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STRESS AT HOME, PEACE AT WORK: A TEST OF THE TIME BIND HYPOTHESIS*

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ABSTRACT

We tested the central thesis of Hochschild's (1997) *The Time Bind*: people who are unsatisfied with housework, parenting, or their marriage work more hours, or at a minimum prefer to work more hours, especially if satisfaction with work is high. Using data from the National Survey and Families and Households, we analyzed 2,318 respondents who were employed, married to an employed spouse, and had one or more resident children under age 18. There was little evidence that working parents who were dissatisfied with home life worked more hours or even desired to do so.

Key words: time bind, work-family balance, employment, gender

STRESS AT HOME, PEACE AT WORK: A TEST OF THE TIME BIND HYPOTHESIS

In her book, *The Time Bind*, Arlie Hochschild (1997) proposes a fundamental shift in the significance of work and family in the lives of most Americans. Work has assumed more cultural value, in part by incorporating the best features of home, including emotional support, stability, and order. Home is less valued, having taken on many of the elements that were once considered the most alienating aspects of work. Hochschild argues that working parents are voting with their feet, and the workplace is winning (p.199).

Based on her in-depth, qualitative study of workers at a large, family-friendly national corporation as well as information from a survey of working parents with children in large, corporation-sponsored on-site child care centers, Hochschild (1997) has generated a provocative thesis. She argues that for many parents work is an escape from a troubled, chaotic, and unrewarding home life. According to Hochschild, a substantial portion of people are working more hours and spending fewer hours at home because they find work to be the more rewarding of the two settings. For many workers, regardless of occupational status, home has become work and work has become home (Hochschild, 1997, p.39). Parents escape the stress of being at home by going to the stress-free workplace (Hochschild, 1997, p.38). Unrelenting demands from family members and the drudgery of household chores contrast sharply with the orderly, friendly routine characterizing the workplace. Both mothers and fathers report the urge to avoid the chaos and frustrations of home life by spending more hours in the workplace, a comparatively orderly and controlled environment. Hochschild notes that workers often feel more appreciated, competent, and relaxed at work, and that more emotional support is available in the workplace. In fact, she finds higher parental incomes are positively associated with the

amount of time children spend in daycare.

Ironically, by working so many hours, employed parents exacerbate the time bind that results from struggles to balance work and family obligations. Thus, parents in Hochschild's (1997) study do report a desire for more time at home, particularly unscheduled time that is not constrained by work schedules and responsibilities. As parents have increased their time at work, family time has taken on an industrial tone with parents scheduling family interaction much like workplace meetings. Emphasis is placed on quality time, meaning focused attention on a shared activity for a relatively brief period of time. The challenge for parents, Hochschild finds, is that children typically do not embrace these models of efficiency; time moves more slowly for children, who prefer quantity time. Parents now face what Hochschild terms a third shift, which involves considerable emotional work...to repair the damage caused by time pressures at home (p. 51).

Hochschild (1997) reports a majority of working parents feel a reversal in home and work worlds. Eighty-five percent of the workers surveyed agree that home sometimes feels like a workplace and more than two-thirds of the sample report that work sometimes feels like home should feel. Although these attitudes are less prevalent among workers who are male, have undesirable jobs, women who have very traditional gender role views, and those who have achieved a work-family balance where they are not hesitant to allocate time to their children, these caveats to Hochschild's general theme are reported to involve only a minority of workers.

The time bind is especially pronounced for women, who are responsible for the needs of their family members, leaving themselves with little time to relax at home. Whereas men report more positive emotional states at home, women report more positive emotional states at work.

Men and women alike feel most at ease when performing tasks they feel less obliged to do. For women, this is paid labor, for men, this is housework and child care (Larson, Richards, & Perry-Jenkins, 1994). Hence, women are happier when they are in the paid labor force than when they are not.

Other evidence that American lives increasingly revolve around work rather than home is that the average American employee works an extra 164 hours per year relative to 30 years ago (Schor, 1991). Work hours have increased regardless of income or family structure. In fact, families raising children work more hours than any other group (Bogenschneider, 2000). The amount of parental time available to children each week fell by about 12 hours between 1960 and 1986 (Fuchs, 1988; 1991). Furthermore, there is mounting evidence that many parents choose to work additional hours. For instance, a majority of employed parents work more than 40 hours each week (Galinsky et al., 1991). Working parents have attendance records that differ little from workers without children (Emlin, 1987). Following the birth of a child, affluent new mothers return to work as quickly as low-income mothers (Hofferth et al., 1990). And, they typically do not take advantage of workplace policies that would allow them to spend more time at home (Friedman, 1987), even when employed by family friendly companies that offer several options to facilitate a better balance between employees' work and family obligations (Hochschild, 1997).

If true, the consequences of these trends may have severe implications for child development. More time spent on the job means that parents have fewer opportunities to share activities, monitor behavior, express affection, and invest in their children in other ways that increase the likelihood offspring will reach adulthood as secure and responsible citizens and family members.

The Present Study

Hochschild's (1997) thesis has generated much attention in the public press and in scientific outlets. Since its publication, her book, *The Time Bind*, has been a cited reference in over 50 journal articles, according to the Social Science Citation Index. In spite of the attention given her central propositions, the findings have not been replicated by others. Yet, there are important reasons to do so. The generalizability of her findings is limited by her nonrandom sample of a small number of workers in a single firm. How well does her thesis hold up when we consider a national sample of married working parents?

Although parents are spending more time at work, contrary to Fuchs's (1988, 1991) findings, recent evidence indicates that the amount of time they spend with their children has remained relatively unchanged over the past few decades (Bianchi, 2000; Sandberg & Hofferth, 2001). Mothers' time spent with children exhibits surprising continuity between 1965 and 1998, in part because mothers actively seek ways to maximize their time shared with children. For instance, despite spending more hours in the paid labor force, mothers of young children often work part-time. Additionally, mothers now devote less time to household tasks, freeing up more time to spend with their children (Bianchi, 2000). And, fathers have actually increased the amount of time they spend with their children, suggesting that parents desire to invest in their children. Indeed, between 1981 and 1997, the amount of time married employed mothers spent with children increased by 30 percent. A smaller increase in nonworking married mothers' time spent with children over this period resulted in similar absolute levels of weekly hours of engagement with or accessibility to children in 1997—22.4 hours for nonworking married women and 22.9 hours for working married women (Sandberg & Hofferth, 2001).

Thus, it seems that parents continue to value having and rearing children. Research reveals that although some children are unplanned, the majority of adults want to have children (Thornton, 1989). Moreover, the majority of parents want their children to grow up to be happy and successful. To devote less time to home obligations to spend time at work would reduce the chances of achieving these objectives. There are strong societal values obligating parents to provide not only a safe and loving environment for their children, but to be knowledgeable about their activities, to talk with them about drug use and sexual behavior, and to support school and other youth activities all of which require substantial investments of time. If most working parents embrace these values, we do not expect them to spend more time at work to escape home obligations, even if they are demanding.

While we recognize balancing child care and paid labor force participation is often not easy and may actually create strains that challenge marriages and parent-child relationships, one study using General Social Survey data suggests a poor balance may only involve a minority of working parents (Milkie & Peltola, 1999). The authors found that 40% of working parents believed they had achieved a balance between work and family that is very successful and another 45% reported a balance that was somewhat successful--leaving only 15% who reported achieving a poor balance. These arguments suggest that most parents are satisfied with the amounts of time they spend at work and home, suggesting perhaps that work has not become a haven from home.

Given the mixed evidence for Hochschild's (1997) thesis, it is important to use different data to test her thesis. We selected the National Survey of Families and Households because it is a large nationally representative data set containing over 2,000 married couples with children as

well as items that directly measure central variables in Hochschild's study.

To test her thesis, we must begin by showing that work satisfaction is related to actual and desired work hours. If they are not, the rest of the argument is not tenable. Therefore, we test the hypothesis: H1: Among employed parents, work satisfaction is positively associated with actual and desired work hours.

The next step is to show that satisfaction with home life is related to time spent at work. If people are happy with their home life they try to organize their lives so they spend more time at home. Conversely, if they are displeased with things they are expected to spend more time at work as an escape from an unsatisfactory home life. Again, Hochschild's argument is not tenable if the link between satisfaction with home life is not related to hours at work. Therefore, the second hypotheses we test is: H2: Among employed parents, home satisfaction is negatively associated with actual and desired work hours.

If the above hypotheses are supported, it is appropriate to test Hochschild's central thesis which is: H3: Employed parents who are highly satisfied with work and dissatisfied with home work more hours or prefer to work more hours than they do at present.

Finally, there are a number of factors that have the potential for moderating the relationship between dissatisfaction at home and the number of hours parents work or prefer to work. Because women, more than men, are expected to care for children and desire to care for offspring, women may be more reluctant to translate dissatisfaction with home life into more work hours. On the other hand, the greater pressures on women, than on men, to invest in child care may translate into unfulfilled demands that result in dissatisfaction with home and a higher motivation to escape from home by working more hours (Larson et al. 1994). Similarly, because

infants and small children place more demands on parents than do older children, we examine whether or not age of the youngest child moderates any relationships we observe . Because individuals with lower socioeconomic status have more need to work than those with higher status, those with higher socioeconomic status have more flexibility to coordinate home satisfaction and work satisfaction with work hours. Thus, socioeconomic status is also a moderator in our analysis. Therefore, we test the hypothesis that: H4: The relative levels of satisfaction between work and home are moderated by gender, age of the youngest child, and occupational status.

Data and Method

We use data from the 1987-88 National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), a national probability sample of 13,007 individuals (see Bumpass, Sweet, and Call, 1988 for a detailed description). These data are well-suited to this project as they contain a large number of married couples with children and multiple measures of work and family satisfaction. We focus on respondents who are currently employed, married, and have a resident child under age 18. These restrictions yield 2,318 dual-earner married parents for analysis.

Dependent Variables

This analysis includes two dependent measures: *actual hours worked* and *desired work hours*. *Actual hours worked* measures the number of hours the respondent worked in the past week, or, if the past week was atypical, the number of hours usually worked in a week. *Desired work hours* refers to the number of hours the respondent would work in a week if s/he could work just the number of hours per week s/he preferred.

Independent Variables

Respondents were asked to rate the work they do at their paid job, the work they do around the house, the things they do as a parent, and the things they do as a husband or wife on five 7-point scales: interesting-boring (reverse coded), appreciated-unappreciated (reverse coded), overwhelming-manageable, lonely-sociable, and poorly done-well done. These items were summed to create two distinct scales: *work satisfaction* and *home satisfaction*. The latter scale combines the respondent's ratings of their housework, parenting, and marital satisfaction because (as we show below) they relate to the dependent variable in similar ways. Values on these two scales range from 5 to 35 (the home satisfaction scale was divided by 3 so that the two scales have the same metric), with higher values indicating greater satisfaction. The Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients for these two measures are 0.76 for work satisfaction and 0.84 for home satisfaction.

These items use many of the same words as Hochschild (1997) to capture working parents' feelings about home and work satisfaction. For instance, she reports that workers prefer work because *they feel more appreciated and more competent there* (p. 200, emphasis added). And, most working parents *found life at work more interesting than life at home* (p. 201, emphasis added). Hochschild notes that *often relations at work seemed more manageable* (p. 42, emphasis added). One female worker's explanation for her quick return to work following the birth of her child reveals the important *social* aspects characterizing the workplace: *People said to me, 'you only took six weeks maternity leave?' I answered, 'Gee guys, that was six weeks I didn't have anybody to talk to. My friends are at work. The things that interest me are at work. My stimulation is at work. I am delighted to come back'* (p.75, emphasis in original). Thus, Hochschild's appraisals of workers' home and work satisfaction highlight many of the same

elements gauged in the scale that we use in the present study.

Other Variables

All analyses include controls for socioeconomic status (as assessed by respondent's education, occupational prestige, and income), age, age of youngest child, gender, and race. We control for socioeconomic status as it reflects need to work. *Education* is coded in years. *Occupational status* is a constructed measure in the NSFH which ranges from 0 to 100. *Income* is measured in thousands of dollars. *Age* (coded in years) is controlled because it is a surrogate, albeit imprecise, for different stages of career development which influence both home and work demands. We control for *age of youngest child* because infants place greater demands on parents which could influence satisfaction with home. *Gender* (coded 1 for female and 0 for male) is included in accord with Hochschild's (1997) evidence (noted above) that work at home has a different meaning for women than men. *Race* (coded 1 for nonwhite and 0 for white) is included because Blacks have more egalitarian marriages such that they may be less concerned about escaping home demands (Hochschild 1989).

Analytic Strategy

We use ordinary least squares regression because our two dependent variables are both interval-level measures. All analyses are weighted using the NSFH person-level weight.

First, we present descriptive statistics that show average actual and desired work hours as well as levels of work and home satisfaction. Then, we use OLS to estimate the independent effects of work and home satisfaction on actual and desired work hours, net of controls. Finally, we examine the joint effects of low home satisfaction coupled with high work satisfaction on actual and desired work hours.

Results

Table 1 shows the means and standard deviations for all variables used in the analyses. Most respondents work full-time. Average hours worked in the past week is about 41, with a standard deviation of 13.3. Desired work hours are somewhat lower, averaging just 31 hours per week (the standard deviation is 14.0). However, men and women significantly differ in their actual and desired work hours. Men work about 46 hours per week, whereas women average 34 hours of paid labor each week. A similar pattern emerges when we consider desired work hours; men report they would like to work about 36 hours per week, whereas women prefer to work about 24 hours. These findings indicate that men and women alike would prefer to spend less time at work than they actually do, which is contrary to Hochschild's (1997) thesis. On the other hand, for both women and men work satisfaction is significantly higher than home satisfaction, supporting Hochschild's assertion that married persons with children prefer work to home. Although these differences appear substantively small, they are statistically significant.

Table 1. Weighted Means (standard deviations) of Variables Used in the Analyses

Variable Name	Total Sample	Women	Men
<i>Dependent Variables</i>			
Actual hours worked	41.24 (13.34)	33.99 (11.83)*	46.46 (11.58)
Desired work hours	30.73 (14.04)	23.55 (12.17)*	35.91 (12.82)
<i>Independent Variables</i>			
Work satisfaction	27.74 (4.93) ^a	28.15 (4.45)* ^a	27.46 (5.29) ^a
Home satisfaction	26.06 (4.74)	25.33 (4.54)*	26.57 (4.83)
<i>Control Variables</i>			
Education	13.57 (3.00)	13.45 (2.66)	13.67 (3.25)
Age	36.37 (7.80)	35.31 (7.02)*	37.13 (8.33)
Nonwhite	0.18 (0.40)	0.18 (0.39)	0.17 (0.41)
Female	0.42 (0.52)	NA	NA
Age of youngest child	6.78 (5.52)	7.21 (5.29)*	6.47 (5.69)
Occupational status score	39.59 (20.93)	38.30 (18.60)	40.53 (22.71)
Income (\$1000s)	23.26 (25.73)	13.16 (10.65)*	30.54 (31.40)
N	2,318	1,073	1,245

*Women and men significantly different, $p < 0.05$.

^aWork satisfaction is significantly greater than home satisfaction, $p < 0.001$.

Work Versus Home Satisfaction

To explore what factors account for respondents' tendency to report greater satisfaction at work than at home, we estimated a multinomial logistic regression model predicting the difference between work and home satisfaction. After creating a difference variable (work satisfaction - home satisfaction), we categorized respondents into three groups according to the direction of difference between their work and home satisfaction. Large positive differences represent greater satisfaction with work than home, whereas large negative differences represent greater satisfaction with home than work. These categories represent scores that are at least one-third of a standard deviation above or below the mean difference. The omitted category contains all scores within one-third of a standard deviation.

As shown in Table 2, three factors predict the difference. First, persons in jobs characterized by low occupational status are more likely to report greater home satisfaction. Those employed in higher status positions are less likely to report greater home satisfaction, probably because their jobs afford them greater rewards (financially and otherwise) and security. Second, nonwhites are significantly less likely than whites to report greater satisfaction with work, possibly reflecting many nonwhites' experiences with prejudice and discrimination in the public sphere that do not characterize home life. Third, women are more likely than men to report greater satisfaction with work than home, which lends support to Hochschild's finding that women have an especially difficult time balancing work and family due to the greater demands they face at home (relative to their male counterparts).

Table 2. Multinomial Logistic Regression Model Predicting the Difference Between Work and Home Satisfaction (unstandardized coefficients)

	Greater Work Satisfaction vs. No Difference	Greater Home Satisfaction vs. No Difference
Education	0.01	0.01
Age	-0.01	0.00
Nonwhite	-0.27*	0.00
Female	0.60***	-0.01
Age of Youngest Child	0.02	-0.02
Occupational Status	0.00	-0.01***
Income (\$1000s)	0.00	0.00
-2 log l		4952.99

* $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: N = 2,318

Women are significantly less satisfied than are men with their home lives yet they are more satisfied with their work than are men, on average. These results are not surprising given the overwhelming evidence that working women are disproportionately responsible for household and childrearing tasks, leading them to experience greater stress and more illness (Hochschild, 1989). In addition, women tend to be less satisfied with their marriages than are men (Thompson & Walker, 1989). These patterns support Hochschild's (1997) and Larson et al.'s (1994) findings that men and women are more at ease in the arena where the pressure to perform and obligations are less. For men, expectations are weaker at home, whereas for women, expectations are lower

at work. We turn now to whether lower satisfaction with home and greater satisfaction with work is translated into actual or desired work hours.

Satisfaction and Work Behavior

Initial models (as shown in Table 3) examine the bivariate associations between the two satisfaction measures and the two dependent measures. Work satisfaction is negatively associated with actual hours worked, even net of controls. In contrast, there is no bivariate association between work satisfaction and desired work hours, although once controls are introduced, work satisfaction is positively related to desired work hours. Supplemental analyses (not shown) reveal that gender is the suppressor variable. Thus, there is modest support for the hypothesis that work satisfaction is related to desired work hours, but not actual work hours.

Home satisfaction is not significantly related to actual work hours and it is actually positively associated with desired work hours, suggesting that the more satisfied the respondent is with her/his home life, the more hours s/he actually desires to work, which is contrary to Hochschild's findings and our hypothesis. These results obtain even when we consider the three aspects of home life (i.e., housework, parenting, and spousal satisfaction) separately; none of these dimensions is significantly associated with actual or desired work hours, net of controls. Once the control variables are introduced, the positive effect of home satisfaction on desired work hours fails to achieve significance, further indicating that the hypothesized relationship between low home satisfaction and actual or preferred work hours is untenable.

Table 3. OLS Regression Models Predicting Actual and Desired Work Hours (unstandardized coefficients)

	Bivariate Models		Multivariate Models			
	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired
Work satisfaction	-0.19***	0.05	-0.13**	0.14**		
Home satisfaction	0.09	0.25***			-0.08	0.07
Education			-0.34***	-0.39***	-0.34**	-0.40***
Age			-0.22***	-0.07	-0.22***	-0.07
Nonwhite			0.88	2.03**	0.94	1.99**
Female			-11.37***	-12.33***	-11.57***	-12.12***
Age of youngest ch			0.26***	0.22***	0.26***	0.22***
Occupational status			0.06***	0.03*	0.05***	0.04**
Income (\$1000s)			0.09***	0.03**	0.09***	0.03**
Intercept	NA	NA	55.89***	35.99***	54.62***	37.95***
R ²			0.27	0.22	0.27	0.22

*p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001

Note: N = 2,318. All analyses are weighted using the NSFH individual-level weight.

It is of interest that supplemental analyses reveal that among men, satisfaction with parenting is positively associated with desired work hours (result not shown). Perhaps this finding reflects men's tendency to be more economically productive when they are married and have children, as suggested by Hill (1999). Positive affect towards one's role as a parent (or, more specifically, a father) may further enhance men's motivation to produce and provide, as evidenced here by a desire to work more hours.

Interaction Effects

The remaining analyses focus more closely on the interaction between satisfaction at work and at home to pinpoint whether low home satisfaction coupled with high work satisfaction results in more hours worked. Here, we recode home and work satisfaction into two categories, high and low, which are determined by using a median split (other splits yield similar findings). Thus, one-half of the sample is categorized as reporting low home (work) satisfaction and the other half high home (work) satisfaction. The models shown in Table 4 include these dummy measures of high work satisfaction and low home satisfaction, an interaction term comprised of these two variables, and all of the control variables. Note that this combination of high work and low home satisfaction is relatively uncommon—just 15 percent of the sample are in this group. By comparison, 33 percent of the sample reports high work and high home satisfaction, 19 percent reports low work and high home satisfaction, and the remaining 33 percent reports low work and low home satisfaction.

Respondents who report low satisfaction with home and high satisfaction with work do not work significantly longer hours, contrary to Hochschild's assertions. Nor does this combination of home and work satisfaction influence desired work hours. Moreover, the interaction effect is not modified by gender for either actual or desired work hours (result not shown). Taken together, these findings provide no evidence that dissatisfaction at home coupled with satisfaction at work encourage parents to spend more hours in paid employment. This hypothesis is not supported either for mothers or fathers.

Table 4. OLS Regression Models of the Interactive Effect of Low Home Satisfaction and High Work Satisfaction on Actual and Desired Work Hours (unstandardized coefficients)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	Actual	Desired	Actual
Low Home Satisfaction	-0.45	0.12	-1.10
High Work Satisfaction	-0.85	1.03	-0.81
Education	-0.34***	-0.39***	-0.37***
Age	-0.23***	-0.07	-0.17***
Nonwhite	0.93	2.06**	0.87
Female	-11.51***	-12.37***	-12.31***
Age of Youngest Child	0.26***	0.21***	
Occupational Status Score	0.05***	0.04*	0.05***
Income (\$1000s)	0.09***	0.03**	0.10***
Low Home * High Work	1.24	0.60	1.25
Youngest child 12-17			-1.61
Ch12-17 * Low Home			5.59***
Female * Low Home			0.57
Ch12-17 * Female			6.69***
Female * Ch12-17 * Low Home			-6.37**
Intercept	53.03***	39.18***	53.18***
R ²	0.27	0.22	0.27

*p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001

Note: N = 2,318. All analyses are weighted using the NSFH individual-level weight.

However, in support of Hochschild's hypothesis, men who are dissatisfied with things at home, satisfied with work, and who have offspring between the ages of 12 and 17 work significantly more hours than other men (as shown in Model 3 of Table 4). Similarly, women who report low home satisfaction, satisfaction with work, and whose youngest child is between the ages of 12 and 17 also work more hours than women who are satisfied at home and have younger children. These findings are not surprising in view of the conclusion of Rossi and Rossi (1990) and others that this age range is the low point in parent-child relations. Research on parent-child relationships reveal that during the teenage years, adolescents and their mothers are less effective at communicating with one another, adolescents defer to their mothers less, and family interaction becomes more rigid. Fathers also are viewed by adolescents as less influential (e.g., Hill et al., 1985; Steinberg, 1981). Substantively, however, the observed differences are small--four more hours at work. While there is support for Hochschild's hypothesis, it represents a very small portion of dual earner families with children. Recall that those who were dissatisfied with home and satisfied with work represented only 15% of all dual earner families with children. Only 20% of these families had teenage children, which brings the overall proportion to 3%. While it represents a significant number of individual families, it would not qualify as a cultural change as Hochschild claims.

Because people in higher status occupations have more flexibility to change their number of work hours we examined whether individuals in high status jobs who had low home satisfaction and high work satisfaction worked more hours. An interaction analysis revealed that they did not. In another analysis (not shown) we restricted the analysis to those who worked full-time. The findings did not differ from those reported above. Nor did age (as surrogate for life

course changes) moderate the relationships examined. Supplemental analyses (not shown) were performed to investigate the effects of work and home satisfaction on the actual and desired work hours of employed single mothers. The pattern of results is the same as that observed for employed married parents; work and home satisfaction do not significantly influence actual or desired work hours.

Summary and Discussion

We tested whether people who were dissatisfied with their home lives worked more hours, or at a minimum preferred to work more hours, especially if satisfaction with work was high. Using data from the 1987-88 National Survey of Families and Households, we analyzed 2,318 respondents who were employed, married, and had one or more resident children under age 18. In general, people who were more satisfied with work than home or who were dissatisfied with home life in general did not work more hours or even desire to do so, contrary to Hochschild's (1997) assertions. Supplemental analyses revealed that these findings also held for working single mothers; low home satisfaction combined with high work satisfaction did not encourage single mothers to spend more time at work nor did it increase their desired work hours.

Only one finding is consistent with Hochschild's conclusion. Parents who are unsatisfied with home, satisfied with work, and have children 12-17 years of age work more hours. This comprises only 3% of dual earner couples with children, hardly the cultural change Hochschild claims. Moreover, there is very little support for the two building blocks of her conceptual framework: (1) that people who are satisfied with their job work more hours, and (2) that people dissatisfied with home work more hours. Although married working parents report slightly higher

levels of work than home satisfaction, this ostensible preference for the workplace does not translate into more hours on the job (except among individuals who are dissatisfied with home and have teenage children) nor does it increase one's desired work hours.

Perhaps our findings differ from those of Hochschild (1997) because her information was gleaned from workers in a single firm which has its own subculture whereas respondents in the nationally representative sample that we analyzed from the NSFH are employed in diverse settings that surely vary widely in their structures and policies. On the basis of our evidence, working parents are not forsaking their spousal and filial obligations to spend more time at work. In fact, most employed parents report high levels of satisfaction with both work and home; just 15 percent are dissatisfied at home and satisfied at work. These findings, coupled with recent studies revealing that parents spend similar amounts of time with their children despite longer hours at work and greater female labor force participation (Bianchi, 2000; Sandberg & Hofferth, 2001), suggest that we have little reason to be concerned about today's children growing up unloved, insecure, and poorly prepared for the transition to adulthood because their parents prefer work to home life or find their occupation more rewarding than investing in home and family.

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