HIGH-STATUS JOB CHARACTERISTICS, GENDER, AND OVERWORK: THE BUFFERING EFFECT OF FREE TIME

by

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ABSTRACT

SABRINA LENEÉ SPEIGHTS. High-status job characteristics, gender, and overwork: The buffering effect of free time. (Under the direction of DR. BETH A. RUBIN)

The social ordering of time within a changing workplace is a serious concern for scholars, employers, and employees alike. This study contends that the use and evaluation of free time will reduce feelings of overwork brought on by the characteristics and pressures of work. I use the stress of higher status perspective that posits workers in jobs with autonomy and schedule control are also more likely to experience high work demands and work-nonwork interference. I extend this perspective to test the relationship among high-status job characteristics and feeling overworked. Further, I use the free time as resistance perspective that posits free time can be used to actively challenge the way power is exercised. Finally, because temporal experiences are gendered, I predict the effects of free time use and evaluation differ between women and men. The results of this study provide mixed support for these perspectives. It is clear that job pressures and demands lead to feeling overworked, however characteristics such as schedule control, income, and work skills do not increase feeling overworked. Further, the buffering effect of free time is different for free time use and free time evaluation. Specifically, free time use does not have much of a buffering effect. Free time evaluation, however, does buffer the effects of certain job pressures. Moreover, certain effects of free time evaluation on job characteristics differ by gender (autonomy and work pace). Together, the findings provide insights into the relationship between feeling overworked, free time, and gender.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Social rules govern time norms that guide how we pattern our daily lives by defining starting, stopping, and transitional points between various activities (Epstein and Kalleberg 2001, Orlikowski and Yates 2002). The pressures from 24/7, global competition (Rubin 2007, 1995) coupled with increased communication technologies are primary drivers in the observed steady increase of work hours in the United States since the 1960s (Kalleberg 2011). This national culture of overworking produces the rhetoric that the work day starts early, ends late, extends into the weekend, and leaves little, if any, personal free time (Schor 1991). While there has been a resurgence in investigations of time and work – much of which has implications for free time – the lack of direct investigation of free time is "unfortunate" (Maume 2006, p.161). To this end, the current study asks, 1) how does free time affect feeling overworked? and 2) how do these effects differ for women and men?

Overwork is a temporal mismatch in which an employee works more hours than desired (Kalleberg 2007). *Feeling* overworked is the resulting acute, psychological state in which individuals feel overwhelmed and lack the time to process and reflect on their work (Galinsky, Kim, and Bond 2001). Given that feeling overworked is an acute state, it subsides when work demands decrease. Although reducing work demands is a simple solution, individuals are more likely to develop an overwork mismatch than eliminate it and overwork mismatches tend to persist over time (Reynolds 2003; Reynolds and Aletraris 2010). This persistence is detrimental because feeling overworked has negative

consequences for individual health (Michie and Williams 2003), organizational efficiency (Sonnentag 2003), and work-family management (Jacobs and Gerson 2001, Presser 2004).

Scholars consistently conclude that employees in high-status occupations (e.g. professionals and managers) are most likely to feel overworked because although their jobs are characterized by autonomy, schedule control and flexibility they are also characterized by intense time pressures (Kalleberg 2011; Negrey 2012; Schor 1991). Schieman and his colleagues use border theory to capture this seeming contradiction with their "*stress of higher status*" perspective. This view proposes that work reward characteristics of autonomy, control, and flexibility increase permeable boundaries and make it difficult to separate paid work[1] from other activities (Schieman, Whitestone, and Van Gundy 2006). From this view, flexibility and control liberate employees from stuffy cubicles and office desks, yet, also lead to time strain because of increased workloads that have no clear beginning and end (Schieman, Milkie, and Glavin 2009).

The straining effects of these high-status job characteristics are exacerbated by time valorizing work cultures (Collinson and Collinson 2004; Fried 1998; Rubin and Brody 2005; Sayer 2007). Within these cultures, time pressures are embedded within routines (Kunda 1992; Sharone 2004), expected by supervisors (Perlow 1998), and enabled through the enactment of communication technologies (Chesley 2005). Moreover, employers often use long hours as a proxy for productivity and organizational commitment (Leslie, Park, and Mehng 2012; Rubin and Brody 2005; Yakura 2001). As a

[1] The specificity in "paid" work is intentional. Gender scholars have long argued that many activities that occur outside of employment are types of 'work.' (Kelly 1972).Thus, I use "paid" and "non-paid" to distinguish between paid employment and other activities.

result, those who try to scale back and make more time for other aspects of life are stigmatized as "time deviants" (Epstein et al. 1999).

Together, job characteristics and organizational cultures of overwork support the stress of higher status perspective. These work structures explain why those employees who are expected to have the greatest access to free time are actually the ones who have the least free time.

Although scholars have focused on paid work time, few recent sociological studies focus on free time. There are at least two reasons for this oversight. First, some scholars suggest that perceptions of time are inaccurate. Individuals tend to overestimate their work time and underestimate their free time (Robinson and Godbey 1997). Second, analyzing and interpreting free time is difficult because what counts to one as free time may activity not count as a free time activity for another (e.g. reading a book or cooking).

While the difficulties with analyzing and interpreting free time present challenges, a complete disregard of free time is inappropriate in light of the research supporting individuals feeling more overworked. As more time is demanded in paid work, the implications and place for free time warrant investigation. To attend to the challenges of studying free time, I refer to two components of free time. First, free time *use,* which captures the time spent on various free time activities. Second, free time *evaluation,* which captures the perception of whether free time use is adequate.

Given the combination of job characteristics that both liberate and constrain, individuals often implement strategies to accommodate work and nonwork demands (Phyllis Moen et al. 2013). Despite using these strategies, many workers internalize time strain as a normal part of doing business (Moen and Roehling 2005) and continue to work

more than they prefer (Reynolds & Aletraris, 2010). I suggest that for employees in high-status jobs, free time use may represent a type of individual resistance strategy to ever-present work pressures. By engaging in free time use, these employees decide not only when and where to work but when *not* to work and enjoy time for themselves. The evaluation of one's free time use (whether or not it is sufficient time) further probes the resistance perspective. As individuals in high-status jobs are satisfied with their free time use, they have resisted work pressures; to the extent they are not satisfied, they have not resisted.

Beyond job characteristics, the increase of women with young children into the work force and the rise of dual-earner families have led many social observers to consider the implications of gender and time use. The primary focus in studies of time, work, and gender are how the number of paid work, domestic work, and childcare hours differ between men and women. Women typically spend fewer hours in paid work, spend more hours in domestic work and child care, have less free time (Sayer 2005), and are more overworked than men (Galinsky et al. 2001).

Little research, however, considers gender, overwork, free time use and evaluation, and the *relationships* among these variables. The purpose of this study is to investigate these relationships, I focus on three primary issues – job characteristics and feeling overworked (using the stress of higher status perspective), the buffering effects of free time use and evaluation (using a resistance perspective), and the possible gender differences in those buffering effects.

CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND

High-Status Job Characteristics and Overwork

Kalleberg & Berg (1987) distinguish jobs from occupations and state that jobs are the bundles of specific tasks that individual incumbents complete within an organization. Occupations are, however, cultural constructions that are useful in describing the work done in a particular society and represent a "field" or "type" of work. Studies related to overwork and work intensity tend to focus on work hours for employees in high-status occupations (Blair-Loy 2001; P. Moen et al. 2013; Sharone 2004; Yakura 2001).

While the stress of higher status perspective applies to the occupation level of analysis, I focus on jobs for two primary reasons. First, different job characteristics have unique effects on outcomes. Schieman and his colleagues found support that work conditions function independently of one another in their relationship with work-to-home conflict (2006). Second (and related), free time may function differently based on the focal characteristic. This evidence suggests that an occupation level analysis may miss the unique influence of specific characteristics on feeling overworked.

High-status reward characteristics include autonomy, schedule control, schedule flexibility, decision making, high work skill, and increased income (Schieman et al. 2006). These rewards allow employees to decide where, when, and how they work. These characteristics also increase boundary permeability and work-nonwork interference (Schieman et al. 2009). High-status demand characteristics are increased work pace, long work hours, and intense work pressures. The combination of increased work and time

pressures along with permeable boundaries, leads employees to feel overworked (Jacobs and Gerson 2004, Jacobs and Gerson 2001, Kalleberg 2011).

I use the term "high-status" job characteristics to preserve the language of Schieman's original analysis and to capture the combination of both reward and demand characteristics the stress of higher status perspective proposes. Focusing on high-status job characteristics allows for a finer-grained analysis of the, albeit counter-intuitive, relationships between the structure of jobs, feeling overworked, and how those relationships are influenced by free time use and evaluation.

Few studies test the stress of higher-status perspective with a focus on specific job characteristics. The findings across various studies however, provide supportive evidence that reward characteristics are often coupled with work pressures and time demands. For instance, individuals who work 50 hours or more per week are likely to have more schedule control than those who work 40 hours or fewer per week (Golden 2001). Also, increases in schedule flexibility can be attained with an advanced degree (Golden 2001). Increased educational attainment, however, is often related to increased work hours (Jacobs and Gerson 2001; Maume and Bellas 2001), a desire for fewer hours (even when controlling for actual hours; Reynolds & Aletraris, 2010), and is related to increased work-to-home conflict (Schieman et al. 2006). Further, the presence of a high-status job reward characteritic does not neccesarily mitigate the negative effects of work demands (Pereira and Coelho 2012).

Another important reward characteristic is increased income. Similar to other high-status characteristics, increased income is also related to reduction in preferred working hours (Reynolds & Aletraris, 2010) and work-to-home conflict (Schieman et al.

2006). In addition to increased income is the salary structure of pay. Employees in high-status jobs often receive a salary and do not experience the variability associated with an hourly wage. This pay structure itself may contribute to overworked employees because organizations do not lose money for salaried employees working extra hours (Schor 1991). In fact, it is quite beneficial for organizations to create and maintain cultures of overworking (Collinson and Collinson 2004; Kunda 1992; Sharone 2004; Yakura 2001) because employers get more work effort with no additional costs.

In fact, individuals who switch from hourly to salaried work are more likely to have an overwork mismatch because they end up scheduling more hours than desired (Reynolds and Aletraris 2010). These observed changes in preference are likely driven by performance evaluation systems that encourage and reward work overload (Brown and Benson 2005).

Historically, employers have always been able to get more work hours out of their employees when using a salary based pay structure. The difference for contemporary salaried workers is that, in the past, an eight-hour workday was the referent and the concepts of overtime and time-off was acknowledged (Rubin 2007). The norms of the contemporary workforce suggest that employees should work nights and weekends *in addition* to the traditional eight hours (Moen et al. 2013). This shift in temporal social contracts suggests that paid work can be done at all times and there are no distinct non-paid work times (Rubin 2012).

Taken together, the reward characteristics of high-status jobs are often coupled with pressures and demands on employees' time. These demands decrease satisfaction and increase work-nonwork interference and work-to-home conflict; thus, I hypothesize:

H1: High-status job characteristics have a positive relationship with feeling overworked.

One critical (arguably the most critical) and unique high-status job characteristic is autonomy over one's work. Unlike other reward characteristics, autonomy is negatively related to work-nonwork interference (Schieman et al. 2009) and unrelated to work-to-home conflict (Schieman et al. 2006). Autonomy is positively related to job satisfaction (Perrucci and MacDermid 2007), is a key factor in commitment and engagement (Blair-Loy 2004), and mitigates the negative effects of work hours on overall well-being (Pereira and Coelho 2012). Given the importance of autonomy and evidence that this job characteristic functions differently than the others, I hypothesize:

H2: Autonomy has a negative relationship with feeling overworked.

Free Time Use and Evaluation

Free time is time not committed to paid work, domestic work, or childcare (Mattingly and Bianchi 2003). This time is influenced by individual choices and the constraints of those choices (Shaw 2001) as individuals operate within defined structures that influence how they allot and use their time. For most, distinguishing between free time and work is a meaningful separation (Westenholz 2006) and it allows for mental detachment from work (Sonnentag 2012). Individuals in jobs with high-status characteristics need a longer period of detachment to experience recovery from the workday (Sonnentag and Zijlstra 2006). The respite experienced while using free time helps maintain a healthy lifestyle (Sonnentag, Binnewies, and Mojza 2008), increases perceptions of well-being (Hecht and Boies 2009), and contributes to positive organizational experiences such as increased embeddedness, decreased turnover

intentions (Dawley and Andrews 2012), engagement, and proactive behavior (Sonnentag, 2003).

High-status job characteristics play a key role in the availability and use of free time. Increased work hours are related to decreased free time, shortened free time episodes (Mattingly and Bianchi 2003), and reduced feelings of recovery (Sonnentag 2003). Schedule control and flexibility lead to work-nonwork interference (Schieman et al. 2009) making it difficult to determine when free time is appropriate.

In addition to the use of free time, the quality of one's free time is important to feelings of recovery. Continuous free time episodes are better for rejuvenation than time that is fragmented or experienced in brief stints of time and contaminated with non-free time activities (Mattingly and Bianchi 2003, Sayer 2006). Thus, the amount of free time and the quality of that time influence rejuvenation and recovery.

Time Strategies

Employees in high-status jobs frequently conceptualize work time by the "career mystique" that suggests prioritizing paid work above all else is the way to a good life (Moen and Roehling 2005). Through creating this strong work devotion schema, employees internalize the workload associated with their jobs (Blair-Loy 2004). Employees come to expect time demanding conditions as normal and bolster time valorizing organizational cultures (Fried 1998; Kunda 1992; Sharone 2004) and sacrifice time for activities outside of paid work (Perrucci and MacDermid 2007).

In order to accommodate increased time demands, employees "time work' or enact adaptive strategies that function within established temporal structures (Moen, Lam, Ammons, and Kelly 2013). Moen and her colleagues investigated non-paid work

time in a qualitative study of professionals and managers from the corporate headquarters of two Fortune 500 firms. Respondent accounts supported three temporal conditions: work intensification (increased effort on the job while at work), work extensifiaction (workload overflow), and boundaryless work (no time is "work-free").

Employees then responded to these temporal conditions with various strategies. Some attempted to set nonwork as a priority and scale back on paid work tasks. It was unlikely however, that they could actually set nonwork as a priority. Others would block out time for specific activities or shift work time around in order to better align non-paid work activities. Blocking out time for paid work, however, was much easier than blocking out time for family. The last strategy was time shifting, or moving paid work time to better integrate non-paid work activities. This strategy occurred most frequently after a period of intense working for a particular deadline. Employees would resist pressures to work and intentionally arrive late the next day or take days off. Resisting work in this manner is generally only possible if employees have support from their managers (Trefalt 2013).

Moen and her colleagues examined strategies for all non-paid work and did not focus on any one component. The findings suggest that employees are aware of their work demands and it takes effort to keep work at bay because "the job will let you kill yourself…it's really up to me to make sure that doesn't happen…the stress will take everything from you" (Moen et al. 2013:94). Given that employees rarely alter the structure of their work, I propose that individual free time use and evaluation are strategies of resistance to mitigate time strains.

Free Time as Resistance

Resistance is empowerment to bring about positive social change (Shaw 2001). Though often associated with collective acts against power structures, individual actors can also resist (Shaw 2006). Free time as resistance acknowledges both the individual and structural implications of free time, considers the political nature of free time, and questions power dynamics that influence free time activity. From this view, free time can represent an individual act of resistance against dominant job structures and bring about positive change (reduced feelings of overwork). Employees who make time for themselves resist time pressures and claim their right to free time (Wearing 1990). By exercising control over their time, employees in high-status jobs may be successful in reducing feelings of overwork.

Employees have historically used resistance strategies to combat time pressure and control. Burawoy explained worker strategies using the game analogy to identify the "encounters between machine operators and the social and nonsocial objects that regulate the conditions of work" (Burawoy 1979:51). Burawoy identified ways in which workers manipulated both relationships and machinery to gain control over the way they worked. In the old, manufacturing-based economy, blue-collar workers played games over production. In the new, knowledge-based economy, white-collar workers play games with time. Examined in this way, free time may become a resistance strategy used to combat established time intensive job conditions.

Note, I do not suggest that free time resolves feeling overworked. Burawoy explains through the game analogy that acts of resistance do not change structure. Instead, "generate[s] consent to its rules" (Burawoy 1979:93) and only provide an

alternate way to work within a given structure. Similar to factory workers from Burawoy's investigation, employees in high-status jobs are not changing their work structure but altering how they react to and function within them (Moen et al. 2013). From a resistance perspective, for employees with high-status job characteristics, free time use may represent a political stance or an active strategy that challenges work pressures. Further, evaluations of free time use indicate whether the resistance was successful or not. Thus, I hypothesize:

H3: Free time use moderates the relationship between high-status job characteristics and feeling overworked such that increased free time use reduces the positive effects job characteristics on feeling overworked.

H4: Free time evaluation moderates the relationship between high-status job characteristics and feeling overworked such that evaluating one's free time as enough reduces the positive effects job characteristics on feeling overworked.

Gender, Free Time, Overwork, and Resistance

Though time use trends between men and women have begun to converge, gender gaps in work time and free time persist. Findings suggest that men engage in more paid hours than do women yet, enjoy between 30 (Sayer 2005) and 90 (Mattingly and Bianchi 2003) extra minutes of free time per day, and report feeling less overworked (Galinsky et al. 2004).

Scholars have evaluated how the increase of women's time in the paid labor force, has not seen an equal shift in men's time spent on family care responsibilities (Jacobs and Gerson 2001) and often it is women who take on a "second shift" (Hochschild 1997). Different normative expectations keep men and women adhered to gendered scripts of

appropriate "work" behavior (Fuchs Epstein 2004). For instance, wives have less free time than do single women; yet, husbands do not report less free time than do single men (Mattingly and Bianchi 2003). These differences may be driven by concepts that "good mothers" sacrifice their time for their families (Green, Hebron, and Woodward 1990) despite the strain felt by working mothers to be constantly available (Johnston and Swanson 2006).

These findings support evidence of the sacrifice of free time among mothers and wives, but it is less clear whether free time sacrifice is a broader women's issue. Parents and spouses have less free time because of increased family responsibilities. Findings do indicate however that a free time gap still exists between single men and women albeit smaller than for parents and spouses (Sayer 2005). Even when both genders are in high-status occupations, women are more willing to sacrifice personal free time and engage in more domestic work than do men (Wallace and Young 2010). These findings suggest that women in high-status jobs confront constraints from their jobs and that gender is an additional social structure that influences free time use choices and interests (Risman 2004). Taken together, the effects of job characteristics and free time differ by gender; thus, I hypothesize:

H5: There will be gender differences in the effect of free time use on the relationship between high-status job characteristics and overwork such that the moderating effect of free time use will be weaker for women.

In addition to sacrificing their free time, women are more likely to have lower quality free time. Women try to grab brief periods of free time, combine free time with other activities (Mattingly and Bianchi 2003; Wimbush and Talbot 1988), or take

responsibility for planning family leisure activities (Maume 2006). Combining free time with other activities often leaves women feeling rushed despite engaging in free time. In sum, women conform to gendered expectations of how they should spend their time and tend to experience both fragmented and contaminated free time. Thus, I hypothesize:

H6: There will be gender differences in the effect of free time evaluation on the relationship between high-status job characteristics and overwork such that the moderating effect of free time evaluation will be weaker for women.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN

Data

The data for this study are from the 2008 National Study of the Changing Workforce (NSCW) available from the Family and Work Institute, a nonprofit research organization. The NSCW is a nationally representative survey, conducted (roughly) every five years, and based on the Quality of Employment (QES) survey conducted by the US Department of Labor in 1977. Harris Interactive, a third party data collection company, drew a nationally representative sample and collected the data using computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) program to complete the telephone interviews. The final sample includes respondents that were at least eighteen years of age, working at least 35 hours per week for a wage or salary (N = 2,055). After removing missing cases, the final sample was 1,983 respondents.

Measures

Dependent Variable

Feeling Overworked. Feeling overworked was measured using an index of three items that asked respondents to reply to a 5-point scale that ranges from "Very Often" to "Never":

- How often have you felt overwhelmed by how much you had to do at work in the last three months?

- During a typical workweek, how often do you have to work on too many tasks at the same time?
- During a typical workweek, how often are you interrupted during the work day, making it difficult to get your work done? (Cronbach's alpha = .78).

High-Status Job Characteristics

Autonomy. I used an index created by the *Families and Work Institute* that is a composite of four items on a 4-point scale the ranges from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree":

- I have the freedom to decide what I do on my job
- It is basically my own responsibility to decide how my job gets done
- I have a lot of say about what happens on my job
- I feel I can really be myself on my job (Crobach's alpha =.76).

Schedule Control. Respondents were asked to respond to *"Overall, how much control would you say you have in scheduling your work hours?"* on a 5-point scale that ranges from "Complete" to "None."

Work Skills. A direct measure of work skills is not available in the current data. Following a method common in economics (Kifle 2009), I used education as a proxy for work skill. Respondents were asked "What is the highest level of schooling you have completed?" Responds ranged from "Less than High School" to "Master's Degree or Doctorate."

Decision Making. Respondents were asked to respond to *"I am given a lot of freedom to decide how I do my own work"* on a 4-point scale that ranges from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree."

Income. Respondents were asked their estimated total personal earnings in 2008. I took the natural log of the income variable to account for skewness.

Work Hours. Respondents were asked "How many hours do you usually work each week at your job?" I will use the raw numbers provided. Given that the theoretical arguments for high-status job characteristics are grounded in assumptions of full-time employment, only respondents who indicate they work 35 hours or more per week are included in the current analysis.

Work Pace. Respondents were asked to respond to *"My job requires that I work very fast"* on a 4-point scale that ranges from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree."

Job Pressures. Job pressures were captured using three separate items rated on a 4-point scale ranging from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree."

- My work environment is competitive and fast paced.
- My job requires that I work very hard
- I have enough time to get the job done.

Moderating Variables

Free Time Use: Free time use was captured from answers to *"On average, on days when you're working, about how many hours do you spend on your own free-time activities?"* Respondents could have answered in minutes or hours. All responses were coded to represent free time hours.

Free Time Evaluation: Free time evaluation was captured using *"Do you feel that the time you have for yourself is too much, just enough, or not enough?"*

Control Variables

I controlled for variables that have been shown theoretically and empirically to correlate with the dependent and predictor variables: occupation, gender, marital status, and being the parent of a child who lives at home who is below 6 years of age. Occupation was measured using a seven item scale created by the *Families and Work Institute* that include Executive/Manager, Professional, Technical, Administrative, Sales, Service, and Production (coding presented in Appendix B).

Method

I conducted ordinary least squares regression to test the main effect hypotheses that predicted a positive relationship of high-status job characteristics and overwork using the following model:

$$\text{Overwork} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 ... + \beta_k X_{k+} e$$

where, X_1 is high-status job characteristics.

To analyze the interaction hypotheses of free time on the relationship between high-status job characteristics and overwork, I estimated the previous model and added the interaction terms, using mean centered variables, between free time use and free time evaluation and each of the high status job characteristics using the following model:

$$\text{Overwork} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 \ldots + \beta_k X_k + \beta_{2int}(X_1 * Z_1) \ldots + \beta_{2int} (X_k * Z_k) + e$$

where, Z_1 is free time use (evaluation).

The final hypotheses predict gender differences in the effect of free time on the relationship between high-status job characteristics and overwork. I estimated the above model with the addition of all possible two-way interactions and the three-way interactions of high-status job characteristics, free time, and gender with the following model:

$$\text{Overwork} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 \ldots + \beta_k X_k + \beta_{2int}(X_1 * Z_1) \ldots + \beta_{2int} (X_k * Z_k) + \beta_{3int}(X_1 * Z_1 * C_1) \ldots + \beta_{3int} (X_k * Z_k * C_k) + e$$

where, C_1 is gender.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Table 1 provides the descriptive information. The sample is 44% female and 73% of respondents are married. Parents of children under the age of 6 make up 16% of the sample. The average age is 45 years of age and approximately 39% identify themselves as an executive, manager, or professional.

The respondents in the sample appear to be autonomous, makes decisions at work, and are somewhat skilled. The average number of hours worked per week is approximately 44.5 with an annual personal income of $58,310. Respondents feel they have enough time to do their work and do not appear to high levels of schedule control. They do however, experience high pressures to work hard and fast within a competitive environment.

-- Table 1 about here --

Respondents use a little over one and a half hours of free time per day that they work – although this is highly variable. When asked to evaluate their free time use, only 19 respondents indicated that they had "too much free time." For that reason, I collapsed free time evaluation into a dummy code (1 = too little free time, 0 = enough free time) and 62% of respondents indicated they have too little free time. I regressed free time hours onto free time evaluation ($\beta = -.761$, $p<.001$). The coefficient means, on average, the difference between enough free time and too little is about three-fourths of an hour (about 45 minutes).

I provide zero-order correlations in Table 2. Overwork is positively related to work hours, work pace, and all job pressures; however, it is not related to autonomy, schedule control, or decision making. Overwork is correlated negatively with free time use and positively with free time evaluation.

-- Table 2 about here --

Free time use is negatively correlated with work hours, the pressure to work hard and get work done. Surprisingly, there are no significant correlations with autonomy, schedule control, work skills, decision making, work pace, or the pressure to work fast. Free time evaluation is negatively related to autonomy, schedule control, decision making and having enough time to get the job done and positively related to work hours, work pace, and the pressure to work fast and hard.

Turning to the control variables, overwork is positively related to gender. Specifically, women are reported feeling more overworked than do men. Overwork is negatively related to age. Interestingly, overwork has no significant correlation to martial or parental status. Gender is negatively related to free time use (women report less free time use) and positively related to free time evaluation (women are more likely to feel they have too little free time).

On the whole, the focal variables operate in expected ways. High status job characteristics relate to one another with many of the reward characteristics correlated with demand characteristics. Further, in general, the high-status job characteristics have low to moderate correlations with one another. This finding provides support for evaluating each characteristic individually because although they are related, the characteristics are distinct. The exception is the high correlation between autonomy and

decision making (r =.629, p < 001). Given this high co-variation and in light of the literature that supports the importance of autonomy over one's work, I removed decision making from all analyses[2].

[2] I examined the effects with and without decision making and the findings were consistent, warranting removing decision making from the model. Model comparisons are available in Appendix A.

Multivariate Analysis

Free Time Use

Given the use of two moderating variables, I present the multivariate models of free time use and free time evaluation separately. Table 3 provides the full free time use models. The progression of the table follows the entry of the variables into the regression equation. Model 1 presents the control variables only, Model 2 adds the high-status job characteristics and free time use, Model 3 adds two-way interactions of free time use, and Model 4 adds the three-way interactions of gender.

-- Table 3 about here --

Hypothesis 1 predicted that high-status job characteristics have positive relationships with feeling overworked. As expected work pace and job pressures consistently increase feelings of overwork. Income and work hours are significant in the main effects model but lose significance once I enter the two- and three-way interactions. Contrary to predictions of the stress of higher-status perspective, schedule control and work skills have no significant relationship with feeling overworked. Further, none of these variables (except work skills) operates in the expected direction. Taken together, the findings provide weak support for H1.

I offer a specific hypothesis about autonomy given the unique relationship of autonomy with various individual outcomes and predict that autonomy will be a high-status characteristic that is negatively related to feeling overworked (H2). Although, the effect of autonomy is in the expected direction, it is not significant, providing no support for H2.

Hypotheses 3 and 5 predicted a buffering effect of free time use and gender differences in those effects, respectively. There was virtually no support for these hypotheses. As indicated in Model 4, only one significant two-way interaction between schedule control and free time use (Figure 2) emerged. As depicted, the relationship between schedule control and feeling overworked depends on free time use. For workers with high levels of schedule control, free time use acts as a buffer and they feel less overworked than do individuals who report less free time use.

Analysis of the control variables across all models indicates that occupation has a stable relationship with feeling overworked. Generally, executives, managers, and professionals feel more overworked than all other occupations. Gender has a positive relationship, meaning women report feeling more overworked (although the moderating effect was not significant). Age has a negative relationship indicating that older workers are less likely to feel overworked than younger workers (this is no longer significant once three-way interactions are accounted for). Marital status and parental status have no significant relationship with feeling overworked.

Free Time Evaluation

Table 4 provides the full free time evaluation models. Once again, I predicted high-status job characteristics would relate positively to feeling overworked (H1). Consistent with the patterns of relationships of free time use, only work pressures consistently relate to increases in feeling overworked. Additionally, hypothesis 2 predicted autonomy would have a negative effect with feeling overworked. Although not supported in the free time use model, there is support in the free time evaluation model.

-- Table 4 about here --

As shown in Model 4, free time evaluation affects the relationship between high-status job characteristics and feeling overworked. In the case of autonomy and work pace, the three-way effect of gender is also significant. As depicted in Figure 3, the effect of having enough time to get work done is greater (steeper decline) when respondents evaluate their free time as enough. This pattern demonstrates that the evaluation of free time works synergistically with having enough time in reducing feeling overworked.

Additionally, the two-way interaction of pressure to work fast and free time evaluation emerged in this model (Figure 4). Respondents who evaluate their free time as too little maintain consistent levels of feeling overworked across levels of work pressure. Surprisingly, respondents who felt they have enough free time have a steeper positive slope (feelings of overwork increase more drastically) at high levels of work pressure than respondents who evaluated their free time as too little. This finding suggests the effect of free time evaluation is most helpful for those who perceive lower levels of a need to work fast. When that pressure is high, the effect of free time evaluation is not as strong. Overall, respondents who felt they had enough free time report lower levels of feeling overworked than those who report having too little free time.

Gender differences in the moderating effect of free time evaluation emerged for autonomy (Figure 5) and work pace (Figure 6). Women and men who evaluate their free time as too little have stable levels of feeling overworked across levels of autonomy. The gender differences are salient for highly autonomous workers who feel they have enough free time. Although having enough free time results in lower levels of feeling overworked for both men and women, men experience a larger buffering effect (steeper decline) against feeling overworked than do women.

The relationships between work pace, free time, evaluation, and gender are similar to the relationships with autonomy. As shown in Figure 6, across levels of work pace, too little free time resulted in higher levels of feeling overworked for both women and men. At high levels of work pace, for individuals who feel they have enough free time, the difference between men and women in feeling overworked is more pronounced. This effect is evidenced by the steeper downward slope (more drastic reduction in feeling overworked) of the line for men who evaluate their free time as enough. Again, men benefit more than women from feeling they have enough free time.

The effects of high-status job characteristics, free time evaluation, and gender is somewhat complicated. The overall pattern of these relationships do provide some support for the interactive effects of free time evaluation and high-status job characteristics on feeling overworked (H4) and gender differences in those moderating effects (H6).

The analysis of the control variables is consistent in the free time evaluation models as in the free time use models. Occupation has a stable relationship with feeling overworked, gender loses significance across models, and martial and parental status do not have significant relationships with feeling overworked.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In the current study, I analyzed the relationships between high-status job characteristics, free time, gender, and overwork. Feeling overworked is defined as the feeling overwhelmed and lacking the time to process and reflect on one's work (Galinsky et al. 2001).The findings show that work demands and pressures increase feeling overworked. Free time evaluation (not free time use) buffers against some of these pressures. Further, in cases when the effect of gender is significant, men benefit more than do women from evaluating their free time as enough.

The stress of higher status hypothesis is grounded in the contradiction that both work rewards and demands lead to work-nonwork interference (Schieman et al. 2009). Several accounts (Hochschild 1997; Moen et al. 2013; Perlow 1998; Sharone 2004) support the stress of higher status hypothesis. For that reason, I sought to extend this perspective to feeling overworked but find little support for the contradiction it suggests. I found that work demands consistently contribute to feeling overworked but this is not true of work rewards. Increased work pace, competitive environments, and working hard all increase feeling overworked. Autonomy, schedule control, and increased work skills, however, do not have significant relationships to feeling overworked.

Schieman et al. (2009) found consistent evidence for the stress of higher status. Work hours, for example, had a strong positive effect on work-nonwork interference. Work hours, however, do not have a significant relationship to feeling overworked. In

their original analysis, Schieman and his colleagues find that authority, decision-making latitude, work skills, and earnings increase work-nonwork interference. Again, none of these variables has a significant relationship with feeling overworked in the current study. The only resource variable with a significant relationship with feeling overworked is autonomy but it decreases feeling overworked, not increases it. Though this is consistent with Schieman's original findings (Schieman et al. 2009).

One explanation for the lack of support for work rewards also increasing feeling overworked is because much of the flexibility and control is enabled through communication technologies. The evidence of the role of technology in the intrusion of work on life is inconclusive. Some individuals value the ease of technology while others find communication technology tethers them to work at all hours of the day (Wajcman, Bittman, and Brown 2008; Wajcman 2008). Brody and Rubin (2011) also found evidence of both the tethering and convenience of technology based on employee age. Generally, for older workers, technology was a tether, yet it was convenient for younger workers.

I investigated technology use outside of work on feeling overworked in a post hoc analysis (not shown here). Respondents were asked, on a scale from 1 (never) to 6 (at least daily), *How often do coworkers, supervisors, managers, customers, or clients contact you about work-related matters outside normal work hours?* In both the full free time use and free time evaluation models, contact outside of work significantly increases feeling overworked. These findings provide warrant for further investigations of the implications of communication technology and feeling overworked.

Taken together, job resources may increase work-nonwork interference. I find no evidence, however that these job characteristics led to feeling overworked. The results of

the current study indicate that job characteristics do not lead to feeling overworked, but instead, the "cultures of overwork" that are created and maintained through supervisory pressure and organizational competition (Collinson and Collinson 2004; Fried 1998; Kunda 1992).

Using the free time as resistance perspective, I investigated the buffering effect of free time use and evaluation on feeling overworked. Free time as resistance highlights the political nature of free time and suggests that individuals use free time to combat established power structures. Although primarily confined to feminist literature and the leisure studies, I incorporate this perspective and the evidence of timework strategies and propose free time use and evaluation as strategies to combat feeling overworked.

In general, the buffering effect of free time evaluation is consistent with the free time as resistance perspective. Individuals who feel they have enough free time do not feel as overworked as those who feel their free time is too little. Interestingly, although I predicted free time use and evaluation would function similarly to reduce feeling overworked, they are distinct. Free time use does not provide much of a buffering effect. Free time evaluation, however, buffers against work demands and pressures and enhances the positive effects of autonomy. The difference between enough free time and too little free time was 45 minutes, on average. Such a small difference in actual time highlights the importance of the evaluation and suggests that the same amount of free time may be viewed as enough by one person and too little for another. The evaluation of free time may provide more insights into understanding the strain of managing work and personal life than the amount of time used on free time.

Although I use a resistance perspective, there are alternative possibilities for the buffering effect of free time. One is internalized work norms. Strong work devotion schemas (Blair-Loy 2004) and the career mystique (Moen and Roehling 2005) are important components of the work identity for individuals in jobs with high-status characteristics. By internalizing work demands as appropriate aspects of the job, employees may view any amount of free time, even a few minutes, as enough. From this perspective, free time is not a form of resistance, but instead results from embracing a work identity. Future research could examine the relationship between work internalization, or identity, and free time evaluation.

Another possible explanation is that free time is not a resistance strategy but instead a form of coping. As I noted, free time use and evaluation do not alter work structures only allow individuals to operate differently within them (Moen et al. 2013). From a coping perspective, free time is used to cope with work demands and is not an active strategy to work against them. To disentangle these potential perspectives on free time, future qualitative research could investigate *why* individuals evaluate their free time in a particular manner. What factors of paid work influence free time evaluation? What factors of home and family life? Under what conditions is a person actively resisting work pressures?

The findings of the current study provide little support in terms of gender differences in the buffering effect of free time (only two significant three-way interactions emerged). When there are differences, men benefit more than do women. My findings are consistent with previous evidence that found women's free time is more fragmented and/or contaminated than is men's free time (Mattingly and Bianchi 2003).

Unfortunately, the NSCW data do not allow me to analyze the quality of free time directly.

Other findings worth noting are those of some control variables. More specifically, the lack of significant results for parents and married respondents is surprising. One possible explanation is that feeling overworked is specifically related to paid work. Perhaps, at work, marital and parental status does not contribute to differences in feeling overworked. Another explanation is that the experience across marital and parental status is nuanced. An analysis of mother and fathers, husbands and wives, and the interactions of marital and parental status would be useful to capture the differences based on gender and family structure.

Implications

The results of this study have noteworthy theoretical and practical implications. Theoretically, the current analysis does not support the stress of higher status perspective. The findings instead show that only job demands and pressuring organizational cultures lead to feeling overworked. These findings have two important implications for the literature. First, although there is evidence that job resources increase work-nonwork interference, it may not be appropriate to assume that these rewards also influence feeling overworked. The flexibility, permeability, and discretion over one's work does not contribute to feeling overwhelmed by one's work. Future studies should focus on the effects of pressurized work environments and how different job characteristics operate within those environments.

Second, feeling overworked and having work-life balance are not synonymous. Many discussions in the literature confound feeling overworked with work-life balance.

Discretion and flexibility are critical for work-life balance. This flexibility and control allows employees to manage childcare schedules and domestic responsibilities. These job characteristics matter little for feeling overworked. Thus, pressures and obligations in both spheres influence work-life. Organizational demands primarily, drive feeling overworked.

The theoretical clarity brought by the current study also influences the practical implications. Given that workplace environments are the primary drivers of feeling overworked, work-family policies are not sufficient to solutions to enhance employee experiences in and outside of work. Clear evidence already demonstrates that work-family policies do little to improve worker experiences (Mennino, Rubin, and Brayfield 2005). Instead, employers must evaluate the informal cultural assumptions surrounding work and time perpetuated within their specific organizations. Employers can improve worker experiences more effectively by addressing the day-to-day values and assumptions about the meaning of a good, committed worker.

Limitations

Despite the interesting insights from the current study, some limitations are worth noting. First, I was unable to measure all high-status characteristics. Schieman et al (2009) found that job authority was a high-status reward characteristic that was significant predictor work-nonwork interference. The data of this analysis do not provide an adequate measure of this variable. Further, I used education as a proxy for work shills, which may have led to non-significant findings. Future research could include more work resources and better determine if there is support for the stress of higher status hypothesis.

Second, by using cross-sectional data, though I provide theoretical causal ordering, I cannot rule out the alternate explanation that respondents who feel less overworked view their jobs as demanding. It seems unlikely that this is the case, however, given that feeling overworked relates specifically to the work tasks and experiences.

Further, by using self-report data, I do not escape the limitation of inaccurate calculations of time use previous scholars have criticized (Robinson and Godbey 1997). Although the responses were self-report, the measures of free time are a strength of the current analysis. Respondents were asked about their use and evaluation of free time on days in which they *work*. This contextualized question serves better to capture free time as a daily strategy against feeling overworked as opposed to other forms (e.g. vacation time) which function differently (Maume 2006).

Despite these limitations, this study is timely and appropriate given the increased emphasis on the interface of paid-work and non-paid work, families, and well-being of employees within a global, competitive workplace environment. Free time evaluation has clear implications on how individuals view their work and personal lives. Future research should focus on intense work environments and free time evaluation for specific demographic groups. Gender differences are clear from this analysis and previous work. Further, the effects of age on managing work-nonwork are important and under-examined component of understanding work and life demands.

Reflections and Assumptions of Feeling Overworked

The discussions and analysis of the current study highlight several noteworthy assumptions of the literature on work and time. Following notions from the stress of

higher status, overwork is consistently studied using white collar, professional, privileged samples such as Fortune 500 executives (Phyllis Moen et al. 2013), engineers (Collinson and Collinson 2004), lawyers (Epstein et al. 1999), and software developers (Perlow 1998).

Further, the National Study of the Changing Workforce (Galinsky et al. 2004) is a common dataset used in this line of research (and in the current study). This is an incredibly useful data source that allows scholars to explore relationships between work conditions and issues of family, health, and leisure. Despite its utility, the NSCW is also biased to a privileged, white-collar sample and does not capture many who work in precarious jobs (Kalleberg 2011) or have severely low income. Basic descriptive information demonstrates this point. In the current study (full-time, working adults), over 40% make over $50,000 a year, over 38% are executives or professionals, and only about 12% work more than two jobs.

By focusing on privileged, white-collar workers, scholars do not investigate other types of work. Shift work, for instance, requires workers to work long 12 hours shifts, work late nights, or early mornings. Many individuals are working poor who although work 40 or more hours a week or who hold multiple jobs, still cannot make enough money to escape poverty. These work conditions are certainly detrimental to one's health and make childcare, family, and leisure arrangements incredibly difficult.

The juxtaposition of the types of work that are excluded from discussions of overwork highlights several assumptions. First, there is an assumption of choice. Professionals and other high-status employees have the choice to work extra hours. Further, because of increased education and skills, they are more able to alter their work

situation by changing jobs or reducing hours if they so choose. Individuals in non-traditional working conditions do not have discretion over the conditions and requirements of the job. There may be a very different experience among professionals and managers versus front line workers in their perceptions and experience of feeling overworked. Potential questions to probe this assumption ask, do employees feel overworked when they are required to work shifts longer than eight hours? How do work hours influence feeling overworked if a person has more than one job?

Second, there is an assumption that overwork persistent and ubiquitous. As a result, the vast majority of discussions of work and time rely on samples from the United States leaving the cross-national implications of overwork are severely underdeveloped. Contextual meanings of time and work, however, are critical to the understanding of overwork because broader cultural factors influence the appetite for working and determine the centrality of work to one's life.

Jeremy Reynolds (2004) examined temporal mismatches cross-nationally. His analysis included the United States, Sweden, Germany, and Japan. Sweden has multiple worker-friendly policies that restrict workers' hours and protects their overtime. In countries like the United States and Japan, however, implementation of work-family policies has been slow, thus creating a different institutional environment that shapes perceptions of work and time. Thus, Reynolds argued that characteristics of individuals, jobs, and institutions all contribute to temporal mismatches.

One key finding is that temporal mismatches are quite common across countries. The drivers of mismatches, however, are very different across countries. For example, in Germany and Sweden, family structures have heavy influence on temporal mismatch, but

in Japan, the effect of family is very weak. Economic incentives drive temporal mismatches in the United States. In fact, full-time employees in the United States were the most likely to want to work *more* hours than full-time workers in any other country. Job characteristics are also important. Opportunities for advancement increase the desire for more hours in the United States and decrease the desire for fewer hours in Germany. Thus, the potential for upward mobility influences desires to work more.

Undoubtedly, the experience of work and time varies across contexts. While the current investigation does not avoid these assumptions, addressing the current biases of privileged, United States samples, uncovers several fruitful avenues of investigation. As Reynolds (2004) demonstrates, addressing these assumptions also uncovers unforeseen patterns and relationships.

Conclusion

In the current study, I analyzed the effects of various high-status job characteristics on feeling overworked and the moderating effect of free time use and evaluation on that relationship. Most studies of work-life and time use do not focus specifically on free time and its meaning within an increasingly pressured work environment. I find support that job demands and pressures increase feeling overworked, but job rewards do not. Further, the amount of free time does not buffer against feelings of overwork, yet the evaluation of free time does. For those individuals in jobs characterized by pressured work environments, feeling that they have enough free time mitigates the increased feelings of overwork. This buffering effect of free time evaluation on autonomy and work pace is stronger for men than for women. The current study demonstrates the importance of free time evaluation in influencing how individuals experience work demands.

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APPENDIX A: TABLES

TABLE 1: Means and standard deviations for all variables (N=1,983)

Variables	M	SD
Overwork	3.35	1.06
Autonomy	3.1	0.72
Schedule Control	2.03	1.06
Low Skill	64%	0.48
Trade Skill	3%	0.18
Decision Making	3.28	0.86
Income	58310.10	58297.84
Work Hours	44.52	7.69
Work Pace	2.98	0.92
Job Pressure: Work Fast	3.21	0.95
Job Pressure: Work Hard	3.5	0.76
Job Pressure: Enough Time	3.23	0.86
Free Time Use	1.62	1.59
Free Time Evaluation	62%	0.49
Control Variables		
Not Married	27%	0.44
No child < 6	84%	0.37
Female	44%	0.5
Age	45.35	11.22
Technical	5%	0.21
Sales	11%	0.31
Admin	13%	0.34
Service	9%	0.29
Production	23%	0.42

Note: Free time evaluation (1=too little; 0=enough)

TABLE 2: Correlations between overwork, high-status job characteristics, gender, and free time

	Overwork	Gender	Autonomy	Schedule Control	Low Skill	Trade Skill	Decision Making	Income	Work Hours	Work Pace	Job Pressure: Work Fast	Job Pressure: Work Hard	Job Pressure: Enough Time	Free Time Use	Free Time Evaluation
Overwork	1	.106**	-.041	-.019	-.145**	.000	-.019	.131**	.128**	.239**	.173**	.286**	-.466**	-.113**	.243**
Gender		1	-.013	.006	.005	-.008	-.018	-.231**	-.180**	.032	-.035	.095**	.018	-.078**	.121**
Autonomy			1	.416**	-.112**	.016	.630**	.199**	.110**	-.062**	.070**	.076**	.191**	.012	-.133**
Schedule Control				1	-.133**	-.010	.317**	.199**	.105**	-.047*	.091**	-.015	.103**	.015	-.106**
Low Skill					1	-.246**	-.113**	-.369**	-.135**	.013	.042	-.053*	.117**	.024	-.040
Trade Skill						1	.011	-.021	.011	.001	.028	.023	-.029	.014	.030
Decision Making							1	.182**	.033	-.088**	.036	-.015	.203**	.037	-.121**
Income								1	.325**	-.009	.108**	.074**	-.110**	-.077**	-.006
Work Hours									1	.065**	.147**	.122**	-.132**	-.099**	.090**
Work Pace										1	.405**	.377**	-.208**	.000	.090**
Job Pressure: Work Fast											1	.324**	-.129**	-.033	.044*
Job Pressure: Work Hard												1	-.199**	-.051*	.082**
Job Pressure: Enough Time													1	.068**	-.196**
Free Time Use														1	-.222**
Free Time Evaluation															1

Note: Free Time Evaluation (1=too little free time, 0=enough free time)

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

TABLE 3: High-status characteristics, free time use, and gender on feeling overworked

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	3.903** (0.105)	3.624** (0.094)	3.624** (0.094)	3.658** (0.101)
Marital Status	-.027 (0.053)	.013 (0.046)	.013 (0.046)	-.001 (0.046)
Parent < 6	0.048 (0.069)	.044 (0.060)	.044 (0.060)	.036 (0.061)
Age	-.008** (0.002)	-.004* (0.002)	-.004* (0.002)	-.004 (0.002)
Gender	0.137** (.049)	.148** (0.044)	.148** (0.044)	.105 (0.108)
Technical	-.438** (.113)	-.254* (0.099)	-.255* (0.099)	-.272** (0.100)
Sales	-.287** (.079)	-.124 (0.071)	-.124 (0.071)	-.125 (0.072)
Administrative	-.251 (.073)	-.068 (0.068)	-.068 (0.068)	-.048 (0.068)
Service	-.665 (.083)	-.293** (0.078)	-.293** (0.078)	-.269** (0.079)
Production	-0.665 (.062)	-.536** (0.062)	-.536** (0.062)	-.509** (0.063)
Autonomy		-.031 (0.032)	-.031 (0.032)	-.005 (0.044)
Schedule Control		-.012 (0.021)	-.012 (0.021)	-.002 (0.029)
Low Skill		-.018 (0.067)	-.046 (0.067)	-.048 (0.067)
Trade Skill		-.116 (0.153)	-.262 (0.153)	-.259 (0.153)
Income		0.075* (0.047)	.004 (0.047)	-0.003 (0.047)
Work Hours		0.006* (0.003)	.004 (0.003)	.004 (0.003)
Work Pace		.096** (0.034)	.100** (0.034)	.104** (0.035)
Pressure to Work Fast		.051* (0.032)	.078* (0.032)	.083** (0.032)
Pressure to Work Hard		.186** (0.038)	.211** (0.038)	.211** (0.038)
Enough Time		-.473** (0.034)	-.453** (0.034)	-.451** (0.034)
Free Time Use		-.035** (0.027)	-.029** (0.027)	-.020 (0.033)
Autonomy X FTU			-.025 (0.020)	-.033 (0.024)
Schedule Control X FTU			-.016 (0.013)	-.035* (0.018)
Low Skill X FTU			-.008 (0.031)	-.020 (0.041)
Trade Skill X FTU			-.026 (0.066)	-.037 (0.099)
Income X FTU			.019 (0.024)	.032 (0.028)
Work Hours X FTU			-.001 (0.002)	.000 (0.003)
Work Pace X FTU			.003 (0.016)	-.007 (0.020)
Pressure to Work Fast X FTU			-.001 (0.014)	-.005 (0.018)
Pressure to Work Hard X FTU			-.003 (0.018)	.000 (0.022)
Enough Time X FTU			-.006 (0.017)	.013 (0.022)
Autonomy x FTU X Gender				.034 (0.043)
Schedule Control X FTU X Gender				.046 (0.028)
Low Skill X FTU X Gender				-.011 (0.069)
Trade Skill X FTU X Gender				.027 (0.136)
Income X FTU X Gender				-.054 (0.054)
Work Hours X FTU X Gender				-.002 (0.004)
Work Pace X FTU X Gender				.012 (0.034)
Pressure to Work Fast X FTU X Gender				.028 (0.031)
Pressure to Work Hard X FTU X Gender				-.010 (0.038)
Enough Time X FTU X Gender				-.050 (0.038)
R^2	0.085	0.330	0.340	.343

Note: *p<.05; **p<.01. Free Time Use = FTU

TABLE 4: High-status characteristics, free time evaluation, and gender on feeling overworked

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	3.903 (0.105)	3.415** (0.098)	3.394** (0.108)	3.386** (0.118)
Not Married	-.027 (0.053)	.016 (0.046)	.011 (0.046)	-.012 (0.046)
No child < 6	0.048 (0.069)	.082 (0.060)	.104 (0.059)	.115 (0.060)
Age	-.008 (0.002)	-.004* (0.002)	-.003 (0.002)	-.003 (0.002)
Female	.137** (0.049)	.111* (0.044)	.271** (0.044)	.208 (0.130)
Technical	-.438** (0.113)	-.257** (0.098)	-.286** (0.098)	-.293** (0.098)
Sales	-.287** (0.079)	-.115 (0.071)	-.117 (0.070)	-.121 (0.070)
Administrative	-.251** (0.073)	-.064 (0.067)	-.046 (0.067)	-.036 (0.067)
Service	-.665** (0.083)	-.274** (0.078)	-.251** (0.078)	-.240** (0.078)
Production	-.665** (0.062)	-.533** (0.061)	-.518** (0.062)	-.525** (0.062)
Autonomy		-.016 (0.032)	-.029 (0.061)	-.144* (0.070)
Schedule Control		-.003 (0.021)	.002 (0.037)	-.006 (0.042)
Low Skill		-.015 (0.051)	-.024 (0.085)	-.017 (0.095)
Trade Skill		.004 (0.116)	-.534* (0.219)	-.453 (0.253)
Income		.079* (0.037)	.048 (0.064)	.080 (0.072)
Work Hours		.005 (0.003)	.005 (0.005)	.007 (0.006)
Work Pace		.093** (0.025)	.089* (0.042)	.012 (0.052)
Pressure to Work Fast		.050 (0.024)	.124* (0.044)	.174** (0.051)
Pressure to Work Hard		.185** (0.029)	.221** (0.050)	.217** (0.055)
Enough Time		-.451** (0.025)	-.553** (0.051)	-.596** (0.059)
Free Time Use		-.021 (0.013)	-.028* (0.013)	-.030* (0.013)
Free Time Evaluation		.270** (0.043)	.353** (0.087)	.372** (0.103)
Autonomy X FTE			.059 (.068)	.240** (.089)
Schedule Control X FTE			.003 (0.042)	-.001 (0.058)
Low Skill X FTE			-.026 (0.095)	-.038 (0.123)
Trade Skill X FTE			.350 (0.244)	.255 (0.311)
Income X FTE			-.047 (0.074)	-.101 (0.093)
Work Hours X FTE			-.005 (0.006)	-.009 (0.007)
Work Pace X FTE			.008 (0.052)	.138* (0.068)
Pressure to Work Fast X FTE			-.078 (0.049)	-.153* (0.065)
Pressure to Work Hard X FTE			-.047 (0.060)	-.036 (0.074)
Enough Time X FTE			.181** (0.056)	.235** (0.072)
Autonomy X FTE X Gender				-.417** (.140)
Schedule Control X FTE X Gender				.013 (0.085)
Low Skill X FTE X Gender				.028 (0.196)
Trade Skill X FTE X Gender				.171 (0.501)
Income X FTE X Gender				.108 (0.156)
Work Hours X FTE X Gender				.013 (0.014)
Work Pace X FTE X Gender				-.288** (0.106)
Pressure to Work Fast X FTE X Gender				.168 (0.099)
Pressure to Work Hard X FTE X Gender				-.022 (0.125)
Enough Time X FTE X Gender				-.120 (0.116)
R^2	0.085	0.343	0.36	0.367

Note: *p<.05; **p<.01.

Free Time Evaluation (FTE) is dummy coded 0 = enough or too much free time, 1 = too little free time

APPENDIX B: FIGURES

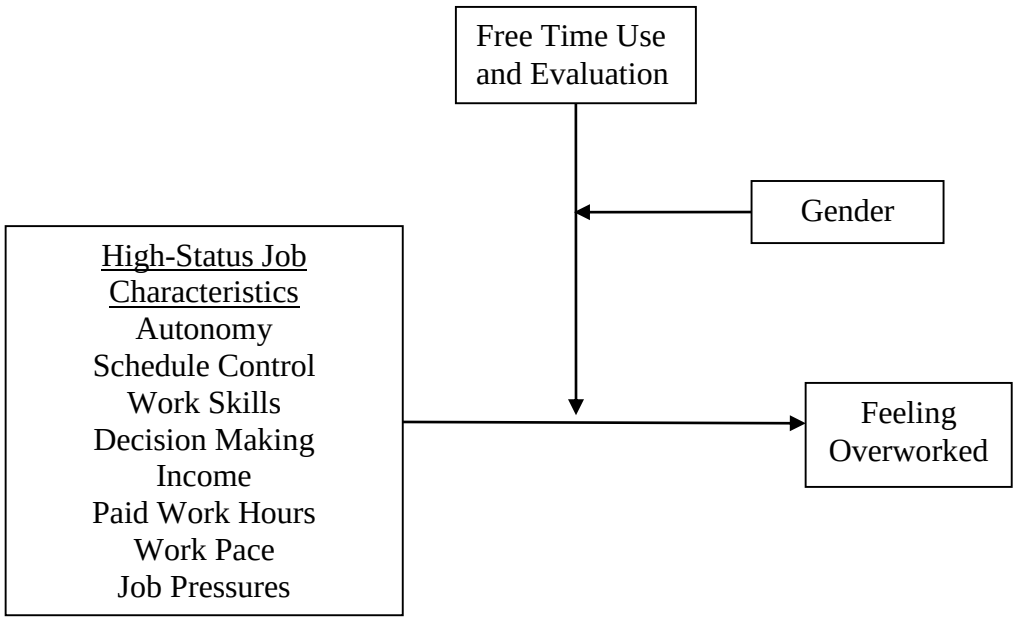

FIGURE 1: Conceptual model

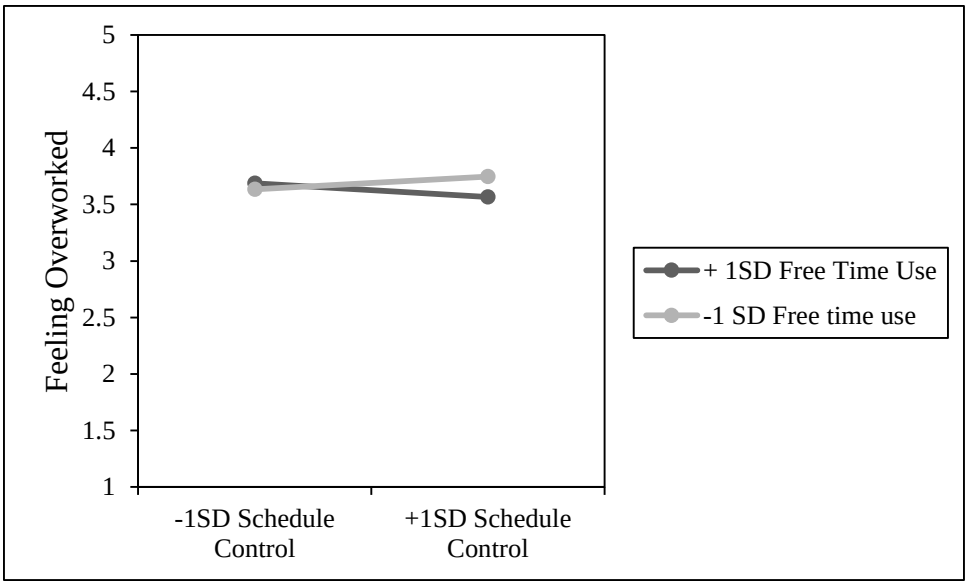

FIGURE 2: 2-way interaction between schedule control and free time use on feeling overworked

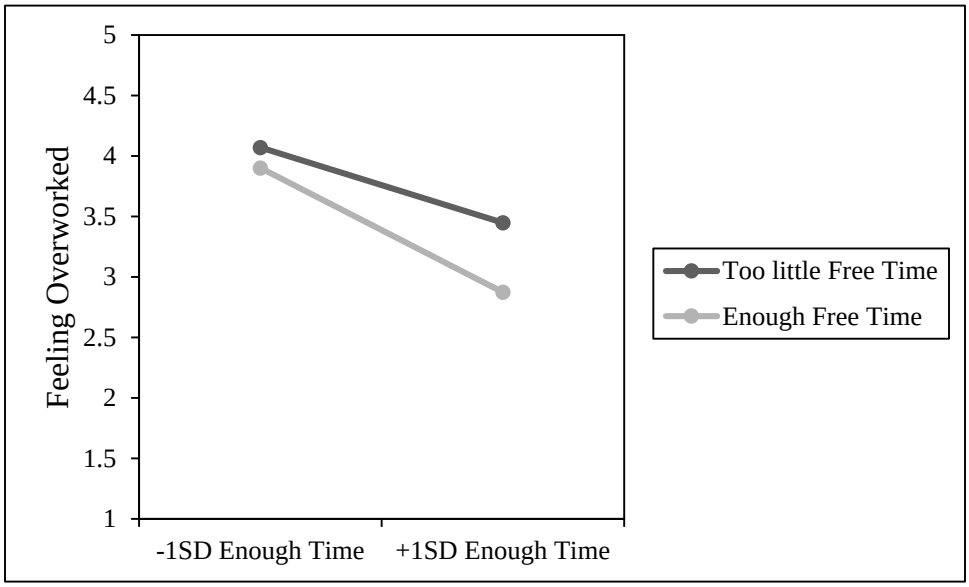

FIGURE 3: 2-way interaction between having enough time and free time evaluation

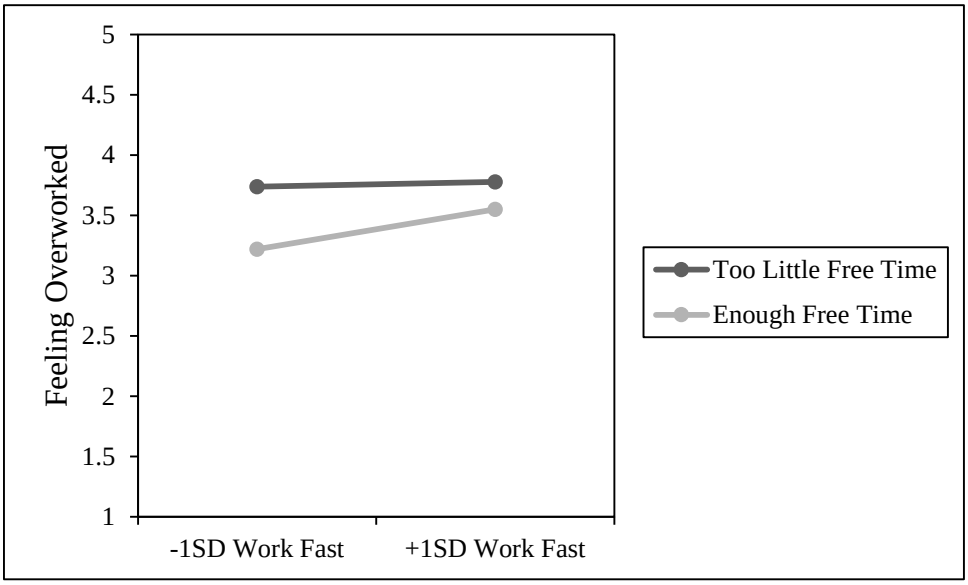

FIGURE 4: 2-way interaction between pressure to work fast and free time evaluation

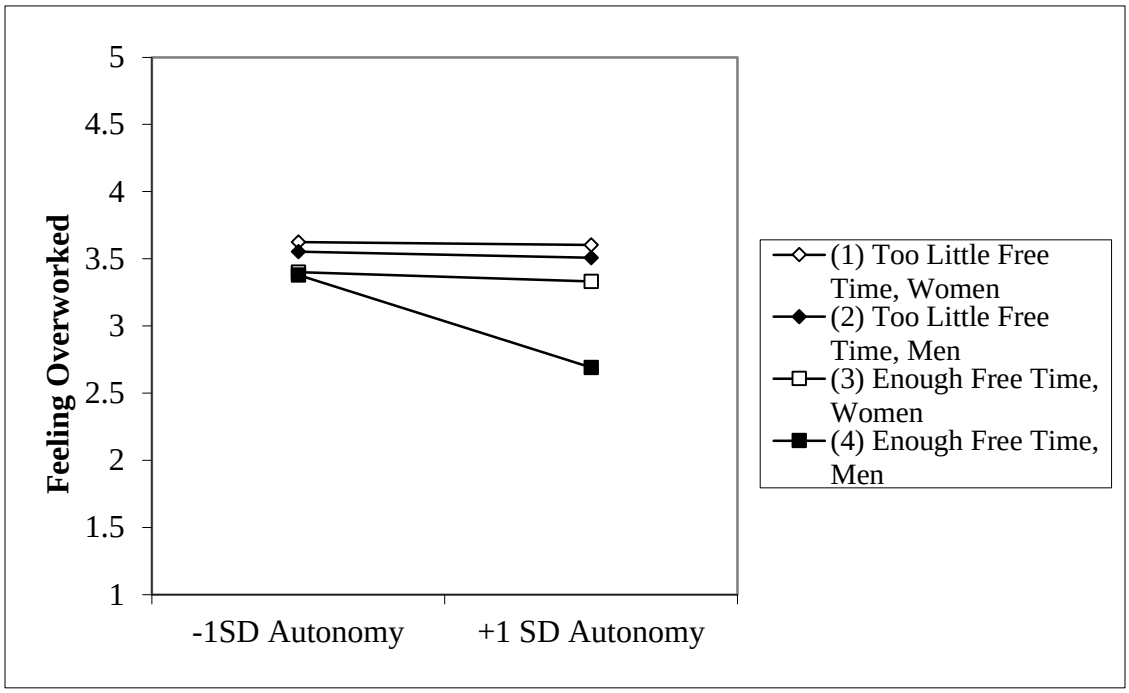

FIGURE 5: 3-way interaction between autonomy, free time evaluation, and gender.

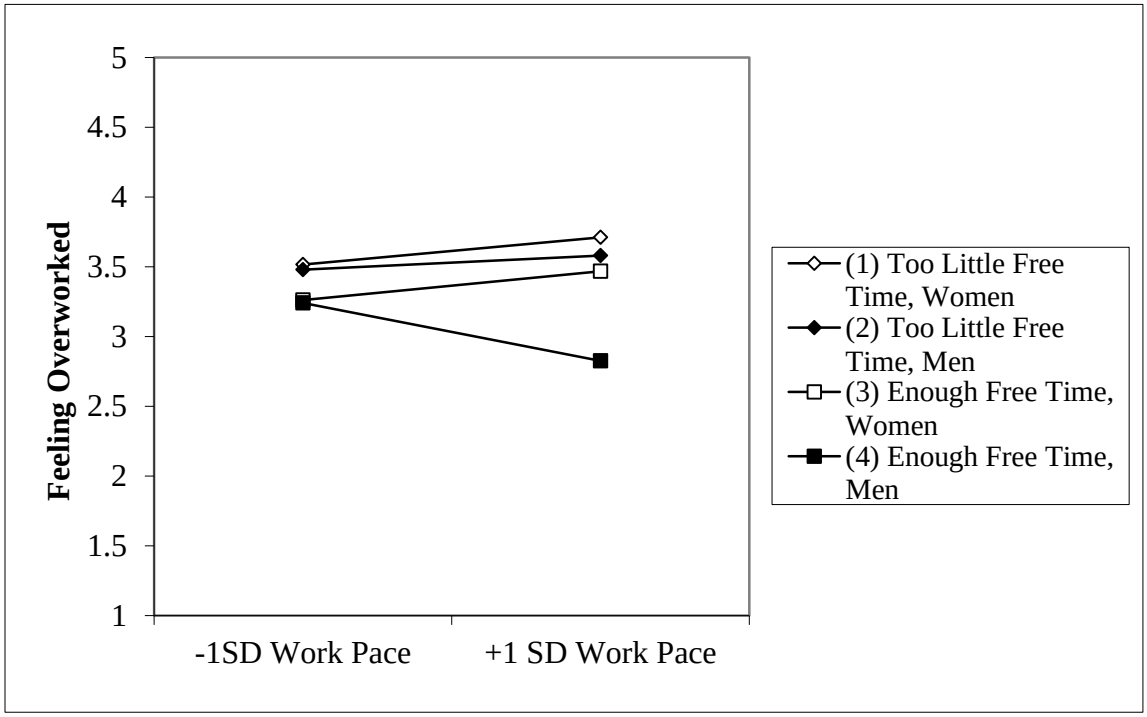

FIGURE 6: 3-way interaction between work pace, free time evaluation, and gender.

APPENDIX C: MODEL COMPARISONS

	Free Time Use		
	With Decision Making	Without Decision Making	
Intercept	3.665** (0.10)	3.658** (0.101)	Intercept
Not Married	-.006 (0.05)	-.001 (0.046)	Not Married
No child < 6	.041 (0.06)	.036 (0.061)	No child < 6
Age	-0.004* (0.00)	-.004 (0.002)	Age
Female	.117 (0.11)	.105 (0.108)	Female
Technical	-0.278** (0.10)	-.272** (0.100)	Technical
Sales	-.125 (0.07)	-.125 (0.072)	Sales
Administrative	-.039 (0.07)	-.048 (0.068)	Administrative
Service	-0.269** (0.08)	-.269** (0.079)	Service
Production	-0.517** (0.06)	-.509** (0.063)	Production
Autonomy	-0.110* (0.05)	-.005 (0.044)	Autonomy
Schedule Control	-.005 (0.03)	-.002 (0.029)	Schedule Control
Decision Making	0.149** (0.04)		
Low Skill	-.029 (0.07)	-.048 (0.067)	Low Skill
Trade Skill	-.239 (0.15)	-.259 (0.153)	Trade Skill
Income	-.015 (0.05)	-.003 (0.047)	Income
Work Hours	.005 (0.00)	.004 (0.003)	Work Hours
Work Pace	0.107** (0.03)	.104** (0.035)	Work Pace
Pressure to Work Fast	0.079* (0.03)	.083** (0.032)	Pressure to Work Fast
Pressure to Work Hard	0.215** (0.04)	.211** (0.038)	Pressure to Work Hard
Enough Time	-0.465** (0.03)	-.451** (0.034)	Enough Time
Free Time Use	-.020 (0.03)	-.020 (0.033)	Free Time Use
Autonomy X FTU	-.013 (0.03)	-.033 (0.024)	Autonomy X FTU
Schedule Control X FTU	-0.036* (0.02)	-.035* (0.018)	Schedule Control X FTU
Decision Maningx FTU	-.019 (0.02)		
Low Skill X FTU	-.020 (0.04)	-.020 (0.041)	Low Skill X FTU
Trade Skill X FTU	-.049 (0.10)	-.037 (0.099)	Trade Skill X FTU
Income X FTU	.029 (0.03)	.032 (0.028)	Income X FTU
Work Hours X FTU	-.001 (0.00)	.000 (0.003)	Work Hours X FTU
Work Pace X FTU	-.008 (0.02)	-.007 (0.020)	Work Pace X FTU
Pressure to Work Fast X FTU	-.005 (0.02)	-.005 (0.018)	Pressure to Work Fast X FTU
Pressure to Work Hard X FTU	-.002 (0.02)	.000 (0.022)	Pressure to Work Hard X FTU
Enough Time X FTU	.013 (0.02)	.013 (0.022)	Enough Time X FTU
Autonomy x FTU X Gender	.003 (0.05)	.034 (0.043)	Autonomy x FTU X Gender
Schedule Control X FTU X Gender	.047 (0.03)	.046 (0.028)	Schedule Control X FTU X Gender
Decision MakingXFTUXGender	.037 (0.04)		
Low Skill X FTU X Gender	-.008 (0.07)	-.011 (0.069)	Low Skill X FTU X Gender
Trade Skill X FTU X Gender	-.011 (0.14)	.027 (0.136)	Trade Skill X FTU X Gender
Income X FTU X Gender	-.050 (0.05)	-.054 (0.054)	Income X FTU X Gender
Work Hours X FTU X Gender	-.002 (0.00)	-.002 (0.004)	Work Hours X FTU X Gender
Work Pace X FTU X Gender	.014 (0.03)	.012 (0.034)	Work Pace X FTU X Gender
Pressure to Work Fast X FTU X Gender	.028 (0.03)	.028 (0.031)	Pressure to Work Fast X FTU X Gender
Pressure to Work Hard X FTU X Gender	-.006 (0.04)	-.010 (0.038)	Pressure to Work Hard X FTU X Gender
Enough Time X FTU X Gender	-.052 (0.04)	-.050 (0.038)	Enough Time X FTU X Gender

	Free Time Evaluation		
	With Decision Making	Without Decision Making	
Intercept	3.395** (0.12)	3.386** (0.118)	Intercept
Not Married	.009 (0.05)	-.012 (0.046)	Not Married
No child < 6	.116 (0.06)	.115 (0.060)	No child < 6
Age	-.004 (0.00)	-.003 (0.002)	Age
Female	.214 (0.13)	.208 (0.130)	Female
Technical	-0.295* (0.10)	-.293** (0.098)	Technical
Sales	-.121 (0.07)	-.121 (0.070)	Sales
Administrative	-.027 (0.07)	-.036 (0.067)	Administrative
Service	-0.234** (0.08)	-.240** (0.078)	Service
Production	-0.528** (0.06)	-.525** (0.062)	Production
Autonomy	-0.217** (0.08)	-.144* (0.070)	Autonomy
Schedule Control	-.002 (0.04)	-.006 (0.042)	Schedule Control
Decision Making	.113 (0.06)		
Low Skill	-.009 (0.10)	-.017 (0.095)	Low Skill
Trade Skill	-.467 (0.25)	-.453 (0.253)	Trade Skill
Income	.075 (0.07)	.080 (0.072)	Income
Work Hours	.008 (0.01)	.007 (0.006)	Work Hours
Work Pace	.017 (0.05)	.012 (0.052)	Work Pace
Pressure to Work Fast	0.170** (0.05)	.174** (0.051)	Pressure to Work Fast
Pressure to Work Hard	0.217** (0.06)	.217** (0.055)	Pressure to Work Hard
Enough Time	-0.612** (0.06)	-.596** (0.059)	Enough Time
Free Time Use	-0.032* (0.01)	-.030* (0.013)	Free Time Use
Free Time Evaluation	0.358** (0.10)	.372** (0.103)	Free Time Evaluation
Autonomy X FTE	.190 (0.10)	.240** (.089)	Autonomy X FTE
Schedule Control X FTE	.010 (0.06)	-.001 (0.058)	Schedule Control X FTE
Decision MakingxFTE	.066 (0.08)		
Low Skill X FTE	-.021 (0.12)	-.038 (0.123)	Low Skill X FTE
Trade Skill X FTE	.311 (0.31)	.255 (0.311)	Trade Skill X FTE
Income X FTE	-.118 (0.09)	-.101 (0.093)	Income X FTE
Work Hours X FTE	-.008 (0.01)	-.009 (0.007)	Work Hours X FTE
Work Pace X FTE	0.135* (0.07)	.138* (0.068)	Work Pace X FTE
Pressure to Work Fast X FTE	-0.151* (0.06)	-.153* (0.065)	Pressure to Work Fast X FTE
Pressure to Work Hard X FTE	-.035 (0.07)	-.036 (0.074)	Pressure to Work Hard X FTE
Enough Time X FTE	0.234** (0.07)	.235** (0.072)	Enough Time X FTE
Autonomy X FTE X Gender	-0.404* (0.17)	-.417** (.140)	Autonomy X FTE X Gender
Schedule Control X FTE X Gender	-.004 (0.09)	.013 (0.085)	Schedule Control X FTE X Gender
Decision MakingxFTExGender	-.013 (0.13)		
Low Skill X FTE X Gender	.010 (0.20)	.028 (0.196)	Low Skill X FTE X Gender
Trade Skill X FTE X Gender	.111 (0.50)	.171 (0.501)	Trade Skill X FTE X Gender
Income X FTE X Gender	.122 (0.16)	.108 (0.156)	Income X FTE X Gender
Work Hours X FTE X Gender	.012 (0.01)	.013 (0.014)	Work Hours X FTE X Gender
Work Pace X FTE X Gender	-0.286** (0.11)	-.288** (0.106)	Work Pace X FTE X Gender
Pressure to Work Fast X FTE X Gender	.164 (0.10)	.168 (0.099)	Pressure to Work Fast X FTE X Gender
Pressure to Work Hard X FTE X Gender	-.017 (0.13)	-.022 (0.125)	Pressure to Work Hard X FTE X Gender
Enough Time X FTE X Gender	-.124 (0.12)	-.120 (0.116)	Enough Time X FTE X Gender

APPENDIX D: VARIABLE CODING

Dependent Variable

- Overwork: 3 combined items; 1=Never/5=Very Often
    - How often have you felt overwhelmed by how much you had to do at work in the last three months?
    - During a typical workweek, how often do you have to work on too many tasks at the same time?
    - During a typical workweek, how often are you interrupted during the work day, making it difficult to get your work done? (Cronbach's alpha = .78)

Independent Variables

- Autonomy: 3 combined items; 1=Strongly Disagree/5= "Strongly Agree"
    - I have the freedom to decide what I do on my job
    - It is basically my own responsibility to decide how my job gets done
    - I have a lot of say about what happens on my job
    - I feel I can really be myself on my job (Crobach's alpha =.760).
- Schedule Control: (Overall, how much control would you say you have in scheduling your work hours?); 1=None/5=Complete
- Work Skills: I will make a proxy using the education variable. Variables will be dummy coded with "High Skill" as the referent

    - Low skill = less than high school, high school, some college, and an associate's degree
    - Trade Skill = trade or technical school beyond high school
    - High Skill = bachelor's degree, some college after a bachelor's, professional degree in medicine, law, or dentistry, master's, or doctorate degree

- Decision Making: (I am given a lot of freedom to decide how I do my own work); 1=Strongly Disagree/4=Strongly Agree
- Income: Total individual earnings in 2008
- Work Hours: Total weekly work hours
- Work Pace: (My job requires that I work very fast); 1=Strongly Disagree/4=Strongly Agree
- Job Pressures: 3 separate items; 1=Strongly Disagree/4=Strongly Agree
    - My work environment is competitive and fast paced
    - My job requires that I work very hard
    - I have enough time to get the job done

Moderator Variables

- Free Time Use: (On average, on days when you're working, about how many hours do you spend on your own free-time activities?); raw number reported (or converted to from minutes) in hours
- Free Time Evaluation: (Do you feel that the time you have for yourself is too much, just enough, or not enough?). Only 19 individuals in the sample reported "too much" free time thus, this variable will be dummy coded as follows:

- Too Little = 1
- Enough/Too Much = 0

Control Variables

- Gender
  - Male = 0
  - Female = 1
- Marital Status
  - Married = 0
  - Not Married = 1
- Parent
  - Child under 6
    - Yes = 0
    - No = 1
- Occupation
  - Executive/Manager/Professional = 0
  - Technical = 1
  - Administrative = 1
  - Service = 1
  - Production = 1