

Subjective Assessments of Time Use: Who Benefits From What Time? An Examination by Gender and Social Class

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Abstract

Research documents gender and class differences in the quantity, quality, and experience of leisure. Less is known about how differences are correlated with health and well-being or about how specific activities are associated with subjective perceptions of time. We use data from the 2010 and 2012 American Time Use Survey and Well-being Module to consider gender and social class differences in the distribution, experience, and perception of leisure, and investigate if gender, social class, and leisure independently and jointly affect feeling well rested, subjective health, and subjective experience of activities.

Preliminary results indicate women have less leisure than men and leisure declines steadily as education, income, and job skill increase. We also find gender and class variation in associations of leisure with health. Future analyses will consider if gender and social class differences persist across new measures of leisure quality and if differences are mediated by subjective perceptions of leisure.

Introduction

Beliefs that time use is consequential for well-being are widespread and have motivated an international stream of research on how adults and children spend time. They are also implicit in public health studies of health behaviors and correlated with sociodemographic characteristics and health outcomes (Tudor-Locke et al. 2009). However, research examining associations between leisure time and health outcomes offers weak and inconsistent empirical evidence (Pampel, Krueger, and Denney 2010). We believe these inconsistencies result because prior work does not consider both the quality and quantity of types of leisure and how these vary by gender and socioeconomic status. Our contribution is to address these gaps in the literature.

Gender and Leisure

Research on gender and leisure indicates that women generally have fewer total leisure hours than men. For example, through an analysis of time use surveys conducted between 1965 and 1998, Sayer (2005) found that while free time for both men and women declined between 1975 and 1998, the decline was greater for women, creating a small gender leisure gap of approximately 30 minutes per day. Mattingly and Bianchi (2003) report similar gender differences in the quantity of free time and build upon past research by documenting substantial differences between men and women in amounts of “pure” free time, defined as free time without also engaging in a secondary, non-free time activity. In their sample of American adults, women report about 25 minutes less of “uncontaminated” or “pure” free time on average per day than their male counterparts (Mattingly and Bianchi 2003).

Studies looking at gender disparities in leisure quality report consistent results. For instance, even after controlling for marital status, number of children and young children, and employment hours, women are more likely than their male counterparts to feel time pressure or to feel rushed (Mattingly and Bianchi 2003; Mattingly Sayer 2006). This is likely due to related findings indicating that women’s leisure time, more so than men’s, is “contaminated” with other unpaid family responsibilities, like child care (Bittman and Wajcman 2000; Mattingly and Bianchi 2003). Women are also more likely to handle what Hochschild (1997) refers to as the “third shift” — noticing and responding to social-psychological consequences for families that result from the “second shift,” which could lead to added psychological stress during leisure activities making them less restorative than leisure activities that are uncontaminated by household or other demands.

For these reasons, we hypothesize that leisure quality and quantity are gendered health resources. Gender differences in health are associated with gendered employment and caregiving patterns that reduce women’s access to economic resources and increase obligatory time demands (Bird 2008). Our

expectation is gendered caregiving patterns reduce both the quantity and quality of leisure time for women, with these objective indicators of time scarcity acting as potential pathways through which women's and men's time use differentially affects health outcomes (Cockerham 2005; Jabs and Devine 2006).

Social Class and Leisure

We also extend existing research by exploring variation by social class in associations of leisure quality and quantity with health. At the turn of the 20th century, Veblen (1967) noted that high status individuals avoided paid or unpaid work because of its association with lower status, working class lifestyles. One of the main findings from time diary trend studies is the reversal of this historical pattern of conspicuous leisure time among higher status individuals, due to pervasive post-industrial workplace transformations associated with global competition and corporate downsizing and changes in families (Berry 2007). Today, women and men who are highly educated and who work in professional occupations typically devote less time to leisure compared with lower socioeconomic status individuals (Aguar and Hurst 2008, Gershuny 2000, Jacobs and Gerson 2004).

Time pressures associated with the emergence of dual earner families and intensive parenting have also intensified among higher-SES individuals, further reducing leisure time, more so among women (Bianchi, Robinson, and Milkie 2006). In contrast, while lower SES individuals have more leisure they are also more likely to have employment conditions like shift work and schedule inflexibility that are correlated with lower quality leisure (Devine et al 2003). There is also evidence suggesting differences in types of leisure activities by social class. For instance, while leisure is increasingly more common among low-SES individuals, some research indicates that physical inactivity during leisure activities is more prevalent among lower social class groups, like those with less education (Crespo, Ainsworth, Keteyian, Heath, and Smit 1999).

Time use and health outcomes have both been shown to vary by socioeconomic status. Scholars have conceptualized socioeconomic status (SES) as a "fundamental" determinant of health (Link and Phelan 1995) but how SES advantage translates into better health outcomes is unclear (Elo 2009). We hypothesize that differences in the quantity and quality of leisure by social class may account for some of the differential health outcomes for members of different social class groups. In other words, it is possible that social class differences in type of leisure and subjective interpretation of leisure activities is related to how restorative or beneficial those leisure activities are.

Leisure and Health/Well-Being

Analyses looking at associations between leisure hours and general health and well-being often have conflicting results. Research looking at type of leisure activity and health outcomes provides more consistent findings. For instance, researchers often note that those with leisure focusing on socializing with others or physical activity are more likely than those with leisure focusing on passivity to have positive health outcomes (for a detailed review of this literature see Iso-Ahola and Mannell 2005). Furthermore, and as mentioned above, fragmented leisure and leisure “contaminated” by other unpaid work activities is associated with feeling more time pressure and not feeling as well rested (Mattingly and Bianchi 2003; Mattingly and Sayer 2006). For these reasons, we consider both type of leisure as well as a measure of who the respondent was with during the leisure activity in these analyses. Questions remain, however, about how SES is correlated with the quality of leisure time and how gender and social class differentiated leisure patterns affect health outcomes. Given associations between gender and social class and both the quantity and quality of leisure in the United States, we anticipate associations between leisure and health outcomes to differ between gender and among gender by social class.

Research Questions

1. Are there gender, and social class differences in the amount, quality, and experience of leisure?
2. What are the direct associations of gender, social class, and leisure quality and quantity with health outcomes?
3. Does the association of leisure with health outcomes vary by gender and social class?
4. How do gender and social class influence the subjective experiences of activities?

Data and Methods

Sample

Our data are from the 2010 and 2012 American Time Use Surveys (ATUS) collected by the Census Bureau for the Bureau of Labor Statistics (Bureau of Labor Statistics and U.S.Census Bureau 2014). Figure 1 illustrates the similarities between these data sets, but does suggest individuals had more leisure, on average, in 2012 than in 2010. All multivariate models control for year. Respondents ages 15 and over are drawn from the outgoing rotation of the Current Population Survey (CPS) and are representative of the civilian, non-institutionalized population living in households in the United States. Time diaries are "yesterday" diaries that span 4 am to 4 pm on the day prior to the ATUS interview. Because the ATUS sample is a subsample of the CPS, it has high-quality data on employment and education, and household and individual characteristics. The response rates for 2010 and 2012 are 56.9 and 53.2 percent, respectively (see Table 3.3, Bureau of Labor Statistics and U.S.Census Bureau 2014). The 2010 and 2012 ATUS included a Well-Being Module sponsored by the U.S. National Institute on Aging. The module was designed to assess people’s subjective experiences of time use in 3 randomly

chosen time intervals.¹ The module included four questions about health status, including whether respondents took pain medication on the prior day, if they had high blood pressure, if they felt well-rested, and self-assessments of overall health status. We use the latter two measures in this analysis. The module also asked 6 questions about how they felt during each of the activities chosen for the Well-Being Module. We use each of these in this analysis.

[Figure 1 About Here]

Dependent Variables

Very well-rested is indicated and coded (1) for those stating they felt very well rested when they woke up yesterday. Those responding somewhat rested, a little rested, or not at all rested are coded (0).

Those responding excellent or very good to “Would you say your health in general is excellent, very good, good, fair, or poor?” are coded 1 on *excellent or very good health*. Those replying fair or poor are coded (0). Subjective health shouldn’t be seen as a perfect proxy for actual health. We use subjective health in these analyses because it has been shown to predict future health outcomes in expected ways. For example, in longitudinal studies, subjective health, or people’s perceptions of their own health, has been shown to be associated with mortality, even after controlling for age, physical health at time one, and other related covariates (Kaplan and Camacho 1983).

We also use 6 questions to measure the overall quality of activities. Respondents reported on a 6 point scale how happy, tired, stressed, sad, or in pain they were during the activity and how meaningful they considered the activity. Possible values on these measures range from 1 to 6 with higher values indicating more happiness, tiredness, stress, sadness, pain, and meaning. We use these as indicators of subjective quality and experience of select activities (Krueger 2007).

Key Independent Variables

In these analyses, we construct measures to assess the nature and quality of leisure. For now, we analyze the total hours of leisure and child-free leisure per day. Data limitations preclude us from assessing the “purity” of leisure, as ATUS does not collect data on secondary activities. Total leisure time is a sum of the total hours spent in a leisure activity to obtain a *total leisure hours* estimate. *Leisure activities* include anything coded as “Socializing, Relaxing, and Leisure” or “Sports, Exercise, and Recreation” as well as all travel associated with these activities. We also include taking a class for personal interest as leisure. *Non-leisure activities* are everything else (e.g. working, sleeping, housework, child care, volunteering). We further break down leisure activities into four categories. (1) *Social leisure*

¹ There was an error in the activity selection scheme for the 2010 Well-Being Module that affected the randomization process. As such, a separate weight has been created by the U.S. Census Bureau to adjust for the error.

includes any leisure activity with the main focus of socializing or communicating with others or attending social events and all travel associated with those activities. (2) *sedentary leisure* includes any leisure activity that requires little or no physical exertion and all travel associated with those activities. (3) *Cognitive leisure* activities are similar to passive leisure but focus more on hobbies, games, and other mentally stimulating activities. (4) *Active leisure* includes physical activities like sports and exercise and all travel related to those activities.

Gender is coded (1) for *women*, (0) for men.

We operationalize social class through measures of educational attainment, family income category, and job skill. Education is based on the highest completed level of education and coded into a series of four binary variables: *less than high school*, *high school degree*, *some college*, and *Bachelor's or advanced degree*. Less than high school serves as the reference category in the regression models.

Family income is coded into five categories. Category one represents those earning less than \$20,000 per year. Category two represents those earning between \$20,000 and \$34,999. Category three represents those earning between \$35,000-\$59,999. Category four represents those earning \$60,000 to \$99,999. Category five represents those earning \$100,000 or more. Category three, those families earning between \$35,000 and \$59,999 per year, serves as the reference category in all regression models.

Job skill is coded into four categories. Category one represents those who are not working. Categories two through four are coded as low, middle, and high skill, respectively based on Bureau of Labor Statistics categorizations of occupations based on the level of education, on-the-job training, and work experience required for each occupation.

In multivariate models we include a number of controls known to be associated with leisure time or subjective well-being. As mentioned, we pool 2010 and 2012 ATUS Well-Being Modules for these analyses. For this reason, we include a dummy variable for *year* in multivariate models coded as 1 for 2012 and 0 for 2010. *Race/Ethnicity* is coded into categories for white, non-Hispanic; black, non-Hispanic; other, non-Hispanic; and Hispanic. We control for whether or not the respondent was *married* or a *parent* because past research has documented differences in leisure time between married and single people as well as parents compared to non-parents. A continuous measure of *age* is included in multivariate models, because some research indicates older adults have more leisure compared to working age adults. We also include measures of the season the time diary day took place coded 1 for *summer* (June, July, August) and 0 for non-summer (all other months) as well as day of the week with *weekend* coded as 1 and weekday coded as 0. Finally, whether the respondent resides in a metropolitan area is coded as 1 for *metropolitan area* and 0 for nonmetropolitan area.

Analysis

In early analyses presented here, we look at bivariate associations between total leisure hours and gender and social class by subjective health and how well-rested the respondent felt on the diary day. Next, we present logistic regression models predicting subjective health and whether a respondent felt well rested by total leisure hours. We also include multi-level models predicting how happy, tired, stressed, sad, or in pain respondents reported feeling, and how meaningful the respondent felt the action to be, for the three activities selected for the Well-Being Module. In these models we include total leisure hours and type of activity, as well as all other controls used in the logistic regression models. Because we use person-level characteristics to predict activities in these models, we include a person-level random intercept because we expect intercepts to differ across people within the sample. We show descriptive and preliminary logistic regression results. For this iteration, we include no interaction models. We will estimate additive and interactive models to assess the mediating and moderating influences of leisure, gender, and social class on health. Multivariate models include controls identified as confounders, parental and marital status, race-ethnicity, respondent's age, day of the week and the season in which the time diary took place, and metropolitan status.

The ATUS collects data at the person and activity levels. As a result, multiple weights are required for analysis. In this paper, a person-level weight is used to correct for nonresponse and adjust for the oversample of weekend days. This weight is also adjusted to take into account the probability that the respondent's household was selected for the ATUS sample and the probability that the respondent was selected from that household to complete the time diary. We also use activity-level weights to control for each activity's probability of selection into the Well-Being Module. In multi-level analyses, we use a combination of person- and activity- level weights, scaling activity level weights to reflect cluster size (for more information on scaling weights for multi-level analysis see StataCorp 2011).

Preliminary Results

Figure 1 shows mean total leisure each day by our focal independent variables: gender, education, family income, and job skill. As expected, we find that men average more leisure than women. Leisure is highest among those with only a high school degree and declines steadily as education increases. It is similarly high among the lowest earners and decreases steadily with income. Furthermore, leisure also declines with job skill. Given known relationships between social class and health outcomes, this may suggest that leisure is less "refreshing" and may be qualitatively different among those with lower earnings or lower educational attainment.

Table 1 shows the distribution of mean total hours of leisure by health outcome status and demographic characteristics. Differences between demographic categories are indicated with an "a" whereas differences between groups at differing levels of subjective health are indicated with a "b." The first line, for all respondents, reveals that health outcomes are associated with leisure. While those not in

excellent or very good health have more leisure than do those who report healthier responses on these outcomes, those who say they feel very well rested have more leisure on average than those who do not. However, given the cross-sectional nature of our data, we do not know the direction of causality. Health may impact leisure or vice versa. Results are consistent when broken down by gender, education, family income, and job skill. However, there are some differences that emerge within groups. As noted above, women, the higher educated, those with higher family income, and those with higher job skill report fewer hours of leisure, on average.

[Table 1 About Here]

Table 2 presents results from logistic regression models predicting subjective health and how well rested a respondent was on their interview day. When gender, education, family income, and job skill are simultaneously analyzed, and controls for race, marital status, parental status, and age are added, we see relationships between leisure and health outcomes persist. That is, those with more leisure are *more likely* to report a health status other than excellent or very good. In other words, the negative association between leisure hours and subjective health is not explained away by social class or gender. More leisure is also associated with increased odds of feeling very well rested. In models with controls, there is no relationship between gender and subjective health. Women, however, are less likely than men to report feeling well-rested. Education is tied to self-reported health, with higher educated individuals more often reporting better health. Education is also linked to feeling well rested, with some suggestion that those with a high school degree or less and those with an advanced degree are most similar. Those with some college or a Bachelor's degree are least likely to report feeling very well rested. There is no clear pattern of family income differences in feeling well rested, though those in the lowest family income category are significantly less likely to feel well rested than those in the middle category. Family income differences in subjective health are clearer as those with higher family income report better self-rated health and those with lower income report their health as excellent or very good less often. Those in occupations that require the highest job skill are more likely to report excellent or very good health than their low skill counterparts but less likely to report feeling well-rested.

We also notice interesting patterns in many of the variables used as controls in these models. For instance, even after controlling for SES, members of minority racial/ethnic groups are less likely than their white counterparts to report excellent or very good health but more likely to report feeling well-rested. Married respondents report higher subjective health but there is no difference between married and non-married respondents regarding how well rested they feel. Older respondents report lower subjective health but are also more likely to report feeling well rested. Furthermore, as expected, parents are significantly less likely than non-parents to report high subjective health and less likely to report feeling well rested. Also, respondents report higher subjective health on weekends and in the summer months and

they report feeling more well rested on the weekends. We find no year differences in the multivariate models.

[Table 2 About Here]

Table 3 presents results from multilevel models predicting how individuals felt during each of their activities selected for the Well-Being Module. As mentioned above, we include a person-level random intercept because we expect differences to exist across and within individuals in our models. Like the logistic regression models, these models include total leisure hours, gender, and social class measures alongside various controls. In addition to those measures, we include our categorical indicator of type of activity. Preliminary results from these models suggest that respondents report less stress, more happiness, more pain, less sadness, and more meaning for active leisure activities in comparison to passive leisure activities. Respondents report more happiness, less pain, less tiredness, and less sadness for cognitive leisure activities in comparison to passive leisure activities. Regarding social leisure activities, respondents report more happiness, less pain, less tiredness, and more meaning than they do for passive leisure activities. We see some differences in leisure time where those with more leisure are less likely to report stress, tiredness, and meaning. Women are more likely than men to feel stressed, happy, in pain, tired, and to find their activities more meaningful regardless of activity. We also find some social class differences. Those with higher educational attainment are less likely to report happiness, pain, tiredness, sadness, and meaning compared to those with less than a high school degree. Those in the lowest family income category are more likely to report stress, pain, tiredness, and sadness than those at the base category (\$35,000 to \$59,999). Likewise, those with higher family incomes are less likely to report pain, sadness, and meaning than those at the base category. We find few differences in job skill, though those with high job skill report more stress and those with middle skill jobs report more meaning than their low skill counterparts. In advance of the PAA meetings, we plan to look more closely at non-leisure activities to discern how things like work, household chores and child care fare in relation to leisure.

[Table 3 About Here]

Limitations and Next Steps

The primary limitation of this work is the cross-sectional nature of the data. While we think about ways in which leisure may influence health and wellbeing, it is equally plausible that well-being and health circumstances drive leisure experiences. Hence, we are not making claims about causality and are careful not to use causal language. The present analysis is also limited in its focus on the overall amount of leisure, without considering the qualitative aspects of that leisure. While it is impossible to fully overcome this with quantitative data, analyses presented at the PAA annual meeting will make fuller use

of the ATUS data to explore time spent in different types of leisure activities, including with whom people spend their leisure time, and interactions between leisure and other focal independent variables (research question 3).

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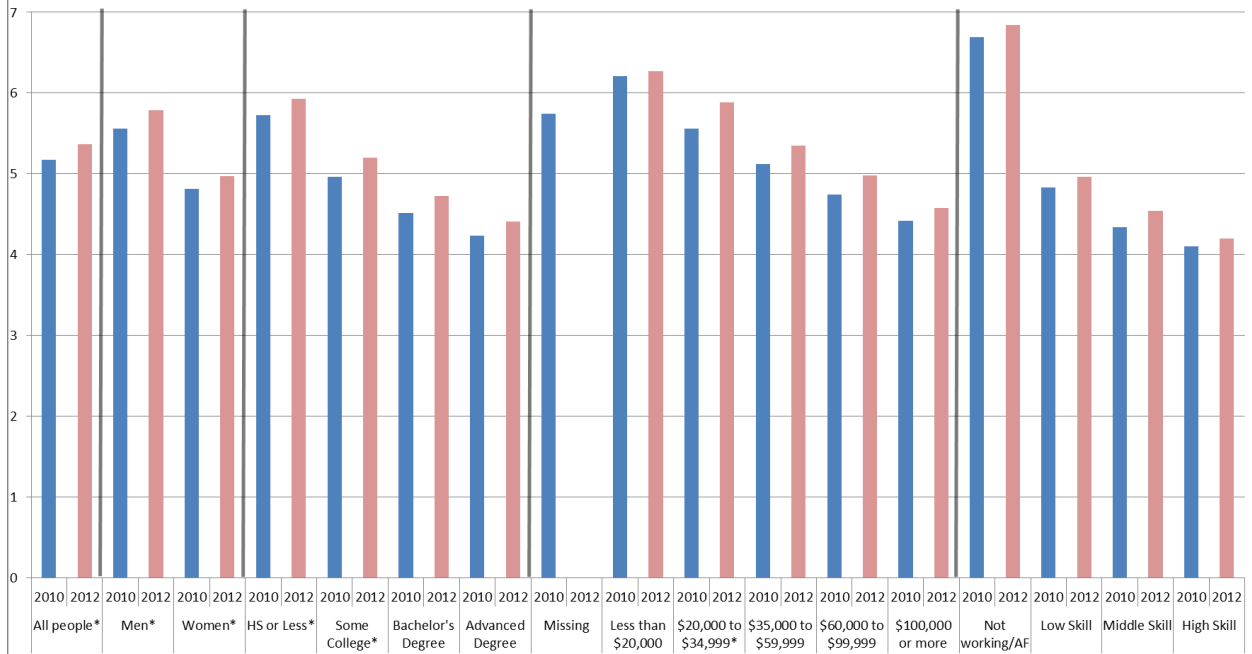
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Figure 1. Mean Leisure Hours for All People by Demographic Characteristics and Year



Source: Weighted 2010 and 2012 American Time Use Survey

Note 1: In 2012 there are no missing values for family Income

Table 1. Mean leisure hours by health outcomes and focal demographic characteristics

	Total	Subjective Health		Well Rested	
		Good, Fair, or Poor Health	Excellent or Very Good Health	Very Well-Rested	Not Very Well-Rested
All People	5.3	5.6	5.0 ^b	5.0	5.7 ^b
Gender					
Men (ref.)	5.7	6.1	5.4 ^b	5.5	6.1 ^b
Women	4.9 ^a	5.2 ^a	4.6 ^{a,b}	4.7 ^a	5.3 ^{a,b}
Education					
Less than high school (ref.)	6.0	6.2	5.8 ^b	5.9	6.2
High school	5.7 ^a	5.9	5.4 ^{a,b}	5.5 ^a	6.1 ^b
Some college	5.1 ^a	5.3 ^a	4.9 ^{a,b}	5.0 ^a	5.3 ^{a,b}
Bachelor's or more	4.6 ^a	4.9 ^a	4.4 ^{a,b}	4.2 ^a	5.1 ^{a,b}
Family Income					
Less than \$20,000	6.3 ^a	6.6 ^a	5.8 ^{a,b}	6.3 ^a	6.3 ^a
\$20,000 to \$34,999	5.7 ^a	5.9 ^a	5.5 ^{a,b}	5.6 ^a	6.0 ^b
\$35,000 to \$59,999 (ref.)	5.3	5.4	5.1 ^b	5.0	5.7 ^b
\$60,000 to \$99,999	4.9 ^a	4.9 ^a	4.9 ^a	4.6 ^a	5.4 ^{a,b}
\$100,000 or more	4.6 ^a	4.8 ^a	4.4 ^{a,b}	4.2 ^a	5.1 ^{a,b}
Job Skill					
Not working/in AF	6.8 ^a	7.1 ^a	6.4 ^{a,b}	6.6 ^a	7.0 ^{a,b}
Low skill (ref.)	4.9	4.9	5.0	4.7	5.3 ^b
Middle skill	4.5 ^a	4.6 ^a	4.4 ^{a,b}	4.3 ^a	4.7 ^{a,b}
High skill	4.2 ^a	4.5 ^a	4.0 ^{a,b}	3.9 ^a	4.6 ^{a,b}
^a =statistically significant difference between value and reference category (p<.05)					
^b =statistically significant difference between value and previous column (p<.05)					

Table 2. Logit regression predicting subjective health and well rested

	Subjective Health			Well Rested		
	Coef.	SE		Coef.	SE	
Leisure						
Leisure time (hours)	-0.016	0.006	**	0.022	0.006	***
Gender						
Men (ref.)						
Women	-0.043	0.042		-0.107	0.041	**
Education						
Less than high school (ref.)						
High school degree	0.143	0.068	*	-0.014	0.067	
Some college	0.274	0.070	***	-0.210	0.068	**
Bachelor's or more	0.695	0.075	***	-0.133	0.073	
Family Income						
Less than \$20,000	-0.378	0.064	***	-0.146	0.064	*
\$20,000 to \$34,999	-0.284	0.063	***	-0.036	0.063	
\$35,000 to \$59,999 (ref.)						
\$60,000 to \$99,999	0.087	0.059		-0.106	0.059	
\$100,000 or more	0.367	0.068	***	0.022	0.066	
Job Skill						
Not working/AF	-0.005	0.061		-0.034	0.060	
Low skill (ref.)						
Middle skill	0.103	0.061		-0.106	0.060	
High skill	0.175	0.072	*	-0.207	0.071	**
Race, Ethnicity						
White, non-Hispanic (ref.)						
Black, non-Hispanic	-0.235	0.059	***	0.322	0.058	***
Other, non-Hispanic	-0.247	0.092	**	0.193	0.094	*
Any race, Hispanic	-0.446	0.063	***	0.332	0.062	***
Marital Status						
Not married (ref.)						
Married	0.105	0.048	*	0.013	0.046	
Parent Status						
Non-parent (ref.)						
Parent	-0.188	0.049	***	-0.204	0.048	***
Age						
	-0.019	0.001	***	0.009	0.001	***
Metropolitan Status						
Nonmetropolitan area (ref.)						
Metropolitan area	0.007	0.053		-0.106	0.053	*
Season						
Not summer (ref.)						
Summer	0.145	0.044	**	0.053	0.043	
Day of the Week						
Weekday (ref.)						
Weekend	0.086	0.038	*	0.177	0.037	***
Year						
2010 (ref.)						
2012	-0.078	0.040		0.053	0.039	
Constant						
F	46.40			15.79		
N	20,573			20,573		

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

Table 3. Multilevel model predicting subjective feelings during activities with person-level random intercept

	Stress		Happy		Pain		Tired		Sad		Meaning	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Activity Level												
Leisure type												
Non-leisure	0.265	0.028 ***	0.040	0.028	0.013	0.022	-0.258	0.036 ***	-0.028	0.021	0.546	0.037 ***
Passive (ref.)												
Social	-0.041	0.048	0.492	0.046 ***	-0.095	0.031 **	-0.306	0.063 ***	0.016	0.039	1.034	0.058 ***
Cognitive	-0.044	0.054	0.146	0.043 ***	-0.072	0.031 *	-0.196	0.059 ***	-0.094	0.032 **	0.163	0.084
Active	-0.154	0.054 **	0.406	0.054 ***	0.379	0.054 ***	-0.130	0.079	-0.194	0.038 ***	1.022	0.069 ***
Person Level												
Leisure time (hours)												
	-0.036	0.005 ***	0.006	0.004	0.000	0.005	-0.055	0.006 ***	0.002	0.004	-0.027	0.006 ***
Gender												
Men (ref.)												
Women	0.103	0.035 **	0.159	0.028 ***	0.094	0.028 ***	0.295	0.039 ***	0.028	0.023	0.148	0.036 ***
Education												
Less than high school (ref.)												
High school	-0.097	0.059	-0.102	0.048 *	-0.066	0.051	-0.184	0.069 **	-0.107	0.042 *	0.059	0.062
Some college	-0.031	0.058	-0.124	0.047 **	-0.126	0.048 **	-0.126	0.063 *	-0.133	0.041 **	0.029	0.059
Bachelor's or more	0.070	0.067	-0.210	0.052 ***	-0.220	0.050 ***	-0.156	0.068 *	-0.167	0.043 ***	-0.148	0.068 *
Family Income												
Less than \$20,000	0.218	0.059 ***	-0.033	0.045	0.418	0.049 ***	0.143	0.063 *	0.232	0.040 ***	0.100	0.058
\$20,000 to \$34,999	0.058	0.056	0.005	0.045	0.165	0.046 ***	0.040	0.060	0.057	0.037	0.055	0.053
\$35,000 to \$59,999 (ref.)												
\$60,000 to \$99,999	-0.088	0.051	0.045	0.040	-0.081	0.038 *	0.041	0.057	-0.042	0.032	-0.017	0.055
\$100,000 or more	-0.092	0.057	-0.006	0.043	-0.178	0.039 ***	-0.066	0.064	-0.078	0.033 *	-0.145	0.061 *
Job Skill												
Not working/AF	-0.087	0.052	-0.004	0.041	0.123	0.042 **	-0.068	0.056	-0.051	0.035	0.013	0.055
Low skill (ref.)												
Middle skill	0.047	0.050	-0.005	0.041	0.014	0.040	0.026	0.057	-0.045	0.033	0.102	0.052 *
High skill	0.134	0.057 *	-0.019	0.048	-0.062	0.043	-0.002	0.067	-0.012	0.037	0.014	0.062
Race, Ethnicity												
White, non-Hispanic (ref.)												
Black, non-Hispanic	-0.166	0.050 ***	0.279	0.043 ***	-0.043	0.044	-0.225	0.059 ***	0.035	0.036	0.440	0.059 ***
Other, non-Hispanic	0.112	0.106	0.001	0.063	0.020	0.056	-0.106	0.089	0.199	0.053 ***	0.194	0.090 *
Any race, Hispanic	0.063	0.052	0.228	0.043 ***	-0.009	0.044	-0.045	0.061	0.159	0.036 ***	0.365	0.054 ***
Marital status (Unmarried)												
Unmarried (ref.)												
Married	-0.110	0.040 **	0.205	0.032 ***	0.028	0.034	-0.003	0.046	-0.078	0.028 **	0.164	0.039 ***
Parent status												
Non-parent (ref.)												
Parent	0.074	0.041	0.095	0.032 **	-0.013	0.033	0.046	0.047	-0.040	0.027	0.320	0.041 ***
Age												
	-0.002	0.001	0.004	0.001 ***	0.012	0.001 ***	-0.010	0.001 ***	0.007	0.001 ***	0.016	0.001 ***
Metropolitan status												
Nonmetropolitan area (ref.)												
Metropolitan area	0.020	0.046	-0.074	0.039	-0.026	0.039	-0.052	0.051	0.020	0.031	-0.097	0.045 *
Time of year												
Non-summer (ref.)												
Summer	-0.068	0.037	0.020	0.029	-0.034	0.030	0.013	0.042	-0.023	0.024	0.016	0.038
Time of week												
Weekday (ref.)												
Weekend	-0.226	0.031 ***	0.159	0.026 ***	-0.029	0.026	-0.144	0.037 ***	-0.059	0.021 **	0.007	0.033
Year												
2010 (ref.)												
2012	-0.042	0.034	0.114	0.027 ***	0.003	0.027	0.001	0.038	-0.040	0.022	0.036	0.035
Constant	1.505	0.096 ***	3.801	0.081 ***	0.379	0.073 ***	3.271	0.106 ***	0.467	0.062 ***	2.840	0.104 ***
Random Intercept (between people)												
sd(cons)	1.223	0.016 ***	1.277	0.012 ***	1.361	0.014 ***	1.381	0.013 ***	1.010	0.017	1.181	0.016 ***
Residual (within people)												
sd(cons)	1.225	0.012 ***	0.980	0.009 *	0.800	0.012 ***	1.330	0.010 ***	0.851	0.012 ***	1.437	0.012 ***
Wald Chi2	543.2		493.4		887.7		461.9		387.3		941.9	
Activities	60,178		59,963		60,195		60,154		60,151		59,718	
People	20,107		20,085		20,109		20,108		20,104		20,057	

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