Time Strains and Psychological Well-Being

Do Dual-Earner Mothers and Fathers Differ?

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Using data from the 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce, these authors examine gender differences in feeling time strain for children, spouse, and oneself and in the association of these feelings with psychological well-being among dual-earner parents. Fathers are more likely than mothers to report feeling time deficits with their children and spouse; however, it is primarily because fathers spend more hours in paid work than mothers. Yet feelings of time deficits with children and spouse are associated with lower well-being only for mothers. In terms of time for oneself, mothers more than fathers feel strains, net of the time they spend on free-time activities. Mothers and fathers who feel a time shortage for themselves express lower well-being, although for some measures, the relationship is stronger for fathers.

Keywords: *dual-earner families; gender; parenthood; time use; work-family conflict*

Dual-earner families have become the modal two-parent family in the United States today. In 1998, more than three fourths of all two-parent families with children had mother and father working for pay (Casper & Bianchi, 2002, figure 1.3). Furthermore, the proportion of so-called overworked couples—families where husband's and wife's combined work hours exceed 100 hours per week—has risen in recent years (Jacobs & Gerson, 2001). Many employed parents spend more hours at paid jobs than they desire because of economic necessity or employers' needs (Clarkberg & Moen, 2001). Given the demands of long work hours, many of these parents face the challenge of finding enough time to spend with

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their family and for themselves. Ethnographic work on dual-earner parents has documented in rich detail their struggles to balance work and family responsibilities (e.g., Becker & Moen, 1999; Daly, 2001; Hochschild, 1997). These parents often feel rushed and express chronic frustration about never having enough time with their children and spouse, and for themselves (Hochschild, 1997; Schor, 1991).

The subjective assessment of time pressures—feeling that one spends enough time with children, with one's spouse, and on one's own leisure and relaxation—may be different for mothers and fathers. Two perspectives can aid in understanding gender differences in feelings of time shortages (for reviews, see Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Voydanoff, 2002). One perspective is structural, which argues that gender differences derive from the different social positions of men and women and the time demands that come with those positions. The other approach focuses on meaning. It suggests that because cultural expectations associated with the roles of parent and spouse differ by gender, feelings of strain will differ for mothers and fathers, even when time allocations are equal.

In this article, using data from the 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce (NSCW; Bond, Galinsky, & Swanberg, 1998), we compare these two perspectives by assessing gender differences in dual-earner parents' feelings of time strains before and after controlling for respondents' and their spouses' time allocation to paid work, domestic work, child care, and their own leisure activities. Furthermore, stress research suggests that daily strains in work and family roles are a major cause of distress; and the extent to which such role strains are linked to lower psychological well-being varies by individuals' social position including gender (e.g., Pearlin, 1989). Thus, using the two perspectives, we examine whether mothers differ from fathers in psychological vulnerability to feelings of time strain.

GENDER, TIME STRAINS, AND WELL-BEING

THE TIME AVAILABILITY VERSUS THE GENDER PERSPECTIVE

The literature on gender differences in the emotional context of work and family life provides two competing perspectives. One, termed here the *time availability* perspective, focuses on gender differences in alloca-

tions to work and family roles, and the other, the *gender* perspective, emphasizes gender differences in the meaning of work and family roles.

The time availability perspective focuses on time allocation to central social roles. It assumes that gender differences in feelings about family time derive from the different social positions of men and women and the attendant time demands stemming from those positions. In dual-earner families, mothers share with their husbands the responsibility for earning money to support the family; yet specialization in market and domestic work still occurs along traditional gender lines, with fathers spending more hours on paid work and mothers on housework and child care (Becker & Moen, 1999; Bond et al., 1998; Deutsch, 1999; Waite & Gallagher, 2000). Thus, mothers and fathers should differ in feeling that they spend enough time with family members and on themselves to the extent that they allocate different amounts of time to market work, housework, child care, and leisure activities (for similar arguments, see Aneshensel, Frerichs, & Clark, 1981; Bird & Fremont, 1991; Gove, 1972). However, if women and men are positioned equally and spend equal amounts of time at paid jobs, on housework, on child care, and on their own free time activities, they should not differ in feelings of time insufficiency for families and themselves nor in the consequences of those feelings; that is, when time allocations are controlled, mothers and fathers should have similar levels of strain in any given domain. Essentially, this perspective assumes a postgender world in which new norms surrounding gender, work, and family have made whether a parent is male or female irrelevant to feelings.

The gender perspective, on the other hand, assumes that time strains may not be a simple reflection of different work and family demands and time allocations. A number of scholars have suggested that social norms regarding what parents should do for their children's well-being or what spouses should do for a successful marriage continue to differ markedly by gender (e.g., see Ferree, 1990; Perry-Jenkins, Repetti, & Crouter, 2000; Thomson & Walker, 1989). The gender perspective asserts that the barometer of success for what constitutes a good wife and mother is subjectively different than that for what constitutes a good husband and father because of entrenched social expectations. Therefore, feelings about time should not be tied directly and simply to time allocations.

Below, we detail the gender perspective and the time availability perspective for three domains: time with children, time with one's spouse, and time for oneself.

GENDER AND TIME STRAINS WITH CHILDREN

The gender perspective strongly suggests that employed mothers more than employed fathers should feel time shortages with their children. Hays (1996) elegantly illustrated the strong expectations of "intensive mothering" in U.S. culture that have not declined despite the increase in mothers' labor force participation. She argued that many employed mothers have ambivalent feelings about working outside the home, often comparing what they do for their children with what stay-at-home mothers would do. Similarly, Garey (1999) suggested that employed mothers feel as if they have to make mothering visible as a primary identity by showing that they are fully involved in their children's lives. Consequently, employed mothers feel cultural and social pressures to spend more time with their children.

Today's fathers, especially in dual-earner families, may feel increased responsibility for childrearing and juggling work and family demands equally with their wives (Galinsky, 1999; LaRossa & LaRossa, 1981). However, fathers continue to primarily believe that working hard to provide income for their families and own a home is the key way to express love and care for their children and spouse (Townsend, 2002). Fathers' standards for actual time spent interacting with children (rather than earning resources for children) are thus still lower in comparison to mothers' standards. In addition, fathers in dual-earner families may compare themselves to other fathers who are the sole breadwinner in their families and who spend less time with their children. In this case, dual-earner fathers see their own involvement in their children's lives as quite extensive.

The time availability perspective is gender neutral in its assumption that, regardless of gender, parents who have allocated more time to paid work and other commitments, and less time to their children, should feel the most time strain with children. Because dual-earner fathers spend more time at paid jobs and less time with children, they should feel more time strain than mothers (see Galinsky, 1999; Milkie, Mattingly, Nomaguchi, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004). When time allocations to paid work, family work, time with children, and other activities are controlled, fathers should be similar to mothers in their feelings about time shortages with children.

GENDER AND TIME STRAINS WITH SPOUSE

A good marriage is critical to managing work and family responsibilities (Barnett & Rivers, 1996; Becker & Moen, 1999), and for feelings of

success in balancing work and family demands (Marks, Huston, Johnson, & MacDermid, 2001; Milkie & Peltola, 1999). Spending time together as a couple is important for maintaining a good marriage (e.g., Gager & Sanchez, 2003). Yet spending quality time together becomes more difficult when demands of paid work are high (Blair, 1993; Kingston & Nock, 1987).

Relatively little is known about whether dual-earner mothers and fathers differ in their feelings about the time they spend together. According to the gender perspective, gender roles in the interpersonal and psychological part of marriage may not have changed much. In U.S. culture, wives are expected to be more responsible than husbands for maintaining and enhancing the well-being of their relationship (Thompson & Walker, 1989). Indeed, wives more often than husbands monitor their relationships in marriage (Ragsdale, 1996), and women provide more emotional support to their spouses than do men (Umberson, Chen, House, Hopkins, & Slaten, 1996), although empirical findings are inconsistent (e.g., Turner & Marino, 1994). Thus, the same time allocation to one's spouse may feel like too little time in the marital relationship to the wife while it is viewed as adequate by the husband. Her standards for what is necessary to please her husband, especially if paid work consumes her time, may be higher than his standards.

The time availability perspective argues that because the amount of time with one's spouse is by definition equivalent for each partner (i.e., time spent is a couple not an individual phenomenon), feelings about time should be similar. For very busy parents, mothers and fathers should feel a time shortage with their spouse, and for parents working fewer hours at their jobs, feelings about time with their spouse should be less troublesome. This perspective implies similar standards for husbands and wives: Marital roles in dual-earner families have become less gendered in several ways, certainly when compared with parental roles. For example, Waite and Gallagher (2000) emphasized that marriage no longer leads women to disadvantages in pursuing careers and sharing housework. Therefore, expectations about time commitments to the relationship should also be similar for husbands and wives.

GENDER AND TIME STRAINS FOR ONESELF

Personal downtime is an important break from the daily struggle for busy dual-earner parents. A number of studies have suggested that mothers are more disadvantaged than fathers in finding time for their own fun

and relaxation without having children around. In her qualitative work on dual-earner families, Deutsch (1999) argued that when it comes to negotiations with their spouse about who should get a break from work and family demands, mothers are often disadvantaged because of the greater sense of responsibility for taking care of children. Although fathers acknowledge that being married and having children means that they can no longer have as much freedom as they did when they were single and childless (Townsend, 2002), fathers' sense of obligation to sacrifice their own free time to juggle work and family demands may not be as great as mothers' (Deutsch, 1999).

The gender perspective suggests that mothers and fathers may differ in perceptions of a lack of time for personal enjoyment and relaxation. Many wives and husbands see wives as secondary providers and, thus, are unlikely to believe that wives are entitled to rewards at home. In contrast, when husbands help wives do housework and child care, husbands and wives see it as a great contribution and think that husbands deserve appreciation and rewards (Sanchez, 1994; Thompson, 1991). In this context, if mothers and fathers spend similarly long hours in paid work, housework, and child care, and few hours for themselves, fathers may feel more keenly the lack of time for themselves than mothers because fathers more than mothers feel that they are entitled to rewards for their work.

Yet the gender perspective provides an alternative, also gendered possibility. Even when spending time on their own, mothers may not be released from the extensive mental work of caring for families, such as planning dinner, arranging for home repairs, planning family gatherings, thinking about child care arrangements, and monitoring the health and well-being of family members (DeVault, 1991; Mederer, 1993). Because fathers less often assume the responsibility for managing family members' daily lives, when engaged in free time activity, fathers may be more easily able to leave family issues and enjoy the benefits of that time compared with mothers. Here the gender perspective hints at weary, self-sacrificing mothers who can never mentally leave their family work, and thus feel keenly a lack of time for themselves. Thus, regardless of the actual time they spend for their own free-time activities, mothers more than fathers may feel as if they have too little time for themselves.

The time availability perspective assumes that feelings about time allocations are gender neutral; and therefore, when the time spent in market work, housework, with children, and on free time is controlled, we would expect no gender differences in parents' feeling time shortages for oneself.

GENDER, TIME STRAINS, AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING

The gender perspective (e.g., Simon, 1992, 1997) suggests that strains in the parental and spousal role have greater repercussions on women's psychological well-being because women are more highly committed to family roles than are men. Whereas employed mothers see taking care of and spending time with their children and their spouses as central to success in parenthood and marriage, fathers may regard providing financial and material support for families as more important than spending time with their children and spouse (Garey, 1999; Hays, 1996; Townsend, 2002). Mothers take their relationship with their family members, especially children, more seriously than fathers (Scott & Alwin, 1989; Umberson et al., 1996). Thus, feelings of time shortages for children and spouse should matter more to the well-being of mothers than of fathers' feelings. On the other hand, if as Sanchez (1994) and Thompson (1991) suggested, men more often than women assume that they are entitled to appreciation and rewards at home for their work, including personal downtime as a break from work and family demands, feelings of not enough time for oneself may be more strongly related to lower psychological well-being for fathers than for mothers.

The time availability perspective argues gender neutrality in how feelings of time shortages relate to psychological well-being. Stress researchers suggest that strains associated with role domains have important implications for individuals' emotional functioning and well-being regardless of gender (Pearlin, 1989). Thus feeling time strain in the parental or spousal role, and for oneself, should relate to well-being in similar ways for mothers and fathers.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

In the current study, we examined the following questions:

Research Question 1: Do mothers and fathers in dual-earner families differ in feeling time strains with children, spouse, and for oneself?

Research Question 2: Do gender differences in feelings of time shortages with children, with spouse, and for oneself remain even after controlling for time allocations?

Research Question 3: Are feelings of time strains for children, spouse, and oneself associated with lower psychological well-being, such as distress, less satisfaction with family life and life in general?

Research Question 4: Do the associations between feelings of time strains and psychological well-being differ between mothers and fathers in dual-earner families?

Because the data we used are cross-sectional, we cannot determine the causal relationships among time allocation, feelings of time strains, and well-being; however, we can assess the strength of the extent to which these variables are associated.

Hypothesis 1: Gender, Time Strain with Children, and Well-Being

A. The gender perspective: Even when mothers and fathers spend similar amounts of time with children, mothers will more often feel that they do not spend enough time with children, and these feelings will be more strongly associated with poor psychological well-being for mothers than for fathers.
B. The time availability perspective: Fathers may feel like they do not have enough time with children because they actually spend less time with them than mothers, in part, because of longer hours of paid work. However, when time with children and time away from them (e.g., paid work hours) are controlled, there should be no gender differences in time strain regarding children. There should also be no gender differences in the association between time strain and psychological well-being.

Hypothesis 2: Gender, Time Strain with Spouse, and Well-Being

A. The gender perspective: Mothers more than fathers will feel insufficiency of time with their partner and will also experience more psychological discomfort associated with their feelings of time strain in this domain.
B. The time availability perspective: There should be no gender differences in feelings of time shortages with one's spouse, nor in the relationship of time strain to psychological well-being, when actual time allocations are controlled.

Hypothesis 3: Gender, Time Strain for Oneself, and Well-Being

A. The gender perspective: This perspective leads to mixed predications about which gender should feel more strongly the lack of time for oneself. On the one hand, men may feel more keenly the lack of time for themselves if they have a stronger sense of entitlement to such time. In this case, feelings of time strain in this area may be more closely associated with psychological well-being for fathers than mothers. On the other hand, because women may hold themselves to a higher standard of caregiving and availability to family members and do more mental work for family members that they cannot escape, they may be more likely to feel deprived of time for themselves and to experience more psychological distress associated with these feelings compared with men.
B. The time availability perspective: Mothers may feel like they do not have enough time for themselves because they spend less time for their own free-time activities than fathers. However, when actual time allocations are controlled (e.g., time spent on one's own leisure), there should be no gender differences in feelings of not having enough time for oneself. In addition, there

should be no gender differences in the relationship between feeling time shortages for oneself and well-being.

METHOD

DATA

We used a subsample of dual-earner parents from the 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce (NSCW) conducted by Louis Harris and Associates for the Families and Work Institute (Bond et al., 1998). The 1997 NSCW consists of a nationally representative sample of 3,551 adults, age 18 years or older, who were in the civilian labor force. We selected the 860 parents with children younger than age 18 who were married or had a partner living in the household, whose spouse or partner was also employed, and answered all three questions on feelings about the time they spend with children, spouse, and for themselves. Because the NSCW interviews one adult per household, mothers and fathers in our analysis come from different families.

MEASURES

Dependent variables. Feelings of time strains with children were measured by the question "Do you feel that the time you have with your (child/children) is too much, just enough, or not enough?" (see Appendix for the list of questions used in the analysis). Feelings of time strains with spouse were measured by the question "Do you feel that the time you have with your partner is too much, just enough, or not enough?" Feelings of time strains for oneself were measured by the question "Do you feel that the time you have for yourself is too much, just enough, or not enough?" We created a dichotomous variable for each measure where parents who answered "not enough" are assigned 1s and others are assigned 0s. Very few respondents reported that they spend too much time with children, with their spouse, or for themselves. Hence, the distinction is primarily between those who feel they do not spend enough time and those who report spending just enough time with children, with their spouse, and for oneself.

Psychological well-being includes three indicators. Distress is a composite variable created by summing the responses to the following three items; (a) "How often are you bothered by minor health problems such as headaches, insomnia, or stomach upsets?"; (b) "During the past 3 months,

how often have you felt nervous and stressed?"; and (c) "During the past 3 months, how often have you found that you could not cope with all the things you had to do?" Responses include the five categories of very often, often, sometimes, rarely, and never. The code is reversed so that a higher score indicates more distress. Cronbach's alpha for these three items is .74. Life satisfaction was measured by the question "All things considered, how do you feel about your life these days? Would you say you feel very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?" Family satisfaction was measured by the question "All in all, how satisfied are you with your family life—extremely satisfied, very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, or not too satisfied?" Both variables are reverse coded so that a higher score indicates higher levels of satisfaction.

Independent variables. Gender is a dichotomous variable where mothers are coded as 1s and fathers are 0s.

Time spent on economic activities consists of four indicators.[1] Hours of paid work per week is a continuous variable measured as respondents' self-report of hours usually spent at all paid jobs per week. Hours spent on commute between home and workplace per week is a continuous variable created by multiplying the number of hours it takes respondents to commute between work and home each day by the number of days respondents usually work per week. Respondents who typically work from home are assigned 0 hours; and a dichotomous variable, working from home, was created where these respondents are assigned 1s and others are 0s. Hours spent on schooling per week is a continuous variable measuring hours per week respondents usually spend on going to school, attending classes or participating in a training program. Respondents who did not attend school are assigned 0 hours.

Time spent on domestic and community roles consists of two indicators. Hours spent on doing household chores per week is a continuous variable. Respondents were asked how many hours they usually spent on household chores on workdays and on nonworkdays. We created a weekly variable for respondents by multiplying the number of hours they spent on household chores on workdays by the number of days respondents usually worked and multiplying the number of hours they spent on household chores on nonwork days by the number of days respondents did not work per week, and summing the two amounts. Hours spent on volunteer or community work per week is a continuous variable. Respondents were asked "Do you do any volunteer or community work on a regular basis, or not?" and "How many hours per week do you usually spend on volunteer

or community activities?" If respondents were not volunteers, they were assigned 0 hours.

Time spent with children per week and time spent for oneself per week are continuous variables. Respondents were asked how many hours on average they spent taking care of and/or doing things with their children on workdays and on nonworkdays. We created a weekly variable by multiplying the number of hours spent with children on workdays by the number of days respondents usually worked, multiplying the number of hours spent with children on nonworkdays by the number of days respondents usually did not work for pay, and summing the two amounts. Respondents were also asked how many hours on average they spent on their own free-time activities on workdays and on nonworkdays. We created a weekly variable of time spent for oneself in the same way as the time spent with children variable was created.

If their spouse does not spend time with children, in particular, if their spouse works long hours at a paid job and is not available to their children, parents may feel pressured that they should spend more time with their children. Similarly, parents may feel that they are not spending enough time with each other, if their spouse is often away from home because of long hours of paid work. In our analysis, spouse's time allocations consist of three variables. Spouse's hours of paid work per week is a continuous variable measured by asking the respondent how many hours their spouse usually works at all paid jobs per week. Spouse's hours spent on doing household chores per day is measured by questions on how many hours a respondent's spouse and/or partner usually spent on household chores on workdays and on nonworkdays. Because we did not know how many days spouses worked per week, we were unable to create a weekly variable. Instead, we averaged the hours the spouse spent on household chores on workdays and nonworkdays. Spouse's hours spent on doing things with children per day are measured by questions about how many hours the respondent's partner usually spent on doing things with children on workdays and on nonworkdays. We averaged the hours the spouse spent with children on workdays and nonworkdays.

Dual-earner parents may feel more time strains, more distressed, and less satisfied with life if they believe that it would be better for family members if the wife stayed at home than if they do not believe so. Attitudes toward gender roles are measured by the question "How much do you agree or disagree that it is much better for everyone involved if the man earns the money and the woman takes care of the home and children?" Answers range from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 4 (*strongly disagree*). The responses were reverse coded so that a higher score indicates a more

traditional attitude toward gender roles. Attitudes toward maternal employment are measured by the question "How much do you agree or disagree that a mother who works outside the home can have just as good a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work?" Answers range from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 4 (*strongly disagree*). Higher scores on this variable also indicate a more traditional attitude. For both variables, those with missing data were assigned as 1s, which was the modal response.[2]

Control variables. We included the following variables as controls in the analysis, based on their associations with parents' feelings of time strains and/or with psychological well-being suggested in previous studies: the number of children, presence of preschool-age children, age, race, education, family income, the day of the week, and season of the year.

The number of children and presence of preschool-aged children indicate demands of child care that are related to parents' free-time activities (Crawford & Huston, 1993; Mattingly & Bianchi, 2003), feelings of time strains with children (Milkie et al., 2004), and psychological well-being (see Umberson & Williams, 1999). The number of children under age 18 is measured as a series of three dummy variables of one child, two children, and three or more children, with two children as the reference group. The presence of child(ren) younger than age 6 is a dichotomous variable; those with children younger than age 6 years are coded as 1s and others as 0s.

Demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of parents are also related to parents' feelings of time strains (Milkie et al., 2004) and psychological well-being (see Aneshensel, 1992). Age is a continuous variable measured in years. Those who have missing data are assigned the mean age. Race includes four categories of non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, and other races. Those who have missing data are assigned White, the modal category. We created a dummy variable for each category and used non-Hispanic White as the reference group. Education is measured by the highest degree completed, including high school graduate or less, some college, bachelor's degree, and more than bachelor's degree. We created dummy variables for each level of schooling completed and used high school graduate or less as the reference group. Family income is total family income from all sources in the previous year measured as a continuous variable. Those who have missing data are assigned the median income by gender and education of the respondent. Because the distribution was highly skewed, the natural log is used.

Employed parents may be more likely to spend time with their children and spouse on weekends than on weekdays and may feel less pressured on

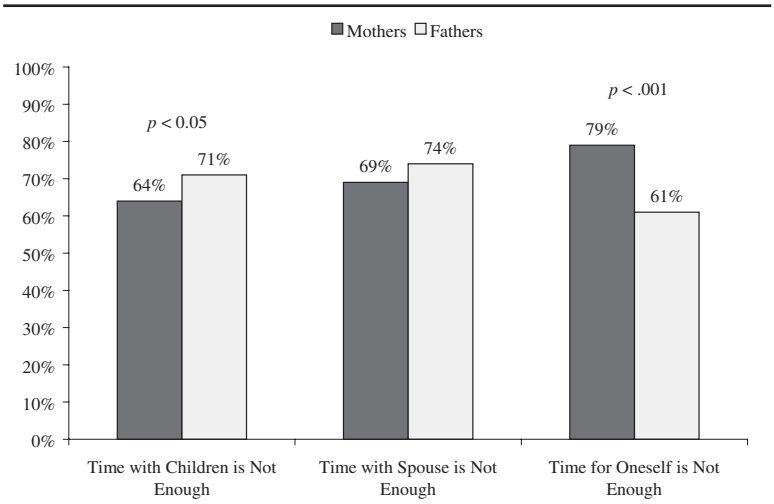

Figure 1: Percentage of Dual-Earner Mothers and Fathers Who Feel Time With Children, Time with Spouse, and Time for Oneself Is Not Enough

the weekend (Yeung, Sandberg, Davis-Kean, & Hofferth, 2001). Weekends is a dichotomous variable where those who were interviewed on Saturday or Sunday are assigned 1s and others are assigned 0s. Parents may also spend more time with family in summer than in other seasons because children are off from school and parents may take days off for vacations. Summer is a dichotomous variable where those who were interviewed from June 1 through August 31 are assigned 1s and others are 0s.

RESULTS

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN TIME STRAINS FOR CHILDREN, SPOUSE, AND ONESELF

Figure 1 shows that the vast majority of mothers and fathers in dual-earner families feel time strains in all of the three domains of time with their children, time with their spouse, and time for themselves. As the time availability perspective predicts, mothers are significantly less likely than fathers to feel they do not have enough time with their children (64% for mothers vs. 71% for fathers). As for time with one's spouse, 69% for mothers and 74% for fathers feel not enough time; however, the gender

difference is not statistically significant. In contrast, as the gender perspective suggests, more mothers than fathers report that the time they have for themselves is not enough (79% of mothers vs. 61% of fathers).

Descriptive statistics for other variables in the analysis are presented in Table 1. As previous studies suggest (e.g., Gore & Mangione, 1983; Gove, 1972; Kandel, Davies, & Raveis, 1985), mothers are more likely than fathers to be distressed. There are no gender differences, however, in life satisfaction and family satisfaction. Similar to previous studies (e.g., Deutsch, 1999, Waite & Gallagher, 2000), mothers and fathers, even in dual-earner families, differ in time allocations. Fathers spend more hours than mothers at paid jobs (50.3 hours per week for fathers vs. 39.5 hours per week for mothers) and on commuting (4.2 hours per week for fathers vs. 3.3 hours per week for mothers). In contrast, mothers spend more hours than fathers on housework (27.7 hours per week for mothers vs. 19.1 hours per week for fathers) and taking care of and/or doing things with their children (24.9 hours per week for mothers vs. 16.6 hours per week for fathers). Fathers spend more hours on their own free-time activities than mothers (9.3 hours per week for fathers vs. 6.2 hours per week for mothers). Spouses' time allocations also differ along gender lines. It is interesting to note, although dual-earner mothers and fathers do not differ in attitudes toward gender roles, fathers are significantly more likely than mothers to believe that a working mother cannot have as good a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work outside the home.

Tables 2 to 4 present odds ratios from logistic regressions examining gender differences in feelings of time strains with children, with spouse, and for oneself, respectively. Model 1 examines gender differences in feelings of time strain vis-à-vis children (Table 2), spouse (Table 3) and self (Table 4), controlling for the number of children, presence of preschool children, parents' characteristics (i.e., age, education, race, family income), and interviews on the weekend and in summer. Model 2 examines whether respondents' actual time allocations to paid and unpaid work explain gender differences in parents' feelings of time strains. Model 3 examines whether actual time spent with children and on oneself matter in gender differences in feelings of time strains.[3] Model 4 adds spouses' time allocations, assessing whether the availability of the spouse either to help with children or to spend time with the respondent matters in terms of gender differences in feelings of time strains. Finally, Model 5 adds attitudes toward gender and maternal employment to examine whether variations in such attitudes are associated with gender differences in feelings of time strains.

TABLE 1
Weighted Means for Variables for Dual-Earner Mothers and Fathers

	Mothers	*Fathers*	*Differences (Mothers/Fathers)*
Well-being			
Distress scale	7.91	6.81	1.16 ***
Life satisfaction	3.22	3.25	.99
Family satisfaction	2.93	3.00	.98
Time spent on economic roles			
Hours of paid work per week	39.52	50.31	.79***
Hours spent on commuting per week	3.27	4.18	.78***
Typically work from home	.07	.03	2.33**
Hours spent on going to school per week	1.06	1.35	.79
Time spent on domestic and community roles			
Hours of housework per week	26.72	19.07	1.40***
Hours spent on volunteer or community work per week	1.45	1.68	.86
Time spent directly with children and for oneself			
Time spent with children per week	24.89	16.56	1.50***
Time spent for oneself per week	6.15	9.32	.66***
Spouse's time allocations			
Spouse's hours of paid work per week	47.84	36.98	1.29***
Spouse's hours of housework per day	2.62	4.10	.64***
Spouse's hours spent with children per day	3.69	4.83	.76***
Attitudes toward gender and maternal roles			
Men earns, woman takes care of the home	2.41	2.31	1.05
Working mothers cannot have a good relationship with children	1.95	2.11	.93*
Control variables			
Number of children younger than age 18 years			
One	.42	.36	1.17
Two children	.39	.47	.83*
Three or more children	.19	.17	1.12
Presence of child(ren) younger than age 6 years	.42	.39	1.08
Age	37.01	40.12	.92
Education			
High school graduates or less	.33	.35	.94
Some college	.35	.32	1.09
Bachelor's degree	.23	.21	1.10
Master's, doctoral or professional degrees	.08	.13	.62*

(continued)

TABLE 1 (continued)

	Mothers	*Fathers*	*Differences (Mothers/Fathers)*
Race			
White	.81	.80	1.01
Black	.09	.09	1.00
Hispanic	.05	.07	.71
Other race	.05	.03	1.67
Family income (logged)	10.94	11.03	.99*
Interviewed in summer	.10	.07	1.43
Interviewed on weekend	.46	.41	1.12
Number of cases	459	401	

NOTE: *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

After controlling for demographic and socioeconomic variables, mothers are less likely than fathers to feel time strains with children, the same result as was seen at the bivariate level (Model 1 of Table 2). Long hours of paid work, commuting, and schooling are associated with greater likelihood of parental feelings of time deficits with children, whereas parents who typically work from home are less likely to feel time shortages with children (Model 2). Hours of housework and time spent on volunteer work are not significantly related to parental feelings of time deficits with children. Parents who spend more hours with children are less likely to report time strains with children (Model 3); however, the relationship becomes nonsignificant when attitudes are controlled (Model 5). Regardless of gender, spouse's long hours spent in domestic work are also related to respondents' feelings that their own time with children is not enough (Model 4). We examined whether this relationship is gender specific; however, results suggest that there are no significant gender differences (data not shown). It may be that spouses who spend more time on household chores are more family oriented than those who spend less time on domestic work. Having a family-oriented spouse may lead men and women to a perception of a higher standard of involvement in family life.

We are especially interested in changes in odds ratios for the effect of gender from Model 1 to Model 4. As the time availability perspective suggests, after controlling for time allocations, mothers and fathers do not differ significantly in their feelings of time strains with children. More specifically, when paid work hours are taken into account, there is no

TABLE 2
Odds Ratios From Logistic Regressions Predicting Feelings of Time Strains with Children Among Dual-Earner Parents (*N* = 860)

	Model 1	*Model 2*	*Model 3*	*Model 4*	*Model 5*
Gender (1 = Mothers)	0.70*	1.26	1.26	1.40	1.47
Time spent on economic roles					
Hours of paid work per week		1.05***	1.04***	1.05***	1.04***
Hours spent on commuting per week		1.08**	1.07*	1.07*	1.07*
Typically work from home		.32**	.35**	.35**	.34*
Hours spent on going to school per week		1.07**	1.07*	1.06*	1.06**
Time spent on domestic and community roles					
Hours of housework per week		1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Hours spent on volunteer or community work per week		.99	.99	.99	.99
Time spent directly with children and for oneself					
Hours spent with children per week			.98***	.98***	.98
Hours spent for oneself per week			.98	.98	.98
Spouse's time allocations					
Spouse's hours of paid work per week				1.01	1.01
Spouse's hours of housework per day				1.15**	1.16**
Spouse's hours spent with children per day				.99	.99
Attitudes toward gender and maternal roles					
Men earns, woman takes care of the home					.97
Working mothers cannot have a good relationship with children					1.18*
Control variables					
Number of children younger than age 18 years					
One	.78	.78	.85	.83	.84
Two children (reference)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Three or more children	.69	.73	.78	.77	.77
Presence of child(ren) younger than age 6 years	1.06	1.19	1.34	1.32	1.30
Age	.98	.99	.98	.98	.98*

(continued)

TABLE 2 (continued)

	Model 1	*Model 2*	*Model 3*	*Model 4*	*Model 5*
Race					
White (reference)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Black	.80	.61*	.69	.67	.68
Hispanic	.70	.61	.66	.62	.62
Other race	1.11	.97	1.02	1.02	.96
Education					
High school graduate or less (reference)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Some college	1.07	1.02	0.99	1.04	1.03
Bachelor's degree	0.64*	.64*	.60*	.65*	.65
Master's, doctoral, or professional degrees	.86	.75	.72	.77	.79
Family income (logged)	1.02	.97	.95	.94	.95
Interviewed in summer	.96	.80	.83	.84	.83
Interviewed on weekend	.94	.87	.86	.85	.86
Model chi-square	25.16*	122.83***	139.78***	148.66***	153.27***
df	14	20	22	25	27

NOTE: Standard errors are available from authors.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

difference between mothers and fathers in their feelings that they do not have enough time with their children.

In Model 5 of Table 2, we find that dual-earner parents who believe that working mothers cannot have just as good a relationship with their children as stay-at-home mothers are more likely to feel they do not spend enough time with their children compared with those who think that working mothers can establish a good relationships with their offspring. There is no interaction effect between this belief and gender of the parent (data not shown). When not only mothers but also fathers in dual-earner families believe that working mothers are less able to have a good relationship with their children than stay-at-home mothers, they feel as if their own time with children is not enough. Perhaps, fathers who feel strongly that their wives' employment is not ideal for children may feel as if they have to devote their time to their children to "fill in" their children's emotional needs that their employed wives are not always able to meet.

Turning to the feelings of not enough time with spouse, Model 1 of Table 3 shows that after controlling for demographic and socioeconomic variables, mothers are significantly less likely than fathers to feel time strains with their spouse (which was not statistically significant at the

bivariate level). Parents who work longer hours at paid jobs are more likely to feel time strains with their spouse (Model 2); however, the relationship becomes nonsignificant when spouses' hours at paid jobs are controlled (Model 4). This suggests that whether dual-earner parents experience feelings of time strains with their spouse depends largely on whether their spouse is available to spend time together, not on their own paid work demands. Long hours of housework are also related to feelings of time shortages with spouse, although it also becomes nonsignificant when spouse's time allocation is controlled. Whereas time spent with children is not significantly related to feelings of time strains with spouse, time spent on free time activities is negatively related to feeling a time deficit with one's spouse (Model 3). Finally, attitudes toward gender roles and maternal employment are not related to feelings of time strains with spouse (Model 5). Changes in the odds ratios for gender from Model 1 to Model 4 suggest that as the time availability perspective predicts, controlling for time allocations in paid and unpaid work, mothers and fathers do not significantly differ in the likelihood that they feel they do not have enough time with their spouse.

Results of the regression analysis of feelings of not enough time for oneself are presented in Table 4. As seen at the bivariate level, after controlling for demographic and socioeconomic variables, mothers are more likely than fathers to report that the time they have for themselves is not enough (Model 1). Long hours of paid work and housework are related to higher rates of reporting time strains for oneself (Model 2); however, the relationship between hours of housework and time strains for oneself becomes nonsignificant when spouses' time allocations are controlled (Model 4). Parents who spend more hours on their own free time activities are less likely to report time strains for themselves (Model 3). Controlling for the amount of time spent for oneself, the amount of time spent with children does not relate to feelings of time stains for oneself. Spouses' long paid work hours are related to higher likelihood of reporting time strains for oneself, perhaps suggesting that parents may feel difficulty in spending enough time on themselves when their spouse spends long hours at work away from home and is not available for domestic work or child care (Model 4). Attitudes toward gender roles and maternal employment are not related to feelings of time strains for oneself (Model 5).

In Table 4, the odds ratio for gender effects remain significant from Model 1 to Model 5. Mothers are more than twice as likely as fathers to feel they do not have enough time for themselves, even after controlling for all time allocation measures. As the gender perspective suggests, time

TABLE 3
Odds Ratios From Logistic Regressions Predicting Feelings of Time Strains with Spouse Among Dual-Earner Parents (*N* = 860)

	Model 1	*Model 2*	*Model 3*	*Model 4*	*Model 5*
Gender (1 = Mothers)	0.71*	0.85	.72	.67	.70
Time spent on economic roles					
Hours of paid work per week		1.02**	1.02*	1.01	1.01
Hours spent on commuting per week		1.05	1.04	1.04	1.04
Typically work from home		.45*	.46*	.47*	.46*
Hours spent on going to school per week		1.11**	1.10**	1.09**	1.09*
Time spent on domestic and community roles					
Hours of housework per week		1.02**	1.02**	1.01	1.01
Hours spent on volunteer or community work per week		.98	.98	.98	.98
Time spent directly with children and for oneself					
Hours spent with children per week			1.00	.99	.99
Hours spent for oneself per week			.96***	.96***	.96***
Spouse's time allocations					
Spouse's hours of paid work per week				1.02**	1.02**
Spouse's hours of housework per day				1.09	1.09
Spouse's hours spent with children per day				1.03	1.04
Attitudes toward gender and maternal roles					
Men earns, woman takes care of the home					1.04
Working mothers cannot have a good relationship with children					1.13
Control variables					
Number of children younger than age 18 years					
One	.63**	.64**	.69*	.67*	.68*
Two children (reference)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Three or more children	1.04	1.06	1.16	1.18	1.16
Presence of child(ren) younger than age 6 years	1.19	1.25	1.26	1.23	1.20

(continued)

TABLE 3 (continued)

	Model 1	*Model 2*	*Model 3*	*Model 4*	*Model 5*
Age	.96***	.96***	.96***	.96***	.96***
Race					
White (reference)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Black	.94	.79	1.00	.98	1.00
Hispanic	1.19	1.11	1.28	1.25	1.23
Other race	.83	.71	.77	.80	.77
Education					
High school graduate or less (reference)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Some college	1.36	1.34	1.26	1.32	1.32
Bachelor's degree	1.80**	1.95**	1.84**	2.03**	2.07**
Master's, doctoral, or professional degrees	1.99*	2.04*	2.02*	2.20**	2.29**
Family income (logged)	.95	.93	.93	.90	.91
Interviewed in summer	1.04	.93	.96	.97	.98
Interviewed on weekend	1.07	1.02	1.03	1.02	1.04
Model chi-square	49.18***	97.34***	116.35***	128.47***	131.81***
df	14	20	22	25	27

NOTE: Standard errors are available from authors.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

allocations cannot explain mothers' greater feelings of time strains for themselves compared with fathers.

Table 5 presents a summary of the findings described above. Our findings suggest that the time availability perspective was useful in explaining gender differences in feelings of time inadequacy for children and spouse, but not in explaining gender differences in feelings of too little time for oneself. At the bivariate level, mothers were less likely than fathers to report feeling time strain for their children; however, after controlling for time spent on economic and other activities, mothers and fathers did not differ in their feelings of time strains. As for feeling time shortages with one's spouse, similar patterns of gender differences were found: Although mothers more than fathers reported not enough time with their spouse, after controlling for time spent on economic and other activities, mothers and fathers did not differ in their feelings of time strains with their spouse. In terms of time for oneself, more mothers than fathers report feelings of time strains, and the gender differences remained highly significant even after time allocations were taken into account.

TABLE 4
Odds Ratios From Logistic Regressions Predicting Feelings of Time Strains for Oneself Among Dual-Earner Parents (*N* = 860)

	Model 1	*Model 2*	*Model 3*	*Model 4*	*Model 5*
Gender (1 = Mothers)	2.58***	3.47***	2.61***	2.37***	2.44***
Time spent on economic roles					
Hours of paid work per week		1.03***	1.02**	1.02*	1.02*
Hours spent on commuting per week		1.07**	1.05	1.06*	1.06*
Typically work from home		.84	.83	.85	.85
Hours spent on going to school per week		1.04	1.02	1.02	1.02
Time spent on domestic and community roles					
Hours of housework per week		1.02*	1.02*	1.01	1.01
Hours spent on volunteer or community work per week		.97	.97	.97	.97
Time spent directly with children and for oneself					
Hours spent with children per week			1.00	1.00	1.00
Hours spent for oneself per week			.93***	.93***	.93***
Spouse's time allocations					
Spouse's hours of paid work per week				1.02***	1.02**
Spouse's hours of housework per day				1.06**	1.06
Spouse's hours spent with children per day				1.01	1.01
Attitudes toward gender and maternal roles					
Men earns, woman takes care of the home					.93
Working mothers cannot have a good relationship with children					1.07
Control variables					
Number of children younger than age 18 years					
One	.72*	.74	.85	.83	.84
Two children (reference)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Three or more children	1.11	1.16	1.29	1.29	1.29
Presence of child(ren) younger than age 6 years	1.67**	1.76**	1.63*	1.64*	1.64*
Age	1.00	1.01	1.00	1.00	1.00

(continued)

TABLE 4 (continued)

	Model 1	*Model 2*	*Model 3*	*Model 4*	*Model 5*
Race					
White (reference)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Black	1.25	1.15	1.85*	1.81*	1.81*
Hispanic	.71	.66	.79	.78	.79
Other race	.94	.86	.99	1.02	1.00
Education					
High school graduate or less (reference)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Some college	1.63**	1.67**	1.50*	1.56*	1.54*
Bachelor's degree	1.10	1.18	1.07	1.16	1.16
Master's, doctoral, or professional degrees	1.86*	1.92*	1.92*	2.09*	2.04*
Family income (logged)	1.26	1.22	1.25	1.19	1.18
Interviewed in summer	1.05	.96	.96	.96	.95
Interviewed on weekend	1.07	1.02	1.04	1.05	1.06
Model chi-square	76.43***	115.60***	168.23***	176.27***	177.52***
df	14	20	22	25	27

NOTE: Standard errors are available from authors.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

TABLE 5
Summary of Results of Gender Differences in Feelings of Time Strains for Children, Spouse, and Oneself

	Feelings of Time Strains for:		
	Children	*Spouse*	*Oneself*
Controlling for: background characteristics	Fathers > Mothers	Fathers > Mothers	Mothers > Fathers
Time allocation	*ns*	*ns*	Mothers > Fathers
Spouse's time allocation	*ns*	*ns*	Mothers > Fathers
Attitudes toward gender and maternal role	*ns*	*ns*	Mothers > Fathers

NOTE: *ns* indicates there are no significant gender differences.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TIME STRAINS AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING

Our next set of research questions center on whether the relationship between time strains and psychological well-being is different for dual-earner mothers versus fathers. Table 6 presents results from OLS regression models predicting the relationship between time strains and three indicators of psychological well-being: distress, life satisfaction, and family satisfaction. Model 1 examines gender differences in psychological well-being without adding feelings of time strains to the model. Model 2 adds feelings of time strains, examining the relationship between feelings of time strains and psychological well-being. Model 3 adds interaction terms of gender and feelings of time strains, examining gender differences in the relationship between feelings of time strains and psychological well-being.

Are time strains with children related to psychological well-being? Feelings of insufficient time with children are not significantly related to any of the three measures of psychological well-being. However, when interaction terms are added to the models, the coefficient for the interaction of Gender × Time Strains for Children on life satisfaction is negative and statistically significant ($b = –.27$, $p < .05$) (see column 6). To more easily interpret this result, we examined the regression models for mothers and fathers separately. Feelings of too little time with one's children are significantly related to a lower level of life satisfaction only for mothers (data not shown).

Are feelings of time strains with spouse related to psychological well-being? Time strains with spouse are related to distress ($b = .70$, $p < .01$), but not to life satisfaction ($b = –.05$, *ns*) nor family satisfaction ($b = .11$, *ns*). The coefficient for the interaction of Gender × Time Strains With Spouse on distress is 1.02 ($p < .05$), suggesting that this relationship is especially true for mothers (see column 3). Again, separate regression models for mothers and fathers show that feelings of time strains with one's spouse are significantly related to higher level of distress only for mothers (data not shown).

Are feelings of time strain for oneself related to psychological well-being? Feeling insufficient time for oneself is significantly related to all three measures of well-being: distress ($b = .70$, $p < .01$), life satisfaction ($b = –.21$, p .001), and family satisfaction ($b = –.19$, $p < .01$). The coefficient for the interaction of Gender × Feelings of Time Strains for Oneself is positive and statistically significant for life satisfaction ($b = .27$,

TABLE 6
OLS Regression Coefficients for Well-Being Regressed on Feelings of Time Strains Among Dual-Earner Parents

	Distress			*Life Satisfaction*			*Family Satisfaction*		
	Model 1 (1)	*Model 2 (2)*	*Model 3 (3)*	*Model 1 (4)*	*Model 2 (5)*	*Model 3 (6)*	*Model 1 (7)*	*Model 2 (8)*	*Model 3 (9)*
Gender (1 = Mothers)	.81***	.74**	.14	–.02	.02	.06	–.06	–.02	.08
Feelings of time strains									
Time with children is not enough		.29	.20		–.10	.04		–.05	.01
Time with spouse is not enough		.70**	.17		–.05	–.03		.11	.10
Time for oneself is not enough		.70**	.87**		–.21***	–.33***		–.19**	–.17*
Gender × Feelings of Time Strains									
Gender × Time With Children is not enough			.14			–.27*			–.13
Gender × Time With Spouse is not enough			1.02*			–.05			.03
Gender × Time for Oneself is not enough			–.35			.27*			–.04
Time spent on economic roles									
Hours of paid work per week	.02**	.02*	.02*	–.01**	–.004	–.004	–.01**	–.01**	–.01**
Hours spent on commuting per week	.04	.03	.02	–.01	–.01	–.01	–.01	–.005	–.004
Typically work from home	–.27	–.05	–.05	.26*	.22*	.21	.24	.23	.23
Hours spent on going to school per week	.011	.000	.003	.004	.006	.005	–.009	–.009	–.009
Time spent on domestic and community roles									
Hours of housework per week	.0134	.0104	.0102	.0002	.0007	.0006	–.0021	–.0019	–.0018
Hours spent on volunteer or community work per week	–.02	–.01	–.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01
Time spent directly with children and for oneself									
Hours spent with children per week	–.0045	–.0016	–.0020	–.0002	–.0007	–.0011	.0044*	.0043*	.0041*

Hours spent on one's own free activities per week	–.0135	.0032	.0027	.0053	.0016	.0017	.0002	–.0018	–.0016
Spouse's time allocations									
Spouse's hours of paid work per week	.0130	.0075	.0077	–.0012	–.0002	–.0003	–.0045	–.0043	–.0042
Spouse's hours of housework per day	–.11	–.13*	–.14*	.02	.03	.03*	.03	.03	.03
Spouse's hours spent with children per day	–.12**	–.12**	–.12**	.03**	.03**	.03**	.04**	.04**	.04**
Attitudes toward gender and maternal roles									
Men earns, woman takes care of the home	.109	.113	.120	.010	.007	.011	.005	.002	.001
Working mothers cannot have a good relationship with children	.32***	.29**	.29**	–.13***	–.12***	–.13***	–.09**	–.09**	–.09**
Control variables									
Number of children younger than age 18 years									
One	–.28	–.19	–.21	.07	.06	.05	.12	.12	.12
Two children (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Three or more children	–.07	–.10	–.11	.01	.01	.01	–.10	–.10	–.10
Presence of child(ren) younger than age 6 years	.01	–.08	–.11	.03	.05	.06	–.11	–.09	–.09
Age	–.022	–.015	–.017	.003	.002	.002	.002	.001	.001
Race									
White (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Black	–.45	–.49	–.49	–.04	–.04	–.03	–.11	–.10	–.09
Hispanic	.50	.53	.56	–.06	–.08	–.08	–.21	–.23*	–.22
Other race	.54	.58	.57	–.12	–.12	–.11	–.18	–.17	–.17
Education									
High school graduates or less (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Some college	.19	.10	.10	–.05	–.03	–.01	–.09	–.08	–.07

(continued)

TABLE 6 (continued)

	Distress			*Life Satisfaction*			*Family Satisfaction*		
	Model 1 (1)	*Model 2* (2)	*Model 3* (3)	*Model 1* (4)	*Model 2* (5)	*Model 3* (6)	*Model 1* (7)	*Model 2* (8)	*Model 3* (9)
Bachelors' degree	.132	.041	.041	–.008	–.003	–.003	–.078	–.091	–.093
Master's or doctoral or professional degrees	.57	.38	.31	–.06	–.03	–.03	–.03	–.02	–.03
Family income (logged)	–.38*	–.39*	–.38*	.09*	.10*	.10*	.12*	.12*	.12*
Interviewed in summer	.20	.22	.24	.05	.04	.06	.09	.09	.09
Interviewed on weekends	.09	.08	.08	–.04	–.04	–.05	.02	.02	.02
Intercept	10.04***	9.37***	9.70***	2.43***	2.50***	2.42***	2.28***	2.21***	2.15***
Adjusted R^2	.10***	.13***	.14***	.08***	.11***	.12***	.08***	.09***	.08***
Number of cases	858			857			858		

NOTE: Standard errors are available from authors.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

TABLE 7
Summary of Results of the Relationship Between Feelings of Time Strains and Psychological Well-Being

	Psychological Well-Being		
	Distress	*Life Satisfaction*	*Family Satisfaction*
Feelings of time strains for:			
Children	*ns*	(–) Mothers > Fathers	*ns*
Spouse	(–) Mothers > Fathers	*ns*	*ns*
Oneself	(–)	(–) Fathers > Mothers	(–)

Note: (–) indicates lower psychological well-being; *ns* indicates no significant relationship.

$p < .05$). Separate regression models suggest that the negative relationship between time strains for oneself and life satisfaction is found only for fathers (data not shown).

Table 7 summarizes the findings. Feelings of time strains with their children are related to lower life satisfaction for mothers, but not for fathers. Time strains with one's spouse are related to higher distress for mothers, but not for fathers. These results suggest that, in the realm of family life, even though fathers express feelings of time strains for their children and spouse (see Figure 1), they may not be as affected psychologically by not having enough time with family members as mothers are. Finally, feelings of time strains for oneself are related to lower well-being for both mothers and fathers. However, in terms of life satisfaction, the relationship is stronger for fathers than for mothers. In contrast to strains in family relationships, fathers are less likely than mothers to express feelings of time strains for oneself (see Figure 1); however, when they feel strained, they are much more likely than mothers to feel dissatisfied with life in general. As the gender perspective suggests, mothers and fathers differ in the association between time strains and psychological well-being.

DISCUSSION

Recent academic literature and the popular press have suggested that time strains for family and personal life have become a major issue for dual-earner parents (e.g., Hochschild, 1997; Milkie et al., 2004). Using

the rich information on U.S.-employed parents' work and family lives, drawn from the 1997 NSCW, we examined whether mothers and fathers in dual-earner families differ in feelings of time strains and in the associations of such time strains with psychological well-being. Two leading perspectives were evaluated. Whereas the time availability perspective suggested that gender differences in feelings should be explained by gender differences in time allocations to work and family roles, the gender perspective led to expectations that regardless of time allocations, mothers should feel more time strains than fathers and the relationship of time strains to psychological well-being should differ between mothers and fathers depending on the role domains where they feel time strains. The time availability perspective was more useful in explaining feelings of time strains for children and spouse, whereas the gender perspective was more useful in explaining feelings of time strains for oneself and the relationship between feelings of time strains and psychological well-being.

Our analysis suggests that the vast majority of mothers and fathers in dual-earner families feel they do not spend enough time with their children, with their spouse, and on themselves. As the time availability perspective suggests, more fathers than mothers reported feeling a lack of time with their children and their spouse because they spent more time away from home than mothers because of paid work, commuting, and schooling. This suggests that, regardless of gender, not being available for their family because of economic activities is strongly related to dual-earner parents' feelings of work-family conflict.

However, the time availability perspective was unable to explain gender differences in feelings of time strains for one's own free time activities. Even when time allocations were taken into account, mothers were much more likely than fathers to express a lack of time to spend on themselves. One possibility is that the quantitative measure of time allocations may not capture the key features of gender differences in leisure time among parents. As Deem (1996a, 1996b) argued, even while on vacation women may feel the pressure of domestic responsibilities. Women often orchestrate family gatherings and other fun events—they plan the leisure outings (Di Leonardo, 1992)—that may diminish the refreshment they get from them. Being the family manager may exact a sharp cognitive cost in which detailed and endless mental family work makes mothers feel they cannot escape the demands of family life. This cognitive planning is not captured through quantitative measures of time use but may be the factor that underlies our findings of a strong and significant gender difference in feeling not enough time for oneself. Further research is warranted to ex-

plore dual-earner mothers' and fathers' time use in leisure activities in conjunction with work and family demands and role expectations.

The current study found meaning patterns rather than structural patterns in dual-earner mothers and fathers' psychological reactions to time strains in different role domains. Feelings of time strains in their role as a parent and spouse appeared to have greater repercussions for mothers' well-being. In contrast, lack of time for oneself mattered for fathers' sense of life satisfaction. Similar patterns of gender differences in psychological reactions to stressful or undesirable conditions in different role domains have been found in previous studies. For example, Glass and Fujimoto (1994) found that wives' psychological well-being was more sensitive to their perception of equity in the division of housework, whereas husbands' psychological well-being was more sensitive to their perception of equity in the division of paid work. This may be because, as the gender perspective suggests, mothers and fathers differ in role expectations in work, marriage, and parenthood, and hence they may also differ in psychological consequences of strain in each role domain.

Future research should make efforts to integrate structural (i.e., time availability) and meaning (i.e., gender) perspectives for further understanding employed parents' work-family conflict and well-being. Time allocations can be a function of the meanings of social roles (Pyke & Coltrane, 1996). People may allocate their time according to their beliefs about what they "should" do as workers, parents, spouses, or individuals. Because our data are cross-sectional, we do not know the causal relationship among time allocations, feelings of time strains, and psychological well-being. The relationships may be reciprocal. On one hand, excessive time allocated because of demands of one's occupation can create feelings of strain and the associated psychological distress. On the other hand, parents whose feelings of time strains create distress and lower life satisfaction may attempt to cut their paid work hours and spend more time with their family, hoping that they will feel fewer frustrations and tensions surrounding time allocations. We need longitudinal data to trace the dynamic nature of the relationships among time allocation, feelings of time pressure, and psychological well-being for mothers and fathers.

Future research should also expand on the emotional context of work-family life by considering life stage and cohort differences. Work-family strategies among dual-earner couples are not static but a dynamic process of negotiations, rearrangements, and adaptations depending on family members' changing needs and availability (Becker & Moen, 1999; Deutsch, 1999). Role expectations associated with parenthood and mar-

riage vary by family life stage, and children's needs differ across various stages of their lives (Kurz, 2002). Spouses' employment demands and commitment to family work may also change across the family life course (Becker & Moen, 1999; Rexroat & Shehan, 1987). Moreover, as employment opportunities for men and women have varied across cohorts, the gendered meanings associated with parental and spouse roles have too. Carr (2002) suggested that gendered role expectations differ among three U.S. cohorts—the pre–World War II cohort, the Baby Boomer cohort, the Baby Bust cohort—and thus the consequences of work-family strategies on men's and women's self-evaluations also vary for these cohorts.

Finally, in addition to life course considerations, research on the meanings of work and family roles, work-family conflict and strategies, and their consequences for adult well-being need to be assessed for parents of different socioeconomic statuses, and by race and ethnicity. A focus on men and women whose opportunity structures vary and who may have different understandings about the meaning of time with others in the family and for oneself can broaden what we know about the structure-meaning nexus of the emotional aspects of work-family life.

APPENDIX
National Study of the Changing Workforce (NSCW) Variables Used in the Analysis (Variable Names in Parentheses)

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Time strains with children: "Do you feel that the time you have with your (child/children) is too much, just enough, or not enough?" (QSP10)

Time strains with spouse: "Do you feel that the time you have with your partner is too much, just enough, or not enough?" (QSP21)

Time strains for oneself: "Do you feel that the time you have for yourself is too much, just enough, or not enough?" (QSP13)

Distress

1) "How often are you bothered by minor health problems such as headaches, insomnia, or stomach upsets?" (QPW5)
2) "During the past 3 months, how often have you felt nervous and stressed?" (QPW6)
3) "During the past 3 months, how often have you found that you could not cope with all the things you had to do?" (QPW10)

Life satisfaction: "All things considered, how do you feel about your life these days? Would you say you feel very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?" (QPW12)

Family satisfaction: "All in all, how satisfied are you with your family life—extremely satisfied, very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, or not too satisfied?" (QPW13)

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Gender

Interviewer observation of respondent's sex. (QSC8)

Hours of paid work per week

1) Employed respondents

a) Regular-hour workers

a. "How many PAID hours a week are you REGULARLY SCHEDULED to work?" (QEB21)

b. "On average, how many additional hours a week do you do ANY work related to this job—including both Unpaid AND paid overtime worked at ANY location?" (QEB23)

b) Irregular-hour workers

a. "Please tell me how many PAID hours you USUALLY work per week in this job. Do NOT include any UNPAID EXTRA hours you work OR any OFFICIAL OVERTIME hours for which you are paid at a HIGHER rate." (QEB21A)

2) Self-employed respondents (QEB2): "How many hours a week in total do you usually work at your main job?" (QEB23A)

3) Multiple job holders (QEB1): "On average, about how many hours per week do you work at your other job (or jobs) in addition to the (SUM OF HOURS) hours per week you spend on your main jobs?" (QEB25)

Total sum of hours of paid work per week for a respondent is either (1), (2), (1) + (3), or (2) + (3).

Hours spent on commute between home and workplace per week[a]: "On the average day, how long does it take you to get FROM HOME TO WORK at your main job?" (QEB45)

Working from home: The question asking hours spent on commute (see above) includes one response category, "typically work from home." We used this information to identify those who typically work from home.

Hours spent on schooling per week: "Are you currently going to school, taking classes, or participating in a training program, or not?" (QBP48); "How many hours per week do you usually spend at school and doing coursework?" (QBP49)

Hours per week spent on doing household chores[a]

1) "On average, on days when you're working, about how many hours/minutes do YOU spend on home chores—things like cooking, cleaning, repairs, shopping, yardwork, and keeping track of money and bills?" (QSP6, QSP6M, QSP6H)

2) "And about how many hours/minutes on days when you're NOT working?" (QSP7, QSP7M, QSP7H)

Hours spent on volunteer or community work per week: "Do you do any volunteer or community work on a regular basis, or not?" (QBP51); "How many

hours per week do you usually spend on volunteer or community activities?" (QBP52)

Time spent with children per week[a]

1) "On average, on days when you're working, about how many hours/minutes do you spend (taking care of or) doing things with your (child/children)?" (QSP8, QSP8M, QSP8H)
2) "And about how many hours/minutes on days when you're NOT working?" (QSP9, QSP9M, QSP9H)

Time spent for oneself per week[a]

1) "On average, on days when you're working, about how many hours/minutes do you spend on your own free-time activities?" (QSP11, QSP11M, QSP11H)
2) "And about how many hours/minutes on days when you're NOT working?" (QSP12, QSP12M, QSP12H)

Spouse's hours of paid work per week: "How many ours a week in total does your (partner) USUALLY work—counting both REGULAR hours and any PAID or UNPAID EXTRA TIME worked—at all jobs?" (QSP4)

Spouse's hours per day spent on doing household chores

1) "On average, on WORK days, about how many hours/minutes does your partner spend on home chores—things like cooking, cleaning, repairs, shopping, yardwork, and keeping track of money and bills?" (QSP14, QSP14M, QSP14H)
2) "And about how many hours/minutes does your partner spend on NON-WORK days?" (QSP15, QSP15M, QSP15H)

Spouse's hours per day spent on doing things with children

1) "On average, on WORK days, about how many hours/minutes does your partner spend (taking care of or) doing things with your (child/children)?" (QSP17, QSP17M, QSP17H)
2) "And about how many hours/minutes does your partner spend on NON-WORK days?" (QSP18, QSP18M, QSP18H)

Attitudes toward gender roles: "How much do you agree or disagree that it is much better for everyone involved if the man earns the money and the woman takes care of the home and children?" (QWF6)

Attitudes toward maternal employment: "How much do you agree or disagree that a mother who works outside the home can have just as good a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work?" (QWF7)

CONTROL VARIABLES

Number of children under age 18

"Do you have any children who live with you for a least half the year—including natural, adopted, foster, or stepchildren for whom you are responsible, or not?" (QEN1)

"How many?" (QEN1A)

"Of the [total number of children] you just told me about, how many are under 18 years of age?" (for those who have more than one child) (QEN3)

"Is your child under 18 years of age, or not?" (for those who have only one child) (QEN3A)

Presence of child(ren) younger than age 6 is a constructed variable NUMKID6.
Age is a constructed variable RAGE.
Race
"Do you identify yourself as Hispanic or (Latino/Latina) or not?" (QPD3)
"What is your race?" (QPD4)
Education: "What is the highest level of schooling you have completed?": Four categories are created, including high school graduates or less, some college, bachelor's degree, and more than bachelor's degree. (QPD2)
Family income: "What was the total income from ALL sources (for your immediate family) before taxes in 1996?" (QSS8)
Summer and weekend are created by using the variable DATE that indicates date of the interview (year/month/day). (DATE)

a. A weekly variable was created by multiplying the number of hours they spend on workdays by the number of days respondents usually work, and multiplying the number of hours they spend on nonworkdays by the number of days respondents usually do not work, and summing the two amounts. The number of days respondents usually work per week was asked in the following question: "On average, how many DAYS a week do you do any work related to your main job—including both paid and unpaid time worked at ANY location?" (QEB23)

NOTES

1. In all time measures, we did the following imputations: Extreme values at the upper end were recoded to the 95th percentile. Those who have missing data are assigned mean hours by gender.

2. The ways in which researchers impute missing cases for ordinal variables vary. We decided to assign the modal categories to the missing cases for the two attitudinal variables (n = 8 and 3, respectively).

3. The 1997 NSCW did not ask respondents about the amount of time they spend with spouse. Theoretically, there should be little gender difference in time spent with their spouse among dual-earner mothers and fathers after controlling for respondents' and spouses' hours of paid and unpaid work, and thus we do not think the absence of the quantity time measure affects our results of gender differences in feelings of time strains for their spouse.

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