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Pablo Gracia and Matthijs Kalmijn *University of Amsterdam*

Parents' Family Time and Work Schedules: The Split-Shift Schedule in Spain

*This study used data on couples from the 2003 Spanish Time Use Survey (*N = *1,416) to analyze how work schedules are associated with family, couple, parent–child, and non-family leisure activities. Spain is clearly an interesting case for the institutionalized split-shift schedule, a long lunch break rooted in the traditional* siesta *that splits the workday between morning and evening. Results showed strong negative associations between the split shift and both family and parent–child activities. The evening shift was negatively associated with couple and family time, but not with parent–child time. Women spent much more time than men in parent–child activities for all work categories, and they were more responsive to the spouse's work hours. Men were substantially more active than women in non-family leisure, considering both individuals' and their spouses' work schedules. Altogether, this study has important implications for scientific and public policy debates.*

In Western societies, women's paid work time has risen dramatically since the 1970s, thus affecting the way parents combine paid work and family life (Jacobs & Gerson, 2005). Parents' amount of paid work is likely to influence family life, but their work schedules can also critically interfere with family activities. Presser's (2003) seminal study suggested that working nonstandard hours (i.e., outside 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.) is generally detrimental to family life. Recent studies on the United States and other countries, however, offer mixed evidence. Although some studies found that nonstandard work hours are negatively associated with parental care and family activities (Lesnard, 2008; Nock & Kingston, 1998), others did not find negative associations between nonstandard work hours and parents' time use, particularly for parental care (Hook & Wolfe, 2013; Wight, Raley, & Bianchi, 2008). This mixed evidence motivates further analyses on the links between work schedules and family time allocation.

Scholars have thus far paid little attention to study how parents with different work schedules engage in multiple daily activities. This is an important issue for understanding parents' trade-offs in activities that potentially compete with each other. Although parents today are expected to prioritize their time with children over other activities (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006), parents who work at different times of the day might have different opportunities to spend time in multiple daily activities, which would affect how they allocate their actual time. For example, many child-related activities have to be restricted to hours in the evening, after children finish school and before they go to bed, which might conflict with parents' paid work time during those hours (Presser, 2003). By contrast, activities without children, like couple time, often occur outside the hours of children's free time, when children are already sleeping, which might compete directly with parents' free time at nights. Studying how parents' work schedules intersect with multiple daily activities

Amsterdam Centre for Inequality Studies, Department of Sociology, University of Amsterdam, Nieuwe Achtergracht 166, 1018 WV, Amsterdam, The Netherlands (pablo.gracia01@gmail.com).

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can offer a general picture of how parents' trade-offs operate in everyday family life.

To date, only two studies, one with French data (Lesnard, 2008) and the other with U.S. data (Wight et al., 2008), have analyzed how parents' work schedules are related to multiple daily activities. Lesnard (2008) found that working nonstandard hours is negatively associated with parent–child time, family time, and couple time, whereas parental care time was more responsive to the spouse's work schedules among mothers than among fathers. Wight et al. (2008) also found that nonstandard work hours negatively affect couple time, but they found generally positive associations between nonstandard work hours and parents' time with children. Although the two studies are clearly relevant, their analyses offer mixed results and are restricted to two specific national contexts. Moreover, only Lesnard's (2008) study considered the work schedules of both spouses, a necessary approach for determining how spouses arrange paid work and family life (Presser, 1994). Overall, research on new national contexts, as well as considering the work schedules of both spouses, is needed to better understand how parents' work schedules are linked to the allocation of family time.

In this study, we used Spanish time-use data on couples to analyze how mothers and fathers with different work schedules spend time in four activities: family time, parent–child time, couple time, and non-family leisure time. We defined family time as the parent's time with his or her spouse and children. Couple time captures the parent's time with the spouse, but without the presence of children. Parent–child time represents the parent's time with children that occurs without the spouse's presence. Non-family leisure time includes the time the parent spends in leisure activities without family members, either alone or with individuals outside the household. These four activities offer a rich and comprehensive picture of how parents allocate family time in everyday life, which remains largely understudied.

Our article makes three general contributions. First, we focus on a highly interesting national context for the literature. Spain, like other southern European countries, is characterized as having family-unfriendly policies (Lewis, 2009). Spain has a strongly gendered division of labor, with low maternal employment rates (less than 50%), low levels of child-care coverage for children aged 0–2 (less than 25%), and a tendency for both men and women to work long hours (Esping-Andersen, Boertien, Bonke, & Gracia, 2013; Gracia, 2014; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD, 2007). The Spanish case is specifically relevant for the institutionalized split-shift work schedule, which is rooted in the traditional *siesta* (i.e., a long midday rest after lunch). Although today hardly any Spanish employee takes a restful *siesta* on a working day, about 45% of employed parents report having a long lunch break (typically from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m.; Gutiérrez-Domènech, 2010). The split-shift schedule is neither a standard shift (i.e., 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.) nor an evening shift (i.e., 4 p.m. to 12 a.m.), but a mixture of the two. Split-shift workers typically engage in paid work for several hours in the morning (i.e., until 2 p.m.) and, after a long break, return to work until late in the evening (i.e., until at least 8 p.m.). This split-shift schedule in a country where only 15% of employed parents report having control over their work schedules (Gracia, Ghysels, & Vercammen, 2011) has led to media and policy debates about its family-unfriendliness. Given that public institutions are crucial actors in regulating paid work time (Lewis, 2009), the Spanish context has scientific implications as well as critical public policy implications.

Second, our study benefits from excellent time-diary data on couples. We analyzed data from the 2003 Spanish Time Use Survey (STUS) for a large sample of couples (married or not married) with children. The STUS, unlike many other recent time-use surveys (e.g., American Time Use Survey), contains diary-recorded information on activities reported by both partners. This allowed us to study whether allocation of parents' time was linked to a spouse's work schedule. This couple-level approach, which has received very little attention in the existing literature (Craig & Powell, 2011; Lesnard, 2008), is essential for understanding both how spouses coordinate their family time and whether men and women differ in their time-use patterns.

Third, and more globally, our study contributes to a range of theoretical and empirical debates in the field of family research. The focus on parent–child time is particularly relevant for the literature on child well-being (Bianchi et al., 2006; Sayer & Gornick, 2012), in light of studies suggesting that nonstandard work hours have negative effects on parent–child relations and child outcomes (Han, 2005). Also, the analysis

of couple time provides substantial evidence on marital relations (Claxton & Perry-Jenkins, 2008; Kalmijn & Bernasco, 2001), thus contributing to studies arguing that nonstandard work schedules harm marital stability (Presser, 2000; Kalil, Ziol-Guest, & Epstein, 2010). Finally, our study is important for the gender literature in that it offers new evidence on the gendered nature of parent–child time and how (un)contaminated leisure time is by daily domestic activities, an essential approach for understanding gender inequalities in subjective well-being and stress levels (Mattingly & Bianchi, 2003; Mattingly & Sayer, 2006).

Analytical Framework

Theoretical Perspectives

We considered three theoretical perspectives that were particularly useful in guiding our analytical framework. One approach argues that parents today hold strong child-oriented norms, which drives them to organize family life to meet children's developmental needs (Bianchi et al., 2006; Dew, 2009). From this perspective, parents prioritize their time with children over other activities, and couples can adapt their work schedules to maximize parental care supervision, either by synchronizing or desynchronizing their work schedules (Presser, 2003).

The second perspective, based on the time-availability approach, emphasizes that parents' work time and schedules impose constraints on their time allocation (Presser, 1994). Certain activities (e.g., family meals, parent–child time) are often scheduled for evening hours that conflict with parent's working time during those hours (Lesnard, 2008). The time-availability approach also argues that parents' time use responds to their spouses' work time and schedules (Presser, 1994). This implies that parents spend more time with children when their spouse engages in paid work, especially in those hours that conflict particularly with children's free time.

The third approach holds that "traditional" gender norms and ideologies, internalized through processes of socialization, bring men and women to divide paid work and unpaid work unequally (Craig & Mullan, 2010; Hochschild & Machung, 1989). Following this approach, even when men and women have similar paid work constraints and schedules, gender norms lead women to disproportionally protect their time with children and men to spend more time in nondomestic activities, such as hobbies and personal leisure (Hochschild & Machung, 1989).

Analytical Approach

We focus on four mutually exclusive activities: (a) family time, or time with the spouse and children; (b) couple time, or time with the spouse and without children; (c) parent–child time, or time with children and without the spouse; and (d) non-family leisure time, or leisure time without the spouse or children. We analyze three categories of work schedules that capture three main groups of workers in the Spanish labor market: standard shift (working mostly between 7 a.m. and 6 p.m.), evening shift (working mostly from 6 p.m. to 12 a.m.), and split shift (working some hours from 7 a.m. and 2 p.m. and some hours from 6 p.m. to 12 a.m.).

We refer not to causal effects but to associations, given the bidirectional relation of paid work and family time (Hook, 2012). On the one hand, Spanish parents have important constraints to the balancing of paid work and family time, and only about 15% of parents report having control over their work schedules, which implies that many Spanish parents have little choice in modifying their paid work time and schedules (Gracia et al., 2011). On the other hand, parents' family preferences can affect their paid work time. Parents, especially mothers, decide to work under specific conditions to maximize their family time, especially their time with children (Amato, Booth, Johnson, & Rogers, 2007; Craig & Mullan, 2010; Kalmijn & Bernasco, 2001). Likewise, couples might strategically coordinate their work schedules to maximize their time with children or family activities (Presser, 2003). To solve this problem of reverse causality, scholars need couple-level longitudinal time-use data with rich information on family and work preferences, which is currently unavailable. Hence, we cannot make strong causal inferences regarding the association between paid work and family life, and we must refer to statistical associations rather than causal effects.

Family Time

Parents are expected to be highly motivated to engage in family activities, which play a critical role in promoting family solidarity and relations

(Bianchi et al., 2006; Dew, 2009). Yet family time in two-parent households requires the difficult task of synchronizing the schedules of the two spouses and children. This imposes clear constraints to engaging in activities often scheduled in fixed evening hours, such as sharing family meals, watching television, or socializing with family members (Nock & Kingston, 1988). To our knowledge, only two studies have analyzed how work schedules interfere with family time, one using French data (Lesnard, 2008) and the other U.S. data (Nock & Kingston, 1988). Both studies found that family time is negatively associated with evening work hours.

We also expect evening work hours to be negatively associated with family time in Spain. Evening work, which is present among both evening-shift and split-shift workers, overlaps with those hours in which regular family activities occur, after children have finished school and before they go to bed. In contrast, the standard shift mostly overlaps with children's school time (e.g., 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.), thus allowing parents to engage in family activities during evening hours. Because family time requires the presence of both spouses, we obviously expected to find similar effects on family time for both the individual's and the spouse's work schedules:

> H_1: Split-shift and evening-shift workers and their spouses spend less time in family activities than do standard-shift workers and their spouses.

Parent–Child Time

Parent–child time promotes close parent–child relations and child development (Roeters, Van Der Lippe, & Kluwer, 2010; Sayer & Gornick, 2012). Although parents are expected to be strongly motivated to engage in parent–child activities (Bianchi et al., 2006), parental care time varies substantially across the population and is expected to differ by individual and spousal work schedules (Presser, 2003) and gender (Sayer & Gornick, 2012).

The associations of individual work schedules with parent–child time are complex. Working during evening hours can allow parents to engage in parent–child activities if they postpone paid work time until children are asleep (Wight et al., 2008). Yet evening work can harm parent–child time when it overlaps with children's time after school (Lesnard, 2008). Evidence from Australia (Craig & Powell, 2011), Canada (Rapoport & Le Bourdais, 2008), France (Lesnard, 2008), and Spain (Gutiérrez-Domènech, 2010) has shown that evening work is negatively associated with parent–child time. Meanwhile, in the United Kingdom and the United States (Hook & Wolfe, 2013; Wight et al., 2008) and for mothers in Norway and fathers in Germany (Hook & Wolfe, 2013), evening work has been found to be positively associated with parent–child time. These studies, however, are difficult to compare, in part because they used different definitions of work schedules. This shows mixed results for the association between an individual's work schedule and parent–child time.

We expect the split shift and evening shift to be more negatively associated with parent–child time than the standard shift. In Spain, 99% of children aged 3–5 years and about 25% of children aged 0–2 years attend child-care institutions, which typically have fixed schedules that overlap with the standard shift (i.e., 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.; OECD, 2007). Thus, the standard shift can allow parents to engage in parent–child activities in the evening, when children and parents are both available. In contrast, we expect that the split shift and evening shift, which conflict with those hours in which children in Spain are not at school, are negatively associated with parent–child time:

> H_{2a}: Split-shift and evening-shift workers spend less time in parent–child activities than do standard-shift workers.

The spouse's work schedules might also influence parent–child time. Parents were found to respond to their spouse's work hours by becoming actively involved in parent–child time (Presser, 1994), as observed in studies with Australian (Craig & Powell, 2011) and French data (Lesnard, 2008). We expect parents to compensate for a spouse's paid work, especially when those activities occur in the evening, after school hours, when children typically need more parental care supervision. Also, mothers are expected to be more responsive to their spouse's paid work time and schedules than fathers are, given traditional gender norms that lead mothers to actively protect time with their children (Craig & Powell, 2011; Hochschild & Machung, 1989):

> H_{2b}: Parents with a spouse working the split shift or the evening shift spend more time in parent–child activities than do parents

with a spouse working the standard shift, and mother–child time is more strongly associated to the spouse's work hours and schedules than is father–child time.

Couple Time

Many parents rate couple time as a critical activity for their well-being and satisfaction, as it allows them to strengthen their marriage and marital quality (Kalmijn & Bernasco, 2001). Although marital satisfaction critically depends on how partners share time (Crawford, Houts, Huston, & George, 2002), couple togetherness is by itself important for building satisfactory marital relations (Claxton & Perry Jenkins, 2008; Nock & Kingston, 1988). Yet spouses often curtail their marital time without children in order to maximize parent–child time, either alone or with the presence of the spouse (Dew, 2009). Consequently, couple time might be scheduled for night hours, when children are in bed. This implies that working late in the evening can be negative for couple time, as suggested in some studies using data from the United States (Wight et al., 2008) and France (Lesnard, 2008).

We anticipate that the evening shift is more negatively associated with couple time than are the standard shift and split shift. The evening shift would impede parents from engaging in couple activities during hours when children are in bed, when the couple is more likely to schedule marital activities. In contrast, both standard- and split-shift workers could engage in couple activities without children during the night. Because couple activities depend on the presence of both spouses, we expect similar associations for both individual and spousal work schedules:

H_3: Evening-shift workers and their spouses spend less time in couple activities than do standard-shift and split-shift workers and their spouses.

Non-Family Leisure Time

Non-family leisure time allows individuals to focus on their hobbies and build social relations outside the home, which are important activities for personal well-being (Lesthaeghe & Meekers, 1986). Likewise, spending enough leisure time without family responsibilities minimizes stress and health risks (Mattingly & Sayer, 2006). Parents' leisure time was found to be strongly gendered; women very often combine leisure activities with demanding family responsibilities (especially child care); men spend more leisure time away from family members (Mattingly & Bianchi, 2003). It is likely that work schedules are associated with non-family leisure, given differences in time availability and trade-offs for spending leisure time outside the family. Yet the few studies on how work schedules are related to leisure time (Nock & Kingston, 1988; Wight et al., 2008) did not analyze parents' leisure without relatives.

We expect non-family leisure time to differ by the individual's work schedules. We expect evening-shift workers to be disproportionally active in non-family leisure. Evening-shift workers might have time to spend in personal leisure during the mornings and afternoons, when children are at school, and when a typical (employed) spouse participates in paid work. In contrast, standard- and split-shift workers have free time when their relatives are more likely to also be available, which might increase the time they spend with relatives, thus reducing their non-family leisure time:

H_{4a}: Evening-shift workers spend more time in non-family leisure activities than do standard-shift and split-shift workers.

We also expect non-family leisure to be associated with the spouse's work schedules. We anticipate that individuals with a spouse working the evening shift spend more time in non-family leisure than do those with a spouse working the standard or split shift. Parents married to an evening-shift worker could engage in non-family leisure at night, when children are sleeping and the spouse is working. After controlling for one's paid work, parents married to a standard- or split-shift worker might spend time with children in the evening and with the spouse in the night, rather than spending time then in non-family leisure. From a gender perspective, it has been argued that gendered norms bring men to maximize non-family leisure, whereas women tend to disproportionally protect child care and housework activities (Mattingly & Bianchi, 2003; Mattingly & Sayer, 2006). Accordingly, we hypothesized that men spend more time than women in non-family leisure in relation to the spouse's work schedules, given the gendered nature of women's and men's time-use allocation in the private sphere (Craig & Powell, 2011):

H_{4b}: Parents with a spouse working the evening shift spend more time in non-family leisure than do parents with a spouse working the standard shift or split shift, while these associations are stronger for fathers' non-family leisure than for mothers' non-family leisure.

Method

Data

Time-use surveys are considered the best statistical sources for analyzing individuals' daily activities (Gershuny, 2000). The STUS, conducted by the Spanish Institute of Statistics, is a representative time-use survey of the Spanish population, which has (unlike many other time-use surveys) a diary of activities reported by both spouses. Respondents reported their activities for every 10 minutes across 24 hours, including information on the main activity (primary) and simultaneous activity (secondary), as well as on whether one child aged 0–9 or one adult from the household was present. Both spouses answered an individual-level questionnaire with demographic questions, and one spouse answered a household questionnaire.

The STUS contains a large sample of 20,603 households. The response rate for couples in which both spouses reported a diary of activities was 70% (Alvarez, Angulo, & Casero, 2003). Our sample was first restricted to married and cohabiting heterosexual couples, without other adults in the home, where the two spouses were between ages 25 and 59 and had one child aged 0–15 ($n = 4{,}150$). We dropped cases with children aged 10 or older because the STUS diaries allowed us to know only whether activities took place with children aged 0–9, not with older children ($n = 2{,}235$). We dropped 763 couples with a diary reported on Saturday or Sunday to restrict the analyses to days in which paid work activities typically occur, as well as 11 cases with incomplete demographic data ($n = 1{,}461$). Finally, we dropped 14 cases in which at least one spouse who engaged in paid work in the day of observation spent fewer than 3 hours in such activities and 31 cases in which either the mother or the father did not cluster with our categories of work schedules. This left us with a final sample of 1,416 couples.

Dependent Variables

We used four continuous dependent variables that excluded sleeping, paid work, and personal care: (a) family time, or daily minutes in the presence of spouse and children; (b) parent–child time, or daily minutes with children and without one's spouse; (c) couple time, or daily minutes with one's spouse and without children; and (d) non-family leisure time, or daily minutes spent on leisure (uncontaminated by a simultaneous domestic labor activity) and without the presence of children or one's spouse.

Two clarifications are needed. First, for couple time, parent–child time, and family time we did not include time spent in physical housework (e.g., cleaning, washing, doing laundry). Nonetheless, we did include cooking, a domestic activity that can be conceived of as family interactive. Alternative analyses that did include physical housework found results generally consistent with our own results (analyses not shown). Second, we focused on togetherness, not on activity synchronization (e.g., spouses reading in the same room or watching television together). Studying whether family members share time in the same activities (e.g., socializing, eating dinner) is clearly an important object of study, but we could not cover it for reasons of space. Yet the strict focus on togetherness is critical for family relations, as togetherness often leads to interactions between family members that are essential to strengthen family bonds.

Independent Variables

We used three categorical independent variables that are mutually exclusive: (a) split shift, or a parent working at least 2 hours between 7 a.m. and 2 p.m. and at least 2 hours from 6 p.m. to 12 a.m.; (b) standard shift, or a parent working at least 3 hours between 7 a.m. and 6 p.m. and less than 2 hours from 6 p.m. to 12 a.m.; and (c) evening shift, or a parent working at least 3 hours from 6 p.m. to 12 a.m. but not working before the 2 p.m. break. As mentioned earlier, we dropped 31 couples in which at least one parent did not cluster into our work categories; most of them had one partner working between 12 a.m. and 7 a.m. We excluded night-shift workers from our analyses given the low number of cases in this work schedule. Finally, we also included the independent variable of nonemployed, to capture those cases in which a parent did not engage in paid work.

Controls

The control variables capture variations in terms of opportunity cost, lifestyles, and

demographics. First, to analyze differences in when individuals and their spouses work, we had to control for total work time (Presser, 1994). For both spouses, we included a categorical measure of paid work time, considering part-time (working fewer than 6 hours) and overwork (working more than 10 hours), and with full-time (working 6–10 hours) as the reference category. Education, for both respondent and spouse, is a central control variable of preferences and resources in time-use allocation (Bianchi et al., 2006), with four categories: primary (reference), low secondary, high secondary, and college. We also used a dummy variable for whether the household had access to outsourcing domestic work, which could, by reducing domestic labor, positively influence time spent in personal leisure and family activities (Gershuny, 2000). We included the dummy variable of having a child aged 0–2 and the continuous variable of number of children in the home, which are proxies of parental care demands in the household (Bianchi et al., 2006). We also controlled for age, a key life course indicator (Table 1).

Analytical Strategy

Our analyses followed two general steps. First, we looked at the distributions of men and women engaging in paid work across the 24 daily hours (Figure 1) and described the distributions of the paid work categories and dependent variables (see Table 1). Also, the Appendix presents (complementary) descriptive associations between paid work categories and our four dependent variables. Second, we ran linear seemingly unrelated regressions (SUR) separately for men and women. These analyses allowed us to study the effects of parents' and spouse's work schedules in different equations that treated the dependent variables as interrelated (Table 2). The table of matrix correlation of residuals for the SUR models is not presented here because of space restrictions. We also ran analyses with cross-equation gender effects by estimating the same SUR models for a pooled sample of men and women with gender interactions. In Table 2, we also report whether gender interactions for the independent variables of interest were significant. Finally, we present predicted values for our four dependent variables based on the main effects of the SUR models (Figure 2 and Figure 3).

Table 1. *Summary Statistics: Means and SD*

	Mothers		Fathers	
	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*
Family time minutes	109.01	*141.32*	105.20	*138.38*
Parent–child time minutes	190.66	*190.69*	42.38	*78.82*
Couple time minutes	125.85	*136.63*	126.12	*129.72*
Non-family leisure time minutes	59.77	*81.18*	72.54	*100.24*
Nonemployed	0.55		0.15	
Standard-shift schedule	0.32		0.44	
Evening-shift schedule	0.04		0.08	
Split-shift schedule	0.09		0.33	
Part-time work	0.12		0.04	
Full-time work	0.27		0.44	
Overworking	0.06		0.37	
Primary education	0.11		0.11	
Low secondary education	0.40		0.40	
High secondary education	0.24		0.26	
College education	0.25		0.23	
Outsourcing domestic labor	0.39		0.39	
Child aged 0–2	0.36		0.36	
Number of children	1.53	*0.61*	1.53	*0.61*
Age	37.57	*7.19*	39.87	*7.48*
N	1,416		1,416	

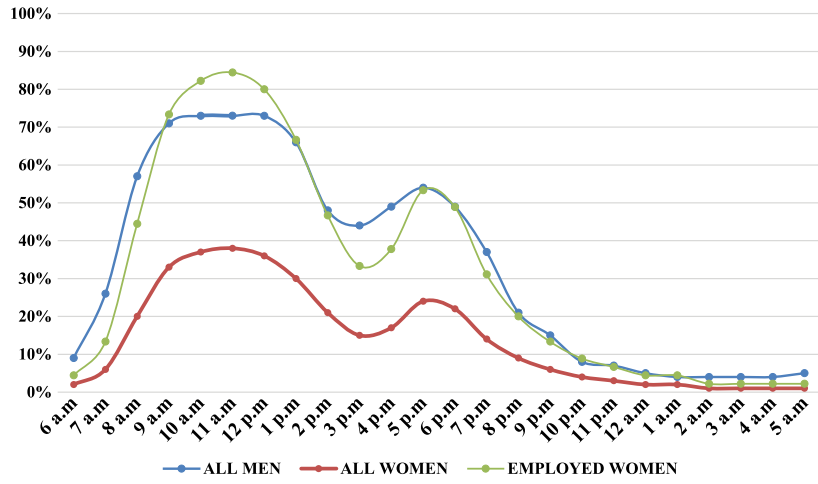
Note. Data from 2003 Spanish Time Use Survey.

Results

Descriptive Results

Figure 1 shows the proportion of parents engaging in paid work throughout the 24 hours of a random weekday, differentiating between three groups: all fathers, all mothers, and employed mothers. We observe that fathers are much more active in paid work than mothers are. There are two particularly notable aspects of Figure 1. First, the rate of parents engaging in paid work is drastically reduced during the long lunch break (from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m.), and again increases slightly by 5 p.m. For example, 73% of Spanish fathers were working by 12 p.m., whereas only 44% of fathers were working at

FIGURE 1. PERCENTAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN ENGAGING IN PAID WORK BY HOURS OF THE DAY.



2003 Spanish Time Use Survey ($n = 1{,}416$)

3 p.m. and 54% by 5 p.m. We observed similar distributions for mothers. Second, a large group of parents participated in paid work activities during the evening. For example, 37% of fathers engaged in paid work at 7 p.m. and 21% at 8 p.m., with similar distributions for employed mothers. Overall, Figure 1 shows that Spain has a high incidence of evening work and a widespread presence of the long lunch break.

Table 1 summarizes our work schedules categories. Most mothers (55%) were in the category "nonemployed," and 32% in the "standard shift" and 4% in the "evening shift" categories. We observed that 9% of mothers (20% of working mothers) were in the "split shift" category. For fathers, "standard shift" was the main category, representing 44% of fathers, but also many fathers (33%) were in the "split shift" category. The "evening shift" category represents the minority of fathers (8%), and 15% were in the "non employed" category. Overall, the split-shift schedule rooted in the traditional *siesta* is clearly widespread in the Spanish labor market.

Table 1 also shows relevant figures regarding parents' family time allocation. For family time, women, on average, reported 109 daily minutes and men, 105. For couple time, both women and men allocated 126 minutes, slightly more time than for family activities. We observed strong gender differences for parent–child time. Women spent 190 minutes in parent–child time, and men only 42. In contrast, non-family leisure time was higher among men, who spent 73 minutes in such activities, whereas women allocated 60 minutes to them.

Results for Family Time

Hypothesis 1 anticipated that split- and evening-shift workers and their spouses spend less time in family activities as compared to standard-shift workers and their spouses. Table 2 presents the SUR results, which are consistent with these expectations. For mothers, evening-shift workers spent 37 minutes less than standard-shift workers in family activities ($p < .05$), and split-shift workers 26 minutes less ($p < .10$). We found similar but stronger results for fathers, with differences of 46 minutes among evening-shift workers ($p < .001$) and 33 minutes among split-shift workers ($p < .001$), with standard-shift workers as the reference. We found similar effects of spousal work schedules, yet with stronger associations for mothers than for fathers. Figure 2 and Figure 3 summarize the SUR models using predicted values, presenting the effects for the individual's and spouse's work schedules.

Results for Parent–Child Time

Hypothesis 2 was divided into individual and spouse levels. At the individual level, both evening- and split-shift workers were expected to allocate less time to parent–child activities than standard-shift workers (Hypothesis 2a).

Table 2. *SUR. Parents' Minutes in Four Activities, by Individual and Spouse's Work Schedules*

	Family Time		Parent–Child Time		Couple Time		Non-family Leisure Time	
	Mothers Coeff.	Fathers Coeff.	Mothers Coeff.	Fathers Coeff.	Mothers Coeff.	Fathers Coeff.	Mothers Coeff.	Fathers Coeff.
Individual's work schedule								
Nonemployed	51.3***	101.7$^{***\varphi}$	128.4***	43.5$^{***\varphi}$	41.8***	84.1$^{***\varphi}$	33.4***	82.9$^{*** \varphi}$
	8.9	*10.0*	*10.0*	*5.8*	*8.6*	*9.4*	*5.6*	*7.7*
Standard shift	(Ref.)	(Ref.)	(Ref.)	(Ref.)	(Ref.)	(Ref.)	(Ref.)	(Ref.)
Evening shift	−37.0*	−46.1***	−6.4	−0.5 $^{m,\ w}$	−32.2*	−31.6$^{** m,\ w}$	−7.6	−0.2
	16.8	*12.4*	*18.8*	*7.2*	*16.2*	*11.7*	*10.6*	*9.5*
Split shift	−25.7^{+}	−33.3***	−35.4*	−16.9$^{***m,\ w}$	−5.0	−5.1 $^{m,\ w}$	−1.3	−9.7
	14.2	*8.6*	*16.0*	*5.0*	*13.8*	*8.2*	*9.0*	*6.6*
Spouse's work schedule								
Nonemployed	90.0***	40.4$^{***\varphi}$	−88.6***	−23.9$^{***\varphi}$	48.1***	15.5$^{+\varphi}$	−6.9	−10.0
	10.1	*8.8*	*11.4*	*5.1*	*9.8*	*8.3*	*6.4*	*6.7*
Standard shift	(Ref.)	(Ref.)	(Ref.)	(Ref.)	(Ref.)	(Ref.)	(Ref.)	(Ref.)
Evening shift	−44.0***	−26.8^{+}	48.6***	42.6^{***m}	−16.8	−29.5^{+}	24.9**	22.3^{+w}
	12.6	*14.5*	*14.1*	*9.5*	*12.2*	*15.6*	*7.9*	*12.6*
Split shift	−26.4**	−15.7	46.1***	15.1$^{+\varphi,\ m}$	−2.6	−3.5	−4.9	12.1 ^{w}
	8.7	*14.0*	*9.8*	*8.1*	*8.5*	*13.3*	*5.5*	*10.7*
Control variables								
Individual								
Part-time work	3.3	40.8*	54.1***	13.9	19.6^{+}	48.7**	11.7	31.3*
	11.4	*18.1*	*12.8*	*10.5*	*11.1*	*17.2*	*7.2*	*13.9*
Overworking	−37.4*	−13.1	−35.7^{+}	−18.8***	−20.4	−31.2***	−1.0	−25.6***
	16.2	*8.4*	*18.2*	*4.9*	*15.7*	*8.0*	*10.2*	*6.5*
Low sec. education	12.8	4.2	24.5^{+}	4.1	−21.6^{+}	−1.3	5.0	1.3
	11.7	*11.4*	*13.1*	*6.6*	*11.3*	*10.8*	*7.4*	*8.8*
High sec. education	19.1	3.1	34.3*	3.2	−29.8*	15.0	9.1	5.8
	12.9	*12.4*	*14.5*	*7.2*	*12.6*	*11.8*	*8.2*	*9.6*
College education	45.8***	7.0	45.8**	9.9	−43.6**	17.9	7.7	1.6
	13.8	*13.6*	*15.5*	*7.8*	*13.3*	*12.8*	*8.7*	*10.4*
Age	−5.6***	−5.3***	−9.3***	−2.3***	7.9***	6.0***	2.7***	1.8**
	0.5	*0.5*	*0.6*	*0.3*	*0.5*	*0.5*	*0.3*	*0.4*
Spouse								
Part-time work	38.7*	1.4	−40.1^{+}	−2.3	51.6**	16.5	−5.5	−12.1
	18.5	*11.3*	*20.7*	*6.5*	*17.9*	*10.7*	*11.6*	*8.6*
Overworking	−21.2*	−35.3*	37.5***	41.0***	−19.8*	−16.2	10.0^{+}	−3.5
	8.6	*16.0*	*9.63*	*9.2*	*8.3*	*15.1*	*5.4*	*12.3*
Low sec. education	12.8	3.2	7.7	11.2^{+}	−5.9	−2.9	−2.4	−14.3
	11.6	*11.5*	*13.07*	*6.7*	*11.3*	*10.9*	*7.3*	*8.8*
High sec. education	10.2	9.9	0.1	12.1	19.5	−9.3	−4.5	−16.1^{+}
	12.7	*12.7*	*14.25*	*7.4*	*12.3*	*12.0*	*8.0*	*9.8*
College education	19.7	24.5^{+}	0.8	15.9*	13.9	−15.5	−6.4	−28.1**
	13.9	*13.5*	*15.5*	*7.8*	*13.4*	*12.8*	*8.7*	*10.4*
Household								
Outsource domestic	6.5	11.6	−26.99**	−6.4	14.4^{+}	3.6	0.9	3.34
	7.7	*7.6*	*8.6*	*4.4*	*7.4*	*7.2*	*4.8*	*5.81*

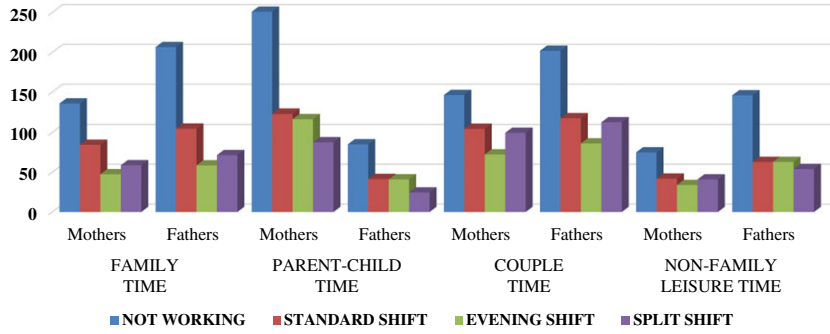
Table 2. *Continued*

	Family Time		Parent–Child Time		Couple Time		Non-family Leisure Time	
	Mothers Coeff.	Fathers Coeff.	Mothers Coeff.	Fathers Coeff.	Mothers Coeff.	Fathers Coeff.	Mothers Coeff.	Fathers Coeff.
Child aged 0–2	6.4	2.2	87.00***	9.1*	−13.6+	−9.2	−17.9***	−0.56
	7.9	*7.7*	*8.9*	*4.5*	*7.7*	*7.3*	*5.0*	*5.95*
Num. of children	3.1	3.4	23.00***	11.4***	−10.5*	−9.2+	−3.7	0.01
	5.4	*5.4*	*6.12*	*3.1*	*5.3*	*5.1*	*3.4*	*4.11*
Intercept	43.4***	76.4***	58.3***	48.7***	131.9***	108.6***	40.5***	84.9***
	13.8	*13.6*	*15.5*	*7.9*	*13.4*	*12.9*	*8.7*	*10.5*

Note. Data from 2003 Spanish Time Use Survey ($n = 1{,}416$). Standard errors are presented in the adjacent row. φ indicates significant gender interactions for a pooled sample ($n = 2{,}832$) at $p < .05$. We report only the significance for the work schedules categories, both at the individual and the spousal level. The letter *m* indicates statistical differences at $p < .05$ for men between the evening shift and the split shift. The letter *w* indicates statistical differences at $p < .05$ for women between the evening shift and split shift.

$^{+}p < .10$. $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$.

FIGURE 2. PREDICTED VALUES: PARENTS' DAILY MINUTES IN FOUR ACTIVITIES BY INDIVIDUAL'S WORK SCHEDULES.

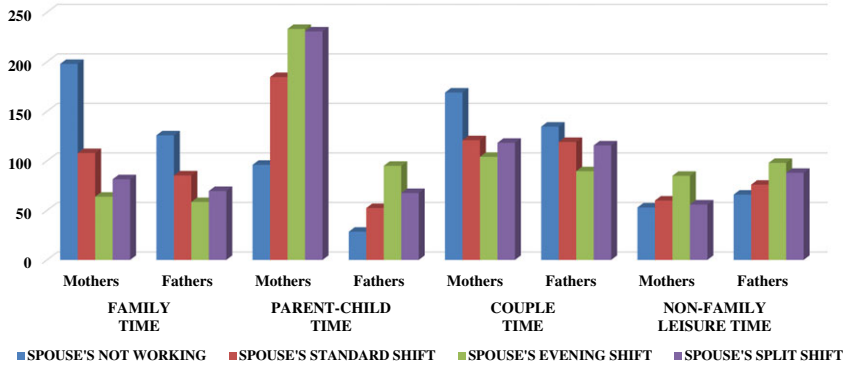


Predicted values based on SUR models from Table 2.

Table 2 shows results partly consistent with these expectations. The split shift was indeed significantly associated with less parent–child time. Mothers working the split shift spent 35 minutes less in parent–child time than did mothers working the standard shift ($p < .05$), whereas fathers in the split shift spent 17 minutes less than those working the standard shift ($p < .001$). Yet evening-shift workers did not differ substantially from standard-shift workers in their parent–child time, and they were significantly more likely to engage in parent–child activities than were split-shift workers. Further, we found strong gender differences in parent–child time. Figure 2 shows predicted values of 251 minutes on parent–child time among nonemployed mothers, as opposed to 85 minutes among nonemployed fathers. Similar gender differences were found when comparing employed mothers with employed fathers across the different work schedules.

At the spouse level, we expected parents with a spouse working the split shift and the evening shift to spend more time in parent–child activities than parents with a spouse working the standard shift, and we expected that mother–child time would be more strongly associated to the spouse's work hours than father–child time (Hypothesis 2b). Results were consistent with these expectations. Table 2 shows that parents with a spouse working the evening shift clearly spent more time in parent–child activities than did those with a spouse working the standard shift, with clear differences of 49 minutes for mother–child time ($p < .001$) and 43 for father–child time ($p < .001$). This shows clear evidence of compensation for the spouse's

FIGURE 3. PREDICTED VALUES: PARENTS' DAILY MINUTES IN FOUR ACTIVITIES BY SPOUSE'S WORK SCHEDULES.



nonstandard work schedules. Similarly, mothers with a spouse working the split shift allocated 46 minutes more ($p < .001$) and fathers 15 minutes more ($p < .10$) than their counterparts working the standard shift. We also found marked gender differences in the relationship between the spouse's work schedules and parent–child time, consistent with expectations. Figure 3 shows that, net of all the other factors, when the spouse worked the split shift, mothers spent 231 minutes in parent–child time, as opposed to fathers' 68 minutes of parent–child time. Table 2 indicates that the gender differences in the association between parent–child time and the spouse's split shift were statistically significant.

Results for Couple Time

Hypothesis 3 anticipated that evening-shift workers and their spouses spend less time in couple activities than do standard- and split-shift workers and their spouses. In general, results were consistent with this hypothesis. Table 2 shows that mothers working the evening shift spent 32 minutes less in couple time than did their counterparts working the standard shift ($p < .05$), with the same differences, but statistically stronger ones, observed for fathers ($p < .01$). Results showed that evening-shift workers spent less time in couple activities than did split-shift workers, but also that such differences between split- and evening-shift workers were statistically significant (see Table 2). Regarding the spouse's work schedules, the associations were less pronounced, especially for mothers' couple time. Still, we found differences of 17 minutes between mothers with a spouse working the evening shift and mothers with a spouse working the standard shift and differences of 29 minutes between fathers with a spouse working the evening shift and those with a spouse working the standard shift ($p < .10$). Figure 2 and Figure 3 illustrate with predicted values the SUR models for couple time, showing clear net differences between evening-shift workers and both standard-shift and split-shift workers.

Results for Non-family Leisure Time

Hypothesis 4 was divided in two levels of expectations. At the individual level, we anticipated that evening-shift workers spend substantially more time in non-family leisure than do standard- and split-shift workers (Hypothesis 4a). Table 2 presents results that are not consistent with our theoretical expectations. We found insignificant associations between parents' work schedules and their time spent on non-family leisure. Interestingly, we found relevant gender differences in non-family leisure across paid work categories. Figure 2 shows predicted values for non-family leisure of 75 minutes among nonemployed mothers compared to 146 minutes for nonemployed fathers. We also found gender differences in non-family leisure for working parents. Standard-shift mothers spent 32% less time in non-family leisure (42 minutes) than did standard-shift fathers (62 minutes), whereas evening-shift mothers allocated 46% less time to these activities (34 minutes) than did evening-shift fathers (63 minutes), holding constant all other factors.

At the spouse level, we expected parents with a spouse working the evening shift to spend more time in non-family leisure than parents with a spouse working the standard shift and split shift and that fathers spend more time than mothers in non-family activities in relation to the spouse's paid work hours (Hypothesis 4b). Results were consistent with these expectations. Table 2 shows that parents spent more time in non-family leisure when the spouse worked the evening shift, as compared to the standard shift, with significant differences of 25 minutes for the group of mothers ($p < .01$) and 22 for the group of fathers ($p < .10$). Also, parents with a spouse working the evening shift spent more time in non-family leisure than parents with a spouse working the standard shift, whereas differences were significant for mothers (Table 2). The SUR models also show relevant gender differences in this regard. For example, Figure 3 shows, that mothers with a split-shift worker spouse allocated 36% less time to non-family leisure activities (56 minutes) than did fathers with a spouse working the split-shift schedule (88 minutes), net of all factors included in the analyses.

Discussion

Our study contributes to the literature by using time-use data from Spain to analyze the links between work schedules and parents' participation in family, parent–child, couple, and non-family leisure activities. The Spanish institutional context is particularly interesting for the widespread persistence of the split-shift schedule, which is rooted in the old *siesta* tradition. The split-shift schedule involves a long lunch break (typically from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m.) that divides the workday between morning and evening. The institutionalization of the split-shift schedule, together with the general family-unfriendly work conditions of Spanish parents (Esping-Andersen et al., 2013; Gracia, 2014; Gutiérrez-Domènech, 2010), makes Spain a remarkable case for the international literature on work–family balance and more specifically the study of links between work schedules and family life.

Our study has four main findings. First and foremost, our analyses demonstrated that the split shift has strong negative associations with parent–child time and family time, two related activities that promote family solidarity and child well-being. In Spain, young children participate in school activities during hours that overlap with the standard shift (e.g., 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.) and likely go to bed in the evening (e.g., 8–9 p.m.). Children are mostly available to spend time with parents in the late afternoons and evenings, when most child-related activities are scheduled, either as parent–child time without the spouse (solo child care) or as parent–child time with the spouse (family time). These child-focused hours take place precisely when the large group of Spanish mothers and fathers working the split shift engage in paid work. This fact arguably explains the strong negative associations between the split shift and parents' time with children. Hence, our findings reveal that the split shift is not only a family-unfriendly work schedule but also strongly child-unfriendly.

Second, our study provides new relevant evidence on how the evening shift is associated with parents' allocation of family time, a question that has been argued to be particularly relevant in the current 24/7 economy (Presser, 2003). The evening shift, like the split shift, was negatively associated with family time, consistent with studies in the United States (Nock & Kingston, 1988) and France (Lesnard, 2008). Evening-shift workers were also substantially less active in couple time than were standard- and split-shift workers. This can be attributed to the fact that marital time frequently occurs during the night, when children are in bed. This finding contributes to recent debates about the risks of nonstandard work schedules for marital conflict and instability (Kalil et al., 2010; Presser, 2000). By contrast, we did not find negative associations between the evening shift and (solo) parent–child time. This finding is consistent with evidence from the United States and United Kingdom (Hook & Wolfe, 2013) but not with studies on other countries using different approaches (Craig & Powell, 2011; Rapoport & Le Bourdais, 2008). In Spain, working the evening shift allows parents to protect solo time with children, which can be scheduled in the mornings and afternoons. Yet the evening shift was associated with less parent–child time shared with the spouse, whereas previous studies have suggested that evening-shift workers might be able to engage in solo child care at the cost of reducing time in important personal activities, like sleeping (Wight et al., 2008).

Third, our study suggests that Spanish parents compensate for their spouse's paid work time

and schedules by engaging in parent–child time. Even with strong negative associations between the split shift and parent–child time, results revealed that Spanish parents actively engage in parent–child activities when their spouse worked the split shift. We found similar compensatory practices for parent–child time regarding the spouse's evening-shift work. Empirical analyses were robust, given that we controlled for the individual's and spouse's paid work constraints (i.e., overworking). These results are in line with theoretical approaches suggesting that spouses coordinate their time with children by considering the two partners' work constraints so as to maximize parental time investments (Presser, 1994). These results imply that spouses partly minimize the many difficulties for Spanish parents of spending time with children by supervising children without the presence of the spouse.

Fourth, our study reveals important gender inequalities. Mothers, across all paid work categories, were more active than fathers in parent–child time. We found that mothers' time with children was much more responsive to their husband's work hours and schedules as compared to how responsive fathers' time with children was to their wife's work hours and schedules. We found the opposite for non-family leisure time. When looking at nonemployed parents, fathers clearly spent more time in non-family leisure than did mothers. Fathers also allocated more time to non-family leisure in relation to the spouse's paid work time, especially when the spouse worked the split shift. These findings provide clear evidence that fathers' child-care involvement is much less responsive to their spouse's work schedules than is mothers' child-care involvement (Craig & Powell, 2011). These findings provide important evidence on the "traditional" gendered division of labor in the Spanish work–family system (Esping-Andersen et al., 2013; Sevilla-Sanz, Gimenez-Nadal, & Fernández, 2010).

There are three limitations in our study. First, we did not pay attention to spouses' time coordination. Studying whether spouses coordinate their work schedules, and how that is linked to family time allocation, is an important object of study that has received growing attention in recent years (Lesnard, 2008). Still, our analyses included paid work measures of the two spouses, an important improvement over most related studies, which used diary data from only one spouse. Second, we did not analyze specific activities. This applies to important activities for the gender division of labor (i.e., physical and nonphysical housework; Craig & Powell, 2011), child well-being (i.e., physical and interactive parenting; Bianchi et al., 2006), and lifestyles (i.e., watching television, sharing family meals; Nock & Kingston, 1988). Third, our study was restricted by data limitations. Although we used the best available data for our empirical goals, we could not employ longitudinal data or use measures on preferences and attitudes, which are crucial for disentangling the causal linkages between work schedules and family life. Future studies should consider all these important questions.

The present study has important public policy implications. In recent decades Spain has experienced an important process of modernization along many economic indicators, as well as demographic ones (i.e., family values; Dominguez Folgueras & Castro Martin, 2013). Yet Spain's system of work schedules remains anchored in the long lunch-break culture, rooted in the *siesta* tradition. This conflicts with the demands of postindustrial economies and with the family needs of contemporary dual-earner couples. In Spain, only about 15% of parents report control over their work schedules (Gracia et al., 2011), and family-friendly policies are largely underdeveloped (Esping-Andersen et al., 2013). This implies that a high proportion of Spanish parents working the split shift cannot change their work schedules. Therefore, even if we cannot make causal claims with our data, Spanish work schedules arguably have clear negative implications for the needs of families and children. Public institutions play a key role in regulating parents' working conditions and family life (Lewis, 2009; Sayer & Gornick, 2012). For this reason, our results offer new evidence to inform public policies in the area of work–family balance.

Finally, the extension and quality of child-care services in Spain is an important issue to be addressed. Many employed parents' restrictions on spending time with their children are not compensated for through strong child–care policies. Most Spanish parents rely on grandparents to care for children and to a higher extent than do parents in other Western European countries (Leopold & Skopek, 2014). Nonetheless, grandparents are not always available to care for their grandchildren, and they should not necessarily be the only option for

child care. Consequently, employed parents often face serious problems in choosing alternative child care. This might partly explain the high maternal unemployment rates in Spain, as most mothers stay at home to care for children, given families' constraints in arranging for child care. Likewise, the fact that the schedules of schools and day-care facilities in Spain are not well synchronized with many parents' work schedules creates obvious problems for work–family balance.

To conclude, we have provided innovative evidence on how work schedules are related to parents' allocation of family time in a single country. Future studies can shed light on how work schedules interfere with family life by using a cross-national perspective to answer questions similar to the ones in our study. The cross-national approach on the intersection of work schedules and family life has received some recent attention in the child-care literature (Hook & Wolfe, 2013), but it remains understudied with respect to other important topics, including marital relations, family time, and leisure. We hope that our study also inspires future research in this direction.

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Appendix

Parents' Average Minutes in Four Activities by the Individual and Spouse's Work Schedules

	Family time		Parent–child time		Couple time		Non-family leisure time	
	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
All couples ($n = 1416$)								
Individual								
Nonemployed	139	210	252	86	141	219	71	155
Standard shift	83	110	132	46	111	121	47	67
Evening shift	42	61	122	44	76	89	37	66
Split shift	41	61	50	17	103	101	42	44
Spouse								
Nonemployed	205	131	86	30	122	132	57	71
Standard shift	113	81	178	47	187	122	57	68
Evening shift	72	55	243	97	98	87	81	92
Split shift	69	49	239	75	109	121	59	90
Dual earners ($n = 619$)								
Individual								
Standard shift	79	88	137	68	108	118	46	71
Evening shift	37	32	133	64	79	80	36	73
Split shift	39	50	54	20	100	113	41	45
Spouse								
Standard shift	85	77	104	39	107	116	43	59
Evening shift	35	45	164	97	82	84	68	75
Split shift	53	47	134	59	105	115	40	61

Source. 2003 Spanish Time Use Survey.