INTERSECTIONS OF GENDER AND OCCUPATION IN WORK HOUR MISMATCHES, RESOLUTION, AND METHODS OF RESOLUTION IN AUSTRALIA

by

BRITTA GIRTZ

(Under the Direction of Jeremy Reynolds)

ABSTRACT

Existing research on work hour mismatches has examined gender and occupational differences, but it has largely assumed that these factors work independently of each other. This paper combines insights from the stress of higher status hypothesis and the concept of the ideal worker to examine the intersections of gender and occupation in relation to inequalities in workers' abilities to control the amount of time they spend in paid work. I also offer a longitudinal and process oriented analysis by examining how men and women in upper, middle and lower prestige occupations differ in their chances of having hour mismatches, resolving mismatches, and in the methods through which they resolve them. Findings indicate that men and women experience different types of mismatches and men in upper level occupations are at greater risk of mismatches and least likely to find resolutions, yet outcomes are heavily influenced by the intersections of gender and occupation, illustrating the need for this type of analysis. There are few results to indicate differences in the mechanism of mismatch resolution by either gender or occupation.

INDEX WORDS: Work hour mismatches, gender, occupation, intersectionality

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DEDICATION

For my daughter, Anneke, who has been with me on this journey from the beginning and has patiently shared her mother with this project for many more hours than she would have preferred. Thank you.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Many people today feel they are spending too much or too little time in paid work, and either problem can be a significant source of strain. Mismatches between the number of hours a worker spends in paid work and the number of hours they would prefer to work are one of the factors contributing to work-family conflict (Reynolds and Aletraris 2007), which has become increasingly ubiquitous in recent years. Over 70 percent of U.S. workers in a recent study reported some level of interference between work and non-work activities (Schieman, Milkie and Glavin 2009). Hour mismatches have been shown to have an impact on worker safety and organizational commitment (Stamper and Van Dyne 2001), as well as psychological and physical well-being for those working too many hours (Galinsky 2001). Additionally, workers who desire more hours suffer not from rigid work schedules but rather from fluctuating and inconsistent work hours which may not provide the income needed to support families (Lambert, Haley-Lock and Henly 2012, Lautsch and Scully 2007).

Since the publication of *The Overworked American* (Schor 1991), researchers have learned a great deal about the factors that help generate hour mismatches. Long work weeks have become increasingly common (Cha 2007), especially in professional occupations and among men (Williams and Boushey 2010). The intrusion of work into family life, conflicts between family obligations and the desire for free time, and the need to work many hours have increased tensions between work and home life (Hochschild 1997, Stone 2007, Williams and Boushey 2010). Additionally, changes in both the nature of work and the nature of the labor force,

increasing numbers of women entering the labor force, dual-earner households, and nontraditional work arrangements have contributed to the number of families facing hectic schedules and time imbalances (Glass 2005, Kalleberg 2011).

In response to some of these concerns, previous studies have provided some insights into the prevalence, type, and resolution of mismatches. Mismatches have been shown to be quite common, with perhaps 30-40% of American workers wanting fewer hours at work, and 10-20% wanting more (Golden 2006), indicating that roughly 40-60% of workers will have an hour mismatch at any given point in time. Furthermore, people with mismatches typically want to increase or decrease their work week by five or more hours (Jacobs and Gerson 2004). Unfortunately, many people do not get what they want. In one of the few longitudinal studies of hour mismatch resolution, Reynolds and Aletraris (2006:630) found that only 36 percent of men and 40 percent of women with mismatches resolved them over a one-year period.

Despite this scientific advancement, most existing studies have taken a relatively simplistic approach to studying inequalities in hour mismatches. Many studies focus on describing the prevalence of hour mismatches in the cross-section or on identifying a comprehensive set of factors that help create them. Existing research has thus examined some effects of occupational category on work-hour mismatches, as well as the likelihood that different categories of people (by gender, race, etc.) will have hour mismatches. Few studies, however, have examined how hour mismatches change over time, and to my knowledge, only one study has examined how experiences with hour mismatches reflect the intersection of gender and occupation (Clawson and Gerstel 2014, Gerstel and Clawson 2014). Their study consists of surveys, observations, and interviews which explore how gender and class combine to influence temporal flexibility among men and women in different health care occupations and finds that

men and women do gender differently according to class location. My study extends this work by examining these intersections quantitatively in a large sample over time, using men and women in many occupations and looking specifically at hour mismatches.

In this paper, I combine insights from the stress of higher status hypothesis, which focuses on occupations, with the concept of the ideal worker, which highlights the gendered nature of norms regarding paid and unpaid work. Specifically, I use these ideas to examine how different combinations of gender and occupation are related to inequalities in workers' abilities to control the amount of time they spend in paid work. By examining the intersection of gender and occupation, I am better able to study the heterogeneity of experiences people have with hour mismatches. Considering gender and occupation as separate, largely one-dimensional categories neglects the reality of the social world in which, for example, neither all women nor all those in particular types of occupations share the same characteristics or experiences. This approach enables the understanding of women's versus men's abilities to obtain the work hours they desire at different levels of occupation, understanding each intersection as a unique location with its own potentially unique characteristics.

I also extend the literature by examining multiple inequalities in people's experiences with hour mismatches. I examine how men and women in upper, middle, and lower prestige occupations differ in their chances of having hour mismatches, resolving mismatches, and in the methods through which they resolve those mismatches. This attention to multiple inequalities highlights the dynamic nature of hour mismatches and some of the processes that generate the distribution of hour mismatches that are apparent in the cross-section.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Work hour mismatches

Work hour mismatches are an important but understudied form of inequality. Knowing the level of disparity, the ease or difficulty in resolving mismatches, and the ways individuals resolve hour mismatches can help sociologists understand the challenges people face and the compromises they make to achieve an ideal balance between paid work and the rest of life. The ability of workers to negotiate the hours they need or want contributes to their overall well-being, safety, and the efficiency of organizations (Dembe, Erickson, Delbos et al. 2005, Galinsky 2001, Roehling, Roehling and Moen 2001, Stamper and Van Dyne 2001, Wooden, Warren and Drago 2009).

While there is a small body of research exploring how work-hour mismatches are distributed among groups and which characteristics might affect their chances of resolution, the existing research has not particularly focused on inequalities by gender and has focused perhaps too closely on the experiences of managers and professionals. Furthermore, very few studies have taken a longitudinal perspective to examine differences in people's ability to resolve hour mismatches or in the methods people use to resolve them. There is some evidence that the chances of having a mismatch or the type of mismatch one has are related to race (Bell 1998) and class (Lautsch and Scully 2007). It is unclear, however, how such predictors may interact with each other. Men and women in similar occupations, for instance, may have different experiences.

There is also some evidence that men and women resolve mismatches in different ways. Some people, for instance, get the hours they want, while others come to prefer or settle for the hours that are available. Some research suggests, for instance, that women are less likely than men to reach a compromise over more hours and also less likely than men to achieve a reduction in actual hours (Reynolds and Aletraris 2010). Others indicate that men and women deploy gender roles differently depending on class advantage, with those in upper occupations relying on traditional gender roles while those in lower occupations "undo" gender as they attempt to meet family and work obligations under different sets of constraints than their peers in upper level jobs (Clawson and Gerstel 2014, Gerstel and Clawson 2014). More generally, there is some evidence that methods used to resolve mismatches may be related to gender, marriage and children, education, occupation, and the type of mismatch people had to begin with, i.e. whether they sought more or fewer hours at work (Reynolds and Aletraris 2010).

In short, while there appear to be inequalities in the chances of having a mismatch, in the odds of resolving a mismatch, and in the method of resolving a mismatch, few studies have offered detailed accounts the factors related to those inequalities. My study examines more than differences in workers' ability to control their work hours. Some people have positive experiences, having no mismatch, resolving a mismatch easily, or resolving one through changes in actual hours; others have more negative experiences, having mismatches, failing to resolve them, or resolving them by changing preferences. These inequalities may lead to additional inequalities in health, well-being, quality of life, and other areas, but are also interesting and informative when studied independently of those issues. In light of this gap in the existing literature, I focus on three central research questions.

Research Questions

1. How do gender and occupational category affect the probability of having a work hour mismatch?
2. How do gender and occupational category affect the probability of resolving a work hour mismatch?
3. How do gender and occupational category affect the resolution method of work hour mismatches?

Prevalence of mismatches

I begin my examination of inequality by studying gender and occupational differences in the chances of having a mismatch. The proliferation of exceptionally long (greater than 50 hours/week) or short (less than 30 hours/week) work weeks has been documented across many industrialized countries, such as Australia (Wooden 2002, Wooden 2007), Canada (Sheridan, Sunter and Diverty 2001), Japan (Japanese Ministry of Health 2004, Nemoto 2013), New Zealand (Callister 2005), the UK (Green 2001), and the United States (Jacobs and Gerson 2004). As a result of these expanded and reduced work hours, work hour mismatches have become prevalent in many nations (Bell 2001, Jacobs and Gerson 2004, Lee 2004, Reynolds 2004, Reynolds and Aletraris 2006, Stier and Lewin-Epstein 2003).

The direction of hour mismatches is closely related to types of occupations. Although the desire for fewer hours is more common than the desire for more hours (Golden 2006, Golden and Gebreselassie 2007, Reynolds 2005, Reynolds and Aletraris 2006, Reynolds and Aletraris 2010, Wooden et al. 2009), that desire is especially common among highly educated, professional workers (Clarkberg and Moen 2001, Golden and Gebreselassie 2007, Jacobs and Gerson 2004)

and among men in upper and mid-level occupations, though women in these occupations also tend to report working longer hours than they would prefer (Williams and Boushey 2010). On the other end of the occupational scale, people in low-level jobs tend to desire more hours at work, and often rely on the extra hourly wages to support themselves and their families (Lautsch and Scully 2007, Williams and Boushey 2010).

Findings on mismatches and gender are mixed. Some studies have found little inequality between men's and women's chances of having a mismatch (Jacobs and Gerson 1998, Reynolds 2003, Reynolds and Aletraris 2006), while others find men are more likely to have mismatches (Boheim and Taylor 2003, Golden and Gebreselassie 2007).

Odds of resolving mismatches

The second type of inequality created by mismatches involves the odds of resolving a mismatch. Studies of mismatches find that many mismatches are created and resolved over time (Drago, Wooden and Black 2009b, Reynolds and Aletraris 2006, Reynolds and Aletraris 2010), though little work exists on this type of inequality due to the cross-sectional nature of most studies. The odds of resolving a mismatch are strongly tied to the type of mismatch one has. People consistently have been shown to have much more difficulty obtaining fewer hours of work than more hours of work, with many studies finding that the desire for fewer hours is more prevalent and less likely to be resolved (Böheim and Taylor 2003, Golden and Gebreselassie 2007, Merz 2002, Moen 2004, Reynolds and Aletraris 2006, Reynolds and Aletraris 2010, Wooden et al. 2009).

Largely due to the relationship between occupation and type of mismatch, people in high status occupations are less likely to resolve their mismatches since they are more likely to desire

fewer hours (Drago, Wooden and Black 2009a, Reynolds and Aletraris 2006). Those earning hourly wages in low status jobs are more likely to want more hours and to get them (Boheim and Taylor 2003, Reynolds and Aletraris 2006). There is also evidence that switching employers may be one of the more effective ways to resolve mismatches (Reynolds and Aletraris 2006). Regarding gender, women may be slightly less likely to resolve their mismatches than men, particularly when they desire fewer hours (Reynolds and Aletraris 2010), and both women and men may be less likely to resolve a desire for fewer hours as their work hours increase.

Methods of resolution

A third form of inequality, which is also the least studied, concerns the methods of resolving a mismatch. Reynolds & Aletraris (2006, 2010) and Drago et al (2009b) have examined this type of inequality in particular. Using the first two waves of panel data from the Household Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey, Reynolds and Aletraris (2006) found that while many mismatches are created and resolved over a one-year period, these are resolved more often through changes in preferred hours rather than actual hours.

A study of workers in the United States found that over a 5-year period many people wanting fewer hours at work were unable to resolve their mismatches. When they do resolve them, they often do so by changing their preferences. Those in upper level occupations, who are more likely to desire fewer hours, are more likely to resolve mismatches through changes in preferred hours, as they have more difficulty changing their number of actual hours they spend in paid work (Reynolds and Aletraris 2010).

Additionally, women wanting fewer hours were less likely than men to resolve their mismatches by working fewer hours, and more likely to resolve a desire for more hours by

changing their preferences (Reynolds and Aletraris 2010). This type of resolution may be more indicative of settling for available hours rather than realizing an actual hour change to match preferences. Drago et al.'s (2009b) study also indicates that both men and women have difficulty negotiating the reductions they want through actual hours. Women left the labor force after the birth of children when they initially only wanted a reduction in hours. Men who desired a reduction or time off after a traumatic event such as the death of a spouse were also unable to achieve this by changing their actual hours.

Summary

In summary, previous research has shown that mismatches themselves are common, especially the desire for fewer hours. This mismatch occurs particularly among workers in professional and managerial occupations. Among workers in lower prestige occupations, the desire for more hours is most prevalent. There are indications that gender might make a difference in terms of developing mismatches, but the research is inconclusive.

Many mismatches also appear to be resolved over time, and this is related to the type of mismatch. The desire for fewer hours is more difficult to resolve, making it less likely that workers in upper level occupations will obtain resolutions. There is some evidence women may be more successful in reducing work hours, but research is lacking in this area.

Very little research has been done on the methods people use to resolve mismatches, though it appears that changes in preferences may be more common than changes in actual hours. Women also may be especially likely to find resolution through changes in preferences. No work so far has examined how gender and occupation might work together to create unique outcomes in the development of a mismatch, probability of resolution, and method of resolution.

Theory

A number of theories can assist in building our understanding of gender and occupational inequalities related to work-hour mismatches. The stress of higher status theory and the notion of the ideal worker seem particularly useful. Still, an intersectional perspective suggests that either set of insights alone may be inadequate for explaining the tensions that workers face in the modern labor market.

Neoclassical economic theory implies that mismatches will develop rarely and be resolved quickly through changes in actual hours. This theory also assumes that preferences are relatively stable and that when they change, workers will easily get the hours they prefer in their current job or through switching employers. Leibowitz (2005:196) elaborates that the economic model predicts that people will be able to choose the number of hours they spend in paid labor in order to maximize their well-being. Workers should then be able to adjust their hours along a continuum in order to match their preferences.

Neoclassical economic theory, however, does not account for those workers who are unsuccessful in negotiating the hours they want. The concept of structural lag, also referred to as institutional lag, can help explain some of the discrepancy. This concept refers to the phenomenon of changing structures which have adapted at different rates. Because structures interact with one another, this creates tensions for people involved in two inconsistent institutions. In terms of labor, it has been documented that the nature of jobs available and the conditions under which people are required to work have not changed in step with the accompanying changes seen in the labor force.

Since the mid-1970s large numbers of women have entered the labor force, along with increases in dual-earner families and single mothers. Workplaces, however, have remained

structured for the stereotypical families of the 1950s, in which men worked to support their families while women remained in the domestic sphere, caring for home and children in order to support the man's ability to commit unconditionally to his job responsibilities (Glass 2005, Kalleberg 2011). Drago, Wooden, and Black (2009b:395) write that "the movement of women, and particularly mothers, into the labor force in recent decades…created mismatches as employees—both male and female—increasingly needed the ability to alter their work hours in response to family commitments while institutions, built for a very different labor force, remained unchanged."

The stress of higher status theory was developed by Schieman et al (2006) to help understand work-to-family conflict, yet it is also useful in helping to illuminate the origins of work hour mismatches and the chances that they will be resolved or resolved through a particular mechanism. As shown in Figure 1, the stress of higher status hypothesis contends that "higher-status occupations with more authority, autonomy, non-routine work, demands, involvement, longer hours, and better pay tend to have higher levels of work-to-home conflict" (245). The amount of effort and energy required by high status workers leads to increased work-to-home conflict as they work long hours at the office and then take work and work-related stress home with them. Schieman writes, "While the psychosocial and material conditions associated with professional occupations are generally beneficial (Hodson 2004), the stress of higher status hypothesis also identifies their potential costs. Specifically, workers in professional jobs tend to have more job demands and work longer hours (Clarkberg and Moen 2001; Maume and Bellas 2001; Moen and Yu 2000)" (2006:244). While there are many advantages of high status, the structural arrangement of high-status jobs also leads to negative consequences. It may seem

counterintuitive, but workers in good, high-status jobs may also be unable to achieve a reduction in hours due to high job demands and pressures.

Based on Coser's (1974) characterization of work as a "greedy institution" and using border theory to ground the idea that work and home role boundaries can become permeable and interfere with one another (Schieman et al. 2006:244), Schieman's model highlights work-to-home conflict, interference, role blurring, and job pressure as dependent measures. Job characteristics typically considered resources also operate as demands which increase conflict and pressure for workers. One of the main predictions is that "individuals in higher status positions in the workplace—as experienced in the nature of activities, expectations, and responsibilities—are exposed to more job demands" (Schieman 2013:274). Education becomes important by increasing access to high status positions, thereby increasing exposure to "greater pressure and longer work hours among the well-educated" (274).

Hour mismatches and the ways individuals resolve them are thus an indication of the schedule control issues and imbalances which often result from long working hours, one of the job demands that Schieman discusses as contributing to work-to-family interference (Schieman et al. 2009). Because "workers in professional jobs tend to have more job demands and work longer hours" (Schieman et al. 2006:244), they are likely to develop mismatches associated with the desire to work fewer hours, a mismatch which is more difficult to resolve than the desire for more hours (Böheim and Taylor 2003, Golden and Gebreselassie 2007, Merz 2002, Moen 2004, Reynolds and Aletraris 2010, Wooden et al. 2009). As a manifestation of time-based conflict, hour mismatches can be expected to reflect occupational differences.

The stress of higher status hypothesis, however, says little about potential gender differences, and to produce better hypotheses, I combine its insights with those of theories that

detail gender differences in norms and schemas surrounding paid work. Occupations and strategies for achieving work/life balance remain gendered in a number of ways (Moen and Yu 2000), with women and men finding themselves in different types of jobs (e.g.- men are overrepresented in manual labor or machinery operating jobs, women in caretaking occupations like teaching and nursing) and held to different sets of expectations in their home and family roles (Pedulla and Thébaud 2015). Child care is still more likely to interfere with women's job performance or hours than men's (Maume 2006, Maume 2008) and women continue to carry more of the burden of household obligations in many households (Hochschild 1997, Moen, Lam, Ammons et al. 2013), though men are increasingly taking on more of these roles as well (Berdahl and Moon 2013, Williams, Blair-Loy and Berdahl 2013b).

One of the dominant cultural schemas affecting workers is that of the ideal worker. The concept of an ideal worker has been defined by Williams as one possessing a particular set of personal and job characteristics, a system specified by the

> …organization of market work around the ideal of a worker who works full time and overtime and takes little or no time off for childbearing or child rearing. Though this ideal-worker norm does not define all jobs today, it defines the good ones: full-time blue-collar jobs in the working-class context, and high-level executive and professional jobs for the middle class and above. When work is structured in this way, caregivers often cannot perform as ideal workers. Their inability to do so gives rise to domesticity's second defining characteristic: its system of providing for caregiving by marginalizing the caregivers, thereby cutting them off from most of the social roles that offer responsibility and authority (Williams 2000:1).

The ideal worker norm could be seen as consistent with the stress of higher status: as workers attempt to fulfill the role of an ideal worker, they internalize the norm of hard work, long hours, and job dedication (Hochschild 1997, Schieman et al. 2006).

The ideal worker norm, however, produces different sets of conflicts for men and women. While men are expected to sacrifice home and family responsibilities for the sake of their jobs, committed fully to the "work devotion schema" (Blair-Loy 2003), women who attempt to meet this standard are met with resistance when they fail to meet the "good mother," or "family" schema as well (Berdahl and Moon 2013, Williams et al. 2013b). Women in high status occupations who do not cut back on work responsibilities become stigmatized as "bad mothers," yet part-time work is often also devalued, leading some professional women to leave their jobs altogether rather than take advantage of flexibility policies which may be available (Williams et al. 2013b). Benard and Correll (2010) use the term "normative discrimination" to describe the consequences for mothers who violate gendered expectations of prioritizing family over paid work. Women who take time off from work in order to care for children, in turn, find it difficult to find good jobs again when they are ready to return (Williams et al. 2013b).

Drago, Wooden & Black (2009a) also suggest the ideal worker norm can be especially harmful to mothers, "[i]n terms of norms, because the ideal worker norm requires extreme levels of commitment, it operates against anyone with unpaid caregiving commitments. As a result, penalties for deviance are often paid by new mothers in managerial or professional careers who request reduced hours or other types of flexibility" (576). Their study concludes that mothers who work long hours often do so against their preferences, "…those mothers who work long hours tend to be conscripts. These results fit earlier claims that ideal worker jobs are gendered because women who perform substantial amounts of unpaid care in the home cannot compete successfully on the terrain of long hours" (593). Acker (2006, 2010) also discusses the gendered nature of organizations, pointing out organizational processes themselves lead to inequalities between men and women in the labor market.

An intersectional approach can help to link the occupational inequalities highlighted by the stress of higher status hypothesis and the gender inequalities drawn out by ideal worker norms. This allows an examination of overlapping inequalities in work-time sovereignty and acknowledges that individuals may fit into multiple categories with varying levels of advantage or disadvantage simultaneously (Choo and Ferree 2010, Walby, Armstrong and Strid 2012). An intersectional approach assumes dominant groups control productive resources and social institutions, drawing on concepts of social stratification to explain the influence that ascribed statuses have on the labor market process (Browne and Misra 2003). Workers may prove to be advantaged in one dimension, as in occupying a high status position, yet disadvantaged in others—like gender—which require different levels of conformity and pressure to meet different types of demands. In contrast to the stress of higher status that emphasizes the importance of occupation, and to the ideal worker norm that emphasizes gender, intersectionality suggests that mismatches may reflect combinations of both gender and occupation. Indeed, the work of Clawson and Gerstel (2014) suggests occupational location and gender together exert great influence over individuals' ability to control working time. In order to understand how gender and occupation work together to create unequal outcomes for individuals in more complex ways than discrete characteristics alone, it is necessary to examine these intersections.

The Australian Context

This study uses data from Australia to examine issues of gender and occupation in work time sovereignty. In many ways, the Australian work force and labor conditions are similar to those of the United States and other industrialized nations, but the extent to which patterns of inequality are similar or different is unclear. Like the United States, Australia has seen

demographic changes over the last 40 years which include an influx of women into the work force, increased numbers of single-parent households and rising child care demands. The Australian labor force contains fewer women and more part-time workers than in the United States (Stier, Lewin-Epstein and Braun 2001), and enjoys a wider social safety net which affords workers access to health care and other benefits without concern for maintaining a minimum number of work hours. In addition, workers have recently been guaranteed the right to request work hour changes without fear of reprisals from employers (Charlesworth and Campbell 2008, Skinner and Pocock 2011), though they are not guaranteed a change in work hours or an explanation of their employer's response. These key differences between Australia and the United States provide compelling reasons to extend the work of Clawson and Gerson, which concentrates on American workers.

Hypotheses

Hypotheses 1-3 are generated by the stress of higher status hypothesis which suggests that people in high status occupations will work long hours and report a desire for fewer hours. These workers, though, will have difficulty resolving their mismatches, both because the desire for fewer hours is more difficult to resolve overall, and because these workers will have internalized the ideal worker norm and the value of hard work and long hours. When these upper level workers do obtain resolution, it will likely be through changing their preferences, as actual hour changes will be more difficult to negotiate.

1. People in high status occupations will be more likely than those in lower level occupations to desire fewer hours.

2. People in high status occupations will be less likely than those in lower level occupations to resolve mismatches.
3. When people in high status occupations resolve mismatches, they will be more likely to do so through changes in preferred hours than through actual hour changes.

Hypotheses 4-6 are related to gender and motivated by ideal worker and gendered norms which would predict women are less likely to be ideal workers and more likely to be able to adjust their work hours through actual hour changes. This may be reflected in the higher percentages of women who work part time, having greater control over their work hours and devoting more time to family or home matters.

4. Compared to men in similar occupations, women will be less likely to have hour mismatches.
5. Compared to men in similar occupations, women will be more likely to resolve mismatches.
6. Compared to men in similar occupations, women will be more likely to resolve mismatches through changes in actual hours.

CHAPTER 3

DATA AND METHODS

Data

I will be using data from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) Survey to examine this issue quantitatively by comparing gender differences in the chances of having a mismatch, the abilities of women and men from various occupational locations to resolve mismatches over time as well as the methods they use to resolve them. The data comes from a household-based longitudinal panel survey which began in 2001 and continues yearly through the most recently released wave covering the year 2012. The survey includes interviews with a representative sample of all adults age 15 and older in participating households, is conducted annually, and contains extensive household and individual information. Respondents under the age of 18 require parental consent to participate. Individuals are added over time through new births and temporary household joiners. Household entrants who have a child with continuing respondents are added as continuing household members. Respondents are dropped through deaths, overseas relocations, and when temporary household members leave the household. Respondents who return from overseas moves are reintroduced as continuing members. Wave 1 began with 19,914 individuals with a 66 percent response rate for households and 92 percent among individuals. I will be using Waves 9 and 10 of the data, from the years 2009 and 2010. Wave 9 included responses from 13,301 individuals and had a re-interview rate of 96.3 percent from Wave 8 respondents. Wave 10 included 13,526 successful interviews, also

with a 96.3 percent response rate, indicating that a high number of respondents from Wave 9 were also interviewed in Wave 10.

Dependent Variables

My analysis will look at three outcomes and therefore will use three dependent variables for different parts of the analysis. The first is a measure of those having a mismatch at Wave 9. This variable is coded for respondents who desired more hours, fewer hours, or the same number of hours. Respondents who desire the same number of hours are considered to have no mismatch. The wording of work hour questions is especially informative. By wording the questions about preferred hours in such a way as to encourage respondents to consider the possibility of resulting income changes, the HILDA questionnaire allows them to weigh possible outcomes that could result from work-hour adjustments. Respondents were first asked to consider the number of actual hours they spend in paid work for main jobs and all jobs, including time spent working at home. Next they were asked, “If you could choose the number of hours you work each week, *and taking into account how that would affect your income,* would you prefer to work fewer hours than you do now? about the same hours as you do now? or more hours than you do now?" Additionally, they were asked how many hours a week, on average, they would choose to work, again taking into account the possible effects of this change on income.

The second dependent variable I will use indicates whether a mismatch present at Wave 9 was resolved at Wave 10. Those respondents who reported a mismatch at Wave 9 but reported wanting the same hours at Wave 10 were coded as having resolved their mismatch. Those

respondents still reporting a mismatch between actual and preferred hours at Wave 10 were coded as having not resolved their mismatch.

The third dependent variable for the analysis indicates the method of resolution of work hour mismatches seen at Wave 10. A variable for the method of resolution was created using the presence of a mismatch at Wave 9 compared with the continued presence or resolution of the mismatch at Wave 10 along with information about how actual and preferred hours changed between the two waves. Respondents were coded as having either no resolution, resolution primarily through actual hour changes, or primarily preferred hour changes. Compromises were determined by subtracting the absolute value of the change in preferred hours from the absolute value of the change in actual hours. If the difference in the magnitude of change was less than 5 hours, the respondent had a similar change in actual and preferred hours, with each converging toward a satisfactory level for the respondent at Wave 10. If both actual and preferred hours changed but with a greater than 5 hour difference, the resolution was coded as due to the hours with the greatest amount of change—either in actual or preferred hours. Resolutions through preferred hours may indicate that respondents have "settled" (Reynolds and Aletraris 2010), or changed their preferences because they could not negotiate the actual hour changes they wanted. Alternately, it could indicate that the conditions responsible for the mismatch have changed, and the respondent no longer desires different work hours. Figure 2 shows the various methods through which hour mismatches can be resolved.

Independent Variables

Important independent variables in the analysis include an intersection of gender and occupational category. Gender has been recoded into a dummy variable coded 0 for male and 1

for female. Occupational category is identified as upper, middle, and lower occupations. The Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO) codes indicate the respondent's work category. In order to compare occupational level with mismatch resolutions, the mean occupational status scores were calculated for the eight basic occupational categories included in the HILDA ANZSCO variable. Occupational status scores range from 0-100, with 100 indicating the highest level of prestige associated with occupation.[1]

Workers in occupational categories 1) managers, and 2) professionals were coded as belonging to upper occupations due to high mean occupational prestige scores which are separated by about 14 points from those in the middle. Workers in ANZSCO categories 3 through 6, technicians and trade workers, community and personal service workers, clerical and administrative workers, and sales workers were coded into middle occupations due to clustered mean occupational prestige scores. Mean scores for these categories fall within an 11-point range in the middle-to-lower-middle range of possible prestige scores (34-45). ANZSCO categories 7) machinery operators and drivers, and 8) labourers were coded into lower occupations due to the 13 point difference in mean occupational prestige scores. The three occupational levels were then combined with gender to create six gender and occupation categories.[2] These categories are used to identify the relationship between the intersection of gender and occupation and the probability and type of resolution workers are able to achieve at different combinations. (See Appendix A for how occupational levels were determined).

[1] To expand the intersectional nature of the study, I also examined Aboriginal/Torres Strait Islander status. However, only 124 people fit this category in my sample and including it in the analysis resulted in the loss of more than 1000 cases without producing many significant effects. The variable was excluded for parsimony and because results from these few cases may be unreliable.

[2] In addition to using dummy variables for gender and occupation intersections, I also ran a series of interactions between occupation and married and occupation and having a child 0-4 years old for each gender separately. None of these were significant or altered patterns found in the current models.

Control Variables

Key control variables include measures of family and life status. Age and age squared are included to account for changes which might occur over the life course. Level of education has been recoded to indicate whether the respondent had received at least a bachelor's degree. This is consistent with research indicating that the receipt of a college degree is increasingly influential in stratifying occupations and producing favorable outcomes (Ammons and Kelly 2008, McCall 2000). Household composition will be another important independent variable for interpreting mismatch resolution, as people with spouses who have an income may be more able to decrease their own work income by decreasing hours; alternately, someone who has a partner or family relying on their income may be less likely to switch to fewer paid hours. Respondents were therefore coded as 1 for married and zero for not married. Children, and their ages, will also presumably have a significant impact on work hours. Men may seek to stabilize or even increase work hours as a result of young children, while women might decrease hours or leave the labor force altogether while raising children. Two categories of resident children are included: one variable is for any children aged 0-4 in the home and another for school-aged children 5-14 present in the home.

Additionally, the HILDA data contain variables for major changes within the previous 12-month time period which may be useful in understanding respondents' decisions regarding work hours. Because job changes have been shown to have a major impact on mismatches and resolution, I include life events for both involuntary job loss and voluntary job changes. A number of respondents experienced both of these events, and they were coded into the category of the most recent event. Those few respondents who were both fired and changed jobs in the

same 3-month quarter and for whom the order of events could not be determined were excluded from the analysis.

Job-related variables have been included to be consistent with the stress of higher status hypothesis. Accordingly, I have included variables for level of job demands, job security, job autonomy, schedule control, nonroutine work, supervisory position and self-employment. Lastly, I have controlled for a subjective measure of prosperity, recoding this variable into three categories for those who report feeling prosperous or very comfortable financially, those who feel they are reasonably comfortable, and those who report they are "just getting by" or poor.[3] The relationships between these sets of variables will help in understanding which groups of people are able to successfully alter their work hours or if they find it to their advantage to settle for their current situation, in the form of changed preferences, rather than continue seeking actual hour changes.

Analytic Strategy

I include in my initial analysis the 5,073 individuals who answered questions about preferred and actual hours at both Waves 9 and 10, and had valid values for all pertinent control variables at Wave 10. Waves 9 and 10 are the most recent waves I have access to, so they more closely reflect current conditions than older waves. Individuals who were less than 20 years of age and those who reported being full-time students were excluded from the analysis so as to concentrate on those individuals who were primarily involved in paid labor.[4] The time span of

[3] To thoroughly explore the effect of income, I also included an objective measure of annual income but have excluded it, as it did not affect the results seen with the subjective measure of financial prosperity.

[4] People who exited the labor force or were unemployed at Wave 10 were also excluded, as they comprised a very small portion of the sample at 7 percent. Additionally, the pattern is as would be expected, with those in upper occupations least likely to exit while those in lower occupations were more likely to do so as they are the least

one year allows enough elapsed time for an analysis of whether people are successful in resolving mismatches in the relatively short-term, and how they resolve them, as well as limiting to some extent the amount of changes people might experience in their work and life situations. It also allows the inclusion of control variables which reflect major life events over the previous 12-month period. The HILDA survey is ideal because it is a large, representative, longitudinal study which allows for an analysis of mismatch changes over time to determine whether mismatches were resolved and the methods used to resolve them when there is a resolution.

I first compiled descriptive tables indicating the incidence of mismatches of men and women by occupational level using the initial 5,073 respondents and conducting Chi-square tests of significance for gender and occupation. Secondly, I compiled a descriptive table of the probability of resolving a mismatch by gender and occupational level, reducing the sample size to the 2,041 respondents who had a mismatch at wave 9, also conducting Chi-square tests of significance for gender and occupation. Finally, I compiled a table showing the chances of using one of the three particular methods of resolution, using only those respondents who reported at wave 10 that they had resolved their mismatch from wave 9, with a sample of the 782 participants who had a resolution by wave 10, again testing for significance by gender and occupation.

After creating the three descriptive tables, I ran three corresponding regression analyses including six intersections of gender and occupation and including control variables. The first is a multinomial logistic regression analyzing the probability of having a particular type of mismatch at wave 9. This type of analysis was appropriate due to the three-category dependent

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rewarded for their paid labor. At each occupational level, women are more likely to have become unemployed or left the labor force altogether; again, particularly in lower occupations.

variable with outcomes of wanting more, the same, or fewer hours. Regular OLS regression was not possible due to the nature of this dependent variable.

The next regression I conducted was a logistic regression predicting resolution of mismatches between waves 9 and 10. Logistic regression was necessary with the dichotomous dependent variable indicating whether a mismatch was resolved or not resolved. Again, the nature of the dependent variable made this type of analysis necessary.

Finally, I conducted another multinomial logistic regression to gain insights into the mechanisms by which people resolved their mismatches when they were able to resolve them. The dependent variable listed outcomes of resolution through actual or preferred hours, or a compromise between the two. The three-category dependent variable was again the reason for multinomial logistic regression rather than OLS.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1

As indicated by the significant Chi-square value at the right-end of Table 1, overall, men and women have different experiences with mismatches. First, while 41.4% of men have mismatches (9.4% want more hours and 32.0% want fewer hours), only 38.8% of women have mismatches. Men and women also tend to have different types of mismatches: men are more likely than women to want fewer hours of work, and women are more likely than men to want more hours of work. These results are consistent with gendered perspectives on the ideal worker which suggest that gendered norms about paid and unpaid work will make women more likely than men to adjust their work hours to accommodate responsibilities outside of work.

The size of the gender differences, however, varies by occupation, and differences are more pronounced in middle and lower occupations than in upper occupations. Consistent with predictions derived from the stress of higher status hypothesis, men and women in upper occupations have rather similar experiences: when they have mismatches, they overwhelmingly want to work fewer hours and gender differences are not quite significant at the .05 level.[5] Gender differences are more pronounced in the lower occupations as shown by the significant Chi-square, and they are most pronounced in the desire for more hours. Over 27% of women in

[5] Supplemental Chi-square tests show that experiences with hour mismatches vary by occupation for the whole sample, as well as among men and among women. Men in upper occupations are more likely to have mismatches than men in lower occupations, but women are equally likely to have mismatches at both ends of the occupational order. Also, those in upper occupations are especially likely to want fewer hours, and those in lower occupations are especially likely to want more hours.

lower occupations want more hours, but only 18% of men in lower occupations report a desire for more hours. Men and women in middle occupations also have significantly different experiences with mismatches. Here the difference is greatest in the desire for fewer hours, with 26.7% of men reporting that they would like to work fewer hours, but only 20.9% of women in middle occupations reporting this type of mismatch. These variations in gender differences across occupational categories suggests an intersectional perspective is useful in considering experiences with mismatches.

Table 2

Gender alone does not appear to be a significant predictor of the chances of resolving mismatches. As indicated by the totals at the right end of Table 2, similar percentages of men and women who reported mismatches at wave 9 had resolved them by wave 10. There is some variation in the size of the gender differences by occupation. Gender differences are most pronounced in lower level occupations, but as occupational level increases, the gap between men and women in mismatch resolution decreases. The upper occupations show the smallest gender differences and a slight female advantage: 31.7% of men and 33.7% of women resolve their mismatches. In the middle occupations, that difference has reversed and increased to just over 4 percentage points, with almost 46% of men and 41.3% of women resolving their mismatches. There is a difference of about 9 percentage points in lower occupations, showing almost 38% of women and over 47% of men resolving mismatches. Even in the lower status occupations, however, these gender differences within occupational groups are not significant.

In contrast, the effect of occupation within gender categories has a notable effect, but only for men. Supplemental Chi-square tests show that the chances of resolving an hour

mismatch vary significantly by occupation. In general, people in upper occupations are significantly less likely to resolve hour mismatches than people in lower occupations, and the occupational differences are significant among men. Thus, we see a dramatic difference in the percent of men resolving mismatches by occupation. Roughly 47.4% of men in lower occupations resolved their mismatches and 45.9% of men in middle occupations resolved their mismatches. However, only 31.7% of men in upper occupations resolved their mismatches. Women, by contrast, appear to have the best chances of resolving a mismatch when they are in midlevel occupations. Roughly 39% of women in lower occupations and 33.7% of women in upper occupations resolved their mismatches, but 41.3% of women in middle occupations resolved their mismatches. Occupational differences among women, however, do not reach significance (Pr=0.07). This suggests that the effect of occupation is moderated by gender. These results support the stress of higher status hypothesis among men and among women in upper occupations, but also suggest that gendered norms produce different patterns for men and women.

Table 3

Finally, it appears that neither gender nor occupation influence the methods people use to resolve their mismatches. The totals column in Table 3 shows nearly identical chances of resolution by each method for men and women, with 33.9% of men and 34.8% of women resolving through the most desirable method, a change in actual hours. The largest gender differences among the lower occupations are among those who compromise, with 18.7% of men resolving through compromise between actual and preferred hours, compared to 13.8% of women. In middle occupations men and women have very similar chances of resolution for each

method. In the upper occupations, the story is similar. Only 28.9% of men and 35.8% of women report achieving resolution through actual hour changes. About 48% of men and 44% of women resolve their mismatches through a change in their preferred hours, while 22.9% of men and 20.4% of women reported that they compromised to resolve their mismatches.

Overall, Table 3 indicates that across gender and occupation, roughly 45% resolve mismatches through changes in preferred hours. Approximately one-third resolve their mismatches through actual hour changes, and one-fifth through a compromise. Chi-square tests of gender differences in the method of resolving mismatches are not significant for gender overall, for gender within each occupational level, for occupation overall, or for occupation among men or among women. The indication that when mismatches are resolved, they are most often resolved through changes in preferences does point to a tendency to settle for the hours one has, with people in upper occupations continuing to work too many hours, as the stress of higher status suggests, and those in lower occupations unable to increase their actual hours. Men and women facing varying pressures and normative demands are perhaps arriving at similar outcomes through different sets of constraints.

Table 4

To examine if these results remain after controlling for other factors, I estimate a series of regressions. Table 4 presents the results of a multinomial logistic regression showing how the odds of wanting more or fewer hours (rather than the same hours) at Wave 9 are related to combinations of gender and occupation, and the results support the stress of higher status hypothesis. Model 1 includes only the combinations of gender and occupation, with men in upper occupations serving as the reference category. This model is useful for testing hypotheses

derived from the stress of higher status hypothesis, which predicts that those in upper level occupations will be more likely to have mismatches. Interestingly, men in upper occupations are significantly different from every category in the odds of wanting both more and fewer hours except for women in upper occupations. This suggests that people in upper occupations are unique in terms of the mismatches they experience, regardless of gender. Women and men in both middle and lower occupations show a significantly greater desire for more hours and are less likely to develop a desire for fewer hours compared to men in upper occupations.

Model 2 adds controls for a variety of personal, family and job characteristics that may influence the chances of having a mismatch, but the results remain largely the same and indicate that most people are less likely than men in upper occupations to want fewer hours and more likely to want more hours. Men in middle occupations are 1.27 times more likely than men in upper occupations to desire more hours (rather than the same hours), and 32% less likely to want fewer work hours. Men in lower occupations have even more pronounced differences, as might be expected, being twice as likely as men in upper occupations to want more hours, and 46% less likely to want fewer. Women in middle occupations are 1.45 times more likely than men in upper occupations to develop a desire for more hours, and 49% less likely to want fewer. Women in lower occupations show the greatest odds of desiring more hours. They are 371% more likely than men in upper occupations to desire more hours and 58% less likely to want fewer.

The one notable change is among women in upper occupations. After adding the controls, they are still no different from men in upper occupations in the odds of wanting more hours. However, after controlling for family and job characteristics, the difference in the desire for fewer hours becomes significant, with women in upper occupations being 23% less likely to

develop this type of mismatch than men in upper occupations. Supplemental tests indicate that this new result is related to the inclusion of job demands and schedule control in the model.[6]

The other variables in the models are controls and thus not the focus of this analysis, but the results are sensible. Age and age-squared are both related to the desire for fewer hours, indicating an increased probability of wanting fewer hours followed by a decline. School-aged children are significant at the .05 level, leading to a 29% increase in the odds of desiring more hours. Changing jobs is significant in both the desire for more and for fewer hours, leading to a 63% increase in the odds of desiring more hours and a 43% increase in the desire for fewer hours. This is noteworthy because some previous work has highlighted how changing jobs can resolve hour mismatches (Boheim and Taylor 2003). High levels of job demands are associated with a 60% greater likelihood of wanting fewer hours, while supervisory responsibilities lead to a 17% greater likelihood of wanting fewer hours and a 25% decrease in wanting more. Additionally, the self-employed are 32% more likely to desire fewer hours. Subjective measures of financial prosperity and comfort are also significant, with people who feel comfortable or very well-off 67% less likely to want more hours and 54% more likely to want fewer than those who report they are poor or just getting by. Those who perceive themselves to be reasonably comfortable are 47% less likely to want more hours and 45% more likely to want fewer. Initial models included variables for income level, but they did not affect the outcome.

Figure 3 illustrates the contrasts related to wanting fewer hours by gender and occupation. As discussed in Table 1, gender is significantly related to type of mismatch for people in middle and lower occupations, but not among upper level workers. Occupational

[6] Because job demands are positively related to the desire for fewer hours, this new result suggests that women in upper occupations report higher job demands than their male peers, but if they perceived the same job demands (as simulated by controlling for job demands), they would be less likely to want fewer hours.

differences are also significant for both men and women. However, an intersectional analysis as depicted in Figure 3 tells a more nuanced story. When considering differences among those who desire fewer hours, men in upper occupations far exceed people in all other gender/occupation locations in their desire for fewer hours. Women in upper level occupations also want fewer hours and have significant differences with all categories except for men in mid-level occupations. Women in lower occupations are the least likely to express a desire for fewer hours but are similar in this regard to women in middle occupations and men in lower occupations. In short, figure 3 suggests that the effect of gender varies by occupation and the effect of occupation varies by gender. Gender differences in experiences of hour mismatches are especially pronounced in upper occupations.

Alternately, Figure 4 provides information on mismatches related to wanting more hours by gender and occupation. In this type of mismatch, it is women in lower level occupations who are significantly contrasted with all other groups in their greater desire for more work hours. Men and women in upper occupations are similar, as are men and women in middle occupations. People in mid-level jobs are also similar to men in lower occupations in their level of desire for more hours. Once again, the results provide clear evidence that gender and occupation interact. While men and women in similar occupations tend to have similar chances of wanting more hours and the desire for more hours is inversely related to occupational prestige, women in lower prestige occupations are far more likely than their male peers to want more hours.

Table 5

Table 5 shows the results of a logistic regression examining the chances of resolving a mismatch. The dependent variable in this case is a dichotomous variable indicating whether the

mismatch present at Wave 9 was resolved by Wave 10. The reference category for this regression contains those individuals who did not resolve their mismatches. Results again indicate outcomes for men in both middle and lower occupations are significantly different than for men in upper occupations. They are 69% and 67% more likely than men in upper occupations to resolve their mismatches, providing support for the stress of higher status hypothesis. Results for women in upper occupations are not significant, which may indicate that the stress of higher status works similarly for men and women in upper occupations, but the lack of significance among other occupational levels for women, and additional tests which show women in various occupational categories do not differ significantly from one another, may point to another process influencing outcomes for women as compared to men. Adding the control for wanting fewer hours is an important addition to the model because this type of mismatch is associated with decreased chances of resolution. To the extent that people with different gender/occupation combinations are more likely to want fewer hours, results from models that do not include this variable could be biased. The results in Model 2, however, are almost the same as in Model 1.

The addition of control variables, however, wipes out the significant results for women in middle occupations. Again, job demands appear to play a role, as they are negatively associated with resolution of mismatches. Supervisory positons also are negatively associated with resolutions, indicating that women in middle occupations report greater job demands and supervisory roles than women in upper or lower occupations, but if these demands were held constant, they would find it easier to resolve their mismatches. The addition of the controls brings women in middle occupations closer to women in upper and lower occupations in terms of resolving mismatches and removes the indication that they may have significantly different chances of resolving mismatches compared to men in upper occupations.

Control variables show again significant levels for age and age-squared, with the chances of resolution going down, then up with age. Married respondents were 25% more likely to resolve their mismatches than unmarried people, though supplemental tests indicate this effect may be driven by outcomes for married women and not men. Changing jobs, as expected, led to a 63% increase in the likelihood of resolving a mismatch, as this is a common method for getting the desired changes in work hours. High job demands led to individuals being 14% less likely to resolve their mismatches, while job security increased the likelihood of resolving by 13%. Lastly, having supervisory responsibilities led to a 28% decrease in the likelihood of resolving a mismatch.

Figure 5 illustrates the contrasts among groups in the probability of resolving a mismatch, showing that most gender/occupation locations are quite similar, with the main contrasts being that men and women in upper occupations show lower odds of resolution than men in both middle and lower level occupations. People in similar occupations, however, appear to be similar their chances of resolution.

Table 6

Table 6 displays the results of a multinomial logistic regression indicating differences in the odds of resolving hour mismatches through particular methods. The sample includes only those respondents who reported an hour mismatch at Wave 9 and resolved it by Wave 10. The dependent variable is a 3-category dummy variable indicating whether a resolution was achieved through actual hours, preferred hours, or compromise. The reference category of the dependent variable is actual hours. The reference category for the independent variables again is men in upper occupations. Model 1 lists only intersections of gender and occupational level, with no

significant results. Model 2 adds a variable for having wanted fewer hours at wave 9, and this situation is associated with 45% greater odds of resolving a mismatch through a change in preferred hours.

Model 3 includes controls for family and job characteristics and again yields few significant results. Wanting fewer hours has a greater effect, now showing that these types of mismatches lead to a 70% increase in the chances of resolution through preferred hours as compared to actual hours. Respondents who changed jobs were 57% less likely to achieve a resolution through preferred hour changes, and therefore are more likely to get the hours they wanted through actual hour changes. Job demands is again significant, showing high demands are associated with a 16% lower likelihood of resolving through preferred hours. Respondents who felt they had a good degree of control over their work schedules had a 17% greater chance of achieving a compromise between actual and preferred work hours. It does not appear that of those who resolved their mismatches from wave 9 there were significant differences in the methods they resolved them by gender or occupation.

Summary of Findings

Most of the predictions generated through the stress of higher status hypothesis were supported. Findings support Hypothesis 1, indicating that people in high status occupations are indeed more likely to desire fewer hours than people in middle or lower occupations. Those in high status occupations are also less likely to resolve their mismatches, as predicted by Hypothesis 2. Table 6 seems to imply that men in high status occupations are less likely than all others to resolve mismatches through changes in actual hours, but the results are not significant; therefore, I am unable to provide support for Hypothesis 3. The effect of occupation alone

influences inequalities in the development of mismatches and type of mismatch. It is also an important factor for men in the chances of resolution but not for women.

The next set of hypotheses concern gender differences. I expected that women would have fewer mismatches than men in similar occupations (Hypothesis 4). I found, however, that this depends on the type of mismatch and the level of occupation. Men and women in upper occupations are similar to one another in the level of desire for more hours but not in their desire for fewer hours. Here men are more likely than women to want an hour reduction. Women in middle occupations are significantly less likely than their male counterparts to desire fewer hours, but among people in lower level occupations women are much more likely than men to want more hours. Consideration of Hypothesis 4 supports the need for intersectional analysis because the picture with gender alone is unclear without the incorporation of additional information.

I did not find support for Hypothesis 5. As indicated in Table 2, it does not appear that women are more likely than men to resolve their mismatches, in fact they only have a slight advantage in the upper occupations, which disappears in the middle and lower occupations. Here, men are more likely to resolve their mismatches. Again, this indicates the need to look at intersections. Regarding whether women will be more likely than men in similar occupations to resolve mismatches through actual hour changes (Hypothesis 6), I find very little difference between men and women in the mechanism by which they achieve resolution, even when accounting for occupational differences. Gender itself has a significant effect on the type of mismatches people develop, but does not have a great impact on the odds of resolving a mismatch or the way in which people resolve mismatches.

The most informative results come from examining the intersections of gender and occupation, which uncover inequalities that are overlooked when considering these as separate and independent influences. These results point to different tendencies in developing mismatches among men and women in upper occupations but similar likelihoods of resolving mismatches. Men and women in middle occupations show similar levels of desire for more hours, though men exhibit a greater desire for fewer hours and have a slight advantage in resolving their mismatches. In the lower occupations, women are much more likely to want more hours but less likely to resolve this mismatch. Findings also suggest occupation may more strongly affect men in some ways, such as in the probability of resolving mismatches, while women in all occupations have somewhat similar experiences to one another with chances of resolution. Methods of resolution do not seem to be largely affected by gender or occupation, with results indicating these are related to job changes, which increase the odds of actual hour changes, as do perceptions of job security. Wanting fewer hours, as expected, increases the odds that people will resolve their mismatches through changes in preferences rather than through changes in actual hours.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study highlights how experiences with work hour mismatches reflect the intersections of gender and occupation. Prior studies have focused on the cross-sectional distribution of hour mismatches and offered little analysis of how often hour mismatches are resolved or the methods through which they are resolved. They have also assumed that people who share the same gender or broad occupational category have similar experiences. Drawing on insights derived from the stress of higher status hypothesis and the concept of the ideal worker, this study uses an intersectional lens to examine how experiences with work hour mismatches vary across different combinations of gender and occupation.

I began by examining how gender and occupation are related to the probability of wanting more or fewer hours than one has. The question of prevalence of mismatches produces the greatest evidence of inequality. I find that more men than women experience work hour mismatches, and that those in upper level occupations report more mismatches than their counterparts in middle and lower occupations. This is likely related to the fact that both men and women in upper level occupations tend to work more hours than those in middle or lower occupations. People in lower occupations (particularly women) show a greater chance of wanting more hours. These results are consistent with the stress of higher status hypothesis, which indicates that those in upper occupations will have demanding jobs requiring long work hours and that they will have difficulty reducing their hours of work. This is also predicted by the ideal worker norm which suggests those in upper level occupations will be reluctant to actually reduce

their hours (even when they want to). An intersectional perspective helps highlight the chances of having a particular type of mismatch, where the stress of higher status fails to explain why men should be more likely than women to want fewer hours or why women in lower occupations report a greater desire for more hours than men and the ideal worker norm fails to account for occupational differences within gender categories. An understanding of the unique interactions of both gender and occupation is needed to account for these differences. This reveals varying patterns of inequalities across combinations of gender and occupation. Whereas Clawson and Gerstel (2014) find the unequal distribution of flexibility policies and practices across class affects how men and women at different locations negotiate or contest their use of time in the United States, I also find that hour mismatches among Australian workers reflect inequalities in time sovereignty.

There are also striking inequalities seen in the area of mismatch resolution. Men in the upper occupational category are the least likely to resolve their mismatches. Men in middle and lower occupations each have significantly different experiences from men in upper occupations. As occupational level decreases, men are more likely to resolve their mismatches. This is both consistent with the stress of higher status hypothesis and prior work which indicates that the desire for more hours, exhibited by men in lower occupations, will be easier to resolve.

While the stress of higher status hypothesis does a good job predicting men's ability to resolve hour mismatches, a very different pattern emerges among women. Women have similar chances of resolving their mismatches whether they are in upper, middle, or lower prestige occupations. Their chances of resolution are not significantly different from men in upper occupations, which is to say they are not good. If resolutions were influenced primarily by institutional constraints (e.g.—the availability of flexible work policies), then outcomes among

women would vary by occupation and men and women in similar occupations would have similar experiences. This is not what my results indicate.

Given the different patterns found between men and women, additional insights are needed to supplement the stress of higher status and ideal worker concepts, especially for explaining the experiences of women in middle and lower occupations. Theories regarding gendered norms and expectations can help to illuminate the differences found in resolution of mismatches. These suggest that men and women prefer egalitarian divisions of home and paid labor, but fall quickly into gendered patterns when institutional constraints prevent this (Pedulla and Thébaud 2015), and people may avoid flexibility options altogether to distance themselves from the "flexibility stigma," believing their supervisors and coworkers will see them negatively when they take advantage of these policies (Williams, Blair-Loy and Berdahl 2013a). Additionally, men and women in upper level occupations may use their access to flexibility to reproduce traditional gender roles, while those in lower level occupations experience higher levels of unpredictability in work time and use flexibility options to achieve nontraditional gender balance (Clawson and Gerstel 2014, Gerstel and Clawson 2014).

Men may feel pressured into the breadwinner role, because fathers who take off time for family obligations are seen as insufficiently masculine (Berdahl and Moon 2013), and this is consistent with findings that men across occupations continue to work many hours. The tendency for men to continue working long hours is reflected in my results showing the often unresolved desire for fewer hours. Conversely, women remain more likely to absorb the impact of childcare and housework (Williams et al. 2013b), and continue to have less flexibility than their male counterparts (Peterson and Wiens-Tuers 2014). These women get neither the additional hours they need nor the reduction in hours they want. Men in middle and lower occupations,

meanwhile, have a greater likelihood of resolving mismatches than men in upper occupations, but women in middle and lower occupations do not see improvements over women in upper occupations in the probability of resolving their mismatches, even when they desire more hours.

Finally, results pertaining to the methods of resolution are highly inconclusive. Few differences can be seen in the methods by which people resolve their mismatches, either in terms of gender or occupation or the interaction of both. While it appears that workers are more likely to resolve their mismatches through changing preferences than through any other method, I still find that about one-third are able to change their actual hours and about a fifth compromise, with few notable differences across combinations of gender and occupation. Certainly, further study is needed to illuminate whether there are differences in the mechanisms of resolution along other dimensions.

Limitations and Implications

While the data used for this analysis allow generalizations to Australian workers, it is not clear if similar patterns of inequality exist in other industrialized countries. The United States, for instance, is similar to Australia in a number of ways. Both countries have seen similar demographic and workplace changes since the 1970s. Rising rates of divorce, single-parent families, and women entering the labor force have been seen in both countries, along with reliance on private child care for working parents. Nevertheless, the two countries have different proportions of women in the labor force and in part-time work (Reynolds and Aletraris 2006:624). Universal health care and the stronger social safety net in Australia also change the way people make decisions about work hours (Drago et al. 2009b). An additional consideration is the recent Right-to-Request legislation passed in Australia, guaranteeing workers the right to

request changes in work hours without fear of reprisals from employers (Charlesworth and Campbell 2008, Skinner and Pocock 2011). Employers are not obligated to honor these requests, but it may increase the likelihood of asking for hour changes among workers in Australia. It is unclear how much this affects my analysis, though, since the law was not implemented nationwide until 2010. In short, more research is needed to determine if workers in other countries have experiences like those described here.

More research will also be needed to reveal exactly why men and women in different types of occupations are unable to fulfill their preferences. Qualitative data could be very helpful in explaining why people make the choices they do regarding work hours and which obstacles they find most difficult to overcome.

Nonetheless, this study helps close the gap in existing research by revealing the complex contours of working time inequality. I show that people differ not only in their chances of having hour mismatches, but also in their chances of resolving them. I also show that the chances of having and resolving work hour mismatches vary by gender and occupation, but not in a straight-forward way. These complex patterns have been veiled in prior research, which has assumed that people who share a gender or occupation have similar experiences with hour mismatches. This analysis, however, shows that experiences with hour mismatches are best understood through a joint consideration of gender and occupation.

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Appendix A. Occupational Prestige Scores to Determine Occupational Levels

Occupation (ANZSCO 2006)	Mean Occupational Prestige Score
[1] Managers	59.9
[2] Professionals	81.4
[3] Technicians and Trades Workers	37.5
[4] Community and Personal Service Workers	42.2
[5] Clerical and Administrative Workers	45.8
[6] Sales Workers	34.5
[7] Machinery Operators and Drivers	21.1
[8] Labourers	19.3

Appendix B. Odds ratios from multinomial logistic regression predicting presence of a mismatch and type of mismatch at Wave 9 with interaction effects

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Type of Mismatch		Type of Mismatch		Type of Mismatch		Type of Mismatch	
	Wants More Hours	Wants Fewer Hours	Wants More Hours	Wants Fewer Hours	Wants More Hours	Wants Fewer Hours	Wants More Hours	Wants Fewer Hours
female	1.29 *	0.81 ***	1.29	0.85	1.20	0.77 ***	1.20	0.77 **
middle occupations	2.75 ***	0.51 ***	2.92 ***	0.55 ***	2.13 ***	0.67 ***	2.27 ***	0.68 ***
lower occupations	4.88 ***	0.39 ***	4.50 ***	0.39 ***	3.26 ***	0.54 ***	3.02 ***	0.54 ***
female # middle occupations			0.90	0.87			0.90	0.99
female # lower occupations			1.30	0.98			1.30	1.01
Age					0.97	1.10 ***	0.97	1.10 ***
Age-squared					1.00	1.00 ***	1.00	1.00 ***
Married					0.81	0.95	0.81	0.95
College degree					0.93	0.97	0.92	0.97
Children 0-4					1.18	0.86	1.18	0.86
Children 5-14					1.28 *	0.93	1.29 *	0.93
Changed jobs					1.63 ***	1.43 ***	1.63 ***	1.43 ***
Fired from job					1.74	1.07	1.74	1.07
Job demands					0.93	1.60 ***	0.93	1.60 ***
Job security					0.92	1.01	0.92	1.01
Job autonomy					0.90 *	0.99	0.91	0.99
Schedule control					0.99	0.96	0.99	0.96
Nonroutine work					1.02	0.99	1.02	0.99
Supervisor					0.75 **	1.17 *	0.75 **	1.17 *
Self-employed					1.10	1.33 **	1.09	1.32 **
Comfortable					0.33 ***	1.54 ***	0.33 ***	1.54 ***
Reasonably comfortable					0.53 ***	1.45 ***	0.53 ***	1.45 ***
Observations	5073		5073		5073		5073	
r2_p	0.04		0.04		0.10		0.10	

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 1. Type of mismatches by occupation and gender at Wave 9.

	Upper		Middle		Lower		Total		Chi-square tests for occupational differences		
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Total
More	3.5	4.7	11.6	14.1	18.1	27.8	9.4	11.3			
Same	54.0	57.0	61.7	65.0	62.5	57.4	58.6	61.2			
Fewer	42.6	38.3	26.7	20.9	19.3	14.8	32.0	27.5			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	173.1 *	163.5 *	322.6 *
N	1151	953	1051	1224	518	176	2720	2353			
Chi sqaure	5.2		11.9 *		8.0 *		14.6 *				
Cramer's V	0.05		0.07		0.11		0.05				

Table 2. Resolution of mismatches by Wave 10 by occupation and gender

	Upper		Middle		Lower		Total		Chi-square Tests for occupational differences		
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Total
Not Resolved	68.3	66.3	54.1	58.7	52.6	61.3	60.5	62.4			
Resolved	31.7	33.7	45.9	41.3	47.4	38.7	39.5	37.6			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	25.5 *	5.2	0.1 *
N	530	410	403	429	194	75	1127	914			
Chi sqaure tests of gender differences	0.4		1.8		1.7		0.7				
Cramer's V	0.02		-0.05		-0.08		-0.02				

Table 3. Method of resolution by gender and occupation.

	Upper		Middle		Lower		Total		Chi-square tests for occupational differences		
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Total
Actual	28.9	35.8	35.0	33.0	40.7	41.4	33.9	34.8			
Preferred	48.2	43.8	44.8	46.6	40.7	44.8	45.2	45.3			
Compromise	22.9	20.4	20.2	20.5	18.7	13.8	20.9	19.9			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	3.8	1.3	3.2
N	166.0	137.0	183.0	176.0	91.0	29.0	440.0	342.0			
Chi sqaure	1.6		0.2		0.4		0.1				
Cramer's V	0.07		0.02		0.06		0.01				

Table 4. Odds ratios from multinomial logistic regression predicting presence of a mismatch and type of mismatch at Wave 9.

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Type of Mismatch		Type of Mismatch	
	Wants more hours	Wants fewer hours	Wants more hours	Wants fewer hours
Men, middle occupations	2.92 ***	0.55 ***	2.27 ***	0.68 ***
Men, lower occupations	4.50 ***	0.39 ***	3.02 ***	0.54 ***
Women, upper occupations	1.29	0.85	1.20	0.77 **
Women, middle occupatio	3.38 ***	0.41 ***	2.45 ***	0.51 ***
Women, lower occupations	7.53 ***	0.33 ***	4.71 ***	0.42 ***
Age			0.97	1.10 ***
Age-squared			1.00	1.00 ***
Married			0.81	0.95
College degree			0.92	0.97
Children 0-4			1.18	0.86
Children 5-14			1.29 *	0.93
Changed jobs			1.63 ***	1.43 ***
Fired from job			1.74	1.07
Job demands			0.93	1.60 ***
Job security			0.92	1.01
Job autonomy			0.91	0.99
Schedule control			0.99	0.96
Nonroutine work			1.02	0.99
Supervisor			0.75 **	1.17 *
Self-employed			1.09	1.32 **
Comfortable			0.33 ***	1.54 ***
Reasonably comfortable			0.53 ***	1.45 ***
N	5073		5073	
r2_p	0.04		0.10	

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 5. Odds ratios from logistic regressions predicting resolution of hour mismatch between wave 9 and 10

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Men, middle occupations	1.83***	1.67***	1.69***
Men, lower occupations	1.94***	1.66**	1.67*
Women, upper occupations	1.09	1.08	1.09
Women, middle occupations	1.51**	1.33*	1.29
Women, lower occupations	1.36	1.08	1.05
Wanted fewer hours at wave 9		0.68***	0.81
Age			0.91**
Age-squared			1.00**
Married			1.25*
College degree			0.84
Children 0-4			1.13
Children 5-14			0.98
Changed jobs			1.63***
Fired from job			0.56
Job demands			0.86***
Job security			1.13*
Job autonomy			0.95
Schedule control			1.05
Nonroutine work			1.08
Supervisor			0.72**
Self-employed			1.05
Comfortable			1.09
Reasonably comfortable			1.04
N	2041	2041	2041
r2_p	0.01	0.02	0.04

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 6. Multinomial logistic regression showing method of resolution

	Model 1 Method of resolution		Model 2 Method of resolution		Model 3 Method of resolution	
	pref	comp	pref	comp	pref	comp
Men, middle occupations	0.77	0.73	0.83	0.76	0.83	0.79
Men, lower occupations	0.60	0.58	0.69	0.63	0.70	0.69
Women, upper occupations	0.73	0.72	0.75	0.73	0.81	0.76
Women, middle occupations	0.85	0.78	0.96	0.84	1.00	0.91
Women, lower occupations	0.65	0.42	0.80	0.47	0.94	0.56
Wanted fewer hours at wave 9			1.45 *	1.23	1.70 **	1.20
Age					0.96	0.90
Age-squared					1.00	1.00
Married					0.95	0.89
College degree					1.01	0.93
Children 0-4					0.98	0.92
Children 5-14					1.01	1.02
Changed jobs					0.43 **	0.70
Fired from job					0.38	0.00
Job demands					0.84 *	1.07
Job security					1.15	1.11
Job autonomy					1.05	0.89
Schedule control					1.06	1.17 *
Nonroutine work					1.01	1.04
Supervisor					1.09	1.12
Self-employed					0.96	0.96
Comfortable					0.71	1.14
Reasonably comfortable					0.85	1.26
Observations	782		782		782	

* p<0.05 ** p<0.01 ***p<0.001

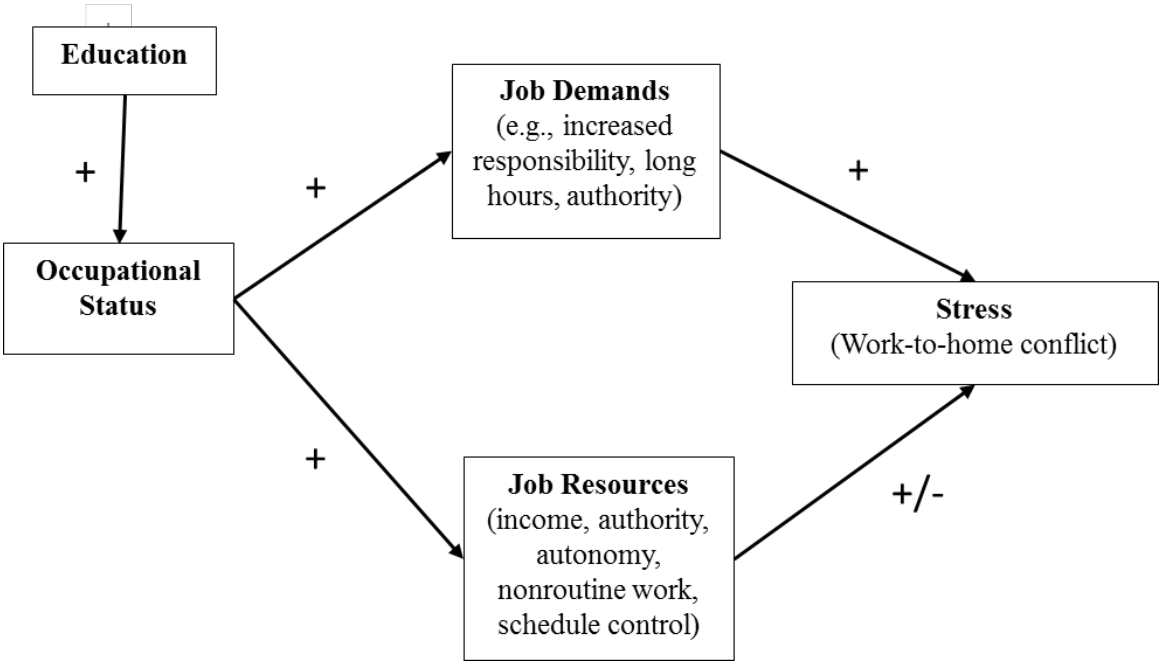

Figure 1. Stress of Higher Status Model

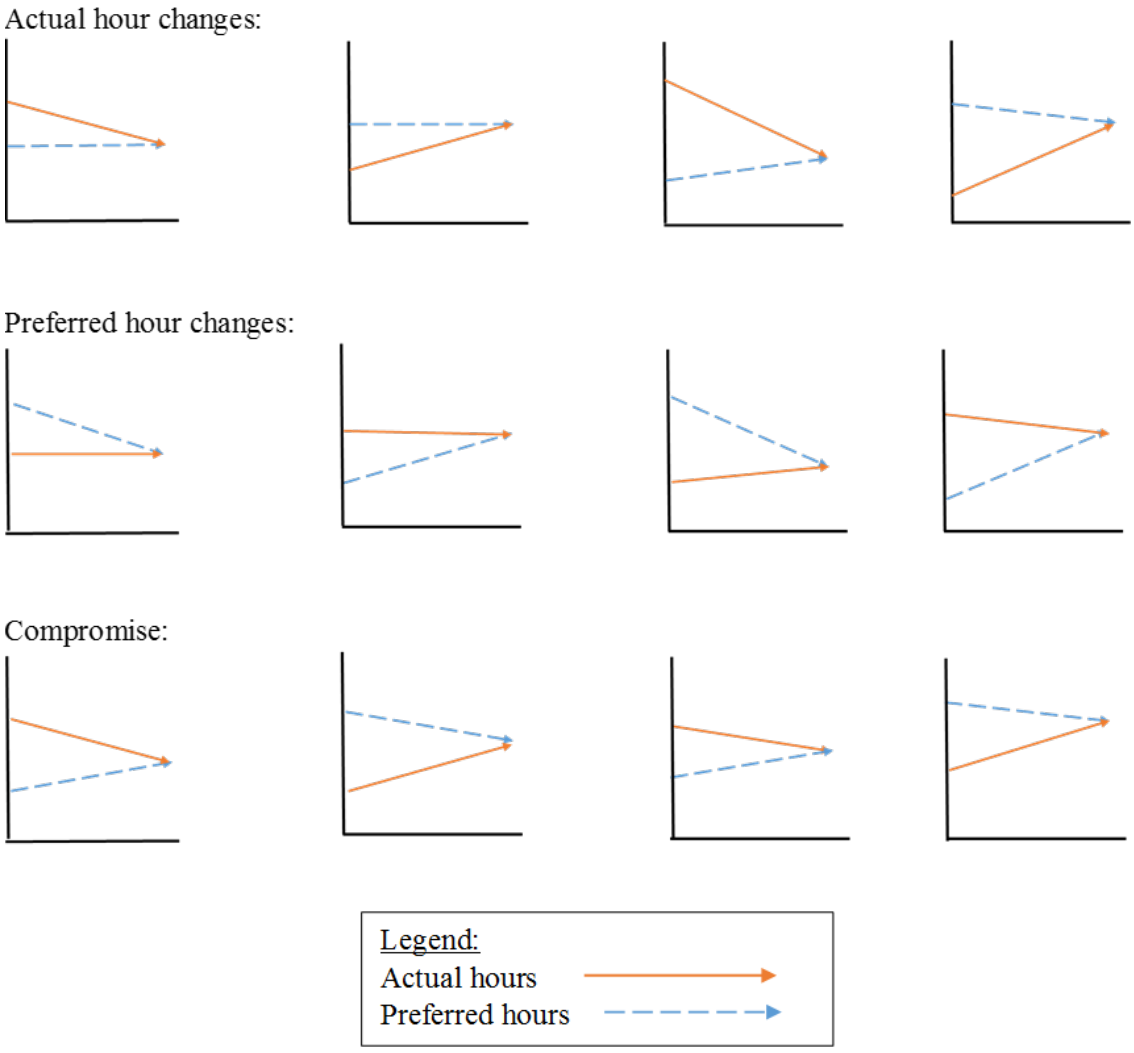

Figure 2. Method of Resolution

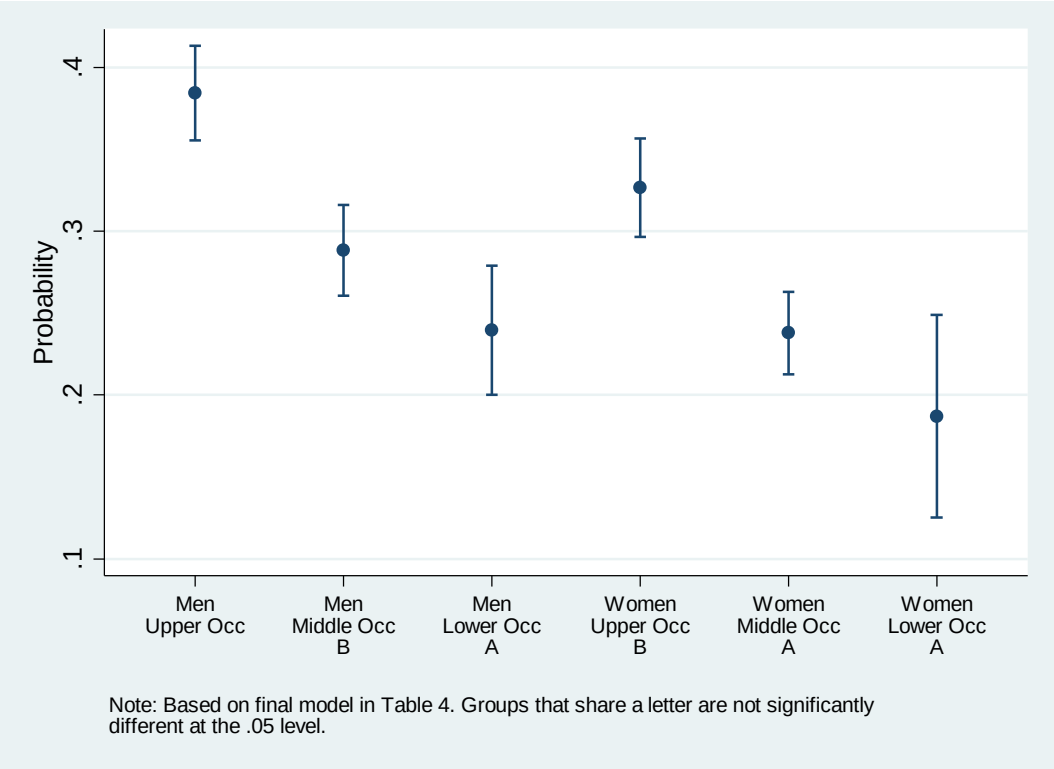

Figure 3. Probability of wanting fewer hours by gender and occupation

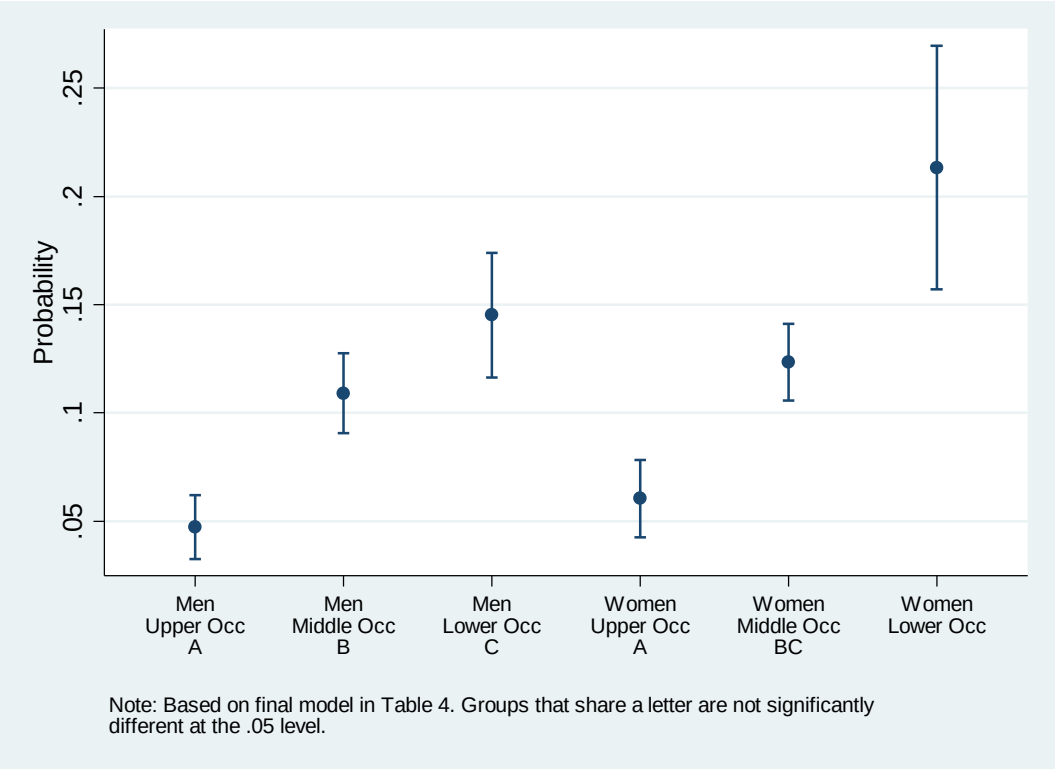

Figure 4. Probability of wanting more hours by gender and occupation

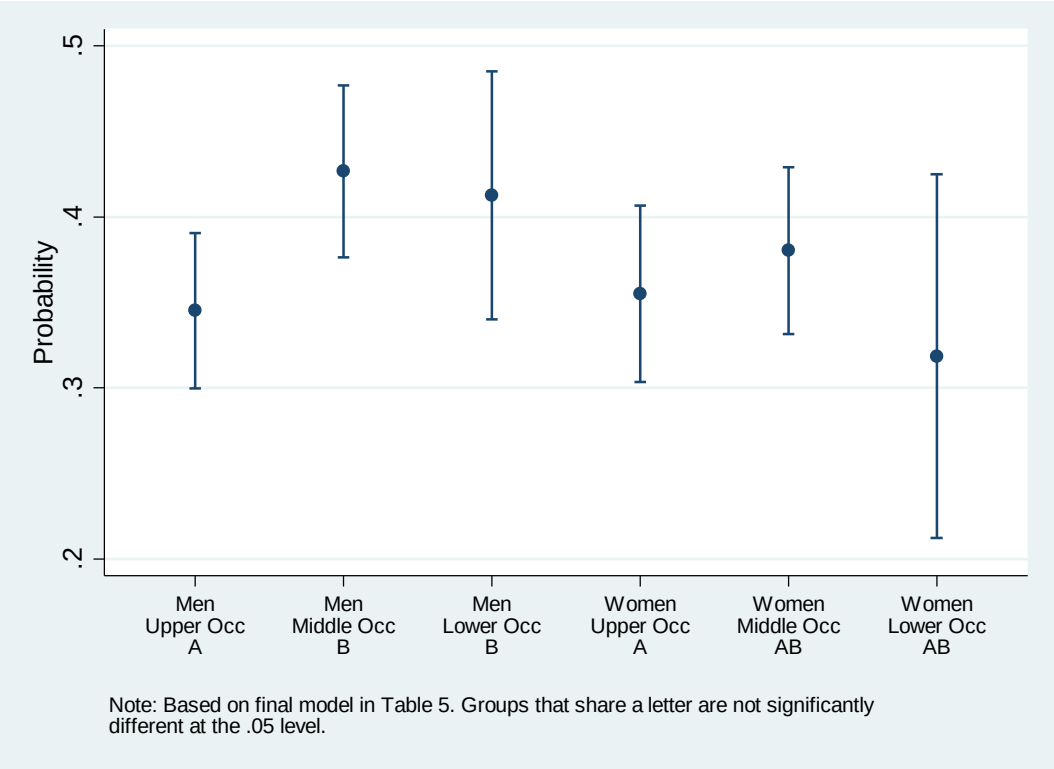

Figure 5. Probability of resolving hour mismatch by gender and occupation