

Feelings of time pressure despite leisure time?

Exploring the effect of different time use and leisure time characteristics on subjective time pressure

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Time has become a sensitive issue. People increasingly complain about a lack of time and increasing busyness. There is increasing awareness that, while we may be better off materially today than ever before, we hardly find the time or peace to enjoy it (Glorieux et al., 2006, p. 13).

This quotation still hits the nail on the head when it comes to time in our contemporary society. Many scholars describe our society as being characterised by busyness and feelings of time pressure (Robinson & Godbey, 1997; Zuzanek, 2017), stimulated by technological progress and the faster rhythms of daily life (Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009). These feelings of busyness and rush are captured by the concept of subjective time pressure. Whereas *objective* time pressure refers to the number of hours spent on paid work and household tasks (Knulst & van den Broek, 1998; Pääkkönen, 1998) or having too little free time (Vickery, 1977), *subjective* time pressure refers to the feeling that there is too little time to do all the things one needs and/or wants to do (e.g., Kleiner, 2014; Roxburgh, 2002). This is sometimes also referred to as time crunch, time shortage or time stress. Some scholars (Robinson & Godbey, 1997; Wajcman, 2015) argue that the increase in time pressure in Western societies is, at least partly, the result of perception that cannot be measured using objective approaches of time pressure because they do not consider the experience of time. From that perspective, in this chapter, we focus on subjective time pressure, which thus refers to people's perception or feeling of having insufficient time to perform the activities they want to do and must do.

Research has shown that time pressure can be reduced by having more leisure time (Zuzanek, 2004). Yet, coinciding with the increase in time pressure in society, other research indicates that the time spent on leisure activities has increased since the 1960s (e.g., Aguiar & Hurst, 2007; Gershuny, 2000). This seems contradictory, as we would expect an increase in leisure time to go hand in hand with a decrease in time pressure. An explanation for this seeming paradox might be that duration is not the only aspect of (leisure) time that is related to time pressure. Possibly, part of the explanation may lie in how we choose to spend our leisure time. Schwartz (2004) argues that freedom of choice in leisure time is under pressure due to the many choices available to allocate leisure time, which would lead to more time pressure as the amount of leisure time remains similar. Therefore, we must allocate the same duration of leisure time among more activities, making our choices more volatile and less meaningful (Scitovsky, 1976). This raises the question to what extent our use of leisure time, more than solely the duration of it, affects our experience of time pressure. In this book chapter, and in line with recommendations of Glorieux (2022) during his recent lecture at the 44th IATUR conference in Montréal, we attempt to go beyond duration and consider the degree of fragmentation, the timing, diversity, and contamination of leisure time and consider how these dimensions of leisure affect the feelings of time pressure. For this purpose, we use time use data gathered in Flanders by the TOR research group in 2013 and 2014. Considering that (time) norms and time use are gendered (Coser, 1991; Epstein, 2004), we analyse men and women separately and focus on the working population only.

Background

In this chapter, we focus on leisure time and its impact on time pressure. Leisure time is described by Glorieux et al. (2010, p. 165) as a freer kind of time or “the time with the fewest commitments and the greatest freedom of choice to do whatever we want”. In the literature, this type of time is often associated with time affluence (Vickery, 1977). Lacking leisure time is associated with stress and lower well-being (Sharif et al., 2021). Although previous studies demonstrate that other time use categories affect subjective well-being, such as time spent on paid and unpaid work (e.g., Craig & Brown, 2017; Laurijssen & Glorieux, 2013; van der Lippe, 2007), we focus solely on leisure time precisely because of this quality of freedom that is ascribed to it and the seeming paradox between the general increase in leisure time and the simultaneous increase in subjective time pressure in Western countries.

Subjective time pressure

The concept of subjective time pressure plays a crucial role in the work of Ignace Glorieux and colleagues, and by extension the Research Group TOR, who consider time pressure in relation to objective time pressure (Moens, 2006), career interruptions (Vandeweyer, 2010), part-time work (Laurijssen, 2012), leisure participation (Mullens & Glorieux, 2023), survey non-response (te Braak et al., 2023), and time diary data quality (te Braak et al., 2022). This chapter elaborates on this tradition.

Subjective time pressure, or the perception of having too little time, has risen sharply since 1965, reaching its peak during the 1990s and 2000s and decreasing again after 2010 (Robinson & Godbey, 2005; Rudd, 2019). As mentioned above, research has indicated that subjective time pressure is affected by the duration of leisure time (Zuzanek, 2004). After paid and unpaid work, the time people spend on leisure is the most correlated with subjective time pressure (Zuzanek & Beckers, 1999). Kleiner (2014, p. 109) states that subjective time pressure lies at the intersection of time experience and social roles: “it involves both the perception of time, and of role obligations perceived as necessary to accomplish within a given time period”. To study the impact of role obligations, people’s life stages and situations are often considered. Workers, women, parents with young children and the higher-educated have greater role demands and experience more time pressure (e.g., Gimenez-Nadal & Sevilla-Sanz, 2011; Mattingly & Sayer, 2006; Roxburgh, 2002). The ages of 24 to 50, when responsibilities, ambitions and obligations are concentrated, is associated with high levels of time pressure. During this “rush hour of life”, people are busy building a career, building a home, raising children, and chasing their leisure pursuits (Moens, 2004). In particular, young working parents are pressed for time as they combine the demands of parenting, with its high expectations of parental involvement (Hays, 1996), with the demands of employment (Hill et al., 2013). This strand of research shows how personal characteristics (which are used as a proxy for their current roles in life) affect the experience of time pressure.

Another strand of research, although smaller, has investigated the way gender moderates the relationship between the duration of leisure time and subjective time pressure. Mattingly and Sayer (2006), using US time diary data, found that subjective time pressure among men was reduced by an increase in their duration of free time, whereas the duration of free time did not have an impact on the subjective time pressure of women in 1998. Similarly, Jang, Lee and Choe (2012), using time use data in South Korea, show that leisure time reduces the level of subjective time pressure for men solely, while

the time women spent on leisure did not affect the feelings of time pressure. In sum, previous studies demonstrate that the duration of leisure time affects the subjective time pressure for men, but not for women.

Leisure time and its dimensions

The studies above describe a relationship (at least for men) between subjective time pressure, on the one hand, and the duration of leisure time, on the other. Remarkably few studies have investigated other dimensions of time and its impact on subjective time pressure. One of the notable exceptions is a time diary study on the existence of a harried leisure class in Flanders by Glorieux et al. (2010). Based on the time spent on different activities (paid work, unpaid work, personal care, different types of leisure, etc.), twelve time use patterns were identified. One of these patterns is described as the pattern of the harried leisure class, a term introduced by Linder (1970) to describe those who assert their material and cultural resources to extend their consumption of pleasure and leisure. The harried leisure class differs from the equanimous leisure class based on several different dimensions of leisure. According to Glorieux et al. (2010), the harried leisure class spends a great deal of time in paid work. The higher-educated, with higher salaries and dual earners, belong disproportionately more often to the harried leisure class. This class experiences more time pressure and a work–leisure tension and spends less time on leisure activities during the working week. Despite spending less time on leisure, they spend much more of this time on *active* leisure, outside of the house and with others, both during the working week and over weekends. In addition, the rate of voraciousness (i.e., the number of leisure activities per hour) and volatile consumption is higher than among the equanimous leisure class. Glorieux et al. (2010, p. 177) conclude that the harried leisure class are “the archetypal members of contemporary society who are pressured by time”. Feeling pressed for time is not a one-dimensional experience but represents multiple experiences of time (Southerton & Tomlinson, 2005). Time pressure is related to life stage and cultural, social, and economic capital that makes for abundant choices, which causes them stress to keep up with their needs and wants (Glorieux et al., 2010; Schwartz, 2004).

In a study that investigates gender differences in leisure, Bittman and Wajcman (2000) differentiate between leisure quantity and leisure quality. Their results show that women experience a higher time pressure than men and associate this experience with the quality of leisure rather than the quantity; women experience a more fragmented and contaminated leisure time and this time is therefore of lesser quality than that of men. However, based on

this distinction between quality and quantity, Mattingly and Bianchi (2003) found that duration, fragmentation and contamination of free time affected the subjective feeling of time pressure for men only. The high levels of time pressure that women, in particular mothers, experience (Robinson & Godbey, 1997) are often attributed to the combined paid and unpaid workload (Glorieux et al., 2006; Zuzanek & Beckers, 1999). Puzzled by the findings of Mattingly and Sayer (2006) discussed above, where men's subjective time pressure is explained by their time spent at leisure, but that of women is not, Craig and Brown (2017) investigated whether these gender differences might be due to differences in the quality of leisure. Studying two-parent families, they found that multitasking in unpaid work led to an increase of feeling rushed among mothers, while multitasking during leisure time only negatively affected fathers' subjective time pressure. The amount of pure (i.e., uncontaminated) leisure negatively affected both mothers and fathers (Craig & Brown, 2017). These results are partly in line with those of a study by Offer and Schneider (2011), where multitasking (in general) was associated with negative emotions and psychological stress for women only.

Next to the quantity and quality of leisure (fragmentation and contamination), Anttila, Oinas, and Nätti (2009), following Sullivan (2007), investigated how cultural voraciousness, as an indicator of the pace of leisure, affected time famine (both subjective and objective) and found that, for both women and men, cultural voraciousness was positively associated with perceived time stress. Intensely attending various cultural activities leads to higher feelings of time strain because of competing time demands and potential coordination problems (Southerton & Tomlinson, 2005).

As the above literature review demonstrates, an overly restricted focus on leisure time that considers only the duration of leisure time leads to biased and inconclusive findings on correlates such as subjective time pressure. To fully understand the occurrence of subjective time pressure, other temporal dimensions also need to be considered (Zerubavel, 1981). Dimensions that have been used by others discussed above are the timing of leisure (such as weekend or weekday leisure time) (Chatzitheochari & Arber, 2012; Glorieux et al., 2010), the rate of recurrence as fragmentation of leisure (Bittman & Wajcman, 2000), multitasking or contamination (Craig & Brown, 2017) or cultural voraciousness (Sullivan, 2007).

In sum, this literature review demonstrates that (1) subjective time pressure is expected to decrease once people spend more time on leisure time, (2) although some studies find that this is only the case for men, and that, (3) paradoxically, simultaneously with the increase in time pressure over the past 50-plus years, leisure time also increased and that (4) this paradox might result

from an exclusive focus on the duration of leisure time. In this chapter, we therefore expand our focus and examine, using Flemish time diary data, how other dimensions of leisure time such as timing, fragmentation, contamination, and diversity of the leisure repertoire are related to subjective time pressure. Specifically, we respond to the following research questions:

- (1) To what extent do different dimensions of leisure time contribute to subjective time pressure?
- (2) To what extent do the relationships between subjective time pressure and different dimensions of leisure time differ according to gender?

Methods

Data

Data come from a Flemish (Belgian) online time diary study that was conducted in 2013 and 2014 (Minnen et al., 2014). In total, a random sample of 39,756 people aged 18 to 75 years and living in Flanders, Belgium, was selected from the Belgian National Register with equal probabilities of being chosen. The study took place online using the data-collection platform MOTUS (Minnen et al., 2020), which was developed to conduct time diary studies. The respondents were asked to complete a pre-questionnaire, keep a time diary for seven consecutive days (168 hours) and complete a post-questionnaire. Using seven-day time diary data is crucial for our analyses, because many leisure activities (e.g., sports activities) take place weekly, meaning that a large proportion of leisure activities are not recorded in time diary studies where respondents participate for one or two days only (Glorieux & Minnen, 2009). A total of 3,260 respondents agreed to participate in the study. For the analyses, only data from respondents who were working full- or part-time were included. Students, retirees, and others who were not employed at the time of the study were excluded, as time pressure is related to different social roles (Kleiner, 2014), of which the role related to paid work is an important one. The leisure patterns of the employed population are often also different from those who are not working because they have less leisure time and the timing of their leisure time differs too. To analyse the impact of leisure among this group we selected only employed respondents over the age of 25. A total of 1,685 (51.6 %) sampled individuals, of whom 775 (45.99 %) were women and 910 (54.01 %) were men, were used in the analyses.

Table 1. Factor loadings and scale statistics of the Time Pressure Scale (n = 1,685)

	1-dimension solution	2-dimension solution (oblique rotation)	
	(1)	(1)	(2)
I have never some time for myself	0.740	0.697	0.603
I do not have time to do the things I must do	0.718	0.715	0.541
I must do more than I want to	0.708	0.781	0.449
I often am not able to do the things I like to do in my leisure time	0.704	0.464	0.796
I am expected to do more than I can handle	0.692	0.812	0.383
It cost me a lot of effort to plan my leisure activities	0.685	0.446	0.781
I find it hard to relax during my leisure time	0.679	0.553	0.634
I never get finished	0.671	0.746	0.434
Too much is expected from me	0.664	0.796	0.348
There are so many things I would like to do during my leisure time that I often feel short of time	0.634	0.397	0.740
Too often I must take others into account during my leisure time	0.628	0.447	0.672
Too many of my leisure activities are fragmented	0.585	0.327	0.728
I often have to cancel appointments	0.516	0.492	0.414
Eigenvalue	5.765	4.884	4.660
Cronbach's alpha	0.893	0.884	0.859

Concepts

Time Pressure: Time pressure is measured using thirteen items. Originally, these items were derived from two different surveys. On the one hand, there are items that gauge a general feeling of lack of time or general time pressure (Ackaert & Swyngedouw, 1995) while, on the other, items gauge time pressure in leisure time (Peters & Raaijmakers, 1998). As indicated earlier, these items have already been used in many surveys by the TOR research group. All the items were rated on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree (van Tienoven et al., 2017). Although the initial factor analysis suggests two dimensions with an eigenvalue higher than 1, the scree plot shows that the first component has a higher eigenvalue than the following factors (see Table 1). In addition, the two components have many overlapping items and correlate rather strongly ($r = 0.55$).¹ Consequently, a single component (see also Table 1)

1 Items scoring high on the first dimension but not on the second gauge general time pressure (Ackaert & Swyngedouw, 1995), with no reference to leisure time pressure. The items that score high on the second dimension but not on the first dimension originate from a study

has high factor loadings (>0.5) and a strong Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha = 0.89$). In this chapter, we therefore opt to use a single scale that measures subjective time pressure.

In the analyses, we used a sum scale that ranges from 0 to 100 in which a higher score refers to a higher subjective time pressure.

Duration of leisure time: The duration of leisure time was calculated by summing all the leisure activities the respondents participated in during the seven days they kept a diary. Leisure also included time spent on social activities such as speaking or visiting friends and family. Leisure time was measured in hours and centred on the mean for women and men separately. An increase of one unit should be interpreted as an increase of one hour from the mean by gender (32 hours for men; 27.3 hours for women).

Timing of leisure time: The timing was calculated based on the share (in %) of weekend leisure time. The weekend was defined as the time between Friday 18:00 and Sunday 12:00. The lowest score is 0 % on weekends, while the highest score is 100 %. To avoid an overly skewed distribution the lower bound was capped to 20 %, while the upper bound was capped to 90 %. The variable used in the analyses was centred on the mean (51.1 % for men; 50.5 % for women). A one-unit increase in the analyses thus indicates a one percentage point increase from these averages.

Fragmentation of leisure time: Fragmentation was measured by summing all the episodes of leisure time, which was subsequently divided by the full duration of leisure time (as described above). The variable expresses the number of activities per hour of leisure time. The mean is 0.6. We used three categories: 0 to 0.4 activities per hour, 0.4 to 0.6 activities per hour (reference category) and greater than 0.6 activities per hour.

Diversity of leisure repertoire: Diversity was calculated as the number of different leisure activity groups a respondent participated in over seven days. All the leisure and social activities were grouped in thirteen categories. The respondent had to spend at least ten minutes on an activity for it to be counted. A score ranging between 1 and 13 was obtained for every respondent. The mean is 4.7. The variable used in the analyses was centred on the mean (4.7 for men; 4.8 for women). A one-unit increase in the analyses thus indicates that the respondents participated in one additional activity group from these means.

that measures leisure time pressure specifically (Peter & Raaijmakers, 1998). This suggests that general time pressure and leisure time pressure can be considered somewhat different concepts. However, there is a large degree of overlap between the two concepts.

Contamination of leisure time: Contamination measures the extent to which respondents combine leisure activities with (paid and unpaid) work activities. We use two dummies: 0 = no contaminated work time; 1 = at least one leisure activity contaminated by paid or unpaid work.

Control variables: We controlled for the effects of leisure time dimensions on subjective time pressure with different background variables. We investigated the following characteristics: age (younger than 40 [reference category], 40-49, 50-65 years old), level of education (no to lower secondary education, higher secondary education [reference category], tertiary education), having a partner (no partner [reference category], partner) and having children (no children [reference category], one or more children younger than seven, one or more children between seven and 25 but no children younger than seven years old).

Analytic strategy

In a first step, we examined the degree of time pressure in a linear regression with the duration of leisure time only and controlled directly for the background variables. In a second step, we added the other dimensions (timing, fragmentation, diversity, and contamination) of leisure time to Model 1. In a final step, we checked for meaningful interactions between the dimensions of leisure time and the background variables. All the models were run separately depending on gender (male, female).

Results

Model 1 in Table 2a-b demonstrates that, when controlled for background characteristics, the duration of recreative time has a significant negative effect on subjective time pressure for both men and women. The more time is spent on leisure activities, the less time pressure both men and women experience. For every hour more recreative time that men have, their subjective time pressure decreases with 0.25 (on a scale from 0 to 100). For women, this decreases by 0.35 per additional hour of leisure. The impact of the background variables differs somewhat between women and men in Model 1. For men, Model 1 shows that the educational level affects subjective time pressure. Working men with a degree in higher education (tertiary education) experience more time pressure ($b = 2.85$) than men without a degree in higher education. Regarding the subjective time pressure of women, Model 1 shows that age, educational level and having a child younger than seven years old are important. Women between

40 and 49 years of age experience less subjective time pressure ($b = -3.74$). In addition, Model 1 demonstrates that women with a child younger than seven ($b = 4.14$) and women with a child between seven and 25 years of age ($b = 3.15$) experience higher subjective time pressure than women who do not live with any children. Having children therefore increases the feelings of time pressure for women. Finally, we find that women with a degree in secondary education experience more time pressure than women with a degree in higher education ($b = -3.82$) and women with a no degree or a lower than secondary education ($b = -4.57$). This is somewhat contradictory to what we would expect and is also in contrast with what we find for working men, where the higher-educated experience most time pressure. We discuss this in the next section.

In Model 2 we add the four other dimensions of leisure time to the variables in Model 1. Interestingly, the betas for the number of hours of leisure time were roughly equal between men and women in Model 1. In Model 2, the beta of the number of hours of leisure time decreases substantially for women (from $\beta = -0.19$ in Model 1 to $\beta = -0.15$ in Model 2), while it increases slightly for men (from $\beta = -0.18$ in Model 1 to $\beta = -0.20$ in Model 2). This suggests that the relationship between subjective time pressure and the number of hours of leisure time for women decreases once the way women spend their leisure time is examined, whereas for men it increases slightly.

For men, Model 2 does not show any additional significant effects. None of the other dimensions of leisure time have a significant impact on men's subjective time pressure. The duration of leisure time proves to be the only dimension that affects time pressure. The results regarding the background characteristics remain stable after the insertion of the other dimensions of leisure time.

For women, Model 2 demonstrates important effects of two other leisure-time dimensions. Diversity in the leisure repertoire is negatively associated with time pressure. This means that the more diverse the repertoire of leisure activities that women engage in, the less time pressure they experience. In addition, the contamination of leisure activities (with paid or unpaid work) is detrimental for subjective time pressure. Women who combine at least some of their leisure time with work activities experience more time pressure than those women who do not combine their leisure with work ($b = 2.89$). While this quality of leisure does not affect the subjective time pressure of men, it is important in explaining some of the variation in women's time pressure. Finally, the duration of leisure time remains the most important dimension, although the effect has decreased to -0.26 now that more dimensions of leisure time are added.

Table 2a. Multiple linear regression analyses of Subjective Time Pressure for men (n = 910)

	Model 1					Model 2				
	b	sig.	β	CI [95 %]		b	sig.	β	CI [95 %]	
				Lower	Upper				Lower	Upper
(Constant)	37.037	***		34.014	40.059	36.133	***		32.71	39.556
<i>Leisure Time Dimensions</i>										
LT in hours (<i>centred</i>)	-0.251	***	-0.182	-0.343	-0.16	-0.276	***	-0.2	-0.392	-0.161
% of LT in weekend (<i>centred</i>)						0.059	n.s.	0.05	-0.019	0.137
Fragmentation of LT (<i>ref.: 0.4-0.6 activities per hr</i>)										
0-0.4 activities per hr						2.39	n.s.	0.066	-0.225	5.005
>0.6 activities per hr						0.725	n.s.	0.022	-1.765	3.216
Diversity of LT (<i>centred</i>)						0.341	n.s.	0.036	-0.373	1.055
Contamination of LT (<i>ref.: no contamination</i>)										
Contaminated LT						1.265	n.s.	0.04	-0.812	3.342
<i>Control variables</i>										
Age (<i>ref.: ≤ 39 yrs</i>)										
40-49 yrs	0.313	n.s.	0.009	-2.404	3.031	0.248	n.s.	0.007	-2.477	2.974
50-65 yrs	1.206	n.s.	0.037	-1.49	3.902	1.064	n.s.	0.033	-1.637	3.764
Educational level (<i>ref.: higher secondary education</i>)										
Lower secondary education	1.788	n.s.	0.051	-0.75	4.326	1.876	n.s.	0.054	-0.68	4.431
Tertiary education	2.852	*	0.089	0.537	5.166	2.445	*	0.076	0.045	4.844
Partner in household (<i>ref.: no partner</i>)										
Partner	0.649	n.s.	0.015	-2.299	3.596	0.693	n.s.	0.016	-2.27	3.655
Children in household (<i>ref.: no children</i>)										
Youngest child ≤ 6 yrs	2.48	n.s.	0.065	-0.528	5.489	2.156	n.s.	0.056	-0.883	5.195
Youngest child 7-25 yrs	-0.391	n.s.	-0.012	-2.895	2.113	-0.612	n.s.	-0.019	-3.122	1.897
R ²	0.052					0.06				

Notes: B = unstandardised regression coefficient, sig. = significance, β = standardised regression coefficient, CI = confidence interval.

Levels of significance: *** $p \leq 0.001$, ** $p \leq 0.010$, * $p \leq 0.050$, n.s. = not significant

Table 2b. Multiple linear regression analyses of Subjective Time Pressure for women (n = 775)

	Model 1					Model 2				
	b	sig.	β	CI [95 %]		b	sig.	β	CI [95 %]	
				Lower	Upper				Lower	Upper
(Constant)	44.568	***		40.91	48.226	40.991	***		36.768	45.214
<i>Leisure Time Dimensions</i>										
LT in hours (<i>centred</i>)	-0.345	***	-0.192	-0.473	-0.217	-0.264	***	-0.147	-0.421	-0.108
% of LT in weekend (<i>centred</i>)						0.06	n.s.	0.046	-0.033	0.153
Fragmentation of LT (<i>ref.: 0.4-0.6 activities per hr</i>)										
0-0.4 activities per hr						2.138	n.s.	0.04	-1.856	6.132
>0.6 activities per hr						2.027	n.s.	0.059	-0.812	4.866
Diversity of LT (<i>centred</i>)						-1.056	*	-0.099	-1.947	-0.165
Contamination of LT (<i>ref.: no contamination</i>)										
Contaminated LT						2.885	*	0.083	0.445	5.326
<i>Control variables</i>										
Age (<i>ref.: ≤39 yrs</i>)										
40-49 yrs	-3.741	*	-0.102	-7.086	-0.395	-3.214	n.s.	-0.087	-6.567	0.139
50-65 yrs	-0.058	n.s.	-0.002	-3.289	3.172	0.581	n.s.	0.016	-2.686	3.848
Educational level (<i>ref.: higher secondary education</i>)										
Lower secondary education	-4.572	*	-0.094	-8.216	-0.929	-4.247	*	-0.088	-7.907	-0.588
Tertiary education	-3.819	**	-0.11	-6.434	-1.204	-3.259	*	-0.094	-5.942	-0.576
Partner in household (<i>ref.: no partner</i>)										
Partner	0.385	n.s.	0.009	-2.542	3.313	0.519	n.s.	0.013	-2.402	3.439
Children in household (<i>ref.: no children</i>)										
Youngest child ≤6 yrs	4.14	*	0.086	0.152	8.128	3.075	n.s.	0.064	-0.968	7.119
Youngest child 7-25 yrs	3.156	*	0.091	0.263	6.048	2.922	*	0.084	0.025	5.819
R ²	0.07					0.086				

Notes. B = unstandardised regression coefficient, sig. = significance, β = standardised regression coefficient, CI = confidence interval.

Levels of significance: *** p ≤ 0.001, ** p ≤ 0.010, * p ≤ 0.050, n.s. = not significant.

Model 2 shows that the effects of the background variables have shifted for women after adding the other dimensions of leisure time. Age no longer affects subjective time pressure, nor does having a child under the age of seven. Many of the effects that were found in Model 1, although still significantly affecting time pressure, have decreased in effect size after adding the other leisure-time dimensions. Similarly with the findings in Model 1, women with a degree in secondary education experience more time pressure than women with a lower ($b = -4.25$) or tertiary degree ($b = -3.26$). Although this might seem to be contradictory, additional analyses (not shown here, but available on request from the first author) reveal that a possible explanation for this observation lies in the total workload of women: women with a degree in secondary education spend the most amount of time on work (both paid and unpaid work) than the other two educational groups.

For women, we found several interaction effects between background characteristics and two leisure-time dimensions: diversity in leisure activities and contamination of leisure activities (Figure 1). First, the negative effect of diversity on feelings of time pressure does not hold up for women without young children (up to seven years of age). For women without children and those who have children between the ages of seven and 25, a rich repertoire in leisure activities is associated with lower feelings of time pressure. When young children live in the household, a very diverse leisure repertoire only leads to more subjective time pressure for working women. The interactions between diversity and age are also in line with this: for women in the busy age (25-39 years of age) a high level of diversity in leisure activities is associated with higher time pressure, while for older women a high diversity in leisure activities is associated with lower time pressure. Second, contaminated leisure time weighs more on the time pressure of women in the busy age and on women with young children. For women with children under the age of seven, time pressure is already high without contamination of their leisure time, but contamination additionally proves to increase those feelings of strain. The gap in experienced time pressure between women with young children and women with older children becomes visibly bigger in the case of contaminated leisure time.

Comparing the impact on women and men of several dimensions of leisure time, the results demonstrate that for men the duration of leisure is the only dimension that affects subjective time pressure. However, for women, the results prove to be more complex. Although the duration of leisure is important for women too, other dimensions such as the diversity of the leisure repertoire and the contamination of leisure time, are also important dimensions to consider when studying women's time pressure. For women in busy age groups,

Figure 1. Interactions of Contamination and Diversity of Leisure Time with age category and children in the household for working women (n=775)

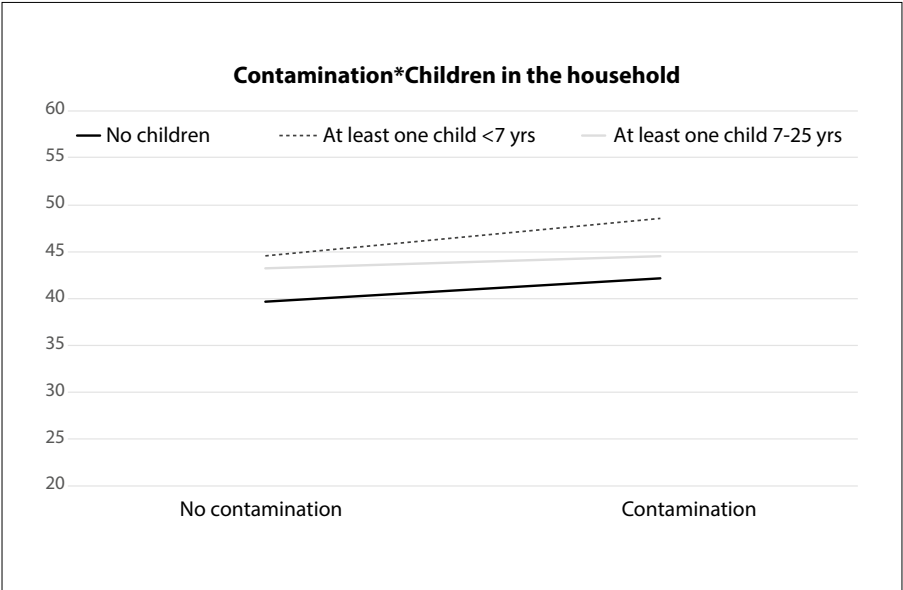
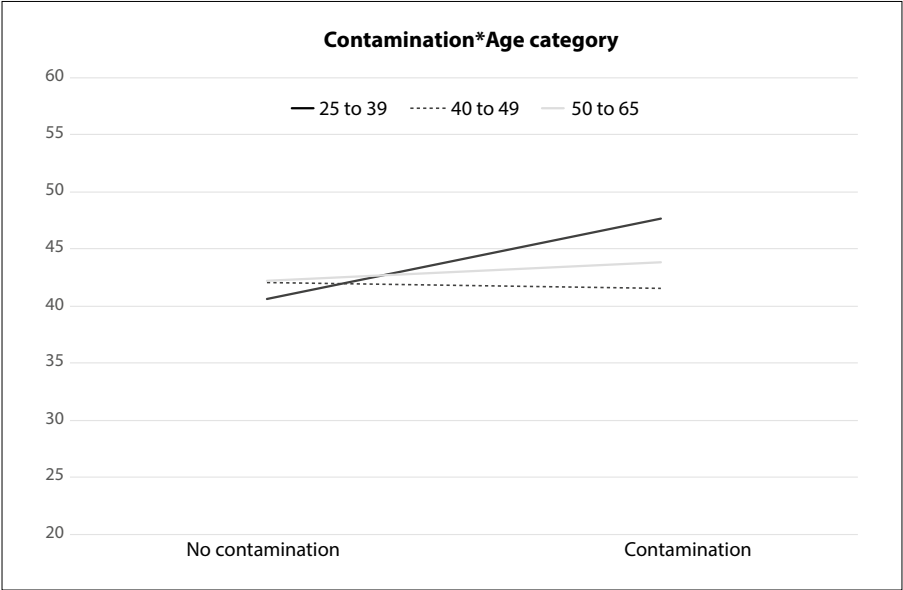
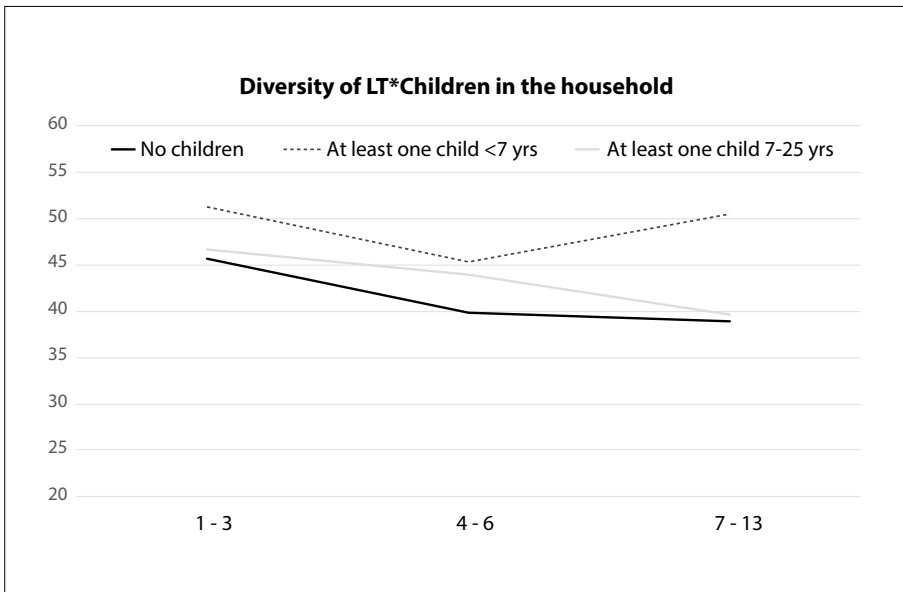
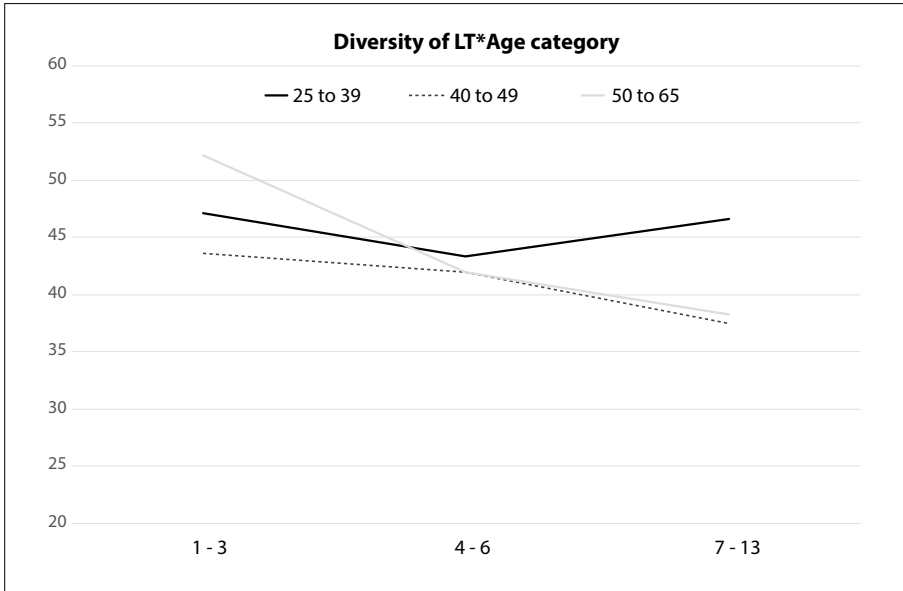


Figure 1. Continued



who daily face heavy time demands, a higher diversity in leisure activities is associated with high levels of time pressure. Contamination also weighs more heavily on the experienced time pressure of mothers with young children and women in their late 20s and 30s.

Discussion and Conclusion

Trying to gain a better grasp of the seeming paradox between the increase in leisure time and the simultaneous increase in subjective time pressure over time (Gershuny, 2000; Robinson & Godbey, 2005), the aim of this chapter was to investigate the extent to which different dimensions of leisure time beyond duration contribute to subjective time pressure. As several authors have found differences in women's and men's time use (Chatzitheochari & Arber, 2012), their quality of time (Bittman & Wajcman, 2000) and their differential impact of the duration of free time on subjective time pressure (Mattingly & Sayer, 2006), we stratified our analyses by gender.

We used time use data from the Flemish time diary study of 2013 to investigate the dynamics between feelings of time pressure of the employed (above the age of 25) and the temporal dimensions of their leisure time. The effect of the most common dimension of time, duration, was tested against other less frequently addressed dimensions, being fragmentation, timing, and contamination (by paid and unpaid work activities). Given the focus on leisure time and the voraciousness and volatile consumption of leisure in our contemporary society, we included the diversity or repertoire of leisure activities as a final indicator.

We conclude that the duration of leisure time is the most important and only dimension of leisure time that affects working men's subjective time pressure. Other leisure-time dimensions, as indicators of the way men spend their leisure time, do not affect the subjective time pressure of men. The relationship between time pressure and leisure time for employed women is more complex than that of working men. In addition to the duration of leisure time, the contamination of leisure (leisure activities combined with paid or unpaid work) and the diversity of the leisure repertoire affect women's subjective time pressure. The way women attribute their time to leisure activities proves to have an important impact. This is in line with Zukewich's (1998) findings, which demonstrate that explaining women's subjective time pressure is more complex than explaining that of men. Time spent in paid work is correlated with time spent in leisure, which also was the only important dimension in our analyses for working men. The impact of women's leisure-time dimensions

is linked to their roles and life stages. Employed women who have a more diverse repertoire of leisure activities experience lower subjective time pressure. However, this is not the case for women with young children at home and for women aged 25-39 (which is also called the “rush hour of life”; Moens, 2004). More diversity in the type of leisure activities of women with young children is associated with more subjective time pressure. We hypothesise that this is caused by the diversity of their leisure time not being the result of a free choice by these women but rather a consequence of various activities which are imposed on them by their children. For them, leisure is then not “the time with the fewest commitments” (Glorieux et al., 2010, p. 165) and a diverse leisure repertoire could instead be a sign of “intensive mothering” (Hays, 1996). In addition, and in line with findings from Offer and Schneider (2011), the “rush hour of life”, in which many different roles are combined, is also associated with a higher contamination of leisure and this leads to much higher time pressure for employed women. As a result of gendered time norms and cultural ideology, employed women combine several important, contradictory, roles in their lives, whereas for men the most important role, by far, is their work role (Coser, 1991; Epstein, 2004). Women are still expected to spend disproportionately more time on childcare and household work activities in addition to spending time in paid work. The combination of multiple roles leads to more problems in time allocation and coordination for women (Coser, 1991) and, among other things, it affects the quality of their leisure time (Bittman & Wajcman, 2000). It is thus clear that the combination of different roles as worker and caretaker affect the different dimensions of leisure time for working women; and, as our findings show, these in turn affect their subjective time pressure. The focus on the duration of (leisure) time is thus justified when studying the subjective time pressure of working men. However, for working women the contamination of leisure time and the diversity of their leisure repertoire, in addition to the duration of leisure, are important to consider in future research. In line with Mattingly and Sayer (2006), the results presented in this chapter indicate that access to quality leisure time (uncontaminated by either paid or unpaid work) and a diverse repertoire of one’s own choice are important aspects of gender equality. The paradox discussed above can thus be explained partially by looking beyond the duration of leisure and recognising that there are more (temporal) elements at play when dealing with changes in subjective time pressure, at least for women.

Referring to the quotation with which we started this chapter, it is not only time in general (Glorieux et al., 2006), but also leisure time in particular that has become a sensitive issue. This is particularly noteworthy because previous studies indicated that a higher amount of leisure time can effectively reduce

time pressure. A lack of time and feelings of time pressure can be reduced by more and better fulfilment of leisure time. For both men and women, society would do well to find more time for leisure. And for women specifically it is important to ensure that they find the time or the peace of mind to enjoy their leisure.

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