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The Taylorisation of Family Time: An Effective Strategy in the Struggle to 'Manage' Work and Life?

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Abstract

Research suggests that perceptions of time pressure are increasing and are particularly acute in households where both parents combine paid work with household and caring responsibilities. What specific strategies do working parents use to 'manage' the three-way juggling act of 'his' job, 'her' job, and family responsibilities, while still finding time for leisure and civic contribution? This question was addressed in a series of focus groups conducted in New South Wales (NSW) and Queensland in 2003/2004 that are part of a larger study investigating issues of work/life balance among parents in dual-earner households in Australia. In reviewing the range of strategies used to 'manage' competing demands on parental and family time, our data lend support to Arlie Hochschild's observation in *The Time Bind* that family time has taken on an 'industrial tone', is succumbing to 'a cult of efficiency previously associated with the workplace', and is linked to Taylor's idea of scientific management.

Introduction

Anxiety about having too much to do and guilt about not using time according to the nagging 'shoulds' of family responsibilities are standard fare. Our everyday routines are hurried, regimented, and largely beyond our control... Time demands are now so paramount in families that scheduling tools are mandatory. The family calendar orchestrates a carefully timed set of pick-ups and drop-offs. In the early morning hours, clock radios chime in unison throughout the household, calling both adults and children to their individual routines. Where once families were likely to spend the day living and working together at home, the daily routine is now more akin to a ritual of dispersion: babies to day-care, children to school, and most parents to a workplace away from home. At the end of the day, families re-converge on the household, only to face more responsibilities: meal preparation, homework, lessons, shopping and scheduling for the next day. (Daly, 2000)

Kerry Daly's observations about family life in time-crunched households would strike a chord with many working parents where feelings of time pressure are exacerbated by tensions associated with perceived work and family roles. For many there is also a sense that the pace of life is accelerating, where there seem to be

more and more things to do yet less time in which to do them (Gleick, 1999). Such private troubles are the source of a major public issue as evidenced by increasing levels of social commentary, policy debate and academic research on the 'problem' of work/life balance (see e.g. Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC), 2005). Concerns about the relationship between working life and private life focus inevitably on questions of time allocation.

Much of the research in this area is premised on the assumption that an individual's ability to balance work and life will be associated with both work and non-work demands and the resources available to manage such demands, and will vary across a range of demographic characteristics including gender, age or life stage, socio-economic status, ethnic background, job type and place of residence. Research also suggests that work/life tensions may be moderated by factors associated with 'family-friendly' workplaces and social policies (Friedman and Greenhaus, 2000; Parasuraman and Greenhaus, 1997; Pocock, 2003; Wallen, 2002; Wolcott and Glezer, 1995), as well as strategies used by individuals within households to juggle work and non-work demands (Duxbury and Higgins, 2003). Despite such moderating forces, it has been reported in Australia (and other western countries) that increasing numbers of people are experiencing time pressure and stress, and that time pressure is reported most by working couples with dependent children (ABS, 1998). If working parents are as stressed as national time use surveys suggest, then how do working parents manage time within busy households and with what effect?

An empirical basis for examining these two questions will be provided through a review of selected data from phase one of the 'Work/Life Tensions' project, a three-year study funded by the Australian Research Council. The main aim of the 'Work/Life Tensions' project is to examine the hypothesis that wellbeing is positively related to reduced time pressure, more leisure and greater control over time schedules. The study also seeks to investigate relationships between time use, life course experience and measures of physical and mental health through being nested within the Australian Longitudinal Study on Women's Health (ALSWH – also known as Women's Health Australia).¹ To date, ALSWH survey data of relevance to time use, time tensions and health have been explored in terms of paid work (Bryson and Warner-Smith, 1998), family care-giving (Lee, 2001), social roles (Lee and Powers, 2002), and leisure (Brown and Brown, 1999; Warner-Smith and Brown, 2002). The analyses of these data paint a picture of young and mid-aged women who, as a result of their busy, crowded lives, report high levels of time pressure and stress (Brown, Brown and Powers, 2001; Fullagar and Brown, 2003).

While the ALSWH data set provides a rich source of quantitative data on women's time use and wellbeing across the life-course, such data are limited in their capacity to examine how women and men experience and manage time. These limitations are being addressed in the 'Work/Life Tensions' study which seeks to achieve a broad but detailed perspective on parents' experience of work-life tension

in dual-earner families. The study commenced in 2003 and is due to be completed in 2006. Four methods of data collection were proposed when designing the 'Work/Life Tensions' study, namely focus groups, time diaries using the Experience Sampling Method (ESM), structured telephone interviews, and data linkage with the ALSWH data set. In this paper we draw on data gathered in phase one of the study when ten focus groups were conducted in urban and rural areas of NSW and Queensland in 2003 and 2004. The main aims of these focus groups were to gain a broad picture of women and men's experiences of work-life tension and to identify specific strategies used to 'manage' work-life tensions in dual-earner families.

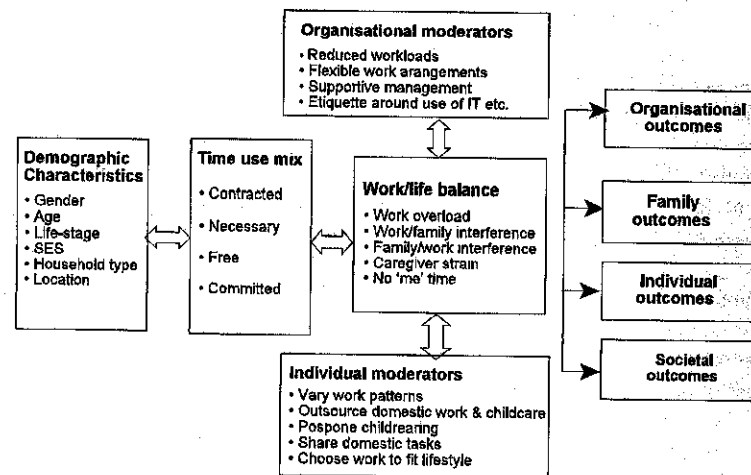
The discussion that follows is presented in three stages. The first section provides a conceptual overview of work/life balance drawing, in particular, on a model developed by Duxbury and Higgins (2003). Selected data from the focus groups are then reviewed with the aim of highlighting ways in which parents 'manage' time in busy households. In reviewing the range of strategies used to 'manage' competing demands on parental and family time, our data lend support to Arlie Hochschild's observation that family time has taken on an 'industrial tone', is succumbing to 'a cult of efficiency previously associated with the workplace', and is linked to Taylor's idea of scientific management (1997: 45-46). We suggest that there is a need for further research to examine the effectiveness of such strategies in promoting work/life balance in the context of debates about the impact of hurried lifestyles on personal relationships, parental satisfaction, family integration and individual wellbeing.

Scoping work/life balance

The struggle for work/life balance can be conceptualised as the desire to balance work, family and personal activities in ways that provide reasonable opportunities for individuals to participate in each of these life domains. This perspective on work/life balance extends previous research that has tended to focus on interactions between work and family only. The model in figure 1 serves to scope the key parameters of work/life balance, and is an adaptation of a conceptual model developed by Duxbury and Higgins (2003) in Canada.

This model is premised on the assumption that an individual's ability to balance work and life will be associated with both work and non-work demands (that is, time in, and responsibility for, various work and non-work roles associated with 'contracted' time in employment, and time 'committed' to supporting others). 'Free' time is the amount of time left when other types of time, including 'necessary' time for personal survival activities, have been accounted for. As a consequence, this is the area that gets squeezed when the time pressures associated with contracted and committed time increase (see e.g. Zuzanek and Mannell, 1998).

Figure 1 Work/life balance model (adapted from Duxbury and Higgins, 2003)



Research suggests that the struggle to achieve work-life balance can be affected by factors such as work overload (Robinson and Godbey, 1997; Peters and Raaijmakers, 1998; Bittman, 1999); work-family interference (Coverman, 1989; Kay, 1996); family work interference (Glezer and Wolcott, 2000); care-giver strain (Duxbury and Higgins, 2003); and lack of 'me' time (Henderson and Bialeschki 1991; Kay, 1998).

Strategies used by parents to 'manage' time pressures include limiting family size or postponing child rearing (Moen, 2003); varying work patterns by reducing work hours and by 'split-shift parenting' (Gornick and Meyers, 2003; Moen and Roehling, 2005); choosing jobs with short commutes or with companies with 'family-friendly' work policies (Halpern and Murphy, 2005); reducing social commitments and service work, reducing leisure time and reducing expectations about household cleanliness (Becker and Moen, 1999; Federicksen-Goldsen and Sharlach, 2001); outsourcing domestic work and care-giving needs (Bunting, 2004); organising to share domestic work between family members (Daly, 2002), and negotiating more time for self (Rechtschaffen, 1996).

In reviewing this model it is important to note that issues relating to work/life balance have both a temporal dimension and a cultural dimension. Temporal, in the sense that because time is finite individuals have to make decisions about what precise amounts of time they should allocate to different life domains. Cultural, in the sense that interactions between different elements in this model are played out in a broader context in which 'values' associated with ideologies of motherhood, the

breadwinner ethic, consumption, hard work and efficiency, for example, influence choices made by individuals. For instance, Robinson and Godbey (1997: 25) argue that 'endless expectations have made efficiency (doing more with less in a shorter time) a dominant value in American culture'. This point is supported by Carl Honoré in his book *In Praise of Slow* who observes that 'ideas about efficiency have come to define the way we live today, not just in work but in our personal lives as well' (2004: 28). Such interactions are also influenced by historical changes in family structures and labour market reforms, which seem to be putting work on a collision course with other life domains, resulting in high levels of reported time pressure and stress (ABS, 1998; Brown and Brown, 1999; Brown et al., 2001; Lee, 2001; Pocock, 2003).

Feelings of time stress are inevitably mediated by the ways in which time demands are experienced. Yet while time budget surveys in Australia and other countries have provided rich sources of data on the quantitative dimensions of time use, what is less clear are the meanings that people ascribe to time and how individual experiences of time may mediate or contribute to perceptions of work-life tension. Thompson and Bunderson (2001) have drawn attention to the limitations of research that evokes the metaphor of 'balancing' time and individuals seeking to optimise their distribution of time between family, work, community and leisure. Instead, they posit time as a 'container of meaning' and call for research that examines the processes by which people make sense of their time and manage multiple life domains. This research challenge was addressed in a series of focus groups that were conducted in NSW and Queensland in 2003/2004. The main aim of these focus groups was to gain a broad picture of women and men's experience of work-life tension and to identify specific strategies used to 'manage' work-life tensions in dual-earner families.

Method

Participants in the focus groups were recruited via a snowball technique in selected work organisations in Queensland and NSW, and involved fifty-four working parents, thirty-seven of whom were women and seventeen were men. Several groups were composed only of women as no men responded to the relevant invitation to participate, while one group (the 'soccer dads') was recruited through a football club in order to ensure that fathers' voices were heard. The aim of this paper is to look generally at parents' experiences, but we will be pursuing the issue of differences between male and female partners in our analyses of the time diary data and the interviews with dual-earner couples in phases two and three of the project.

Nine of the participants were aged between 26 and 35, thirty-three were aged 36–45 and twelve were aged 46–55. To be selected in the study participants had to work in paid employment for more than 26 hours a week and also had to have children who were still living at home. In terms of paid employment – eighteen of

the participants worked 16–34 hours a week, thirty-three were employed 35–48 hours a week, and three worked more than 49 hours a week. A further limitation of the data reported here is the over-representation of focus group participants in managerial and professional occupations. The occupational breakdown was as follows: managers and administrators (8), professionals (23), associate professionals (13), advanced clerical/ service workers (7), intermediate clerical sales and service workers (4). There may be implications for families with different levels of material resources and cultural capital which our data have not captured but addressing this issue is beyond the scope of this paper. Thirteen of the participants mentioned that they also worked as volunteers and/or had study commitments. In terms of caring responsibilities – the average number of children per household was 2.3, with 38 per cent of the children aged 0–5, 31 per cent aged 6–11, 24 per cent aged 12–17 and 7 per cent aged 18+. Nineteen of the parents mentioned they had additional caring responsibilities including parents, extended family and also non-family members.

Each focus group was guided by a common series of questions relating to how participants used and experienced time, whether they felt in control of their lives, and the strategies they used to manage time within their households. Each focus group was recorded on tape and later transcribed. Interpretive analysis processes were used to explore meanings and experiences associated with time use and time management within households. The analysis was undertaken independently by each of the authors who then compared themes and reflexive notes. While preliminary interpretations of the data have been presented elsewhere² the main focus of this paper is on the strategies used by parents to manage time within the context of daily household routines.

How do working parents experience time?

The following quotes are fairly typical of comments made by parents who were struggling to manage 'his' job and 'her' job, while also catering for the needs of family members, and finding some time for self.

I'd need 3 x 40 hours a day to fit everything in... You allocate time to commitments... the non-commitment things, the voluntary things... you juggle around family time, personal time, or other commitments. You squeeze it in to the 24 hours as best you can... (Q2 Tom)

I feel totally out of control most of the time. I feel... that life is a roller-coaster and you just get on there and you just do it... and hang on. (N8 Teri)

Between... chauffeuring them to and from school on the way to work... My son works part time, he plays elite sport and in between... I'm supposed to have a life which doesn't exist... (Q3 Cate)

Other parents commented on how time pressures were experienced most at particular times of the day or when multiple work and family demands were present. For example, one working mother commented that:

[The] most high pressured time of the day is trying to get out of the door in the morning. Work is fine; the rest of my life is totally chaotic. Work has its routines, family life is unpredictable. (Q1 Jan)

Breaks with routine and life-stage transitions are also potential sources of time pressure and stress as illustrated by the following comment:

Caring for parents is a source of pressure – [with] my husband having to care for his father [82 year old – following death of mother] – [which is] an *extra* source of pressure. Just as things were getting on an even keel, things change and throw things out. (Q2 Jean)

Given the time and task demands associated with different work and non-work roles most parents described a range of strategies they used to 'manage' time within the context of household routines.

How do working parents 'manage' time?

Many parents spoke about the importance of routines in the household, and the rostering of family members to perform household tasks. Reward systems or incentives were also used to bribe children to perform household tasks.

Routine is important with young kids – set tasks – e.g. get up, dress, have breakfast, do lunches – out the door for drop off and then work. (Q1 Jan)

As kids get older they become more active members of the household... they're allocated tasks – e.g. iron own clothes, occasionally cook dinner, theoretically clean rooms ... We learnt early that suggestions don't happen – it's you *will* do. (Q2 Tom)

We use a reward system (bribing) kids get paid for performing jobs. (Q2 Deidre)

Routines and rosters, in turn, were often communicated via calendars and lists that were often located in the heart of the domestic enterprise – the kitchen.

I find in my house if it's not on the calendar... it doesn't happen... I know when my youngest is working part time, I know when trainings are and all his business, all our appointments and that's how we manage. (Q3 Cate)

I have a calendar at home, 'Outlook' on my computer at work; I have Lisa sitting at the front desk who also knows where I want to be and what is going on, [and] a husband that I leave a list for regularly who does his jobs as well... (N10 Carla)

Analysing household routines in terms of a series of tasks/activities to be performed by individual members at set times, rostering individuals to perform tasks, and offering incentives to encourage task completion, are principles more commonly associated with scientific management and organisational production in industry. Such principles were first outlined by Frederick Winslow Taylor in 1911 in his book *Scientific Management*. Taylor's work heralded the beginning of the managerial era in industrial production and many of his ideas are still used in industry today, including time and motion studies, job task analysis, work organisation and production planning based on task specialisation, and wage incentive determination. The influence of Taylor's ideas also spread from the factory to the home as evidenced by a series of articles that appeared in the *Ladies Home Journal* between 1912 and 1919 which applied 'efficiency' principles to housekeeping (Frederick, 1912 and 1926). Some of the parents in our focus groups found themselves playing the role of domestic 'time and motion' experts, as they managed the temporal portfolios of individual family members. For some, home (like the factory in the early 1900s) has become the place where people carry out necessary tasks as efficiently as possible in the limited amount of time allocated to get tasks done.

While accepting that a degree of planning is necessary in households, there is a danger that the daily participation of family members in overly 'Taylorised' households gives rise to a 'time budget mentality' – where rushing from 'task to task' can add to a sense of time pressure. Moreover, any disruption to normal household 'routines' can add to stress. For example, parental negotiations around who stays at home to care for a sick child; or who makes time to care for an elderly parent who is no longer able to live independently. Another source of stress is where the temporal rhythm of the 'time efficient' household is at odds with the more natural temporal rhythm of children.

The following interchange between three employed mothers suggests a sense of 'busyness' and time pressure associated with lifestyles that are governed by routines and tasks.

I work 20 hours per week. But trying to get off work to be at school and trying to be at the front gate... so they are not left standing around or anything. It's race them home, get them changed, put some food in their mouths... then race them off to their next activity... Then get home and cook dinner and get a load of washing out. (N10 Virginia)

Hey, that's my life! (N10 Lauren)

And at 10 o'clock sit down. Yeah and fold the clothes. (N10 Virginia)

Yeah, you can fold the clothes sitting down, while watching TV. (N10 Lauren)

Yeah and you go: 'Hello husband – how are you? Who are you? When did you come in?' (N10 Vicki)

The following quotation illustrates how the temporal rhythm of children may be at odds with the temporal routine of households that are mainly organised around the work schedules:

I remember... when I was going to work and, I have a letterbox in my front door, and I could see these little eyes peering through the letterbox slot... and he just howled, he realised what I was doing. And he howled and howled and howled. And ... I felt, I don't know whether it was loss of control or what [that] I have no choices here, I have to go to work. And yeah, I would love to stay at home, and read you a book before you go to bed... (N7 Therese)

Another way of using household time more efficiently is to outsource domestic labour, thereby freeing up time to spend on other things. Many working parents in our focus groups spoke about outsourcing activities such as childcare, cleaning and ironing, food purchasing and preparation, and leisure and entertainment. Some of these strategies are reflected in the following comments:

I have an ironing lady, I won't iron because, it takes me two hours to iron and I rationalise that if they were paying me my hourly rate, I could pay an ironing lady and a house keeper and a this and a that... and its one less stress on a Sunday night. (N5 Diana)

I have a cleaner... It's a bargain, it's \$50 a fortnight... and I hate cleaning the house. In fact the other day I was somewhere and there was a vacuum going and the baby was looking at it. She didn't know what it was! (N9 Sharon)

I don't think I could have a cleaner; I would have to clean the house before they turned up. I can't see the purpose in that. (N9 Liz)

The quotations here indicate how domestic work is being linked to production costs, and how buying in labour is one way of managing time more efficiently. If time is money, then buying time can help to reduce stress. However, such strategies can be at odds with ideologies of motherhood and a reluctance to outsource work that might be more effectively undertaken by family members – as Liz's comment above suggests.

For some mothers outsourcing work was associated with feelings of guilt, particularly with activities related to child care and cooking. The following quote

reflects the guilt associated with dropping a child off at childcare – and demonstrates once again how the temporal rhythms of children can be at odds with the organised schedules of work and home. The quote also indicates a policy gap in terms of a lack of service provision that enables working parents to access childcare services at times that fit the rhythms and schedules of paid employment:

I think with work hours... there is an expectation in the workplace that you have a starting and a finishing time... and your children are treated like a commodity. You know here is this package that you drop off at school, but there is no provision for the package in losing a shoe, or getting sick, feeling like a cuddle, dawdling over breakfast, homework to be done... And you get out the car and feel lousy as a mother. And you can't drop them off at the school any earlier because the school won't provide any supervision. (N10 Lauren)

The following comments relate to feelings of guilt associated with outsourced leisure – in the form of vacation care – as well as guilt associated with the use of fast food.

...we feel really guilty sending them everyday to vacation care. My kids go there morning and afternoon... and you know they don't want to be there every day in the school holidays... I had me in tears the last school holidays because he said 'Mummy, why can't we just be like normal kids and stay home in the holidays?'... Oh, the poor little guy, and you know the guilt kills you... (N5 Jo)

We're trying to be perfect. Like I feel guilty if I don't give my kids a proper meal. I feel guilty that they haven't had vegies last night...I'm very good at twenty-minute meals...(Q3 Cate).

Guilt was an emotion that was expressed by many parents (both women and men) in their attempts to manage time *and* relationships, and the strains that this can cause. From our focus groups we got a sense that strategies used by parents to make more efficient use of time can lead to strains on relationships, an observation made by Kerry Daly. In his book *Families and Time*, Daly comments on the emotional fall-out associated with 'time-efficient' homes:

... the daily participation of family members in organisational structures gives rise to a time budget mentality in order to be on time. This in turn puts strain on the private sphere, where the search for satisfactory meanings for individual and collective existence becomes more frantic. (Daly, 1996: 28)

Arlie Hochschild develops this point further – where she talks about the 'third shift'. If the first shift is paid work, and the second shift is domestic work, then the third shift is the emotional work that is necessary to deal with the guilt associated with

strategies used to deal with work on the other two shifts, as well as fix up relationships not only with children but also with partners: ... the emotional dirty work of adjusting children to a Taylorised home making up to them for its stresses and strains is the most painful part of the growing third shift at home. (Hochschild 1997: 51).

Hochschild's observation resonates with one of our parents who had this to say about household life at the weekend:

The thing that suffers the most is our relationship with each other... We can go for an entire weekend with hardly seeing each other, literally, hardly seeing each other. Because, he is out the door, he is managing the soccer team... and then an hour later I leave for the netball courts. And then there is a piano lesson in the middle and then there is my daughter who is working... [and] has to be picked up and dropped off at the station... And you know all of this stuff goes on and we sit down at 6 o'clock and go 'Hello!' You know we haven't actually seen each other all day. And you know that happens very, very frequently. And we feel very guilty about that. (N8 Teri)

Similar emotions are evoked in the comment by a woman previously quoted above, who says to her husband: 'hello husband – how are you? Who are you? When did you come in?' (N10 Vicki). Once again, these comments also reflect a sense of 'busyness' which, in turn, is related to feelings of guilt.

In other households, parents tried to manage the busy weekend by resisting temptations to cram lots of activities into the weekend – by 'scheduling' quality time with family on Sundays and at mealtimes. However, while scheduling quality time can compensate for an overall loss of time for working on relationships, this can also be viewed in Taylorist terms as striving for greater levels of productivity (forging family bonds) – but in less time.

Discussion

While parents may appear to be making more efficient use of their time, our data illustrate that there are costs associated with this efficiency, including the strain on relationships. Can these strategies be considered effective if the pervasive feelings of guilt which were so clearly apparent in the focus group data are the outcome? The data also illustrate how the 'time budget' mentality may exacerbate rather than alleviate stress and the flawed nature of the 'time and motion' approach is further exposed in the mismatch of children's temporal rhythms compared to those of adults. The 'cramming' of leisure activities into available time also degrades the 'freedom' associated with normative definitions of leisure and creates a paradox in which leisure no longer occurs in 'left over' or 'free' time when other types of time have been accounted for but may morph into 'committed' time activities which are scheduled in the same way as everything else which happens in the household.

There is a need to look more closely at the effectiveness of the Taylorisation of family time. Duxbury and Higgins (2003) hypothesise that an employee's ability to balance work and life demands may have outcomes for families which will include parental satisfaction and levels of family integration, but also costs associated with family breakdown. At both individual and societal levels outcomes can be examined in different ways, including measures of physical and emotional health and life satisfaction and health care costs, as well as levels of community involvement and active citizenship. The linkage of information being collected in the further phases of this project with data from the Australian Longitudinal Study on Women's Health will provide the potential to examine outcomes from work-life management strategies such as those described above.

Conclusion

Our review of time use in dual-earner households suggests that an individual's ability to balance work and life will be associated with roles related to 'contracted' time and 'committed time'. Work/life tensions can manifest themselves in a number of ways, including perceptions of time pressure and the struggle to cope with the demands of 'his' job, 'her' job and family commitments, while still finding time to maintain relationships as well as time for self. Busy parents use a range of strategies to 'manage' time within households. In this paper we have focused on strategies that seek to moderate work/life tensions by micro-managing time households in the interests of efficiency. Such strategies are understandable in terms of parents crafting private solutions to issues arising from competing demands on limited time. However, we have questioned the effectiveness of such strategies in promoting work/life balance in the context of debates about the potential impacts of hurried lifestyles on personal relationships, parental satisfaction and family integration, and suggest that further research is needed to assess the outcomes of the 'taylorisation' of family time.

A key issue of the new millennium is how to give individuals greater control of their time. This issue poses challenges to households, workplaces and government, and is important given the reported associations between balanced lifestyles, leisure and wellbeing. Work/life balance is also important to unions and employers in terms of outcomes associated with employee welfare, job satisfaction and increased productivity. If a goal of public policy is to improve quality of life in Australia and other countries, then research is needed to understand variations in time use across different life domains, and how the time use mix changes over the life-course. Such research is necessary as a basis for determining what policy responses are needed to allow individuals greater freedom of choice in how time is used across different life domains, while at the same time ensuring that arrangements are in place to support particular lifestyle choices.

By understanding better the experience and impacts of work-life tensions and strategies for managing time in time-crunched households, we aim to contribute to

ational and international debates about the social and economic costs associated with time pressure and stress and their impact on individual and organisational wellbeing, as well as develop programs designed to assist individuals to better integrate and manage work and family life.

Notes

1. The Australian Longitudinal Study on Women's Health (commonly referred to as Women's Health Australia or WHA) was derived from the 1988 national women's health policy. It is funded by the Australian Department of Health and Ageing, with the overarching goal of the study being to examine factors influencing the health of women in Australia and their use of health services. A sample of 40,000 women in three age cohorts (young, middle-aged, and older) was randomly selected and is broadly representative of the national population in these same age groups. The main study began in 1996 and is planned to run for 20 years, with each age group being surveyed once every three years on a rolling basis. The key themes of the main study initially included a thematic area focused on issues relating to time use and social roles (see Lee, 2001). Within this theme, the baseline and subsequent surveys have included questions about occupation, hours in paid and unpaid work, satisfaction with time spent in various activities (including leisure), the extent to which women feel time pressured or have time on their hands, as well as questions providing measures of physical and mental health.
2. See Brown, Warner-Smith, Fray & Synott (2004) and Brown Warner-Smith (2005).

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