

1 Long hours and longings: Australian children's views of fathers' work and family time

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16 *Acknowledgements and conflict of interest:* The authors have no conflicts of interest to
17 declare. This paper uses unit record data from Growing Up in Australia, the Longitudinal
18 Study of Australian Children. The study is conducted in partnership between the Department
19 of Social Services (DSS), the Australian Institute of Family Studies (AIFS) and the
20 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). The findings and views reported in this paper are those
21 of the authors and should not be attributed to DSS, AIFS, or the ABS and cannot be taken in
22 any way as expressions of Government policy. *Lyndall Strazdins is supported by an*
23 *Australian Research Council Future Fellowship FT110100686, and this paper was part of a*
24 *visiting fellowship supported by the Berlin Social Science Center (Wissenschaftszentrum*
25 *Berlin für Sozialforschung). We further thank and acknowledge Linda Haas, Margaret*
26 *O'Brien and Phillip Hwang, whose workshop on fathering, work and care (supported by the*
27 *Children's Foundation of Sweden and the Swedish Council for Working Life and Social*
28 *Research) was our inspiration.*

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ABSTRACT

Using two waves of paired data from a population sample of 10-13 year old Australian children (5,711 father-child observations) we consider how the hours, schedules, intensity and flexibility of fathers' jobs are associated with children's view about his work and family time. A third of the children studied considered their father works too much, one eighth wished he didn't work at all, one third wanted more time with him or did not enjoy time together. Logistic regression modelling revealed that working on weekends, being time pressured, being unable to vary start and stop times, and working long hours generated negative views in children about fathers' jobs and time together. Although children and fathers concurred that these work time demands were problematic to their relationship, children appeared to form their views independently. The time dilemmas generated by father's work devotions and demands are salient to and subjectively shared by his children.

Keywords:

Child wellbeing < Families and Work>, <Fathers>, <Time use>, <Work-Family Balance>, <Work hours>

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1 Even as mothers' employment rates have risen, expectations on fathers to remain
2 employed and be successful have changed little. Yet new framings of fatherhood are now in
3 play, with many fathers also striving to be available, nurturing care-givers involved in the
4 daily life and routines of their children (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth, &
5 Lamb, 2000). Providing money is necessary but no longer sufficient, and a good father "is
6 prepared to put work second and family first..." (p. 343, Henwood & Procter, 2003). Being
7 available entails spending time with children; being engaged means attending to and being
8 responsive when with them. Although time with children is a marker of love, care and
9 commitment, earning income also takes time, and the jobs fathers typically hold or aspire to
10 embed their own time devotions (Williams, Blair-Loy, & Berdahl, 2013).

11 At issue, then, is how the time required for earning income conflicts with fathers' time
12 for children, and with what consequences for families. Our paper focuses on the
13 consequences as viewed by children. We investigate how the gendered time devotions and
14 imperatives of contemporary jobs, reflected by how long and when fathers' work, as well as
15 their work time intensity and flexibility, are shaping what children experience and hope for.
16 To achieve this, our analysis combines the perspectives of children aged between 10 and 13
17 with fathers' reports of their work time and work-care conflicts, drawn from a nationally
18 representative cohort of Australian families.

19 We focus on fathers' work time for two reasons. First, fathers' long hours on the job
20 and lack of equal involvement in child care are powerful drivers of gender inequality in the
21 home and the labor market, underlying gender gaps in participation and pay (Cha, 2010; Cha
22 & Weeden, 2014; Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). Understanding the consequences of fathers' time
23 allocation and commitments, as reflected in children's experience and views, adds an
24 important dimension to the debate on working time, gender and equality, which has almost
25 entirely focused on adults' point of views. This omission neglects children's voices and

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1 rights, and renders invisible their stake in how economies, societies, gender relations and care
2 are structured. It is therefore important to include children's voice in the evidence,
3 acknowledging their centrality to the problem of work and care, and their unique perspective
4 (Corsaro, 2005; Polatnick, 2002). Second, public policy has typically viewed fathers' work
5 time as unproblematic for themselves or their children; 'family friendliness' for example,
6 reflects policies and practices that usually target mothers' work time (father-focused policies
7 generally concentrate on leave, e.g., O'Brien, Brandt & Kvande, 2007). This is surprising
8 because there is over a decade of scholarly research documenting new expectations for
9 fathering. Employed fathers can experience work-family conflicts at rates comparable to or
10 greater than those of employed mothers (Milkie, Kendig, Nomaguchi, & Denny, 2010; Tang
11 & Cousins, 2005). Indeed some scholars argue that contemporary fathers have developed a
12 'temporal conscience' centering on time - or its lack - with their children (Daly, 1996).

13 We therefore suspect that in countries such as Australia, many fathers are facing
14 powerful work-care dilemmas which are salient to their children. We link children's reports
15 back to their fathers' job and work time imperatives, in order to understand, through
16 children's experience, the way the workplace may be shaping contemporary fathering. To
17 date, much of the research on children's views has been qualitative, yielding rich insights and
18 underscoring the different viewpoints children may have, yet this research does not connect
19 such experiences to structural processes in labor markets. Very little research has tested the
20 way requirements of fathers' jobs are shaping family time through children's eyes. We
21 further extend theory and work-family scholarship, by considering multiple dimensions of
22 time - not only the number of hours. As well as long work hours (especially a problem for
23 privileged fathers) we consider a wider range of work time conditions characteristic of
24 contemporary jobs. Working on evenings, nights or weekends is commonplace given the
25 global exchange of services, and work intensification is widely reported, driven by new

1 technologies and competition for jobs, while the ability to change start and stop times is an
2 entitlement available only to select groups of men, and it is rarely used even so (Williams et
3 al., 2013). Like work hours, these other dimensions of work time are neither fixed nor a
4 given, but subject to wider social, economic and political imperatives. As Ferree (2010)
5 argues, the work-care nexus in families is simultaneously a site which shapes how children
6 are raised and how gender and power relations are produced. By connecting theory on
7 fathers' work time devotions (Williams et al 2013) with sociological analysis of
8 contemporary fathering and children's agency (e.g., Daly, 1996; Corsaro, 2005), our study
9 seeks to show this.

10 *Fathers' Work Time: Devotions and Dimensions*

11 Jobs vary in how their time imperatives operate, but in competitive labor markets
12 typical of liberal market economies they can be roughly grouped into two. There are 'good'
13 jobs which deliver high pay and privilege, and they usually include some control over time,
14 so the hours tend to be more flexible. However, they also require long hours and high effort.
15 These jobs are characterized by intense time pressure, with employees expected to work fast,
16 managing multiple demands and extending hours to get the job done (Williams et al., 2013).
17 Career success, and in some instances holding onto a good job, reflects a 'tournament' that
18 aligns with long hour, high effort imperatives; but career tournaments also occur in lower
19 paid, lower status jobs (O'Neill & O'Reilly, 2010). In these jobs success and security does not
20 typically center on how long or how intensively fathers work, the contest is over availability
21 and when they work (Williams et al., 2013). Even though (somewhat) shorter hours might
22 free up time for care-giving, lack of predictability, and working on evenings, nights or
23 weekends clash with the times children are present. Further, these schedules have start and
24 stop times that are rarely flexible, generating family time conflicts and making reliable care-
25 giving even more difficult (Chatzitheochari & Arber, 2012).

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1 Prioritizing more time to care, be it by reducing work hours, refusing shifts or asking
2 for time off signals a loss of devotion to the workplace (Coltrane, Miller, De Haan, &
3 Stewart, 2013). Unlike mothers, fathers are viewed as workers who are unhampered by
4 competing loyalties and this enables fathers to receive privileges (monetary and success)
5 because of their gender, but only so long as they give work time — not care — ascendancy.
6 This generates a powerful time bind that many are reluctant to confront, thus few fathers use
7 family friendly provisions even when they are legally entitled to do so. The onus shifts to
8 mothers to cut back, reinforcing gender divisions of care in the family and success in the
9 labor market (Cha, 2010; Maume, 2006), raising questions on what children make of this.

10 Williams and colleagues' theory helps explain why fathers' work hours have
11 remained consistent, even while mothers' labor force participation has risen. It may also
12 illuminate why more fathers than mothers say work conflicts with time for family (Australian
13 Bureau of Statistics, 2013). In Australia, where our study is set, the vast majority of fathers
14 work full-time, many long full-time, irrespective of their children's age or their partner's
15 employment (Charlesworth, Strazdins, OBrien, & Sims, 2011). Such rigidity in fathers' work
16 time is explained by William's et al (2013) analysis; if fathers are penalised when they reduce
17 their work time investments, but are seeking to be more engaged at home, they may not
18 change how they work even if they experience more conflict.

19 Fathers' work time is more than hours and minutes however, and this is also apparent
20 in Williams and colleagues' theory of work devotion. Work time involves multiple
21 dimensions that include scheduling (working on weekends, evenings and nights), intensity
22 (working fast, to deadlines and under time pressure) and flexibility (fathers' capacity to
23 control their start and stop time) which may be as important to children as the number of
24 hours fathers work. Evidence for this is drawn from studies of fathers time use. In Australia,
25 like many countries, most direct father-child interaction happens on weekends (Baxter, 2015;

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1 Pocock & Clark, 2005; Yeung, Sandberg, Davis-Kean, & Hoferth, 2001), and when work
2 intrudes into weekends fathers generally cannot recover this time with children (Hook, 2012).
3 Work intensity, which refers to pace and time pressure, may be especially important to
4 fathers' engagement and the quality of time with children. Diary studies show that time
5 pressures on the job generate emotional states (e.g., anger, distress and fatigue) that alter
6 fathers' mood and energy when at home, and these can transfer into interactions with children
7 (Repetti, 1994). Finally, the capacity to control when work is done (flexibility) enables
8 fathers to adjust time to child-related needs, responsibilities and events. Being unable to turn
9 up to special events, respond to unexpected care needs or be part of some daily routines
10 makes this aspect of work time highly visible and directly consequential to children. Thus, a
11 developed body of theory and evidence shows, from the adult perspective, how work time
12 affects father's family time and capacity to care. A key gap has been to connect adult-focused
13 insights into contemporary work, time and gender to what children think and experience.

14 *Discerning Concerns: Children's Views of Fathers' Work and Time*

15 It might be expected that children would 'naturally' want more time with their father,
16 yet evidence points instead to children's support for fathers' employment. Rather than
17 begrudging their father's job, most children appear to accept fathers' work as necessary and
18 valued (Galinsky, 1999; Harden, Backett-Milburn, MacLean, Cunningham-Burley, &
19 Jamieson, 2013; Lewis, Noden, & Sarre, 2008; Pocock & Clark, 2005); they understand the
20 importance of being able to earn income and support them. For example, one nine year old
21 girl, whose father was struggling to find full employment, explained to Galinsky " He has
22 been getting 20 hours a week instead of 40, which has been really hurting his paycheck.
23 When he doesn't get his full paycheck, it makes him feel bad. It makes him feel like he is not
24 doing enough for his family" (p50, 1999). Sometimes fathers can be viewed uni-
25 dimensionally as "the money guy" (Brannen, Wigfall, & Mooney, 2012), but mostly the

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1 research indicates that children and adolescents hold a mixture of feelings about father's jobs:
2 they value his employment and accept it imposes time constraints, while also valuing time
3 together as special and unique. Like fathers, the majority of children in these studies similarly
4 struggle with the necessary tensions and trade-offs between earning income and time.
5 Children's pragmatism in resolving this tension is apparent in Pocock and Clark's (2005)
6 interviews with high and low income adolescents: in high income families they opted for
7 more time not more money but in less well-off households money and time tradeoffs were
8 carefully weighed. Although many adolescents still opted for more time with fathers, they
9 were aware of what this might mean for family finances: "I really can't pick, because we
10 need the money, but I also need my parents...." (16 year old, low income family, p 66).

11 Thus, children and young people do not view fathers' employment as either
12 intrinsically good or bad (Pocock & Clark, 2005) and they may, to some extent, view his lack
13 of time with them as normative (Sinno & Killen, 2011). This may not change their desire to
14 spend time together, however, even while they understand it; "I miss him. He's gone for short
15 times. He calls from where he is. I'd rather have him home during that time, but I know he
16 has to do it because it's part of his job" (12 year old girl, p.67, Galinsky, 1999). Children
17 appear to place special value on certain times with their father, often the weekend: "He leaves
18 on Monday and comes home on Friday, which is annoying. He spends time with us on the
19 weekends, so he is making up for it" (12 year old boy, Brannen et al., 2012 p. 31), suggesting
20 that fathers' work on weekends may disrupt children's acceptance of work ascendancy.
21 Furthermore, the studies reveal that children consistently dislike rushing, which they link to
22 fathers' work stresses, intensification and inflexibility and the feeling that work is 'put
23 first'(Brannen et al., 2012; Galinsky, 1999). Some children described fathers who came home
24 from work in 'foul moods', 'tired', 'aggravated' or "grouchy" from their work efforts, which
25 they responded to by keeping out of his way, trying to help, being 'good', feeling anxious or

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1 simply accepting (Brannen et al., 2012; Harden et al., 2013; Pocock & Clarke 2005).
2 Avoiding rushing was another reason why weekend time (which was usually less pressured
3 and constrained) was highly valued (Galinsky 1999; Harden et al., 2013).

4 This rich interview data reveals that children are far from being passive objects of
5 fathers' work-time dilemmas, but actively construe, engage with, and sometimes even
6 ameliorate them. Even so, their relationship with their father and time with him was valued,
7 reinforcing theory on the centrality of the father-child relationship to child development
8 (Lamb, 2010). A strength of the research to date is the nuanced accounts and clear evidence
9 that fathers' time at work and at home is important and visible to children. It is however,
10 likely to be erroneous to assume children always concur with adult (fathers') views, although
11 few studies directly compare both perspectives. Even fewer systematically link children's
12 concerns about and views of time with fathers to the features of his job, **and to father-child**
13 **relationships.**

14 As well as children's pragmatism and longing, our review also reveals multiple
15 dimensions of work time are salient to children, suggesting that they independently influence
16 how children construe fathers' care. Yet we found that very few studies – qualitative or
17 quantitative – directly connect children's views and experiences of fathering to those aspects
18 of work time theorised as problematic (Williams et al., 20143). Our expectation is that
19 fathers' hours, schedules, intensity and flexibility will all play a role in shaping children's
20 views and experience **of fathering**, investigating this is a core aim of the paper.

21 *Does Father's Time Matter More to Some Children, in Some Families?*

22 Although our review reveals that children generally accept and value their fathers'
23 work efforts and understand the countervailing commitments he has, they also view their time
24 with fathers as special and unique. The acceptance of fathers' work time was not universal
25 and just as some fathers reported concerns about a lack of time together so did some children

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1 (Lewis et al., 2008; Pocock & Clark 2005). Along with fathers' work time devotions
2 (assessed by hours, schedules, intensity, flexibility), children's age may also determine how
3 they value and view father's time. Older children appear to value their time alone, and so are
4 more likely to see time apart as a marker of independence. As adolescents (aged 14-15 years)
5 explained to Lewis et al., (2008), they liked time alone because they disliked parents talking
6 with them, at [their] age it was not really 'their thing' (Lewis et al., 2008). Younger children
7 have different attachment needs, and may be more likely to mention missing their fathers,
8 such as feeling 'annoyed' if fathers were late home, and this may affect their experience of
9 closeness (Brannen et al, 2012; Galinsky, 1999).

10 It is also possible that child gender will affect views about father's time. Fathers are
11 usually more involved with sons (Yeung et al., 2011) and their time together centers on doing
12 "boys things" (Brannen et al., 2012). This suggests that impingements on fathers' time may
13 be especially salient to boys. A recent longitudinal study revealed that fathers' long work
14 hours were detrimental to sons' but not daughters' mental health, further suggestive of this
15 possibility (Johnson, Li, Kendall, & Strazdins, 2014). Although most studies find that fathers'
16 involvement is important for all children, the benefits appear to be most marked among boys
17 (Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000). Age and gender differences might interact, thus
18 Galinsky (1999) found that the boys she interviewed appeared to especially miss time with
19 their fathers, especially older boys aged 16 or 17 years. Just as there may be age and gender-
20 linked pathways between fathers' time and children's health (Johnson et al., 2014; Lamb,
21 2010; Sallinen, Kinnunen, & Rönkä, 2004), so too there may be gender- and age-linked
22 influences on how children view and experience their fathers' work time and time with them.

23 Fathers' education and income are important to control for in the model, as the time
24 requirements associated with fathers' jobs vary according to pay and skill level (Williams et
25 al., 2013). As well as influencing which jobs fathers have (and their associated time

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1 requirements), education can independently shape the father-child relationship. For example,
2 highly educated fathers tend to spend more time with their children and are more involved in
3 activities such as homework (e.g., Yeung et al., 2011). Mothers' work hours may also
4 determine how children value and view fathers' time. Although children generally describe
5 their time with fathers as special and unique (and not replaceable by mothers), they also
6 appear to hold gender normative beliefs whereby mothers are expected to do more caregiving
7 (Sinno & Killen, 2011). Possibly, when mothers are employed, such gender normative beliefs
8 are loosened and reliance on father's time increases, both for the day to day caregiving and
9 for 'fun'. Impingements on time together may therefore be more salient and less accepted in
10 families where mothers are also devoting time to paid work, increasing their relative
11 influence on children's views and wishes. Finally, our model adjusts for the nature of the
12 fathering relationship (step or biological) and the number of children in the family, which
13 could further constrain his time and availability.

14 *Research Hypotheses*

15 Our conceptual model is illustrated in Figure 1. Using paired data from fathers and
16 children we propose that fathers' work time requirements and family time conflicts (as
17 reported by fathers) shape how children view father's time. Following Williams' et al
18 analysis (2013) father's family time conflicts occur via multiple dimensions of fathers' work
19 time (not just work hours). Our model then connects these 'adult' pathways (*i, ii, iii*) to how
20 children view their fathers' work and family time (path *iv*) to establish if they influence how
21 children view fathers' jobs (works too much, wish he didn't work at all) and time with them
22 (enjoy time, have enough time together). Specifically, we expect that when fathers work long
23 hours, work at unsociable times, work under time pressure and lack control over work time
24 this put pressure on time children value and they are more likely to develop negative views
25 about his work and time with them (*hypothesis i*). They also generate conflicts in family time

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1 (*hypothesis ii*) because fathers miss family events, and their time at home is pressured and
2 less fun. Although children may form their viewpoints independently, we expect (*hypothesis*
3 *iii*) that fathers' experience of family time conflicts further adds to children's negative views
4 of his time, forming an indirect pathway between fathers' work time and children's views.
5 Because time with fathers may be especially important to boys we expect (*hypothesis iv*)
6 gender differences in children's views. **Finally, because time is a defining feature of how**
7 **relationships with fathers are construed (Daly, 1996) we explore the connection between how**
8 **children view their father's work and family time and feelings of closeness with him.**

9

10

Figure 1

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12

METHOD

Data and Sample

14 We tested our hypotheses with data from the Growing Up in Australia, Longitudinal
15 Study of Australian Children (<http://www.growingupinaustralia.gov.au/>, LSAC). LSAC is a
16 nationally representative study of children, with the main unit of analysis being the study
17 child (Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2003). The sampling frame used the Medicare
18 database, a comprehensive database of Australia's population. Children born within specific
19 dates were randomly selected based on a stratified random sample of Australian postcodes.
20 Families of selected children were then invited to participate (Wave 1 response rate 54% of
21 these families) yielding a sample of 4,983 children born between March 1999 and February
22 2000 (the "K cohort"). Our study used survey data collected in 2010 (Wave 4) and 2012
23 (Wave 5) when these children were aged 10-11 and 12-13 years. As a proportion of the Wave
24 1 sample, 84% had been retained at Wave 4 and 79% at Wave 5. All univariate and bivariate
25 analyses used sample weights to adjust for biases from initial non-response and attrition.

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1 An important strength of LSAC is the collection of data from multiple informants,
2 providing the opportunity to pair father and child data. Mothers and fathers completed a
3 separate section on employment and work-family experiences, and an interview with the
4 child's primary carer (usually mothers) collected information on family and child
5 demographics. Children completed a computer-assisted self-interview (ACASI), which
6 included questions about their fathers' job, family relationships and time with their father
7 (three of the measures used were repeated in both Waves 4 and 5, one was available Wave 5
8 only). Almost all children (98%) completed this interview.

9 Of the 4,169 families interviewed at Wave 4 and 3,956 at Wave 5, some were not in
10 scope since we restricted the sample to fathers who were living in the same household as the
11 child, fathers who had worked for pay in the previous week, and fathers whose child had also
12 reported them as employed. Restricting in this way meant excluding 1,376 children without a
13 resident father. We also excluded 423 children with both a resident and non-resident father as
14 we could not be sure which father the child was referring to. Another 386 families with not-
15 employed fathers were excluded, along with 229 families where the child did not answer
16 questions about fathers' employment or who reported that their father was not employed.
17 These exclusions left a possible sample of paired father-child responses of 2,974 at Wave 4
18 and 2,737 at Wave 5, giving a pooled sample of 5,711 observations. Of these, 5,116
19 corresponded to each of the two waves' data for 2,558 children. Another 416 father-child
20 pairs were for Wave 4 only and 179 for Wave 5 only.

21 Some items were drawn from fathers' self-completion questionnaire, and this
22 component of the study was not available for 22% of fathers. There was also missing data on
23 some other demographic and work variables. In total, of our in-scope sample, 32% had
24 missing data on one or more variable (see Table 1). Rather than exclude father-child data
25 (which would introduce bias) we used multiple imputation (Acock, 2005; Johnson & Young,

1 2011). Using Stata (STATA 14.0) 'MI' command chained equations generated 25 imputation
2 data sets, based on all analytical variables and additional demographic variables (marital
3 status, English language proficiency and parental relationship quality) that might affect non-
4 response. All multivariate analyses were based on the imputed data.

5 *Measures*

6 Descriptive statistics for all measures are shown in Table 1, which includes
7 information about the degree to which variables were imputed due to missing data.

8 *Dependent variables: Children's views of fathers' time.* There were four child-
9 reported outcomes. Three were asked in Wave 4 and 5 while a fourth was introduced in Wave
10 5. For each, items were dichotomized (note: percentages refer to weighted distributions,
11 pooled Waves 4-5 for the first three items). *Works too much?* In both Wave 4 and 5 children
12 were asked 'Do you think your dad works too much, too little, or about the right amount?
13 Response categories were "too much" (35%), "about the right amount" (63%), "too little"
14 (2%). A binary variable compared "too much" to the other responses. *Wish he didn't work?*
15 Similarly, at both waves children were asked 'Do you wish your dad did not have to work?
16 Response categories were "yes, wish very much" (17%), "yes, wish a little bit" (40%), and
17 "don't wish, not a problem" (42%). A binary variable compared "yes, wish very much" to the
18 other categories. These two measures were adapted from Galinsky (1999). *Enjoy time*
19 *together:* At both waves children also responded to the question 'Do you enjoy spending time
20 with your dad?' using three response categories "definitely true" (68%), "mostly true" (28%),
21 "mostly not true" (3%), "definitely not true" (1%). Given that almost all children reported
22 positively on this, the binary variable compared "definitely true" to any other response.
23 *Enough time together?* At Wave 5 a new item asked 'Do you think the amount of time your
24 dad spends with you is enough, too much or not enough?' Children's response categories
25 were "nowhere near enough" (7%), "not quite enough" (27%), "about right" (63%), "a little

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1 too much" (2%), "way too much" (1%). The binary version compared "nowhere near
2 enough" and "not quite enough" to other categories (see the LSAC Annual Statistical Report
3 under review, for description). **Additional analyses explored how these views were related to
4 children's assessments of closeness with their father. We used two items 'how close do you
5 feel to your dad', very close (54%), quite close (38%) not very close or not close at all (8%),
6 which we dichotomised as very close versus the rest in Wave 5; and 'if you had a problem
7 would you talk to your dad', yes (68%), no (31%), in Wave 4 and 5.**

8 *Independent variables: Fathers' work time:* We predicted children's views using
9 fathers' data on work time and family time conflicts, available in Wave 4 and 5. *Weekly
10 hours:* Fathers' usual weekly work hours were categorized into bands to classify very long
11 work hours (≥ 55 hours), long hours (45-54 hours) and standard full time (35-44 hours) or
12 part-time hours (< 35 hours). *Work schedules:* Fathers' regular work schedule were classified
13 as "regularly works days—only weekdays", regularly works days—including weekends", and
14 "night, evening, rotating or other shift". *Work time intensity:* Fathers rated their agreement
15 with the statement "I never have enough time to get everything done in my job" and were
16 classified as time pressured if they answered "agree" or "strongly agree", as opposed to
17 "neither agree nor disagree", "disagree" or "strongly disagree". *Flexible hours:* Fathers were
18 asked 'If you sometimes need to change the time when you start or finish your workday, is it
19 possible?'. "Yes, I am able to work flexible hours" was classified as flexible, compared with
20 "yes, with approval in special situations", "no, not likely" and "no, definitely not".

21 *Fathers' family time conflicts.* Family time conflicts were measured with two items,
22 reported by fathers, in Wave 4 and 5. These items were adapted from the measure developed
23 by Marshall & Barnett (1993). *Misses family events:* Fathers who answered "agree" or
24 "strongly agree" to the statement "Because of my work responsibilities, I have missed out on
25 home or family activities that I would like to have taken part in", compared to those who

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1 “neither agree or disagree”, “disagree” or “strongly disagree”. Those fathers who answered
2 “agree” or “strongly agree” to “Because of my work responsibilities, my family time is less
3 enjoyable and more pressured”, were considered to have *pressured family time* compared to
4 other categories as above.

5 *Moderating variables:* We expected that time with fathers would matter more for
6 younger children and for boys. Preliminary analyses indicated a significant *child gender by*
7 *age* interaction in children's views about fathers' work and time together, so we included a
8 categorical variable (classifying children by age and gender) in all models and also tested for
9 child age and gender interactions with work time.

10 *Control variables:* We adjusted for *fathers' education, fathers' income*, the
11 relationship between fathers and children (*step* versus biological) and *number of children* in
12 the household. We compared *single-father* families to couple families, which were further
13 disaggregated according to whether or not mothers were in paid work for more than 15 hours
14 per week (*maternal work hours*).

15 *Statistical Approach*

16 Bivariate analyses explored the unadjusted associations between key variables in the
17 model in Figure 1 using father and child reported data (Table 2). These analyses examined
18 which work time characteristics were associated with fathers' family time conflicts and if
19 children's views about fathers' work and family time were associated with his work time
20 characteristics and family time conflicts. Logistic regression modelling then tested
21 hypotheses after adjusting for control variables and child gender and age interactions. Table 3
22 reports the adjusted association between fathers' work time characteristics and his family
23 time conflicts. Table 4 presents adjusted direct and indirect associations between children's
24 views and fathers' work time characteristics and family time conflict. Analyses used

1 Stata/MP 14.0 (StataCorp, 2015). We calculated robust standard errors to take into account
2 the non-independence of observations from the same child.

3 We modelled each of the child outcomes separately, testing for direct and indirect
4 associations in two steps. Step one modeled the adjusted association between the child-
5 reported outcome and fathers' work time, along with the control variables. Step two added
6 fathers' family time conflicts. Reduction in the size of the associations is an indication that
7 father's family time conflicts were an indirect path linking his work time requirements to
8 children's views. Stata's KHB routine tested if the indirect effect was significant, using an
9 approach developed by Breen, Karlson & Holm (2013) to decompose effects in non-linear
10 models into direct and indirect effects, once proposed pathway variables were entered into the
11 model. This routine could only be applied to the unimputed data, however we believe this
12 was not a significant problem since our sensitivity tests comparing findings for imputed and
13 unimputed data in our other models yielded few differences. We also computed interaction
14 terms for child gender and child age with fathers' work time variables.

15

16

RESULTS

17 Table 1 describes the sociodemographic characteristics of our sample using weighted
18 averages from pooled data. About one third of children considered their father works too
19 much, less than one fifth wished he didn't work at all. Two thirds of children said they
20 enjoyed and had enough time with their father, respectively. Most (nine in ten) fathers
21 worked full-time (national average for fathers 85%, (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006),
22 and nearly one fifth worked very long hours. One quarter of fathers regularly worked
23 weekends, a further fifth on evenings, nights, irregular or rotating schedules. Nearly two in
24 five fathers worked under time pressure and more than a third could not change start or stop

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1 times, or needed approval to do so. One half of fathers missed out on family events and about
2 one fifth described their family time as more pressured and less fun because of their job.

3 *Unadjusted Associations*

4 Both children's views of fathers' time and fathers' family time conflicts were
5 associated with multiple dimensions of work time, providing preliminary support for the
6 hypotheses (Table 2). As fathers' weekly work hours increased, so did the proportion of
7 children who considered he worked too much or wished he did not work at all (the latter
8 trend was marginal) as well as the proportion of fathers who missed out on family events or
9 whose family time was pressured. Similarly, as fathers' hours increased the proportion of
10 children saying they had enough time together decreased, although children were also more
11 likely to say they definitely enjoyed time with their father. Fathers' work schedules were
12 associated with both child and father views of his job. Proportionally fewer children thought
13 their father worked too much or wished he didn't work at all when he usually worked
14 daytime, weekday hours, and proportionally more considered they had enough time together.
15 Similarly, proportionally fewer fathers missed out on family events or described pressured
16 family time when schedules were daytime and did not include weekends. When fathers
17 worked under time pressure (work intensity) higher proportions of children considered that he
18 worked too much compared to when fathers did not, there was also a marginal increase in the
19 proportion wishing he didn't work at all and a lower proportion saying they had enough time
20 with their father. Work time pressure was also associated with higher proportions of fathers
21 missing out on family events and having pressured family time. When fathers could change
22 their work hours (flexible hours), proportionally fewer children wished he didn't work at all
23 and considered they had enough time together. These fathers were also less likely to miss out
24 on family events or experience pressured family time.

25 *Adjusted Models*

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1 Adjusted results, presented in Table 3 and 4, showed similar, consistent, patterns of
2 associations supporting our hypothesis that children's views about fathers' work and time
3 with them were linked to multiple dimensions of his work time.

4 *Hypothesis i: Children view fathers' time (at work, with them) negatively when he*
5 *works long hours, at unsociable times, under time pressure or lacks control over when he*
6 *works.* Although multiple dimensions of fathers' work time influenced children's views, the
7 patterning of associations varied for particular viewpoints (see Table 3). All dimensions of
8 fathers' work time – long weekly work hours, working on weekends, evenings, nights and on
9 shifts, as well as working under time pressure and having little capacity to vary start and stop
10 times were independently associated with children's view that their father worked too much.
11 However, work hours were unrelated to children wishing fathers didn't work at all. What
12 appeared to be more important was when fathers worked (weekends, evenings, nights or
13 shifts), his work time pressure and intensity, and whether he had flexible hours. Children
14 were more likely to enjoy time with their fathers (perhaps surprisingly) when he worked
15 longer hours, but less likely to enjoy time together when he worked weekends. Very long
16 work hours, working under time pressure and being unable to vary work hours all increased
17 the likelihood that children would report they didn't have enough time with their fathers..

18 *Hypothesis ii: Fathers' family time becomes more conflicted when he works long*
19 *hours, at unsociable times, under time pressure or lacks control over when he works.* As
20 summarised in Table 4, multiple dimensions of work time were associated with fathers'
21 family time conflict. Working more than 44 hours each week, working on weekends,
22 evenings, nights or shifts, working under time pressure and difficulty in varying start and stop
23 time were independently associated with fathers missing family events. Work schedules did
24 not appear to influence the quality of fathers' family time (pressured, less fun), however long
25 work hours, intensity and inflexibility made independent contributions.

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1 *Hypothesis iii: Fathers' experience of family time conflicts contributes to children's*
2 *negative views, forming an indirect pathway linking fathers' work time and children's views.*
3 We tested this hypothesis by adding father-reported family time conflict measures into the
4 models after adjusting for his work time (step 2, Table 3). We found that children were more
5 likely to view that their father worked too much when their father reported that he missed
6 family events and family time quality was pressured. Missing family events also influenced
7 children's wish that their father did not work at all. When fathers reported that their family
8 time was more pressured and less fun, their children were also less likely to say that they
9 always enjoyed time together. Fathers' family time conflicts did not influence children's
10 assessment of having enough time with fathers, which remained significantly associated with
11 fathers' long hours and work intensity. We expected that fathers' family time conflicts would
12 form an indirect pathway between his work time and children's views about his work and his
13 time with them. Despite fathers' work time consistently predicting his family time conflicts
14 (Table 4), we observed very little change in the associations between his work time (hours,
15 schedules, intensity and flexibility) and children's views, with the inclusion of fathers' family
16 time conflicts in the model. There was minor attenuation of the linkages between fathers
17 work intensity and children's view that he worked too much or wish he that didn't work at all
18 when fathers' family time conflicts were added to the model. When formally tested for
19 mediation (using KHB on unimputed data) this reduction was not significant ($p=0.16$) giving
20 no support for an indirect pathway (results not shown). Contrary to our hypothesized model,
21 results indicated that fathers' work time dimensions were directly related to children's views
22 about his work and family time.

23 *Hypothesis iv: Do age and gender modify children's views of fathers' time? We found*
24 *that compared to boys aged 12-13 (reference group), younger girls (10-11) were marginally*
25 *less likely to consider their father worked too much, and girls at 12-13 years were less likely*

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1 to wish that their father didn't work at all. When boys were younger (ages 10-11) they were
2 more likely to wish their father did not have to work compared to two years later. Boys and
3 girls aged 10-11 were more likely than the boys at 12-13 to always enjoy time with fathers.
4 Views about having enough time were only collected from 12-13 year olds; in this age group
5 girls were less likely than boys to say that they had enough father time. There was one age
6 interaction between fathers' work time and children's views; when children were older (age
7 12-13, $p < 0.05$) the association between long work hours and working too much was stronger.

8 *Children's views and father-child closeness.* We explored how views about time with
9 fathers were related to children's assessment of closeness (*how close do you feel to your dad;*
10 *if you had a problem would you talk to your dad*). We found that children were less likely to
11 describe their relationship as very close when they considered their father worked too much
12 ($p < .026$), or when they did not enjoy ($p < .001$) or have enough time together ($p < .001$). They
13 were more likely to describe their relationship as very close if they wished he didn't work at
14 all. Children were less likely to say they would go to their father about a problem if they
15 thought he worked too much ($p < .001$, wave 4, $p < .01$ wave 5), if they did not enjoy ($p < .001$
16 at both ages) or have enough time together ($p < .001$ at both ages). This aspect of closeness
17 was unrelated to wishing fathers did not work.

18 *Other predictors of children's views.* A number of the control variables were
19 significant predictors of children's views of fathers' time in the models. Although very few
20 children lived with step-fathers in our sample, they were less likely to report enjoying their
21 time together, compared to children living with biological fathers. Children whose fathers
22 earned higher incomes were more likely to say they enjoyed time with him. Children whose
23 fathers had higher educational attainment were less likely to wish that he did not have to
24 work or to consider that he worked too much. Mother's employment and work hours did not
25 appear to influence children's views about fathers (we tested for both main and interactive

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1 effects), with one exception: children in couple families were somewhat more likely to
2 consider that their father worked too much when their mother was working 15 hours or more
3 per week, relative to children whose mothers were not employed or who worked less than 15
4 hours per week. We also explored socioeconomic differences by interacting low income
5 (bottom 33% of fathers' income distribution) with each of the predictor variables, and found
6 that some of the interconnections between working time and fathers and children's views
7 strengthened. Thus nonstandard schedules and (father-reported) family time pressure showed
8 stronger associations among low compared with higher income fathers. Children of low
9 earning fathers were also less likely to say he worked too much if he had flexible hours.

10 *Sensitivity analyses.* Random effects models were used as an alternative approach,
11 with findings consistent to those presented, as were analyses conducted on unimputed data. In
12 our logistic analysis we combined children who "do not wish" and "wish a little" to compare
13 with the more extreme group wishing "very much" their father did not work. We used a
14 multinomial specification to check our approach did not overlook substantive differences
15 between these three categories (available on request). Very few differences were observed (if
16 fathers were more highly educated, children were more likely to say they "do not wish" rather
17 than "wish a little", consistent with the logistic finding that as fathers' education increases
18 children are less likely to wish he didn't work; when fathers say that they miss family events,
19 children were more likely to say "wish a little" rather than "do not wish", consistent with
20 logistic regression interpretation). We also compared the two extreme categories (wish a lot
21 vs do not wish) which slightly strengthened some associations from the logistic models.

22

23

DISCUSSION

24

25

Even if they want more time with their children, many fathers hold jobs in workplaces
which reward their overwork and ready availability, presuming their primary devotion is to

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1 their job (Cha & Weeden, 2014; O'Neill & O'Reilly, 2010; Williams et al., 2013). This
2 creates work time imperatives that undercut fathers' capacity to use family-friendly initiatives
3 and engage with their children, generating a tension between what is expected on the job and
4 what is longed for at home (Ball & Daly, 2012; Daly, 1996). Difficulty in resolving these
5 tensions may help explain why fathers often report work and family conflicts; among the
6 Australian fathers we studied, more than half said they missed out on family events, while a
7 fifth said their jobs made family time more pressured and less fun. Despite this nearly a half
8 worked longer than 45 hours each week, one quarter usually worked on weekends, two in
9 five worked in jobs characterized by time pressures, and more than a third lacked flexibility
10 in when they started or stopped. These work-time requirements not only contributed to
11 fathers' family time conflicts we found that they mattered to his children, directly influencing
12 how children viewed his work and his time with them.

13 As existing research shows, most children value fathers' employment and accept that
14 it restricts his time (Brannen et al., 2012; Harden et al., 2013; Lewis et al., 2008). They
15 understand that their fathers' job is important and benefits the family (Galinsky, 1999;
16 Pocock & Clarke, 2005). Consistent with this research, the majority of 10-13 year old
17 Australian children we surveyed viewed their fathers' work time positively and were content
18 with time together. However, significant numbers were not content. Over one third
19 considered that their father worked too much, one eighth wished that he didn't work at all,
20 about one third wanted to have more time with him and another third reported that they did
21 not always enjoy the time they had together. We went beyond existing research on children
22 and parents' jobs' to assess which aspects of work time are problematic. Using Williams et
23 al., (2013) theory on work time devotions, we were able to identify where the work time
24 limits – from children's point of view – might lie.

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1 Thus we find that multiple aspects of work time pose problems to children's
2 experience of fathering and work, although their significance depends on the outcome
3 (supporting hypothesis *i* and *ii*). Although relatively few children wish their father didn't
4 work at all, what appears to generate such a negative view was whether he works weekends,
5 evenings or nights and if he is unable to vary his worktime, not how many hours he spends at
6 work. This reaffirms other evidence that children imbue certain times with fathers as
7 especially meaningful, such as family meals, routines and weekends (Harden et al., 2013;
8 Hook, 2012). Not surprisingly, long hours are important to children's view that fathers work
9 too much but so too is when he works. Compared to working standard hours, Monday to
10 Friday, working weekends, evenings or nights increases the odds of 'working too much', in
11 children's minds, by 20 to 50% respectively. Fathers' work intensity also increases the odds
12 children consider he works too much. Possibly fathers' time stress on the job spills over to
13 affect the quality of time at home: 'too much' may refer to a qualitative as well as
14 quantitative constraint on father-child time (Harden et al., 2013; Sallinen et al., 2004).

15 When fathers work very long work hours, we find their children are more likely to
16 consider he is working too much and they do not have enough time together. They were also
17 more likely to report they always enjoy time with him. One explanation is that these long
18 hour fathers do little of the routine, mundane care of children but make special efforts to
19 spend quality and 'fun' time together (Hook, 2012). Such a possibility may also explain why
20 working on weekends lowers children's odds for saying they enjoy time with fathers, as these
21 fathers may do more routine weekday care but share less leisure on weekends (Hook, 2012;
22 Yeung et al., 2001). Alternatively, the association we find with fathers' very long hours could
23 reflect an emotional premium children place on the value of scarce time with their father.
24 Overall, our findings reinforce other evidence that children view time with fathers as special
25 and unique, especially 'their time' together on weekends, whereas long hours on weekdays

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1 are viewed as part of the job, up to a point. Such findings reinforce the centrality of time with
2 fathers for children (Daly, 1996; Lamb, 2010) but we find it is not simply the long hours of
3 high skilled, well paid jobs which are problematic for contemporary father-child
4 relationships, so too are the time requirements of lower status jobs (Williams et al., 2013).
5 Indeed, for the children of low income fathers, work scheduled on evenings, nights and
6 weekends and inflexible start or stop times appeared to be especially problematic.

7 Finally, we had expected that children also develop negative views if fathers' family
8 time becomes conflicted (*hypothesis iii*), and we used two measures reported by fathers
9 (misses out on events and family time is more pressured and less fun) to test this. These
10 measures reflect fathers' own assessments of his family time conflicts, and while they were
11 associated with children's negative views, they did not explain the linkages to work time. The
12 effects we found were indirect, suggesting that children's views about fathers' work time and
13 its impact on them are formed independently of whether or not fathers themselves consider
14 their work time to be problematic. Such divergence reinforces the need to, and importance of,
15 incorporating children's own views and voice into the research about them.

16 *Study strengths and limitations.* We used paired data from fathers and children, to
17 reduce the bias and confounding when only one informant is used. Very few studies of the
18 work-family interface use multiple informant data, and by doing so we build children's views
19 and perspectives into the analysis. However, the paired data was only available for two waves
20 (one for enough time with fathers), thus a multi-wave random effects analysis could not be
21 conducted. Sensitivity tests with random-effects models using two waves revealed very
22 similar findings to the results from the cross-sectional analysis, however the robustness of
23 findings would be strengthened if more waves of data had been possible. Similarly, the
24 findings suggest that fathers' time is more important for younger children, especially boys,
25 but we are unable to fully assess this without more data from earlier and later child ages. We

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1 make the case that children's views about work and family time is important to father-child
2 relationships, and we find that they are also related to children's views about closeness.
3 However we did not model other aspects of their relationship directly. Conclusions as to the
4 wider impact on father-child relationships or child outcomes are therefore limited. Finally,
5 while our large sample of families was relatively representative of the Australian context the
6 generalizability of our findings to other countries is qualified. The influence of work hours,
7 schedules, flexibility and intensity on father's family time conflicts are consistent with those
8 found in other developed countries (Byron, 2005) but different policy supports, gender and
9 work time regimes could alter how they influence relationships with children.

10 *Contributions to theory.* Our findings underline the importance of fathers, and the
11 gendered organization of work time, to children. While family scholarship has recognized the
12 important role fathers play in child development and wellbeing, fathers' employment has
13 tended to be viewed uncritically (see Parke, 2004 for a critique). Recent fatherhood scholars
14 have articulated a differing perspective, describing the time dilemmas of fathers who want to
15 be more engaged while they also hold demanding jobs (Ball & Daly, 2012; Henwood &
16 Procter, 2003). This perspective emphasizes the temporal trade-offs employment provokes
17 for fathers and we show that children are privy to them. By connecting theory on labor
18 markets, gender relations and class (Ferree 2010; Williams et al 2013) to scholarship on the
19 importance of time for fathering and children (e.g., Daly, 1996) we develop and test a
20 conceptual model, supplying new, robust, population evidence for such links. We show that
21 the same aspects of work time that can complicate fathers' capacity to give care shapes how
22 his children view his job and time with them. Working long hours, being available at times
23 valued by children, working under time stress, or missing family events because of inflexible
24 hours are job devotions expected by many workplaces; our study links them directly to
25 children's own views and experiences of their fathers' job and the time he spends with them.

1 Second, we find that it is not just the time devotions of well-paid jobs that are
2 generating dilemmas for fathers and their children, as Williams et al (2013) describe there are
3 differing time imperatives linked to class which can complicate all fathers' capacity to give
4 care. Our approach supports Williams and colleagues' analysis that market demands on time
5 defines power relations at work and consequently social relations in families through multiple
6 ways; duration is one, but scheduling, intensity, and control are also important (see also
7 Adam, 2004, for a sociological analysis of time, Thompson, 1967, for a political economy
8 perspective).

9 Our third contribution is to show that the same work time processes underpinning
10 gender inequality (Cha, 2010; Cha & Weeden, 2014; O'Neill & O'Reilly, 2010) are visible
11 and meaningful to children. Showing that children's own views about jobs, time and
12 relationships with fathers are directly associated with his work time builds the case for an
13 intergenerational as well as gendered dimension to the flexibility stigma (Williams et al.,
14 2013). While further research needs to explore this possibility, such a connection would
15 suggest a direct socializing process occurs between workplaces and children, and this process
16 is also likely to be gendered. Thus we find that boys were more likely to consider that their
17 father works too much, relative to girls, and younger boys were the most likely to wish
18 fathers didn't work at all. This may reflect a greater significance for boys of having time with
19 fathers, or a greater ambivalence among boys towards working (see for example Johnson and
20 colleagues' 2014 finding that fathers work hours affect boys' wellbeing but not girls'). Such a
21 gendered intergenerational process raises further research questions about how gender
22 identity and inequality is reinforced or disrupted and the role contemporary work time is
23 playing in this (Ferree, 2010). How will these boys enact fatherhood in later life? Will they
24 struggle with a temporal conscience and be willing to push back against flexibility stigmas?

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1 *Conclusion.* Time and money are basic resources for family life and fathering is
2 interlinked with both. Fathers earn money through their attachment to the labour market, they
3 engage with their children through their time. The significance of what fathers give to
4 children, especially through their time, is recognised and valued by family scholars and
5 practitioners. Fathers need to be, and many want to be, more hands on – especially in the
6 context of mothers' increased engagement in the workforce, yet the problem for fathers is
7 how to do this. Just as fathers' time is valuable to families and children, it is also valuable to
8 the workplace, raising questions about whether and where work time limits can be drawn, and
9 what is the most fruitful site of intervention. Fathers gain a gendered privilege from better
10 wages and career progression, but they do this by acceding to workplace expectations, at a
11 cost of time for the family. We show that this directly encroaches into children's experiences
12 of fathering and we find that from children's viewpoint there are limits to what are acceptable
13 work devotions.
14

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Children's views of fathers' work and family time

1 Table 1. *Descriptive statistics, pooled Wave 4 and Wave 5 data*

		<i>Weighted % Mean (SD)</i>	<i>Non-missing N (imputed N)</i>
Children's views of fathers' time			
Fathers' work	He works too much	35.3	5,707 (4)
	Wish he didn't work	17.4	5,708 (3)
Time together	Enjoy time together	68.4	5,706 (5)
	Enough time together (Wave 5 only)	65.6	2,722 (15)
Fathers' work time dimensions and family time conflicts			
Hours	Part time <35 hours	11.7	5,711
	35-44 hours	40.8	-
	45-54 hours	26.0	-
	>= 55 hours	21.5	-
Schedule	Daytime, weekdays only	57.2	5,711
	Daytime including weekends	24.6	-
	Nights, evenings, rotating, shifts	18.1	-
Intensity	Agree or strongly agree	38.6	4,336 (1,375)
Flexibility	Cannot change or need approval	37.5	4,313 (1,398)
Fathers' family time conflicts	Misses family events	55.9	4,333 (1,378)
	Pressured family time	20.3	4,338 (1,373)
Child and family characteristics			
Child gender	Boy	50.9	5,711
Child age	10-11 years	52.1	5,711
	12-13 years	47.9	
Father-child relationship	Biological father	99.4	5,711
	Step-father	0.6	
Single father	Single father	1.5	5,711
Mothers' employment and work hours	Not employed or <15 hours week	35.0	
	Employed >=15 hours week	63.5	
Family size	Number of children in family	2.61 (0.98)	5,711
Fathers' age	Years	44.6 (5.6)	5,711
Fathers' education	Incomplete secondary (<12 years)	12.1	5,684 (27)
	Complete secondary (≥12 years)	53.7	
	Bachelor degree or higher	34.2	
Fathers' income	Weekly gross 2012 AUD)	1796 (1497)	5,153 (558)

2 Note: Total N in analytical sample=5,711 for pooled data and 2,737 for Wave 5 only.

3 Descriptive statistics were calculated from the weighted, unimputed data.

Children's views of fathers' work and family time

Table 2. *Father's work time characteristics and family time conflicts, by children's views of fathers' time, and fathers' work time characteristics by fathers' family time conflicts (unadjusted percentages)*

<i>Fathers' work time dimension</i>	<i>Children's views of fathers' time (%)</i>				<i>Father's family time conflicts (%)</i>	
	Works too much	Wish he didn't work	Enjoy time together	Enough time together	Misses family events	Pressured family time
Hours	***	†	***	***	***	***
<35 Hours	22.1	12.7	59.8	71.6	38.4	16.4
35-44 Hours	28.7	17.2	66.9	68.7	48.8	15.2
45-54 Hours	38.6	17.5	71.1	66.7	59.0	22.1
>= 55 Hours	48.7	19.3	70.6	56.1	72.6	30.0
Schedule	***	***	n.s.	*	***	***
Daytime (not weekends)	30.6	15.5	69.2	67.6	49.7	18.2
Daytime (including weekends)	40.5	20.0	66.4	63.7	62.0	25.4
Night, evening, rotating, shifts	42.5	19.9	68.4	61.8	68.1	20.4
Intensity	***	†	n.s.	**	***	***
Agree, strongly agree	39.3	18.6	69.5	61.1	70.0	33.3
Neutral to strongly disagree	31.0	16.3	69.6	68.9	47.5	12.5
Flexibility	n.s.	***	n.s.	†	***	***
Can change work hours	33.3	15.0	69.9	68.2	50.9	18.5
Cannot change, must seek approval	35.5	20.3	69.2	62.0	63.6	22.8
<i>Fathers' family time conflicts</i>						
Misses out on family events	***	***	n.s.	***	-	-
Agree, strongly agree	40.3	19.2	69.2	62.2	-	-
Neutral to strongly disagree	26.2	14.7	70.0	70.8	-	-
Family time is pressured	***	†	*	***	-	-
Agree, strongly agree	43.7	18.6	65.5	58.4	-	-
Neutral to strongly disagree	31.6	16.8	70.6	67.9	-	-
Total	35.3	17.4	68.4	65.6	55.9	20.3

Note: Weighted estimates, derived from unimputed data. For each indicator based on child reports and each work time conflict indicator based on fathers reports, percentages were compared within each of the categorical variables, with statistical significance of differences tested using Chi-square statistics. n.s. not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.10$); † $p < 0.10$; $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Children's views of fathers' work and family time

Table 3. *Adjusted (unstandardized) coefficients and odds for children's views of fathers' time*

	<i>Children's views</i>							
	Works too much		Wish he didn't work		Enjoy time together		Enough time together	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
<i>Fathers' work time dimensions</i>								
Hours (ref. 35-44)								
< 35 Hours	-0.39** (0.67)	-0.36* (0.70)	-0.31† (0.73)	-0.29 (0.75)	-0.23† (0.79)	-0.23† (0.79)	0.17 (1.18)	0.15 (1.16)
45-54 Hours	0.35*** (1.41)	0.32*** (1.37)	-0.00 (1.00)	-0.02 (0.98)	0.15* (1.17)	0.17* (1.18)	-0.04 (0.96)	-0.02 (0.98)
> = 55 Hours	0.66*** (1.93)	0.58*** (1.79)	0.02 (1.02)	-0.01 (0.99)	0.18* (1.20)	0.21* (1.23)	-0.43*** (0.65)	-0.39*** (0.67)
Schedule (ref. daytime, weekday)								
Daytime including weekends	0.21** (1.23)	0.18* (1.20)	0.21* (1.24)	0.20* (1.22)	-0.18* (0.83)	-0.18* (0.84)	-0.05 (0.96)	-0.03 (0.97)
Night, evening, rotating, shifts	0.42*** (1.52)	0.36*** (1.44)	0.24* (1.27)	0.20† (1.22)	-0.04 (0.96)	-0.03 (0.97)	-0.13 (0.88)	-0.10 (0.90)
Intensity (ref. low)	0.26*** (1.29)	0.13† (1.14)	0.22* (1.25)	0.18† (1.20)	-0.04 (0.96)	0.01 (1.01)	-0.26** (0.77)	-0.18† (0.83)
Flexibility (ref. inflexible)	-0.12† (0.89)	-0.04 (0.96)	-0.31*** (0.73)	-0.27** (0.76)	-0.02 (0.98)	-0.05 (0.95)	0.22* (1.25)	0.18† (1.20)
<i>Fathers' family time conflicts</i>								
Misses family events (ref. disagree)		0.40*** (1.49)		0.28** (1.32)		-0.01 (0.99)		-0.17 (0.84)
Pressured family time (ref. disagree)		0.25** (1.29)		-0.05 (0.95)		-0.25** (0.78)		-0.19 (0.83)
<i>Child gender and age</i>								
Girl aged 10-11 (ref. boy 12-13)	-0.16* (0.85)	-0.15† (0.86)	0.08 (1.09)	0.09 (1.09)	0.41*** (1.50)	0.40*** (1.50)	-- --	-- --

Children's views of fathers' work and family time

Girl aged 12-13	-0.06 (0.94)	-0.05 (0.95)	-0.53*** (0.59)	-0.53*** (0.59)	0.03 (1.03)	0.03 (1.03)	-0.31*** (0.74)	-0.31*** (0.73)
Boy aged 10-11	0.02 (1.02)	0.02 (1.02)	0.51*** (1.67)	0.51*** (1.67)	0.18** (1.20)	0.19** (1.21)	--	--
<i>Control variables</i>								
Step-father (ref. Biological father)	0.11 (1.12)	0.14 (1.15)	-0.12 (0.89)	-0.07 (0.93)	-1.06** (0.35)	-1.04** (0.35)	0.34 (1.40)	0.32 (1.38)
Single father (ref. Not-employed mother)	0.09 (1.09)	0.11 (1.12)	-0.04 (0.97)	-0.03 (0.97)	0.70* (2.02)	0.70* (2.02)	0.31 (1.36)	0.30 (1.35)
Employed mother (ref. Not-employed)	0.16† (1.17)	0.18* (1.19)	-0.02 (0.98)	-0.02 (0.98)	0.09 (1.10)	0.08 (1.09)	0.13 (1.14)	0.12 (1.13)
Family size	-0.01 (0.99)	-0.02 (0.98)	0.01 (1.01)	0.01 (1.01)	-0.05 (0.95)	-0.05 (0.95)	0.07 (1.07)	0.07 (1.07)
Fathers' income	0.09* (1.10)	0.07 (1.07)	-0.01 (0.99)	-0.03 (0.97)	0.14** (1.15)	0.14** (1.15)	0.00 (1.00)	0.01 (1.01)
Square of fathers' income	-0.00 (1.00)	-0.00 (1.00)	0.00 (1.00)	0.00 (1.00)	-0.01** (0.99)	-0.01** (0.99)	-0.00 (1.00)	-0.00 (1.00)
Completed secondary (ref. Incomplete)	-0.07 (0.93)	-0.08 (0.92)	-0.11 (0.89)	-0.12 (0.89)	-0.08 (0.92)	-0.07 (0.93)	0.11 (1.11)	0.12 (1.12)
Bachelor degree or higher	-0.19† (0.83)	-0.19† (0.82)	-0.38** (0.68)	-0.38** (0.68)	-0.11 (0.90)	-0.10 (0.90)	0.19 (1.21)	0.20 (1.22)
Constant	-1.11*** (-0.07)	-1.32*** (-0.08)	-1.46*** (-0.11)	-1.56*** (-0.12)	0.61*** (-0.08)	0.66*** (-0.07)	0.49* (0.11)	0.60* (0.12)

Notes: Unstandardized coefficients are presented with odds ratios in parentheses. Models were estimated using imputed data. Robust standard errors were calculated to take account of multiple records per child. N= 5711 for *works too much, wish he didn't work and enjoy time together* models, N=2,736 for *enough time together* model. † p < 0.10; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001

Children's views of fathers' work and family time

Table 4. *Adjusted (unstandardized) coefficients and odds for fathers' family time conflicts by work time*

	<i>Fathers' family time conflicts</i>	
	<i>Misses family events</i>	<i>Pressured family time</i>
<i>Fathers' work time dimensions</i>		
Hours (ref. 35-44)		
< 35 Hours	-0.42** (0.65)	-0.03 (0.97)
45-54 Hours	0.25** (1.28)	0.30** (1.35)
> = 55 Hours	0.68*** (1.97)	0.60*** (1.83)
Schedule (ref. daytime, weekdays)		
Daytime, including weekends	0.26** (1.30)	0.14 (1.15)
Nights, evenings, rotating, shifts	0.70*** (2.00)	0.09 (1.09)
Intensity (ref. low)	0.93*** (2.53)	1.26*** (3.53)
Flexibility (ref. inflexible)	-0.69*** (0.50)	-0.55*** (0.58)
<i>Control variables</i>		
Family size	0.08+ (1.08)	-0.05 (0.96)
Step-father (ref. Biological father)	-0.72 (0.49)	0.60 (1.82)
Single father (ref. Not-employed mother)	-0.21 (0.81)	0.04 (1.04)
Working mother (ref. Not-employed mother)	-0.11 (0.90)	-0.22* (0.81)
Fathers' income	0.29*** (1.34)	-0.01 (0.99)
Square of fathers' income	-0.01*** (0.99)	0.00 (1.00)
Complete secondary (ref. Incomplete secondary)	0.08 (1.08)	0.21 (1.23)
Bachelor degree or higher (ref. Incomplete secondary)	-0.02 (0.98)	0.17 (1.18)
Constant	-0.51* (0.60)	-1.78*** (0.17)

Note: Unstandardized coefficients are presented along with odds ratio in parentheses. Models were estimated using imputed data. Robust standard errors were calculated to take account of multiple records per father N= 5711. Models also included control variables for age and gender of study child. † p < 0.10; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001

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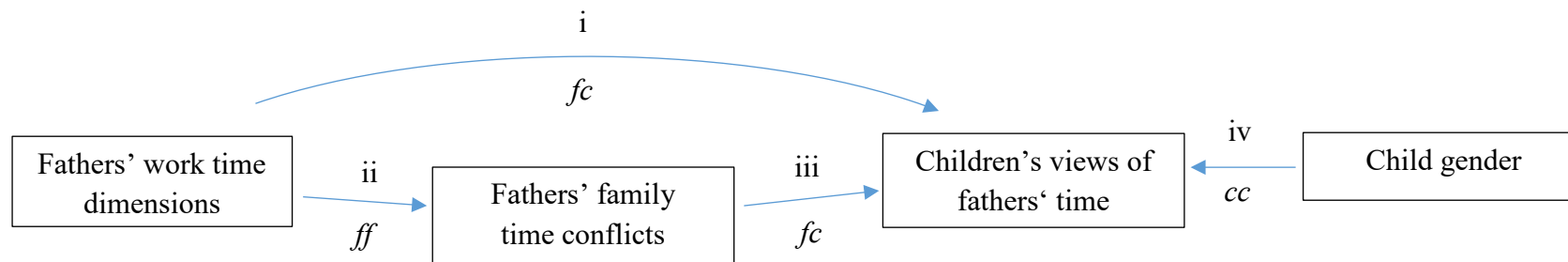


FIGURE 1. CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT INFLUENCE OF FATHERS' WORK TIME ON CHILDREN'S VIEWS

Figure note: i, ii, iii, iv are the hypothesized associations; *ff* father data, *fc* father and child data, *cc* child data