When Home Becomes Work: Work and Leisure Patterns of Home-Based Workers

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Abstract

Innovations in information technology and the growing complexity in workplace practices, such as when and where paid work takes place, are increasingly blurring the "separate spheres" of home and work life. In particular, more and more individuals are engaging in flexible work schedules that allow their paid work hours to be conducted at home. Yet our understanding of home-based workers is limited. This paper provides a more nuanced understanding of home-based work patterns by examining a group of 1,098 employed individuals who completed both the 2004 May Current Population Survey (CPS) Work Schedules Supplement and the 2004 American Time Use Survey (ATUS) and assessing their time in paid and unpaid work. Our analysis finds little evidence that home-based work allows workers to mesh their work and nonwork lives any more smoothly than those who work exclusively outside the home. First, we find parenthood is only loosely associated with home-based work (among men only) and most workers do not cite work-family balance as their main reason for having a home-based work arrangements. Second, the workdays of home-based and non home-based workers look similar in terms of the degree of fragmentation and scheduling of work primarily during the standard daytime hours of 9 to 5 (though home-based workers do have shorter workdays on average). Third, we find that although mothers engaging in home-based work were more likely than mothers working exclusively outside the home to report a child under age 13 in their care while engaging in paid work, they did not feel more responsible for children over their entire day (including nonwork time) nor did they engage in more direct childcare activities. Although home-based work arrangements do not necessarily allow workers to carve out more time for children, they may, however, allow couples to have slightly more time with each other.

Introduction

Advances in information technology, the movement toward a service economy, as well as greater attention to "family friendly" practices suggest that work arrangements are becoming increasingly diverse and complex. Specifically, *when* and *where* work takes place is shifting quite dramatically and may vary a great deal across the working population. For example, Presser (2003) finds that two-fifths of all employed Americans now work during nonstandard hours or outside of the standard daytime, "9-to-5" hours. In addition to work scheduling, *where* work takes place seems to be more variable as teleconferencing, email, and high speed Internet connections have opened up the possibility that employers, employees, and customers do no have to be in the same place to complete their work. Indeed, they do not even need to be physically at a workplace to be doing paid work—they may work from the "comfort" of their own home. Furthermore, changes in the composition of the labor force such as women's increased employment rates (Toossi, 2002) and a rise in dual-earning families (Raley, Mattingly, & Bianchi, 2006) have resulted in a greater need for workers to tend to caregiving needs in addition to employment responsibilities—subsequently changing the demand for traditional workplace arrangements. As such, employment practices seem to be moving toward incorporating more flexible work arrangements, such as job sharing, flexible scheduling, and the option to conduct paid work at home.

Though researchers are increasingly looking at the scheduling of work and consequences of these schedules for family life, such as Presser's *Working in a 24/7 Economy: Challenges for American Families* (2003), our understanding of home-based work is far less complete (Han, 2002, 2004; Hattery, 2001; Heymann & Earle, 2001; Presser, 1986, 1988, 1994; Wight, Raley, & Bianchi, Forthcoming). In other words, researchers have paid more attention to the shifts in

"when" work takes place than to the shifts in "where" work is conducted, particularly in terms of how these changes might have implications for balancing family and work life. Analyses of home-based workers have typically been more limited to somewhat dated assessments gleaned from stylized questionnaires or commuting data asking respondents whether and how much they work from home (Deming, 1994; Felstead, Jewson, Phizacklea, & Walters, 2001; Kraut & Grambsch, 1987; Presser & Bamberger, 1993). Although there are a few qualitative accounts of women's home-based work experiences (Ammons & Markham, 2004; Berke, 2003; Christensen, 1988; Osnowitz, 2005), less is known about the extent to which this work arrangement might ease work-family tensions by allowing workers more uninterrupted time for work and greater time for leisure activities as well as time with family, particularly children, or the extent to which it may exacerbate work-family conflict by blurring what Kanter (1977) refers to as the "separate spheres" of work and family life.

This paper provides a more nuanced understanding of home-based work patterns by examining a group of 1,098 employed individuals who completed both the 2004 CPS May Work Schedules Supplement and the 2004 American Time Use Survey (ATUS). The May Supplement allows us to not only identify home-based workers, but provides information about why individuals engage in home-based work. The ATUS offers insight into where hours are worked, which hours of the day work occurs, what activities fill nonwork time, whether a child under 13 is in the care of the home-based worker, and who was with the worker during nonwork hours. We examine the following the research questions: 1) How prevalent is home-based work and who does it? 2) When does home-based work occur across the day? 3) Are the work patterns of home-based workers more fragmented throughout the day when compared with other workers?

4) Why do workers engage in home-based work and 5) How is work at home associated with other patterns of time use (e.g., family time and leisure)?

In assessing these questions, we shed light on the two most frequent—and opposing—claims about women's home-based work. On the one hand, it is often argued that flexible work arrangements, such as home-based work, are an option for balancing work and family, albeit an option most often granted to employees with substantial resources (e.g., those in middle-class jobs) or women with access to household income from other sources, which enables their self-employment (Beers, 2000; Golden, 2001; Kraut & Grambsch, 1987). On the other hand, home-based workers may find the lines between work and family life increasingly blurred, as if they are forever on call to the workplace as well as family members (particularly children) when there is no visible distinction between these two aspects of life (Christensen, 1988). Literature on the work of poor, minority, and immigrant women also emphasizes the potential exploitative nature of home-based work (Boris, 1985; Daniels, 1989; Golden, 2001; Silver, 1993). In this sense, home-based work may not be a utopian solution to the problems posed by the competing demands of work and family life.

Background

The Contours of Home-Based Work: Who Does It and When Does It Take Place?

Much of the research measuring the prevalence and characteristics of home-based workers, relying primarily on estimates from stylized questionnaires or small non-representative samples, suggests home-based workers tend to be older, white, and more highly educated than those who do not work at home (Daniels, 1989; L. N. Edwards & Field-Hendrey, 1996; Horvath, 1986; Kraut & Grambsch, 1987; Presser & Bamberger, 1993). They also seem more likely to be

employed in the service industry (Horvath, 1986; Presser & Bamberger, 1993; Silver, 1989). These characteristics are consistent with the argument that some home-based work may be an outgrowth of family-friendly work policies among higher-paying occupations which tend to require higher levels of education and are disproportionately occupied by white workers (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004).

Focusing on home-based workers who work exclusively at home, Kraut and Grambsch (1987), analyze commuting data from the 1980 Census to show a greater prevalence of home-based work among mothers, the elderly, the disabled, and people living in rural areas. These home-based workers also had lower earnings than other workers, which is not surprising given the type of work done entirely at home. For example, Presser and Bamberger (1993) found that a large portion of women who reported working all their hours at home were employed as private household or service workers. Research also indicated that the self employed comprise a large share of those who work out of their homes, suggesting that some types of work may be more amenable to working at home than others (Christensen, 1988; Deming, 1994; L. N. Edwards & Field-Hendrey, 1996, 2002; Silver, 1989).

Work at home may be more or less facilitated by the nature of the job. Therefore, what women and men do, i.e., what occupations they hold, are important to understanding the experiences of home-based workers. For example, past research has shown women employed in private household services were the largest occupational groupings of home-based workers (Kraut & Grambsch, 1987). However, higher-paying occupations such as professional specialty and managerial occupations may include as part of a benefit or compensation package, the independence and flexibility to work at home, especially as seniority increases. Additionally, technological advances over the last twenty years may have expanded the kind of work that can

be completed from home in these higher-paying occupations. Therefore, we might expect employment in managerial and professional specialty occupations to be correlated with women's home-based work patterns.

Working at home may also be associated in complex ways with how long people are able to work and to what extent they can do so in uninterrupted intervals. In other words, the "rhythm" of the working day is likely to be related to the location of work. On the one hand, Kraut and Grambsch (1987) suggest that home-based work may be the most attractive to those who are unable to work a full-time schedule due to physical or social constraints. Particularly in the case of home-based workers who may be utilizing alternative work arrangements to tend to family responsibilities, it seems likely that home-based work would reduce the number of hours spent working for pay. This suggestion is underscored by Silver's finding (1989) that a large proportion of home-based workers work part time. On the other hand, those who work full time may be more likely than part-time workers to bring work home, suggesting that home-based work may be associated with long work hours.

The timing of work is likely to be complex among home-based workers. First, as Christensen's (1988) rich description of women's home-based work experiences indicates, the "boundaries" of home-based work may be less clear. That is, the home does not empty out or fill up at certain times to signify the beginning and start of work, though certainly family members coming and going may help workers more clearly identify these boundaries about when work should begin, when it should end, and how much time in total should be spent working. For example, some home-based workers report using the cues such as children coming home from school or spouses coming home from work to signal the end of a work day (P. Edwards & Edwards, 1994). Second, the extent to which workers can work unfettered from distraction may

be greater or smaller at home depending on the extent to which such workers are distracted by household matters. Some workers may be able to focus better at home because they do not have a flurry of co-workers who may want to chat about last night's television program or other non-work matters. Still, other home-based workers may have difficulty trying to work while being "on call." As some research has found, personal phone calls, the routine and ever-present demand for housework, and the presence of other family members like children can wreak havoc on efforts to create an uninterrupted work day. The result is greater work fragmentation for home-based workers when compared with those who do not work at home (Ammons & Markham, 2004; Berke, 2003; Christensen, 1988).

Why Work at Home?

The "rhythm" of a home-based worker's workday as well as the characteristics associated with home-based work all appear to be predicated on *why* workers have a home-based work arrangement. For example, in a society that is without extensive social or government supports for dual-earner and single-parent families, managing work and family is a complex feat, to say the least (Ammons & Markham, 2004; Ferber, O'Farrell, & Alle, 1991; Silberstein, 1992). Women are particularly susceptible to this double jeopardy given that they are still largely responsible for managing the unpaid labor of housework and childcare (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006; Christensen, 1988; Hochschild, 1989). Thus, if working at home is a strategy for managing work and family responsibilities, a person (most likely a woman) with children may have a greater need for home-based work than people without children. The presence of children in a family may increase the need to combine the demands of work with those of family, caregiving, and housework, particularly when children are young and costs of childcare in terms

of both financial and psychological strain may be steep. Similarly, work at home may confer a sense of flexibility in terms of balancing work and family life that is conducive to having children. Indeed, past research indicates women with children, particularly young children, are more likely than women without children to work at home (Deming, 1994; L. N. Edwards & Field-Hendrey, 1996). With this in mind, we might expect work and family balance to be a common reason for a home-based work arrangement, particularly among parents, and specifically mothers.

While there is some debate as to whether the work hours of employed Americans have increased over time, being overworked could certainly exacerbate time pressures and account for part of the reason why people choose to work at home. In other words, people may choose this work location to complete work that was not finished in the workplace. However, it is unclear whether Americans today are more overworked than in the past. If we only read Schor (1991), we might arrive at this conclusion. That is, capitalism provides the underpinnings of a system that favors longer working hours and has contributed to the growth in "long hour jobs" that ultimately strip away leisure time. Therefore, according to Schor (1991), the average employed person is working more hours on the job than in the past. Others would argue that the average work week has changed very little, but the distribution of work hours has changed (Rones, Ilg, & Gardner, 1997). So while the average length of the work week may not have increased, the share of workers who are working very long work weeks (49 hours or more a week) has, which consequently can result in a larger proportion of Americans who are overworked. In addition, Jacobs and Gerson (2004) note that long work hours, particularly for salaried professionals and mangers, is typically analogous to productivity and job commitment—they are the means by

which workers remain competitive and fulfill employer expectations. Therefore, workers may choose home-based work in order capitalize on additional waking hours.

How Might Home-Based Work Be Associated with Time in Non-Work Activities?

Most of the research on home-based work focuses squarely on the (paid) "work" side of people's lives as opposed to the implications for their lives outside of paid work. Only a handful of studies have explored how and why home-based work might have implications for family life. For example, Silver (1993) used the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey (QES) to investigate whether paid work in the home helped men and women integrate work and family life because they combined work with unpaid housework tasks. Yet, home-based workers did more domestic work than those employed outside the home and the gendered division of labor was impervious to the location of work (e.g., men who worked at home did not perform relatively more unpaid, domestic work).

Some qualitative evidence corresponds with Silver's (1993) findings that women who work at home are still largely responsible for childcare and housework. For example, the group of home-based workers in Christensen's study who were primarily homemakers "who needed to earn a living," openly discussed the lack of support they received from their husbands when they tried to complete their work at home. These were women from lower income single-earner families who had difficulty making ends meet on one paycheck. They provided housework and childcare during the day while their husband worked, but received little support in return in the evenings when their husbands were available to pick up the slack. In addition, Ahrentzen (1990) found, in a study of 104 home-based workers, that respondents typically reported that other family members expected them to do more housework because they were at home during the

day. Finally, in a sample of 50 contract professionals who work at home, Osnowitz (2005) found that women who worked at home, more so than men, were subject to the normative cult of domesticity, which subsequently obscured their workforce role and efforts.

Relatively less research has been done looking at the differences among home-based and standard workers in leisure activities. On the one hand, some research suggests that other family members tend to operate as boundary and temporal "keepers," signaling to the home-based workers the appropriate time to begin and end paid work on a given workday (Berke, 2003; P. Edwards & Edwards, 1994). Under this type of scenario, we might expect home-based workers to have similar amounts of nonwork time available for leisure as their standard counterparts if their temporal rhythms of working at home adhere to the schedules of their family members who most likely follow a standard workday. On the other hand, and particularly when children are young and require constant care, there is evidence that some home-based workers may push work into nonstandard work hours (e.g., evenings or nights) when they either have the help of a partner to manage children or when all other family members have gone to sleep (Christensen, 1988). In this type of situation, we might expect home-based workers to have less time to devote to leisure given that they may trade their allotted leisure time for paid work.

Data and Sample

We use data from the May 2004 Current Population Survey (CPS) Work Schedule Supplement and the 2004 American Time Use Survey (ATUS). Both surveys are sponsored by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau. The CPS is a monthly survey of approximately 60,000 households that uses a 4-8-4 sample rotation scheme. That is, respondents are interviewed for four consecutive months, are absent from the sample for the next eight

months, interviewed the next four months, and then permanently retired from the CPS sample (U. S. Census Bureau, 2002). The ATUS is comprised of respondents is the U.S. civilian non-institutionalized population age 15 and older. These individuals are randomly selected for participation in the survey from households completing their eighth and final month in the CPS. The ATUS interview is completed about 2-5 months after the CPS interview. Therefore, for a select number of respondents whose final CPS interview took place during the month of May or sometime shortly afterward, we have their CPS work schedule supplement interview, from which we can determine whether they identify themselves as a home-based worker, and their time diary.

The CPS questionnaire is completely computerized and provides data on a wide range of issues relating to employment and earnings. In addition to the regular labor force questions, the CPS often collects supplemental information, such as work schedule information. The response rate in May 2004 was 86.8 percent.

The format of the ATUS is slightly different than the CPS, given that it is a time-diary survey. That is, using computer assisted telephone interviews, ATUS respondents are asked to provide a detailed account of one 24-hour period, i.e., what they were doing between 4:00 a.m. of the previous day and 4:00 a.m. of the interview day. For each activity reported, the respondent is asked how long the activity took place, where they were, and who was with them. Approximately 14,000 individuals were interviewed in 2004. The response rate was 57 percent. Application of the ATUS final weight adjusts for nonresponse and proper subgroup and day-of-week representation.

The diary format of the ATUS is well suited for examining life's daily rhythms because it captures detailed estimates of time spent in *both* market as well as nonmarket activities (e.g.,

childcare, housework, leisure, sleep) on the diary day. Because the ATUS is comprised of a subset of CPS participants, the data also include extensive information on the labor force characteristics of households, usual hours worked, earnings, and weeks employed over the year. Linking data from the 2004 CPS Work Schedule Supplement to the 2004 ATUS time diary allows us to use responses from traditional survey questions in order to identify who works at home. We use the work schedule survey responses to identify home-based workers for two reasons. First, the ATUS provides us with a time-diary from a single day. We argue that measuring the incidence of home-based work from a single-day diary is problematic given that previous research has found working from home is more times than not an irregular, unpatterned work arrangement that is not done entirely from home. For example, home-based workers are more likely to report working some of the time at home rather than all of their time at home (Felstead et al., 2001; Presser & Bamberger, 1993; Wight & Bianchi, 2004). Using a single-day diary in order to flag home-based workers may mask some respondents who would ordinarily consider themselves to be home-based workers, but who would not be counted as such by this method because they did not happen to work at home on their diary day. We also use the traditional survey questionnaire to identify home-based workers because research reveals that close-ended questions (e.g., do you as part of your main job do any work at home?) are more reliable for gathering information about a specific topic (Fowler, 1993).

Our analysis is restricted to employed individuals aged 18–64 who responded to both the CPS and the ATUS and who did some paid work on their diary day. The total sample size is 1,098 respondents—558 women and 540 men. Because the ATUS collects one time diary from one individual in the household, our unit of analysis is individual women and men, not couples.

Measures

Home-Based Work

The CPS Work Schedule asks individuals whether as part of their job they do any work at home. Respondents who answer in the affirmative are classified as home-based workers. Eight respondents did not respond to this question and were dropped from the analysis. Research suggests that the characteristics of home-based workers differ by whether individuals work entirely from home or only partially from home (Felstead et al., 2001; Presser & Bamberger, 1993; Wight & Bianchi, 2004). We think this distinction is important—especially when considering how home-based work correlates with other daily activities. For example, if women who work some of their hours at home are a more privileged group in terms of educational and occupational attainment, as previous work in this area suggests, then we might expect their ability to balance this work arrangement against additional family responsibilities to differ, as well. Given that only 34 home-based workers reported in the CPS that they worked *all* of their total work hours at home, however, we did not disaggregate home-based workers into subgroups by the extent to which they worked at home (all, some, or no hours). Even when we relaxed the threshold and counted respondents whose home-based work hours were 75 percent of their total work hours, our sample size remained negligible at 40 people. Therefore, due to the small number of people who work exclusively (or almost exclusively) at home, we do not look at them separately.

Paid Work

We construct three measures of paid work to assess how home-based work correlates with the different dimensions of working. *Paid work time* is a continuous variable equal to the total hours

per day respondents report engaging in a paid work activity, such as commuting to work, engaging in work or work-related activities, waiting associated with work, and even socializing or relaxing as part of the job. The variable *work episodes* is a measure of work fragmentation constructed by summing the total number of discrete paid work activities reported on the diary day. From this measure we are able to assess the degree of work interruption associated with working and not working at home. *Longest work episode* is also a measure of fragmentation and is equal to the maximum length of an uninterrupted paid work episode (in hours per day) reported on the diary day.

Family Care

Total family care time is a continuous measure of the total hours per day respondents report engaging in family care activities, such as housework, providing childcare, or shopping for household goods. We disaggregate this measure into its three components and include the total hours per day respondents report doing *housework, shopping for household goods and services,* and *providing primary childcare*. *Housework* includes the total hours per day that respondents report engaging in conventional housework tasks such as food preparation and clean up, housecleaning, laundry and clothes care, outdoor cleaning and repair, and plant and animal care. Shopping for household goods and services includes time spent shopping for food, clothes or household items, and time spent on personal care, medical, government, financial, and auto services. *Primary childcare time* is the hours per day respondents engage in a direct childcare activity (e.g., providing physical care, helping and teaching, talking and reading, playing, providing medical care, and so forth).

For parents, we construct additional child-related measures. *Any time with children* is the broadest measure of the total minutes per day parents report doing any activity, with the exception of sleep, in which a child is present. For example, if parents are doing housework or watching television and report a child present during such activities, this is included in the estimate. (The ATUS does not collect information on who was present if the main activity reported is sleeping, grooming, or personal activities.)

We also construct two measures designed to capture the degree to which parents report "minding" children. These measures are based on a set of questions asked after the time diary has been completed. Specifically, respondents are asked to indicate whether, during any of the activities on their diary, a child under 13 was in their care. From these responses, we construct the following measures: *child under 13 in care during any activity* and *child under 13 in care during a work activity*. Respondents are coded one if they report a child under 13 in their care during any activity. Likewise, they are also coded one if they report that during a work activity they had a child under 13 in their care.

For married respondents, we construct two measures of time with spouse: *Any time with a spouse* is the total hours per day married respondents report doing any waking activity with a spouse present and *time alone with a spouse* is a more restricted measure of one-on-one spousal time where the respondent reports being alone with his/her spouse.

Leisure

We also estimate two measures of leisure. *Total free time* is the number of hours per day respondents report engaging in any free-time activity (i.e., activities other than paid work, unpaid

household work, childcare, or personal care and sleep). We also include a measure of the total hours per day that respondents report engaging in *exercise*.

Covariates of Time Use

Age of respondent is coded into three categories: age 18–34, 35–44, and 45–64, where age 35–44 is the reference category in regression analyses. *Race/ethnicity* is coded as four dichotomous variables: white, non-Hispanic; black, non-Hispanic; other, non-Hispanic; and Hispanic origin. White, non-Hispanic respondents are the reference group. *Education* is coded into three categories: high school graduate or less (omitted category in regression analyses), some college, and bachelor's degree or more. *Marital status* is coded one for respondents who report being married with a spouse present at the time they complete the diary and zero for all others.

Respondents are coded *parents* if they report having a child under age 18 in the household at the time of the survey. *Number of children* is a continuous measure of own children under age 18 in the household. The *presence of a preschooler* is a dichotomous variable coded one if a child under age 6 is present in the household.

Work hours are constructed from the number of hours per day respondents report engaging in a paid work activity, including time spent commuting, on their diary day. We show that among those who work at home, women average about an hour less (54 minutes) and men average close to 45 minutes less of paid work on the diary day than their counterparts who do not work at home. Therefore, we control for work hours on the diary day so as not to attribute to home-based work an association that may reflect an unusually long or short work day on the diary day.

We measure *earnings* based on respondents' reports of their weekly earnings and use four categories: $500 per week or less (omitted category in regressions); $501-$750 per week; $751–$1,000 per week; and $1,000 or more per week. There were 486 respondents who did not have reported earnings. These cases were imputed separately for women and men and were based on the average earnings for respondents who reported positive earnings. We included an imputation flag for earnings in our models but found that in very few cases was the flag significant and our results remained relatively the same. Therefore, we report multivariate results that do not use an earnings imputation flag. We include three *occupational* categories: executive and managerial; professional specialty; and other occupations (omitted category in regressions), which include technical and sales support, construction, farming, fishing, and transportation among others. We also include a dichotomous variable indicating whether a respondent's *spouse is employed*.

Daily routines of family life are quite different on weekdays than on weekends. Time with children, particularly school-age children, is constrained by school schedules on weekdays but not on weekends. Furthermore, the flow of family time may be less rigidly structured on the weekends. Therefore, we control for weekday and weekend by including a dichotomous variable coded one if the respondent was sampled on a weekday (Monday–Friday) and a zero for all others. Because time with children may vary by whether children are in school or whether they are on summer break, we created a dichotomous variable coded one if the diary was completed during the *summer months* of June–August and zero for all other months. The *number of activities* reported on the diary is a continuous variable equal to the number of distinct activity periods reported on the diary and is included as a control for the quality of reporting and level of detail in activities reported by the respondent.

Analytic Strategy

Using the ATUS as a sample of work days across the year, we first examine *when* paid work occurs across the 24-hour day and how this differs across home-based and non-home-based workers. We use ordinary least squares (OLS) regression to examine the association between home-based work and characteristics of paid work, family care activities and time, and leisure pursuits controlling for important covariates associated with time use. For the childcare measures that are dichotomized, we use logistic regression to assess the likelihood of reporting a child in care and whether this varies by working at home. We present models separately for women and men as research indicates time use patterns vary by gender.

Results

Who Works at Home

Our results shown in Figure 1 indicate that the percentages of women and men reporting they work at home are similar. About one in five or 20 percent of women and men do some work at home while approximately 80 percent do not do any work at home.

[Figure 1 about here]

Table 1 shows means and percentage distributions on selected sample characteristics. As expected, home-based workers tend to be older, white (of non-Hispanic origin), married, and more highly educated. They are also more likely to report higher weekly earnings, be employed in executive and professional specialty occupations, and have a spouse who is employed. While it has long been the feeling that working at home is a way to balance work and family, we find that being a parent and having a preschooler present is more common among home-based

working men compared to their non-home based counterparts. There appears to be relatively little difference among women. Among both women and men, working at home is associated with somewhat lower paid work hours compared to their more counterparts who do not work at home.

[Table 1 about here]

Figures 2 and 3 show the distribution of women's and men's total work hours by the time of day they are worked. By looking at the distribution of work hours we are able to assess the differences in when works take place by home-based work status while controlling for the differences in work hours that exist across the two populations of workers. We find that both women and men, regardless of where they work, schedule their work hours in similar ways across the day and their work largely takes place across the stereotypical daytime hours. We find very little evidence that workers in general schedule their work in the "tails" of the 24-hour distribution. Unlike what we might have expected, non home-based workers when compared to their home-based working counterparts appear to be more likely to spread their work into these tails (e.g., between 4–7 a.m. and anytime after midnight). In short, both women and men who work at home concentrate the bulk of their work hours, compared to those who do not work at home, during the standard workday hours of 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.

[Insert Figures 2 and 3 here]

Why do People Work at Home?

Along with detailed information on the characteristics of respondents' home-based work arrangements, the CPS May Supplement also asks respondents to report their main reason for working at home. Figures 4 and 5 show the percent of women and men respectively who work at

home by their main reason for doing so. Among all women and men (all diaries), the most cited reason for working at home is to finish or catch up on work. Approximately half of the women (49.9 percent) and 40.2 percent of men chose this option as their main reason. Both women and men chose "nature of the job" in indicating the second most popular reason for working at home (19.0 percent among women and 30.4 percent among men). For women, "coordinating work and family" was the third most popular reason, with 12 percent of all women choosing this option (only 2.0 percent among men), while "business was conducted from home" was third for men with 20 percent choosing this option (only 10.5 percent among women). About 6 percent of both women and men chose some other reason for work at home (unspecified) and very few chose to work at home in order to reduce commuting time and expenses (1.5 percent among women and 2.8 percent among men). However, when the universe of respondents is restricted to parents, particularly parents with a preschooler present, an entirely different pattern of reports emerge. Among all parents, catching up at work still remains the most likely reason for working at home with 37.9 percent of women and 44.3 percent of men choosing this option, though coordinating work and family life was the second most common reason cited among mothers at 21.1 percent. Very few fathers (2.1 percent) reported balancing work-family life as a reason for working at home. However, when we look at respondents with a young child at home, coordinating work and family ranks as the top reason for working at home, but only for women—about one-third of mothers with a preschooler choose this option. Men with children, particularly young children, are even *less* likely to choose this work-family balance as the main reason for working at home and *more* likely to choose the need to catch up on work.

[Insert Figures 4 and 5 about here]

How is Home-Based Work Associated with Other Time Uses

Paid Work

Table 2 shows differences by home-based work status in the total hours worked per day and the degree to which the workday is fragmented as reported in the diary. Among both women and men there is a significant difference in the bivariate by work location in the total number of paid work hours reported on the diary. Home-based working women work about one hour less while men who work at home work about 45 minutes less, on average, than their non-home based work counterparts. Bivariate results also suggest that for women, working at home is associated with fewer work interruptions than their female counterparts who do paid work outside the home—3.9 versus 4.3 work episodes on average. However, there does not appear to be any difference by home-based work status in the length of the longest work episode suggesting that the contours of the workday, in terms of interrupted work episodes, is similar for women and men, regardless of where they work.

[Insert Table 2 about here]

After controlling for important covariates of time-use, our results indicate that the difference in paid work time is only significant in the case of women.[1] Women who work at home spend just under an hour less than their counterparts who do not self identify as a home-based worker, all other things being equal. In results not shown, we find the differences in work time are attributed to real differences in actual time engaged in work activities rather than to differences in commuting time. The difference observed among men in the bivariate disappears once key control variables are introduced into the model. Differences in the number and length of work episodes remained nonsignificant in the multivariate with controls for number of

[1] For all multivariate analyses, results for the full models are included in appendix tables A1–A6.

children, educational attainment, total work hours, earnings, and type of profession were included in the model.

Family Care

Table 3 suggests that there are few significant differences between home-based workers and non home-based workers in time spent in nonwork activities. In the bivariate, we find evidence that working at home for women is associated with spending more time engaged in housework. However, this difference disappears after we control for important covariates of time use such as total work hours. For men, family care time looks virtually identical between home- and non home-based workers in the bivariate analysis. Once controls for race, number and age of children, total work hours, and earnings are introduced in the analysis, however, working at home among men is associated with *less* time engaged in primary childcare activities, which may underscore the different relationship women and men have with home-based work arrangements.

[Insert Table 3 about here]

When we restrict our analysis to parents, we find no significant differences in the amount of time they spend with children by the location of work. If anything, mothers spend about a half hour *less* time with children when they are home-based workers and fathers spend slightly *more* time (under a half hour a day) with their children when they are home-based workers compared to their counterparts who do not work from home. Neither of these differences are statistically significant, perhaps due to our somewhat small sample sizes. Our results strongly suggest that both mothers and fathers who work at home are more likely than those who work exclusively outside the home to report a child under 13 in their care while they are engaged in a paid work activity. That is, the odds of minding a child while working are 4 times greater for women and 16

times greater for men who work at home compared to their counterparts who do not work at home. Expanding the universe to all time a parent reports a child under 13 in his or her care (beyond the time spent in paid work activities), we find that home-based workers are only slightly more likely to report such responsibility for children when compared with non home-based workers—a slight positive relationship that is not statistically significant.

In the bivariate, married women and men who work at home experience a premium in spousal time, which may be the result of recouping time lost to one or both commuting to the workplace. Once we control for time spent in paid work, the significant relationship between work and spousal time diminishes, but the differences remain sizeable at around a half hour a day more spousal time among home-based workers. Small sample sizes may limit our ability to detect significant differences as women's time alone with a spouse was suggestive at a p-value < 0.10.

Leisure

In the bivariate, our findings suggest that working at home among men is associated with slightly more time engaged in exercise (see Table 4). However, the multivariate results indicate that time spent in leisure is really not that different for home- and non-home based workers.

[Insert Table 4 about here]

Discussion

Our aim in this paper was to assess the extent to which home-based work has implications for the integration of work and family life by documenting the characteristics, work patterns, and nonwork activities of home-based workers and comparing them to those who do not identify as a home-based worker. Balancing the competing claims about the extent to which home-based

work offers a reprieve from the time-intensive demands of work and family life, our analysis finds little evidence that home-based work allows workers to mesh these two critical aspects of their lives any more smoothly than those who work exclusively outside the home. Our analysis further underscores the somewhat divergent nature of home-based work for men and women.

First, our examination of the characteristics of home-based workers indicates that they tend to be older, white (of non-Hispanic origin), married, more highly educated, report higher weekly earnings, are employed in executive and professional specialty occupations, and have a spouse who is employed. In this, the only one "family" characteristic—marital status—was positively associated with home-based work. Being a parent and having a preschooler present, which one would think would be highly correlated with home-based work if this is indeed a viable strategy for managing the competing demands of paid work and caregiving, were only marginally associated with home-based work among men only.

Second, the ways in which workers end up with these work arrangements suggests coordinating work and family life is not the driving factor for most. Even when we restrict to the universe to parents, who are likely to be experiencing the most intense work-family strains, we see that work spillover is still the most common reason why they work at home. This may in fact, exacerbate work-family conflict rather than present a solution to it. However, balancing work and family life is cited by one very specific subgroup as the primary reason for working at home—mothers with young children.

Further, the generally higher reports of "coordinating work and family life" among women as compared with men, specifically among parents and parents with young children, suggests that men may be more likely to use this work arrangement to accommodate the demands of work whereas women may be more likely to use this arrangement to accommodate

the demands of family. Men with children, particularly young children, are even *less* likely than childless men to choose work-family balance as the main reason for working at home and *more* likely to choose the need to catch up on work. Perhaps this is because men tend to make even greater efforts to fulfill their roles as good providers when they become parents (Townsend, 2002). Women, in contrast, may be torn between their commitment to work and intensive mothering ideologies which suggest mothers—and mothers alone—are the ideal caregivers of children and as such should maximize the time and attention they devote to their children (Hays, 1996).

The notion that intensive mothering norms may be a factor in mothers' home-based work status was underscored by our finding that mothers engaging in home-based work were more likely to report a child under age 13 in their care while engaging in paid work when compared with mothers who worked for pay exclusively outside the home. On the one hand, if we assume that "balance" is the ability to engage in work and caring for a child simultaneously, then perhaps home-based work arrangements do enhance work-family balance. On the other hand, previous research suggests that women find working at home and minding children at the same time to be a complex if not impossible feat to accomplish (Christensen, 1988). As a result, some have reported that women readjust their work schedules to coincide with their children's nonwaking hours or hire childcare providers (Berke, 2003; Christensen, 1988). The stress of feeling responsible for a child while trying to complete work under a deadline may actually be exacerbating rather than alleviating work-family strain.

Though women who work at home report more "minding" of children *while they are working* than women who do not work at home, they do not report more minding of children overall or more time engaged in actual childcare activities (as opposed to just feeling responsible

or “on call”). We also do not find evidence that home-based workers have a more fragmented and interrupted work day than non home-based workers. Additionally, we do not find evidence that these workers—particularly mothers—are moving their work to nonstandard hours during the day, such as when partners are home and available to tag-team childcare responsibilities or when all family members have gone to sleep. Moreover, their workdays are an hour shorter, on average, than their counterparts who do not work at home.

Although home-based work arrangements do not necessarily allow workers to carve out more time for children, they may allow couples to have more time with each other. Our findings suggest home-based workers spent around a half hour a day more with their spouses than those who did not work from home. This finding should be interpreted with caution, however, as the difference was not statistically significant, perhaps due to small sample sizes.

One limitation of our findings, however, is our inability to examine the full spectrum of what is most likely a very diverse group. Sample sizes limited our investigation of home-based workers to those who did any work at home, and hence we could not distinguish between workers who worked exclusively at home and those who did only nominal amounts of work at home. Perhaps disaggregating workers into more nuanced categories would reveal more clear cut “typologies” of home-based workers and more clearly distinguish them from workers who do no work for pay from home.

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Figure 1. Employed ATUS Respondents by CPS Home-Based Work Status, 2004

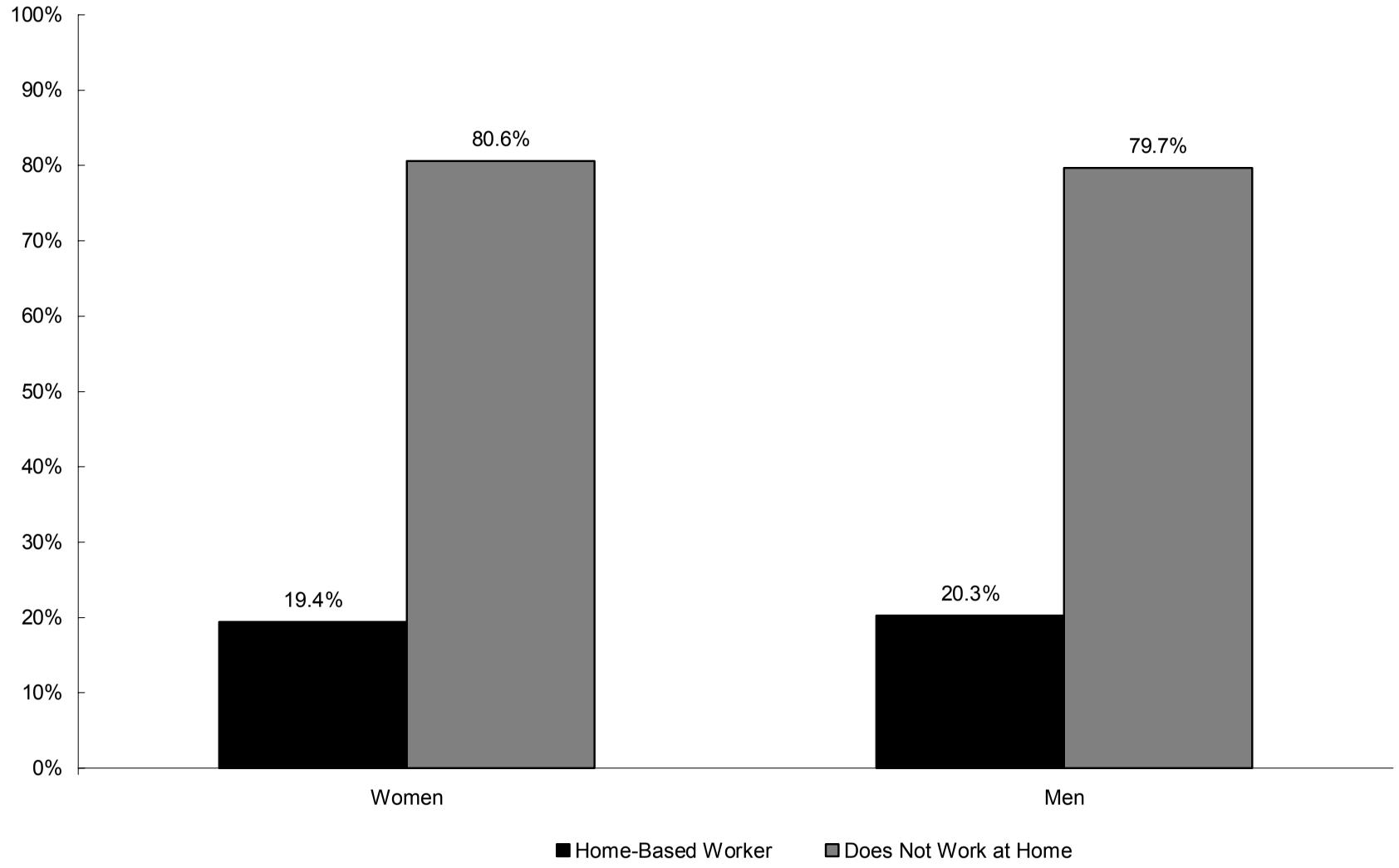

Figure 2. Percent Distribtuion of Women's Work Hours across the Day by Home-Based Work Status

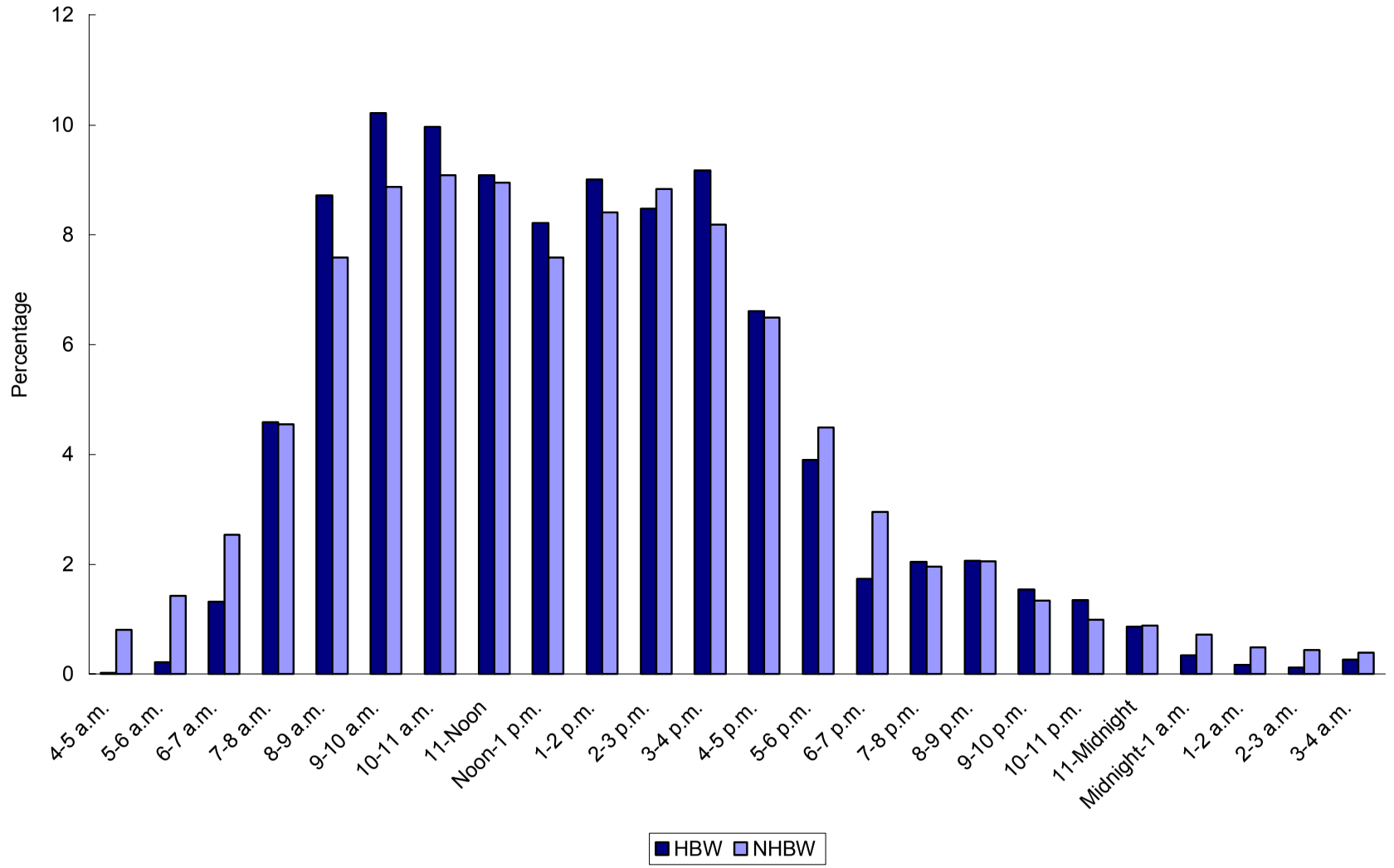

Figure 3. Percent Distribtuion of Women's Work Hours across the Day by Home-Based Work Status

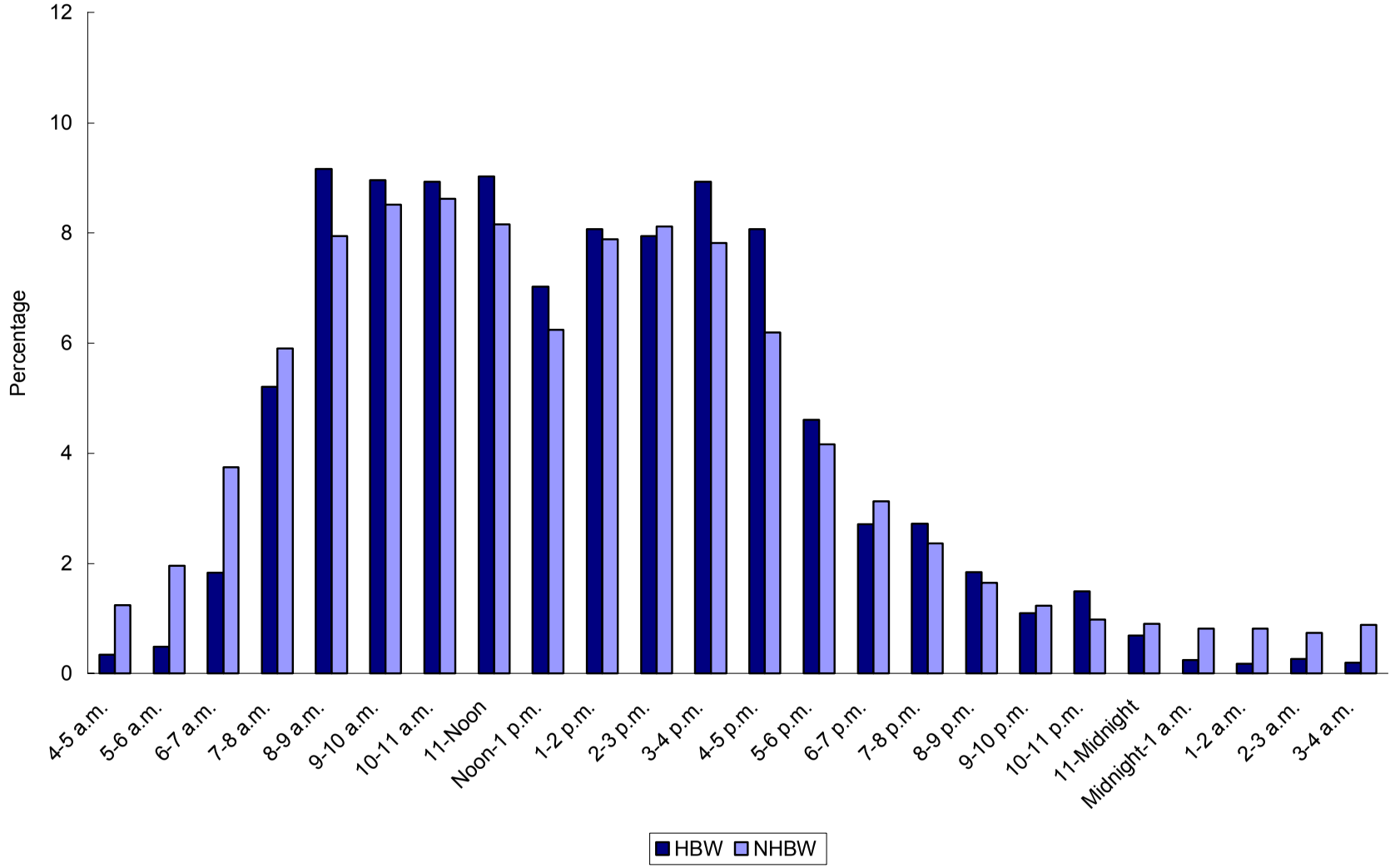

Figure 4. Women's Reports of Main Reason Why They Work at Home (all diaries)

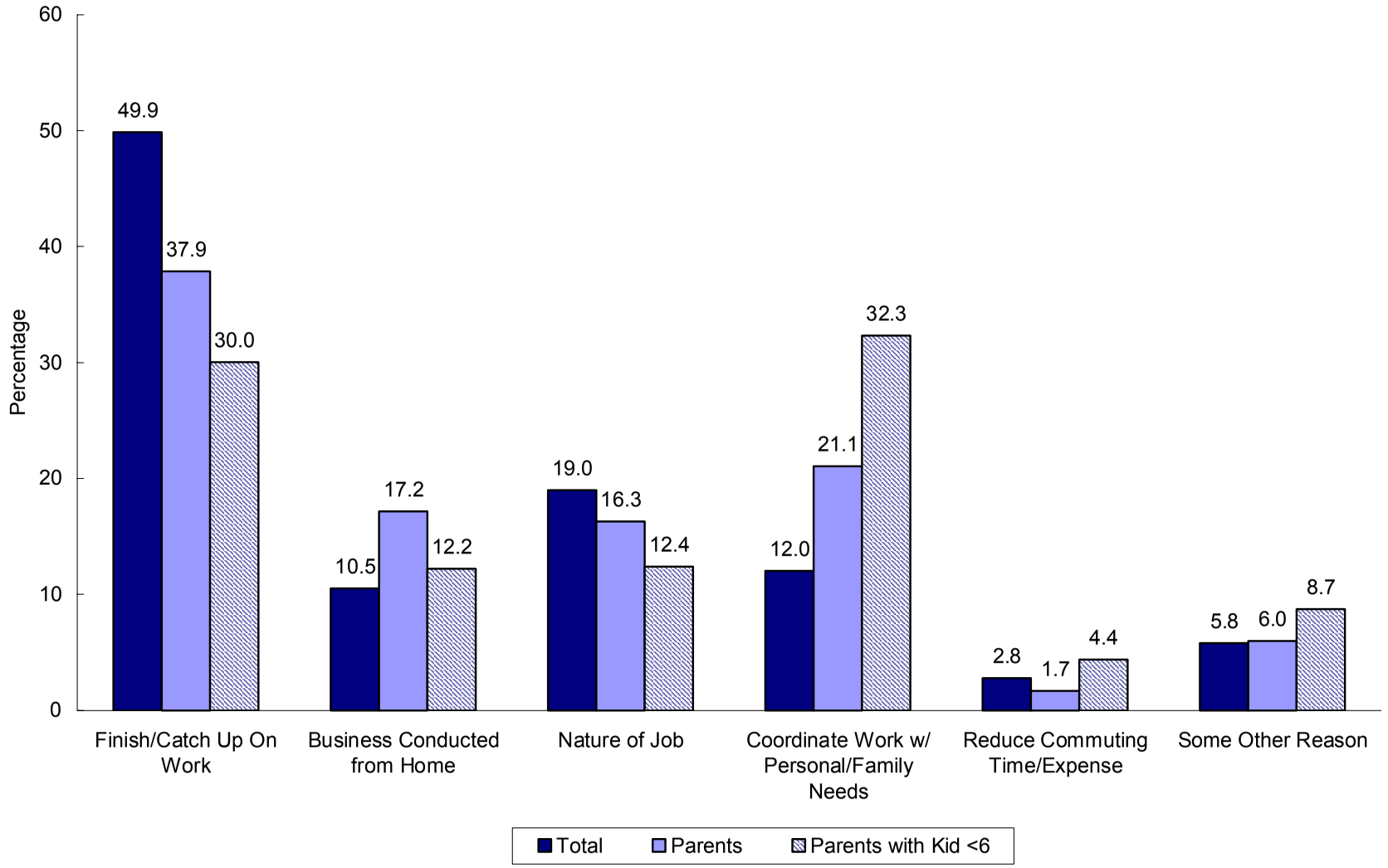

Figure 5. Men's Reports of Main Reason Why They Work at Home (all diaries)

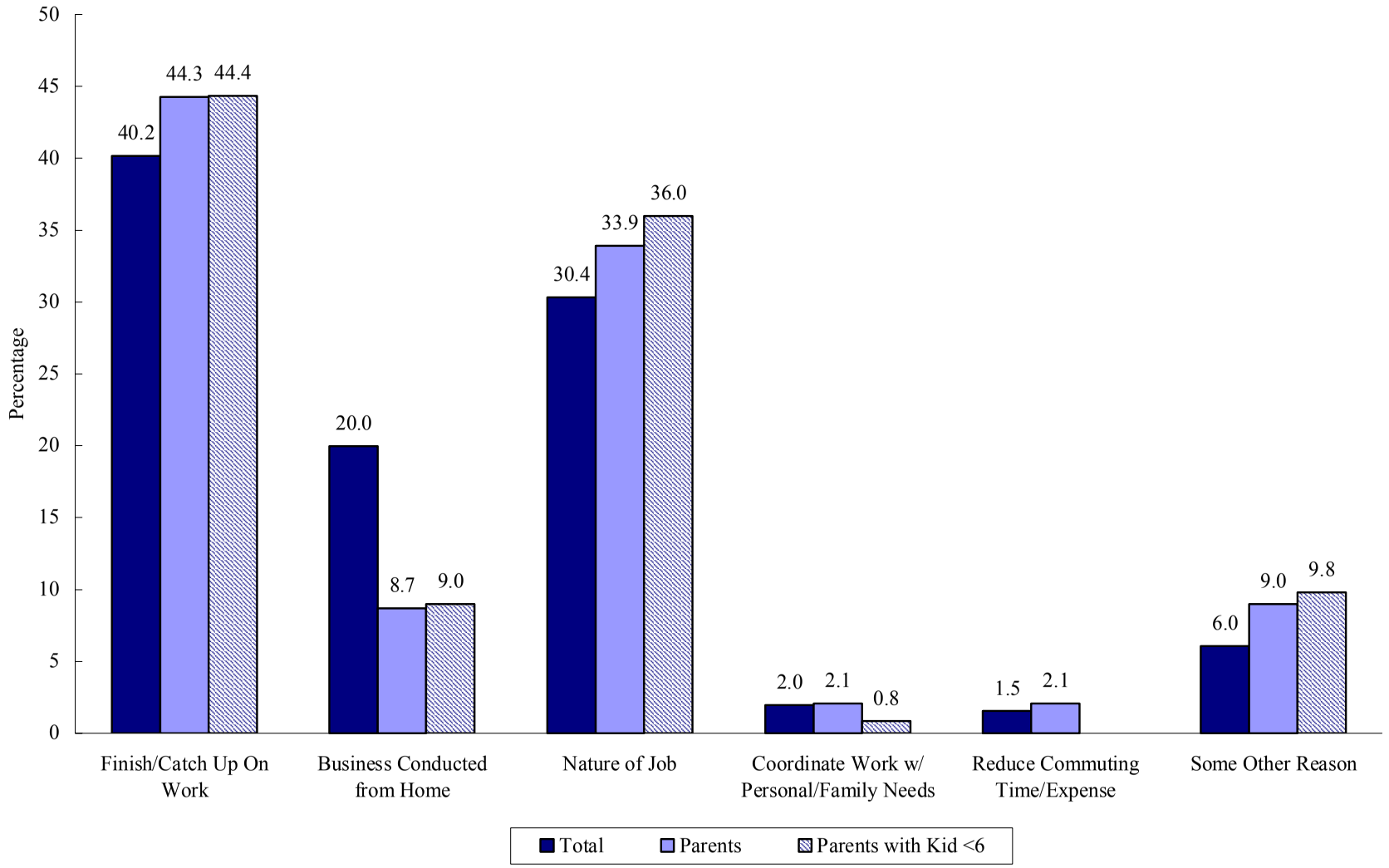

Table 1. Sample Characteristics by Home-Based Work Status, 2004

	Women			Men		
	Total	Home-Based Workers	Non-Home-Based Workers	Total	Home-Based Workers	Non-Home-Based Workers
Total						
Age 18 to 34	0.31	0.24	0.33	0.37	0.22	0.41
Age 35 to 44	0.32	0.33	0.32	0.27	0.31	0.26
Age 45 to 64	0.37	0.43	0.35	0.36	0.47	0.33
White, non-Hispanic	0.70	0.83	0.67	0.75	0.87	0.72
Black, non-Hispanic	0.11	0.08	0.12	0.06	0.03	0.07
Other, non-Hispanic	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.07	0.05
Hispanic origin	0.13	0.05	0.16	0.13	0.02	0.16
Married	0.61	0.74	0.57	0.61	0.77	0.57
Parent	0.42	0.42	0.42	0.37	0.46	0.35
Mean number of children	0.72	0.72	0.72	0.69	0.89	0.63
Presence of child under age 6	0.14	0.13	0.14	0.19	0.23	0.19
High school graduate or less	0.34	0.09	0.40	0.41	0.13	0.48
Some college, no degree	0.29	0.20	0.31	0.26	0.16	0.29
College degree or more	0.37	0.71	0.28	0.33	0.70	0.24
Diary paid work hours (per day)	8.1	7.4	8.3	9.0	8.4	9.1
Earnings of $500/week or less	0.43	0.12	0.52	0.27	0.06	0.32
Earnings of $501 to $750/week	0.27	0.35	0.25	0.20	0.07	0.23
Earnings of $751 to $1,000/week	0.15	0.21	0.14	0.29	0.41	0.26
Earnings of $1,000 or more	0.14	0.32	0.09	0.25	0.46	0.20
Executive	0.15	0.21	0.13	0.18	0.41	0.12
Professional	0.30	0.48	0.25	0.21	0.31	0.18
Other occupation	0.55	0.30	0.62	0.61	0.28	0.69
Spouse employed	0.57	0.64	0.55	0.43	0.51	0.42
Summer diary	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.27	0.19	0.29
Number of activities in diary	22.05	23.53	21.65	18.25	19.01	18.06
Weekday diary	0.87	0.83	0.89	0.86	0.83	0.86
Sample size (N)	(558)	(150)	(408)	(540)	(136)	(404)

Source: Authors' calculations from the 2004 Current Population Survey and the 2004 American Time Use Survey.

Table 2. Women's and Men's Average Hours per Day of Paid Work, Number of Work Episodes, and Longest Work Episode by Home-Based Work Status, 2004

	Total	Home-Based Worker	Non-Home-Based Worker		OLS Coefficients for Working at Home	
Women						
Total hours per day of work	8.1	7.4	8.3	**	-0.68	*
Fragmentation						
Number of work episodes	4.2	3.9	4.3	*	0.06	
Longest work episode	4.5	4.5	4.5		0.37	
Total (N)	(558)	(150)	(408)		(558)	
Men						
Total hours per day of work	9.0	8.4	9.1	*	-0.49	
Fragmentation						
Number of work episodes	4.3	4.1	4.4		-0.10	
Longest work episode	4.9	4.8	4.9		0.01	
Total (N)	(540)	(136)	(404)		(540)	

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

Table 3. Women's and Men's Average Hours per Day in Family Care and Time with a Spouse, 2004

	Women				Men			
	Total	Home-Based Worker	Non Home-Based Worker	OLS Coefficients for Working at Home[a]	Total	Home-Based Worker	Non Home-Based Worker	OLS Coefficients for Working at Home[a]
Family Care Time								
Total	2.7	3.4	2.5 ***	0.21	1.6	1.9	1.6	-0.11
Housework time	1.4	1.7	1.3 **	0.15	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.00
Shopping/services	0.7	0.8	0.7	-0.02	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.14
Childcare	0.7	0.9	0.6	0.08	0.4	0.4	0.4	-0.24 *
Any time with children[b]	3.6	4.1	3.4	-0.43	2.9	2.9	2.9	0.20
In care during any activity[b]	72%	70%	73%	0.44	71%	63%	74%	0.99
In care during work activity[b]	13%	34%	7% ***	4.11 *	6%	17%	2% ***	16.14 **
Time with Spouse								
Any time with spouse[c]	2.9	3.5	2.7 **	0.35	3.1	3.6	2.9 *	0.48
Time with spouse only[c]	1.8	2.2	1.7 *	0.45 #	1.8	2.1	1.7 *	0.31

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

[a]Odds ratios from logistic regression are presented for the outcome of reporting a child under the age of 13 in care.

[b]Sample restricted to mothers (N=268) and fathers (N=253) who report a child less than age 18 in the household.

[c]Sample restricted to married mothers (N=332) and married fathers (N=355).

Table 4. Women's and Men's Average Hours per Day Spent in Leisure Activities, 2004

	Total	Home-Based Worker	Non-Home-Based Worker		OLS Coefficients for Working at Home
Women					
Total free time	3.4	3.6	3.4		0.11
Exercise time	0.2	0.2	0.2		0.03
Total (N)	(558)	(150)	(408)		(558)
Men					
Total free time	3.6	3.8	3.6		-0.12
Exercise time	0.2	0.4	0.2	**	0.07
Total (N)	(540)	(136)	(404)		(540)

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

Table A1. OLS Coefficients Predicting Women's and Men's Paid Work Time, Number of Work Episodes, and Longest Work Episode

	Women						Men					
	Paid Work Time		Number of Work Episodes		Longest Work Episode		Paid Work Time		Number of Work Episodes		Longest Work Episode	
	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)
Home-based worker	**-0.68 ***	**(.28)**	**0.06**	**(.19)**	**0.37 ***	**(.18)**	**-0.49**	**(.34)**	**-0.10**	**(.19)**	**0.01**	**(.23)**
Age 18-34	-0.23	(.29)	-0.31	(.19)	0.20	(.19)	0.11	(.34)	0.51 **	(.19)	-0.15	(.23)
Age 45-64	-0.30	(.27)	-0.51 **	(.18)	0.02	(.18)	-0.42	(.32)	0.22	(.18)	0.20	(.22)
Black, non-Hispanic	0.36	(.35)	0.31	(.23)	-0.09	(.23)	-0.44	(.51)	0.29	(.29)	0.09	(.35)
Other, non-Hispanic	0.47	(.48)	0.37	(.32)	-0.39	(.31)	0.96 #	(.52)	0.87 **	(.30)	-0.95 **	(.36)
Hispanic origin	0.39	(.33)	0.68 **	(.22)	-0.33	(.21)	-0.57	(.37)	0.22	(.21)	-0.34	(.25)
Married	0.00	(.35)	-0.15	(.23)	0.01	(.23)	0.94 **	(.36)	0.03	(.21)	-0.22	(.25)
Parent	0.13	(.39)	-0.09	(.26)	0.04	(.25)	0.60	(.51)	-0.18	(.29)	-0.42	(.34)
Number of children	0.04	(.19)	-0.26 *	(.13)	0.25 *	(.13)	-0.21	(.23)	0.10	(.13)	-0.01	(.15)
Preschooler present	-0.06	(.38)	-0.10	(.25)	-0.05	(.25)	-0.24	(.43)	-0.33	(.24)	0.84 **	(.29)
Some college	-0.24	(.27)	-0.41 *	(.18)	0.42 *	(.18)	-0.02	(.32)	-0.54 **	(.18)	0.18	(.22)
College degree	-0.29	(.31)	-0.12	(.21)	0.24	(.20)	0.19	(.34)	0.04	(.19)	0.19	(.23)
Work hours (per day)			0.38 ***	(.03)	0.46 ***	(.03)			0.36 ***	(.02)	0.47 ***	(.03)
Earn $501 to $750/week	0.27	(.28)	-0.07	(.18)	0.09	(.18)	0.07	(.38)	-0.38 #	(.21)	0.33	(.25)
Earn $751 to $1,000/week	0.52	(.34)	-0.11	(.22)	-0.45 *	(.22)	-0.49	(.36)	0.19	(.20)	0.18	(.24)
Earn $1,000 or more	0.95 *	(.39)	-0.16	(.26)	-0.30	(.25)	-0.06	(.40)	-0.42 #	(.23)	0.41	(.27)
Executive	-0.19	(.33)	-0.25	(.22)	0.07	(.22)	-0.36	(.37)	0.06	(.21)	0.06	(.25)
Professional	0.38	(.28)	-0.42 *	(.19)	0.31	(.18)	-0.17	(.34)	-0.50 **	(.19)	0.50 *	(.23)
Spouse employed	-0.02	(.33)	0.16	(.22)	0.10	(.22)	-0.33	(.29)	0.18	(.16)	0.21	(.20)
Summer	-0.24	(.24)	-0.09	(.16)	0.05	(.16)	-0.10	(.27)	0.19	(.15)	0.05	(.18)
Number of activities	-0.14 ***	(.01)	0.09 ***	(.01)	-0.06 ***	(.01)	-0.16 ***	(.02)	0.14 ***	(.01)	-0.10 ***	(.01)
Weekday diary	2.28 ***	(.31)	-0.07	(.22)	-0.05	(.21)	2.64 ***	(.34)	0.02	(.20)	-0.44 #	(.24)
Intercept	9.13 ***	(.50)	-0.05	(.42)	1.59 ***	(.41)	9.55 ***	(.57)	-1.41 ***	(.40)	2.49 ***	(.48)

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

Table A2. Regression Coefficients from OLS Models Predicting Women's Hours per Day Spent in Total Family Care, Housework, Shopping and Services, and Childcare

	Total Family Care Time		Housework Time		Shopping/Services Time		Childcare Time	
	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)
Intercept	3.16 ***	(.45)	2.25 ***	(.34)	0.82 **	(.25)	0.08	(.27)
Home-based worker	0.21	(.20)	0.15	(.15)	-0.02	(.11)	0.08	(.12)
Age 18-34	-0.67 **	(.20)	-0.29 #	(.15)	-0.07	(.11)	-0.30 *	(.12)
Age 45-64	-0.13	(.19)	0.03	(.14)	0.15	(.11)	-0.31 **	(.12)
Black, non-Hispanic	0.17	(.25)	-0.11	(.19)	0.33 *	(.14)	-0.05	(.15)
Other, non-Hispanic	0.01	(.34)	0.45 #	(.26)	-0.38 *	(.19)	-0.05	(.21)
Hispanic origin	0.10	(.23)	0.07	(.18)	0.25 #	(.13)	-0.23	(.14)
Married	0.27	(.25)	0.20	(.18)	0.07	(.14)	0.00	(.15)
Parent	0.59 *	(.28)	-0.06	(.21)	-0.01	(.15)	0.66 ***	(.17)
Number of children	0.02	(.14)	0.10	(.10)	-0.10	(.08)	0.02	(.08)
Preschooler present	0.73 **	(.27)	-0.44 *	(.20)	0.06	(.15)	1.12 ***	(.16)
Some college	0.15	(.19)	0.01	(.15)	0.13	(.11)	0.01	(.12)
College degree	0.38 #	(.22)	0.18	(.16)	0.26 *	(.12)	-0.06	(.13)
Work hours (per day)	-0.29 ***	(.03)	-0.12 ***	(.02)	-0.09 ***	(.02)	-0.08 ***	(.02)
Earn $501 to $750/week	-0.44 *	(.20)	-0.32 *	(.15)	-0.10	(.11)	-0.02	(.12)
Earn $751 to $1,000/week	-0.70 **	(.24)	-0.61 ***	(.18)	0.00	(.13)	-0.09	(.14)
Earn $1,000 or more	-0.26	(.27)	-0.39 #	(.21)	0.27 #	(.15)	-0.14	(.17)
Executive	0.57 *	(.24)	0.16	(.18)	-0.04	(.13)	0.45 **	(.14)
Professional	0.36 #	(.20)	0.37 *	(.15)	-0.16	(.11)	0.15	(.12)
Spouse employed	0.34	(.24)	0.33 #	(.18)	-0.05	(.13)	0.06	(.14)
Summer	0.04	(.17)	0.06	(.13)	0.05	(.09)	-0.06	(.10)
Number of activities	0.07 ***	(.01)	0.02 *	(.01)	0.02 ***	(.01)	0.03 ***	(.01)
Weekday diary	-0.41 #	(.23)	-0.60 ***	(.18)	-0.04	(.13)	0.23 #	(.14)

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

Table A3. Regression Coefficients from OLS Models Predicting Men's Hours per Day Spent in Total Family Care, Housework, Shopping and Services, and Childcare

	Total Family Care Time		Housework Time		Shopping/Services Time		Childcare Time	
	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)
Intercept	1.65 ***	(.39)	1.37 ***	(.29)	0.00	(.19)	0.27	(.22)
Home-based worker	-0.11	(.19)	0.00	(.14)	0.14	(.09)	-0.24 *	(.11)
Age 18-34	-0.15	(.19)	-0.14	(.14)	0.10	(.09)	-0.12	(.11)
Age 45-64	0.21	(.18)	0.24 #	(.13)	0.02	(.09)	-0.05	(.10)
Black, non-Hispanic	-0.78 **	(.28)	-0.32	(.21)	-0.07	(.14)	-0.39 *	(.16)
Other, non-Hispanic	-0.24	(.29)	-0.24	(.21)	0.05	(.14)	-0.05	(.17)
Hispanic origin	0.07	(.21)	0.18	(.15)	0.05	(.10)	-0.17	(.12)
Married	-0.31	(.20)	-0.32 *	(.15)	0.08	(.10)	-0.06	(.11)
Parent	0.43	(.28)	0.40 #	(.21)	-0.14	(.14)	0.18	(.16)
Number of children	0.13	(.13)	-0.05	(.09)	-0.02	(.06)	0.21 **	(.07)
Preschooler present	0.72 **	(.24)	0.00	(.17)	0.14	(.12)	0.58 ***	(.13)
Some college	0.19	(.18)	0.20	(.13)	-0.09	(.09)	0.08	(.10)
College degree	-0.21	(.19)	-0.01	(.14)	-0.21 *	(.09)	0.01	(.11)
Work hours (per day)	-0.19 ***	(.02)	-0.10 ***	(.02)	-0.05 ***	(.01)	-0.04 **	(.01)
Earn $501 to $750/week	0.29	(.21)	-0.03	(.15)	0.13	(.10)	0.19	(.12)
Earn $751 to $1,000/week	0.43 *	(.20)	0.17	(.15)	0.02	(.10)	0.24 *	(.11)
Earn $1,000 or more	0.62 **	(.22)	0.20	(.16)	0.25 *	(.11)	0.17	(.13)
Executive	-0.12	(.20)	-0.10	(.15)	0.03	(.10)	-0.05	(.12)
Professional	0.01	(.19)	0.10	(.14)	-0.07	(.09)	-0.02	(.11)
Spouse employed	0.28 #	(.16)	0.30 *	(.12)	-0.05	(.08)	0.03	(.09)
Summer	0.06	(.15)	0.11	(.11)	0.05	(.07)	-0.11	(.09)
Number of activities	0.08 ***	(.01)	0.01 #	(.01)	0.06 ***	(.01)	0.01	(.01)
Weekday diary	-0.55 **	(.20)	-0.24 #	(.15)	-0.35 ***	(.10)	0.04	(.11)

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

Table A4. Multivariate Results from OLS Regression Predicting Parents' Time with Children and Logistic Regression Predicting the Likelihood of Having a Child under 13 in Care during Any Activities and Work Activities

	Mothers						Fathers					
	Any Time with Children		Child <13 In Care during Any Activity		Child < 13 In Care During Work Activity		Any Time with Children		Child <13 In Care during Any Activity		Child < 13 In Care During Work	
	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)
Intercept	4.88 ***	(.94)	-2.51 #	(1.50)	-3.76 #	(1.97)	8.42 ***	(1.05)	1.28	(1.35)	-2.14	(2.58)
Home-based worker	-0.43	(.37)	-0.82	(.54)	1.41 *	(.56)	0.20	(.41)	-0.01	(.48)	2.78 **	(.90)
Age 18-34	-0.20	(.37)	1.24 *	(.59)	0.53	(.73)	0.30	(.44)	-0.69	(.62)	-0.38	(1.12)
Age 45-64	-0.87 *	(.39)	-1.38 **	(.49)	-0.13	(.77)	-0.61	(.38)	-0.80 #	(.42)	-1.00	(.91)
Black, non-Hispanic	-0.53	(.43)	-0.22	(.54)	-15.91	(1962.40)	0.24	(.62)	0.52	(.91)	1.56	(1.20)
Other, non-Hispanic	-0.60	(.65)	-1.69 *	(.86)	-1.95	(2.19)	-0.76	(.61)	0.92	(.75)	-0.81	(1.55)
Hispanic origin	0.68 #	(.39)	0.57	(.63)	0.77	(.76)	-1.04 *	(.46)	-1.61 **	(.52)	0.20	(1.55)
Married	1.04 *	(.50)	1.33 *	(.66)	1.16	(.99)	-0.45	(.56)	-0.43	(.71)	-0.14	(1.22)
Number of children	0.32 #	(.17)	1.26 ***	(.34)	0.25	(.36)	0.23	(.18)	0.64 **	(.25)	0.25	(.46)
Preschooler present	0.96 *	(.38)	2.36 **	(.84)	0.03	(.72)	0.29	(.38)	2.10 ***	(.53)	-1.28	(.97)
Some college	0.59 #	(.35)	0.50	(.46)	1.82	(1.17)	0.67 #	(.40)	0.03	(.50)	-1.41	(1.11)
College degree	1.03 *	(.42)	0.75	(.64)	2.95 *	(1.21)	0.19	(.45)	-1.22 *	(.53)	-0.69	(1.02)
Work hours (per day)	-0.44 ***	(.05)	-0.20 *	(.09)	-0.30 **	(.10)	-0.41 ***	(.05)	-0.19 **	(.07)	-0.10	(.11)
Earn $501 to $750/week	0.47	(.35)	0.46	(.48)	0.90	(.70)	-0.14	(.52)	0.45	(.69)	1.86	(1.80)
Earn $751 to $1,000/week	0.14	(.43)	-0.83	(.66)	-0.55	(.86)	0.76	(.49)	-0.25	(.61)	0.88	(1.72)
Earn $1,000 or more	0.17	(.52)	-0.24	(.73)	-0.79	(.98)	-0.40	(.53)	-0.38	(.63)	-0.31	(1.76)
Executive	0.84 *	(.40)	1.01 #	(.58)	2.14 **	(.78)	-0.43	(.48)	-0.16	(.56)	1.52	(1.08)
Professional	0.38	(.37)	1.40 *	(.55)	1.22 #	(.68)	-0.35	(.42)	-0.10	(.51)	1.64	(1.15)
Spouse employed	-0.95 #	(.49)	-0.46	(.64)	-2.05 *	(.92)	-0.26	(.31)	0.64	(.39)	-0.28	(.76)
Summer	0.67 *	(.32)	0.41	(.50)	-0.41	(.66)	-0.33	(.34)	0.09	(.44)	-0.72	(.95)
Number of activities	0.03 #	(.02)	0.03	(.03)	0.01	(.03)	-0.03	(.02)	0.01	(.03)	0.01	(.05)
Weekday diary	-0.25	(.44)	0.84	(.65)	0.00	(.89)	-1.15 *	(.47)	0.63	(.54)	-2.18	(.93)

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

Table A5. Multivariate Results from OLS Regression Predicting Any Time and Time Spent Alone with a Spouse

	Married Women				Married Men			
	Any Time with a Spouse		Time Alone with a Spouse		Any Time with a Spouse		Time Alone with a Spouse	
	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)
Intercept	7.80 ***	(.79)	5.78 ***	(.65)	8.39 ***	(.74)	4.50 ***	(.60)
Home-based worker	0.35	(.30)	0.45 #	(.25)	0.48	(.30)	0.31	(.24)
Age 18-34	-0.34	(.36)	-0.04	(.30)	0.72 *	(.35)	0.62 *	(.28)
Age 45-64	-0.20	(.30)	-0.04	(.25)	-0.12	(.29)	0.06	(.23)
Black, non-Hispanic	0.15	(.56)	-0.09	(.46)	0.04	(.54)	0.00	(.43)
Other, non-Hispanic	-0.43	(.51)	-0.13	(.42)	-0.59	(.48)	-0.43	(.39)
Hispanic origin	-0.46	(.40)	-0.81 *	(.33)	0.06	(.37)	0.19	(.30)
Parent	-0.68	(.43)	-1.19 ***	(.35)	-0.68	(.41)	-1.37 ***	(.33)
Number of children	-0.03	(.23)	-0.15	(.19)	0.06	(.18)	-0.20	(.15)
Preschooler present	0.42	(.41)	-0.06	(.34)	-0.14	(.36)	-0.35	(.29)
Some college	0.15	(.33)	-0.06	(.27)	-0.37	(.31)	-0.24	(.25)
College degree	0.47	(.35)	-0.22	(.29)	-0.67 *	(.34)	-0.45 #	(.27)
Work hours (per day)	-0.33 ***	(.05)	-0.22 ***	(.04)	-0.37 ***	(.04)	-0.17 ***	(.03)
Earn $501 to $750/week	-0.48	(.33)	-0.39	(.27)	0.07	(.42)	0.28	(.34)
Earn $751 to $1,000/week	-0.25	(.40)	-0.38	(.32)	0.27	(.38)	0.42	(.30)
Earn $1,000 or more	0.17	(.44)	0.01	(.36)	0.43	(.41)	0.83 *	(.33)
Executive	-0.08	(.37)	0.12	(.30)	0.31	(.32)	0.41	(.26)
Professional	-0.26	(.31)	-0.04	(.25)	0.41	(.32)	0.51 *	(.25)
Spouse employed	-0.83 *	(.38)	-0.64 *	(.31)	-0.41 #	(.25)	-0.03	(.20)
Summer	0.20	(.28)	0.05	(.23)	-0.01	(.26)	-0.04	(.21)
Number of activities	-0.03 *	(.02)	-0.02 #	(.01)	-0.01	(.02)	-0.01	(.01)
Weekday diary	-0.47	(.40)	-0.13	(.33)	-1.57 ***	(.37)	-0.60 *	(.30)

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

Table A6. Multivariate Results from OLS Regression Predicting Women's and Men's Total Free Time and Time Spent on Exercise

	Women				Men			
	Total Free Time		Exercise Time		Total Free Time		Exercise Time	
	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)	Beta	SE (B)
Intercept	7.25 ***	(.51)	0.11	(.12)	8.41 ***	(.51)	0.99 ***	(.18)
Home-based worker	0.11	(.23)	0.03	(.05)	-0.12	(.24)	0.07	(.08)
Age 18-34	0.77 ***	(.23)	-0.11 *	(.05)	-0.34	(.24)	0.09	(.08)
Age 45-64	0.28	(.22)	-0.09 #	(.05)	-0.03	(.23)	0.00	(.08)
Black, non-Hispanic	-0.79 **	(.28)	-0.13 *	(.06)	0.85 *	(.37)	-0.12	(.13)
Other, non-Hispanic	-0.64 #	(.39)	-0.18 *	(.09)	0.21	(.38)	0.26 *	(.13)
Hispanic origin	-0.22	(.26)	-0.09	(.06)	-0.39	(.27)	-0.16 #	(.09)
Married	-0.31	(.28)	-0.08	(.06)	-0.15	(.26)	-0.09	(.09)
Parent	-0.49	(.32)	0.07	(.07)	0.41	(.36)	0.18	(.13)
Number of children	0.16	(.16)	-0.01	(.04)	-0.25	(.16)	-0.05	(.06)
Preschooler present	-0.78 *	(.30)	-0.10	(.07)	-0.55 #	(.30)	-0.03	(.10)
Some college	0.16	(.22)	0.09 #	(.05)	-0.18	(.23)	-0.01	(.08)
College degree	-0.08	(.25)	0.03	(.06)	0.04	(.24)	0.17 *	(.08)
Work hours (per day)	-0.43 ***	(.03)	0.00	(.01)	-0.43 ***	(.03)	-0.08 ***	(.01)
Earn $501 to $750/week	0.27	(.22)	0.05	(.05)	-0.51 #	(.27)	-0.03	(.09)
Earn $751 to $1,000/week	0.08	(.27)	0.02	(.06)	-0.41	(.26)	0.10	(.09)
Earn $1,000 or more	-0.07	(.31)	0.07	(.07)	-0.42	(.29)	0.09	(.10)
Executive	-0.27	(.27)	0.04	(.06)	0.16	(.26)	-0.01	(.09)
Professional	-0.38	(.23)	0.07	(.05)	0.14	(.25)	-0.13	(.08)
Spouse employed	-0.57 *	(.27)	-0.02	(.06)	-0.11	(.21)	0.06	(.07)
Summer	0.27	(.19)	0.01	(.04)	-0.48 *	(.19)	0.05	(.07)
Number of activities	-0.01	(.01)	0.00	(.0)	0.01	(.01)	-0.01 **	(.0)
Weekday diary	0.45 #	(.26)	0.03	(.06)	-0.26	(.26)	0.06	(.09)

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.