38	-3.36	1256	0.001
	Men	174	115.12			

* Significant at the $p \leq .025$ level

Table B-3: Independent Samples T-tests for time use categories with significant differences by gender for dual parent households with child(ren) 13-17 years old

(minutes per day)

Activity		*M*	*SD*	*t*	*df*	*p***
Paid employment	Women	458	169.32	-3.70	526	0.000
	Men	513	171.42			
Unpaid employment-related activities	Women	2	23.65	-2.01	526	0.045*
	Men	9	51.39			
Total employment-related activities	Women	501	180.03	-4.53	526	0.000
	Men	570	169.42			
Food preparation	Women	54	43.22	8.52	526	0.000
	Men	25	36.49			
Indoor housekeeping	Women	46	71.84	7.33	526	0.000
	Men	10	38.26			
Household administration	Women	5	21.77	2.67	526	0.008
	Men	1	6.46			
Total domestic work	Women	126	100.29	8.61	526	0.000
	Men	58	80.90			
Child care - travel, advocacy, other	Women	11	35.88	3.64	526	0.000
	Men	3	13.12			
Total child care	Women	22	56.96	2.44	526	0.015
	Men	11	43.26			
Total caregiving	Women	32	60.93	2.45	526	0.015
	Men	20	50.63			
Other shopping and services	Women	16	39.91	2.77	526	0.006
	Men	9	22.33			
Total shopping	Women	30	50.79	2.57	526	0.010
	Men	19	45.92			
Personal care	Women	49	41.91	4.58	526	0.000
	Men	36	27.44			
Sleep	Women	468	89.50	2.06	526	0.040*
	Men	452	83.35			
Total personal needs	Women	562	100.58	2.99	526	0.003
	Men	536	93.99			
Socializing at home	Women	36	72.92	2.12	526	0.034*
	Men	24	61.28			
Watching TV, DVDs, videos	Women	74	69.67	-3.23	526	0.001

	Men	97	87.32			
Reading books, magazines,	Women	9	26.55	-2.23	526	0.026*
newspapers	Men	18	54.20			
General computer use & surfing	Women	5	20.49	-2.41	526	0.016
(not games)	Men	11	31.24			
Total leisure activity	Women	168	112.16	-4.35	526	0.000
	Men	216	137.33			

* Significant at the $p \leq .05$ level

** Significant at the $p \leq .025$ level

Table B-4: Independent Samples T-tests for time use categories with significant differences by gender during the school year

(minutes per day)

Activity		*M*	*SD*	*t*	*df*	*p***
Paid employment	Men	524	173.51	8.81	1703	0.000
	Women	448	181.20			
Unpaid employment-related activities	Men	6	43.29	2.40	1703	0.017
	Women	2	20.24			
Travel to/from employment	Men	52	53.32	3.22	1703	0.001
	Women	44	53.66			
Total employment-related activities	Men	582	176.74	9.83	1703	0.000
	Women	493	193.66			
Food preparation	Men	925	25.09	-14.23	1703	0.000
	Women	780	52.18			
Indoor housekeeping	Men	925	9.49	-13.54	1703	0.000
	Women	780	41.38			
DIY/home improvement	Men	6	32.64	2.17	1703	0.030*
	Women	2	26.95			
Pet care	Men	925	1.31	-3.21	1703	0.001
	Women	780	3.24			
Total domestic work	Men	53	72.11	-14.12	1703	0.000
	Women	109	90.52			
Child care - physical	Men	14	27.30	-8.77	1703	0.000
	Women	29	43.55			
Child care - travel, advocacy, other	Men	9	27.57	-4.31	1703	0.000
	Women	16	41.56			
Total child care	Men	42	64.65	-7.22	1703	0.000
	Women	68	87.47			
Total caregiving	Men	45	65.40	-7.28	1703	0.000
	Women	72	87.86			
Grocery and household shopping	Men	8	25.11	-4.79	1703	0.000
	Women	14	31.61			
Other shopping and services	Men	8	28.04	-3.55	1703	0.000
	Women	13	30.37			
Total shopping	Men	16	44.24	-5.09	1703	0.000
	Women	27	49.85			
Total education-related activities	Men	14	82.53	-2.34	1703	0.019

	Women	24	92.85			
Total workload	Men	710	148.59	-2.23	1703	0.026*
	Women	726	147.75			
Personal care	Men	35	26.61	-7.42	1703	0.000
	Women	46	34.30			
Total personal needs	Men	531	93.15	-3.61	1703	0.000
	Women	548	107.65			
Socializing at home	Men	23	59.55	-2.07	1703	0.039*
	Women	29	60.52			
Socializing outside the home	Men	20	51.68	2.45	1703	0.014
	Women	14	46.97			
Watching TV, DVDs, videos	Men	90	82.62	6.97	1703	0.000
	Women	64	72.95			
Computer and video games	Men	2	14.06	2.98	1703	0.003
	Women	1	8.40			
Total leisure activity	Women	189	126.10	5.97	1703	0.000
	Men	154	113.15			

* Significant at the $p \leq .05$ level

** Significant at the $p \leq .025$ level

Table B-5: Independent Samples T-tests for time use categories with significant differences by gender during the summer

(minutes per day)

Activity		*M*	*SD*	*t*	*df*	*p***
Paid employment	Men	523	170.33	4.79	355	0.000
	Women	436	167.69			
Total employment-related activities	Men	584	166.89	5.48	355	0.000
	Women	488	157.26			
Food preparation	Men	22	31.84	-5.64	355	0.000
	Women	44	40.38			
Indoor housekeeping	Men	22	31.84	-6.77	355	0.000
	Women	44	40.38			
Outdoor housekeeping	Men	20	48.86	2.92	355	0.004
	Women	7	28.93			
Household administration	Men	2	8.85	-3.31	355	0.001
	Women	9	30.93			
Total domestic work	Men	64	77.23	-4.52	355	0.000
	Women	106	97.31			
Child care - travel, advocacy, other	Men	9	27.57	-2.65	355	0.009
	Women	16	41.56			
Grocery and household shopping	Men	8	25.11	-2.56	355	0.011
	Women	14	31.61			
Personal care	Men	544	110.89	-2.96	355	0.003
	Women	578	104.21			
Total personal needs	Men	34	31.90	-4.63	355	0.000
	Women	50	31.99			
Rest and relaxation	Men	15	40.47	2.16	355	0.032*
	Women	7	22.06			
Computer and video games	Men	13	30.99	2.25	355	0.025
	Women	6	20.04			

* Significant at the $p \leq .05$ level

** Significant at the $p \leq .025$ level

Table B-6: Independent Samples T-tests for time use categories with significant differences by gender for a traditional work schedule

(minutes per day)

Activity		*M*	*SD*	*t*	*df*	*p***
Paid employment	Men	548	112.64	9.60	1335	0.000
	Women	483	136.34			
Travel to/from employment	Men	59	51.92	3.03	1335	0.003
	Women	50	58.60			
Total employment-related activities	Men	608	118.31	10.40	1335	0.000
	Women	534	143.33			
Food preparation	Men	23	32.20	-13.11	1335	0.000
	Women	49	40.03			
Indoor housekeeping	Men	8	25.17	-12.78	1335	0.000
	Women	34	48.29			
DIY/home improvement	Men	4	21.57	1.96	1335	0.050*
	Women	2	18.96			
Pet care	Men	1	11.60	-2.13	1335	0.034*
	Women	3	10.85			
Total domestic work	Men	49	62.31	-13.16	1335	0.000
	Women	99	76.79			
Child care - physical	Men	15	32.98	-5.49	1335	0.000
	Women	26	39.55			
Child care - travel, advocacy, other	Men	9	29.61	-3.03	1335	0.002
	Women	15	42.03			
Total child care	Men	44	68.59	-3.78	1335	0.000
	Women	59	78.84			
Total caregiving	Men	47	69.36	-3.72	1335	0.000
	Women	63	78.60			
Grocery and household shopping	Men	6	21.47	-4.75	1335	0.000
	Women	13	29.43			
Other shopping and services	Men	7	21.01	-3.58	1335	0.000
	Women	11	23.14			
Total shopping	Men	13	35.79	-5.09	1335	0.000
	Women	24	42.87			
Eating at home	Men	45	33.98	2.32	1335	0.020
	Women	41	34.18			
Personal care	Men	35	23.13	-7.73	1335	0.000

	Women	47	33.44			
Sleep	Men	447	74.65	-2.85	1335	0.004
	Women	460	89.89			
Total personal needs	Men	528	84.81	-4.08	1335	0.000
	Women	549	104.99			
Socializing at home	Men	21	50.31	-2.39	1335	0.017
	Women	28	58.45			
Watching TV, DVDs, videos	Men	87	79.63	5.10	1335	0.000
	Women	66	69.78			
Computer and video games	Men	3	14.80	3.83	1335	0.000
	Women	0	2.42			
Total leisure activity	Men	181	109.51	4.28	1335	0.000
	Women	155	108.77			

* Significant at the $p \leq .05$ level

** Significant at the $p \leq .025$ level

Table B-7: Independent Samples T-tests for time use categories with significant differences by gender for a non-standard work schedule

(minutes per day)

Activity		*M*	*SD*	*t*	*df*	*p***
Paid employment	Men	486	201.39	2.75	348	0.006
	Women	429	182.85			
Total employment-related activities	Men	537	209.41	3.00	348	0.003
	Women	472	190.73			
Food preparation	Men	25	32.65	-6.45	348	0.000
	Women	53	47.92			
Indoor housekeeping	Men	11	33.42	-5.89	348	0.000
	Women	51	86.06			
Outdoor housekeeping	Men	14	42.54	2.29	348	0.022
	Women	5	30.31			
Total domestic work	Men	69	91.04	-5.13	348	0.000
	Women	127	120.91			
Child care - physical	Men	8	20.53	-5.22	348	0.000
	Women	25	37.24			
Child care - travel, advocacy, other	Men	5	14.92	-2.57	348	0.011
	Women	13	35.57			
Total child care	Men	30	58.40	-4.35	348	0.000
	Women	64	85.60			
Total caregiving	Men	32	58.47	-4.61	348	0.000
	Women	69	90.73			
Grocery and household shopping	Men	11	31.10	-2.04	348	0.0420*
	Women	20	42.98			
Personal care	Men	36	33.05	-3.50	348	0.001
	Women	49	36.93			
Socializing outside the home	Men	24	55.24	2.35	348	0.019
	Women	12	34.39			
Watching TV, DVDs, videos	Men	90	86.98	2.37	348	0.018
	Women	68	86.16			
Physically active leisure	Men	19	57.88	2.07	348	0.039*
	Women	8	33.79			
Total leisure activity	Men	218	162.99	3.99	348	0.000
	Women	155	121.21			

* Significant at the $p \leq .05$ level
** Significant at the $p \leq .025$ level

Table B-8: Independent Samples T-tests for time use categories with significant differences by gender for an irregular work schedule

(minutes per day)

Activity		*M*	*SD*	*t*	*df*	*p***
Paid employment	Men	534	236.76	3.91	267	0.000
	Women	419	210.56			
Travel to/from employment	Men	45	73.49	2.25	264	0.025
	Women	30	33.07			
Total employment-related activities	Men	587	231.18	4.55	267	0.000
	Women	454	215.63			
Food preparation	Men	25	37.12	-3.82	267	0.000
	Women	45	44.61			
Indoor housekeeping	Men	11	39.31	-7.00	267	0.000
	Women	62	80.88			
DIY/home improvement	Men	7	37.39	2.23	184	0.027*
	Women	0	3.49			
Pet care	Men	0	2.74	-2.53	267	0.012
	Women	4	19.55			
Total domestic work	Men	58	81.69	-5.74	267	0.000
	Women	123	99.81			
Child care - interactive	Men	15	34.58	-3.54	267	0.000
	Women	37	68.48			
Child care - physical	Men	13	24.69	-3.43	267	0.001
	Women	26	39.81			
Child care - travel, advocacy, other	Men	7	19.11	-3.69	267	0.000
	Women	19	34.16			
Total child care	Men	34	51.63	-5.17	267	0.000
	Women	82	100.02			
Total caregiving	Men	37	54.36	-5.13	267	0.000
	Women	85	98.76			
Other shopping and services	Men	9	24.05	-2.00	267	0.047*
	Women	15	25.50			
Total shopping	Men	19	49.39	-2.00	267	0.046*
	Women	32	49.71			
Personal care	Men	35	32.24	-2.59	267	0.010
	Women	45	29.09			
Watching TV, DVDs, videos	Men	69	66.93	2.33	267	0.021

	Women	50	58.22			
Computer and video games	Men	2	14.18	2.09	181	0.037*
	Women	0	1.00			

* Significant at the $p \leq .05$ level
** Significant at the $p \leq .025$ level

Table B-9: Independent Samples T-tests for time use categories with significant differences by gender with a non-flexible work schedule

(minutes per day)

Activity		*M*	*SD*	*t*	*df*	*p**
Paid employment	Men	527	183.62	4.65	1127	0.000
	Women	480	150.04			
Unpaid employment-related	Men	6	42.43	2.66	1127	0.008
activities	Women	1	17.03			
Total employment-related activities	Men	586	186.70	5.61	1127	0.000
	Women	528	156.20			
Food preparation	Men	24	34.06	-11.96	1127	0.000
	Women	51	40.69			
Indoor housekeeping	Men	9	28.91	-10.76	1127	0.000
	Women	41	65.91			
Outdoor housekeeping	Men	10	35.75	2.31	1127	0.021
	Women	6	26.84			
DIY/home improvement	Men	8	39.30	2.33	1127	0.020
	Women	3	30.84			
Total domestic work	Men	59	78.71	-9.99	1127	0.000
	Women	109	89.38			
Child care - physical	Men	13	30.94	-5.68	1127	0.000
	Women	25	37.55			
Child care - travel, advocacy, other	Men	9	31.71	-2.55	1127	0.011
	Women	15	43.72			
Total child care	Men	40	68.10	-4.64	1127	0.000
	Women	60	80.63			
Total caregiving	Men	42	68.49	-4.78	1127	0.000
	Women	64	82.35			
Grocery and household shopping	Men	7	24.53	-4.81	1127	0.000
	Women	15	34.25			
Total shopping	Men	15	46.72	-3.98	1127	0.000
	Women	26	48.58			
Total education-related activities	Men	17	80.23	2.53	1127	0.011
	Women	7	37.92			
Personal care	Men	36	27.96	-6.61	1087	0.000
	Women	48	34.49			
Total personal needs	Men	527	97.16	-2.81	1087	0.005

	Women	544	102.62			
Watching TV, DVDs, videos	Men	90	80.09	5.02	1127	0.000
	Women	67	76.67			
Computer and video games	Men	3	14.32	3.25	1127	0.001
	Women	1	5.49			
Total leisure activity	Men	184	126.68	4.27	1127	0.000
	Women	153	114.60			

* Significant at the $p \leq .025$ level

Table B-10: Independent Samples T-tests for time use categories with significant differences by gender with a flexible work schedule

(minutes per day)

Activity		*M*	*SD*	*t*	*df*	*p***
Paid employment	Men	520	159.70	6.70	863	0.000
	Women	444	165.23			
Total employment-related activities	Men	577	160.36	7.37	863	0.000
	Women	492	174.97			
Food preparation	Men	25	33.82	-8.29	863	0.000
	Women	47	44.07			
Indoor housekeeping	Men	8	30.64	-10.20	863	0.000
	Women	38	54.37			
Pet care	Men	1	6.89	-4.11	863	0.000
	Women	4	15.83			
Total domestic work	Men	51	66.04	-9.92	863	0.000
	Women	104	90.50			
Child care - physical	Men	14	28.41	-5.71	863	0.000
	Women	28	41.48			
Child care - travel, advocacy, other	Men	7	16.58	-4.81	863	0.000
	Women	16	33.90			
Total child care	Men	41	60.07	-5.13	863	0.000
	Women	67	85.95			
Total caregiving	Men	45	61.64	-5.04	863	0.000
	Women	70	85.15			
Grocery and household shopping	Men	9	25.97	-2.28	863	0.023
	Women	13	30.04			
Other shopping and services	Men	8	25.46	-2.63	863	0.009
	Women	13	25.43			
Total shopping	Men	17	41.96	-3.02	863	0.003
	Women	27	44.81			
Personal care	Men	34	25.27	-5.60	863	0.000
	Women	45	32.33			
Sleep	Men	454	83.51	-3.18	863	0.002
	Women	474	97.22			
Total personal needs	Men	537	96.24	-3.78	863	0.000
	Women	564	113.10			
Watching TV, DVDs, videos	Men	80	80.21	3.84	863	0.000

	Women	60	64.43			
Reading books, magazines,	Men	14	44.34	2.08	843	0.038*
newspapers	Women	9	23.98			
Computer and video games	Men	1	12.13	2.41	554	0.016
	Women	0	1.55			
Total leisure activity	Men	192	122.30	4.14	863	0.000
	Women	158	107.73			

* Significant at the $p \leq .05$ level

** Significant at the $p \leq .025$ level

Appendix C

Mean time use of activity participants

Table C-1: Time spent in selected categories of activity by gender and household composition - participants only

Mean minutes per day (Standard deviation)

		Single parent		Dual parent, child 5-12		Dual parent, child 13-17	
Activity	*N*	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Total employment-related activities	*2,062*	529	555	605	496	583	515
		(134)	(177)	(157)	(158)	(158)	(161)
Total domestic work	*1,627*	78	116	79	113	82	135
		(66)	(83)	(73)	(86)	(85)	(98)
Total caregiving	*1,172*	91	98	88	115	78	76
		(112)	(79)	(64)	(90)	(73)	(74)
Total workload	*2,062*	676	735	723	719	680	703
		(119)	(167)	(150)	(143)	(147)	(139)
Sleep	*2,061*	446	452	453	464	452	468
		(82)	(106)	(87)	(92)	(83)	(90)
Total personal needs	*2,061*	521	539	534	555	536	562
		(92)	(115)	(97)	(107)	(94)	(101)
Total social leisure	*889*	137	108	102	89	96	105
		(144)	(89)	(90)	(76)	(114)	(104)
Watching TV, DVDs	*1,449*	104	115	109	92	129	103
		(69)	(87)	(71)	(62)	(78)	(61)
Physically active leisure	*392*	84	65	81	79	89	70
		(57)	(49)	(64)	(72)	(72)	(46)
Total leisure activity	*1,924*	235	177	186	164	225	179
		(140)	(114)	(109)	(105)	(133)	(107)

Table C-2: Time spent in selected categories of activity by gender and season – participants only

Mean minutes per day (Standard deviation)

		School year		Summer	
Activity	*N*	Men	Women	Men	Women
Total employment-related activities	*2,062*	596	518	589	499
		(157)	(169)	(160)	(141)
Total domestic work	*1,627*	77	120	92	116
		(75)	(88)	(78)	(96)
Total caregiving	*1,172*	86	106	90	98
		(68)	(88)	(75)	(76)
Total workload	*2,062*	710	726	707	682
		(149)	(148)	(149)	(145)
Sleep	*2,061*	450	459	460	477
		(83)	(97)	(99)	(85)
Total personal needs	*2,061*	531	548	544	578
		(92)	(108)	(111)	(104)
Total social leisure	*899*	102	95	107	110
		(104)	(88)	(95)	(82)
Watching TV, DVDs	*1,449*	117	100	98	101
		(75)	(69)	(56)	(67)
Physically active leisure	*392*	82	72	86	81
		(64)	(61)	(71)	(68)
Total leisure activity	*1,924*	200	168	195	184
		(121)	(108)	(112)	(109)

Table C-3: Time spent in selected categories of activity by gender and work schedule - participants only

Mean minutes per day (Standard deviation)

		Traditional		Non-standard		Irregular	
Activity	*N*	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Total employment-related activities	*1,955*	613	542	549	479	597	467
		(114)	(139)	(205)	(179)	(217)	(216)
Total domestic work	*1,532*	71	108	101	145	84	144
		(64)	(74)	(94)	(119)	(87)	(93)
Total caregiving	*1,098*	91	96	84	115	74	120
		(73)	(79)	(68)	(92)	(56)	(98)
Total workload	*1,955*	723	728	672	708	711	707
		(119)	(138)	(203)	(168)	(180)	(159)
Sleep	*1,955*	447	460	459	468	459	457
		(75)	(90)	(119)	(114)	(86)	(87)
Total personal needs	*1,955*	528	549	542	563	540	551
		(85)	(105)	(120)	(120)	(108)	(100)
Total social leisure	*831*	90	98	145	100	109	94
		(81)	(86)	(143)	(89)	(112)	(87)
Watching TV, DVDs	*1,376*	114	97	127	112	93	90
		(72)	(64)	(77)	(86)	(62)	(50)
Physically active leisure	*372*	78	68	114	79	92	132
		(59)	(45)	(98)	(76)	(46)	(134)
Total leisure activity	*1,820*	191	168	234	173	191	180
		(104)	(103)	(157)	(115)	(128)	(112)

Table C-4: Time spent in selected categories of activity by gender and flexible scheduling - participants only

Mean minutes per day (Standard deviation)

		Non-flexible		Flexible	
Activity	*N*	Men	Women	Men	Women
Total employment-related activities	*1,954*	603	535	585	504
		(160)	(153)	(153)	(168)
Total domestic work	*1,562*	87	119	72	117
		(82)	(87)	(68)	(88)
Total care giving	*1,122*	86	99	88	107
		(76)	(84)	(61)	(84)
Total workload	*1,954*	719	734	699	705
		(151)	(140)	(145)	(154)
Sleep	*1,153*	450	453	454	474
		(88)	(92)	(84)	(97)
Total personal needs	*1,153*	531	544	537	564
		(95)	(103)	(96)	(113)
Total social leisure	*853*	96	101	111	92
		(104)	(92)	(100)	(75)
Watching TV, DVDs	*1,407*	118	103	110	93
		(72)	(73)	(74)	(58)
Physically active leisure	*378*	83	64	83	87
		(69)	(41)	(64)	(82)
Total leisure activity	*1858*	196	167	203	173
		(122)	(110)	(117)	(101)

Appendix D

Regression models for selected categories of time use

Dummy and continuous variables used in multiple linear regression analysis

Dummy variables	*Discrete category*	*Value*	*Mean*
Sex	Male	0	.44
	Female	1	
Child's age group	13 to 17 years old	0	.69
	5 to 12 years old	1	
Preschooler in the home	No	0	.18
	Yes	1	
Single or dual parent household	Single	0	.87
	Dual	1	
Employed spouse	No	0	.65
	Yes	1	
Education	High school or less	0	.77
	At least some post-secondary	1	
Flexible scheduling	No	0	.42
	Yes	1	
Season	Summer	0	.83
	School year	1	
Traditional schedule	No	0	.65
	Yes	1	
Non-standard schedule	No	0	.17
	Yes	1	
Irregular schedule	No	0	.14
	Yes	1	

Continuous variables	*Mean*
Income	7.66 (range 1-10, <20,000 to >100,000)
Age	41.5 years
Number of children	1.7

Table D-1: Effects of demographic and socio-economic factors on time spent in employment-related activities

(M = 558 minutes per day)

	Wald F	p		Predicted Mean
All variables	14.32 (df = 14)	<.001		552 mins
	Beta	Std. Err.	t	p*
Demographic variables				
Sex	-73.001	9.336	-7.82	.000
Age	-1.120	.785	-1.43	.154
Dual or single parent	16.107	17.384	0.93	.354
Age group of children	-22.020	12.056	-1.83	.068
Preschooler in the family	13.276	14.177	0.94	.349
Number of children	6.918	8.366	0.83	.408
Season	8.605	10.919	0.79	.431
Socio-economic variables				
Education	3.158	10.686	0.30	.768
Income	.540	2.557	0.21	.833
Spousal employment status	-36.666	12.021	-3.05	.002
Traditional schedule	163.080	25.944	6.29	.000
Non-standard schedule	87.361	28.216	3.10	.002
Irregular schedule	127.620	30.881	4.13	.000
Flexible schedule	-30.795	9.509	-3.24	.001

* Significant when $p \leq .025$

Table D-2: Effects of demographic and socio-economic factors on time spent in interactive child care

(M = 21 minutes per day)

	Wald F	p		Predicted Mean	
All variables	8.28 (df = 14)	<.001		22 mins	
		Beta	Std. Err.	t	p*
Demographic variables					
Sex		3.570	2.994	1.19	.233
Age		-.444	.205	-2.17	.030
Dual or single parent		5.651	4.533	1.25	.213
Age group of children		15.427	2.496	6.18	.000
Preschooler in the family		8.094	4.201	1.93	.054
Number of children		1.835	1.751	1.05	.295
Season		5.894	2.888	2.04	.041
Socio-economic variables					
Education		8.955	2.657	3.37	.001
Income		-1.074	.801	-1.34	.180
Spousal employment status		1.460	3.715	0.39	.694
Traditional schedule		-1.473	5.834	-0.25	.801
Non-standard schedule		.985	6.610	0.15	.882
Irregular schedule		-.949	6.995	-0.14	.892
Flexible schedule		2.979	2.787	1.07	.285

* Significant when $p \leq .025$

Table D-3: Effects of demographic and socio-economic factors on time spent in physical childcare

(M = 20 minutes per day)

	Wald F	p		Predicted Mean
All variables	31.66 (df = 14)	<.001		22 mins
	Beta	Std. Err.	t	p*
Demographic variables				
Sex	12.952	1.789	7.24	.000
Age	-.372	.135	-2.77	.006
Dual or single parent	-11.715	3.014	-3.89	.000
Age group of children	17.021	1.845	9.22	.000
Preschooler in the family	22.122	3.041	7.27	.000
Number of children	1.835	1.220	1.50	.133
Season	7.593	1.868	4.07	.000
Socio-economic variables				
Education	.604	1.890	0.32	.749
Income	.225	.375	0.60	.548
Spousal employment status	9.998	1.949	5.13	.000
Traditional schedule	-7.723	6.018	-1.28	.200
Non-standard schedule	-10.526	6.151	-1.71	.087
Irregular schedule	-9.302	6.340	-1.47	.143
Flexible schedule	2.549	1.662	1.53	.125

* Significant when $p \leq .025$

Table D-4: Effects of demographic and socio-economic factors on time spent in child care (travel and advocacy) activities

(M = 11 minutes per day)

	Wald F	p		Predicted Mean	
All variables	5.75 (df = 14)	<.001		13 mins	
		Beta	Std. Err.	t	p*
Demographic variables					
Sex		5.387	2.171	2.48	.013
Age		.205	.133	1.54	.123
Dual or single parent		-7.630	4.842	-1.58	.115
Age group of children		8.739	1.936	4.51	.000
Preschooler in the family		4.226	2.138	1.98	.048
Number of children		2.317	1.038	2.23	.026
Season		6.061	1.494	4.06	.000
Socio-economic variables					
Education		4.947	1.915	2.58	.010
Income		-.524	.646	-0.81	.417
Spousal employment status		6.062	1.774	3.42	.001
Traditional schedule		2.293	4.363	0.53	.599
Non-standard schedule		-.906	4.121	-0.22	.826
Irregular schedule		1.452	4.340	0.33	.738
Flexible schedule		-2.203	1.794	-1.23	.220

* Significant when $p \leq .025$

Table D-5: Effects of demographic and socio-economic factors on time spent in domestic activities

(M = 79 minutes per day)

	Wald F	p		Predicted Mean
All variables	14.66 (df = 14)	<.001		83 mins
	Beta	Std. Err.	t	p*
Demographic variables				
Sex	48.538	5.264	9.22	.000
Age	.457	.425	1.08	.282
Dual or single parent	-17.773	18.996	-2.29	.022
Age group of children	-10.548	6.182	-1.71	.088
Preschooler in the family	2.445	6.040	0.41	.686
Number of children	6.805	3.353	2.03	.043
Season	-4.339	5.777	-0.75	.453
Socio-economic variables				
Education	-3.132	5.897	-0.53	.595
Income	-1.364	1.200	-1.14	.256
Spousal employment status	26.859	5.077	5.29	.000
Traditional schedule	-44.740	17.826	-2.51	.012
Non-standard schedule	-22.938	18.996	-1.21	.227
Irregular schedule	-26.381	19.106	-1.38	.168
Flexible schedule	-3.625	4.455	-0.81	.416

* Significant when $p \leq .025$

Table D-6: Effects of demographic and socio-economic factors on time spent in leisure activities

(M = 176 minutes per day)

	Wald F	p		Predicted Mean
All variables	4.99 (df = 14)	<.001		172 mins
	Beta	Std. Err.	t	p*
Demographic variables				
Sex	-37.531	7.251	-5.18	.000
Age	1.233	.647	1.90	.057
Dual or single parent	-5.671	19.709	-0.47	.640
Age group of children	-14.694	8.868	-1.66	.098
Preschooler in the family	-29.466	9.075	-3.25	.001
Number of children	-11.859	5.059	-2.34	.019
Season	-4.413	8.656	-0.51	.610
Socio-economic variables				
Education	-.590	8.206	-0.07	.943
Income	-984	1.801	0.55	.585
Spousal employment status	-6.668	8.711	-0.77	.444
Traditional schedule	-48.692	17.791	-2.74	.006
Non-standard schedule	-24.194	19.709	-1.23	.220
Irregular schedule	-54.683	20.102	-2.72	.007
Flexible schedule	5.433	7.014	0.78	.439

* Significant when $p \leq .025$

Table D-7: Effects of demographic and socio-economic factors on time spent in physically active leisure

(M = 15 minutes per day)

	Wald F	p		Predicted Mean
All variables	2.94 (df = 14)	<.001		15 mins
	Beta	Std. Err.	t	p*
Demographic variables				
Sex	-2.938	2.767	-1.06	.289
Age	.004	.179	0.02	.981
Dual or single parent	-4.936	3.423	-1.44	.149
Age group of children	1.783	2.892	0.62	.538
Preschooler in the family	-2.902	3.085	-0.94	.347
Number of children	.157	1.623	0.10	.923
Season	-6.168	3.373	-1.83	.068
Socio-economic variables				
Education	2.396	3.059	0.78	.434
Income	1.276	.494	2.59	.010
Spousal employment status	5.651	2.954	1.91	.056
Traditional schedule	5.236	3.137	1.67	.095
Non-standard schedule	-6.168	4.213	1.00	.318
Irregular schedule	4.041	5.093	0.79	.428
Flexible schedule	5.026	2.071	1.86	.063

* Significant when $p \leq .025$

Table D-8: Effects of demographic and socio-economic factors on time spent watching TV/DVDs

(M = 77 minutes per day)

	Wald F	p		Predicted Mean
All variables	6.82 (df = 14)	<.001		74 mins.
	Beta	Std. Err.	t	p*
Demographic variables				
Sex	-24.844	4.348	-5.71	.000
Age	-.478	.383	-1.25	.212
Dual or single parent	16.177	8.666	1.87	.062
Age group of children	-14.296	6.181	-2.31	.021
Preschooler in the family	-17.804	5.630	-3.16	.002
Number of children	-7.796	3.275	-2.38	.017
Season	11.353	5.030	2.26	.024
Socio-economic variables				
Education	-17.453	5.989	-2.91	.004
Income	-.783	1.319	-0.59	.553
Spousal employment status	-8.502	6.141	-1.31	.190
Traditional schedule	-20.711	12.406	-1.67	.095
Non-standard schedule	-18.836	13.104	-1.44	.151
Irregular schedule	-38.109	13.261	-2.87	.004
Flexible schedule	-3.854	4.692	-0.82	.412

* Significant when $p \leq .025$

Table D-9: Effects of demographic and socio-economic factors on time spent in social leisure

(M = 43 minutes per day)

	Wald F	p		Predicted Mean
All variables	1.83 (df = 14)	.030*		44
	Beta	Std. Err.	t	p**
Demographic variables				
Sex	-.189	5.226	-0.04	.971
Age	.990	.497	1.99	.047
Dual or single parent	-21.860	8.461	-2.58	.010
Age group of children	2.263	5.706	0.40	.692
Preschooler in the family	.114	5.987	0.02	.985
Number of children	-4.425	2.977	-1.49	.137
Season	-4.996	6.078	-0.82	.411
Socio-economic variables				
Education	5.884	5.384	1.09	.275
Income	.957	1.011	0.95	.344
Spousal employment status	.892	5.246	0.17	.865
Traditional schedule	-13.070	10.425	-1.25	.210
Non-standard schedule	11.076	12.468	0.89	.374
Irregular schedule	-3.891	11.857	-0.33	.743
Flexible schedule	.623	4.898	0.13	.899

* Significant when $p \leq .05$
** Significant when $p \leq .025$

Table D-10: Effects of demographic and socio-economic factors on time spent sleeping

(M = 454 minutes per day)

	Wald F	p		Predicted Mean
All variables	3.13 (df = 14)	<.001		455
	Beta	Std. Err.	t	p*
Demographic variables				
Sex	17.083	5.626	3.04	.002
Age	-.329	.445	-0.74	.460
Dual or single parent	22.395	9.089	2.46	.014
Age group of children	8.675	6.397	1.36	.175
Preschooler in the family	-17.166	7.246	-2.37	.018
Number of children	-7.385	3.650	-2.02	.043
Season	-13.491	6.356	-2.12	.034
Socio-economic variables				
Education	-11.221	6.318	-1.78	.076
Income	-.555	1.315	-0.42	.673
Spousal employment status	-9.678	6.539	-1.48	.139
Traditional schedule	-22.623	12.551	-1.80	.072
Non-standard schedule	-6.818	14.061	-0.49	.628
Irregular schedule	-12.498	14.057	-0.89	.374
Flexible schedule	18.977	5.489	3.46	.001

* Significant when $p \leq .025$

Appendix E

Regression models for selected quality of life measurements

Dummy and continuous variables used in multiple linear regression analysis

Dummy variables	*Discrete category*	*Value*	*Mean*
Sex	Male	0	.44
	Female	1	
Child's age group	13 to 17 years old	0	.69
	5 to 12 years old	1	
Preschooler in the home	No	0	.18
	Yes	1	
Single or dual parent household	Single	0	.87
	Dual	1	
Employed spouse	No	0	.65
	Yes	1	
Education	High school or less	0	.77
	At least some post-secondary	1	
Flexible scheduling	No	0	.42
	Yes	1	
Season	Summer	0	.83
	School year	1	
Traditional schedule	No	0	.65
	Yes	1	
Non-standard schedule	No	0	.17
	Yes	1	
Irregular schedule	No	0	.14
	Yes	1	

Continuous variables	*Mean*
Income	7.66 (range 1-10, <20,000 to >100,000)
Age	41.5 years
Number of children	1.7
Caregiving time	176 mins

Domestic activity time	79 mins
Leisure time	56 mins
Employment-related time	558 mins

Table E-1: Effects of demographic, socio-economic and time use factors on perceptions of time pressure

($M = 22.9$)

All variables	Wald F 9.44 (*df = 18)*	Sig. $p < .001$	Predicted Mean 23.15	
	Beta	Std. Err.	*t*	*p**
Demographic variables				
Sex	.791	.215	3.68	.000
Age	-.045	.015	-2.94	.003
Dual or single parent	-.935	.333	-2.81	.005
Age group of children	.427	.248	1.72	.085
Preschooler in the family	.147	.282	0.52	.603
Number of children	.165	.148	1.11	.265
Season	-.352	.231	-1.53	.127
Socio-economic variables				
Education	.154	.234	0.66	.511
Income	.082	.050	1.65	.099
Spousal employment status	.391	.253	1.55	.122
Traditional schedule	1.647	.584	2.82	.005
Non-standard schedule	1.811	.607	2.99	.003
Irregular schedule	1.999	.619	3.23	.001
Flexible schedule	-.457	.195	-2.34	.019
Time use variables (15 min increments)				
Leisure	-.030	.016	-1.85	.064
Domestic activities	.069	.020	3.44	.001
Caregiving	.082	.020	4.18	.000
Employment related activities	.035	.014	2.58	.010

* Significant when $p \leq .025$.

Table E-2: Effects of demographic, socio-economic and time use factors on perceptions of well-being

(M = -.05)

All variables	Wald F 5.42 (*df = 18)*	Sig. $p < .001$	Predicted Mean -.13	
	Beta	Std. Err.	*t*	*p**
Demographic variables				
Sex	-.030	.066	-0.46	.645
Age	-.002	.005	-0.40	.692
Dual or single parent	.229	.110	2.08	.038
Age group of children	-.011	.074	-0.15	.880
Preschooler in the family	.034	.087	0.40	.691
Number of children	.050	.039	1.29	.199
Season	-.003	.070	-0.04	.969
Socio-economic variables				
Education	-.062	.071	-0.87	.384
Income	.070	.016	4.32	.000
Spousal employment status	.064	.075	0.86	.391
Traditional schedule	.189	.177	1.07	.286
Non-standard schedule	.219	.182	1..20	.229
Irregular schedule	.075	.193	0.39	.697
Flexible schedule	.157	.060	2.59	.010
Time use variables (15 min increments)				
Leisure	.009	.005	1.82	.068
Domestic activities	-.015	.006	-5.47	.013
Caregiving	-.006	.007	-0.87	.387
Employment related activities	-.002	.004	-0.47	.638

* Significant when $p \leq .025$.

Dummy and continuous variables used in logistic regression analysis

Categorical Variables	*Discrete category*	*Weighted Percent*
Work-life balance	0 Dissatisfied	30.4
	1 Satisfied	69.6
Sex	0 Male	56.8
	1 Female	43.2
Child's age group	0 13 to 17 years old	31.5
	1 5 to 12 years old	68.5
Preschooler in the home	0 No	18.0
	1 Yes	82.0
Single or dual parent household	0 Single	12.8
	1 Dual	87.2
Employed spouse	0 No	35.8
	1 Yes	64.2
Education	0 High school or less	22.7
	1 At least some post-secondary	77.3
Flexible scheduling	0 No	55.9
	1 Yes	44.1
Season	0 Summer	17.0
	1 School year	83.0
Non-standard schedule	0 No	81.9
	1 Yes	18.1
Irregular schedule	0 No	85.8
	1 Yes	14.2

Continuous variables	***Mean***
Income	3.16 (range 1-5, < $20,000 to > $100,000)
Age	41.6 years
Number of children	1.7
Caregiving time	176 mins
Domestic activity time	77 mins
Leisure time	51 mins
Employment-related time	564 mins

Table E-3: Effects of demographic, socio-economic and time use factors on satisfaction with work-life balance

All variables	Wald F 4.422 (*df = 15)*	Sig. $p < .001$		
	Beta	Std. Err.	*t*	*p**
Demographic variables				
Sex	-.294	.154	-1.91	.057
Age	-.041	.011	-3.57	.000
Dual or single parent	.726	.223	3.25	.001
Age group of children	-.329	.165	-2.00	.046
Preschooler in the family	-.338	.171	-1.98	.048
Number of children	-.091	.092	-0.99	.322
Season	-.439	.170	-2.58	.010
Socio-economic variables				
Education	-.371	.163	-2.27	.023
Income	.133	.049	2.73	.006
Spousal employment status	-.006	.173	0.17	.972
Non-standard schedule	-.338	.172	-1.97	.049
Irregular schedule	-.490	.191	-2.56	.010
Flexible schedule	.173	.133	1.30	.193
Time use variables (15 min increments)				
Leisure	.000	.001	-1.00	.316
Domestic activity	.001	.001	0.67	.502
Caregiving	.000	.001	-0.56	.577
Employment related activities	.001	.001	2.73	.040

* Significant when $p \leq .025$.

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