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‘There Just Aren’t Enough Hours in the Day’: The Mental Health Consequences of Time Pressure

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In this paper I examine the association between subjective time pressure and depression and consider whether time pressure mediates the relationship between roles and depression, whether social and economic resources moderate the association between time pressure and depression, and whether time pressure explains gender differences in depression. Results of a telephone survey of 790 respondents indicate that time pressure is significantly associated with distress for men and women, and that subjective time pressure accounts for the significantly higher depression of employed women. Time pressure mediates the impact of housework and the volunteer role among women and it partially explains the differential depression of divorced men. Several resources moderate the impact of time pressure on depression: income among both men and women and perceived co-worker social support among men. Results suggest that the subjective experience of time pressure can be thought of as a potentially important mechanism by which lived experience is transformed into depression. However, in spite of the ubiquity of time pressure in the North American context, the depressing consequences of this subjective experience are not distributed equitably, suggesting that the capacity to manage time pressure and avoid depression may be another benefit associated with strategically advantageous social locations.

The frantic pace of life in industrialized societies is an old theme in American culture and dates back to the advent of industrialization (Veblen 1899). In the 20th century, busyness and overloaded schedules have become American cultural ideals that symbolize economic and social success (Hoschschild 1989, 1997; Daly 1996). Social commentators have argued that capitalism, with its emphasis on the relentless pursuit of consumer goods, is responsible for the pervasive sense of busyness that seems to characterize North American culture (Schor 1998). Public concern about the

impact of time pressure is reflected in the abundance of media coverage—four cover stories in *Time* and *Newsweek* in the last seven years—that implicates time pressure and time shortage as responsible for a perceived decline in the quality of American life, particularly family life (Gleick 1999). In line with these cultural indicators, empirical data indicate that the perception of time pressure has recently increased in the general population. Americans feel that they have less time than they have had in the past and are more likely to say that they feel rushed often (Harris 1987; Godbey and Graefe 1993). Robinson and Godbey (1997) report a gradual increase over the last thirty years in the percentage of adults who “always feel rushed” from 4 percent in 1965 to a peak of 38 percent in 1992.¹

Although there is little doubt that the subjective experience of time pressure is a significant cultural phenomenon, very little research has focused on how this subjective experience

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may influence depression. Previous research provides a reasonable basis for drawing a link between time pressure and depression, since there is evidence that the perpetually rushed have lower life satisfaction and poorer subjective physical health (Robinson and Godbey 1997; Shields 1999). The purpose of the present analysis is to address the absence of research on depression and time pressure. In addition to being a culturally important and pervasive social experience that seems to be significantly related to structural location—in particular, class and gender—time pressure also captures a phenomenological dimension of the experience of stress. Time pressure may be an important experiential component of stress in everyday life and may be a significant, and at this point, neglected stressor in the study of the stress-distress relationship.

TIME PRESSURE AS A MEDIATOR IN THE STRESS PROCESS MODEL

Traditionally, researchers in the sociology of stress have focused on three forms of stressors: life events (e.g., death of a child), chronic strains (e.g., marital problems), and daily hassles (e.g., traffic jams). Within the category of chronic strains, the influence of the subjective experience of time on well-being is a neglected area of study. This paper has two primary goals. The first is to develop a model of the relationship between time pressure and depression that describes a means by which position in the social structure—class and gender, in the case of this analysis—creates variation in the micro-level organization of daily life which in turn influences depression. A second goal is to make a case for a consideration of time pressure as an important social stressor. This approach is innovative because there has been limited attention to developing an understanding of the causal pathways between a stressor and well-being. Time pressure may be one of the causal pathways that link a stressor and well-being because the subjective experience of the flow of time is an important dimension of the experience of daily life. Thus, the daily experience of being rushed may capture an important phenomenological dimension of the experience of stress (Hinkle 1973). Support for this contention is provided by preliminary evidence that the subjective experience of time pressure is associated with compromised

health outcomes. Respondents who often or always feel rushed feel more stressed, “burnt-out,” and are more likely to rate themselves lower on subjective measures of well-being such as life satisfaction and happiness than respondents who do not report feeling rushed (Robinson and Godbey 1998; Shields 1999). Thus, a first step in this analysis is to test the hypothesis that subjective time pressure is positively associated with depression.

In developing a model of the relationship between time pressure and depression, I begin with the observation that the primary social roles of worker, partner, and parent contribute to well-being. The married, for instance, tend to be in better mental and physical health than the non-married (Gove, Hughes, and Style 1983). The employed are in better health than the unemployed (Turner 1996). Results regarding parenthood are equivocal; with studies either finding insignificant or inconsistent effects (McLanahan and Adams 1987; Arendell 2000). Overall, there is considerable variation in well-being within role occupants; the quality of roles also matters for well-being. The employed may be in better health than the unemployed, but employment can be detrimental to health if the work is excessively routine or high in job demands (Karasek and Theorell 1990; Roxburgh 1996). Thus, the quality of experience within a particular role matters for well-being. Beyond the benefits of specific roles, the number of roles also matters, with multiple role occupants tending to be in better health relative to those with few roles (Thoits 1983, 1986). Thus, I begin an examination of the relationship between time pressure and depression by measuring the roles people occupy. The roles measured are worker, partner, parent, homemaker, and volunteer.

While the role that an individual occupies affects well-being, the quality of experience within roles may be even more important. Roles provide opportunities for developing and accessing resources, such as social support or income, while at the same time exposing individuals to stressors they would not have experienced had they not occupied the role. One significant stressor, which overlaps with the concept of time pressure is subjective role overload (Goode 1960; Sieber 1974; Vanfossen 1981; Barnett and Baruch 1985; Voydanoff and Donnelly 1999). Research on the impact of subjective role overload on depression is mixed, because role overload is

not always found to be negatively associated with well-being (Coverman 1989; Moen and Yu 2000). Subjective time pressure may be a better measure of role overload because time pressure may be the mechanism that converts the everyday, routine performance of roles into distress. In the absence of life events, chronic strains, or daily hassles, role performance may cause distress because of the time pressure consequences of occupying roles. Thus, subjective time pressure may mediate the relationship between role occupancy and depression, generating the hypothesis that subjective time pressure mediates the impact of roles on well-being.

THE SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECTIVE TIME PRESSURE

Only relatively recently has the academic community begun to weigh in on the issue of time pressure, sparking a debate as to whether increasing subjective time pressure is a result of objective declines in hours of leisure and increases in hours of paid labor. Juliet Schor (Schor 1991; Leete-Guy and Schor 1994) argues that Americans are working longer hours and have fewer hours to spend in leisure activities. The time diary work of Robinson and Godbey (1997) contradicts this assertion. They find that Americans are working fewer hours of paid labor and have more hours of time to spend in leisure activities. Juster and Stafford (1985) report similar results. Using the time-diary method, they find that free time has increased since 1965. Jacobs and Gerson (1998) argue that these discrepant findings are the result of the development of a two-tiered labor market characterized by poorly paid part-time jobs at one end of the spectrum and well-paid professional jobs that demand a commitment of more than forty hours a week at the other end of the spectrum. They show that professionals in well-paid jobs work longer hours and want to reduce their work hours, while respondents at the lower income end work shorter hours and want to work longer hours. Jacobs and Gerson argue that previous analyses have produced contradictory findings because these two trends have tended, in the aggregate, to cancel each other out.

Jacob and Gerson's argument implies that time pressure is more common among the well-paid, and indeed, this subjective experi-

ence is more likely among professional and affluent workers. Full-time workers, not surprisingly, are considerably more likely to report high time pressure (Jacobs and Gerson 1998), and Robinson and Godbey (1997) report that "time crunch" is more common among the well-educated and the affluent. In an earlier paper utilizing the same data set (Roxburgh 2002), I find that highly time pressured individuals are more likely to work longer hours and have higher incomes. Thus, research suggests that time pressure is distributed differentially across classes. Under these circumstances it becomes a question of considerable interest as to whether depression is associated with time pressure across classes. The affluent enjoy both the economic resources that come with socioeconomic status and the social resources, social support, for example, that are differentially distributed across class (Turner and Marino 1994). Given the greater resources of the affluent, the association of depression and time pressure may be weaker in individuals of higher socioeconomic statuses, in spite of their greater likelihood of experiencing time pressure. Being well-off may provide the possibility of fulfilling the social ideal of busyness without the depressing consequences of time pressure. In contrast, low-income individuals may be more likely to experience depression under high time pressure because of the shortage of resources to manage role demands. To address the question of the differential influence of subjective time pressure on depression, the hypothesis that economic and social resources will moderate the impact of time pressure on depression will be evaluated in this analysis.

Two types of moderating resources are examined in this analysis. Human capital resources (e.g., education and income) are important predictors of time pressure and may be resources that moderate the impact of time pressure on depression. For example, education may provide the skills to coordinate multiple demands thus reducing the negative influence of time pressure on depression. Income may provide access to resources such as household help that may assist in reducing the stressful consequences of time pressure. A second resource, social support, is also examined because of the preponderance of evidence that perceived social support is an important resource for managing the demands inherent in roles (Cobb 1976; Roxburgh

1997, 1999; Turner 1981; Turner and Turner 1999). To summarize, I evaluate the moderating impact of two types of resources; (1) human capital resources (education and income), and (2) social support resources (perceived partner support and perceived support from co-workers).

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN DEPRESSION AND TIME PRESSURE

The literature on the distribution of time pressure also suggests that time pressure is more common among women (Godbey and Graefe 1993). Robinson and Godbey (1998) report that "time crunch" is particularly common among divorced women and among women in the paid labor force. Michelson (1990) found that mothers working full-time in the labor force reported more time pressure than mothers working part-time who, in turn, reported more time pressure than mothers without any paid labor. In an earlier paper (Roxburgh 2002), I find a gender difference in the distribution of time pressure across educational levels among full-time workers. Affluent well-educated men were substantially less time pressured than well-educated women workers, while among full-time workers with average or below average education, men and women were highly and equally time pressured. Taken

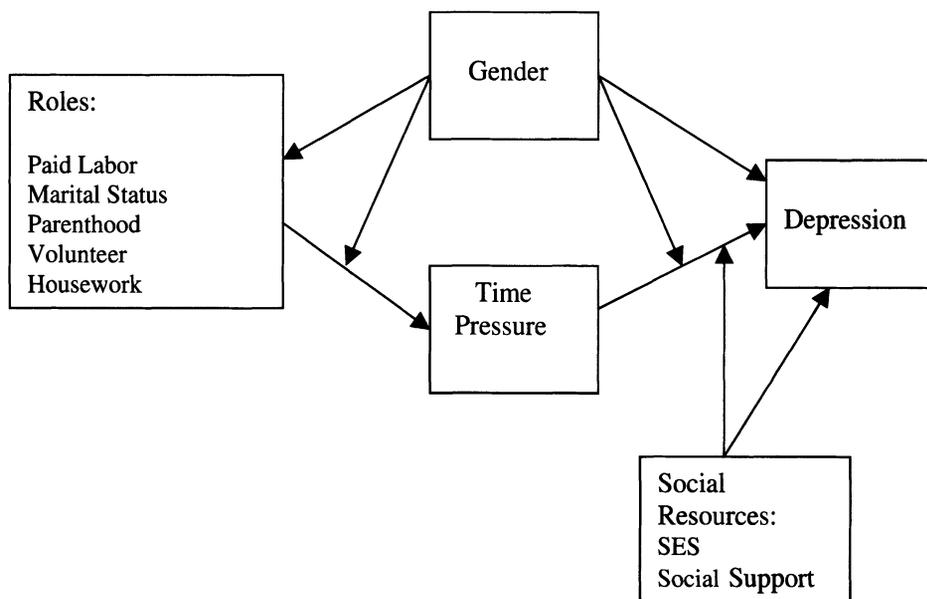
in conjunction with the frequent finding that women tend to be more depressed than men (Rosenfield 1999), time pressure may play a significant role in accounting for depression among women. While gender differences are undoubtedly produced through multiple causal pathways, research to date does suggest that one significant causal mechanism is differences in the quality of men's and women's experience of social roles (Mirowsky 1996; Roxburgh 1996; Simon 1997). Thus, time pressure and the extent to which time pressure explain variation in depression among men and women may be important in understanding gender differences in well-being, suggesting the following hypothesis: Time pressure mediates the relationship between gender and depression. Figure 1 summarizes the model to be examined.

DATA AND METHODS

Sample

Data were gathered in 1999. The sampling frame consists of individuals in the thirteen counties of northeast Ohio. The sampling frame was generated by Survey Sampling Inc, who provided a randomly generated list of telephone numbers. Telephone interviewers called prospective respondents during the evenings

FIGURE 1. Conceptual Model of the Relationship between Time Pressure and Depression



and on the weekends. Unanswered working numbers were called back at least ten times before they were dropped. Non-household numbers (businesses, institutions, etc.) were excluded. Criteria for inclusion in the survey were (1) being over eighteen years of age and (2) being employed in the paid labor force. Within each household, the person who met the inclusion criteria and who had the most recent birthday in the household was selected as a respondent. The "birthday method" has been shown to be an appropriate randomization technique (O'Rourke and Blair 1983; Lavrakas 1998) and an efficient way to select respondents within a household.

Of the selected respondents, 90 percent completed interviews, yielding a total of 927 respondents (545 females and 382 males). For the analysis presented here, a sub-sample of all respondents employed thirty or more hours a week was drawn, yielding a sample for this analysis of 442 females and 349 males, ranging in age from 18 to 70. The sampling method produces a sample with characteristics broadly representative of the northeast Ohio region. Males are 47.8 percent of the population and make up 41 percent of this sample, a comparatively good representation of males in light of the tendency of men to be under-represented in telephone surveys. The sample slightly under-represents low income respondents. In addition to the fact that this is a common feature of telephone surveys (Lavrakas 1998), the under-representation of the poorest in this particular survey is a result of the tendency of telephone surveys to exclude the poorest and because of the selection criteria used here that excluded non-employed subjects from the sample. The sample under-represents those with some college or less and over-represents the proportion of the population of northeast Ohio with an associate's degree or higher. The over-representation of educated respondents is consistent with studies of the correlates of telephone survey non-response that find that there is a higher non-response rate among those with educational attainment (Lucas and Adams 1977).

Measures

Variables, range of possible responses and measurement properties of all measures are summarized in Table 1.

Depression. Depression is measured using

eight items from the CES-D (Radloff 1977). The items ask how often in the previous twelve months respondents felt: (1) "you could not shake off the blues," (2) "you had trouble keeping your mind on what you were doing," (3) "everything you did was an effort," (4) "lonely," (5) "sad," (6) "happy," (7) "slept restlessly," (8) "you could not get going." The scale has good reliability ($\alpha = .824$; Cronbach 1951).

Time pressure. Because previous research on time pressure and time urgency has focused on time pressure as a individual characteristic or preference ("Type A" behavior pattern; Caplan and Jones 1975; Smith and Sterndorff 1992), or as a result of a specific role (respite care; Cox 1997, job condition; Landy, Rastegary and Colvin 1991; Schriber and Gutek 1987), it was necessary to construct a scale to measure this subjective experience. In an exploratory study of the experience of time, Dapkus (1985) identified three major categories that describe the experience of time, change and continuity (the experience of time across the life cycle), limits and choices (the sense that social action involves choosing between one task or another), the pacing of time, or "tempo." Because of my interest in capturing the subjectively stressful dimensions of the phenomenology of time, I chose to focus on developing items that involved Dapkus's tempo category. The original 14-item Time Pressure Scale drew on Dapkus's exploratory analysis and also adapted items from a number of additional sources in which items focusing on the tempo of time were used (Landy et al. 1991; Ritter et al. 1995; Robinson 1990; Schriber and Gutek 1987; Wheaton 1985). Pre-testing of the scale provided the opportunity to trim the scale to 11 items. After data collection, factor analysis revealed that two items having to do with time awareness that were included in the original 11-item scale did not factor with the other nine items: "You are often aware of the passage of time," "You always know what time it is." Accordingly, these two items were left out of the final scale used in the analyses presented here. This finding suggests that the awareness of time, which some have argued is an element of the subjective experience of time urgency (Conte, Landy, and Mathieu 1995), differs conceptually from the subjective experience of time pressure and time constraints.

The nine item scale used in the analyses pre-

sented here consists of items such as "You never seem to have enough time to get everything done," "You feel pressed for time" (see the appendix for a full list of items). Subjects were asked to respond to each question using a 12 month time frame. This was used in order to control for any influence of season since the data were collected from early spring to late summer and sense of time pressures may differ across these seasons. The scale has good internal reliability with a Cronbach's (1951) alpha of .892

Roles. The roles considered in this analysis include worker, spouse/partner, parent, homemaker, and volunteer. Married individuals include respondents living with a romantic partner. Because of their small number, widows were excluded from the analysis. All roles are measured dichotomously, with the exception of the roles of worker and volunteer. The worker role is measured continuously as average hours of employment per week. Paid employment of thirty hours a week or more is a baseline characteristic of the sample, as it makes little sense to compare the depression of the employed with the unemployed because employment is unequivocally better for well-being than being unemployed (Turner 1996) or working exclusively at home (Aneshensel, Frerichs, and Clark 1981). Furthermore, below thirty hours of paid labor it becomes difficult to compare men and women, both because there are comparatively few men relative to women and because they differ in a number of other important ways.² Parenthood is a dichotomous measure of whether or not the respondent has children living at home at least two days a week. While this excludes older parents and divorced men without custody of their children, measuring the parenting role this way captures the role responsibilities associated with children, which appears to account for the distressing effect of being a parent (Arendell 2000). The role of unpaid volunteer is a measure of the number of once monthly or more involvements in the following categories: job-related associations, sports groups/leagues, church-related groups and organizations, service clubs or civic and political organizations, and school-related groups (e.g., PTA, parent assistants). The measure of volunteerism thus ranges from 0 to 5.

Role resources. Role resources include education, income, and social support. Transformations to income involved assigning mid-

point values of each category except the highest value (e.g., 3 = \$20,000–\$25,000 is recoded to \$22,500). For tests of income as a moderator, dummy coded categories were created, dividing the sample into low income (less than \$30,000), average income (more than \$30,000 and less than \$82,000), and high income (more than \$82,000). Partner social support is a six item scale (Turner 1992) that measures perceived social support. Subjects who indicated that they were either married or involved in a cohabiting relationship responded to these items. All other respondents were coded 0 for partner social support. This is an effective means of comparing the uncoupled with respondents who are married/partnered because no respondent's perceived partner social support is as low as zero. The scale has good internal consistency with a Cronbach's alpha of .82. Co-worker social support is a three-item scale developed by Turner (1992). The scale has very good internal consistency with a Cronbach's alpha of .90

Controls. All analyses reported here include controls for age and general health. Age is controlled in the analysis to avoid confounding time pressures with well-established changes in the perception of time across the life cycle (Fraisse 1964). Health is measured as a single item that asked respondents to evaluate their general health. Health is controlled in the analysis to avoid confounding low time pressures with individuals in poor health whose low activity levels may be the primary cause of their low time pressure.

RESULTS

Descriptive Results

Table 1 reveals that in this sample there is a moderate and significant difference in depression, with women somewhat more depressed than men. In addition, women are substantially more time pressured than men. As would be expected given the stratified nature of the labor market, men report higher household incomes than women. Women and men have similar levels of education, but men have longer hours of paid labor. As is typical (Shelton and John 1996), more women than men report that they do 10 hours of housework or more, fulfilling the houseworker role in addition to their role of paid laborer. There are no gender differences in

TABLE 1. Variables in the Analysis

Construct	Variable Description	Mean (S.D.)	
		Women (N = 442)	Men (N = 349)
Depression	8-items; range = 8–32; alpha = .824.	16.5 (4.7)	15.8 (4.6)*
Time Pressure	9-items; range = 9–36.	27.2 (5.0)	25.2 (4.5)***
Age	18 and over; range = 18–79.	41.4 (10.6)	40.0 (12.2)*
General Health	In general would you say that your health is . . . (1–5, "poor," "fair," "good," "very good," "excellent")	3.72 (.95)	3.80 (.98)
Paid Labor	hrs/wk; range = 10–65	43.0 (8.9)	47.3 (10)***
Marital Status	married = 414 (52%), never married = 153 (19%), divorced = 221 (28%)		
Parent	1 = children living at home. 1 = 396 (50%), 0 = 395 (50%)		
Houseworker	0 = 0–10 hrs/week 1 = 11–30+ hrs/week	.24 (.43)	.45 (.50)***
Volunteer	range = 0–5	.851 (.92)	.864 (.94)
Income	range = \$5,000–\$125,000/yr	58,402 (32,136)	49,142 (29,185)***
Education	range = 1–8, "8th grade or less" to "graduate degree."	4.80 (1.7)	4.70 (1.7)
Social Support	Co-Worker Support: 3-items; range = 3–12 Partner Support: 6-items; range = 6–24	9.50 (1.8) 20.9 (3.3)	9.0 (1.6)** 21.1 (3.0)

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

the average amount of volunteer involvement. Women perceive higher social support from their co-workers compared to men, but there is no gender difference in perceived support from partner.

Gender Differences in Depression and Time Pressure

Table 2 shows the results of regression analysis to test gender differences in depression and whether time pressure mediates the gender difference. Model 1 illustrates that, controlling for age and general health, women are significantly more distressed than men. In model 2, time pressure is entered into the model. This shows that time pressure is significantly associated with distress and that the gender difference in distress drops to well below significance when time pressure is entered in the model. Thus, time pressure appears to explain the higher depression of women. To examine this finding further, in models 3 and 4 of Table 2, I test whether time pressure mediates the effect of number of roles.³ Model 3 indicates that, controlling for the number of roles a respondent reports, women are significantly more depressed than men. In order to compare coefficients across equations, I examine the comparative magnitude of the relevant partial regression coeffi-

cients using t-tests.⁴ Controlling for number of roles, the gender difference shown in model 3 is significantly greater than the gender difference in model 1 ($b = .679$ and $b = .890$, $t = 2.5$, $p < .05$). This means that women accrue less benefit from role occupancy than men but that the burden of multiple roles does not account for gender differences in depression, a finding that is consistent with the results of other research (Thoits 1986). Model 3 examines the mediating effect of time pressure on gender and number of roles. It shows that, controlling for number of roles, time pressure still explains the gender difference in depression among these employed men and women. Model 3 also indicates that time pressure does not account for the relationship between number of roles and depression ($b = -.294$ and $b = -.361$, $t = 1.2$). That is, controlling for time pressure does not explain why respondents with more roles are less depressed when compared with respondents with fewer roles. Thus, the results of this analysis reveal that subjective time pressure reduces the gender difference in depression to non-significance but that the effect of time pressure on depression is not the result of role burdens. This is because perceived time pressure does not mediate the relationship between number of roles and depression. These findings also show that the burden of roles does not explain why time pressure accounts for gender differences in depression.

TABLE 2. Gender Differences in Depression and Time Pressure

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	b	β										
Age	-.067	-.160***	-.060	-.145***	-.062	-.152***	-.052	-.127***	-.059	-.143***	-.049	-.119***
Health	-1.20	-.250***	-1.08	-.224***	-1.21	-.252***	-1.05	-.218**	-1.13	-.235***	-1.00	-.207***
Female ^a	.679	.073*	-.037	-.004	.890	.096**	.047	.005	.555	.060*	-.172	-.019
Paid Labor ^b					.025	.053	-.008	-.016	.029	.061*	-.003	-.005
Number of Roles ^c					-.294	-.074*	-.361	-.091**				
Marital Status ^d												
Divorced									1.81	.167***	1.45	.134***
Never Married									.940	.087*	.952	.088*
Parenthood ^e									.276	.030	-.011	-.001
Housework ^f									.730	.076*	.526	.055*
Volunteer									-.360	.099**	-.315	-.086**
Time Pressure			.373	.389***			.377	.392***			.361	.376***
Intercept	23.0		12.9		22.3		13.5		20.75		12.39	
R ² (Adjusted)	.090		.233		.103		.239		.128		.256	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ ^a Male = 0.^b Number of hours work/week.^c Sum of total number of married, parent, volunteer, houseworker (0-4).^d Excluded group is married.^e 1 = One or more children living at home.^f 1 = Ten hours of housework or more.

While time pressure does not mediate the total number of roles, it may mediate the impact of specific roles. There may be considerable variability in the gendered nature of different roles, which may influence the degree to which time pressures and depression are associated with particular roles. To examine this possibility, model 5 in Table 2 shows the results for specific roles regressed on depression, while model 6 shows the mediating impact of time pressure on roles. Model 5 indicates that, controlling for particular roles occupied, women are more depressed than men. As one would expect, the married are significantly less depressed than the never married and the divorced. Being a parent is not associated with depression, while respondents who do 10 or more hours of housework a week are more depressed than those who do less than 10 hours. Volunteers are significantly less depressed than non-volunteers. In model 6, subjective time pressure is entered in the model. There are virtually no mediating effects of time pressure on roles. However, controlling for specific roles occupied, subjective time pressure again explains the higher depression of employed women in comparison to employed men. An important possibility that arises from the results of this analysis is that time pressures mediate the impact of specific roles on depression *differentially* across gender.

In order to examine this possibility, in the next set of analyses I test the mediating influence of time pressure on roles separately for men and women. As shown in model 1 for women, only being never married, divorced, and doing more than 10 hours of weekly housework is associated with depression among these employed women. Motherhood is not associated with depression,⁵ nor are hours of work or volunteer work. Results are similar for men in terms of hours of paid labor⁶ and the higher depression of the divorced. Unlike women, never married men are not more depressed than married men, and among men volunteers are significantly less depressed than non-volunteers. Subjective time pressure is entered in model 2. Among women, time pressure does not explain the differential distress of women of different marital statuses because, controlling for time pressure, married women are still less depressed than never married and divorced women. The observed mediating effect among women involves the role of

houseworker. Taking time pressure into account significantly reduces the influence of housework on women's depression ($b = 1.21$ and $b = .878$, $t = 5.35$, $p < .001$). In other words, at least a portion of the association between depression and occupying the houseworker role is a result of the time pressure consequences of this role among employed women. For the role of volunteer among women, controlling for time pressure increases the negative association between depression and volunteering ($b = -.338$ and $b = -.455$, $t = 2.29$, $p < .05$). Thus, time pressure suppresses the beneficial impact of volunteer activities for employed women. The only mediating effect of time pressure among men is observed for divorced men. Taking account of time pressure reduces the differential depression of divorced men by about 45 percent ($b = 2.79$ and $b = 1.83$, $t = 10.8$, $p < .001$). This suggests that the elevated depression of divorced men can be partially accounted for by their higher time pressure.

As shown in models 2, among both men and women time pressure is significantly associated with depression, and the models explain about 25 percent of variation in depression. In addition, time pressure contributes approximately 13 percent to explained variance in depression for both women and men. That is, although time pressure may be said to be a somewhat stronger mediator of depression among women—because time pressure mediates the influence of houseworker and volunteer roles—the magnitude of the coefficients for time pressure do not significantly differ for men and women ($b = .351$ and $b = .389$, $t = .062$). This indicates that while time pressure may be a somewhat more important mediator of roles for women compared to men, the significant direct association of time pressure and depression is similar for men and women.

An important issue in examining mediating effects is the possibility that effects are overestimated because the dependent variable causes the mediator (Baron and Kenny 1986). Although regression analyses of cross-sectional data cannot totally eliminate this possibility, I examined the models presented in Table 3 with a control for trait anxiety added (Spielberger, Gorsuch, and Lushene 1970). I reasoned that it would be important to control for the possibility that depression and time pressure were strongly associated because

TABLE 3. Distress, Roles, and Time Pressure

	Women				Men			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	b	β	b	β	b	β	b	β
Roles								
Paid Labor ^a	.034	.058	-.004	-.009	.023	.051	-.006	-.012
Marital Status ^b								
Divorced	1.56	.151**	1.45	.141**	2.79	.234***	1.83	.153**
Never Married	1.59	.139**	1.65	.143**	.465	.046	.330	.033
Parenthood ^c	-.192	-.021	-.502	-.054	.649	.071	.297	.033
Housework ^d	1.21	.129**	.878	.093*	.034	.003	.163	.015
Volunteer	-.338	-.069	-.455	-.092**	-.401	-.120*	-.375	-.078*
Time Pressure			.351	.372***			.389	.378***
Intercept	21.1		12.64		21.6		12.44	
R ² (Adjusted)		.109		.240		.146		.278

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

Note: Model controls for age and physical health.

^a Number of hours of work/week.

^b Excluded group is married.

^c 1 = One or more children living at home.

^d 1 = Ten hours of housework a week or more.

individuals who are particularly anxious are more likely to report high time pressure and experience higher rates of depression. For the sake of parsimony, these models are not presented (the data are available upon request). The results of these analyses indicated that when trait anxiety is controlled time pressure continues to be significantly associated with depression. This suggests that even estimating a relatively conservative model—one that controls for a potentially important covariate of both depression and time pressure—the subjective experience of time pressure is a significant predictor of depression among employed men and women.

THE MODERATING INFLUENCE OF ROLE RESOURCES ON THE EFFECT OF TIME PRESSURE ON DEPRESSION

Human capital resources. Table 4 shows the results for regression analyses that evaluate the significance of resources as moderators of the impact of time pressure on depression. All variables entered in Table 3 are included in the analyses but are not shown for the sake of clarity of presentation. Results shown in Model 1 indicate that income significantly moderates the association between time pressure and depression. This relationship is illustrated in Figure 2. Figure 2 indicates that depression is highest among respondents with low income

and high time pressure. Respondents with average or high household income report less depression with comparable time pressure. Although high income respondents with high time pressure are significantly more depressed than similarly affluent respondents with low time pressure, the differences between these groups is smaller than among respondents with differential time pressures and low income. This suggests that affluence moderates the impact of time pressure on depression. Tests of gender differences indicated no significant gender differences in the relationship between time pressures and income. Education is only weakly related to depression in model 1, and education does not moderate the effect of time pressure on depression.

Social support resources. Model 2 shows the impact of co-worker and partner social support. Partner social support directly decreases depression but does not moderate the impact of time pressure on depression. Co-worker social support is a moderator of time pressure, and this relationship differs for men and women. The relationship is illustrated in Table 5.

Table 5 shows that co-worker social support has no influence on women's depression, regardless of time pressure. Thus, for women there is no main effect of co-worker social support on depression, and co-worker social support does not moderate the impact of time pressure on women. In contrast, there is a sig-

TABLE 4. Moderating Resources, Time Pressure, and Depression

	Model 1		Model 2	
	b	β	b	β
Time Pressure	.379	.417***	.384	.423***
Female	1.41	.130	1.20	.137
Female * Time Pressure	-.006	-.199	-.067	-.214
Economic Resources				
Education	-.150	-.058*	-.166	-.064*
Low Income	-2.25	-.200	-2.41	-.214
High Income	.935	.086	1.56	.144
Low Income * Time Pressure	.130	.305*	.124	.293*
High Income * Time Pressure	-.054	-.132	-.074	-.183
Social Resources				
Partner Support			-.904	-.206***
Co-Worker Support			2.11	.433**
Female * Co-Worker Support			-2.02	-.323*
Time Pressure * Co-Worker Support			-.111	-.594***
Female * Time Pressure * Co-Worker Support			.106	.441**
Intercept		10.6		12.19
R ² (Adjusted)		.273		.313

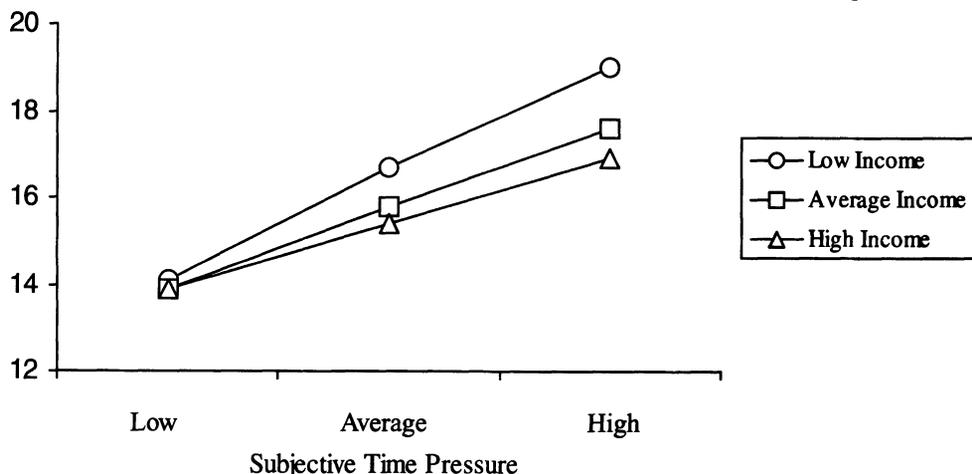
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Note: All variables shown in Table 3 are included in analyses shown here (i.e., age, health, hours of work, marital status, parent, houseworker, volunteer). Partner social support and co-worker social support are centered.

nificant main effect of co-worker social support for men, and co-worker social support moderates the impact of time pressure on depression. Thus, men with low co-worker social support and high time pressures are significantly more depressed than men with low co-worker social support and low time pres-

sure and men with high co-worker social support and high time pressure. This finding suggests that perceived co-worker social support is a salient resource for reducing men's depression both directly and indirectly as a modifier of the effect of time pressure on depression.

FIGURE 2. Household Income as a Moderator of the Effect of Time Pressure on Depression



Note: Low is equal to one standard deviation below mean, high is one standard deviation above mean. Calculations based on Table 4, model 2.

TABLE 5. Co-Worker Social Support, Time Pressure, and Depression

	Co-Worker Social Support		
	Low	High	Effect Difference
Low Time Pressure:			
Women	13.9	13.8	.1
Men	14.1	13.6	.5
<i>Gender Difference</i>	-.2	.2	
High Time Pressure:			
Women	17.6	17.6	0
Men	18.6	16.3	2.3**
<i>Gender Difference</i>	-1.0*	1.3*	

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

Note: As in Figure 2, low is equal to one standard deviation below mean, high is one standard deviation above the mean. Co-worker social support is centered. Model controls for age, health, hours of paid labor, income, and education.

DISCUSSION

Results indicate that the subjective experience of high time pressure is significantly and positively associated with depression among both men and women. However, subjective time pressure explains the higher depression of employed women compared with employed men. This finding indicates that the subjective experience of being perpetually rushed and short of time is a significant factor explaining why women tend to be more sub-clinically depressed than men. Findings regarding the relationship between time pressure and number of roles occupied indicate that, while women benefit relatively less than men from multiple roles, women with multiple roles are comparatively less depressed than women with very few roles. In addition, time pressure has no bearing on the relationship between the total role load and depression. This means that it is not the total role load that accounts for the relationship between time pressure and depression. Nor is it the time pressure consequences of total role load among women that accounts for their higher depression relative to men. An examination of the specific mediating effects of time pressure for each role indicates that it is only some roles that create time pressure and in turn higher depression for women. Specifically, time pressure suppresses the impact of being a volunteer and partially explains the relationship between depression and doing more than 10 hours of weekly housework. These results suggest that subjective time pressure is an important mediating factor that accounts for the differentially depressing effects of roles on men and women.

In the case of housework, it is important to reiterate that, unlike women, the men in this

sample who report doing 10 hours or more housework a week are not depressed as a result of this role, nor does time pressure mediate the relationship between housework and depression. This finding reinforces previous literature that highlights the gendered nature of housework and contributes to our understanding of why housework is problematic for women's well-being. That is, the greater time pressure consequences of women's housework is likely a result of the fact that men's and women's housework time is spent in very different ways (Haas 1999). In contrast to the housework men typically perform (e.g., cutting the grass, taking out the garbage), women's housework tasks tend to be of short duration, have no clear starting and ending point, must be repeated daily, lack discretion as to when to complete the task, and provide little opportunity for leisure while engaging in the task (Berheide 1984; Blair and Johnson 1992; Larson, Richards, and Perry-Jenkins 1994). The finding that time pressure explains the relationship between housework and depression among women suggests that it is not just the hours taken up by housework that matters for well-being—because men doing similar amounts of housework are not depressed—but that it is the gendered nature of the tasks that influences the consequences of housework for subjective well-being. Men's household work may provide a sense of accomplishment, while women's housework creates a sense of time pressure which, in turn, increases depression.

A similar argument can be made regarding volunteer work. Time pressure suppresses the positive impact of the role of volunteer on women's depression. Once subjective time pressure is taken into account, being a volunteer is associated with lower depression among

women—as it is among men, regardless of time pressure. As was the case for the role of houseworker, this finding suggests that the experience of being a volunteer is a gendered one. This assertion is supported by evidence that men and women in this sample are doing different kinds of volunteer work. Women are more likely to report participation in job-related associations ($F = 9.3, p < .002$), somewhat more likely to report participation in civic, political, and service groups ($F = 5.5, p < .02$), and much more likely to participate in school-related activities ($F = 21.1, p < .000$). There are no differences in the number of men and women who report volunteer activities related to a hobby or special interest, but men devote more time to this type of volunteer activity. Men are much more likely than women to participate in sports-related groups or activities ($F = 31.1, p < .000$). Thus, as with housework, time pressure may play an important explanatory role in understanding the relationship between depression and volunteerism because of the different nature of the volunteer activities of men and women. The preponderance of school-related activities and involvement in civic and service clubs among women involve tasks that tend to be mundane (e.g., taking one's turn at a child's daycare center), are an extension of traditional female roles (e.g., providing baked goods for a bake sale to raise money for a school trip), or are tasks completed in the service of the needs of others (e.g., going door to door distributing *Neighborhood Watch* kits). In contrast, the sports-related volunteer work, hobby, and special interest involvement that is more likely to characterize men's activities may be more enjoyable, exciting (e.g., coaching a soccer team), and provide opportunities to experience activities that “flow,” Csikszentmihalyi's (1997) term for activities where the challenge and interest one feels regarding an activity matches one's skill level.

Two additional gender differences were observed. First, among divorced men—who, like women, are significantly more depressed than their married counterparts—subjective time pressure explains a significant proportion of their higher depression. That is, taking account of time pressure narrows the gap between married and divorced men by about 25 percent, although divorced men remain significantly more depressed than married and never married men. This finding is only sug-

gestive, but it does raise the question of whether the adjustment faced by divorced men in managing their various role responsibilities—thereby creating greater subjective time pressure—is at least a partial cause of divorced men's higher depression. Second, while high partner social support is associated with lower depression among both women and among men, high co-worker social support is significantly related to low depression only among men. Co-worker social support also moderates the impact of time pressure on men's depression. Thus, a positive working environment may be a social resource of particular relevance for men's management of time pressure and, in turn, for reducing their depression. The finding that positive working environments are not of particular benefit to women, either directly or as a moderator of time pressure, suggests supporting evidence for the argument that the social networks associated with men's and women's paid labor offer very different opportunities for managing work and family demands (Roxburgh 1999), with women substantially disadvantaged in this regard.

Although it has long been noted that the well-off seem more likely to experience a scarcity of time than the less-affluent (Linder 1970; Robinson and Godbey 1997), the relationship between income, time pressure, and well-being has not been examined. The results reported here indicate that income moderates the association between depression and time pressure. There are at least two interpretations of this finding. The first potential explanation is that high subjective time pressure is less depressing because of the tangible resources available to middle and upper class respondents. Although there is presumably an array of resources that may be important, a number of likely candidates would be paid help with housework, good childcare arrangements, and a flexible job, all of which are more likely among higher income respondents. However, in additional analyses not presented here, I find no evidence that home help, satisfaction with daycare arrangements, or job control reduced the significance of the moderating impact of income on the association between depression and high time pressures. A second potential explanation concerns the social meaning of being time pressured. If busyness is a highly valued social norm, as Hochschild (1989) has suggested, this is nowhere more likely to be true than among the middle and

upper classes. Perhaps busyness and the accompanying sensation of "rushing around" conveys a sense that one is fulfilling important social functions, which gives time pressure a social meaning that differs markedly from the time pressure consequences of those less materially well-off. These two explanations are not mutually exclusive, particularly since upper and working class norms and values may be social ideals for all actors, with relative poverty limiting the capacity to access resources for managing the social demands embodied in the experience of high time pressures.

A number of limitations of the analysis should be noted. With respect to generalizability, the sample is restricted to the northeast Ohio region and is primarily urban and suburban in nature. There may be considerable regional differences in the cultural context of time pressures and the normative speed at which people are expected to pace their lives (Levine 1997). This might suggest that there is geographic and, in turn, cultural variation in the relationship between time pressure and depression. This possibility requires further investigation. Another limitation regarding generalizability concerns the fact that the sample is homogenous with respect to employment since all respondents are employed at least thirty hours a week. The absence of longitudinal data prevents the possibility of establishing the causal ordering of time pressure and depression. This means that selection effects—such as the greater likelihood that individuals in good mental health are employed more than thirty hours a week, are more likely to volunteer than those in poor mental health, and the additional possibility that selection effects may be differentially significant for men and women—cannot be eliminated as plausible alternative explanations. In spite of these limitations, the finding of a strong association between what is clearly a common social experience—subjective time pressure—and depression provides empirical evidence of a connection that has long been assumed to exist, particularly in the popular press. Furthermore, the model developed here to describe the relationship between roles, time pressure, role resources, and depression explains a substantial amount of variance in depression—the final model explains 31 percent of variation in depression among this sample of employed

men and women—with time pressure contributing about a third of the explained variance in depression.

Taking roles into account, time pressure has a similar magnitude of association with depression among employed men and women, and time pressure explains the significantly higher depression of the employed women in this sample. I have suggested that this may be a function of the fact that men and women do very different kinds of activities in many of their roles. We know that time perceptions shape how experiences are perceived, and these results show that time pressure are linked to depression. It follows that a dimension of the gendered nature of many roles is how they are experienced in time. In addition to suggesting that time pressure may have considerable significance in the effort to understand gender differences in roles and depression, the findings reported here contribute to our understanding of the nature of social stressors. The relationship between roles, time pressure, and depression suggests that the subjective experience of time pressure can be thought of as a potentially important mechanism by which lived experience is transformed into depression. Fundamentally, an awareness of time and, in particular, an awareness of a shortage of time is antithetical to the experience and flow of time experienced in the pursuit of deeply satisfying activities (Csikszentmihalyi 1997). The results reported here suggest that an important phenomenological component of the relationship between social status and health is the daily lived experience of the pace and flow of activities. While the social and cultural milieu of North American social life dictates that time pressure is a pervasive social experience, particularly among the affluent, resources differentially distributed by gender and economic inequality provide opportunities to control the pace and timing of activities and to manage time pressure. Thus, the capacity to manage this subjective experience in a way that avoids compromising well-being—at least well-being measured as depression—while at the same time realizing the social ideal of "busyness," may be another benefit associated with strategically advantageous social locations.

APPENDIX. Time Pressure Scale

Time Pressure: In the last twelve months how often have you felt . . . (1-4, "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree")

1. You never seem to have enough time to get everything done.
2. You feel pressed for time.
3. You are often in a hurry.
4. You feel rushed to do the things that you have to do.
5. You have enough time for yourself.
6. You feel that too much is expected of you.
7. You worry about how you are using your time.
8. You are always running out of time.
9. There just don't seem to be enough hours in the day.

NOTES

1. The authors note a slight decline (6 percentage points) in respondents who indicated they "always feel rushed" in their 1995 data, and several other trends suggest that the trend of increasing subjective time pressure may have leveled-off.
2. In the sample, 10% of men work less than thirty hours a week. Among these men, 50% have children, 27% are married, and 30% would prefer to work full-time. In contrast, 23% of women in the sample work less than thirty hours a week. Among these women, 85% have children, 66% are married, and 15% would prefer to work full-time.
3. I tested for a curvilinear relationship between number of roles and depression, but I did not find one, probably because there are only four roles measured here: partner, parent, houseworker, volunteer. The role of employment is a control because everyone in the sample is employed.
4. The ratio of the difference between the two unstandardized coefficients to the standard deviation of the sampling distribution (the standard error of the difference) for the coefficients is distributed as t (Zar 1984; Johnson and Wolinsky 1994). The t -test takes the following form:

$$\frac{b_1 - b_2}{\sqrt{(se_1)^2 - (se_2)^2}}$$

The resulting test statistic is distributed $t(1, n_1 + n_2 - 2)$.

5. A dummy coded variable distinguishing parents with one or more children under the age of six at home was also included in an analysis but, it is not shown. This did not change the results reported here for either men or women.
6. In other analyses not shown here, I tested differences in the depression of men and women working thirty and fifty hours a week with women and men working more than fifty hours a week and found no significant differences in the effect on depression.

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