A Well-Being Penalty for Working Mothers? Parental Work Arrangements and Maternal Well-Being in Two-Parent Families

Ann Meier (meierann@umn.edu)
Department of Sociology & Minnesota Population Center
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, MN

Kelly Musick (musick@cornell.edu)
Department of Policy Analysis and Management & Cornell Population Center
Cornell University
Ithaca, NY

Sarah Flood (floo0017@umn.edu)
Minnesota Population Center
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, MN

Rachel Dunifon (red26@cornell.edu)
Department of Policy Analysis and Management & Cornell Population Center
Cornell University
Ithaca, NY

Abstract
Steady increases in women's labor force participation over the past half century have occurred alongside the ratcheting up of expectations for intensive parenting. We know little about how mothers fare in the context of dual devotions to work and parenting. Using a new module in the 2010 and 2012 American Time Use Surveys, we assess mothers' subjective well-being in parenting in the context of her and her partner's work arrangements. Preliminary results suggest that compared to non-working mothers, working mothers do less of the desirable parenting tasks like play and more of that which is less desirable. This differential may explain working mothers' lower happiness and higher stress and fatigue in parenting. Further, mothers working full-time while their partners work less than full time report less happiness, more stress, and more fatigue in parenting than those with other work arrangements, even full-time working mothers with full-time working partners.

Labor force participation rates for mothers with children under age 18 have increased nearly 60 percent since 1965 (from 45 to 78 percent), and their average hours of market work more than tripled in this same time frame (Bianchi, 2011). At the same time that women entered the labor force in large numbers, the demands of parenting appear to have ratcheted up. The ideal of intensive motherhood implies time and attention requirements to fulfill the "good mother" role at home (Hays, 1996). Consistent with this intensified ideal, mothers have devoted more, not less, time to their children even as they have increased work hours. This has created what many call a "second shift" for working mothers (Hochschild, 1989). A few studies empirically document the general strain on working mothers by finding high rates of "feeling rushed" and multitasking (e.g. Bianchi, Robinson, and Milkie, 2007), but we know little about how working mothers' feel about the mothering they are doing.

In this paper we address three sets of questions. First, with dual roles as mother and worker: How is mothers' market work associated with her subjective well-being while caring for children? We use five questions that tap momentary assessments of different aspects of subjective well-being while caring for children. Second, we ask if and how mother's spouse or partner's market work is associated with mothers' subjective well-being in caring for her children? We measure mother's and partner's own hours and earnings separately as well as jointly to assess how these shape mother's feelings about her parenting time. Finally, what features of caring for children and mothers' work experiences mediate or moderate the linkages between work and mother's well-being in caring for children? We investigate total time caring for children and share of her time in

different types of care to assess the pathways linking work and mother's well-being in parenting and to assess potential differences in well-being by parenting activities.

We draw on a new module in the 2010 and 2012 American Time Use Surveys (ATUS), in which respondents report on momentary well-being in three randomly selected activities throughout the day. This module represents an important resource for research on health and well-being. As noted in a recent National Research Council report (2012, p. 7): "To date, much of the research on nonmarket components of health and well-being has been informed by global assessments of positive or negative affect averaged over time that are divorced from measures of time use or context." In a recent study, we used these questions to assess differences in happiness, meaning, sadness, stress, and fatigue between women who had children in the home and those who did not and among women in different types of activities with children (Musick, Meier, and Flood, 2013). In general, we found that mothers are happier and find more meaning in activities when their children are present, perhaps reflecting their buy-in to the "good mother" ideal. In the present study, we focus on the worker-parent interplay to understand how mother's and partner's work arrangements and conditions shape mothers' subjective well-being in parenting activities. Does the "second shift" wear on mothers such that it shades their time with children? Are certain job conditions, such as long work hours or nonstandard work linked to subjective well-being in childcare? Or, are working mothers satisfied by being able to fulfill the "good mother" role by assuming childcare duties when their market workday ends?

Working Mothers

In the context of contemporary economic uncertainty, dual-earner families are more necessary than ever. Further, as women's educational attainment has increased and attitudes about women's roles have changed, satisfying and challenging careers are increasingly a normative component of both men's and women's life course (Oppenheimer 1994; Goldin 2004). Also, as noted above, mothers of children under age 18 have entered the labor force in record numbers and are increasing their hours (Percheski 2008). This shift is not without challenges, however, many of which are related to working mothers' role conflict between her status as a worker and a mother. Some of this strain may be real—work time and family time infringe on each other as many mothers report "multitasking" (Offer & Schneider, 2011). Whether or not it is manifest in the work effort of individual mothers, the strain may be perceived by employers resulting in hiring and wage penalties for motherhood (Correll, Benard, and Paik, 2007).

A recent public debate about how women workers should manage their role as mothers or mothers-to-be has brought the issue into stark relief. Princeton professor and former top U.S. State Department advisor Anne-Marie Slaughter and Facebook executive Sheryl Sandberg have offered different perspectives about how to manage career and family. Slaughter's position, detailed in a recent *Atlantic* article, suggests that workplaces should recognize and accommodate workers who are also mothers (Slaughter, 2012). Sandberg urges women to be confident in their own abilities and ambitious in the work projects they take on while asking for equality from their partners on the home front (Sandberg, 2013). Slaughter's *Atlantic* article broke on-line readership records and Sandberg's book topped the *New York Times* bestseller list, indicating intense public

interest in how women and workplaces manage or mismanage work and motherhood. Still, we have little evidence on how mothers feel about the parenting they are doing in the context of their work roles.

It is in this context that a wide range of academic studies have sought to examine the implications of maternal employment for child well-being. Existing evidence suggests that maternal work hours are positively linked to children's Body Mass Index, particularly among children of more educated mothers (Ruhm, 2008; Anderson, Butcher and Levine, 2003). Further, it is the work hours of mothers, not fathers, that are most strongly linked to child BMI (Ziol-Guest, Dunifon and Kalil, 2012). Other studies indicate that maternal employment in the first months of a child's life is associated with small declines in child cognitive test scores (Hill, Waldfogel, Brooks-Gunn and Han, 2005; Ruhm, 2004).

Research has also highlighted particular aspects of maternal employment that may be especially salient in a mother's ability to balance her work and family roles. For example, longer work hours are linked to detrimental child outcomes (Brooks-Gunn, Han, and Waldfogel, 2002), and to insufficient sleep among mothers and children (Kalil, Dunifon, Crosby, and Su, 2013). Additionally, night shift work has documented detrimental implications for children's socio-emotional adjustment (Dunifon, Kalil, Crosby, and Su, 2013). Thus, both maternal work intensity and shift work are of particular interest when examining the ways in which mothers' employment experiences reverberate through the family.

Intensive Parenting

At the same time that women have taken on the coprovider role, their parenting demands have intensified. Hays (1996) calls this the "cultural contradiction of modern motherhood." Mothers are expected to take on at least part of the breadwinner responsibilities, but they still must be always available and "all-giving" to their children (Bianchi, 2011). Indeed, Sayer and colleagues (2004) document that women's overall time in childcare has increased over the past five decades with weekly hours in routine care holding steady but a *tripling* of time in activities that promote development among children (i.e. reading, homework time, enrichment activities). Recent rich descriptions of parenting and child-development document that the ethos of such "concerted cultivation" is particularly resonant with contemporary middle- and upper-class parents (Hays, 1996; Lareau 2003; Sayer, Bianchi and Robinson, 2004). It is these parents who are most likely to hold managerial or executive positions at work, where busyness is increasingly a badge of honor inducing 24-7 availability for work calls (Gershuny, 2005). Kalil, Ryan, and Corey (2012) document that it is the most educated mothers who both spend more time actively engaged with their children and also tailor this time to best meet the developmental needs of their children (engaging more in play in the earliest years, and in time management activities for school-aged children). Maintaining "devotion to work" and "devotion to family" at the same time may be an unsustainable proposition (Blair-Loy, 2003). Daly (2001) documents the ever-present guilt that comes with falling short in one's family devotions.

Working mothers' second shift is apparent in recent accounts of how stay-at-home fathers engage in the "domestic handoff" when their wives come home from work. Latshaw and Hale (2013) suggest that husbands' hand off of parenting duties when wives

cross the threshold to home is to alleviate her guilt (real or imagined) from not being the ever-present "good mother" dictated by contemporary ideals. The parenting handoff gives working mothers time to shine and to create important moments with their children.

One key mechanism through which maternal work experiences may be linked with child well-being is parenting, or mother-child interactions. Longstanding research in child development highlights the importance for children of warm, consistent interactions with parents. Additionally, evidence suggests that achieving such interactions is more challenging when mothers are under stress (Shonkoff and Phillips, 2000). While it is plausible that the stresses of balancing work and family could manifest themselves in maternal stress, with implications for parent-child interactions and ultimately for child well-being, no existing study has linked mothers' employment with her subjective well-being during her interactions with her children.

Work, Parenting, and Subjective Well-Being

Literature on parenting activities has largely focused on gains to children without attention to implications for parents' well-being. Only a few studies offer insights into parental well-being. In an interview study with several dozen parents of pre-schoolers, Daly (2001) describes the guilt parents feel in not being able to achieve the amount or type of "family time" they desire. Consistent with this "never enough" feeling, Milkie and colleagues (2004) find that working parents feel like they do not spend enough time with their children, and this finding holds when controlling for how much time they actually spend with children. A recent Pew Research Center report shows that 56% of working mothers and 50% of working fathers report that it is "very" or "somewhat" difficult to balance work and family. Additionally, 37% of mothers and 32% of fathers

report “always” feeling rushed; employed parents were more likely to report always feeling rushed than those who were not employed. Interestingly, working mothers were more likely to say that they are doing an “excellent” or “very good” job at parenting, compared to those who were not working (78% vs. 66%). However, working mothers were less likely to say they are “very happy” compared to non-working mothers (31% vs. 45%; Pew Research Center, 2013).

Nomaguchi and colleagues (2005) go an extra step to link feelings of time strain with psychological distress in the past 3 months. They report that among dual-earner parents, felt time strain by mothers, but not fathers, was linked to general psychological distress. Finally, Gassman-Pines (2013) finds that, among low-income mothers, both lower-than-average *and* higher-than-average workload days were associated with increased negative and tired mood and decreased positive mood. These few studies, then, point to feelings of global stress or tension regarding workload or time with family, and the Nomaguchi et al. (2005) and Gassman-Pines (2013) studies link this strain to general psychological distress or mood detriments among mothers. However, none of the studies give us a sense of how parents feel when they are actually caring for their children. Is the generalized stress evident in parenting activities, too? Or, with fewer minutes with a child, is each moment more precious? Finally, how does this vary depending on the types of activities in which parents and children are engaged?

How parents share childcare

While the intensive mothering ideal is strong, fathers can and do care for their children. In fact, Deutsch (1999) argues that a movement towards co-parenting must occur because inequality in parental time with kids is not rational or justifiable with women’s gains in

labor force participation, greater societal expectations of gender equality, and increased acceptance of divorce leaving open the exit option in partnerships. Yet, while women's labor force participation has been accompanied by a "matching" decrease in *her* and an uptick in *his* housework, women and men's time in childcare has trended up, not down (Bianchi, 2011). Additionally, gender imbalances remain; for example, while employed mothers perform fewer household and child-related tasks than do those who stay at home, this is not offset by increased time contributions at home from husbands (Cawley & Liu, 2012). Indeed, mothers spend more time in childcare than fathers in every joint work arrangement (Mom FT/Dad FT; Mom PT/Dad FT; Mom FT/Dad PT; Mom not working/Dad FT) except when mothers work full time and fathers do not work—a group that represents just 3.5 percent of all stay-at-home parents. In this small group, stay-at-home fathers do about 15 minutes more of direct childcare a day on average than their full-time working wives (Latshaw and Hale, 2013, Appendix Table 1). However, research using less restrictive definitions of at-home fathers (defined as couples in which the mother works four or more times as much as the father per week) shows no statistically significant difference in time spent in childcare when comparing at-home fathers and breadwinner mothers and greater time in childcare among at-home mothers compared to at-home fathers (Chesley and Flood, 2013).

A recent study by Raley, Bianchi and Wang (2012) shows that while fathers do not do substantially more childcare when mothers work, they spend more of their childcare hours solely responsible for the child(ren), and they do more of the less desirable types of care and less of that which is more desirable. Specifically, fathers do more managerial care like scheduling and transporting to and from activities with wives

increased work hours and more routine care like feeding and bathing when their wives earn more. When mothers work, fathers engage in less play with their children.

In sum, empirical evidence suggests that as women have taken on the co-provider role, they have also increased the intensity with which they parent. Theoretical advances suggest that this is the "cultural contradiction of modern motherhood." Women should work, but they must also be more present than ever to actively cultivate the development of successful children (Hays, 1996). We know that parental investments of time and money are strongly correlated with children's successful transitions to adulthood (e.g., Duncan, Ziol-Guest, and Kalil 2010; Lareau, 2011). But we know little about how parents fare in this project of raising children, especially in the context of employment and work conditions as increasingly more mothers engage in market work.

The goal of this project is to address three questions. First, how is mothers' market work associated with her subjective well-being while caring for children? Second, how is mother's spouse or partner's market work associated with mothers' subjective well-being in caring for her children? Finally, what features of caring for children and mothers' work experiences mediate or moderate the linkages between work and mother's well-being in caring for children? We investigate total time caring for children and the share of her time in different types of care to assess the pathways linking work and mother's well-being in parenting and to assess potential differences in well-being by parenting activities.

In addressing these research questions, our work contributes in three ways to the existing literature. First, by linking ATUS respondents back to data from the recent Current Population Study (CPS) panel from which they are drawn, we leverage rich

couple-level data on work and earnings, allowing us to examine how both mothers' and fathers' work conditions independently and jointly play into mother's well-being in childcare. Second, we assess mother's momentary assessments of subjective well-being specifically in childcare, as opposed to her overall assessments of well-being or generalized stress, thereby moving beyond the (sparse) past work in this area. Doing so matters for child well-being, to the extent that child well-being is linked to in-the-moment interactions; it also speaks more directly to what shapes stress at home. Finally, we assess multiple dimensions of well-being, including happiness, meaning, sadness, fatigue, and stress, addressing the potentially mixed bag of parenting.

Data, Measures, Methods

We use data from the 2010 and 2012 American Time Use Surveys, although at the time of this writing, the 2012 data was still a few months from public release (ATUS-X; Hofferth, Flood, and Sobek 2013). We will incorporate the 2012 ATUS data in winter 2013/2014, when it becomes available. The ATUS is a time diary study of a nationally representative sample of Americans. ATUS respondents report on their activities over a 24-hour period from 4:00 a.m. of a specified day until 4:00 a.m. of the following day, indicating the type of activity, as well as where, when, and with whom it occurred.[1] Responses are recorded using Computer Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI) procedures. Activities are coded using a six-digit, three-tier coding system, and over 400 activity categories are represented by the classification. Data are collected every day of the week, including holidays, with weekends oversampled. Fifty percent of diaries are about weekend days (25% each), and fifty percent are about weekdays (10% each day).

[1] Information on where and with whom the activities occurred is available for all activities except for personal care and sleeping.

ATUS sample members are drawn from Current Population Survey (CPS) respondents. One individual aged 15 or older per former CPS participating household is invited to participate in the ATUS during the two to five months following their exit from the CPS. ATUS time diaries can be linked to data from the CPS, which provides information on all household members (allowing us to assess own *and partner* work and earnings). The 2010 ATUS had a response rate of 57% (ATUS 2013, p. 14), and some studies have shown that respondents in the ATUS differ from non-respondents on reports of pro-social behaviors (e.g. Abraham, Helms and Presser 2009). Those who volunteer, for example, are also more likely to respond to surveys like the ATUS leading to inflated national estimates of volunteering. Abraham et al. (2009) found that while non-response can have a significant effect on the univariate distribution of pro-social activities, it does not appear to affect inferences about the respondent characteristics that are associated with those activities.

Critical to our analysis, the 2010 and 2012 ATUS included a new well-being module. All ATUS respondents were eligible for participation in the module, and there was minimal nonresponse (ATUS 2011, p. 3). Well-being module participants reported on how they felt in three randomly selected activities of at least five minutes in duration. Approximately 13,000 men and women ages 15-85 completed the well-being module, for a total of about 39,000 activities. Sleeping, grooming, and personal activities as well as activities where the respondent didn't know or refused to report what they were doing were not eligible to be selected. The preliminary analysis that we present below is weighted, accounting for the oversample of weekends and other aspects of the ATUS sample design; weighting also account for differences between activities in the fraction of

time in eligible activities and the probability of having an eligible activity selected (ATUS 2011, pp. 4-5).

Approach

To assess mothers' well-being in childcare in the context of her and her partner's work arrangements and earnings, we limit our sample to the childcare activities of partnered mothers 21-55 with children under age 18 in the household. In all, the well-being sample of the ATUS includes 7,195 women, of whom 4,351 are ages 21-55. Of women in our age range, 2,735 (63%) have a child under 18 in the household, and 1,958 of these (72%) are living with a spouse or cohabiting partner. Of this group, 857 (44%) reported on subjective well-being in at least one childcare activity: 594 have one sampled childcare activity, 231 have two, and 32 have three. Whereas 56% of partnered mothers in our age range have no sampled childcare activity, only 22% report doing no childcare over the course of the diary day. In supplementary results (not shown), we find that reporting no childcare activities over the diary day is only weakly associated with mother's employment (but strongly associated with older age of children). In sum, our analyses are based on 857 mothers and 1,152 childcare activities. Our sample *n*'s will approximately double when we pool the 2012 ATUS data later this year.

We use methods that account for the multilevel nature of our data, in which activities at level one are nested within individuals at level two (Allison 2009). Our outcomes—multiple dimensions of well-being—are scored 0-6 and treated as quantitative variables. We rely on random effect models (also called multilevel or mixed models in the literature, estimated using *xtreg, robust re* in Stata for quantitative response variables). Random effect models yield a weighted average of within- and between-level

estimates, with the advantage that they provide estimates for characteristics that are invariant across activities. That is, in the random effect framework, we can assess the association between well-being and time with children, accounting for characteristics of *individuals* that structure the day to day (e.g., work and earnings), as well as the more micro-level context of women's daily *activities*, namely, what type of childcare respondents were engaged in, who they were with, and where they were.

Subjective Well-Being

Our outcome measures tap five dimensions of subjective well-being. For each of three sampled activities, ATUS respondents were asked: 1) How *meaningful* did you consider what you were doing? 2) How *happy* did you feel during this time? 3) How *sad* did you feel during this time? 4) How *stressed* did you feel during this time? 5) How *tired* did you feel during this time? For each of these questions, response options ranged from 0 (e.g., not at all meaningful, not stressed at all) to 6 (e.g., very meaningful, very stressed). Our main analysis focuses on subjective well-being in childcare activities. To serve as a control for overall subjective well-being in select models, we also generate a person-level indicator by averaging well-being reports across all three sampled activities (including, e.g., market work, leisure, other care work). Table 1 shows these person-level means, as well as summary statistics for the activity- and person-level key variables (Table 1, page 1) and controls (Table 1, page 2) described below.

Childcare Activities

We follow the lead of prior studies (Guryan, Hurst, and Kearney, 2008; Milkie et al., 2010; Sayer et al., 2004) in distinguishing between childcare activities, following most closely the coding scheme of Kalil, Ryan and Corey (2012) with reference to care of

household children. We use reports of childcare only when it is designated as the primary activity. We differentiate four broad groups of childcare: routine, play, teaching, and management. *Routine* care includes direct physical care of children, looking after children, and caring for children. Specific examples of activities include bathing, feeding, or getting a child ready for bed. *Play* includes non-sport playing, sport playing, and doing arts and crafts. Examples of specific play activities include giving child a piggyback ride, building model planes, or riding bikes. *Teaching* includes reading to or with a child, helping or teaching a child, activities related to children's education, and talking with or listening to a child. Examples of specific teaching activities include listening to a child read, teaching a child to tie shoelaces, helping with homework, and hearing about a child's day. Finally, *management* includes attending children's events, waiting for or with children, picking up or dropping of children, activities related to children's health, and organizing or planning for children. Specific examples include attending a child's recital, waiting for the school bus, accompanying child to the doctor, and planning play dates or signing up for activities. Table 1 shows the distribution of these childcare activities at the activity-level. For descriptive purposes, it also shows the average minutes and overall share of childcare time respondents spend in each activity per day at the person-level.

Individual and Couple Work Arrangements

As noted earlier, we link ATUS respondents to CPS data to measure own and partner's work and earnings. To assess *mothers' employment status* we differentiate no market work, part-time work (<35 hours per week), full-time work (35-49 hours per week), and more than full-time work or long work hours (50+ hours per week). We also

include an indicator for whether the mother holds *multiple jobs*. We similarly create measures of *spouse/partner's employment status and multiple jobs*. We include two additional paid work variables from the time diary data (thus available for ATUS respondents only): whether the respondent *works after 6pm* and whether she *works at home*. To assess partners' *joint work arrangements*, we code six mutually exclusive joint status variables: 1) both are employed full-time; 2) S/P is employed full-time and mother is employed part-time; 3) S/P is employed full-time and mother is not employed; 4) mother is employed full-time and S/P is employed less than full-time; 5) both partners are less than full-time (or one is not not-employed); and 6) neither are employed. To capture their *relative financial contributions*, we calculate the ratio of mothers to S/P earnings and categorize as: less than 0.75 (mother earns less), between 0.75 and 1.25 (they earn about the same), greater than 1.25 (mother earns more), and missing due to non-work or self-employment (for which earnings are not recorded).

Contextual Features of Activities

Several contextual features of activities serve as controls for our multivariate analysis. We use series of "who with" questions to assess whether the respondent is engaged in the reported childcare activities with a spouse/partner (versus not with a spouse/partner) and with other adults (versus not with other adults); these "who with" indicators are not mutually exclusive, that is, respondents may be with a spouse and another adult at the same time, in which case both indicators would be coded "1." Respondents are asked about their location at the time of the activity with the following question: "Where were you while you were [ACTIVITY]?" (ATUS 2008, p. 21). We code whether the activity took place in public or at work (versus at home). We also

account for duration of the activity in minutes and time of day differentiating the start of the diary day 4 to 9am, 9am to 2pm, 2 to 5pm, 5 to 9pm, and 9pm to 4am. Descriptive statistics for these control measures are shown on page 2 of Table 1.

Characteristics of Individuals

We also control for characteristics of individuals that could potentially confound the association between subjective well-being and childcare activities and employment status. Person-level variables include: the respondent's educational attainment (less than HS degree, HS degree, some college, college graduate, advanced degree), spouse/partner's educational attainment (same categories), whether the respondent is enrolled in school, age, race/ethnicity (non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, other), reported time sleeping during the diary day (<7 hours, 7-9 hours, 9 or more hours), number of children (one, two or more), and age of youngest child. We also control for the season in which the diary was reported (winter, spring, summer, fall) and whether the diary was reported on a weekend day. Descriptive statistics for these measures are also presented on the second page of Table 1.

Preliminary Results

In what follows, we describe selected results from Tables 1 and 2. These results highlight patterns of mothers' activities with children and their subjective well-being while engaging in these activities, with a focus on how these patterns vary by maternal employment characteristics.

In Table 1, we show key activity- and person-level descriptives (page 1) as well as controls at both levels to be included in our planned multivariate analysis (page 2). Columns 2-8 give summary statistics for activity- and person-level characteristics of our

sample separately by mother's employment status. We focus first on descriptive statistics at the activity-level. Activity-level statistics are weighted toward non-working mothers. For example, a larger proportion of childcare activities are contributed by women who are not employed (47%; column 2, activity-level) compared to their representation in our sample of women (39%; column 2, person-level). This reflects that women who are not employed spend more time during the day in childcare activities and report more episodes of childcare that are then eligible for selection in the well-being module.

We show differences by employment and also break down employment based on number of hours usually worked per week and number of jobs held. Looking at Table 1, the first rows of the activity-level panel show differences between women engaged in no market work (47%) at the time of the survey versus any paid employment (53%). We examine contrasts among those working part-time (<35 hours per week), full-time (35-49 hours) and long hours (50+ hours), who contribute 43%, 45% and 13% of activities by our employed mothers, respectively. We also show distinctions between those working one job (91% of activities by employed) versus two or more jobs (9%).

<Table 1 here>

Overall, employed and nonemployed mothers spend a similar proportion of sampled childcare activities in routine care (close to the overall average of 39%), but results in columns 4-8 show that the proportion in routine care is substantially lower for mothers working long hours or multiple jobs (33% and 31%, respectively). The proportion of activities in play is lower for employed versus nonemployed mothers (17% vs. 26%); it is particularly low for mothers working more than one job (6%). By contrast, the proportion of activities in management is higher for employed mothers versus

nonemployed mothers (31% vs. 23%); this is particularly true of mothers working multiple jobs (54%). This may include time spent arranging childcare or extracurricular activities.

Differences in the distribution of childcare activities by mother's employment status (at the activity level) are mirrored in total minutes per day spent in each childcare activity calculated from mothers' diaries (measured at the person-level; shown here for descriptive purposes but not to be included in our models). Employed mothers spend fewer minutes overall in all childcare activities than nonemployed mothers (155 vs. 234 minutes, or a difference of over an hour a day); they spend less time in routine care, play, and teaching. The only activity in which employed mothers appear to spend *more time* than nonemployed mothers is management (50 vs. 48 minutes), translating into about a third of all childcare minutes per day among employed mothers and just over 20% among nonemployed mothers. Again, this may involve time spent arranging care for children while mothers are at work. Women working part-time and those working more than 40 hours per week spend the most time in management activities.

Table 2 provides mean subjective well-being while parenting by key variables of interest, namely childcare activity type and work arrangements. The first set of rows illustrates the potential significance for subjective well-being of the above identified differences in the distribution of employed and nonemployed mothers' childcare activities. As reported above, employed mothers have a lower share of play activities and a higher share of management activities than nonemployed mothers (in Table 1). Table 2 shows more happiness and meaning and less sadness and stress in play with children versus management activities such as transporting children to events, organizing and

planning activities, and taking children to the doctor. This suggests that employed mothers' greater time spent in management activities may come at a cost of reduced subjective well-being.

<Table 2 here>

The next set of rows in Table 2 suggests that employed mothers fare worse than nonemployed mothers in happiness, stress, and fatigue while parenting. For each measure of well-being, nonemployed mothers report higher levels of well-being while parenting compared to those who are employed (those working part-time, full-time, and long hours look very similar, with the exception of relatively high fatigue among mothers working long hours). Women with multiple jobs, those who work after 6pm, and those who work at home experience less happiness and meaning in childcare activities and experience more stress and sadness during childcare. Spouse's employment also seems to matter for mothers' subjective well-being while parenting. Mothers with a part-time working spouse appear less stressed and less fatigued in childcare; looking further down Table 2 at joint work arrangements, it appears this holds when both partners are working less than full-time. Mothers working full-time while their partners work less than full time, however, report less happiness, more stress, and more fatigue in childcare than mothers in other work arrangements.

Next Steps

In sum, these bivariate descriptive patterns show that employed mothers spend relatively more of their childcare time in tasks perceived as onerous (management) and less in the more rewarding aspects of childcare (play). Employed mothers tend to report less happiness and more stress and fatigue in childcare than nonemployed mothers,

particularly when working long or nonstandard hours or when working more than their partners.

In next steps, we will examine these patterns in a multivariate framework, using random effects models that account for the multilevel structure of our data and allow for the estimation of associations at both the activity- and person-level. We will run separate models for each of the five dimensions of well-being in childcare to examine associations with mothers' and fathers' employment and earnings patterns. We will also consider the extent to which these associations may be mediated by the type of childcare activities in which working mothers typically engage. We will also account for characteristics of activities (who else is present, duration, time of day) and a rich array of individual characteristics (sociodemographic factors, number of children, age of youngest child, sleep patterns) when linking maternal employment experiences to subjective well-being in child care. Finally, we will move beyond our current analysis, which considers mothers' typical work hours, to examine how work intensity within a given day is associated with subjective well-being during child care. Is subjective well-being lower during days of particularly intensive work, controlling for work status?

We are further interested in assessing the potential role of job quality in moderating associations between well-being in childcare and employment patterns. The link between maternal employment and child well-being depends on the quality of maternal work, with children faring worse when mothers work in low skill jobs (Johnson, Kalil, and Dunifon, 2012). Is a potential mechanism mother's affect in time with children? We will merge data from the CPS on occupational prestige to proxy job quality and examine whether the link between maternal employment and subjective well-being in

childcare varies by the quality of maternal work.

Finally, we will broaden our definition of childcare activities to encompass types of time mothers and children spend together that may be more relevant for older children. As documented by Kalil, Ryan and Corey (2012), mothers' interactions with children move from direct interactions to management activities as children age. Given this, we will consider measuring mothers' presence with children during a range of activities that would not typically be coded as childcare as an alternative measure of mother-child interactions during which subjective well-being is assessed.

Taken together, then, this paper contributes to our understanding of the linkages between mothers' status as workers, the conditions of their work, and their subjective well-being while parenting. Despite large bodies of research documenting competing time pressures on mothers both at work and at home, as well as evidence linking maternal employment experiences to both parenting behavior and child well-being, no previous studies have examined the linkages between employment experiences (including mothers' own and that of her spouse/partner) and subjective well-being during parenting. Doing so enhances our knowledge of how conflicting demands in the domains of work and family may play out in the most essential domains of parenting—the moment-to-moment interactions between parents and children.

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Table 1. Activity- and person-level characteristics for full sample and by women's employment status

				Breakdown of employed				
	All women	No market work	Employed	PT employed	FT employed (35-49)	Long hours 50+	1 job	2+ Jobs
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Activity-level key measures								
N	1152	424	728	252	387	89	656	72
Proportion	100.0	47.2	52.8	42.5	44.7	12.8	90.6	9.4
Distribution of childcare activities								
Routine	39.2	38.3	39.9	39.3	42.7	32.5	40.9	30.7
Play	21.3	26.2	16.9	17.6	16.5	15.8	18.1	5.7
Teaching	12.4	12.5	12.4	12.2	12.5	12.7	12.6	9.9
Management	27.1	23.0	30.8	30.9	28.4	39.0	28.4	53.7
Person-level key measures								
N	857	313	544	180	298	66	492	52
Proportion	100.0	39.4	60.6	33.1	55.5	11.4	90.2	9.8
Minutes per day in childcare								
Routine	76.1	98.6	61.5	72.1	57.6	50.0	62.5	52.1
Play	34.6	53.1	22.6	29.7	18.5	21.8	22.8	20.7
Teaching	26.3	34.3	21.2	27.0	16.7	26.0	20.3	29.2
Management	49.2	48.1	49.9	59.3	42.9	57.1	47.6	71.0
All childcare activities	186.2	234.0	155.1	188.0	135.6	154.9	153.2	172.9
Share of childcare time								
Routine	40.9	42.1	39.6	38.3	42.5	32.3	40.8	30.1
Play	18.6	22.7	14.6	15.8	13.6	14.1	14.9	12.0
Teaching	14.2	14.7	13.6	14.4	12.3	16.8	13.3	16.9
Management	26.4	20.6	32.2	31.5	31.6	36.9	31.1	41.1
All childcare activities	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Spouse/partner employment status								
No market work	11.4	14.0	9.7	5.4	11.0	15.7	9.8	9.2
PT market work	7.8	9.9	6.5	8.7	6.6	0.0	6.3	8.7
FT market work	56.8	52.9	59.3	56.7	64.4	41.8	59.7	55.7
Long hours (50+)	24.0	23.2	24.5	29.2	18.0	42.5	24.3	26.4
Spouse/partner multiple jobs								
1	94.1	96.0	93.0	89.7	94.3	97.2	94.3	81.0
2+	5.9	4.0	7.0	10.3	5.7	2.8	5.7	19.0
Joint employment status								
Both FT	33.6	0.0	55.4	0.0	82.4	84.3	55.6	52.9
Dad FT, mom PT	17.2	0.0	28.4	85.9	0.0	0.0	28.3	29.3
Dad FT, mom not employed	30.0	76.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mom FT, dad <FT	7.0	0.0	11.6	0.0	17.6	15.7	11.3	13.9
Both <FT (or one is not employed)	6.7	9.9	4.7	14.1	0.0	0.0	4.7	4.0
Neither employed	5.5	14.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Earnings								
Own weekly earnings	748.8	0.0	748.8	422.8	807.9	1276.5	759.5	651.4
Spouse/partner weekly earnings	1138.8	1204.4	1095.9	1179.6	1006.1	1321.7	1097.1	1084.0
Ratio own to spouse/partner earnings								
Between .75-1.25	13.1	0.0	21.7	7.3	29.3	26.3	21.9	19.4
Less than .75	57.3	78.4	43.6	67.2	33.7	23.8	43.9	41.6
Greater than 1.25	19.4	0.0	31.9	20.4	36.0	45.9	31.4	36.9
Missing: self-emp/neither work	10.2	21.6	2.8	5.2	1.0	4.1	2.8	2.2
Other own work conditions								
Work after 6pm	13.5	1.5	21.2	19.3	19.0	37.6	18.4	46.7
Work at home	14.3	2.6	21.9	24.1	18.5	32.1	20.0	39.2

Table 1 (continued)

				Breakdown of employed				
	All women	No market work	Employed	PT employed	FT employed (35-49)	Long hours 50+	1 job	2+ Jobs
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Activity-level controls								
Who with: spouse partner	21.5	18.3	24.4	23.2	25.5	24.7	24.6	22.2
Who with: other adult	9.1	7.6	10.4	11.6	7.9	15.1	10.6	9.1
Where: at home (vs. public or work)	67.0	70.4	64.0	65.9	67.8	44.2	66.4	40.5
Activity duration	65.1	74.4	56.8	60.2	49.6	71.0	57.7	48.8
Time of day								
Morning (4:00 a.m.-9:00 a.m.)	20.3	20.7	19.9	15.5	26.2	12.5	20.2	16.6
Midday (9:00 a.m. - 2:00 p.m.)	18.1	22.6	14.2	14.7	12.4	18.7	14.0	16.1
After School (2:00 p.m. -5:00 p.m.)	26.4	31.7	21.8	26.7	15.9	26.1	21.0	29.5
Evening (5:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.)	29.7	20.2	38.2	37.9	38.5	38.3	39.5	25.5
Night (9:00 p.m. - 4:00 a.m.)	5.5	4.9	6.0	5.3	7.0	4.4	5.3	12.4
Person-level controls								
Subjective well-being (average across all activities in SWB sample)								
Happiness	4.5	4.7	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.1	4.4	4.1
Meaning	4.5	4.6	4.5	4.6	4.4	4.2	4.5	4.5
Sadness	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.8
Stress	1.5	1.3	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.6	2.0
Fatigue	2.6	2.2	2.9	2.6	3.0	2.9	2.8	2.9
Age	35.5	34.6	36.1	35.5	36.0	38.1	35.8	38.9
Race/ethnicity								
White, non-Hispanic	68.8	54.7	77.9	81.4	74.0	86.8	76.9	87.8
Black, non-Hispanic	7.0	8.7	5.8	2.1	8.6	3.1	6.0	4.3
Hispanic	16.6	26.1	10.5	9.7	12.7	1.8	11.3	3.0
Other	7.7	10.5	5.8	6.9	4.6	8.3	5.9	5.0
Own education								
Less than a HS Degree	9.7	14.9	6.4	8.4	6.5	0.0	6.9	1.6
HS Degree	21.8	25.3	19.6	20.4	20.7	11.4	20.8	8.0
Some College	23.9	22.6	24.8	26.3	26.9	9.9	24.9	23.3
College Graduate	30.8	29.9	31.5	30.0	30.6	39.6	30.7	38.1
Advanced Degree	13.8	7.4	17.9	14.8	15.3	39.1	16.7	29.0
Spouse/partner education								
Less than a HS Degree	9.4	14.2	6.3	7.4	6.9	0.0	6.6	3.7
HS Degree	24.7	24.9	24.5	18.7	28.4	22.8	25.7	14.0
Some College	24.6	19.8	27.8	27.1	30.4	17.0	27.0	34.7
College Graduate	25.4	22.2	27.5	29.7	24.8	34.6	27.3	30.0
Advanced Degree	15.9	18.9	13.9	17.1	9.6	25.6	13.5	17.7
School enrollment	8.1	8.9	7.5	10.2	5.6	9.5	6.8	14.7
Number children in HH	2.0	2.1	2.0	2.2	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.1
Age of youngest child	4.7	4.3	5.0	4.6	5.2	5.7	4.9	6.5
Season								
Winter	22.1	23.7	21.0	27.6	18.7	13.2	20.2	28.7
Spring	30.3	29.7	30.6	26.0	33.2	31.6	31.5	22.7
Summer	20.3	18.7	21.3	21.7	20.8	22.9	20.6	27.7
Fall	27.4	27.9	27.1	24.7	27.4	32.3	27.7	20.9
Weekend	23.1	21.3	24.2	25.0	23.5	25.6	24.6	20.8
Sleep duration (minutes)	496.3	514.2	484.7	490.1	485.0	467.5	486.9	464.6
<7 hours	16.7	13.1	19.1	15.0	20.9	22.4	18.6	23.8
7 to 9 hours	51.6	48.2	53.9	52.8	52.4	63.9	53.3	58.6
>9 hours	31.7	38.7	27.1	32.2	26.8	13.7	28.1	17.6

*N*s unweighted, means weighted

Table 2. Mother's subjective well-being by childcare activity and work arrangements

	Happiness	Meaning	Sadness	Stress	Fatigue
N (activities)	1149	1149	1151	1152	1151
N (women)	855	855	856	857	857
Childcare activities					
Routine	4.8	5.1	0.3	1.3	2.9
Play	5.4	5.4	0.2	0.7	2.2
Teaching	4.8	5.5	0.3	1.8	2.4
Management	4.6	4.9	0.5	1.6	2.2
Own employment status					
No market work	5.1	5.1	0.3	1.1	2.1
PT market work	4.5	5.1	0.4	1.5	2.6
FT market work	4.9	5.3	0.3	1.4	2.8
Long hours (50+)	4.5	4.9	0.5	1.6	3.5
Multiple jobs (>1)					
Yes	4.3	4.8	1.0	2.0	3.0
No	4.7	5.2	0.3	1.4	2.8
Other own work conditions					
Work after 6pm					
Yes	4.3	4.8	0.5	1.6	2.6
No	4.9	5.2	0.3	1.3	2.5
Work at home					
Yes	4.6	5.1	0.5	1.8	2.6
No	4.9	5.2	0.3	1.2	2.5
Spouse/partner employment status					
No market work	5.1	4.8	0.3	1.4	2.9
PT market work	5.0	5.3	0.3	0.8	1.8
FT market work	4.8	5.2	0.3	1.4	2.4
Long hours (50+)	4.9	5.2	0.3	1.3	2.6
Spouse/partner multiple jobs (>1)					
Yes	5.1	5.3	0.2	1.2	2.0
No	4.8	5.2	0.3	1.3	2.5
Joint employment status					
Both FT	4.8	5.2	0.4	1.5	2.9
Dad FT, mom PT	4.4	5.1	0.4	1.5	2.5
Dad FT, mom not employed	5.0	5.2	0.3	1.2	2.2
Mom FT, dad <FT	4.7	5.2	0.4	1.6	3.3
Both <FT (or one is not employed)	5.0	5.3	0.3	0.9	1.8
Neither employed	5.4	4.5	0.3	0.9	2.4
Ratio own to spouse/partner earnings					
Between .75-1.25	5.1	5.3	0.3	1.5	2.9
Less than .75	4.8	5.1	0.3	1.2	2.3
Greater than 1.25	4.7	5.2	0.4	1.5	2.7
Missing: self-employed or neither work	5.1	4.9	0.2	1.4	2.6

N's unweighted, means weighted