Time Deficits with Children and Partners among U.S. Employed Parents, 1992 – 2008

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Abstract

Having enough time with family members is a heartfelt concern, with majorities of working parents reporting deficits. Using the National Study of the Changing Workforce (NSCW), we examine change in employed parents' expressed time deficits with children and spouses across four time points, from 1992 to 2008, a period when parents increased time with children. The percentage reporting time deficits with children increased from 66% in 1992 to 74% in 2008. Notably, greater felt deficits in 2008 remain significant, even controlling for demographic and job characteristics, and quantity of time with children and in housework. Perception of time deficits with spouses increased from 58% in 1992 to 73% in 2008; and, similar to time deficits with children, time deficits with spouses in more recent years remain significant even controlling for time allocations. Obtaining "enough" time for cherished family members—already a social problem—may be getting more difficult for employed parents.

Time Deficits with Children and Partners among U.S. Employed Parents, 1992 – 2008

During the last several decades, ideologies of intensive mothering (Hays, 1996) and involved fathering (Townsend, 2002) have become entrenched in North America. Spending time with children became a critical barometer of being "good" parents (Hays, 1996; Milkie, Nomaguchi, & Denny, 2015). The immensely high standards of parental involvement in children's lives makes employed parents feel as if they are not spending enough time with children (Milkie et al., 2004). Empirical evidence is clear—in 1997, 64% of mothers and 71% of fathers in dual-earner households felt as if their time with children was not enough (Nomaguchi, Milkie, & Bianchi, 2005).

Since the late 1990s, U.S. parents have changed their parenting behavior seemingly responding to the ideologies. Mothers and fathers increased time sent with children from the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s (Bianchi, 2011; Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006). The average weekly hours mothers spent on child care increased 45% from 9.6 hours in 1995 to 13.9 hours in 2005 (Bianchi, 2011). Fathers increased the average child care time 60% from 4.2 hours in 1995 to 6.8 hours in 2005 (Bianchi, 2011). The increase was robust across parents in various demographic contexts, including employed parents (Bianchi, 2000).

How did parents' feelings about their time with children change as they shifted their time toward children since the 1990s while the cultural pressure for parents to be involved seemed to be intensified? The first goal of this paper is to examine this question, using data from the 1992, 1997, 2002, and 2008 National Study of the Changing Workforce (NSCW). At first glance, the increase in parents' time with children may have resulted in a decline in parents who report feelings of time deficits with children. Yet, past research has shown that the actual amount of time parents spend with children is *not* always strongly related to perceived time shortfalls

(Milkie et al., 2004; Nomaguchi, Milkie, & Bianchi, 2005). Rather, the increasingly pervasive cultural emphasis on the importance of parental time with children for children's developmental outcomes may have resulted in an *increase* in parents who report such feelings from the early 1990s to 2010.

The second question of this paper shifts its focus to time with partners. Researchers tend to agree that the increase in parental time in recent decades has been done through employed mothers' and fathers' prioritizing time with children over time they spend on other activities, including time with spouses alone (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006; Sayer, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004). In some ways, partners may end up being the "last" after work and children to which time-poor employed parents can attend to. Some of the increase in time with children over recent decades seems to have come at the expense of alone time with spouses (Bianchi, Robinson and Milkie 2006). In some estimates, time with spouses may appear to have increased during this decade among parents; but the increase is entirely due to the increase in "family time" which include spouses and children (Genadek, Flood, & Roman, 2016). Employed mothers and fathers must be feeling time deficits with one another as a couple. Indeed, in 1997, a little more mothers (69%) and fathers (74%) in dual-earner household reported feeling as if their time with spouse was not enough than they did for felt time deficits with children (Nomaguchi, Milkie, & Bianchi, 2005).

How did employed parents' feelings about their time with partners change since the late 1990s? We expect that more parents reported such feelings in the 2000s than in the 1990s. As they prioritize time with children, during this period, they may have felt that they were not spending time with their spouse. Cultural standards for relationships also seem to be at a high

level, with marriages elevated in status for adult fulfillment, and expectations high to spend time with a partner (Edin & Kefalas, 2005).

Factors Related to Feelings of Time Deficits with Children and Partners

Past research has shown that certain demographic characteristics, job characteristics, and time allocations other activities such as housework are related to employed parents' feelings of time deficits with children and partner. Thus we consider whether differences in these characteristics between 1990s and 2000s may be related to differences in parents' feelings of time deficits with children and spouse during the period. In the following, we discuss some of the major characteristics that are related to parents' feelings of time deficits with children and partners which we will include in the present analysis:

Demographic characteristics. Prior research has shown that fathers are more likely than mothers to report feelings of time deficits with children and spouse, but it is because fathers work longer hours (Milkie et al., 2004; Milkie, Nomaguchi, & Schieman, 2018; Nomaguchi, Milkie, & Bianchi, 2005). In addition to gender, we control for other basic demographic characteristics, such as age, race/ethnicity, education, and marital status (married vs. cohabiting).

Job characteristics. Past research is clear that job characteristics influence employed parents' feelings of time deficits with children and spouse. Demanding aspects of jobs are positively related to parents' feelings of time deficits with children and spouse. In particular, work hours is a major factor influencing parents' time deficits with children and spouse (Milkie et al., 2004; Nomaguchi, Milkie, & Bianchi, 2005). Job pressure, defined as perception of demandingness of one's job, is likely to be related to more feelings of time deficits with children and spouse because it is related to sense of work intrusions, an indicator that is related to more feelings of time deficits with children (Milkie, Nomaguchi, & Schieman, 2018). In contrast, job

resources may help parents feel less time deficits with children and spouse. Job autonomy, which tends to include control over work schedule, is less likely to be related to feelings of time deficits with kids (Milkie, Nomaguchi, & Schieman, 2018). Supervisor support is less likely to be related to feelings of time deficits with children and spouse because it is negatively related to work intrusions (Nomaguchi & Fettro, 2018). Higher earnings may also be negatively related to feelings of time deficits with children and spouse, because more money enables parents to have vacations and other special events when they enjoy "quality" time with their children and spouse.

Research shows that job characteristics changed from the early 1990s to the late 2000s (Kalleberg, 2011). Thus we examine whether parents' time deficits with children and spouse changed during this time period controlling for differences in job characteristics such as work hours, job pressure, job autonomy, supervisor support, and earnings.

Time allocations. Like parents' own work hours, time spent on other activities is positively related to parents' feelings of time deficits with children. Time spent with children should decrease time deficits with them, and also, with spouses, since this family time often includes partners. Time spent on housework is positively related to feelings of time deficits with spouses (Nomaguchi, Milkie, & Bianchi, 2005). Spouses' time allocations also matter—their housework hours is related to feelings of time deficits with children, whereas their paid work hours is related to time deficits with spouses (Nomaguchi, Milkie, & Bianchi, 2005). Because time allocations to housework and children changed from the early 1990s to the late 2010s (Bianchi, 2011), we examine whether parents' time deficits with children and spouse changed during this time period controlling for differences in time allocations to housework and children. Notably, we only have time with children and time spent on housework on workdays, and not on "non-work days." Still this is a useful control variable.

The Current Study

Feeling time deficits with children is a major stressor for parents—and negatively related to parents' subjective well-being and mental health (Milkie, Nomaguchi, & Schieman, 2018; Nomaguchi, Milkie, & Bianchi, 2005). Feelings of time deficits with spouses is less studied but existing research has shown that it is related to distress especially for mothers (Nomaguchi, Milkie, & Bianchi, 2005). Thus it is important to investigate trends in such stress among employed parents. Using data over a 16-year period, from the 1992, 1997, 2002, and 2008 NSCW, we examine changes in the percentage of employed parents who reported feeling time deficits with their children or their spouse, controlling for demographic and job characteristics and time allocations to children and to housework.

Method

Sample

Data were drawn from the 1992, 1997, 2002, and 2008 NSCW. The 2008, 2002, and 1997 NSCW data were conducted by the Harris Interactive, Inc., formerly known as Louis Harris and Associates, for the Families and Work Institute. The 1992 NSCW data were conducted by Mathematica Policy Research for the Families and Work Institute. The NSCW is a nationally representative sample consisting of adults age 18 or older who were in the civilian labor force. The original sample size was 3,718 in 1992, 3,553 in 1997, 3,504 in 2002, and 3,502 in 2008 respectively. We limited each year's sample to those who were aged 18 to 64 (3,347, 3,500, 3,335, and 3,210 respectively); then those who lived with children under age 18 at least half a year (1,376, 1,574, 1,424, and 1,347 respectively); and then those who were married or living

with a partner (1,128, 1,156, 1,143, and 1,098). These four years of data were pooled and thus the analytical sample is N = 4,525.

Measures

Feelings of time deficits with children was measured using the question, "Do you feel that the time you have with your child(ren) is too much, just enough, or not enough?" Because very few parents reported that their time with children was "too much," we created a dichotomous variable with one being "not enough" and zero being "too much" or "just enough." *Feelings of time deficits with spouse/partner* was measured using the question, "Do you feel that the time you have with your spouse/partner is too much, just enough, or not enough?" Again, very few employed parents reported their time with spouse was "too much", we created a dichotomous variable with one being "not enough" and zero being "too much" or "just enough."

Year was measured as a survey year, including 1992 (reference), 1997, 2002, and 2008.

Gender was measured as a dummy variable with mothers=1 and fathers=0. *Age* was measured in years. *Marital status* was measured as three dummy variables including married, cohabiting, and single. *Education* was measured as six dummy variables including less than high school, high school, some college, college degree, some college after a Bachelor's but no degree, and advanced degree. Some college included a trade or technical school beyond high school and a two-year Associate's degree. Advanced degree included a professional degree, Master's, or Doctorate. *Race/ethnicity* was measured as four dummy variables including White, Black, Hispanic, and other. The *number of children* was measured as a dummy variable indicating the presence of a child under the age of 18 who lived with the respondent for at least half of the year.

Paid work hours was measured as the number of hours the respondent usually worked at their main job. This was not what they were scheduled for but what they actually worked. To

avoid the influence of extreme vales, those who reported values above the 95th percentile were assigned the 95th percentile values. *Multiple Jobs* was measured using the question, “Do you currently earn money from more than one job, line of work, or business?” The 1997 and 1992 surveys varied slightly, “Do you currently earn money from more than one job or business? How many different businesses or paid jobs do you have?” and “In addition to the job that you have just told me about, do you have any other jobs where you work for pay on a REGULAR basis?” respectively. *Job pressure* was measured using the mean of two questions, “My job requires that I work very fast” and “My job requires that I work very hard.” Job pressure was coded one to four with one being “strongly disagree” and four being “strongly agree.” *Job autonomy* was measured as the mean of two questions, “I have the freedom to decide what I do on my job” and “I have a lot of say about what happens on my job.” Job autonomy was coded one to four with one being “strongly disagree” and four being “strongly agree.” *Supervisor support* was measured as the mean of eight questions, “My supervisor or manager keeps me informed of the things I need to know to do my job well.” “My supervisor or manager has expectations of my performance on the job that are realistic.” “My supervisor or manager recognizes when I do a good job.” “My supervisor or manager is supportive when I have a work problem.” “My supervisor or manager is fair and doesn't show favoritism in responding to employees' personal or family needs.” “My supervisor or manager is responsive to my needs when I have family or personal business to take care of -- for example, medical appointments, meeting with child's teacher, etc.” “My supervisor or manager is understanding when I talk about personal or family issues that affect my work.” “I feel comfortable bringing up personal or family issues with my supervisor or manager.” Supervisor support was coded one to four with one being “strongly disagree” and four being “strongly agree.” *Annual earnings* was measured in

thousands as a continuous variable. To avoid the influence of extreme vales, those who reported values above the 95th percentile were assigned the 95th percentile values. *Occupation* was measured using the question for 2008, 2002, and 1997, "What kind of work do you do in your main job? That is, what is your OCCUPATION?" The following question was used for 1992, "Which of the following categories best describes the type of work you do? 1 = Top or mid-level manager, executive or administrator, 2 = Professional position, such as law, medicine, teaching, engineering, programming, etc., 3 = Technical position, such as hygienist, paralegal, registered nurse (RN), licensed practical nurse(LPN), computer technician, etc., 4 = Retail or wholesale sales (such as, sales clerk, manager, cashier, insurance agent, etc.), 5 = Administrative support, such as secretary, bank teller, receptionist, etc., 6 = Service position, such as nurse's aid, security guard, chef, waiter, hairdresser, etc., 7 = Machine operator, skilled or manual labor, 8 = Farming, forestry or fishing." The 2008, 2002, 1997 NSCW question used the 1990 Census Bureau Occupation Codes (CBOC). These years were coded to match the eight categories that were used in 1992. For example, although it is considered professional position in the 1990 CBOC, registered nurse is included in technical position to be consistent with the 1992 data.

Spouse's work hours was measured as the number of hours the respondents' spouse usually worked at their main job. To avoid the influence of extreme vales, those who reported values above the 95th percentile were assigned the 95th percentile values. *Time spent on housework on workdays* was measured with the questions, "On average, on days when you're working, about how much time do you spend on home chores -- things like cooking, cleaning, repairs, shopping, yardwork, and keeping track of money and bills?" *Time spent with children on workdays* was measured by the question, "on average, on days when you're working, about how much time do you spend (taking care of or doing things with your child/children)?

Analytical Plan

First we examine percentages of employed parents who reported feeling time deficits with their children and their spouses for each year—1992, 1997, 2002, and 2008—at the descriptive level. Then using logistic regression models, we examine whether differences in such percentage between 1992 and the later years would remain significant when models controlled for demographic characteristics, job characteristics, and time spent on housework and time with children. Unfortunately there is no information about time spent with spouse. The missing cases were imputed using the multiple imputation method (Allison, 2001). All analyses are weighted.

RESULTS

Figure 1 and Table 1 present descriptive statistics for variables for each year. As shown in Figure 1, the majority of employed parents reported feeling time deficits with children and spouses in all four years. The percentage increased from 1992 to 2008 with a different pattern for time shortfalls with children versus time shortfalls with spouses.

We look at employed parents' feelings of time deficits with children first. From 1992 and 2002, the percentage of employed parents who reported feeling time deficits with children stayed steady, albeit high, around 66% (Figure 1). In 2008, it increased to about 74%. Model 1 in Table 2 suggests that the higher percentage in 2008 than in 1992 is significant. When demographic variables were controlled for (Model 2), the coefficient increased slightly from .38 to .42. College degree or more is negatively related to feelings of time deficits with children. If there were no increase in those with college degrees from 1992 to 2008, more employed parents in 2008 would have reported feelings of time deficits with children than those in 1992 did. Controlling for job characteristics did not change the coefficient for the year 2008 (Model 3).

When time spent with children, time spent on housework, and spouses' work hours were controlled for, the coefficient for the year 2008 declined slightly but remained statistically significant.

Turning to feelings of time deficits with spouses, Figure 1 shows that the percentage of employed parents reporting such feelings increased from 58% in 1992 to 71% in 1997 and changed little between that year and 2002 and 2008. In the logistic regression model (Model 1), the higher percentages in 1997, 2002, and 2008 compared with 1992 were each significant. We examined whether differences across the three years were significant (not shown); and found they were not. Similar to what we found for feelings of time deficits with children, controlling for demographic variables increased slightly the coefficients for the year 1997, 2002, and 2008 respectively (Model 2). The coefficients changed when job characteristics were controlled for (Model 3), in different directions between 1997 and 2002 or 2008, but they remained significant. When time spent with children, time spent on housework, and spouses' work hours were controlled for (Model 4), the coefficient for the year 1997, 2002, and 2008 declined slightly but remained significant.

All in all, more employed parents in the late 2000s than in the 1990s and the early 2000s reported feeling time deficits with their children as well as time deficits with their spouses, controlling for differences in demographic and job characteristics as well as time allocations across the two decades.

DISCUSSION

Employed parents typically have very full lives, with many demands coming from the workplace and maintaining homes and children's lives. Moreover, with the cultural emphasis on

the importance of time spent with children as well as high expectations for relationships, actual time spent may never feel like it is "enough." Feelings that one does not spend enough time with children and spouse is a critical stressor that has negative implications for mental health (Milkie, Nomaguchi, & Schieman, 2018). It is thus an important social problem, as well as one employers should pay attention to. We extend earlier research to examine how this problem—of time shortfalls—may have changed over a particularly important time in recent history.

We find that in the early 1990s, a majority of employed parents already reported feeling time deficits with their children and their spouse. In the late 2000s, even more employed parents reported such feelings even after controlling for demographic and job characteristics and time allocations to housework and children. The changes were more steep for deficits with spouses, to the point where felt shortfalls for both types of family members are experienced by almost three-quarters of employed parents.

Although we are unable to fully examine mechanisms with these data, we speculate here about a possible reason. Other research has shown that as the cultural pressure for parents to spend time with children increased, employed parents did increase their time by reducing time in other activities or multitasking (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006). Parents' time with children increased up to the mid-2000s and then changed little (Altintas, 2016; Bianchi, 2011). It could be that employed parents' strategies to find time for children maxed out, while the cultural emphasis on parents to spend more time with their children remains strong.

The study has limitations, including no information on actual time spent with significant others on non-workdays, and for spouses, on workdays too. Another question is the extent to which the higher percentage of parents reporting feelings of time deficits was due to the effects of the Great Recession from December 2007 to June 2009 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics,

2012). The interviews were done between November 12, 2007 and April 20, 2008 (Families and Work Institute, 2011). Because this was completed well before the peak of layoffs in February 2009 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012), it is likely that the effects of the Great Recession on our findings are small. Moreover, we are able to capture the actual number of work hours of both partner and parent in the analysis, and theoretically, work hours would go down between 2002 and 2008, not up, indicating less of a time crunch.

CONCLUSION

Feeling enough time for our most cherished relationships—those with children and partners—is vital to mental health (Milkie, Nomaguchi and Schieman 2018). Our findings show continued high levels of a time crunch, and a trend toward more employed parents feeling time deficits with children and partners than the past. Even once controlling for many work and family variables, we observe this trend. It is possible that cultural pressures increased over this period, such that very highly valued and high status relationships (with a child, and with a wife or husband)—sacred and revered in society—contained expectations that could not be met be employed parents. Finding ways for employed parents to relieve time strain, through workplace flexibility and limits on work time, could be an important structural improvement for families.

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Table 1. Weighted Means (SD) for Variables in the Analysis by Year (N = 4,275)

	1992		1997		2002		2008	
Women	0.44		0.41		0.42		0.43	
Age	37.07	(7.59)	38.76	(8.32)	39.04	(8.60)	38.85	(9.66)
Cohabitating	0.04		0.06		0.09		0.12	
< high school	0.09		0.06		0.12		0.06	
High school	0.34		0.30		0.29		0.30	
Some College	0.31		0.31		0.28		0.30	
Bachelor's degree	0.18		0.22		0.22		0.22	
Advanced degree	0.08		0.12		0.09		0.12	
White	0.81		0.78		0.75		0.70	
Black	0.08		0.09		0.09		0.07	
Hispanic	0.09		0.07		0.12		0.18	
Other race	0.02		0.05		0.04		0.04	
Number of children	1.85	(0.94)	1.87	(0.92)	1.99	(1.07)	1.95	(1.03)
Work hours	42.24	(11.55)	39.42	(9.91)	43.36	(11.98)	41.18	(12.23)
Multiple jobs	0.09		0.14		0.17	(0.38)	0.18	(0.42)
Job pressure	2.97	(0.66)	3.16	(0.77)	3.16	(0.76)	3.25	(0.76)
Job autonomy	2.99	(0.72)	3.05	(0.84)	2.96	(0.89)	2.98	(0.96)
Supervisor Support	3.16	(0.61)	3.32	(0.71)	3.17	(0.85)	3.63	(0.90)
Annual earnings	46.73	(41.82)	48.13	(31.68)	41.13	(28.72)	49.63	(37.99)
Administrative	0.11		0.12		0.11		0.12	
Management	0.20		0.18		0.15		0.15	
Professional	0.16		0.17		0.18		0.20	
Technical	0.11		0.05		0.05		0.06	
Sales	0.07		0.11		0.08		0.12	
Service	0.12		0.09		0.13		0.12	
Production	0.21		0.26		0.26		0.19	
Farming	0.02		0.02		0.03		0.03	
Other occupation	0.00		0.01		0.00		0.01	
Spouse's work hours	31.95	(22.21)	33.06	(22.12)	33.90	(22.79)	34.26	(23.23)
Time spent on housework on work days (in hours)	1.94	(1.46)	2.41	(1.63)	2.30	(1.41)	2.52	(1.64)
Time spent with kids on work days (in hours)	2.96	(2.09)	2.64	(2.00)	2.92	(2.05)	2.97	(2.04)

Table 2. Time Deficits with Children among Partnered Employed Parents (N = 4,275)

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	b	*SE*		*b*	*SE*		*b*	*SE*		*b*	*SE*	
Year[a]												
1997	.108	.086		.113	.087		.207	.094	*	.122	.096	
2002	-.046	.086		-.029	.088		-.145	.094		-.171	.095	
2008	.378	.088	***	.417	.091	***	.409	.101	***	.371	.102	***
Women				-.406	.063	***	-.127	.084		-.096	.085	
Age				-.010	.004	*	-.009	.004	*	-.020	.004	***
Cohabiting				-.044	.125		-.004	.130		.014	.131	
Education[a]												
< high school				-.091	.130		.144	.141		.166	.142	
Some college				.000	.081		-.031	.086		-.024	.087	
Bachelor's degree				-.212	.089	*	-.300	.105	**	-.278	.106	**
Advanced degree				-.239	.113	*	-.355	.138	*	-.322	.140	*
Race/ethnicity[a]												
Black				.132	.118		.036	.123		.092	.124	
Hispanic				-.091	.102		-.045	.107		-.041	.108	
Other race				.220	.172		.199	.180		.184	.181	
Number of children				.039	.034		.069	.035	*	.082	.036	*
Work hours							.038	.004	***	.036	.004	***
Multiple jobs							.311	.097	**	.310	.098	**
Job pressure							.286	.047	***	.282	.048	***
Job autonomy							-.301	.046	***	-.270	.046	***
Supervisor Support							-.027	.062		-.007	.055	
Annual earnings							.000	.001		-.001	.001	
Occupation[a]												
Management							-.052	.131		-.076	.133	
Professional							-.048	.133		-.078	.134	
Technical							-.147	.159		-.178	.161	
Sales							-.280	.146		-.310	.147	
Service							-.564	.136	***	-.541	.137	***
Production							-.156	.132		-.160	.133	
Farming							-.747	.227	***	-.728	.228	**
Other occupation							-.246	.531		-.342	.529	
Spouse's work hours							.001	.002		.002	.002	
Time spent on housework on work days										.075	.025	**
Time spent with kids on work days										-.171	.019	***
Intercept	.665	.060	***	1.205	.186	***	-.313	.363		.365	.370	

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

[a]Omitted reference categories are: 1992, high school, White, and administrative.

Table 3. Time Deficits with Spouses among Employed Parents (N = 4,275)

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	b	*SE*		*b*	*SE*		*b*	*SE*		*b*	*SE*	
Year[a]												
1997	.601	.086	***	.637	.087	***	.657	.097	***	.619	.097	***
2002	.496	.086	***	.569	.088	***	.460	.094	***	.451	.094	***
2008	.700	.087	***	.795	.090	***	.739	.102	***	.721	.102	***
Women				-.141	.064	*	-.194	.087	*	-.183	.087	*
Age				-.026	.004	***	-.024	.004	***	-.029	.004	***
Cohabiting				-.561	.120	***	-.567	.124	***	-.560	.124	***
Education[a]												
< high school				-.129	.123		-.010	.129		-.004	.130	
Some college				.130	.080		.111	.084		.115	.085	
Bachelor's degree				.273	.091	**	.253	.104	*	.267	.105	*
Advanced degree				.414	.119	***	.421	.141	**	.441	.141	**
Race/ethnicity[a]												
Black				.056	.118		-.024	.122		.001	.123	
Hispanic				-.244	.101	*	-.170	.106		-.167	.106	
Other race				-.325	.161	*	-.337	.165	*	-.346	.166	*
Number of children				.162	.035	***	.195	.035	***	.201	.036	***
Work hours							.015	.003	***	.014	.003	***
Multiple jobs							.384	.100	***	.382	.100	***
Job pressure							.241	.047	***	.238	.047	***
Job autonomy							-.298	.050	***	-.283	.049	***
Supervisor Support							-.062	.103		-.053	.097	
Annual earnings							-.002	.001		-.002	.001	
Occupation[a]												
Management							.018	.128		.010	.128	
Professional							.149	.133		.138	.134	
Technical							.078	.158		.068	.159	
Sales							.235	.146		.226	.146	
Service							-.193	.134		-.179	.134	
Production							.122	.126		.121	.126	
Farming							-.613	.221	**	-.600	.222	**
Other occupation							-.081	.516		-.106	.516	
Spouse's work hours							.009	.002	***	.009	.002	***
Time spent on housework on work days										.040	.025	
Time spent with kids on work days										-.080	.019	***
Intercept	.308	.059	***	.973	.185	***	.329	.420		.637	.416	

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

Omitted reference categories are: 1992, high school, White, and administrative.

Figure 1. Percent Reporting Feelings of Time Deficts with Children and Spouse among U.S. Employed Parents, 1992 - 2008 (*N* = 4,275)