

1.CHAPTER 1

Finding time

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In the face of an ongoing globalisation, and the associated growing international competition, organisations' efficiency and speed of doing things has become increasingly important to remain economically successful. In a great number of work organisations, a new culture has been created in which time spent at work is viewed a yardstick of organisational commitment and devotion to a career. New management principles have been introduced, such as up-or-out career systems, life-long learning and performance related pay systems, which are expected to stimulate workers to work longer hours and enhance mutual competition among co-workers. In combination with the new incentives for achievement, the increased sense of control and responsible autonomy over the organisation of work seems to have made some jobs more encumbering than before. Employees need to deal with these growing demands from the workplace, and as a consequence for some work has become home and home has become work (Hochschild, 1997; Peters, 2000).

Employees not only have to deal with changing workplaces, at the household level changes have been taken place as well. The increase in women's labour force participation is among the most visible ones. Over the last three decades labour force participation among women in Western societies has increased and in some countries it has even doubled (European Communities, 2005; Van der Lippe & Van Dijk, 2001). In 2004, activity rates of women in the age of 15 to 64 exceed 60% for the enlarged European Union (Employment and Social Affairs, 2005). For the US, Canada and Australia these already have already stepped up to more than 70% (ILO, 2005). This has led to an increasing number of dual earner and dual career couples who are in a continuing process of balancing work and family life. Actually,

Met opmaak: opsommingstekens en nummering

the growth of women on the labour market has made 'time' a new issue of negotiation at the kitchen table. Although the number of children per family has decreased over the last decades, more time and money is invested in the care and education of children than ever before (Bianchi, 2000). Next to the increasing time demands in the spheres of work and care, leisure has become a time that has to be spent in an active and encompassing way and that is used to shape one's identity (Giddens, 1991).

Hence, we have witnessed an increase of time demands in the private sphere as well as in the workplace (Epstein, 2004). Many people feel torn between work and family not just because their households increasingly juggle competing responsibilities, but also because job expectations and parenting standards have become more demanding (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). These new developments in work and family life have increased feelings of time pressure and time competition. Until recently the 'stress society' was considered an exclusively American phenomenon (Schor, 1992; Hochschild, 1997; Presser, 2003), but at present, also European men and women are experiencing an ever greater time pressure (Peters, 2000; Garhammer, 2002; Van der Lippe, Jager & Kops, 2006). Although Gershuny (2000) argues that over the past fifty years Western citizens have seen an increase in leisure time over their life cycle, it feels as if we are constantly running out of time. Time pressure has become a serious problem in our society, and it is only likely to increase in size and impact (Van der Lippe & Glebbeek, 1999). A serious problem, of which it is necessary to get more understanding not only of its causes, but also of its consequences and possible solutions. In order to have an adequate understanding of families' problems and successes, it is necessary to treat the two life spheres of work and family together (Moen, 2003; Berg, Kalleberg & Appelbaum, 2003). Relationships with spouses and children have an impact on workers' experiences and relationships at work and vice versa (Fox & Dwyer, 1999; Marshall & Barnett, 1993; Roehling, Moen & Batt, 2003).

The central aim of this book is to deepen our understanding with respect to the conditions that influence the successes and difficulties that people experience regarding the accommodations of their work and private lives. Such conditions may derive from the organization, the household, or from both, which in other words, calls for a multi-level and multi-actor approach. The focus in this book will not only be on causes of disturbed balances between work and care, but also on solutions households and organizations (can) choose in response to competing claims arising from the work and family domain. This may provide us with leads to policy makers and implementers in that certain elements of the organization and the household can be seen as parameters that are susceptible to directed interventions.

Although the phenomenon of time poverty to which 'Finding Time,' as this book is entitled refers to, seems to be an irreversible trend in all Western societies, due to differences in welfare state regimes and types of capitalism, its magnitude, and the underlying causes and solutions may differ across countries. Moreover, organisational structures and cultures may also affect the relationship between work and family life differently, just like differences in rules and relations within households. The studies presented in this book will help to disentangle the time competition mechanisms in various national, organisational and household contexts.

In this introductory chapter we will continue with a picture presenting the state of the art of time use studies, work–life balance and feelings of time pressure. Then we will turn to causes of competing claims both at the organizational and household levels. Well-known strategies and solutions to cope with these competing claims will be subsequently discussed. We will conclude with the set up of the book.

Time and time pressure

Like money, time is a valuable resource that provokes questions about how it should be allocated and spent. Unlike money, however, the overall supply of time cannot be expanded. As there are only twenty four hours in a day, seven days in a week and fifty-two weeks in a year time use can only be intensified through multiple tasking, capital intensive consumption or more intense experiences (cf. Linder, 1971). It is not surprising, therefore, that time appears to be central in work-family issues (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). In our present day and age working Europeans spend on average 59 hours a week on paid work and care (SCP, 2005). Americans have a heavier workload due to the fact that they allocate more time to paid work. As a consequence, they have less leisure time available. For example, Americans spend 37% more time on paid work than Dutch people (SCP, 2005).

Of course, there are clear differences in time-allocation patterns between men and women. The traditional male breadwinner role is continuously emphasized in western societies, and employed women are mainly responsible for domestic duties. Both in the US and in Europe, on average, working men spend 8 to 15 hours more on paid work a week than working women. At the same time, in comparison to women, men spend nine hours less on domestic work and care. These differences are more pronounced in Mediterranean countries than in Nordic countries and the US (SCP, 2005; Batalova & Cohen, 2002). It is not surprising that women's time use is much more dependent on the family situation than men's time use. Especially in countries like Netherlands and Germany, mothers of young children work part-time or quit working altogether. This holds less true for countries like the US, Finland and Eastern European countries (Breedveld & Groot, 2004).

Studying time use over a longer period reveals that time spent on paid work by men has decreased over the last century in western countries (Gershuny 2000; Ecorys, 2005), whereas the average amount of time that women spend in paid labour has increased especially over the last decades. This latter trend can be mainly attributed to the fact that the number of

women with paid jobs has increased dramatically, and not because working women have increased their time spent on the job (Ecorys, 2005). Interestingly to note is that women spend less time on domestic duties, but allocate more time to child care activities (Gershuny, 2000). Since the sixties men have slightly increased their contribution to domestic duties, but not as much as women have decreased their time spent on household chores (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer & Robinson, 2000). With women entering the labour market, the housewife's 'traditional' time reservoir no longer functions as a 'time buffer' between the different life spheres: the coordination of work and home activities has become much more difficult. Especially at rush hours, combining work and family has become be a heavy burden (Moen, 2003).

Although objective and subjective time pressure are correlated (Peters and Raaijmakers, 1998), being busy not necessarily means that people feel pressed for time (cf. Garhammer, this book). Next to the paid and unpaid workload, the intensity of paid and unpaid work is as important as the amount of time it takes. Subtle changes in the amount of time spent at work may obscure more basic changes in the effort, energy and concentration that is expected from workers. Consequences of work overload that are studied range from feelings of stress, work-home interference, time pressure, and burn out and other health problems (Mac Dermid, 2005). In the US, for example, 60% of men and women report at least some conflict in balancing work, personal, and family life. About 30% do not have enough time to fulfil obligations and about 25% feel burned out or stressed by work (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). In Europe, 28% of the employees report stress and 22% general fatigue. These percentages are higher for those working on irregular times or having shift work (Boisard, 2003b). Generally, research reports higher stress levels in society over time. However, results are not conclusive whether this is the case for everyone. Although people are busy, doing paid work, domestic tasks and participating in social events, it is not true that everyone experiences severe violations of their paid work obligations by family

responsibilities, or vice versa. Moreover, work appears to interfere more with home than home with work (Van der Lippe, De Jager & Kops, 2006), as the home situation is often not adjusted to unexpected but important deadlines at work (Moen, 2003). People experience more interference of work with home more with respect to domestic tasks than responsibilities with respect to care for children. It seems as if people do not want that their work intrudes with the care for children. Strikingly, in Europe, the highest percentage of workers facing pressures related to combining work and care is found in Sweden. Since combining work and family life is an important and well-discussed issue, feeling stressed and hurried may have become part of the culture (Van der Lippe, De Jager & Kops, 2006).

This does not imply though that people with more time pressure necessarily feel less happy in life. Garhammer (2002) speaks about the 'time-pressure-happiness-paradox' to feature modern Western European societies. The feeling of being rushed through multiple tasking and role overload, as well as people's novelty seeking behaviour, has become a central part of modern life. According to Garhammer, the Danish, the Dutch and the Swedish are the happiest people in the world. Personal growth and achievement generates flow. Mobilising one's resources to develop skills and participating intensely in modern society bring about happiness. Time pressure is the other side of this coin.

Claims from the organization

Time allocation, time pressure and time competition are related to competing claims arising from the work and household domains. To clarify the influence of the organization, it is helpful to assume that organizational structures and culture constitute the setting in which workers weigh alternatives and make decisions concerning the time spent on work and timing of their efforts for the organization (Williamson, 1985). Workers have to adjust their work

and family commitments in the context of specific job demands and the larger workplaces structures and cultures in which these jobs are embedded (Schor, 1998). Organisations try to direct the efforts of their employees to meet their demands via both financial and non-financial incentives. Of course, it is difficult to untangle the extent to which a choice to put in long hours on the job reflects workers' individual preferences for work over other activities in life, and to what extent it can be viewed as a response to these incentives (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). Several incentives are stressed to be important in the literature (e.g. Cappelli et al. 1997; Sennett 1998) and they are often linked to the change from the traditional bureaucratic-Tayloristic workplace to the modern post-Fordist firm, which presents workers with a different context for making decisions. Post-Fordist firms are characterized by performance related pay systems that pose a financial incentive on workers to devote long working hours to the organization (cf. Van Echtelt, this book), by the idea that predictable career-paths have been giving way for more uncertain and competitive promotion systems and by decreased job security as non financial incentives, and thus in the extent to which employees can shift investment and returns over the life course. All these incentives are expected to increase the time employees spend on their jobs, as well as feelings of time pressure.

Moreover, the extent to which employees are being held responsible for meeting profit or production targets and managing their own work loads are expected to be important for time allocation. However, the amount of the regulation and control possibilities in work do differ between workers, although it is generally believed that the number of employees with self-control has increased (Perlow, 1998). New organisational forms with more self-control for employees are very different from the Taylorist systems of work organization in which workers had little say over how the work was done. At the same time, the question rises whether self-control increases time competition? On the one hand, Hochschild (1997) argues that in these new organisational forms with more self-control, workers are pressed to spend

more time at work than with the family, such that 'work becomes home and home becomes work'. The greediness of the new employment relationship is even said to manifest itself in the loss of 'boundary control' between employees' work and private lives (Perlow, 1998). On the other hand, Berg, Kalleberg and Appelbaum (2003) stress that new organizational forms, the so called high-performance work organizations, facilitate the combination of work and care. High performance organizations are characterized by high levels of self-control for employees and by more family-friendly practices, which are expected to result in a better work-life balance and less time conflicts. Job autonomy and time sovereignty are important thereby; it enables employees to determine the timing and location of their work, which may explain why individuals with extensive autonomy experience relatively little work-family conflict and time pressure (Peters & Van der Lippe, 2006). It enhances feelings of work satisfaction, which can spill over and affect family satisfaction (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1999).

The way in which organisations provide a supportive work environment such as family friendly workplace is likely to be a helpful resource in balancing work and family life for employees and proves to enhance feelings of satisfaction (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1999). Also in the Cornell Couples and Careers Study, Valcour & Batt (2003) show that organisational family responsiveness, involving formal and informal policies and practices, supports work-life integration for family employees. Moreover, when colleagues support each other, this will form another helpful resource for employees (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004).

Claims from the household

It is likely that employees' private household situations also affect time pressure. Some employees will be more willing to and capable of responding to incentives to work longer

hours, whereas others may face household circumstances that limit their possibility to work unrestrainedly.

In studying family life and household behaviour, it may be helpful to view employees basically as acting rational. In a way, this may seem counter-intuitive as the behaviour of household members is imbued with symbolic meanings and social bonds and affection and, therefore, usually is considered to be devoid of any rational behaviour (De Ruijter, 2005). However, the assumption that household behaviour is goal directed provides us with a constructive framework when it is viewed as a method of analysis, rather than a claim that individuals are motivated by selfishness or material gain (Becker, 1993). This viewpoint is often taken in economic household production models (e.g. Becker, 1965; 1981), but has not been much developed into a coherent set of organizational principles that are comparable to those used in studying firms and bureaucracies. In a sense, however, Hochschild's (1997) concept of the 'Taylorization of the household' bridges the gap between organizational studies and work-and-family research although her account is still rather impressionistic. According to Orrange, Firebaugh & Heck (2003), the family resource management literature helps to understand how families combine work and private life. Instead of having a passive orientation towards family members this literature assumes an active and proactive role for household members. This idea in family resource management studies resembles in a way the body of thoughts that is so central in New Home Economics. Just like organisations direct their employees to meet their demands, so do partners regulate each others' activities in order the meet household demands.

Demands are expected to vary with the life stage. Time pressure is most likely to occur among those who are in their late twenties, thirties, and early forties. These age brackets are most likely to marry, become parents and, consequently, shoulder the responsibilities of caring for young children (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004; Moen & Roehling, 2005). Especially

women's time pressure is affected by the presence of young children (Peters & Van der Lippe, 2006). While both men and women are likely to feel torn between family and work, they probably respond to parenthood in different ways, despite any convergence between men's and women's work commitments (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004).

Household resources, however, are able to reduce time pressure. They constitute the whole set of social and financial assistance that can be mobilized by the household to lift its burden. Those with more resources tend to see themselves as more successful in their professional and private lives (Moen, Waismel-Manor & Sweet, 2003). A higher income, for example, enables households to outsource certain domestic duties. Help from other family members, friends and neighbours can also form an important resource in facilitating the combination of work and care. Flexibility can help thereby and refers to how the household is prepared to and can cope with unforeseen events (e.g. overtime; a sick child; a day off from school). Of course, the possibility to respond swiftly to unexpected events is not only of strategic importance for firms, but also for households. According to Gill (1998), competing claims from the workplace and household are better dealt with when households are characterized by flexible rules, e.g., when there are no rules regarding working in weekends and when household chores should be done and by whom. Another type of household rules that seems to be important in this process are the quality requirements with respect to all household and caring tasks. Just like the products of firms, household products and services have to meet certain quality requirements as determined by the household members. These rules define the minimally acceptable level that has to be met regarding the performance of household tasks like the quality of a home-cooked meal or the effort that has to be put into cleaning activities (cf. Wotschack et al., this book). This all assumes that partners have common interests and share the same ideals and goals in life. However, diverse interests

among spouses are possible and the way partners deal with conflicts is likely to influence the outcome of these coordination processes (ibid.).

New strategies: cause or solution?

Of course, depending on their individual job traits and household situation, some employees will be more subject to time competition than others (Peters & Van der Lippe, 2006). However, as resourceful actors, both employers and employees will look for strategies to cope with competing work and household demands. Solutions can vary in their scope, from rather informal solutions for individual workers to strategies concerning policies, structures and cultures in organizations or households (Naegele, 2003a). In answer to the higher educated and diverse workforce, more and more organisations have introduced new policies that allow workers more time-spatial sovereignty and more job autonomy as a solution to workers' time pressure. We do not aim to give an overview of all these strategies but stress significant ones, such as home-based telework, flexible work schedules at the workplace level and outsourcing of domestic and caring tasks at the household level. Note that such strategies do not only form a solution to the competing claims of work and family life, but may also intensify work and affect the boundaries between work and private life.

Home-based telework policies, for instance, allow workers to perform (part of their) work from their private homes. One of the reported benefits of this new type of work is that it will save (commuting) time that can be spent on other activities like family obligations. However, for some, working from home may engender new problems as it allows work to intrude into the home (Peters & Van der Lippe, 2006). Moreover, not all employees are given access to home-based telework. Therefore, new 'benefits' can also reproduce traditional labour market inequalities (cf. Peters and Van der Lippe, this book). Another solution refers to

the use of flexible benefit schemes that allow employees to trade time for money and money for time (cf. Hillebrink et al., this book). Furthermore, employers may offer their employees time sovereignty through allowing flexible working schedules. Results show that the degree of working time flexibility varies greatly between EU countries. For example, working time arrangement allowing employees to accommodate their working hours to personal needs are used by 50% of the employees in Finland and Sweden, but in only about 10 to 15% in Greece or Portugal (Reidmann, Bielenski, Szczurowska & Wagner, 2006). Other well-known policies are especially directed at facilitating the combination of work and caring responsibilities for employees by providing childcare and parental leave facilities and offer part time jobs.

Also households can develop strategies to cope with competing demands. Household outsourcing appears to be an important strategy to deal with competing claims at work and at home (De Ruijter, 2005). The use of childcare facilities is often a necessary condition to be able to participate on the labour market, but households also use frequently the option of outsourcing cooking and cleaning tasks within the household. Outsourcing domestic tasks has increased over the last years. Having domestic help and consuming ready-made meals have become inextricable parts of our daily lives. Households can also choose to balance work and home using own rules regarding the division of labour and using negotiation processes (Kluwer, 1998; Wotchack et al, this book). In this way spouses regulate or 'govern' their input in the household.

We conclude this section by stressing that certain strategies discussed are likely to reproduce gender inequality at the labour market in general. This holds even true for more progressive countries in this field like Sweden and Norway. For men it is still more difficult to get a part time job, women on the other hand, are less likely to have access to home-based teleworking facilities (Peters & Van der Lippe, this book). Generally speaking, work

organizations are more likely to offer all kinds of arrangements to higher educated employees and professionals (Den Dulk, Peters & Poutsma, 2006).

Explaining difficulties and successes that men and women experience regarding the combination of work and care is a complex though challenging task. In the foregoing we have sketched the contours of a 'model' that can be used to deepen our understanding. Our starting point is that we are studying resourceful actors that balance costs and benefits to meet the often conflicting demands arising from the work and home domains. Organizational conditions that are expected to influence time competition include work demands and incentives for longer hours such as the reward system, the career system and the employment contract, as well as the amount of self-control in terms of autonomy and time sovereignty and amount of support offered by organisations and colleagues. Household conditions include home demands such as the presence and age of children, and social and economic resources, as well as flexibility and quality rules as determined by the household members. In answer to the increased competition between claims arising from the household and organizational context contemporary employers and employees can develop different strategies, such as offering and using various work-family arrangements. Next to the household and organizational context, balancing cost and benefits of employees will also depend on the institutional context with their own policies, cultures and economies (Van der Lippe & Van Dijk, 2002). The challenge of the authors in this book is to provide more insight in parts of this model by presenting state of the art research in the field of time use, time pressure and work/life policies and strategies. A broad range of research problems has resulted. Some authors decided to focus more on making the relation between objective and subjective time pressure explicit, others focus on the culture of the organization as a decisive factor in

feelings of time pressure of employees. Some of us study telework as one of the strategies to meet the dual demands.

The set up of the book

In line with the foregoing, we have divided the book in three parts. Together they are meant to give more insight into the increasingly felt problem of 'finding time'. We will start with time and time pressure itself. How is time divided between spouses, what are trends towards increasing time pressure, and how can time pressure be explained. Then we will shift our attention to causes of time pressure. These will be studied both at the household and the organizational level. Within the organisation, causes are related to demands of the organization and its culture, but also with the self-control given to employees. At the household level, family demands are likely to be important as well as how the household is managed. Finally, the third part of the book is devoted to strategies and solutions to the problem of time competition. These solutions can lie at the household level, but also at the organizational level. In this way a full and comprehensive insight in mechanisms and strategies to cope with time pressure are provided. Many of the chapters in this book concern one specific country. Although we are fully aware that country and organisational contexts matter, we believe that many of the theoretical mechanisms studied, for instance in a particular country or organisational context are applicable in others as well. Also the empirical outcomes may provide us with interesting knowledge that is useful in other contexts as well.

Part one will provide us with a state of the art picture of time use trends and the time pressure phenomenon itself. What is time competition; how is time pressure experienced across countries; what are the underlying causes; and what are the implications for individuals' and

households' well being? In Chapter 2, *Manfred Garhammer* describes major trends in time pressure in the societies of the European Union, the USA and Japan, and their relationships with quality of life. His main assumption is that along with global competition of national economies, overwork and time pressure are proliferating. Some evidence is provided that – in contrast to the thesis of an emerging leisure society – people spend more of their daily time on paid and unpaid work including work-related activities. When drawing conclusions about quality of life, a broad concept is used combining both subjective and objective indicators, i.e., well-being and economic and time resources. Accordingly, a concept of time pressure is elaborated that includes the feeling of being relaxed and calm. People's quality of life is a function of both time and money, and they can suffer from both time poverty and money poverty. Garhammer provides arguments and evidence that Europeans increasingly do. In Chapter 3, *Liana Sayer* presents time use trends in the U.S.. She specifically focuses on trends in multiple tasking and gender differences herein. Through multitasking i.e., combining activities in one time slot, parents try to cope with competing work and family time demands. It is likely that multitasking is a gendered strategy. To investigate whether changes in gender specialization in paid work and unpaid work are associated with longer work days and more multitasking among parents, U.S. time diary data from 1975 and 1998-2000 are used. Work time and multitasking have indeed increased for mothers and fathers during this period, and accounting for multitasking increases gender differences in total work time. Nonetheless, because mothers in male breadwinner couples spend more time multitasking than those in dual breadwinner couples, Sayer concludes that multitasking may not be a strategy adopted by time-pressed mothers to cope with duelling work and family time demands. In Chapter 4, *Koen Breedveld* focuses on the specific relation between a-typical working hours and time pressure in the Netherlands. Especially in the Netherlands, measures were introduced to make working hours more flexible and to extend trading hours. This was done partly in response to

the weakness of the economy (at that time). To what degree has paid work actually moved into the evenings, nights and weekends and what are its effects on the pace of life and on social life in Dutch society? Results using time use surveys from 1975 to 2000 indicate that roughly half of the employees work evenings, nights and weekends. However, the share of odd working hours is only 10% and this figure has not increased over time. Most people and especially the higher educated work odd hours as an extension of their regular working day. The results in no way suggest that working odd hours is associated with feeling time pressured. In chapter 5 *Maarten Moens* studies time pressure within the Belgian context, with the question how objective time pressure is related to feelings of time pressure. Using data of Flemish time use surveys he shows that objective time pressure amplifies feelings of time pressure. Time spent on obligations is still experienced as a curtailing of individual freedom. Especially for dual-earner families and people in the busy age bracket, are severe workloads the most important mechanism in explaining their feelings of time pressure. Within the work organisations, a high degree of time sovereignty, that is possibilities to attune professional life with family life, seems not to be sufficient to compensate for negative effects of higher professional responsibilities.

Part two focus on causes related to the organisation and household sphere. The respective chapters do not intend to explain time pressure as in the first part of the book, but focus their attention to mechanisms, which are likely to influence the finding of time. *Judith Treas and Christin Hilgeman* start this part in chapter 6 with workers' preferences for work and family time in the US. Using American data from the International Social Survey Program, Treas and Hilgeman conclude that longer work hours do not automatically translate into a desire for more family time. First, although the constraints of a 24 hour day imply a trade-off between work and family time, not everyone thinks about work and family in this zero-sum way.

While men sometimes voice a desire for more family time, only women who want more family time desire less time on the job. Second, all things considered, longer work hours do not translate into a desire for more family time. Changes in the length of the workweek do not leave individuals feeling more pressed for family time. Third, there is no evidence that the workplace has become a refuge from the family. Hardly any Americans admit to wanting less time with family, and the desire to work longer hours is not associated with family time preferences. Providing shorter working hours or offer part time work thus does not appear the only solution. *Kea Tijdens* continues in chapter 7 with studying the desire to work shorter hours on the job as a logical response to a potential solution to time pressure. To what extent can governance structures within the household as well as organisational characteristics of the workplace explain the varying desire for shorter working hours? Results show that working hours preferences are predominately influenced by working hours characteristics; hourly wages have a large impact on working hours preferences, as the low-earnings category prefers longer hours far more often. Employees in a challenging job prefer shorter hours less often, and vice versa, employees who perceive their job as a burden want to reduce hours. Contrary to public opinion, female employees apparently show a better fit between preferred and usual hours compared to male employees. *Patricia van Echtelt, Arie Glebbeek, Rudi Wielers and Siegwart Lindenberg* concentrate in chapter 8 on the question why Dutch employees want to work overtime. Work pressure, work pleasure and time dependent career advancement, as characteristics of post fordist organisations, are expected to increase the amount of working overtime. Using Dutch Time Competition data gathered in 2003 with both organizations and their employees, results show that post fordist organizations, the more modern organizations, appear to be indeed more time claiming. However, interesting to note is that the authors find that working unpaid overtime is not due to the fact that employees enjoy their work so much nor to increasing workloads within these organisations. They thus end with a puzzle: if

working overtime is not created by these factors, what makes employees in modern organisations then working overtime? *Susan Lewis* continues in chapter 9 with accounting for time in the accountancy profession in the UK. Lewis argues that it is important to move towards an exploration of personal meanings of time allocated to work and family life and the contexts in which these are constructed and reproduced. She especially concentrates on the normative assumptions about long working hours. The dominant culture of time in accountancy appears to be based on a model of the ideal professional as one who has the support of a full time home maker. There is evidence though that meanings of time in accountancy are beginning to be reconstructed. The study shows that promoting flexible working practices alone will not create fundamental changed in culture and practice in working time. *Philip Wotschack, Jacques Siegers, Babette Pouwels and Rafael Wittek* inspired by the ongoing discussion on the time greediness of firms and its impact on working hours investigate in chapter 10 to what degree variations in individual labour supply can be explained by variations in employer demands, and how household governance practices moderate this relationship. They extend the baseline labour supply model as used in mainstream economics, and give the first attempt to analyse how employer demands and household governance practices affect labour supply. Using time competition data collected in 2003 in the Netherlands, results show that household rules that govern daily time allocation do not seem to have an impact on labour supply – probably due to their twofold (facilitating *and* restricting) character – but quality standards do. The effect of employer demands on labour supply varies widely, depending on these standards.

Solutions provided by the workplace and the household to overcome managing family and work pressure is the focus of *Part three*. *Carlien Hillebrink, Joop Schippers, Pascale Peters* and *Anneke van Doorne* start this part in chapter 11 with the Dutch version of a flexible

benefit scheme allowing workers to trade in time for money and vice versa, the flexible benefits plan. By introducing flexible benefits, employees get a greater say over the composition of their pay and over the balance between the various components of which their pay is constructed. In this way they can trade time and money. Using data from a department of civil service, results indicate that almost half of the employees changed their benefits. Strikingly, participation is higher among men than women and household characteristics such as having children do not influence the decision. Motivation seems to be more important. Buying time is far less popular than selling time. Looking at the fact that the most popular choice is trading time off for a new compute, it can be concluded that the benefits plan does not act as a work-family arrangement. *Esther de Ruijter and Tanja van der Lippe* focus in chapter 12 on domestic outsourcing as a strategy to combine work with private life. They move beyond existing research by including trust in the explanation of household outsourcing. Using Time Competition data from 2003 they conclude that trust matters in household outsourcing. The possibility of directly observing the efforts of the outsourcing supplier decreases the likelihood of undesirable behaviour. As a result, the probability increases of outsourcing tasks such as housecleaning and home maintenance, both of which allow for direct monitoring. Interestingly enough, the general belief of households in the trustworthiness of other people has proved to be an important factor in explaining outsourcing tasks that involve risk. Households with a high level of general trust are more likely to outsource childcare, cleaning and home maintenance. These tasks all entail the actual involvement of suppliers in the privacy of the home or a 'labour of love', which highlights the importance of trustworthiness.

In chapter 13 by *Peter Standen* it is shown that home-based telework offers a different and important perspective on time pressure. It highlights work-role conflicts and new forms of role conflict and ambiguity arising when work and family or leisure are co-located. As well,

changes in flexibility and permeability of work-role and work-family boundaries are expected to affect the social supports enjoyed by teleworkers. The experience of time in telework appears as a paradoxical mix of benefits and problems, in part because for many people it has both outcomes, and in part because teleworkers' circumstances are as diverse as the institutions of work and home. However, both public and academic discussions continue to portray telework as either a win-win solution to time competition or too problematic to be widely adopted. Standen develops a theoretical framework to explain the relation between home based telework and time pressure that takes into account feelings as well as role conflicts. *Pascale Peters and Tanja van der Lippe* analyses in chapter 14 the influence of coordination, control and trust problems on employees' access to weekly home-based telework from a combined perspective of transaction cost theory and New Economic Sociology. Access is more likely when additional coordination and control problems are smaller. Indicators of the so-called 'telework risk' are time sovereignty, job autonomy, need for accessibility and output management, measured at both the job category and the individual levels. Trust-enhancing effects are also studied by looking into the social embeddedness of the current employment relation, i.e. its past and future duration. Multi-actor data are used that were collected in the 2003 Time Competition data set among employees in Dutch organisations. The chapter shows that coordination, control and trust problems do affect employees' access to telework indeed. Whereas coordination problems are at most a significant job-level trait, trust problems play a role at both mentioned levels. A longer work history with the current employer increases the odds of trust in teleworkers and hence of access to home-based telework. *David Ory and Patricia Mokhtarian* study in chapter 15 the effect of telecommuting as an organizational strategy to save commuting time in the USA. They find that telecommuters consistently live farther from work (in terms of time and distance) compared to former and future telecommuters. These longer one-way distances are

ameliorated, however, by telecommuters travelling at higher speeds and commuting less frequently than their counterparts. Those who telecommute at some point in the ten-year period average only slightly fewer commute person-minutes travelled over the decade than those who do not telecommute at all. This finding suggests either that telecommuting is at best an ineffective travel reduction policy (i.e. those who engage in it do not travel much less) or that telecommuting disproportionately attracts those who would otherwise commute even more (making it an effective tool).

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