Are Some Occupations More Family-Friendly than Others? The Effects of Occupational Contexts on Using Leave and Flexible Work Policies

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ABSTRACT

While an emerging body of literature suggests that leave and flexible work policies (e.g., flex time, telecommuting) help to reduce work-family conflicts, workers often do not take advantage of these resources even when such policies are available. To address this puzzle, we identify conditions that affect individual use of these policies, specifically, occupation-specific conditions that influence norms about time use, such as the prevalence of overwork, male-dominance of the occupations, the level of job authority, and the frequency of technology use (e.g., email). Using individual-level data from the leave module in the 2011 American Time Use Survey, matched with occupation-level data compiled from the American Community Survey and O*NET, we show that the frequency of email use in jobs increases the probability of using leave or flexible policies, whereas the prevalence of long work hours or the level of job authority increases it. The findings suggest that these conditions suppress the policy use among workers in the most prestigious positions and may create workplace culture resistant to the new changes introduced to the contemporary workplace.

As the proportion of dual-earner families has increased and work hours have risen, families in today's labor market increasingly experience intensified work-family conflicts. Among dual-earner families, 60% of fathers and 47% of mothers reported experiencing work-family conflicts in 2008, compared to 35% and 41% in 1977 (Galinsky, Aumann, and Bond 2011). Over one out of three U.S. parents always feel rushed, 42% report having too little time for their children, and 57% of married fathers and 71% married mothers report not having enough time to take care of themselves (Bianchi, Robin, and Milkie 2006). Scholars and policy makers have long suggested that these intensified work-family conflicts and "time famine" may be alleviated by introducing "family-friendly" work policies, such as allowing employees to take time off, work non-typical hours, or to work from home. Many corporations have responded positively to these needs. According to the 2012 National Study of Employers, 87% of corporations with 50 or more employees offer paid time off, 77% allow occasional schedule change, and 63% allow working from home to some group of their employees (Matos and Galinsky 2012). These programs have been shown to be effective in reducing perceived work-family conflicts, improving employees' health and wellbeing, lowering the rate of intention to leave the job, and increasing productivity (Bloom et al. 2013; Eaton 2003; Hammer et al. 2011; Kelly et al. 2014; Matos and Galinsky 2012; Moen et al. 2011).

However, despite the increasing demand for and benefits of these programs, the proportion of employees who take advantage of these policies has remained low. In 2004, more than one out of three employees did not use up their vacation days (Galinsky et al. 2004). According to the 2008 National Study of the Changing Workforce, among those who have access to schedule changes, only 11% of workers vary their starting and quitting time frequently and regularly, and about 70% of workers either never use this option or use it less than once a

month (Tang and Wadsworth 2008). This is especially puzzling given that the high proportion (87%) of employees reported workplace flexibility is "extremely" or "very important." Why, then, do employees not take advantage of these benefits when they are offered?

Prior studies provide some answers to this puzzle. Some point out that because the national law (Family and Medical Leave Act) guarantees only unpaid leave for a limited group of workers (roughly 60% of the U.S. workforce), leave use is limited especially among workers from lower-income families, who are not covered by the law and may not afford to take unpaid time off (Gerstel and Armenia 2009; Williams 2010). Other scholars focus on implementation and procedures that discourage employees from using the policies, such as employers' noncompliance with the law, stigma attached to taking time off or using flexible work policies, and leaving implementation largely up to managerial discretion (Brescoll, Glass, and Sedlovskaya 2013; Clawson and Gerstel 2014; Fried 1998; Gerstel and Armenia 2009; Kelly and Kalev 2006; Williams et al. 2013).

Building upon this research, we identify conditions that influence an employee's decision to use these policies. While prior research has examined individual and organizational characteristics (e.g., Blair-Loy and Wharton 2002; Glass and Fugimoto 1995; Hammer et al. 2011; Maume 2006), we focus on occupational characteristics, given the large variation in implementation and use of the policies by workers' occupational status (Kelly et al. 2010; Matos and Galinsky 2011; Tang and Wadsworth 2008). By identifying occupation-specific factors that determine this variation, we seek to provide answers to why employees may hesitate to use these policies even when they are available, and what conditions may facilitate policy use. In so doing, we are particularly interested in the effects of characteristics that influence occupation-specific norms about work hours and time use. We argue that occupational characteristics, such as the

prevalence of long work hours, male-dominance of the occupations, higher-level authority, and frequent mobile technology use, are important factors affecting time-use norms by endorsing the normative conception of "good workers," which influences how leave and flexible work policies are utilized in the workplace.

We assess these claims using individual-level data drawn from the Leave Module of the 2011 American Time Use Survey, matched with occupation-level data drawn from the O*NET database and 2011 and 2012 American Community Surveys. We examine patterns of individual workers using leave and flexible work policies, linking them to the occupational characteristics that create normative pressure for workers, affecting their policy use.

Occupational Contexts and Using Leave and Flexible Work Policies

The rate of using leave or flexibility policies varies widely by work context. To identify the conditions that explain this variation, prior research has focused on workplace characteristics, such as organizational size, sector, types of HR policies, unionization, the representation of women or minorities in the workplace, or managerial characteristics (Blair-Loy and Wharton 2002; Glass and Fugimoto 1995; Haas, Allard, and Hwang 2002; Hammer et al. 2011; Matos and Galinsky 2012). While these findings help us to understand the organization-level characteristics or policies that encourage employees taking advantage of these benefits, scholars have also noted that there is large variation by different occupational status within single organizations because HR policies are often implemented differently by different occupational ranks (Blair-Loy and Wharton 2002; Eaton and Baily 1999; Kelly et al. 2010; Lambert et al. 2012; Matos and Galinsky 2012), managers also often cite occupation-specific job requirements for granting or not granting the policies to the employees (Kelly and Kalev 2006), and norms or cultures

associated with work hours are closely embedded in occupational contexts (Blair-Loy 2003; Clawson and Gerstel 2014; Weeden and Grusky 2005; Williams 2010). While these studies suggest that there is substantial occupation-level heterogeneity in using policies, focusing on the effect of occupational characteristics is rare. In this study, we focus on several occupation-specific conditions, especially those that are closely linked to the norms regarding time use at work.

Prevalence of overwork

One of the important factors that discourage workers to take advantage of leave or flexible work policies are fear of being penalized for using them. Prior research shows that workers often do not take advantage of the benefits available to them because they worry that using these policies may jeopardize their careers by being seen less committed to their jobs or lacking professional competence (Correll et al. 2014; Epstein et al. 1999; Fried 1998; Williams et al. 2013). This "flexibility stigma" is rooted in the "ideal worker norm" that defines a "good worker" as someone who can and are willing to demonstrate their full commitment to work by being on call 24/7 and always available to their bosses, clients, or coworkers (Acker 1990; Williams 2000; Williams et al. 2013). Those who meet this standard earn better recognition from their bosses, coworkers, or clients, and are rewarded by higher wages, faster promotion, and plum assignments (Cha and Weeden 2014; Goldin 2014; Landers et al. 1996). Cha and Weeden (2014) show that in 2009, those who work 50 hours or more earned 6% more per hour than those who work *only* full-time hours. This positive feedback to overwork can discourage workers to engage any behaviors deviating from the ideal worker norm, such as taking time off from work or changing their work schedule or locations for non-work related reasons. These behaviors are also shown to result in career penalties, such as being perceived as not a committed worker,

receiving poor job evaluations, earning lower wages, missing promotion opportunities, and losing their jobs (Berdahl et al. 2013; Glass 2004; Epstein et al. 1999; Williams et al. 2013).

Given that the flexibility stigma is rooted in the ideal worker norm, which prescribes long work hours and constant availability for work, we argue that work contexts in which this overwork norm is most prevalent suppress the usage of leave or flexible work policies the most. While the overwork norm exists in most work contexts, it is also occupation-specific, most prevalent in professional and managerial occupations (Cha 2013; Cha and Weeden 2014; Epstein et al. 1999; Jacobs and Gerson 2004). Clawson and Gerstel (2014) find that among physicians, a well-known overworking occupation, it is quite common not to use paid sick leave, even though an extensive paid sick leave is available to them, and many physicians use their paid vacation time to attend professional conferences. This "workaholic behaviors" are perceived heroic by themselves as well as their colleagues, which in turn create a norm that discourages them to take time off from work. Similarly, Blair-Loy (2003) finds that even though many professionals and top-level managers can informally change their work schedules and locations, they rarely use these features by embracing overwork as their professional identity.

This strong norm of overwork may provide clues to why the usage rate is low even in the occupation groups that have the most access to paid leave or formal or informal flexibility. Based on interview data drawn from professional workers in a large male-dominated professional consulting firm, Padavic and Ely (2013) found that a root cause of companies' failure of efforts to alleviate work-family conflicts is the culture of overwork prevalent in the workplace. The material incentive for working long hours and penalties attached for those who deviate from this "overwork norm" can create a condition in which workers feel discouraged from taking advantage of the leave policies or flexible work programs their companies offer.

Male dominance of occupations

Male dominance of the occupation may also magnify flexibility stigma. Scholars have long argued that the ideal worker norm is based on the traditional masculine ideal, which involves the image of traditional male breadwinning workers who have stay-home wives taking care of all other non-work responsibilities (Acker 1990; Hochschild 1989; Williams 2000). Williams (2010) argues that working long hours is a manifestation of a new form of masculinity among men in professional and managerial occupations. While manual occupations require traditionally masculine skills, such as physical strengths and risks, many white-collar occupations lack these features traditionally considered masculine. Instead, their masculinity is manifested through working extremely long hours, demonstrating ultimate devotion of time and energy to their careers. Similarly, Cooper (2000) shows that among high-skilled men in Silicon Valley, becoming a "go-to-guy," being technically competent and putting work before everything else, is a core part of masculine identity.

A larger flexibility stigma for men than for women may also create a culture that inhibits workers from using these policies where numerically more men are present. An emerging body of the literature shows that men who are perceived to be dedicated to their family responsibilities, such as using a flexible work arrangement, taking time off from paid work, or engaging in caregiving responsibilities, earn less, experience more workplace harassment, and are seen less masculine, compared to traditional breadwinning men (Berdahl et al. 2013; Coltrane 2013; Rudman et al. 2013; Vandello et al. 2013). Based on these findings, scholars argue that flexibility stigma is closely tied to "femininity stigma" that penalizes men who do not conform to the masculine norm, suggesting that gender-based norms are key to understand why taking time off from work or using flexible work policies is particularly rare among men. If the

ideal worker norm, or overwork norm is a way of men's manifesting their masculine identity, it is reasonable to assume that in an occupational context in which there are numerically more men, the normative pressure to conform to the masculine ideal may be stronger. If there are many men who are hesitant to take time off from work or change work schedule for non-work related reasons, this may create a collective culture of greater normative pressure for workers to conform to the traditional ideal worker norm. Masculinity scholars also suggest that one of the important components of masculinity is approval of other men (Kimmel 1994). If this is the case, in occupational contexts with numerically more men present, the norm would be enforced more strongly, and discouraging the use of leave or flexible work policies further. In fact, Padavic and Ely (2013) found that in their target organization with over 60% male workers, even though many men were equally dissatisfied with long work hours as their female counterparts, men are far less likely than women to express their interest in using work-family policies offered by the company.

While this prescriptive nature of masculinity may decrease the rates of using leave or flexible work policies among men in male-dominated occupations, it may in turn create a dominant culture penalizing *all* workers who use these policies, regardless of gender. In fact, in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) fields, in which women's representation is particularly low, taking family leave or deviating from overworking is perceived to be stigmatizing for both men and women, creating a norm about how work should be done broadly applied to both men and women (Cech and Blair-Loy 2014). Also, given the collective nature of work, changing one's work schedule or missing work requires adjustment of coworkers' work schedules or work flows (see Clawson and Gerstel 2014), being surrounded by

many men who do not take advantage of family policies or do not take time off creates a culture that is particularly sticky, resisting changes to new ways in which work gets done.

Levels of job authority

Another crucial factor that may influence workers' decisions on taking time off or using a flexible work arrangement is their hierarchical position at work. Conventionally, workers who have more authority in their jobs are thought to have better access to workplace resources and employment benefits, including formal or informal flexibility (Damaske et al. 2014; Eaton and Bailyn 1999; Glass and Camarigg 1992; Weeden 2005). Even when these benefits and resources are formally available to a wide range of workers, those in higher-level positions in the organizational hierarchy may be in a better position to take advantage of these policies, given that they have more negotiation power and higher-level job security. Given that the processes through which workers are approved to use leave or flexible work policies are determined by employers' discretion, workers who are better protected or have more bargaining power are more likely to request the policies and higher chance of receiving them.

While many employers are now implementing paid leave policies and initiating flexible work policies, these policies have been largely focused on reducing hours and allowing more flexibility in the timing and location of work. The implicit assumption here is that jobs require long hours and a rigid work schedule, which fits the characteristics of the jobs in higher-level professional and managerial occupations. However, jobs held by workers in the lower-end of the occupational hierarchy tend to require unpredictable work schedules fluctuated by seasonal or economic factors, and workers in these occupations typically hope to work *more* hours, rather than fewer hours (Henly and Lambert 2014; Kelly et al. 2010; Lambert et al. 2012; Williams 2010). These job duties also often require the presence of workers at work sites (e.g., cooking,

cleaning, face-to-face interactions), which makes it difficult to allow location flexibility for these workers. Given that most flexible work policies are designed for workers at the top of the occupational hierarchy, workers in these occupations may be in a better situation to take advantage of existing flexible work policies, compared to those in lower-end positions.

At the same time, however, workers in higher authority positions are bounded by greater normative pressure to meet the ideal worker norm and often have more material incentives to do so, which leads to lower rates of taking up the benefits available to them (Cha and Weeden 2014; Goldin 2014). In these occupations, work hours tend to be longest, and workers' performance or perception of their performance is often evaluated based on these hours, especially since there is no clear way of measuring workers' productivity in these occupations (Jacobs and Gerson 2004; Landers et al. 1996). The promotion system in these occupations, such as high-level managers, lawyers, and investment bankers, and academics tend to be "up or down" or "winner-take-all market," where a small difference in productivity or performance evaluation tends to lead to a very large differences in compensation (e.g., academic tenure, partnership in law firms). In the winner-take-all market, workers are more likely to be involved with rat-race in work hours, maximize their face time, and feel reluctant to take leave or flexible work options to "win" the competition (Landers et al. 1996; Frank and Cook 1995; Epstein et al. 1999; Sharone 2004).

Not only are there greater incentives and normative pressure not to take time off or use flexible work policies, workers in top of the occupational hierarchy often internalize complete devotion to work as their professional identity. Blair-Loy (2003) found that many CEOs find their work to be enjoyable, often getting "adrenalin high" from overworking, refusing to take vacation or time for family, and considering this "all-in" attitude heroic and admirable (See also Cooper 2000).

Given these conflicting theoretical reasons, we do not know how authority levels might influence the usage rates of leave or flexible work policies. While workers in high authority positions are structurally in better positions that allow them to take advantage of flexibility, other normative and financial incentives may offset these benefits. In this article, we aim to clarify this by examining the relationship between the level of authority of the occupations and the rate of individual workers using leave or flexible work policies therein.

Technology use

Next, we expect the frequency of use of technological devices in the occupation to influence the rate of using leave or flexible work policies. On the one hand, the adoption of technological devices is a prerequisite of implementing flexible work arrangements. The use of technological devices, such as internet, computer, or mobile device makes it possible for workers to work remotely from the physical work site. In this sense, telecommuting can be more easily implemented in many professional and managerial occupations where work is increasingly done over email, and in some service occupations that deal with customer service over the phone or email (Bloom et al. 2013; Mazmanian et al. 2013). By contrast, occupations that require workers' physical presence at work or actual interpersonal interactions are less likely to allow their employees to telecommute (Kelly et al. 2010; Lambert et al. 2011).

Although these technological devices were once considered the core component that allows the introduction of schedule and location flexibility to work, they have also exacerbated the expectation of constant availability. Workers report greater levels of spillover from work to family when mobile technologies are frequently used in the workplace (Batt and Valcour 2003). Even after their formal work hours or while workers are on vacation, today's workers often expected to be on call 24/7, check and write emails, or answer phone calls from clients or their

coworkers (Perlow 2013). This enhanced expectation and frequent job contacts during non-work hours are associated with higher-level psychological distress (Glavin, Schieman, and Reid 2011; Voydanoff 2005).

Even though adoption of technology has this ironic implication, we think that the adoption and frequent use of these technological devices will facilitate the likelihood of workers using leave or flexible work policies. This is mainly because these technology devices may allow workers to "prove" their presence and unlimited availability for work without physically being present at work. Because technological devices can provide this virtual "face time," workers may perceive using these policies as compatible with the ideal worker norm. In fact, Mazmanian et al. (2013) find that knowledge professional workers tend to perceive frequent use of mobile devices as positive and giving them a greater flexibility without lowering their productivity. Some workers also prefer to check work-related emails or taking phone calls while they are on vacation because it makes them feel that they have better control over their work and prevents the overload of work upon their returning to work (Kossek and Lautsch 2012). Employers may have a similar perception. If the jobs can be done remotely over email without much disruption of the workflow, they may be more willing to grant flexibilities or allow workers temporarily away from their jobs. Thus, we expect the frequent use of technology, such as email to be positively associated with the use of leave or flexible work policies.

DATA

Our primary data are drawn from the American Time Use Survey (ATUS) 2011 Leave Module (Bureau of Labor Statistics and U.S. Census Bureau). The ATUS is a nationally representative survey whose sample derives from the Current Population Survey (CPS). After

having completed the final CPS interview, one household member is randomly selected for inclusion in the ATUS and is interviewed 2 to 5 months later. While the core focus of this survey is to investigate how individuals use their time, in some years it collected additional information as a topical module. In the 2011 survey it includes questions about taking time off from work and using flexible work arrangements (e.g., flextime, working from home). We use this 2011 Leave Module to investigate how occupational contexts and conditions affect the likelihood of individual leave and flexible work policy use.

The sample is limited to non-self-employed wage and salary workers age 18 to 64 who reported currently working. Because we investigate *use* of workplace policies, we restrict the sample to those reporting they have access to leave or flexible work policies. After omitting 13 respondents who reported not knowing whether they used the policy or refused to answer the questions, our final sample consists of 5,337 individuals who have access to some form of leave policies ("leave sample") and 3,222 individuals who have some form of schedule or location flexibility at their work ("flexibility sample"). Our sample of people including only those who have access to these policy includes 91% of the original sample (N=5,813) and is represented by slightly higher income individuals than the original sample (see Table S1 in the Supplementary Appendix).

Our primary goal is to examine whether and how the likelihood of individuals taking time off from work and using available flexible work policies are influenced by occupational contexts, such as the prevalence of overwork, gender composition, authority level, and technology use. ATUS data include only some of this information and, due to the relatively small sample size, do not produce stable estimates of occupational characteristics at the most detailed occupation-level. Thus, we obtain these data from the 2010 and 2011 American Community Surveys (ACS), which

are larger surveys than ATUS, and Occupational Information Network (O*NET 17.0), which offers information that are not available in ATUS. All occupation-level information was gathered or calculated at the most detailed-level occupation codes based on the 2010 Census Occupational Classification Scheme (2010 COC).

We construct the measures for the prevalence of overwork and gender composition from ACS. The ACS is a yearly mandatory-response survey of U.S. households that includes demographic and economic information on all residents of sampled households. We pooled 2010 and 2011 data to boost the occupation cell size, resulting in a sample of 2,793,277 non-institutionalized individuals age 18 and 64 who worked in the past 12 months. We could not locate 10 occupations from the ACS data because the survey combines some occupation categories due to confidentiality requirements. For these 10 occupations, we use data drawn from the 2011 and 2012 CPS Merged Outgoing Rotation Groups (MORG).

Two other occupation-level measures, the level of authority and the frequency of email use, come from the Occupational Information Network (O*NET) 17.0 database, which is the primary source of occupational information compiled by the U.S. Department of Labor (USDOL) and Employment and Training Administration (ETA). All variables from O*NET are measured in occupation units. There were 19 occupations for which the information was not available in the O*NET data. We use estimated values for these occupational measures based on models using other occupational characteristics, such as average earnings, age, percent of women, percent of college degree holders, percent of those who work 50 hours or more per week, and percent of part-timers (see the Supplementary Appendix for details on this procedure).

These occupation-level measures from O*NET and ACS data are matched to the ATUS individual data using the most detailed occupation codes in the 2010 Census Occupational

Classification Scheme (2010 COC). Because 93 of 417 occupations in the leave sample and 74 of 368 in the flexibility sample (roughly 20% of the occupations in each sample) are represented by only one respondent in our ATUS data, we combine these occupations with occupations that are the most similar to them. The similarity between occupations is determined by the smallest value of total squared difference of the key occupation-level characteristics (see the Supplementary Appendix for the details). After this procedure, our final sample consists of 324 occupations for the leave sample and 294 occupations for the flexibility sample.

VARIABLES AND METHODS

The dependent variables are a series of dichotomous measures indicating whether respondents reported using leave or having changed their work schedule or location in the past seven days. Our leave use variable is based on the question, "Did you take any paid or unpaid leave from your job over the past seven days"? Those who indicated they took leave are coded as 1; those who did not are coded as 0. Because the ATUS data allow us to differentiate paid or unpaid leave, we also examine the likelihood of individuals using each type of policy separately. Those who indicated they used paid leave for all or a part of the time off (by combining paid leave with unpaid leave) are coded as 1 for paid leave use; those who did not use any paid leave in the past seven days are coded as 0 (and those who use only unpaid leave are omitted from the model). For unpaid leave, respondents who reported taking leave in the past seven days, but who reported either not using any paid leave or not having paid leave available are coded as 1; those not having taken leave in the past seven days are coded as 0 (and those who used paid leave at least partly are omitted from the model). Our data show that of those who reported that some form of leave is allowed in their workplace, about 20 percent of people took time off in the past

seven days, (see Table 1). Among them, using paid leave at least partly is more common (13%) than using unpaid leave only for the entire duration of their time off from work (7%).

[Table 1 about here]

People use leave for various reasons (results not shown). In our data, 28% of people reported that the main reason they used leave was vacation, which is the highest proportion, followed by own illness (22%), personal/errands (19%), and caregiving responsibilities (9%: family illness, child/elder care, or birth or adopt of child). About 22% belong to the residual "other" category. While employees use leave for various reasons, leave users have in common that they engage the behavior of taking time off from work. In the cultural context in which workers are expected to be constantly present at work and their professional competence and organizational commitment are evaluated by being present at work, taking time off, regardless of the reasons, may have similar implications for workers' careers. Given our goal to identify the factors that reinforce or challenge the norm about time use, we use a comprehensive category of leave users: whoever engages in the behavior of taking time off from work.[1]

In another set of models, we examine whether individuals change work schedule or location, using a dichotomous variable indicating whether the respondent changed work schedule or location in the past seven days because they needed to take time off from work. Those who indicated they changed the number of hours, timing of work (days or time of day), or location are coded as 1; those who did not are coded as 0. While the data allow us to differentiate the outcome variables into two types, schedule and location flexibility, we use a combined category

[1] Our supplementary analysis supports this theoretical reasoning of including all leave users. When we use the alternative dependent variable that exclude those who report "vacation" as a main reason of taking leave, in order to examine whether vacation users may behave differently from other leave users, the results are very similar and produce the same substantive conclusions.

because the proportion of those who *use* location flexibility is very small (3%) and does not allow us to generate stable estimates.

These flexible work options are less commonly available than are paid or unpaid leave. The number of individuals who reported that they have access to these options is about 40 percent smaller (3,222 individuals) than those who have access to leave policies (5,337 out of 5,813 individuals; see Table 1). Schedule flexibility is more commonly available than location flexibility (see Table 1). Location flexibility is typically available only when schedule flexibility is also an option; most of those (96%) who have location flexibility available also have schedule flexibility.

The rate of using these flexible work options is also lower than that of taking leave, when these options are available. About 12 percent of individuals in our sample changed their work schedules or locations whereas 20 percent used leave when available (see Table 1). Changing schedule is more common than changing locations. Among the 12 percent who used flexible work options, about three-quarters changed their work schedule (e.g., hours or timing), and one-quarter changed the locations at which they work (e.g., working from home).

When we examine the breakdown of reasons for using flexible work, the majority of users (57%) report personal errands as their reason for changing schedule or location (results not shown). Unlike a common perception, those who use these options for family responsibilities, such as child or elder care, birth or adoption of child, or family illness are the minority (20%). Own illness (16%) and vacation (9%) are other commonly mentioned reasons.

Our key independent variables of interest measure occupational contexts and conditions. We include five variables for occupational characteristics that may affect whether individuals take the leave or use the flexibility available to them. First, to capture the occupation-specific

overwork norm, we measure the percentage of those who work 50 or more hours per week in the occupation. The average proportion of "overworkers" in the occupation is about 17 percent for both leave and flexibility samples (see Table 1 in the Supplementary Appendix).

Second, we include a variable for the percentage of women in the occupation to examine whether the male-dominance of the occupation affects individuals' odds of taking leave or flexibility policies. Table 1 shows that the average proportion of women across all occupations is slightly under 50 percent in our sample, and, not surprisingly, there is a large difference for men and women due to prominent gender segregation at work (women work in occupations with 66% women, on average, and men with 32% women).

Occupational authority is measured by a standardized summative scale (α=.94) of seven O*NET items measuring the extent to which the occupation involves a) advancement, potential for leadership, prestige, and recognition, b) managing, developing, and directing people, c) coordinating others' work activities, d) developing and building work teams, e) guiding, directing, and motivating subordinates, f) coaching and developing others, and g) coordinating or leading others.

For the frequency of technological device that may facilitate the use of flexibility at work, we use the frequency of email use in the occupation. It is measured by a 5-value categorical variable that indicates the frequency of employees using electronic mail (i.e., (1) never, (2) less than once a month but at least yearly, (3) more than once a month but not every week, (4) once a week or more but not every day, and (5) every day). The average level of email use in the occupation across our sample is roughly 3.5 (see Table 1).

Lastly, we consider the possibility that the four key occupational characteristics that we examine are confounded by the levels of other occupational resources (e.g., other benefit

programs, predictability in work schedules, or more bargaining power). Because availability of these benefits or resources are not available in any of our data sources but may be correlated with the income-level of the occupation, we include a variable that measures average hourly earnings of the occupation (measured in US dollars). While this is not a perfect measure for occupational resources, we hope that this helps to absorb some of the heterogeneity across occupations. The average hourly wages at the occupation-level is slightly higher in our flexibility sample (19.01) than leave sample (18.79), suggesting that higher paying jobs tend to offer flexible work options at higher rates (see Table 1).

We also include individual-level demographic and job-related characteristics that may influence the relationship between occupation-level characteristics and the use of leave or flexible work options. In addition to age, race/ethnicity (5 categories), and respondents' sex category, we use indicators of marital and parental status along with their interaction effects with sex category, given that women and those who bear more family responsibilities may use leave or flexibility policies more as a strategy for mitigating work-family conflict (Bianchi et al. 2012; Stone 2007). Because having pre-school children are typically considered requiring more intense care, we differentiate parental status by age of youngest child: (1) a parent with youngest child aged 0-5 years old, and (2) a parent with youngest child aged 6-17 years old, where no children under age 18 serves as the reference category.

We adjust for the effect of education (5 categories), because individual-level education is known to be positively associated with better knowledge about the implementation processes of leave and flexible work policy (Gerstel and Armenia 2009; Lambert 2009) and is also associated with occupational attainment. We also adjust for work hours and individual and family earnings, considering that those who work long hours may need to use these options more often

(Schieman, Glavin, and Milkie, 2009), and that an individual with low income may not afford to use unpaid leave if that affects their income. Work hours are measured by a series of dummy variables to take into account the non-linear effect (i.e., leave use may increase as individual work hours increase, but overworking individuals may not be responsive to the additional increase in hours; see e.g., Blair-Loy 2003): (1) less than 35 hours per week (part-time), (2) 35 hours or more but less than 50 (reference), (3) 50 hours or more (the conventional cut-off point to define long hours; see Cha 2010, 2013; Jacobs and Gerson 2004), and (4) those who report their weekly work hours vary. Individual hourly earnings are measured in 2011 U.S. dollars.[2] Family income in the ATUS data is measured in a 16-category ordinal variable, ranging from "less than $5,000" (reference) to "$150,000 and over"

Because all our dependent variables are dichotomous measures, we use logistic regression models to estimate the log odds of using leave and the log odds of taking advantage of flexible work options (schedule or location flexibility). Because we expect that individuals' decisions on using these options are shaped by occupational context, and our key independent variables are measured at the occupation-level, we use robust standard errors to adjust for clustering by occupation to take into account dependence among individuals who are nested in the same occupations.[3]

RESULTS

Occupational Characteristics by Major Occupation Groups

[2] We calculated hourly earnings for respondents who only reported weekly earnings using the number of hours they worked in a typical week. Of those reporting weekly earnings, there were 8 respondents in the leave use sample and 3 in the flexibility use sample whose work hours could not be located, and they are dropped from our sample.
[3] Alternative option would be including random intercepts for occupations. When we use these models, however, the occupation-level variance was too small to produce reliable estimates for multilevel modeling.

Before we estimate the effects of occupational contexts and characteristics on the likelihood of individual use of leave or flexible work policies, we examine how a set of occupational characteristics are distributed across major occupation groups (Table 2). While major occupation groups (7 categories) do not show the full scope of variation in detailed occupations, they give us a broad sense of occupational variation in the use of leave or flexible policies and the association between occupational characteristics and policy use that we consider in our main analysis. The proportions presented in Table 2 are calculated from the individual sample, meaning that the proportions of occupational characteristics are implicitly weighted by occupation size.

[Table 2 about here]

Table 2 shows that the proportion of using paid leave is highest among professionals and managers (0.18), followed by sales and administrative occupations and manual occupation groups, which show that a little over 10 percent of workers use paid leave if these policies are available to them. The proportion of using this option is the lowest among service (0.07) and farming/fishing/forestry occupation groups (0.01). The use of flexibility is also the most common among professional and managerial occupations, in which 13 percent of workers changed their schedule, and 6 to 7 percent of workers worked somewhere other than their workplace in the past 7 days. The flexible location option is virtually zero in other occupation groups, in part due to rare availability of this option in these occupations.[4] The use of unpaid leave shows patterns contrasting with those shown for paid leave or flexible work options. The rate of using unpaid leave is the highest among service and farming/fishing/forestry occupations, whereas the rate is

[4] The availability of flexible location policies are low across all occupation groups, mostly under 10 percent with the exception of managerial (38%), professional (28%), and sales/administrative (21%) occupation groups.

lowest among professional, managerial, and construction occupations. This may reflect that individuals tend to use unpaid leave when paid leave policy or flexible work options are not available.

Consistent with prior research (e.g., Cha and Weeden 2014), our sample shows that the proportion of overworkers are is highest in the profession and management, in which "greedy occupations" are concentrated (Coser 1974; Jacobs and Gerson 2004). The proportion is particularly high among managers, as close to a third of them work 50 hours or more, a stark contrast to 9 percent in the service occupation group. The average authority score, the frequency of email use, and earnings-level are also higher among professional and managerial occupations than other occupations. In these two occupation groups, the average score for email use is close to 5 ("almost every day), suggesting that remote work could be more easily implemented in professional or managerial occupations than other occupation groups. The average hourly earnings are also highest in these occupations, which may indicate better resources and support for leave or flexible work policies. The earnings levels in these occupations are more than twice as high as some occupation groups (e.g., service, farming), which also show low levels of using paid leave and flexible work policies.

These simple comparisons of occupational characteristics suggest that on the one hand, workers in professional and managerial occupations overall experience conditions favorable to taking leave policy or using flexible work options when needed, but at the same time, the overwork norm is most pronounced in these occupations, which may offset these favorable conditions and result in a lower rate of using these policies. In the next sections, we will estimate the effect of each occupational characteristic on individuals' decision to take leave or use flexible

work policies, net of the effect of other occupational characteristics and the composition of individuals' demographic, family, human capital, and job-related characteristics.

Logistic Regression Analysis: Predicting Leave Use

Table 3 displays logistic regression models predicting leave use. We present three sets of models: models predicting using any type of leave, paid leave, and unpaid leave. For each outcome variable, we estimate the effect of occupational characteristics, adjusting for the effect of individual demographic and job characteristics (see the list in Table 1). In a separate analysis (see Table S4 in the Supplementary Appendix), we allowed the interaction effects between respondents' sex category and all occupational characteristics measures, but these interaction effects show that the effect of the occupational contexts are not differentiated by gender, suggesting that the effect of occupational conditions operate similarly for women and men.

[Table 3 about here]

The occupation-level variables in Models 1, 2, and 3 indicate that individual leave use substantially varies by occupational contexts and characteristics. First, the prevalence of overwork, which is measured by the proportion of those who work 50 hours or more per week in the occupation, is negatively associated with individual use of leave, as negative coefficient in Model 1 indicates. The exponentiated coefficient ($e^{-1.11} = 0.33$) indicates that a unit increase in the proportion of overworkers in the occupation decreases the odds of individuals taking either paid or unpaid leave by 67 percent. Put differently, a 10 percent increase in the proportion of overworkers is associated with 6.7 percent increase in the odds of taking paid or unpaid leave. An examination of the models that separate paid and unpaid leave indicates that this leave-use suppressing effect is driven by the paid leave users. For the model predicting paid leave use

(Model 2), the coefficient for the proportion of overwork is -2.06, indicating that a 10 percent increase in the proportion of overwork decreases the odds of using paid leave by 8.7 percent. However, the same coefficient in the model predicting unpaid leave use (Model 3) shows a positive but non-significant coefficient, suggesting the prevalence of overwork in the occupation does not significantly influence individual workers' unpaid use.

To better understand the magnitude of these coefficients, we plot the predicted probabilities of using paid and unpaid leave by the proportion of overworkers (see Figures 1a and 1b). The predicted probabilities are calculated from models 2 and 3, and all other variables are set to their sample means (see Table 1). Figure 1a shows a clear pattern that as the prevalence of overwork increases, the probability of individual workers using paid leave drops. Specifically, for workers in occupations in which 10 percent of incumbents working 50 hours or more per week, the probability of using leave is 0.13. The probability further decreases to 0.09 for workers in the occupation with 30 percent of overworkers. Putting this in context, the average percentage of overworkers in service occupation is a little under 10, and in managerial occupations is slightly over 30 (see Table 2); so our results suggest that the prevalence of overwork lowers the probability of using paid leave for workers in the professions or management by roughly 30 percent, compared to those in service occupations. In another example, while most occupations in our data fall between 0 and 0.4 in the distribution of the proportion of overworkers (see Figure S1 in the Supplementary Appendix), in a small number of occupations with unusually high-level prevalence of overwork, such as physicians or surgeons, the proportion of overworkers is over 0.6. In these cases, the probability of using leave drops further to under 0.05, which is only about a third of the chance of taking paid leave for those in occupations with less than 10 percent overworkers (0.13).

[Figure 1 about here]

Unlike for paid leave use, the prevalence of overwork does not much affect individuals' likelihood of using unpaid leave. Figure 1b shows a weak positive relationship between the prevalence of overwork and probability of using unpaid leave, and the effect is noisy as indicated by the overlapping 95 percent confidence intervals. This likely reflects the fact that the overwork effect is mostly driven by professional and managerial occupations, which offer higher rates of paid leave. As we saw earlier (see Table 2), it is quite rare that professional or managerial workers use only unpaid leave, and the low usage rates of unpaid leave among those who are particularly sensitive to the overwork norm may result in the null effect of occupational overwork in our unpaid leave use model.

Next, unlike our expectation, the gender composition of occupations does not show any significant effect on individual workers using leave. Table 3 shows that in all three models the coefficients of the proportion of women in the occupation are noisy with large standard errors. We think that this non-significant effect of male-dominance of the occupation may be because many features of male-dominated occupations, such as an occupational culture that is less supportive for negotiating for taking leave, or flexibility or resources "built in" the occupation-specific tasks may be confounded by other occupational characteristics (e.g., overwork, authority, average earnings). Net of these characteristics, gender composition of the occupations may not have a distinctive effect on determining individual leave use patterns.

Third, our results show that higher levels of job authority of occupations suppress the rate of using leave for individuals in that occupation (see Model 1a in Table 3). Specifically, a one standard deviation increase in the authority score is associated with a decrease in the odds of individuals using leave by 24 percent ($e^{-0.24} = .76$). Unlike the effect of overwork, the effect of

authority has an impact for both paid and unpaid leave use. Models 2a and 3a show that one standard deviation increase in the authority score decreases the odds of leave use by 20 percent for paid leave and by 27 percent for unpaid leave use.

To give more intuitive interpretations of the magnitudes of these effects, we again plot predicted probabilities by different levels of authority with all covariates set to their sample means (see Figure 2). Figure 2a shows that for those who work in occupations in which the authority level falls on the average across all occupations (i.e., 0 in the scale), the probability of using paid leave is 0.12. However, if they work in occupations with one standard deviation higher than the average authority level, or the top 16 percent of the authority score, the probability of using paid leave drops to 0.1, or by 20 percent. Furthermore, for workers in occupations with the top 2.5 percent of the authority scores (i.e., above 2 standard deviations away from the mean), such as executive-level managers, the probability of using paid leave is under 0.08.

Similarly, higher levels of occupational authority decrease the probability of using unpaid leave. As shown in Figure 2b, for those who work in occupations with average-level authority, the probability of using unpaid leave is 0.07, but an increase in authority-level of one standard deviation leads the probability to drop to 0.05, or by 30 percent. Together with the results for paid leave use, this suggests that while the availability of leave may be more prevalent and using leave may be structurally easier for higher-level authority occupations, those who are in these occupations are in fact *less* likely to take advantage of these benefits.

[Figure 2 about here]

Next, our results show that being in occupations in which email use is frequent increases the likelihood of using leave for workers in those occupations. Model 1 in Table 3 shows that the

odds of using leave increase as the frequency of email use increases. Specifically, a unit increase in the 5-value email use score is associated with a 20 percent increase in the odds of individuals using leave. As for the effect of overwork, this effect is largely driven by the paid leave use. The odds of using paid leave increase by 35 percent as the email use score increases by one unit. By contrast, the effect of frequent email use on using unpaid leave is small in magnitude and noisy.

The changes in predicted probabilities presented in Figure 3 illustrate this relationship graphically. Figure 3a shows a strong positive relationship between the frequency of email use in the occupation and individuals' probability of using paid leave. When individuals are in occupations in which email is never used, their probability of using paid leave is low at 0.04, but the probability is more than doubled, to 0.10, for those who are in the occupation that require using email at least once a week, and it increases by more than four times, to 0.17, for those in occupations that require using email every day.

As shown earlier in Table 2, email use is highest in managerial (4.7) and professional (4.3) occupations, which falls between "once a week" and "every day." It is lowest in manual and service occupations (ranging from 1.6 to 2.3, between "never" and "less than once a month"). These results suggest that the frequent use of mobile devices, such as email, may help to facilitate taking time off for those in professional and managerial occupations. However, our prior results suggest that this positive effect is likely to be countervailed by the prevalence of overwork and high levels of authority in these occupations. Also, unlike paid leave use, Figure 2b shows that email use is not clearly related to the probability of using unpaid leave. The slope is flatter than for paid leave and the confidence intervals overlap.

[Figure 3 about here]

As an occupational-level control, we adjust for the effect of average hourly earnings of the occupation. Presumably, occupations that offer more resources, such as flexibility built into the occupation, and other job benefits such as schedule predictability, control over work schedule, other job benefits, or job security may influence individuals' likelihood of using leave policies. Individuals in occupations with low levels of job security may be less likely to use leave because they have greater fear of losing their jobs. This resource aspect in turn may influence our estimates of overwork, authority, or email use effects. By adjusting for average earnings level of the occupation, which is highly correlated with the levels of resources offered in occupations, we are hoping to absorb some of this heterogeneity in different occupations. Table 3 show that being in higher-paying occupations increases individuals' odds of using leave, suggesting that the level of occupational resources is an important factor shaping individual's likelihood of taking advantage of leave policy. It is especially influential for paid leave use, perhaps because those who are fortunate enough to be in an occupation offering many job benefits and resources may not have to use unpaid leave much.

The effects of some individual-level covariates are also noteworthy. Unlike the popular belief that women are major beneficiaries of leave policies, our results show that the odds of taking leave, especially paid leave, are not significantly different for women and men. While the coefficients of "female" are positive, the standard errors are quite large in all three sets of models. This may reflect that while women may be more interested in taking leave than men, their leave requests are less likely than men to be approved by their supervisors (Brescoll et al. 2013), and that women tend to be represented in occupations with less paid leave availability than their male counterparts (Glass and Camarigg 1992).

The interaction effects between respondent's sex category and marital or parental status are also not significant, suggesting that married women and mothers are not more likely than their male counterparts to use leave policies. Instead, parents, both mothers and fathers alike, are more likely to use leave, especially paid leave, than are non-parents, as shown by the negative main effect of having a child under 6 and its non-significant gender interaction term (see Model 1 in Table 3). Models 2 and 3 suggest that this effect is mostly driven by paid leave use.

In sum, our results show that occupational contexts and characteristics are important factors that shape individuals' decisions on taking time off from work. In particular, high prevalence of overwork and high authority level of occupations both suppress individuals' likelihood of taking paid leave, whereas a frequent use of email facilitates the use of paid leave. We did not find that these occupational characteristics differently affect men and women (see Table S4 in the Supplementary Appendix). The strong norm of overwork in an occupation decreases men's as well as women's likelihood of using paid leave, while the higher-level of job authority, and the frequent use of technology that enables workers' remote work increase the likelihood of women and men taking paid leave similarly.

Logistic Regression Analysis: Predicting the Use of Flexible Work Options

We have seen that occupational contexts and characteristics affect individuals' decisions on taking leave policy. However, instead of taking entire day off from work, which could be seen as a more salient deviance from the ideal worker norm, individuals may change their schedules or work at home when they need to take time off. In this section, we examine whether occupational characteristics also shape individuals' decision on taking flexible work options. Table 4 presents the effects of occupational characteristics on the log odds of changing work

schedule or changing work locations. As we mentioned above, the proportion of using location option is very low (0.03), so we do not differentiate schedule and location flexibility in our outcome variable.[5]

[Table 4 about here]

The most notable pattern observed in this analysis, compared to the results from the leave models, is the gender differentiated effects of occupational characteristics. We find that the occupational prevalence of overwork and the level of authority have different effects on men's and women's odds of using flexible work options. First, Model 1 in Table 4 shows that the prevalence of overwork appears to have no significant effect on the odds of using flexible work options: the coefficient of the proportion of overwork is negative but has large standard errors. However, Model 2, which allows interaction effects between all occupation-level variables and respondents' sex category shows that this seemingly non-significant effect is due to the presence of an interaction effect between the prevalence of overwork and gender. The main effect of the prevalence of overwork in Model 2 is negative, but its interaction effect is positive and large enough to entirely offset the negative main effect, meaning that the prevalence of overwork affects men and women differently. For men, the effect is negative; men's odds of using flexible work option are reduced by 91 percent as the proportion of overwork increases by a unit ($e^{-2.4} = 0.09$), or, as the proportion of overworkers in the occupation increases by 10 percent, the odds of men taking flexible work options decrease by about 9 percent. Consistent with the findings shown for the leave use, this suggests that a strong norm of overwork in an occupation

[5] We checked all models for influential cases. Based on Pearson's residual (> 2) and the hat diagonal (> 3 times of average hat diagonal value), we identified up to 12 cases, 0.26% of our sample, that are potentially influential. We fitted our models omitting these cases, but the results are virtually identical to those presented here.

suppresses men's likelihood of taking advantage of flexible work policies when these policies are available.

Interestingly, this effect is not observed for women. The coefficient for the interaction effect between the prevalence of overwork and female is positive and large (b=2.93), entirely offsetting the negative main effect. Taking the main effect and the interaction effect together, the odds of women taking flexible work options increase by 70 percent with a unit increase in the proportion of overwork ($e^{(-2.4+2.94)} = 1.7$). However, this positive effect has large standard errors, as we will show below.

We illustrate this gender-specific pattern by examining changes in predicted probabilities by the proportion of overworkers in the occupation for men and women separately (see Figure 4). The predicted probabilities are calculated based on Model 2 in Table 4, and all other variables are set to their sample means. Figure 4a shows a negative association between prevalence of overwork and probability of using a flexible work option for men. If men work in an occupation in which the proportion of those who work 50 hours or more per week is less than 0.1, they have an 11 percent chance of using flexible work options. An increase in the proportion of overworkers by 10 percent from 0.1 to 0.2 decreases the probability of men taking flexible work option from 0.11 to 0.08, by 27 percent. If these men work in an occupation in which 40 percent of people spend 50 hours or more per week at work, their probability goes down further, to 0.05, meaning that they are less than half as likely to use these policies as their counterparts working in an occupation containing 10 percent overworkers.

[Figure 4 about here]

Figure 4b shows that this overwork effect is not present for women. The slope shows a weak positive slope, and the confidence intervals overlap in every interval. This suggests that

once flexible work options are available, women's likelihood of taking these options are not as sensitive to the overwork culture in the occupation. This is in contrast with the pattern shown for leave use, in which women and men both were influenced by the prevalence of overwork in their occupation.

Occupational authority also shows gender-specific effects. Model 1b in Table 4 shows that higher occupation authority-level has a negative effect on using flexible work options, just as we saw for individuals' leave taking, but this time, the effect is only for women. The main effect of authority shows a small non-significant positive coefficient (b = 0.19), whereas the interaction effect between authority and respondents' sex category show a larger negative coefficient (b= -0.66). More specifically, being in high authority occupations decreases women's odds of using a flexible work option by about 40 percent ($e^{(0.19-0.66)} = 0.6$) as the authority score increases by one standard deviation. Although we did not expect this gender-specific effect, prior research provides some clues to it. Unlike taking time off entirely, higher-status occupations tend to allow autonomy in starting and ending time of work (Glass and Camarigg 1992; Golden 2001), which many high-status workers may take advantage of because it does not require negotiation with a supervisor. However, unlike male workers, female workers tend to be implicitly associated with caregiving roles, rather than ideal workers, so they may be less willing to take advantage of these benefits. For example, when women leave work early, colleagues tend to assume that they are off to pick up children, whereas men's absence is assumed to be job-related, such as business travel (Williams 2003). This may dampen the effect of authority for women only. Similarly, Brescoll et al. (2013) found that when using flexible work options is framed as for work-related reasons, requests for flexibility by men in higher-ranked positions are more likely to be granted than for men in lower-ranked position, but being in higher status

positions does not give the same advantage to women. They also found that even when women request flexibility for career-related reasons (e.g., attending professional development conference), managers were not more likely to approve their request, compared to the requests of women who ask for flexibility to accommodate child care responsibilities. The implicit assumption about women's place and roles may also place extra pressure on women to prove their work competence and loyalty, even when they are in higher authority position, and may in turn lower the use of available flexible work policies.

The effects for gender composition and the frequency of email use are similar to those shown in the leave models. Gender composition of the occupation does not show any significant effect on the odds of taking flexible work options (see Table 4). As we discussed above, we think that the effect of male-dominance of the occupation may be mostly captured by other occupational characteristics that we consider in our model. The frequency of email use is shown to facilitate the use of flexible work options for both men and women. The odds of taking flexible work options increase by 28 percent as the email frequency score increases by one unit for both men and women (see Model 1). The effect is not significantly different for men and women, as shown by the non-significant interaction effect with the respondents' sex category (see Model 2). These findings are consistent with our expectation that a frequent email use required by the job facilitates the usage of flexible policies, partly because employees may consider that they could virtually provide their "face time," meeting the 24/7 on call expectation away from work or working in non-conventional hours, and employers may also perceive that this virtual presence allow work to be continued without too much interruption and are more likely to grant the policies to their employees.

In sum, we found that the prevalence of overwork is also an important condition that suppresses the rates of using flexible work policies, as we saw for leave models, but in the case of flexibility, this applies only to men. Women's rates of using flexibility is higher than men across different levels of overwork prevalence, and unlike men, women's use of flexibility is not sensitive to the levels of overwork. Second, the levels of authority also reveals an interesting gender-differentiated pattern. Unlike the finding for leave use, which shows that the authority level suppresses the rate of using leave, higher authority does not significantly decrease men's use of flexibility. On the other hand, women in higher authority positions continue to show lower rates of using flexible work policies than women in lower authority positions. Third, the email use and gender composition of occupations show similar patterns shown for the leave models with no gender-specific effects: men and women both alike are more likely to use flexibility when they are in the occupations that require frequent email use; gender composition do not have a net effect on flexibility use.

CONCLUSION

This article identifies occupation-specific conditions that affect individual workers' likelihood of using leave or flexible work policies. Our analysis shows that the prevalence of overwork, level of job authority, and frequency of using email are particularly important factors that influence an individual's decision to use these policies. First, we found that the prevalence of overwork suppresses the likelihood of individuals using leave or flexible policies. More specifically, the odds of workers using a paid leave policy drops by roughly 9 percent, as the proportion of overworkers in the occupation increases by 10 percent. The prevalence of overwork also lowers the rate of using flexible work policies, but only for men. If men are in an occupation in which the proportion of overworkers is less than 10 percent, the probability of their

taking advantage of flexible work policies is over 0.11, but when similar men are in an occupation with 40 percent overworkers, the probability decreases dramatically to 0.05. Interestingly, we did not find the same overwork effect for women, suggesting that women's use of flexible work policies, unlike their leave use pattern, is less sensitive to the prevalence of overwork in the occupation. We did not expect this gender-specific effect, but we think that this may be consistent with the insights from prior research. Given that women still take the majority of caregiving responsibilities, even when they are in demanding and competitive careers, they may be more likely to need flexible work options, especially to meet the intensive demands of their jobs. In fact, Maume (2006) finds that women are more likely than men to use flexible work policies to meet these demands, but are less likely to take vacations than men. Women in overworking occupations use flexibility in order to meet the demands of competing devotions of work and family at the same time. While this pressure of meeting family and job demands is present for men, the normative pressure to be the primary caregiver for men is not as strong and normative as for women. While women are often expected to use flexible work policies, when men request these policies for family-related reasons, they often face greater social and economic penalties than do women, given the prevailing breadwinning norm and cultural ideology for men (e.g., Wayne and Cordeiro 2003).

We also found that being in a higher-level authority occupation lowers one's probability of taking leave or flexible work policies. For those who have average demographic and job characteristics, being in an occupation with an average level of authority is associated with 12 percent chance of using paid leave, but being in an occupation with the top 2.4 authority levels reduces the chance to 8 percent. While those who are in higher authority positions are in better structural positions that offer more negotiation power, more informal flexibility, and better job

security, these workers are less likely to take advantage of the opportunity. Higher in the occupational hierarchy the competition becomes fiercer, the reward structure takes the shape of a winner-take-all market, and often these workers embrace "all work" mindset as their professional identity (Blair-Loy 2003; Frank and Cook 1995).

These findings help to understand the puzzle of why leave and flexible policy usage rates remain so low, even though a substantial proportion of employers offer these benefits and an increasing number of workers feel overworked and express the desire to have a more balanced life (Matos and Galinsky 2012; Reynolds 2003; Reynolds and Aletraris 2006; Gerson 2010). By identifying the conditions that influence workers' use of leave or flexible policies, among those who have access to these policies, our findings shed light on the occupational sources of this puzzle. We show that the normative conception about what makes good worker in the contemporary workplace is an important factor to understand this puzzle. Even when policies are formally offered, in contexts emphasizing the importance of demonstrating undivided loyalty and devotion to work, such as occupations in which long work hours are the norm and those at the top of the occupational hierarchy where "winning" the competition requires demonstrating full-commitment to work, these policies are used at a lower rate.

These findings reveal an important paradox in implementing leave or flexible policies. On the one hand, "good occupations" with more resources tend to be the occupations that offer the most flexibility and the best leave policies. These occupations also tend to be the occupations in which using advancing mobile technology creates a condition that facilitates the usage of these policies. However, these "good jobs" also tend to be in the ones in which the overwork norm is the strongest, and that are in higher authority positions in the occupational hierarchy. This suggests that those who are structurally in the most "family-friendly" conditions are actually

least likely to take advantage of these policies. Furthermore, workers in high-authority occupations tend to be the norm-setters of the workplace; if these workers do not use these policies, this can create a collective norm in the overall workplace that broadly discourages *all* workers from taking time off or use flexible work policies. Given that numerous prior research emphasizes the importance of supervisors in determining employee's decisions to request the policies and the likelihood of having their requests approved (e.g., Blair-Loy and Wharton 2002; Brescoll et al. 2013; Hammer et al. 2011; Kelly and Kalev 2006), the fact that those who are in leadership positions are less likely to use these policies is particularly troubling. This paradox gives us a clue about why the usage rates of these policies remain so low even in the organizations that formally offer them.

Our findings also address a long standing question in work and family literature, namely, why workplace changes to achieve better work-life balance for the contemporary workforce have been so slow. Changes in policies do not occur in a vacuum. Instead, they occur in a particular institutional and normative environment, which hinders the changes demanded by employers as well as employees. While workplace flexibilities have been widely adopted by many workplaces and desired by employees, as long as the workplace rests on a normative foundation that defines a good worker in the old way, new policies attempting to introduce changes in organization of work and time will have limited effects.

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Table 1. Means and standard deviations

Variable	Leave Use Sample		Flexibility Use Sample	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Leave Use (all type)	0.20			
Paid leave	0.13			
Unpaid leave	0.07			
Flexible work arrangement			0.12	
Flexible schedule			0.09	
Flexible location			0.03	
Female	0.47		0.48	
Age	40.02		38.80	
Married	0.55		0.53	
Child under 6	0.17		0.17	
Child between 7 and 18	0.19		0.18	
Race ("white" is omitted)				
Black	0.11		0.10	
Hispanic	0.12		0.12	
Asian/Pacific Islanders	0.04		0.04	
Other	0.01		0.01	
Education ("less than high school" is omitted)				
High school graduates	0.28		0.26	
Some college	0.29		0.30	
College graduates	0.25		0.26	
Advanced degrees	0.12		0.13	
Family income	11.85	3.43	11.91	3.57
Hourly earnings (in dollars)	20.87	13.87	21.33	15.29
Weekly work hours ("35 to 49" is omitted)				
Under 35 hours	0.17		0.22	
50 hours or more	0.20		0.21	
Work hour vary	0.00		0.00	
Occupational characteristics				
Proportion of overworkers	0.17	0.12	0.17	0.13
Proportion of women	0.48	0.29	0.49	0.27
Standardized authority score	0.17	0.91	0.20	0.92
Levels of email use	3.44	1.35	3.52	1.35
Average hourly earnings	18.79	7.50	19.01	7.97
Number of observations	5,337		3,222	
Number of occupations	324		294	

Source: American Time Use Survey Leave Module, 2011
*Note*s: Data are weighted using the final weights provided by Bureau of Labor Statistics

Table 2. Occupational characteristics by major occupation groups (N= 5,337)

	%	Paid leave use	Unpaid leave use	Flexible schedule	Flexible location	Proportion of overwork	Proportion of women	Authority	Email use	Average hourly earnings
Management	15.90	0.18	0.03	0.13	0.06	0.31	0.46	1.28	4.66	27.28
Professions	24.19	0.18	0.05	0.13	0.07	0.17	0.58	0.66	4.34	24.53
Service	16.25	0.07	0.11	0.07	0.00	0.09	0.54	-0.42	2.23	11.45
Sales/Administrative	23.14	0.13	0.08	0.08	0.01	0.12	0.63	-0.23	3.73	15.15
Farming/ Fishing/ Forestry	0.41	0.01	0.31	0.00	0.00	0.23	0.28	-0.92	1.63	9.56
Construction/ Maintenance	8.58	0.12	0.05	0.07	0.01	0.18	0.03	-0.09	2.34	17.37
Production/ Transportation	11.52	0.10	0.08	0.04	0.00	0.17	0.23	-0.52	1.88	14.05

Source: American Time Use Survey Leave Module 2011

Note: Flexible schedule and flexible location are based on sample with 3,222 individuals

Table 3. Logistic Regression of Log Odds of Taking Leave

	All types	Paid leave	Unpaid leave
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Occupation characteristics			
Proportion of overwork	-1.11	-2.06**	0.78
	(0.62)	(0.68)	(1.14)
Proportion of women	-0.24	-0.45	-0.11
	(0.24)	(0.29)	(0.41)
Authority level	-0.27**	-0.22*	-0.32*
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.15)
Email use	0.19**	0.30**	0.05
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.09)
Average hourly earnings	0.03*	0.03**	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Female	0.34	0.29	0.40
	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.28)
Age	0.00	0.02**	-0.02*
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Married	-0.22	-0.16	-0.47
	(0.18)	(0.21)	(0.28)
× Female	0.02	0.00	0.39
	(0.21)	(0.25)	(0.35)
Child under 6	0.40*	0.55*	0.42
	(0.19)	(0.23)	(0.29)
× Female	-0.34	-0.23	-0.64
	(0.25)	(0.29)	(0.42)
Child between 7 and 18	-0.05	-0.06	0.17
	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.29)
× Female	0.01	0.18	-0.38
	(0.22)	(0.25)	(0.38)
Race ("white" omitted):			
Black	-0.10	-0.11	-0.14
	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.23)
Hispanic	-0.58**	-0.45*	-0.66**
	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.23)
Asian/Pacific Islanders	-0.48*	-0.50	-0.40
	(0.23)	(0.28)	(0.41)
Other	-0.41	-0.43	-0.32
	(0.50)	(0.63)	(0.72)
Education ("less than high school" omitted) :			
High school graduate	-0.33	1.13**	-0.73**

	(0.24)	(0.37)	(0.28)
Some college	-0.47	1.02**	-0.86**
	(0.25)	(0.38)	(0.28)
College graduate	-0.46	1.14**	-1.15**
	(0.27)	(0.38)	(0.34)
Advance degree	-0.69*	0.66	-0.68
	(0.29)	(0.40)	(0.45)
Family income	0.01	0.03	-0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Hourly earnings ($)	0.00	0.01	-0.02*
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Weekly work hours ("35 to 49" omitted)			
Under 35	-0.28	-1.64**	0.49*
	(0.15)	(0.28)	(0.20)
50 hours or more	0.06	-0.03	0.29
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.23)
Hours vary	-1.13	-0.51	
	(1.15)	(1.11)	
Constant	-2.11**	-5.16**	-1.01
	(0.43)	(0.55)	(0.58)
N	5,337	5,015	4,559

Source: American Time Use Survey Leave Module 2011
Notes: Robust standard errors, obtained by clustering occupation observations, are presented in parentheses.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

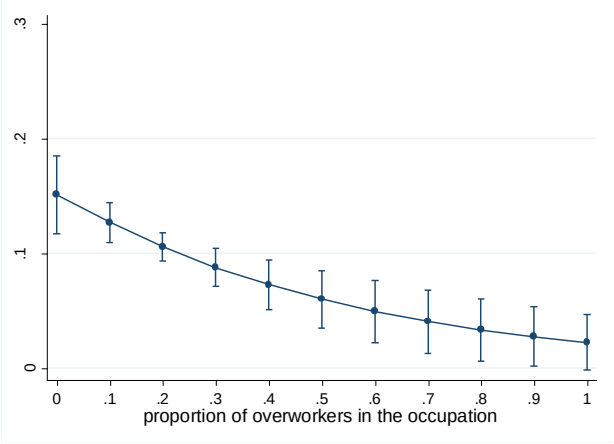
Table 4. Logistic Regression of Log Odds of Using Flexible Work Options

	Model 1	Model 2
Occupation characteristics		
Proportion of overwork	-0.85	-2.40**
	(0.87)	(0.92)
Proportion of women	-0.39	-0.25
	(0.38)	(0.45)
Authority level	-0.16	0.19
	(0.14)	(0.17)
Email use	0.25**	0.24
	(0.09)	(0.12)
Average hourly earnings	0.03	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Female	0.40	-0.71
	(0.29)	(0.68)
× Proportion of overwork		2.93*
		(1.41)
× Proportion of women		-0.09
		(0.73)
× Authority level		-0.66**
		(0.23)
× Email use		-0.02
		(0.16)
× Average hourly earnings		0.05
		(0.03)
Age	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Married	-0.05	-0.01
	(0.29)	(0.31)
× Female	0.32	0.28
	(0.36)	(0.39)
Child under 6	1.02**	1.04**
	(0.28)	(0.27)
× Female	-0.59	-0.60
	(0.38)	(0.37)
Child between 7 and 18	0.48	0.49
	(0.28)	(0.28)
× Female	-0.17	-0.18
	(0.37)	(0.37)
Race ("white" omitted):		
Black	-0.32	-0.33
	(0.24)	(0.23)
Hispanic	-0.35	-0.35

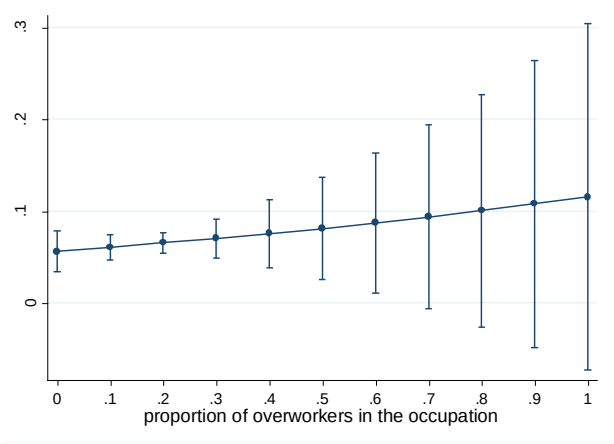
	(0.25)	(0.24)
Asian/Pacific Islanders	0.00	0.03
	(0.49)	(0.49)
Other	1.42**	1.45**
	(0.53)	(0.53)
Education ("less than high school" omitted) :		
High school graduate	0.01	0.02
	(0.51)	(0.52)
Some college	0.29	0.31
	(0.50)	(0.50)
College graduate	0.66	0.66
	(0.53)	(0.53)
Advance degree	0.49	0.49
	(0.54)	(0.54)
Family income	0.02	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Hourly earnings ($)	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Weekly work hours ("35 to 49" omitted)		
Under 35	0.12	0.14
	(0.21)	(0.22)
50 hours or more	0.27	0.30
	(0.20)	(0.20)
Hours vary	3.37**	3.39**
	(0.93)	(0.99)
Constant	-4.02**	-3.43**
	(0.63)	(0.71)
N	3,222	

Source: American Time Use Survey Leave Module 2011
Notes: Robust standard errors, obtained by clustering occupation observations, are presented in parentheses.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Figure 1. Predicted probabilities of taking leave by the prevalence of overwork in the occupation

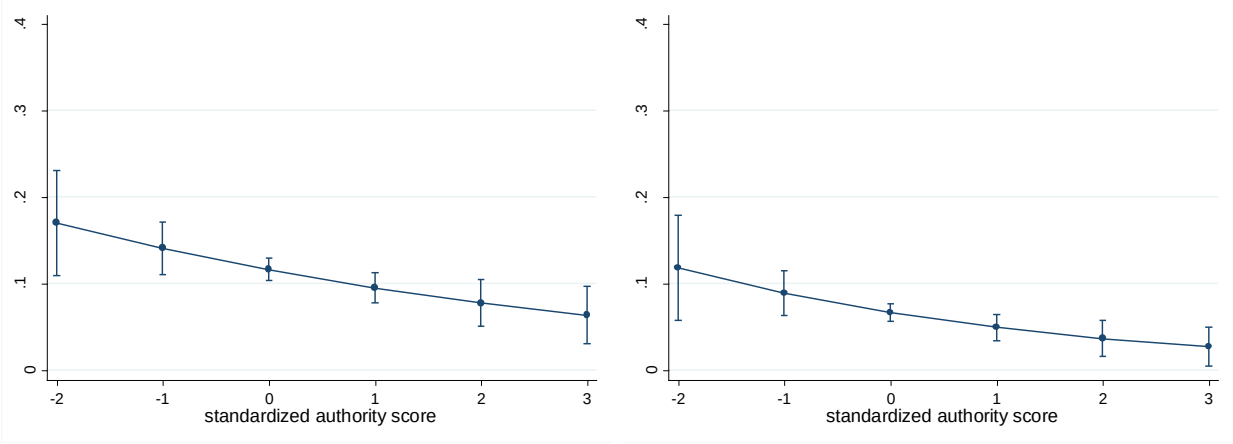


(a) Paid leave



(b) Unpaid leave

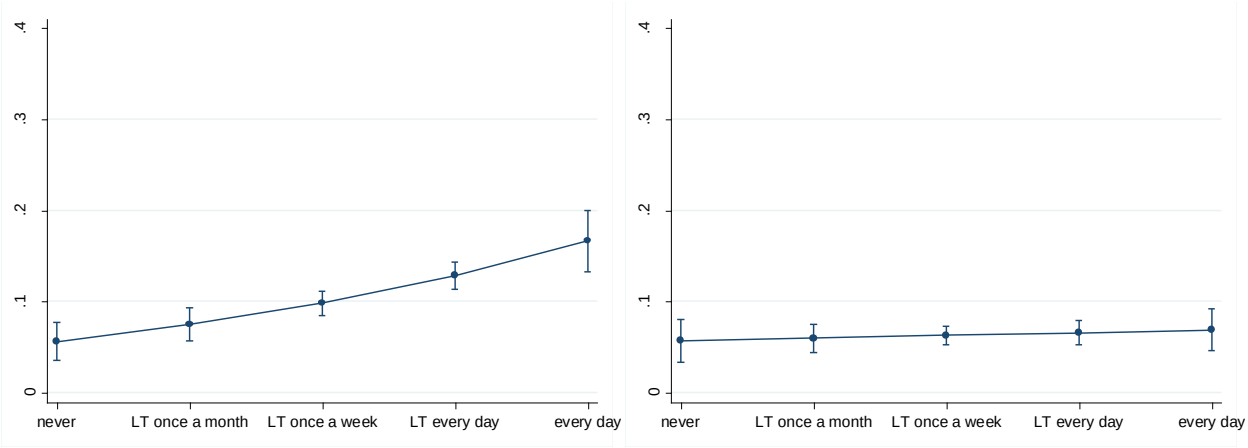
Figure 2. Predicted probabilities of taking leave by the levels of authority in the occupation



(a) Paid leave

(b) Unpaid leave

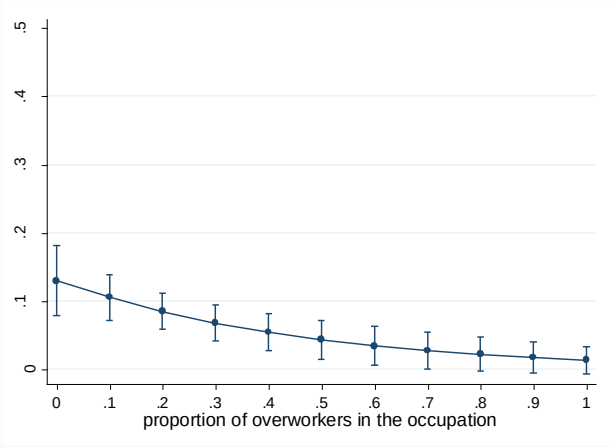
Figure 3. Predicted probabilities of taking leave by the frequency of email use in the occupation



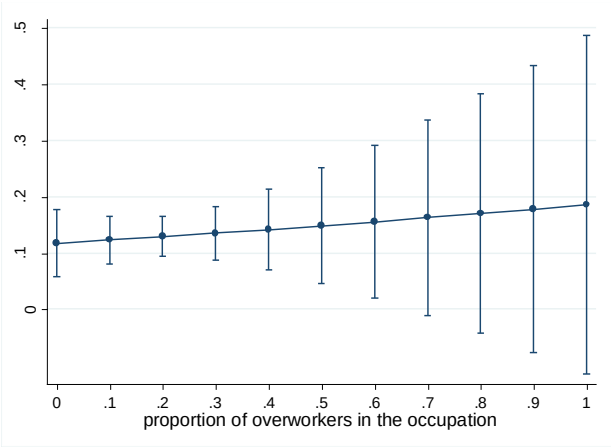
(a) Paid leave

(b) Unpaid leave

Figure 4. Predicted probabilities of using flexible schedule or location policies by the prevalence of overwork



(a) Men



(b) Women