

WHO EXPERIENCES LEISURE DEFICITS? MOTHER'S MARITAL STATUS AND LEISURE TIME

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ABSTRACT

We use the 2003-2012 American Time Use Survey to examine how mothers' leisure varies by marital status. We find that never-married mothers have more total leisure time than married mothers, but the quality of leisure is poorer. The majority of never married mothers' leisure time is passive and socially isolated—activities with few social, health, or cognitive benefits. We also find that race-ethnicity moderates the effect of relationship status on time spent in social and active leisure. Unpartnered and black mothers spend the most time in socially isolated leisure, such as time spent alone watching television. Our results strongly suggest that types of leisure differentiate mothers' experience of time in ways related to other dimensions of inequality, such as economic, health, and social capital disparities.

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Mothers have less and lower quality leisure than fathers, on average, because of their dual burden of paid work and household labor (Mattingly and Bianchi 2003; Sayer 2005; Craig and Mullan 2010; Gornick and Meyers 2009). Inadequate leisure resulting from mothers' second shift, as well as the third shift of managing complex familial emotional currents stirred up by the first and second shifts, (Hochschild 1997), is linked with negative health outcomes, lower quality relationships, and gender disparities in employment (Bird and Rieker 2008; Frisco and Williams 2003; Budig and Hodges 2010; Budig and England 2001; Henderson and Hickerson 2007). Most literature focuses on gender differences, but leisure gaps among mothers may be as consequential as leisure gaps between women and men, because the redistribution of time and money within and across families reproduces class and racial-ethnic stratification as well as gender inequality (Cooke and Baxter 2010).

Marital status is one characteristic that should be strongly associated with leisure gaps among mothers. First, marriage affects leisure time because having (or not having) a spouse present influences employment and demands for household labor (Coverman 1985; Cooke and Baxter 2010). Second, marriage is a gendered institution that activates cultural expectations about breadwinning and caregiving and is an interactional setting through which individuals express feminine and masculine identities (Gerson 2010; Risman 1998). Last, marriage today is a signal of class status, differentiating mothers into privileged and disadvantaged groups (Cherlin 2009; McLanahan 2004).

Early theoretical formulations of single mothers' disadvantaged leisure time was linked to their greater employment rates, compared with married mothers. For example, Vickery's (1977) time poverty thesis assumed specialization and time complementarities in marriage, thus

leaving married mothers with ample time — and single mothers with a deficit of time — available for leisure. Today, employment among married mothers is normative. In married couple families with children, 75 percent of mothers are employed and dual earner marriages are the most common work/family arrangement (Kreider and Elliott 2009).

Despite this shift, marriage remains a gendered institution characterized by oppositional discourses of spousal equality and essentialist beliefs that women are naturally more focused on home and hearth (Charles and Bradley 2009). Consequently, married mothers' increased employment time has not been met by a commensurate increase in married fathers' time contributions to family work (Sayer 2005; Bianchi et al. 2006). Mothers also combine or interrupt leisure activities with parenting responsibilities more often than fathers (Milkie et al. 2009). Hence, parenting and breadwinning expectations activated by the gendered institution of marriage may lead to shortfalls rather than an abundance of leisure time for married employed mothers. Indeed, recent time diary studies document less – not more – leisure among married mothers compared with single mothers (Mattingly and Bianchi 2003; Bittman and Wajcman 2000; Bianchi et al. 2006). What is not clear from these studies is whether this is a “marriage” effect or instead due to compositional differences in the types of mothers who have children within marriage compared to those who have nonmarital births. College educated white women are more likely to marry, have children in marriage, and remain married compared with other women (McLanahan 2004; Musick et al. 2012). Nonmarriage, instead of divorce, is a more common pathway to single motherhood today. Time use and family inequality studies document the “diverging destinies” of married, divorced and never married mothers, with the former having better educational, employment and health outcomes and more extensive social networks, in part because married mothers have access to their own and a partners' economic

resources (McLanahan 2004; Bianchi and Milkie 2010). An emerging literature is beginning to study mothers' leisure, but far more is known about the diverging economic well-being of mothers. Studies of leisure inequalities among mothers have not attempted to isolate influences of marital status on the quantity and quality of leisure from influences attributable to race-ethnicity and education, nor have they addressed how these statuses intersect.

Race and education-differentiated pathways into motherhood and marriage should influence the quantity and quality of leisure directly; we expect they may also moderate associations between marital status and leisure. Class specific socialization and cultural repertoires are theorized to instill future-orientation and a quest for self-perfection among middle and upper-classes, but conformity and obedience among the working class (Bourdieu 1984; Mirowsky and Ross 2003). These differences are expressed through leisure patterns, with more highly educated individuals prioritizing activities that build human, social, and cultural capital (Gershuny 2000; Jacobs and Gerson 2004; Gupta et al. 2009). Leisure studies scholars theorize racial minority experiences of social marginalization and economic disadvantage affect leisure preferences and constrain leisure options (Stamps and Stamps 1985; Floyd et al. 1994).

Australian time diary studies and U.S. studies using public health data indicate less educated and nonwhite individuals spend higher proportions of leisure time in activities with fewer health or social benefits (e.g. television) (van der Ploeg et al. 2010; Crespo et al. 2000b).

The greater complexity in contemporary associations between marital status and leisure than theorized in the 1970s point to the need to revisit Vickery's time poverty thesis. Greater understanding of the role of marital status and compositional differences in producing leisure time inequality among mothers is needed both because of the increase in single mother headed households – 25% of U.S. households with children present today (Kreider and Elliott 2009)–

but also the robust links between gendered work-family patterns, leisure quantity and quality, and well-being. Mothers with less and lower quality leisure have increased risks of social isolation, negative mental and physical health disorders, and reduced accumulation of social capital (Bittman 2002; Miller and Brown 2005; Bird and Rieker 2008). In this paper, we contribute by considering joint influences of marital status and race-ethnicity on the quantity and quality of mothers' leisure, using data from the 2003-2012 American Time Use Survey (ATUS). Our study also uses new measures of leisure to expand knowledge of marital influences on types, quantity, and quality of mothers' leisure and enrich existing theory on how women's leisure is associated with social advantage and disadvantage. These variations in leisure have distinctly different implications for mothers' health, accumulation of social capital, and social participation. Our findings suggest that differential access to leisure among women is an important dimension of stratification.

MARITAL STATUS, TIME AVAILABILITY AND LEISURE

Dominant theoretical perspectives advanced to explain gender gaps in leisure emphasize influences of marital, parental, and employment status because of how these affect time in paid and unpaid work and how they activate gendered interactions and evaluations. The time availability perspective suggests that available leisure time is affected by an individual's supply of time to paid work and the demand for household labor, with individuals who spend less time in paid work having more time available to respond to demands for housework and child care (Coverman 1985). From this perspective, married mothers should have a clear advantage, as they have a partner to whom they can allocate some of the total paid plus unpaid work. Consequently, never married and divorced mothers have fewer options for sharing employment

and household responsibilities and lower financial resources also constrain their ability to outsource some household work (Vickery 1977; Cohen 1998).

In contrast, the gender perspective, which posits that differences in time use patterns are a result of stratification processes, power dynamics, and socialization, provides plausible reasons why married mothers may have less leisure, not more, compared with never married and divorced mothers. The ways men and women allocate time to domestic or market labor is how people “*do gender*” (West and Zimmerman 1987), and as such, increased time in domestic work, and reduced time in and entitlement to leisure, is a marker of women’s subordination and decreased power in relation to men. Likewise, men’s avoidance of housework could signify their higher status and may explain why a husband’s demand for housework is higher than his supply (Hartmann 1981; Gupta 1999). Both relational processes should result in less leisure for married mothers, vis-à-vis divorced and never married mothers. Married mothers’ time is perceived by family members as a collective, household resource, whereas fathers’ time is more of an individual resource, leading married mothers to give household work priority over leisure but just the opposite among married fathers (Kay 1998; Henderson and Bialeschki 1991). The redistribution of mothers’ time resources to fathers (and children) suggests it is the *presence* not *absence* of a husband that should reduce the quantity of leisure time. Indeed, qualitative studies suggest concerns over reduced time and financial independence factor into the calculus used by never married mothers in determining whether to marry (Blum and Deussen 1996; Edin and Kefalas 2005).

The gender perspective also suggests that differences in leisure may emerge between partnered mothers and those who are not partnered because these are different family arrangements which require different levels of performance of gendered activity. Both marriage

and childbirth are “gendering” events in family life; that is, these events reinforce and further solidify the gendered division of labor with the family (Bittman and Wajcman 2000; Miller and Brown 2005). Instead of reduced time commitments to work and family responsibilities because of the presence of a spouse, married mothers may have heightened time pressures in both arenas from struggling to be meet “work and family” devotion schemas (Blair-loy 2001). In contrast, because single mothers are not interacting with a coresidential heterosexual partner in daily life, they encounter different expectations and evaluations of their gendered performances.

Studies from the 1980s report only modest differences in single and married mothers’ leisure, with the direction and magnitude of the leisure gap varying more strongly by employment status and age of youngest child (Sanik and Mauldin 1986; Douthitt et al. 1990). More recent research using nationally representative time diary data offer competing claims about marital status variation in mothers’ leisure. Bianchi and colleagues report married and single mothers have similar amounts of leisure, about 31 hours per week (Bianchi et al. 2006); in contrast, Vernon (2010) reports married women’s leisure is about 30 minutes higher (per day) than single mothers. The small literature that focuses on differences in mothers’ leisure (rather than the much larger body of work focusing on differences between mothers’ and fathers’ leisure) does not disentangle variation attributable to gender displays activated by the institution of marriage from variation attributable to compositional differences between married and single mothers. Variation from education and racial-ethnicity should be particularly salient, as these characteristics differentiate pathways into single and married motherhood and into different models of work and family that influence time and economic resources.

PATHWAYS INTO MOTHERHOOD & LEISURE

Differential time use patterns can be a consequence as well as a product of inequality. Because pathways into marriage and motherhood are increasingly bifurcated by race and education, single, divorced, and married mothers differ considerably in sociodemographic characteristics. Table 1 shows how mothers sociodemographic characteristics vary across married, single, and divorced mothers.

[Table 1 here]

These differences are well-documented in the literature (Kreider and Elliott 2009; McLanahan 2004). Never married mothers are less educated and more likely to be Black or Hispanic than married or divorced mothers. The majority of married and divorced mothers are white, 73 percent and 61 percent respectively, whereas only about 32 percent of never married mothers are white and 44 percent are black. Across marital status groups, about 19 percent to 24 percent of mothers are Hispanic. Consistent with other research, never married mothers are also far more likely to be poor than other mothers, as 48 percent of never married mothers fall into this category. Higher education and income levels may allow mothers more options for outsourcing domestic labor and child care duties, this increasing time available for leisure (de Ruijter et al. 2005). It also may increase the quality of that leisure time, as many social leisure activities require at least some measure of time autonomy and financial investment. Never married mothers are younger and the most likely to have a young child in the household (29 percent), followed by married mothers, whereas only about 8 percent of divorced mothers have a child two or younger in their household. Because children in the formative years of life require the most constant and intense care, having children in this age group may decrease the amount of time available and the quality of leisure activities.

Understanding the intersection of education, race, and motherhood may be particularly important to unraveling the web of differences in leisure quantity and quality. The quality of leisure can be judged by several distinct features, including the type of leisure activities and the social integration of leisure (Bittman and Wajcman 2000). Intertwined racial-ethnic and social class variations in socialization patterns and subjective meanings of good motherhood point to differential involvement in leisure activities that promote participation in social and health oriented leisure compared with activities that are more isolated and sedentary.

Social theorists have long discussed the “leisure class,” and posited that leisure preferences differ by class location. Differences in lifestyles, behaviors, and related time use patterns emerge from class based socialization processes that provide individuals with a blueprint for what is normal, comfortable, and desirable as adults (Singh-Manoux and Marmot 2005; Krieger 2001; Gershuny 2000). Because never married mothers are disadvantaged in adulthood, and are more likely than other mothers to come from disadvantaged backgrounds, leisure differences may result. Some evidence suggests that the less advantaged are more suspicious of social institutions, resulting in more time at home with those within their kin network (Lareau 2003). In contrast, advantaged mothers view their leisure time as an opportunity to socialize children and engender them with specific types of cultural, human, and social capital by spending more of their leisure time in child-centered developmental activities (Sayer et al. 2004; Macdonald 2010). Because of the overlap between marital status and advantage, married mothers may spend more time engaging in active and social leisure with their children compared to single mothers.

Race-ethnicity should also influence leisure time and quality. Two explanations have been offered by leisure scholars about observed associations between race-ethnicity and leisure

activities (Floyd et al. 1994; Stamps and Stamps 1985). The first posits that historical discrimination has produced social marginalization and economic disadvantage among racial-ethnic minorities which results in constraints on money, time, and access to leisure activities. An alternate explanation posits that variation in the norms and socialization patterns of blacks and whites account for leisure activity differences. Sociological research on racial discrimination documents the social exclusion of blacks from public space and racially differentiated access to economic resources and is peppered with references to “white” versus “black” areas (Wilson 2010). Integrating sociological and leisure studies work suggests leisure activities are endowed with racialized meanings about belonging and status. In contemporary times, racial minorities may not experience legal social exclusion from recreational spaces like swimming pools and resort hotels. However, racial minorities still encounter more subtle signals of being “out of place” or unwelcome in “white” leisure spaces, such as being the only nonwhite person playing tennis or visiting a public park or museum (Burdsey 2011).

The leisure studies literature shows that Blacks and Whites rank leisure activities differently, with Black women preferring group sports whereas white women prefer individual sports and outdoor recreation (Floyd et al. 1994). Further, Black and Latina women appear to experience different constraints on leisure activities compared with whites, net of socioeconomic status, such as lower access to recreational facilities and greater concerns about safety when outdoors (Cerin and Leslie 2008; Shinew et al. 2004). Single mothers are more likely to live in disadvantaged neighborhoods, and as a result may keep themselves and their children indoors as protection against negative influences (Kurz 2002; Furstenberg et al. 1999). Many disadvantaged neighborhoods also have fewer opportunities for formal community participation and participation in physically active leisure (Klinenberg 2002; Ray 2014). Lower income and less

educated women spend less time in physically active leisure than other women (Crespo et al. 2000a; Miller and Brown 2005). Because single mothers have less disposable income than other mothers, financial constraints limit social leisure activities that engage with others or are done in a public setting or event (Bittman 2002). This may increase sedentary leisure among single mothers because activities such as watching television require few financial resources and are conducted inside.

In sum, both the amount and type of leisure are dimensions of the “diverging destinies” of married, divorced, and single mothers. In this paper, we address several questions. First, how does mothers’ leisure quantity and quality vary by marital status? We compare predictions from Vickery’s time poverty thesis that posit *single* mothers should have less leisure time because of their greater work and family commitments with predictions from gender theory that argue gendered expectations activated by the institution of marriage should instead lead to lower quantity and quality leisure among married mothers because of their greater work and family commitments. Second, we evaluate whether influences of marital status on leisure time and type are conditioned by education and/or race-ethnicity. Because single mothers’ bundle of compositional characteristics is associated with greater disadvantage, we expect that they will spend more of their leisure time in passive and socially isolated leisure.

DATA

Data for this analysis come from the pooled 2003-2012 American Time Use Survey (U.S. Census Bureau 2014). Pooling years of data minimizes the possibility of random fluctuations in the data from year to year. The Bureau of Labor Statistics began collecting time diary data in 2003 from respondents in the outgoing rotation of the Current Population Survey (CPS). ATUS respondents are noninstitutionalized Americans over age 15 who are not actively serving in the

military. Response rates are between 52.5 and 57.8 percent each year (U.S. Census Bureau 2014). All ATUS data are collected via computer assisted telephone interviews that gather sociodemographic information and a 24-hour time diary, in which respondents report on the previous day's activities.

Our analytic sample consists of 26,755 mothers with coresidential children 17 and younger. We exclude respondents under the age of 18 and over the age of 54, widows and cohabitators, and limit our sample to White, Black and Hispanic mothers. Sample sizes for other racial groups, cohabitators and widowers were too small for analysis.¹

Dependent Variables

Our dependent variables include three mutually exclusive measures of minutes per day spent in types of leisure activities: passive leisure, social leisure, and active leisure. Passive leisure consists mostly of watching television but also includes listening to music and relaxing. Social leisure is comprised of leisure time socializing with others and attending entertainment and arts events. Active leisure includes sports and exercise, outdoor recreation, and mentally engaging activities such as reading. We also analyze minutes per day in “socially-isolated” leisure, operationalized as time in any of the three leisure activities conducted alone at home.

Independent Variables

Our primary independent variables of interest are union status and race- ethnicity. Union status is coded into three categories: currently married; divorced; and never married. In all regression models, married mothers are the reference group. Race-ethnicity is categorized into

¹ Cohabiting mothers were included in preliminary analyses but we chose to exclude them from final models due to small sample size relative to the other groups. Preliminary analyses showed similar results for cohabiting and never married mothers.

three mutually exclusive categories: Hispanic, white non-Hispanic, and black non-Hispanic. White mothers are the reference category for the statistical analyses.

We include three variables related to family structure. The first is a dichotomous variable indicating the presence of a child age 2 or under, as young children increase household work and decrease leisure time. Second, we include a continuous measure of number of household children as larger families increase household work and affect the amount and type of leisure. Third, we include a dichotomous variable indicating that the respondent's household included extended family members. Living with family may increase leisure, because their economic and time resources can be tapped to reduce the total workload. However, in some cases where family members are disabled or elderly, they may reduce leisure because they increase the demand for carework.

We divide education into four categories: less than a high school degree; high school degree; some college education or an associate's degree; and bachelor's degree or more. Household income, employment status, age, and weekend diary day are also included as controls. We code household income into four groups based poverty threshold, median household income, and the top quarter of the U.S. income distribution (Census Bureau 2006). Those in the lowest income category have household incomes below 150% of the 2006 poverty threshold for a family of two with one child under 18 and/or have household incomes at or below \$20,000 per year. The second category includes mothers with household incomes between \$20,001 and \$50,000, a rough approximation of the \$46,326 median U.S. household income in 2005. The third income category includes mothers with household incomes between \$50,001 and \$75,000, above the median but below the top quarter of the income distribution. The highest group includes respondents with household incomes over \$75,000 per year. We included missing

as an income category for mothers whose income was missing instead of imputing their income for two reasons: a large proportion of our sample included missing data and 2) we are skeptical that the item non-response is missing at random (Schafer and Graham 2002).

We break employment status into five categories based on hours worked per week. All respondents not currently employed are classified as unemployed; ; those working 20 or fewer hours per week are categorized as low part time; those working 21 to 34 hours as high part time; those working 35 to 40 hours are categorized as average full time; and those working 41 or more hours per week are categorized as high full time. To address life course variation in time use patterns and preferences, we categorize age into four groups: 18 to 24, 25 to 34, 35 to 44, and 45 to 54. Finally, we include a dichotomous variable indicating if the diary was completed for a Saturday or Sunday to adjust for variation in time use patterns between weekdays and weekends. All regression models and descriptive statistics are weighted to adjust for the complex survey design and oversample of weekend days in the ATUS.

RESULTS

Table 2 presents means, standard deviations, and proportions of leisure time spent in each categorization of leisure activity. Passive, active, and social leisure account for nearly 94% of all leisure activities for all groups of mothers. The other 6% of leisure time consists of activities that do not clearly fit into active, passive, or social leisure categorizations (such as travel related to leisure activities) and we include time in these activities only in descriptive analysis of total leisure. Socially isolated leisure is approximately 20 percent of all mothers' leisure.

[Table 2 here]

Findings in Table 2 reveal that never married mothers have more total leisure than divorced and married mothers but more of their leisure is spent in passive, socially isolated

activities. For example, never married mothers devote nearly 70% of their 4.5 daily hours of leisure to passive activities whereas married mothers spend only 56% of their 3.7 hours in passive leisure. Further, the lower passive leisure time means married mothers invest more in active and social leisure than do other mothers. These results generally support our hypotheses that never married mothers have lower quality leisure than either divorce or married mothers, although differences between divorced and never married mothers are smaller than they are when comparing never married with mothers. It's possible the differences shown in Table 2 may be an artifact of compositional differences associated with marital status and leisure activities. We assess this possibility in Tables 3 and 4, which investigate associations between marital status and passive, social, and socially isolated leisure, adjusting for mothers' sociodemographic characteristics.

[Tables 3 and 4]

Table 3 presents ordinary least square (OLS) regressions of daily minutes in passive and social leisure on marital status. Model 1 includes only marital status; Model 2 adds race-ethnicity, household characteristics, education, and other control variables. Considering passive leisure first, the comparison of models 1 and 2 indicates the significant negative effect of marital status on passive leisure remains, net of compositional factors, but is attenuated from 54 minutes to 20 minutes for never married mothers and from 26 to 12 minutes for divorced mothers. Associations of race-ethnicity and social class with passive leisure are particularly salient. For example, Black mothers spend about 32 minutes more per day in passive leisure compared with White mothers. However, models not shown indicated race-ethnicity did not moderate union status and race-ethnic interactions with other control variables were not significant. Hence, as suggested in the literature, the legacy of racial discrimination may produce distinct constraints on

opportunities for Black mothers' leisure. As advantage increases, such as increasing education and household income, passive leisure time decreases. Employed mothers also spend less time in passive leisure, perhaps because they simply have less time available, as passive leisure among all mothers is higher on weekends than weekdays.

Turning to the results for social leisure, Model 1 presents the bivariate relationship between union status and minutes per day spent in social leisure activities. Married women have on average about 5-7 more minutes of social leisure compared to both never married and divorced mothers. This relationship remains net of all factors introduced in Model 2 only for divorced mothers. Black mothers have on average 8 minutes less per day of social leisure than White mothers. Few variables in Model 2 are statistically significant. Having a young child does not significantly change the number of minutes per day spent in social leisure activities and an increase in household children only decreases mothers social leisure by 2 minutes per day. Similar to passive leisure, being unemployed or working few hours per week increases social leisure time, likely an artifact of having more time available to spend in social leisure when one is not spending significant time in the labor force.

The bivariate relationship of marital status and active leisure indicate that never married and divorced mothers spend statistically significantly less time in active leisure activities than married mothers (approximately 8-13 minutes less per day). However, when adjusting for sociodemographic characteristics, the relationship disappears. Both Black and Hispanic mothers spend less time than White mothers on active leisure activities. White mothers spend 11 minutes more a day in active leisure than Black mothers and 15 more minutes a day than Hispanic mothers. The presence of a young child also decreases mothers' time in active leisure activities by about 8 minutes per day. Mothers with a bachelor's degree spend more time active than

mothers of all other educational levels. Although mothers employed full-time spend less time in active leisure activities than mothers working fewer hours, mothers with higher incomes spend more time on active leisure, although the variation is less than 10 minutes.

Never married and divorced mothers spend more time in leisure activities than married mothers, lending support for the *doing gender* theory of mother's leisure. However, differences in the quality of leisure suggest support for Vickery's (1977) time poverty thesis. Disadvantaged mothers spend less of their leisure time in social and health oriented activities. For instance, never married and divorced mothers spend more time in passive leisure than married mothers and divorced mothers spend less time in social leisure activities than married mothers. Additionally, Black mothers' leisure time is more likely to be passive leisure and less likely to be social or active than White mothers. Less educated mothers spend less time in active leisure than more advantaged mothers. We further investigate leisure quality by analyzing time spent in socially isolated leisure activities.

Table 4 presents regression results for time spent in socially isolated leisure, defined as time spent alone at home. Model 1 shows the bivariate relationship between union status and socially isolated leisure. Married mothers spend significantly less time in socially isolated leisure than do never married and divorced mothers. Never married and divorced mothers spend on average 25-30 minutes more per day than married mothers in socially isolated leisure activities. This relationship persists even when we adjust for sociodemographic differences among mothers. Black mothers also spend about 23 minutes more per day than White mothers in socially isolated leisure. Hispanic mothers, on the other hand, spend about 12 minutes less per day in socially isolated activities. To check for evidence of a kind of double disadvantage (Donato, Piya, and Jacobs 2014), we graphed time use in socially isolated activities by marital status and race-

ethnicity. Figure 1 presents mothers' time spent in socially isolated leisure by race and union status when other variables are held constant at their means. Black never married and divorced mothers spend the most time in socially isolated leisure. Hispanic and White married mothers spend the least amount of time in socially isolated leisure. Divorced and never married mothers are more alike than different among each racial and ethnic group. However, in Model 3, we show the interaction effect of marital status and race-ethnicity and find no statistically significant effect. Thus, Black mothers and never married mothers are more likely to experience leisure time which is socially isolated, but we do not find statistical support for a double disadvantage for never married Black mothers. As shown in Figure 1, Black mothers in general experience constraints on leisure options.

[Figure 1 about here]

In terms of other covariates, mothers with young children and with more children in the household have less socially isolated leisure time. Interestingly, mothers living with an extended family member do not spend any less time socially isolated during leisure activities than mothers without an extended family member in the home. As expected, mothers working fewer hours spend more time in socially isolated leisure. Mothers with a high school diploma are socially isolated more than mothers with a bachelor's degree, although there were not statistically significant differences in socially isolated leisure by income categories.

DISCUSSION

Previous research suggests conflicting predictions about the amount and quality of leisure by union status among women. The time poverty and time availability perspectives predict that never married mothers have less leisure than do married mothers, while the gender perspective suggests that married mothers may be at a leisure disadvantage. We find that non-partnered

mothers have more total leisure time but the leisure time is more likely to be of poor quality. Specifically, never married and divorced mothers have more passive and socially isolated leisure compared with married mothers. The majority of passive leisure is watching television, a type of leisure that is readily available to individuals with economic constraints but also one that does not produce the same social or health related benefits of other activities. For example, individuals who spend more time in passive leisure have higher risks of negative health outcomes such as heart disease and obesity (CITE).

We also find that married mothers are able to access significantly more social leisure than divorced mothers. Net of all other factors, married mothers enjoy five additional minutes of leisure per day in comparison to divorced mothers. Social disadvantage does not exacerbate union status leisure differences in terms of quantity but it does reduce social and active leisure time. Black, Hispanic, and lower educated mothers spend less time than White and more educated mothers in social and active leisure activities. Disadvantaged mothers spend about 30% less time in active leisure activities than more advantaged mothers which could have major implications for the health and wellbeing of these women. However, even the most disadvantaged mothers are spending nearly 30 minutes a day in social leisure activities, suggesting that individuals are not disengaged from those around them, as suggested by some literature (Putnam 2000).

In sum, single mothers have considerable leisure time but most of it is of poorer quality compared with married mothers' leisure, as the bulk of never married mothers leisure is spent in socially isolated settings. Further, social disadvantage increases poor quality leisure, with race-ethnicity of particular salience. Although our results do not speak directly to the mechanism through which race-ethnicity influences leisure activity choices, one possibility is contextual

factors. Patterns of racial housing segregation starkly differentiate the daily living conditions of Blacks, Whites, and Hispanics. The economic disadvantage experienced by the majority of never married mothers confines them to low-quality neighborhoods with fewer recreational facilities, poorly maintained roads and sidewalks, and higher crime rates than better off neighborhoods (Charles 2003; Pattillo-McCoy 1999). All of these elements may restrict leisure options to sedentary, indoor activities. We cannot assess the effects of neighborhood disadvantage and residential segregation because ATUS does not release geocoded data. Klinenberg's (2002) analysis of the 1995 Chicago heat wave suggests the business and spatial structure of one black community fostered social isolation whereas the infrastructure of a nearby Hispanic community fostered solidarity that reduced mortality risks. Klinenberg's findings offer insight into why Black mothers experience socially isolated leisure at levels so much higher than Hispanic and White mothers. Research exploring influences of contextual factors on leisure quality would be a useful extension to our study. It is important to note, however, that neighborhood context may be only one of a larger set of constraints on leisure experienced by black mothers (Ray 2014). Future research could go beyond the limitations of our analysis by investigating leisure constraints due to spatial constraints such as neighborhood context.

Our results highlight the importance of contextual factors in time use studies. Situational variants, such as location of the activity, reason for the activity, the activities immediately preceding and following the event, and the combination with leisure with other activities, are just some of the factors which may affect the perceived quality of an activity. The "quality factor" seems to be a key dimension of differentiation among mothers' leisure, yet remains largely unexplored in the time use literature. Our results strongly suggest that time is a salient dimension of inequality among mothers, and deserves further research attention in the future.

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TABLES

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Mothers' Characteristics by Marital Status

Percent of Sample	All Mothers		Married Mothers		Never Married Mothers		Divorced Mothers	
	100%		76%		13%		11%	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Race-Ethnicity								
White	0.66	0.47	0.73	0.45	0.33	0.47	0.59	0.49
Black	0.13	0.34	0.07	0.26	0.43	0.50	0.19	0.39
Hispanic	0.21	0.41	0.20	0.40	0.24	0.43	0.21	0.41
Number of Children	2.06	0.99	2.13	0.99	1.75	0.96	1.96	1.00
Presence of a Young Child	0.20	0.40	0.21	0.40	0.29	0.45	0.08	0.28
Presence of Extended Family	0.24	0.42	0.20	0.40	0.40	0.49	0.32	0.46
Education								
< High School	0.12	0.33	0.11	0.31	0.22	0.41	0.13	0.33
High School	0.29	0.45	0.26	0.44	0.39	0.49	0.31	0.46
Some College	0.28	0.45	0.26	0.44	0.31	0.46	0.35	0.48
BA or more	0.31	0.46	0.37	0.48	0.08	0.28	0.21	0.41
Household Income Level								
Missing	0.35	0.48	0.34	0.47	0.40	0.49	0.36	0.48
Poor	0.11	0.31	0.06	0.23	0.29	0.45	0.22	0.41
Low Income	0.20	0.40	0.18	0.39	0.22	0.41	0.29	0.45
Middle Income	0.13	0.34	0.15	0.36	0.06	0.24	0.08	0.27
High Income	0.21	0.41	0.26	0.44	0.03	0.18	0.05	0.22
Employment								
Unemployed	0.34	0.47	0.35	0.48	0.41	0.49	0.25	0.43
Low Part-time	0.10	0.30	0.11	0.32	0.07	0.25	0.07	0.25
High Part-time	0.09	0.28	0.09	0.28	0.09	0.28	0.08	0.27
Average Full-time	0.40	0.49	0.38	0.49	0.41	0.49	0.53	0.50
High Full-time	0.07	0.25	0.07	0.26	0.03	0.17	0.07	0.26
Age								
18-24	0.08	0.27	0.05	0.22	0.30	0.46	0.04	0.19
25-34	0.33	0.47	0.32	0.46	0.44	0.50	0.26	0.44
35-44	0.41	0.49	0.44	0.50	0.20	0.40	0.45	0.50
45-54	0.18	0.39	0.19	0.40	0.06	0.24	0.25	0.43
Weekend Diary Day	0.29	0.45	0.29	0.45	0.28	0.45	0.30	0.46
N	26,755		20,232		3,594		2,928	

Table 2. Mothers' Minutes Per Day Spent in Leisure Activities by Marital Status

	All Mothers		Married Mothers		Never Married Mothers		Divorced Mothers		
	Mean (SD)	All leisure (%)	Mean (SD)	All leisure (%)	Mean (SD)	All leisure (%)	Mean (SD)	All leisure (%)	
All Leisure	227.9 (170.0)		221.7 (163.2)		a 258.5 (190.5)		b 233.5 (185.1)		c
Passive Leisure	133.9 (134.1)	0.59	123.9 (122.8)	0.56	a 177.7 (163.6)	0.69	b 149.6 (155.1)	0.64	c
Social Leisure	50.5 (94.0)	0.22	52.0 (93.6)	0.23	a 47.0 (97.6)	0.18	b 44.8 (91.7)	0.19	b
Active Leisure	29.3 (62.8)	0.13	31.9 (64.2)	0.14	a 19.0 (53.7)	0.07	b 24.4 (62.1)	0.10	c
Socially Isolated Leisure	45.5 (88.9)	0.20	38.0 (74.9)	0.17	a 66.8 (122.9)	0.26	b 71.5 (115.1)	0.31	c
N	26,755		20,232		3,594		2,928		

For each type of leisure, means for mothers across columns with different subscripts differ significantly at $p < .05$

Note: Passive, Social, and Active Leisure comprise approximately 94% of all leisure.

Table 3. OLS Regression Analysis of Mothers' Passive, Social, and Active Leisure

	Passive Leisure				Social Leisure				Active Leisure			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
Marital Status (Married ref.)												
Never Married	53.89	***	19.93	***	-4.96	*	-4.10		-12.89	***	-1.95	
	(4.11)		(4.42)		(2.22)		(2.38)		(1.26)		(1.58)	
Divorced	25.79	***	11.78	**	-7.21	***	-5.23	**	-7.55	***	-2.97	
	(3.71)		(3.75)		(1.90)		(2.01)		(1.51)		(1.71)	
Race-Ethnicity (White ref.)												
Black			32.38	***			-7.54	***			-11.22	***
			(4.39)				(2.28)				(1.51)	
Hispanic			-6.50	*			-6.12	**			-15.08	***
			(3.12)				(2.00)				(1.37)	
Number of Children			-8.58	***			-1.79	*			-0.80	
			(1.14)				(0.71)				(0.52)	
Presence of a Young Child			-17.20	***			-0.89				-8.40	***
			(2.84)				(1.90)				(1.15)	
Presence of Extended Family			8.88	**			1.12				-1.41	
			(3.10)				(1.86)				(1.29)	
Education (BA or more ref.)												
< High School			59.33	***			-1.95				-11.61	***
			(4.86)				(2.94)				(2.06)	
High School			48.01	***			-1.88				-9.60	***
			(2.71)				(1.76)				(1.31)	
Some College			23.68	***			0.55				-7.09	***
			(2.30)				(1.66)				(1.17)	
Household Income Level (Low income ref.)												
Missing			-2.34				-1.23				2.28	
			(3.10)				(1.89)				(1.29)	
Poor			8.07				1.55				-1.73	

		(4.74)		(2.72)		(1.58)
Middle Income		-5.06		1.88		2.87
		(3.55)		(2.31)		(1.56)
High Income		-11.28 ***		1.18		6.27 ***
		(3.19)		(2.15)		(1.48)
Employment (Avg. Full-time ref.)						
Unemployed		41.59 ***		12.45 ***		11.97 ***
		(2.62)		(1.64)		(1.15)
Low Part-time		14.58 ***		11.63 ***		7.64 ***
		(3.33)		(2.15)		(1.59)
High Part-time		3.53		4.29		3.93 **
		(3.30)		(2.27)		(1.50)
High Full-time		-4.41		-0.21		-0.47
		(3.37)		(2.40)		(1.79)
Age (35 to 44 ref)						
18-24		-6.54		5.41		-0.73
		(5.93)		(3.47)		(2.56)
25 to 34		1.21		3.63 *		-3.89 ***
		(2.56)		(1.58)		(1.02)
45 to 54		2.50		0.85		4.54 ***
		(2.86)		(1.82)		(1.36)
Weekend Diary Day		28.09 ***		43.44 ***		8.55 ***
		(1.94)		(1.45)		(0.90)
Constant	123.86 ***	97.28 ***	52.00 ***	37.85 ***	31.90 ***	34.94 ***
	(1.09)	(4.18)	(0.75)	(2.58)	(0.53)	(1.95)
R ²	0.02	0.10	0.00	0.05	0.01	0.04
N	26,755	26,755	26,755	26,755	26,755	26,755
Standard Errors in parentheses; * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p<.001						

Table 4: OLS Regression Coefficients of Mothers' Socially Isolated Leisure Time

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Marital Status (Married ref.)			
Never Married	28.86 *** (3.13)	25.22 *** (3.16)	23.15 *** (3.86)
Divorced	33.50 *** (2.58)	26.91 *** (2.59)	26.03 *** (2.66)
Race-Ethnicity (White ref.)			
Black		29.30 *** (3.34)	22.52 *** (4.20)
Hispanic		-12.93 *** (1.76)	-11.56 *** (1.84)
Interactions			
Never Married X Black			13.43 (7.98)
Never Married X Hispanic			-5.40 (5.62)
Divorced X Black			11.12 (9.87)
Divorced X Hispanic			-1.85 (5.40)
Number of Children		-5.62 *** (0.81)	-5.69 *** (0.80)
Presence of a Young Child		-17.51 *** (1.59)	-17.39 *** (1.58)
Presence of Extended Family		-2.14 (2.07)	-1.96 (2.08)
Education (BA or more ref.)			
< High School		8.93 ** (3.09)	8.67 ** (3.09)
High School		11.44 *** (1.89)	11.32 *** (1.89)
Some College		4.40 ** (1.51)	4.36 ** (1.52)
Household Income Level (Low income ref.)			
Missing		-2.09 (2.10)	-2.01 (2.10)
Poor		-1.36 (2.96)	-1.66 (2.96)

Middle Income			-1.85		-1.69
			(2.26)		(2.27)
High Income			-2.13		-2.03
			(2.11)		(2.12)
Employment (Avg. Full-time ref.)					
Unemployed			21.28 ***		21.05 ***
			(1.84)		(1.85)
Low Part-time			11.75 ***		11.54 ***
			(2.16)		(2.16)
High Part-time			5.92 **		5.90 **
			(2.25)		(2.24)
High Full-time			-2.13		-2.23
			(2.38)		(2.38)
Age (35 to 44 ref)					
18-24			-30.34 ***		-30.17 ***
			(3.15)		(3.12)
25 to 34			-10.16 ***		-10.22 ***
			(1.80)		(1.80)
45 to 54			12.51 ***		12.44 ***
			(2.09)		(2.09)
Weekend Diary Day			-1.99		-2.03
			(1.28)		(1.29)
Constant	37.95 ***		44.81 ***		45.25 ***
	(0.66)		(2.90)		(2.86)
R2	0.02		0.08		0.08
N	26,755		26,755		26,755
Standard Errors in parentheses; * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p<.001					

FIGURES

Figure 1: Race/Ethnicity and Marital Status Interaction Effects on Mothers' Socially Isolated Leisure Time

