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GENDER DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES
IN THE WORK-FAMILY INTERFACE:
THE IMPORTANCE OF CONSIDERING
FAMILY LIFE STAGES

by

Giuseppe Martinengo

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of

Brigham Young University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Marriage, Family, and Human Development

Brigham Young University

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BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE COMMITTEE APPROVAL

of a dissertation submitted by
Giuseppe Martinengo

This dissertation has been read by each member of the following graduate committee
and by majority vote has been found to be satisfactory.

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As chair of the candidate's graduate committee, I have read the dissertation of Giuseppe Martinengo in its final form and have found that (1) its format, citations and bibliographical style are consistent and acceptable and fulfill university and department style requirements; (2) its illustrative materials including figures, tables, and charts are in place; and (3) the final manuscript is satisfactory to the graduate committee and is ready for submission to the university library.

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ABSTRACT

GENDER DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES IN THE WORK-FAMILY INTERFACE: THE IMPORTANCE OF CONSIDERING FAMILY LIFE STAGES

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Department of Marriage, Family, and Human Development

Doctor of Philosophy

This study focuses on the importance of considering the interaction between gender and family life stages to properly understand gender similarities and differences in the work and family interface. Data for this study come from the IBM 2004 Global Work and Life Issues Survey representing 79 countries (N=41,813). This study is a first step toward a better understanding of similarities and differences among male and female workers across the life course and it shows that work, family and life outcomes are similar across groups, independent of life stages or gender.

Six family life stage groups were created: no children and workers age 35 or less, transition to parenthood, preschool children, elementary children, teenagers, and empty nest (workers age 50 years or older and no children dependent). The findings indicate that gender differences increase when young children are present. Parenthood creates or

maintains a more gendered family and work life. A key characteristic of the first stage is that gender differences are smaller than in later stages. In the transition parenthood stage, gender differences increase substantially. For example, the difference in work hours increases four times from the previous life stage and males experience substantially more work-to-family conflict than females. The preschool stage is the stage in which gender differences in work hours and work-to-family conflict reach their highest point. In the elementary children stage, gender differences in work hours and work-to-family conflict decrease to a level very similar to the transition to parenthood stage. In the teenager children stage, differences in work-to-family conflict decrease to levels similar to the first life stage and differences in access-use of work-family programs decrease to levels similar to the transition to parenthood stages. Finally, in the empty nest stage gender differences are small and some are unique to this stage.

Future research could benefit from exploring how the fit of the model may change with the addition of other important work-family variables that were not adequately measured in this study because the data were collected in a corporate setting. Employers could benefit from applying these research findings to the development of work policies and programs attentive to shifts in work-family linkages over the life course.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Work-Family Interface	1
Historical and Theoretical Perspectives in the Work-Family Interface	2
Theoretical Perspectives Applied in Research to the Work-Family Interface	4
Work-Family Conflict	5
Gender Differences in Work-Family Conflict	8
Antecedents of Work-Family Conflict	10
Consequences of Work-Family Conflict	16
Research Questions and Hypotheses	18
Method	19
Description of Measures	20
Plan for Analysis.....	24
Results.....	25
Discussion.....	45
Limitations	53
Conclusion	55
References.....	61
Appendix A - U.S. Families.....	90
Appendix B - Classicas Hypothesis about the Work-Family Interface	91
Appendix C - Work-Family Conflict.....	103

Appendix D - Personality Characteristics.....	106
Appendix E - References for Appendixes	108

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Sample Demographic.....	23
Table 2: Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations for Model Variables	29
Table 3: Effect Sizes for Male and Female Workers (Global Sample) and Across the Six Life Stage Groups on Variables of the Work-Family Interface	36
Table 4: Means Comparing Male Workers and Females Workers on Variables of the Work-Family Interface (Two-Group Model).....	72
Table 5: Means Comparing Male Workers and Females Workers with No Children and below 35 Years of Age on Variables of the Work-Family Interface	73
Table 6: Means Comparing Male Workers and Females Workers during the Transition to Parenthood on Variables of the Work-Family Interface.....	74
Table 7: Means Comparing Male Workers and Females Workers with Preschool Children on Variables of the Work-Family Interface	75
Table 8: Means Comparing Male Workers and Females Workers with School Children on Variables of the Work-Family Interface	76
Table 9: Means Comparing Male Workers and Females Workers with Adolescents on Variables of the Work-Family Interface	77
Table 10: Means Comparing Male Workers and Females Workers with No Children below 18 and above 50 Years of Age on Variables of the Work-Family Interface.....	78
Table 11: Means Comparing Workers in Different Life Stages on Variables of the Work-Family Interface	79
Table 12: Effect Sizes for Life Stage Groups on Variables of the Work-Family Interface	80
Table 12: Effect Sizes for Life Stage Groups on Variables of the Work-Family Interface (Continued)	81

Table 13: Structural Equation Standardized Parameters Estimates for Male and Female with No Children (Two-Group Model).....	82
Table 14: Structural Equation Standardized Parameters Estimates for Male and Female during the Transition to Parenthood (Two-Group Model)	83
Table 15: Structural Equation Standardized Parameters Estimates for Male and Female with Preschool Children (Two-Group Model).....	84
Table 16: Structural Equation Standardized Parameters Estimates for Male and Female with School Children (Two-Group Model)	85
Table 17: Structural Equation Standardized Parameters Estimates for Male and Female with Adolescents (Two-Group Model).....	86
Table 18: Structural Equation Standardized Parameters Estimates for Male and Female with No Children below 18 and above 50 Years of Age (Two-Group Model)	87
Table 19: Structural Equation Standardized Parameters Estimates for Global Model and for Male and Female (Two-Group Model).....	88
Table 20: Structural Equation Standardized Parameters Estimates for Six-Group Model	89

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Hypothesized Model of the Work-Family Interface	7
Figure 2: Life Stages Characteristics	28
Figure 3: Standardized Parameters Estimates for the Model (Global Sample)	39
Figure 4: Standardized Parameters Estimates for Two-Group Model by Gender	40

The Work-Family Interface

The world is changing and for several decades the countries of the developed world have been shifting from industrial-based national economies to information-based global economies (Stein, 2003). The developing countries are also in the process of transformation and sometimes they bypass industrialization to move directly to the new economy (Hill, Yang, Hawkins, and Ferris, 2004). The globalization of the economy is affecting men's and women's lives in many countries around the world. The analysis of the interface between these two domains reveals that daily interactions of work and non-work life are complex and bring serious consequences for families, employees, and employers (Westman & Piotrkowski, 1999). This complexity and incompleteness is even more challenging since a wide variety of disciplines have studied the work-non-work interface and there is not clear agreement about what constitutes both domains. Work, meaning wage work, has usually been well defined, but non-work, depending on who is studying it, has simply included the family domain or also other domains, such as other social obligations and leisure time.

In this paper I will focus specifically on the work and family interface because for most people family is the central aspect of their non-work life. I will also pay particular attention to the combined effects of gender and life stages in the work-family interface.

According to Parasuraman and Greenhaus (2002) "given the widespread assumption that work-family is a woman's problem" (p. 304), research on the role of gender has focused on the direct or main effects of gender on work-family conflict but it has failed to show conclusive results. Scholars (e.g., Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Barnett 1998) are sometimes quick to dismiss the presence of gender differences and to conclude that similarities among men and women in the work-family interface are more important

and prevalent than differences. However, Greenhaus and Foley (2007) properly observe that "whatever effects gender may have are likely to be contingent upon cultural and sub-cultural norms, gender role ideology, spouse attitudes and behaviors, family and career life cycle stages, and other circumstances not yet anticipated" (p. 31). Within-gender differences need to be studied along with between-gender differences to understand how gender in combination with other variables, and especially life stage variables (e.g., Allen, Jacob, Hill, & Martinengo, 2006) may impact work-family outcomes. This study is an initial step toward filling this gap in the current literature. The work-family field may benefit by considering more particularly the different effects of life stages for men and women in the work-family interface.

The first section of the paper will present an historical and theoretical overview of the work-family interface with a focus on gender issues. The second section will review the literature about work-family conflict, its antecedents and consequences. It will also include a discussion of all the variables of the model tested in this study. Next, the third section will describe the methods and the hypotheses. Then the fourth section will present the results. Finally, the fifth section will discuss the findings and the final section will present my conclusions and suggestions for future research.

Historical and Theoretical Perspectives in the Work-Family Interface

Issues of gender have been present in the work-family scholarly literature from its inception. The moderating effect of gender differences in the work-family interface have been a constant subject of debate among scholars.

The domain of "work and family" emerged as a specific and distinct area of scholarly research in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s when the prevailing sex-role attitudes were more traditional than today. At that time there was a pervasive belief

that multiple roles were bad for women, especially for married women, so taking upon them the added role of workers was generally considered a threat to the well-being of women and families.

In the United States in the 1960s and 1970s the economy underwent significant changes in its structure and functioning that deeply influenced and transformed the life and structure of American families. The U.S. economy was transforming from a manufacturing oriented to a service-based economy and the annual average growth rate of real earning was declining. The kinds of jobs that were disappearing from the economy were most often typical "men's" jobs, such as mining, manufacturing, or construction while the new jobs were the type for which employers had traditionally hired women and paid them less (Menaghan & Parcel, 1990). This structural change meant that one earner was not well suited anymore to support a whole family. The dual-earner family became more prevalent in the new economy. The traditional ideal American family in which the husband is the bread-winner and the wife is the homemaker was replaced by the dual-earners family (for more information and statistics related to the U.S. see Appendix A.)

A similar transformation happened in most industrialized countries throughout the world. The global workforce now includes a much greater proportion of dual-earner couples who also need to care for children and elderly parents.

The increase in labor participation of women in the 1970s and 1980s did reach a point in which employers were forced to realize that employed women needed some kind of help in order to successfully manage work and family demands. This explains why in the beginning work and family was a women's issue. However, Barnett (1999) believes that "the early decision to operationalize work-family issues as women's issues rather than as employees' issues was quite unfortunate and haunts us today" (p. 145). Even if the

official discourse was that family-friendly policies were for all employees, the unofficial message was that they were mainly for married women with children. This distinction between policies and practice has been a mainstay in the area of work-family (Barnett, 1999).

Gender ideology has played an important role in the development of the work-family field. However, in spite of the gender ideology of specific work-family scholars, gender has usually been operationalized and practically identified with the person's sex. According to this perspective Geurts and Demerouti (2003) stressed that "gender constitutes the sociodemographic characteristics that has been most frequently examined with respect to the prevalence of the various dimensions of the work/non-work interface" (p. 290).

However, this practical identification of gender with the person's sex is seen as a limitation by several other scholars. For example, Barnett in 1998 suggested that future studies should include "the moderating effects of gender-role ideology and not gender per se" (p.143).

Theoretical Perspective Applied in Research to the Work-Family Interface

Numerous concepts have been developed over the years by researchers in the work-family literature but the two main concerns of all this research are related to finding 1) how people can derive substantial satisfaction and fulfillment from their roles in life that matter and 2) how organizations can attract, motivate, and retain valuable employees. These concerns underlie much of the theory and research on the work-family interface (Greenhaus & Foley, 2007).

Despite these common concerns among scholars, many recognize the lack of an overarching and integrating theoretical framework in work-family research (e.g.,

Grzywacz & Marks, 2000; Barnett, 1999). Moreover, the work-family literature has been dominated by a conflict perspective (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1999; Barnett, 1998). In fact, according to Greenhaus and Foley (2007), work-family conflict is the most widely studied concept in the work-family literature.

Because of this fact, and considering the exploratory nature of my study, gender differences across life stages will be tested by using a model built around the concepts and measurements of work-family conflict and its antecedents and consequences. (For a review of other important theories, concepts, and hypothesis about the work-family interface, please see the Appendix B).

Several studies have simultaneously included gender and work-family conflict (e.g. Duxbury & Higgins, 1991; Cinamon & Rich, 2002). However, very few of those studies (e.g., Allen et al., 2006) have specifically included and tested in the same model work-family conflict, gender, and life stages variables. None of them did it as extensively as will be done in this study.

Work-Family Conflict

The most widely cited definition of work-family conflict is that it is “a form of interrole conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect. That is, participation in the work (family) role is made more difficult by virtue of the participation in the family (work) role" (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985, p. 77). Therefore, individuals who experience extensive work-family conflict compromise their effectiveness or positive affect in one life role because of their experiences in another role.

According to this definition work-family conflict is bidirectional: work can interfere with family (work-to-family conflict, see Figure 1, Box C) or family can

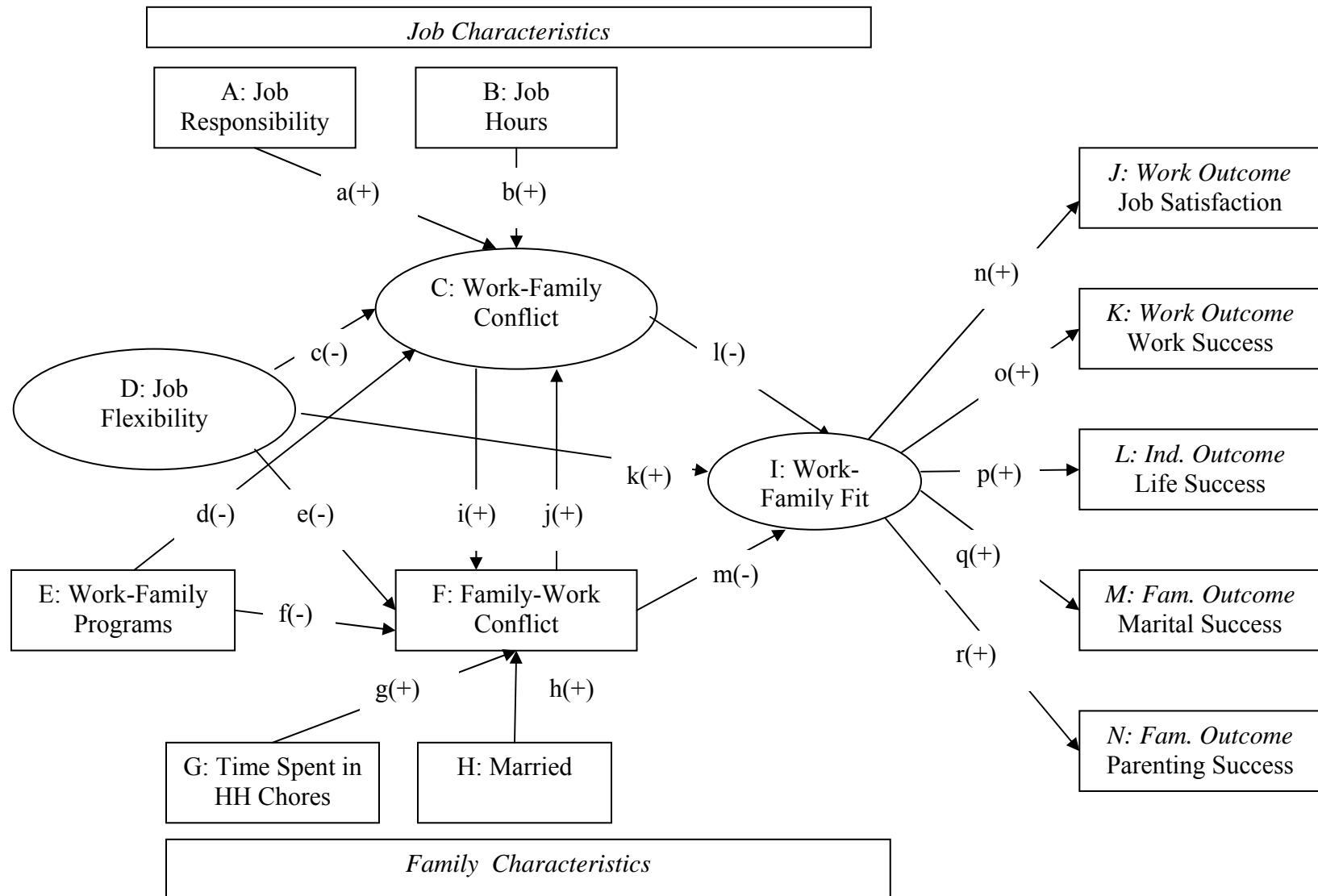
interfere with work (family-to-work conflict, see Figure 1, Box F). Empirical research supports the idea that they are indeed two separate constructs (e.g. Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992).

Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) suggested that the type of work-family conflict is based on certain characteristics of the role. These characteristics of the role in one domain affect time involvement, personal strain or behavior of the individual because they are incompatible with the person's role in the other domain. Three forms of work-family conflict arise from these characteristics: time-based conflict, strain-based conflict, and behavior-based conflict. (For more detailed information about this topic see the Appendix C).

According to Bellavia and Frone (2005), three nationally representative surveys conducted in the U.S. during the 1990s suggest that people experience conflict because of their involvement with multiple roles in their family and at work. Despite the discrepancy in the rates between studies, taken together these surveys show that between 25 % and 50% of the U.S. population between ages 25 and 54 that work at least part-time and has some family responsibility experience work-to-family conflict at least some of the time. However, the range of rates for family-to-work conflict were much lower, namely between 10% and 14%.

Work-family conflict has generally been measured with self-report scales that assess the perceived interference between the demands of the work role and the family role. Recent refinements to the scales have incorporated the type and the direction of conflict.

Figure 1
Hypothesized Model of the Work-Family Interface



Work-family conflict research has not been conducted only in the U.S. but also in many other countries, especially in the affluent countries in the West (Hill et al., 2004a). In Asia it has been done primarily in Hong Kong (e.g. Fu & Shaffer, 2001; Ngo & Lau, 1998; Stoeva, Chiu, & Greenhaus, 2002) and Singapore (e.g. Aryee, 1992; Kim & Ling, 2001), while in Europe it has been conducted in several countries, including the United Kingdom (e.g. Lewis, 1997) and Finland (e.g. Kinnunen & Mauno, 1998)

Gender Differences in Work-Family Conflict

Since the start, work-family conflict attracted the attention of scholars interested in gender differences. Three theoretical perspectives that have been used to explain gender differences are the rational view (e.g. Pleck, 1977), the gender-role expectations framework (Gutek, Searle, & Klepa, 1991), and Karasek's (1979) job-strain model (For more details about these frameworks, see the Appendix C).

Two recent reviews of work-family conflict seem to confirm that men and women report similar levels of work-family conflict (Barnett & Gareis, 2006; Greenhaus & Foley, 2007). It is important to stress the word "report" since there may be gender differences, but they may not be perceived and reported as such (according to gender role-expectations framework).

Greenhaus and Foley (2007) report that out of 23 studies they reviewed, 44% of the studies revealed no gender differences in work-to-family conflict (WFC), 32% found that women experienced more WFC than men, and 24% reported that men experienced more WFC than women. These findings suggest that the relationship between gender and work-to-family conflict is not consistent across studies.

Greenhaus and Foley (2007) also report that 67% of the studies observed no gender differences in family-to-work conflict (FWC), 26% found that women experience more FWC than men, and 7% found that men experienced more FWC than women. They found some evidence consistent with Pleck's (1977) predictions that family responsibilities may be more likely to interfere with women's work than with men's work.

However, these findings are not confirmed in the research on gender differences in self-reported family-to-work conflict. Perhaps this is because the gendered division of labor at work and home has been reduced, and men and women are now experiencing similar levels of conflict between work and family roles; or perhaps it is simply because women are more reluctant than men to reveal that their work interferes with their family role. Finally, it may again be because of gendered perceptions of what constitutes family-work conflict (Greenhaus & Foley, 2007).

Greenhaus and Foley (2007) also pointed out that "despite admittedly underwhelming evidence for gender differences in work-family conflict, it may be premature to conclude that men and women experience the same type and level of interference between their work and family responsibilities. Instead, it is reasonable to expect within-gender variations in work-family conflict or interference." For example, Friedman and Greenhaus (2000) found that although women as a group worked the same number of hours as men, mothers worked fewer hours than other groups of women, and substantially fewer hours than fathers.

Some research also suggests that the connection between work and family operates differently for women and men (e.g. Hinze, 2000) so that even though women

and men report similar levels of work-family conflict, “they may exhibit different behavior patterns in relation to this conflict” (Mennino & Brayfield, 2002, p. 230).

Antecedents of Work-Family Conflict

It is important to notice that in spite of the use of terms such as causes, predictors or risk factors, most of the studies conducted in this area have not been able to establish causal relationships.

The recent attention given by many scholars on the direction of conflict has revealed that there are different antecedents or predictors of work-to-family conflict and family-to-work conflict. In general, the antecedents of work-to-family conflict are found in the work domain, whereas those of family-to-work conflict reside in the family domain (Byron, 2004; Frone, 2003). However, it is important to stress that the presence of work-family conflict depends on pressures coming from both the work and family domains at the same time (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Pressure from one role produces conflict only when there is pressure from the other role also. Most research, however, has not explored interactions between pressures arising simultaneously from the work and family domains (Greenhaus & Foley, 2007).

Many work-family studies have used demographic characteristics such as gender, age, or age of youngest children as predictors of work-family conflict. Research has also distinguished role characteristics and personal characteristics as antecedents of work-family conflict. This study will include demographic and role characteristics. (For a brief review of personal characteristics see the Appendix D).

Demographic Characteristics

Gender across life stages. Han and Moen in 1999 wrote that "scholars are only beginning to consider the work-family interface as it unfolds over time and across multiple domains" (p. 100). A life course perspective stresses the interdependence between various roles over time (Elder, 1995). According to Moen and Firebaugh (1994) the life course perspective "recognizes the dynamic nature of family roles and circumstances as families and individuals move through their lives" and "these changes in roles, relationships and responsibilities over time produce corresponding changes in family needs, resources, and vulnerabilities" (p. 30). Family life course theory highlights the evolving complexity of work over the course of people's life (For more details about this perspective see the Appendix D).

To include life course variables in the study of gender similarities and differences in the work and family interface may provide important insights. It is not sufficient to treat men and women as two homogeneous groups when studying the influences of gender on work-family issues. Within-gender differences may be as important as between-gender differences to better understand work-family linkages. One of the key factors that creates within-gender differences is the variation in work and family role demands that men and women face during the life course. Karasek's (1979) job-strain model is useful to explain the importance of considering life stages together with gender. His model predicts that stress will be higher in situations where people do not have enough control over the stressful environment. This is the typical case of parents, especially mothers of young children, since little children have higher demands and they are more unpredictable than older children. Lower levels of control over the work and

family interface result in higher levels of work-family conflict. Research supports this model. For example, Cooke and Rousseau (1984) found that work-family conflict increases when children arrive, especially for women.

In one of the few studies that examine gender and life course together, Higgins, Duxbury, and Lee (1994) found an interaction between gender and life-cycle. While levels of work-family conflict were moderately lower for men in each successive life-cycle stage when compared to women, women's levels were similar in the two early life course stages but were then significantly lower in the later life course stage. Another recent study by Allen et al. (2006), suggests that work-family linkages shift subtly over the life course and are influenced by gender. For example, these researchers found that the relationship between job flexibility and both work-family conflict and family-work conflict was weaker for mature women than for mature men, while the opposite happened in the case of job hours. This indicates a clear gender difference for mature workers as it appears that mature women might benefit more from a reduction in job hours whereas mature men might benefit most from increased job flexibility.

Some scholars argue that it is necessary to consider a "parenting divide" in which parents experience greater time pressures than non-parents. One source of the potentially greater work-family conflict experienced by parents is the cultural norm of what is acceptable and appropriate for parenting. For a long time women have lived under the pressure of a culture of intensive motherhood, which is labor intensive and child-centered. However, more recently men have begun to experience similar pressures.

Role Characteristics

The model in this study includes four role characteristics as antecedents of work-family conflict: work hours (see Figure 1, Box B), job flexibility (see Figure 1, Box D), work-family programs awareness and use (see Figure 1, Box E), and job responsibility (see Figure 1, Box A). It also includes two antecedents of family-to-work conflict: marital status (see Figure 1, Box H) and time spent in household chores (see Figure 1, Box G). The literature about these important predictors now follows.

Work-to-family: Work hours (see Figure 1, Box B). The amount of hours spent in paid work is the most consistent predictor of work-to-family conflict (e.g. Fu & Shaffer, 2001; Grzywacz & Marks, 2000; Batt & Valcour, 2003). The most commonly measured form of work-family conflict has been time-based conflict (Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 2002). Long work hours have also been negatively associated with the work outcomes of job satisfaction, job retention, and job performance (Phillips-Miller, Campbell, & Morrison, 2000). Negative family outcomes have included increased marital tension (Hughes & Galinsky, 1994), and less positive marital interactions (Doumas, Margolin, & John, 2003). Negative individual outcomes have included decreased personal health and peace (Galinsky, Kim, & Bond, 2001; Phillips-Miller, et al., 2000).

Work-to-Family: Job responsibility (see Figure 1, Box A). Like job hours, increased job responsibility has been associated with greater work-family conflict and with negative work, family and individual outcomes (Sharlach, 2001). For mature workers, those who experienced greater work pressure similarly reported more work-family conflict (Winslow, 2005; Allen et al., 2006) but little is known about the

relationships between work pressure and work, individual and family outcomes for males and females at different life stages.

Work-to-family: Job flexibility (see Figure 1, Box D), Job flexibility in place and time has consistently been associated with decreased work-family conflict, increased work-family fit and positive work, personal, and family outcomes (Hill, Martinson, & Ferris, 2004; Barnett, 1994). Positive work outcomes included enhanced job satisfaction, job relations, job commitment, retention and morale (Meyer, 1997; Clark, 2001). Positive family outcomes included decreased job-spouse conflict, job-parent conflict, and enhanced job-homemaker conflict (Aryee, 1992). Positive individual outcomes included enhanced personal health and life satisfaction (Glass & Finley, 2002).

Work-to-family: Work-family programs (see Figure 1, Box E). Work-family programs are usually defined as employer-sponsored programs and policies that are designed to help employees manage work and personal life demands (see Glass & Finley, 2002; Lobel, 1999). They are usually associated with positive outcomes including greater organizational commitment (Thompson, Beauvais, & Lyness, 1999) and productivity (Hill, Miller, Weiner, & Colihan, 1998). But access to (Galinsky & Bond, 1996) and use of (Scharlach, 2001) work-family programs were not associated with decreased work-family conflict. Several studies about work-family programs (Montenegro, Fisher, & Remez, 2002; Shellenbarger, 2005; Tolbert & Moen, 1998) failed to analyze whether these programs were associated with positive outcomes at specific life stages.

There are evidences in the literature of gender differences in the utilization of work-to-family programs but the findings are not conclusive. For example, intention to use them and practical utilization is higher among women than among men (Blair-Loy &

Wharton, 2002; Kossek, Barber, & Winters, 1999). Moreover, women are less likely to feel resentment if they need to work more because of another worker's family obligations (Hegtvedt, Clay-Warner, & Ferrigno, 2003). Women in general view work-family policies more positively than men (Parker & Allen, 2001). Finally, women more than men, consider job sharing and child care important (Frone & Yardley, 1996; Hill, Hawkins, Martinson, & Ferris, 2003).

Organizations in general seem to be more willing to provide formal support to women (Barham, Gottlieb, & Kelloway, 1998), and men in general use more informal arrangement with their managers (Hall, 1989). (For more information about this topic see Appendix D).

Family-to-work: Marital status (see Figure 1, Box H). Few studies have specifically looked at marital status as a factor in the work-family experience for workers of different ages and gender (e.g. Allen et al., 2006). However, job-spouse conflict has been analyzed in several studies as an important dimension of work-family conflict (Aryee, 1992; Frone & Rice, 1987; Swanson & Power, 1999). Marital status did not impact workload, income, job satisfaction or job involvement in a study comparing married and unmarried women. However, married women with children had higher scores on measures of self-esteem and life satisfaction and lower scores on measures of depression than married women without children and unmarried women (Roskies, & Carrier, 1994).

Family-to-work: Time spent in household chores (see Figure 1, Box G). Employed women are spending less time in household work while employed men are spending more time (Bond, Galinsky, & Swanberg, 1998). However, a significant gender

gap in household labor time remains (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson, 2000). Role strain predicts that role conflict may be the result of overload when people perform multiple roles. Current trends in the division of labor would suggest that time spent in household labor is increasingly a source of conflict for men but that it still is for women as well. Frone et al. (1992) found that family involvement is associated with family-to-work conflict. Similarly, Hill et al. (2004a), found that a higher level of participation in the family would usually increase the level of family-to-work conflict.

Consequences of Work-Family Conflict

In the model of this study consequences of work-family conflict have been divided in two main groups: work-family fit and individual, family, and work consequences.

Work-Family Fit

The concept of work-family fit (see Figure 1, Box I) does not assume an inherent conflict between work and family but it is an evaluation of perceived success in integrating work and family life. The perception that the work-family interface demands more than an individual's available resources depends upon the assessment of how demands hinder, or resources enhance the ability to integrate these roles (Voydanoff, 2004). It is important to stress that studies found work-family fit to be strongly and negatively related to work-family conflict, but some individuals may have high work-family conflict yet perceive a successful fit between work and family life (Voydanoff, 2002). Very few studies (e.g. Allen et al., 2006) have specifically evaluated and compared perceptions of work-family fit for males and females at different life stages. (For more information see Appendix C).

Individual, Family, and Work Consequences

Work-family conflict has been associated with negative work, individual, and family outcomes in numerous studies of the work-family interface. However, most studies have not distinguished relationships based on the age of the worker.

The relevant outcomes of work-family conflict can be divided into those that concern the individual (see Figure 1, Box L), those that mainly concern the family (see Figure 1, Boxes M and N), and those that primarily concern the workplace (see Figure 1, Boxes J and K).

At the level of the individual, outcomes involve general mental and physical health and well-being of the person that is experiencing the conflict (Grzywacz, 2000). They also include dissatisfaction with life (Adams, King, & King, 1996), depression (Frone, Russell, & Barnes, 1996), stress (Anderson, Coffey, & Byerly, 2002), and a low quality of life (Higgins, Duxbury, & Irving, 1992). In the model of this study Life Success (see Figure 1, Box L) is the only individual outcome measured.

Work-family conflict affects not only the individual but also his or her family life. In fact, both forms of conflict have been shown to predict lower levels of family satisfaction (Ayree, Fields, D., & Luk, 1999; Carlson & Kacmar, 2000). Moreover, work-to-family conflict predicts poor performance in the family roles such as destructive parenting tendencies (Stewart & Barling, 1996) or in increased family-related absenteeism and tardiness (Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1997). In the model of this study two family outcomes have been measured: Marital Success (see Figure 1, Box M) and Parenting Success (see Figure 1, Box N).

Work-family conflict affects outcomes in the work domain and both directions of conflict have a negative influence on affective reactions to an individual's job such as job satisfaction (Anderson et al., 2002). Family-to-work conflict predicts higher levels of job distress (Frone et al., 1992) and it predicts how effective workers are at their jobs (Anderson et al., 2002). In the model of this study two work outcomes have been measured: Job Satisfaction (see Figure 1, Box J) and Work Success (see Figure 1, Box K).

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The model used in this study (see Figure 1) is similar to the one used by Allen et al. (2006), but it expands the number of groups included in the analysis to more thoroughly investigate the effects of gender and life course stages in the work-family interface. Most of the paths in this model have been tested elsewhere (see Aryee et al., 1999; Frone, et al., 1992; Hill et al., 2004a, Allen et al., 2006).

In 1990 Lambert suggested that in order to properly assess gender differences in how men and women respond to the condition of their work it would be necessary to simultaneously study both men and women. He stressed that researchers should use multivariate techniques such as multiple regression, path analysis, and structural equation modeling to fully capture this complexity. Following his suggestion and the lead of other researchers (e.g., Allen et al., 2006) this study will use structural equation modeling to test the following hypotheses and research questions:

H1: The proposed work-family interface model will fit the global data.

H2: The same work-family interface model will fit a two-group model based on gender.

- H3: The same work-family interface model will fit a six-group model based on family life stage.*
- H4: The same work-family interface model will fit six two-group models based on gender by family life stage.*
- R1: How will the means of work-family interface model variables differ for males and females?*
- R2: How will the means of work-family interface model variables differ for workers at different family life stages?*
- R3: How will the means of work-family interface model variables differ for male and female workers at different family life stages?*
- R4: How will the strength of the path coefficients in the work-family interface model differ for male and female workers?*
- R5: How will the strength of the path coefficients in the work-family interface model differ for workers at different family life stages?*
- R6: How will the strength of the path coefficients in the work-family interface model differ for male and female workers at different family life stages?*

Method

Data came from the *IBM 2004 Global Work and Life Issues Survey*. A sample of respondents was drawn from 79 countries. The questionnaire was translated into 12 different languages and was administered over the Internet. This dataset provides valuable information about work-family variables in many different countries. Previous research (Hill et al., 2004a) provides support "for the possibility of a transportable cross-cultural rather than a culturally specific view of the work-family interface" (p. 1310).

The sample was stratified by country and by gender. Altogether 97,644 employees (31% of the total IBM population) were invited to participate and 41,813 responded, for a participation rate of 43%. Participants were from Europe (42%), United States (26%), Asia/Pacific (19%), Latin America (8%), and Canada (6%). The types of jobs reported were indicative of the high level of skills needed by IBM: information/technology professionals (19%), hardware/software engineers (18%), sales/marketing (15%), product support (8%), finance (6%), consultants (7%), human resources (3%), manufacturing (2%), and other job categories (22%). All job levels were represented in the sample: professionals (81%), managers (15%), and executives (4%). The overall sample was 60% male and 40% female with an average age of 43, an average tenure with IBM of 13 years, and an average of 1.97 children (For sample demographic at different life stage see Table 1).

Description of Measures

Family Life Stage was operationalized into six groups: no children (workers age 35 or less without children), first parenthood (only one child age 1 or less), family with preschool child (youngest child age 2-5), family with school child (youngest child age 6-12), family with adolescents (youngest child 13-17), empty nest (workers age 50 or more without children living at home). Gender was also included to see how it interacted with life stage variables.

The first observed variables in the model (See Figure 1, Box I) measured a basic family characteristic of the respondents: being married. *Married* was a single-item measure. The second variable was a measure of involvement in the family. *Time Spent in Household Chores* (See Figure 1, Box H) was measured by the question, "Estimate how

many hours you spend in the following activities during a typical week. (Make an average per week estimate covering the last 6 months)".

Work hours (See Figure 1, Box B) were measured by the question, "How many hours per week do you TYPICALLY work for IBM? (Please make an average per week estimate covering the last 6 months)?" *Job Flexibility* (See Figure 1, Box D) was a latent construct with three indicators. The first indicator was measured by reverse coding the question, "How much flexibility (personal control) do you have in selecting WHERE you do your work (home customer, IBM office, etc.)?" Ratings ranged from 1 = *no flexibility* to 5 = *complete flexibility*. The second indicator used this same response scale and asked, "How much flexibility (personal control) do you have in selecting WHEN you do your work (scheduling the hours you work, the time of day, etc.?)" The third indicator was measured by the question, "Working from home at least one day per week is acceptable in my work group." Ratings ranged from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*. *Work-Family Programs* (See Figure 1, Box E) was measured by reverse coding the question, "Which statement best describes your awareness and use of company "work/life" options?" (1 = *I am aware of them and have used them*, 2 = *I am aware of them but have not used them*, 3 = *I am not aware of IBM's work/life options*).

Work-to-Family Conflict (See Figure 1, Box C) was a latent construct with responses to five items about ways that work interferes with family life. The question stem was, "In the last 6 months, how many times, if any, have the following happened to you?" A sample item is, "Missed all or part of a scheduled vacation for work reasons (1 = *never*, 2 = *once*, 3 = *twice*, 4 = *3-4 times*, 5 = *5-9 times*, 6 = *10-19 times*, 7 = *20-29 times*, 8 = *30-49 times*, 9 = *50+ times*)." *Family-to-Work Conflict* (See Figure 1, Box F)

was measured by a single item, "How often do you feel drained when you come to work because of personal/ family pressures and problems?") *Work-Family Fit* (See Figure 1, Box G) was measured by a single item, "How easy or difficult is it for you to manage the demands of your work and personal/family life?" Ratings ranged from 1 = *very easy* to 5 = *very difficult*.

Job Satisfaction (See Figure 1, Box J) was measured by reverse coding the question, "Considering everything, how satisfied are you with your job?" Ratings ranged from 1= *very satisfied* to 5 = *very dissatisfied*. *Work Success* (See Figure 1, Box K), *Life Success* (See Figure 1, Box L), *Marital Success* (See Figure 1, Box M), and *Parenting Success* (See Figure 1, Box N) were measured with single items following the stem, "All in all, how successful do you feel in each of the following:" The items were: (1) your work life, (2) your personal life, (3) your relationship with you spouse/partner, (4) your relationship(s) with your child(ren).

Each item was rated on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *extremely successful* to 7 = *extremely unsuccessful* and was reverse coded. We used a seven-point scale instead of the typical five-point scale to achieve greater variability. As a caveat, the ideal would have been to use established work-family scales for all the variables in the analyses. Because the corporate sponsor required that the study contain a limited number of questions in order to reduce the amount of time that respondents would be away from work, some of these scales were not feasible and in some cases, single item measures had to be used for study variables. This kind of trade-off was necessary in order to gain access to broad corporate data (Hill et al., 2004a).

Table 1
Sample Demographics for Workers at Different Life Stages

	No Children (Worker age 35 or less and no kids) <i>n</i> = 9949	First Parenthood (Child age 1 or less) <i>n</i> = 1009	Preschool Child (Child age 2- 5) <i>n</i> = 6827	School Children (Child age 6- 12) <i>n</i> = 6441	Adolescents (Child age 13-17) <i>n</i> = 7062	Empty Nest (Worker age 50 or more, no kids) <i>n</i> = 2610
Average Age	29 yrs	33 yrs	37 yrs	43 yrs	50 yrs	55.49 yrs
% Male	45%	63%	56%	56%	63%	51%
% Female	55%	37%	44%	44%	37%	49%
Tenure at IBM	4.6 yrs	6.2 yrs	9.1 yrs	13.6 yrs	18.5 yrs	21.0 yrs
Average Income	\$71k	\$87k	\$104k	\$115k	\$120k	\$109k
% in Professional Positions	94.8%	89.9%	83.6%	78.5%	77.4%	84%
% in Managerial Positions	4.9%	9.6%	13.6%	16.5%	16.4%	11.5%
% in Executive Positions	.4%	.5%	2.8%	4.9%	6.2%	4.5%
% with Elder Care Responsibilities	27.9%	31.5%	23.5%	27.3%	39.2%	38.1%
% Spouse/partner works full-time	6.4%	11.2%	16.2%	19.5%	21.2%	17.5%
% Spouse/partner works part-time	83.5%	64.3%	57.4%	56%	51.8%	45.5%
% Spouse/partner not employed	10.1%	24.5%	26.4%	24.5%	27.1%	36.9%
% No spouse/partner	69.2%	10.9%	11%	14.6%	16.6%	33%

* Weighted data

Plan for Analysis

In this study a structural equation modeling (SEM) approach will be used. Currently SEM incorporates path analysis with confirmatory factor analysis based on simultaneous equation methods. SEM is a powerful technique for analysis of relationships between endogenous variables and between exogenous and endogenous variables. Therefore it can be used to estimate the relationships in the conceptual model. This approach has several advantages. First, it can give better estimates for bi-directional relationships than the OLS methods. Second, it can give coefficients for direct, indirect, and total effects of variables on each other. Finally, it can deal with any type of variable such as linear, non-linear, and latent (Kline, 1998).

Structural equation modeling will be performed to estimate the work-family interface model proposed in this study (see Figure 1). A single-group model will first be estimated with all the respondents included while ignoring any heterogeneity in the paths that could stem from life stage or gender. It will be verified that this has acceptable goodness-of-fit indices indicating that it is generalizable to the total sample of all IBM employees. The indices that will be considered to evaluate the goodness of fit will be the CFI and the RMSEA. When the RMSEA will be below 0.05 and the CFI above .90 the fit will be considered acceptable.

To capture the possible family life stages differences in all the paths, the model will then be re-estimated with six samples (establishment stage, first parenthood, family with preschool child, family with school child, family with adolescents, family in the middle years). The model will be first estimated without equality constraints on the paths across the six groups. This freely estimated model will serve as the baseline model to be

compared with the subsequent equality model (in which all paths are the same for all family life stages groups) and with subsequent models that each had one path constraint and the others freely estimated. The chi-square differences between the baseline model and other models with equality constraints will be tests of the path equality across groups. The same procedure will be repeated with the six two-group models (one for each life stage comparing males and females).

The tests for the models will use unstandardized path coefficients but the results and tables will report the standardized coefficient to facilitate comparisons.

Because of the large sample size many differences between means may be statistically significant but not meaningful. Therefore, an effect size cut off of .20 was used to identify meaningful differences (Cohen, 1988). The effect size (ES) was calculated using the formula $ES = (M2 - M1) / SD$, where M1 and M2 represent the means of the compared variable in the two groups and SD represents the pooled standard deviation. A mean difference was considered meaningful when the effect size was bigger than .20.

Results

A summary of the main findings of this study have been summarized in Figure 2, at the end of the results section. More detailed information is presented below.

The means, standard deviations, and correlations for all study variables are presented in Table 2. The means comparing male and female workers at different life stages are found in Table 4 through 10. The presentation of the results is framed around the four hypotheses and the six research questions.

R1: How will the means of work-family interface model variables differ for males and females?

Compared to female workers, male workers work significantly more hours ($ES = .26$), and have less understanding/use of work-family programs ($ES = -.29$). Male workers report spending less time in household chores ($ES = -.54$) and are more likely to be married ($ES = .30$). Male workers also reported missing more significant family obligations ($ES = .21$) and dinner ($ES = .22$), and having more interruptions at home because of work ($ES = .40$). A scale using the means and standard deviations of the five indicators (see table 4, B17A, B17C, B17E, B17G, and B17H) of the latent variable work-to-family conflict was created to approximate such latent variable. The approximate work-to-family conflict variable shows that male workers have more work-family conflict than female workers ($ES = .26$) and no meaningful differences in any of the outcomes measured (See table 4).

R2: How will the means of work-family interface model variables differ for workers at different family life stages? (See table 11 for means and standard deviations and 12 for effect sizes).

No Children and Age 35 or Less Stage.

Transition to Parenthood Stage. Compared to workers in the first parenthood stage, workers with no children and age 35 or less report less job responsibility ($ES = -.20$), less job flexibility ($ES = -.20$), less flexibility in selecting where they do their work ($ES = -.21$), and less understanding/use of work-family programs ($ES = -.24$). They are less likely to be married ($ES = -1.51$). Workers with no children and age 35 or less report that it is more difficult to manage the demands of work-family life ($ES = .23$), they have

less family-to-work-conflict ($ES = -.31$) and they experience less life success than workers in the first parenthood stage.

Preschool Children Stage. Workers with no children and age 35 or less report less job responsibility ($ES = -.37$), less job flexibility ($ES = -.36$), less flexibility in selecting where ($ES = -.36$) or when ($ES = -.23$) they work than workers with preschool children.

They also report that to work from home is less acceptable in their office ($ES = -.28$). They have less understanding/use of work-family programs ($ES = -.46$) than workers with preschool children. They are less likely to be married ($ES = -1.51$). Workers with no children and age 35 or less report that it is easier to manage the demands of work/family life ($ES = .23$) and they have less family-to-work-conflict ($ES = -.34$) than workers with preschool children.

Elementary Children Stage. Workers with no children and age 35 or less report less job responsibility ($ES = -.51$), less job flexibility ($ES = -.46$), less flexibility in selecting where ($ES = -.45$) or when ($ES = -.27$) they work, and less understanding/use of work-family programs ($ES = -.55$) than workers with elementary children. In their work environment it is also less acceptable to work from home ($ES = -.38$) than for workers with elementary children but it is easier for them to manage the demand of work/family life ($ES = .20$). They are less likely to be married ($ES = -1.33$). Workers with no children and age 35 or less report less family-to-work-conflict ($ES = -.26$) and less job satisfaction ($ES = -.20$) than workers with elementary children.

Teenagers Children Stage. Compared to workers with teenagers children, workers with no children and age 35 or less report less job responsibility ($ES = -.56$), less job

Figure 2
Life Stages Characteristics

- 1) No Children and age 35 or less**

In this life stage people (on average) have less job responsibility (but work more hours), job flexibility, knowledge and use of work-family programs, job satisfaction, job success, and life success than people in any other life stage. However, they also enjoy the lowest levels of family-to-work and work-to-family conflict. In short, in this life stage problems and satisfactions are still experienced in smaller amounts than later in life. A key characteristic of this life stage is that gender differences are smaller than in later stages. The only two meaningful differences among genders found in this study are that men suffer more interruptions at home because of work related issues and they do less household chores.
- 2) Transition to Parenthood
(One child age 1 or less)**

Similarly to those in the first life stage, people who are becoming parents for the first time still experience less job responsibility, job flexibility, and knowledge and use of work-family programs than people in later stages. However, at this time of life, people begin to experience more work-to-family and family-to-work conflict while at the same time their levels of life, marital, and parenting success increase substantially, even if work success and satisfaction are still low. In this life stage the arrival of children seems to increase positive family or life outcomes (but not work outcomes), while at the same time creates a new environment that increases work-family conflicts. This is also the life stage in which gender differences increase substantially. The difference in work hours between male and females increases four times from the previous life stage. Similarly males experience substantially more work-to-family conflict than females (two times more than in the previous life stage), reduce even more their participation in household labor, and use fewer work-family programs.
- 3) Preschool Children
(Youngest child age 2-5)**

Parents with preschool children have still less job responsibility than people in later stages but they have more than people in the earlier stages. In this life stage people experience the lowest levels of work-family fit and one of the lowest levels of marital success, while at the same time they report the highest levels of work-to-family and family-to-work conflict. In this life stage, young children seem to make it harder for parents to keep things under control. This is the stage in which gender differences in work hours and work-to-family conflict reach their highest point. At the same time, male workers spend even less time in household chores and use less work-family programs than in the previous stage. However, at this stage female workers experience more family-to-work conflict than male workers. Male workers also report more job responsibility at this stage.
- 4) Elementary Children
(Youngest child age 6-12)**

In this life stage people have more job responsibility than most other groups (with the exception of people with teenagers children). They also experience high levels of work-to-family and family-to-work conflict. They also have less marital and parenting success than people in any other life stage, but their average work success and satisfaction is one of the highest. At this stage gender differences in work hours and work-to-family conflict decrease to a level very similar to the transition to parenthood stage. However, differences in family-to-work conflict and access-use of work-family programs are similar to the previous stage, that of parents with preschool children. The gender difference in time spent in household chores continues to increase.
- 5) Teenagers Children
(Youngest child age 13-17)**

This is the life stage when people have more job responsibility and more hours worked than people in any other life stage. People with teenagers children experience more work-family fit than those in any other stage (with the exception of the empty nest stage). They also have among the highest levels of job success and satisfaction. At this stage gender differences in work-to-family conflict decrease to levels similar to the first life stage. Difference in access-use of work-family programs decrease to levels similar to the transition to parenthood stages and family-to-work conflict does not present meaningful differences anymore. The only exception is time spent in household chores, that reaches its highest point (but it is only slightly higher than in the previous stage).
- 6) Empty Nest
(No Children and age 50 or more)**

In the empty nest stage people enjoy the lowest levels of work-to-family and family-to-work conflict. At the same time they have the highest levels of marital success, job success and job satisfaction, the second highest level of life satisfaction and the highest level of work-family fit. This is the time when people can enjoy life a little more. Gender differences in this life stage are small and some are only typical of this stage. For example, this is the only life stage in which males report managing better the demands of work/family life and losing less sleep because of work. Female workers also report more family-to-work conflict. At this stage, male workers still report less time spent in household work and less access-use of work-family programs, but the difference is smaller than in the previous stage.

Table 2
Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations for Model Variables^a (N = 41,813)

Variables	M	SD	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)
1. Time spent in HH Chores (1 = low, 8 = high)	3.91	1.34	1																				
2. Married (0 = not married, 1 = married)	.66	.47	-.007	1																			
3. Job responsibility (1 = non-mgr, 2 = mgr, 3 = exec)	1.19	.46	-.103	.128	1																		
4. Job hours (17.5 = low, 85 = high)	49.19	10.06	-.156	.009	.290	1																	
5. Work-family programs (1 = never, 3 = heard of and used)	2.16	.75	.130	.119	.073	-.087	1																
6. Family-work conflict (1 = low, 5 = high)	2.34	.84	.095	.049	-.017	.025	.023	1															
7. Job satisfaction (1 = low, 5 = high)	3.67	.87	-.066	.053	.103	.017	.140	-.120	1														
8. Work Success (1 = low, 7 = high)	4.80	.99	-.055	.056	.131	.066	.121	-.140	.813	1													
9. Life Success (1 = low, 7 = high)	5.03	1.08	.033	.167	-.001	-.182	.093	-.227	.278	.289	1												
10. Marital Success (1 = low, 7 = high)	5.36	1.23	.006	.182	-.017	-.118	.040	-.250	.161	.163	.690	1											
11. Parenting Success (1 = low, 7 = high)	5.50	1.08	.069	.064	-.036	-.178	.087	-.191	.194	.191	.623	.583	1										
12. Flex-Place (1 = low, 5 = high)	3.16	1.15	-.028	.101	.103	.038	.298	-.063	.281	.241	.143	.075	.114	1									
13. Flex-Time (1 = low, 5 = high)	3.09	.99	-.031	.052	.015	-.073	.220	-.080	.288	.224	.163	.087	.133	.629	1								
14. Work from home acceptable (1 = low, 5 = high)	3.58	1.32	.024	.071	.049	-.033	.255	-.058	.193	.167	.121	.073	.105	.559	.381	1							
15. Missed family obligations (b17a) (1 = low, 9 = high)	2.87	1.69	-.054	.050	.140	.365	-.110	.127	-.147	-.095	-.225	-.169	-.220	-.110	-.186	-.114	1						
16. Missed scheduled vacations (b17c) (1 = low, 9 = high)	1.88	1.16	-.027	.022	.140	.350	-.043	.091	-.089	-.051	-.208	-.162	.190	-.025	-.099	-.059	.407	1					
17. Interruption at home (b17e) (1 = low, 9 = high)	3.96	2.33	-.080	.076	.196	.324	-.046	.018	-.035	.026	-.107	-.077	-.105	.064	-.057	-.005	.365	.295	1				
18. Missed regular dinner (b17g) (1 = low, 9 = high)	4.58	2.56	-.087	.010	.191	.422	-.068	.026	-.088	-.025	-.213	-.153	-.199	-.038	-.132	-.068	.446	.316	.414	1			
19. Missed sleep (b17h) (1 = low, 9 = high)	4.27	2.38	.036	.008	.106	.307	-.016	.188	-.215	-.147	-.227	-.155	-.171	-.062	-.159	-.046	.372	.288	.314	.477	1		
20. Managing work-life (1 = hard, 5 = easy)	2.90	.93	-.017	-.063	-.103	-.283	.073	-.234	.264	.192	.320	.238	.266	.200	.280	.155	-.382	-.252	-.211	-.341	-.352	1	
21. Work-life balance (1 = low, 7 = high)	3.52	1.13	.022	.071	-.049	-.284	.137	-.226	.425	.375	.551	.405	.480	.243	.305	.204	-.393	-.272	-.201	-.354	-.393	.582	1

^aCorrelations larger than .011 are significant at $p < .05$. Correlations larger than .014 are significant at $p < .01$.

flexibility (ES = -.40), less flexibility in selecting where (ES = -.39) or when (ES = -.22) they work, and less understanding/use of work-family programs (ES = -.47). In their work environment it is also less acceptable to work from home (ES = -.38) and they report achieving less work-life balance than workers with teenagers. They are less likely to be married (ES = -1.25). Workers with no children and age 35 or less report less job satisfaction (ES = -.20) and less work success (ES = -.21) than workers with teenagers.

Empty Nest Stage. Compared to workers in the empty nest stage, workers with no children and age 35 or less report less job responsibility (ES = -.40), less job flexibility (ES = -.41), less flexibility in selecting where (ES = -.40) or when (ES = -.23) they work, and less understanding/use of work-family programs (ES = -.52). They also report that it is less acceptable for them to work from home (ES = -.44) and they find harder to manage the demands of work-life (ES = -.22). They have less work-family fit (ES = -.32) and less success in keeping work-family balance (ES = -.33) than workers in the empty nest stage. Workers with no kids and age 35 or less report missing more family obligations (ES = .31) and more dinners (ES = .39). They are less likely to be married (ES = -0.77). Workers with no children and age 35 or less report more work-to-family conflict (ES = .25) and less work-family fit (ES = -.32) than workers in the empty nest stage. They also report less job satisfaction (ES = -.20) and less work success (ES = -.27) and life success (ES = -.25).

Transition to Parenthood Stage

Preschool Children Stage. Compared to workers with preschool children workers in the first parenthood stage report less understanding/use of work-family programs (ES = -.22) and more marital success (ES = .26).

Elementary Children Stage. Compared to workers with elementary children, workers in the transition to parenthood stage report less job responsibility (ES = -.35), less job flexibility (ES = -.26), less flexibility in selecting where to work (ES = -.25), and less understanding/use of work-family programs (ES = -.30). They also report that working from home is less acceptable (ES = -.20) and that they experience more marital success (ES = .30) than workers with elementary children.

Teenagers Children Stage. Compared to workers with teenagers children, workers in the transition to parenthood stage report less job responsibility (ES = -.33), less job flexibility (ES = -.21), and less understanding/use of work-family programs (ES = -.21). They find more difficult to manage the demand of work/family life (ES = -.27), and they report that working from home is less acceptable (ES = -.20). They also report less work-family fit (ES = -.24) than workers with teenagers.

Empty Nest Stage. Compared to workers in the empty nest stage, workers in the transition to parenthood stage report less job responsibility (ES = -.24), less job flexibility (ES = -.22), and less understanding/use of work-family programs (ES = -.26). For them it is less acceptable to work from home (ES = -.26) and they miss more family obligations (ES = .41), dinners (ES = .31), and suffer more interruptions at home because of work (ES = .27). They are more likely to be married (ES = .56). They also report more work-to-family conflict (ES = .31), more family-to-work conflict (ES = .37) but less work-family fit (ES = -.39) and less work success (ES = -.23) than workers in the empty nest stage. They struggle more to manage the demands of work/family life (ES = -.46) and report less work/family balance (ES = -.26)

Preschool Children Stage.

Elementary Children Stage. There are no meaningful differences between workers with elementary children, and workers with preschool children.

Teenagers Children Stage. Compared to workers with teenagers, workers with preschool children report less job hours (ES = -.20). Workers with preschool children report more family-to-work conflict (ES = .21) and less work-family fit (ES = -.24). They also have more troubles managing the demands of work/family life (ES = -.31)

Empty Nest Stage. Compared to workers in the empty nest stage, workers with preschool children are more likely to be married (ES = .56). They also report more work-to-family conflict (ES = .32), more family-to-work conflict (ES = .39) but less work-family fit (ES = -.38) and less marital success (ES = -.29) than workers in the empty nest stage. Workers with preschool children miss more family obligations (ES = .40), dinners (ES = .34), and suffer more interruptions at home because of work (ES = .26). They struggle more to manage the demands of work/family life (ES = -.49) and report less work/family balance (ES = -.21)

Elementary Children Stage.

Teenagers Children Stage. Compared to workers with teenagers, workers with elementary children struggle more to manage the demands of work/family life (ES = -.24) than workers with teenagers.

Empty Nest Stage. Compared to workers in the empty nest stage, workers with elementary children report more work-to-family conflict (ES = .33), more family-to-work conflict (ES = .32) but less work-family fit (ES = -.31) and less marital success (ES = -.32) than workers in the empty nest stage. Workers with elementary children miss more

family obligations ($ES = .47$), dinners ($ES = .31$), and suffer more interruptions at home because of work ($ES = .24$) than workers in the empty nest stage. They struggle more to manage the demands of work/family life ($ES = -.42$) than workers in the empty nest stage.

Teenagers Children Stage.

Empty Nest Stage. When compared to workers in the empty nest stage, workers with teenagers are more likely to be married ($ES = -.38$). They also report more work-to-family conflict ($ES = .26$) and more family-to-work conflict ($ES = .20$). Workers with teenagers miss more family obligations ($ES = .30$) and dinners ($ES = .25$) than workers in the empty nest stage.

R3: How will the means of work-family interface model variables differ for male and female workers at different family life stages? (See Table 3 for a comparison of effect sizes among life stage groups. See Table 4 through 10 for means and standard deviation of male and female workers in each life stage).

For workers with no kids and age 35 or less, the only two meaningful differences satisfying the chosen cut off of .20, among all the variables measured, were time spent in household chores in which male report less involvement ($ES = -.20$) (See Table 5) and interruptions at home in which male workers report a higher level of interruptions ($ES = .38$).

For workers in the first parenthood stage, meaningful differences between male and female workers are more common. Among work characteristics male report significantly more hours worked outside the home ($ES = .43$) but less understanding/use of work-family programs ($ES = -.29$). In this stage, males also report less time spent in

household chores (ES = -.47), missing more significant family obligations (ES = .26) and dinners (ES = .43), and having more interruptions at home because of work (ES = .49). The approximate work-to-family conflict measure shows that male workers have more work-family conflict than female workers (ES = .42). Still no significant differences are found among the measured outcomes (See Table 6).

For workers with preschool children the number and size of meaningful differences between male and female workers continue to increase. Among work characteristics males report more hours worked outside the home (ES = .65) and more job responsibility (ES = .20) but even less understanding/use of work-family programs (ES = -.52). In this stage, males report less time spent in household chores when compared to females (ES = -.64). Male workers report missing more significant family obligations (ES = .37), dinners (ES = .57), and having more interruptions at home because of work (ES = .44). The approximate work-to-family conflict measure shows that male workers have more work-family conflict than female workers (ES = .49) but less family-to-work conflict (ES = -.23).

In spite of these increased differences among male and female workers, at this stage we still do not find any significant differences in the measured outcomes (See Table 7).

For workers with school children, males report more work hours (ES = .48) and less understanding/use of work-family programs (ES = -.50). In this stage, males report even less time spent in household chores when compared to females (ES = -.76). Male workers report missing more significant family obligations (ES = .27), dinners (ES = .41), and having more interruptions at home because of work (ES = .41).

The approximate work-to-family conflict measure shows that male workers have more work-family conflict than female workers ($ES = .36$) but less family-to-work conflict ($ES = -.23$) (See Table 8).

For workers with teenagers, males report less understanding/use of work-family programs ($ES = -.36$). In this stage, males report even less time spent in household chores when compared to females ($ES = -.78$).

No significant differences are found in work-to-family conflict, family-to-work conflict, work-family fit or any of the outcomes (See Table 9), but male workers report missing more significant family obligations ($ES = .23$) and having more interruptions at home because of work ($ES = .43$).

For workers with no kids at home and age 50 or more (empty nest stage), males report less understanding/use of work-family programs ($ES = -.26$). In this stage, males report less time spent in household chores when compared to females ($ES = -.60$). Males experience less family-to-work conflict ($ES = -.24$) but no significant differences are found in work-to-family conflict, work-family fit or any of the outcomes (See Table 10). Male workers report having more interruptions at home because of work ($ES = .33$) but female report missing more sleep than male workers because of work ($ES = -.26$).

H1: The proposed work-family interface model will fit the global data

The first hypothesis was supported. The χ^2 is significant ($\chi^2 = 13312$, $df = 149$, $p < .000$) the CFI, TLI, and RMSEA are within acceptable ranges (CFI = .942, TLI = .910, RMSEA = .0460), (Kline, 1998). All eighteen paths were significant in the predicted direction (See Figure 3).

Table 3

Effect Sizes for Male and Female Workers (global sample) and across the Six Life Stage Groups on Variables of the Work-Family Interface.

Variables	Male- Female	No Children	Transition Parenthood	Preschool Children	Elementary Children	Teenagers Children	Empty Nest
JOB CHARACTERISTICS							
A: Job Responsibility	0.15	-0.04	0.13	0.20*	0.15	0.19	0.00
B: Job Hours (Hours Per Week)	0.26*	0.10	0.43*	0.65*	0.48*	0.18	-0.10
C: WORK-TO-FAMILY CONFLICT	0.26*	0.19	0.42*	0.49*	0.36*	0.19	0.01
B17A: Missed significant family obligation	0.21*	0.10	0.26*	0.37*	0.27*	0.23*	0.02
B17C: Missed scheduled vacation	0.09	0.10	0.12	0.19	0.11	0.08	-0.06
B17E: Interruption at home	0.40*	0.38*	0.49*	0.44*	0.41*	0.43*	0.33*
B17G: Missed regular dinner	0.22*	0.12	0.43*	0.55*	0.41*	0.11	-0.01
B17H: Missed sleep	-0.04	-0.04	0.12	0.12	0.03	-0.14	-0.26*
D: JOB FLEXIBILITY	0.06	0.09	0.07	-0.04	-0.04	0.08	0.01
A04A: Flex-Place	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.00	0.01	0.13	0.03
A04B: Flex-Time	0.09	0.14	0.16	-0.02	-0.04	0.10	0.12
B07B: Work from home acceptable	0.02	0.09	-0.02	-0.17	-0.14	-0.05	-0.14
E: Access/Use of Programs	-0.29*	-0.14	-0.29*	0.52*	0.50*	-0.36*	-0.26*
F: FAMILY-TO-WORK CONFLICT	-0.09	0.01	-0.10	-0.23*	-0.21*	-0.17	-0.24*
FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS							
G: Time Spent in HH Chores	-0.54*	-0.20*	-0.47*	-0.64*	-0.76*	-0.78*	-0.60*
H: Married (% Yes)	0.30*	0.00	0.23*	0.16*	0.26*	0.46*	0.51*
I: WORK-FAMILY FIT	-0.01	-0.04	0.00	-0.00	-0.02	-0.04	0.00
B01: Manage demands of work/family life	-0.02	-0.05	0.06	0.06	0.08	-0.03	-0.03
B24E: Success in work-life balance	-0.01	-0.03	-0.04	-0.05	-0.10	-0.04	0.04
WORK OUTCOMES							
J: Job Satisfaction	-0.06	-0.01	-0.18	-0.10	-0.09	-0.09	-0.13
K: Work Success	0.07	0.07	0.03	0.13	0.04	0.02	0.00
PERSONAL OUTCOMES							
L: Life Success	-0.01	-0.04	-0.02	-0.02	-0.06	-0.03	0.05
FAMILY OUTCOMES							
M: Marital Success	0.02	-0.11	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.09	0.06
N: Parenting Success	-0.11	0.11	0.05	-0.08	-0.16	-0.13	-0.18

$$^a \text{ES (Effect Size)} = \frac{M_2 - M_1}{\text{SD Pooled}}$$

* ES \geq .20

H2: The same work-family interface model will fit a two-group model based on gender.

The second hypothesis was generally supported. The work-family interface model fit a separate path model for males and females with acceptable parameters ($\chi^2 = 13108$, $df = 298$, $p < .000$; CFI = .943, TLI = .911, RMSEA = .0324). For female workers sixteen of the eighteen paths were significant in the predicted direction. For male workers sixteen of the eighteen paths also were significant in the predicted direction (See Figure 4 and Table 19).

H3: The same work-family interface model will fit a six-group model based on family life stage.

The third hypothesis was generally supported. The work-family interface model fit a six-group model based on family life stages with acceptable parameters ($\chi^2 = 12095$, $df = 894$, $p < .000$; CFI = .941, TLI = .908, RMSEA = .0191). For workers with no kids and age 35 or less fourteen of the eighteen paths were significant in the predicted direction (See Table 13). For workers in the first parenthood stage twelve of the eighteen paths were significant in the predicted direction (See Table 14).

For workers with preschool children, fourteen of the eighteen paths were significant in the predicted direction (See Table 15). For workers with school children fourteen of the eighteen paths were significant in the predicted direction (See Table 16). For workers with teenagers fourteen of the eighteen paths were significant in the predicted direction (See Table 17). For workers with no kids at home and age 50 or more (empty nest stage) eleven of the eighteen paths were significant in the predicted direction (See Table 18).

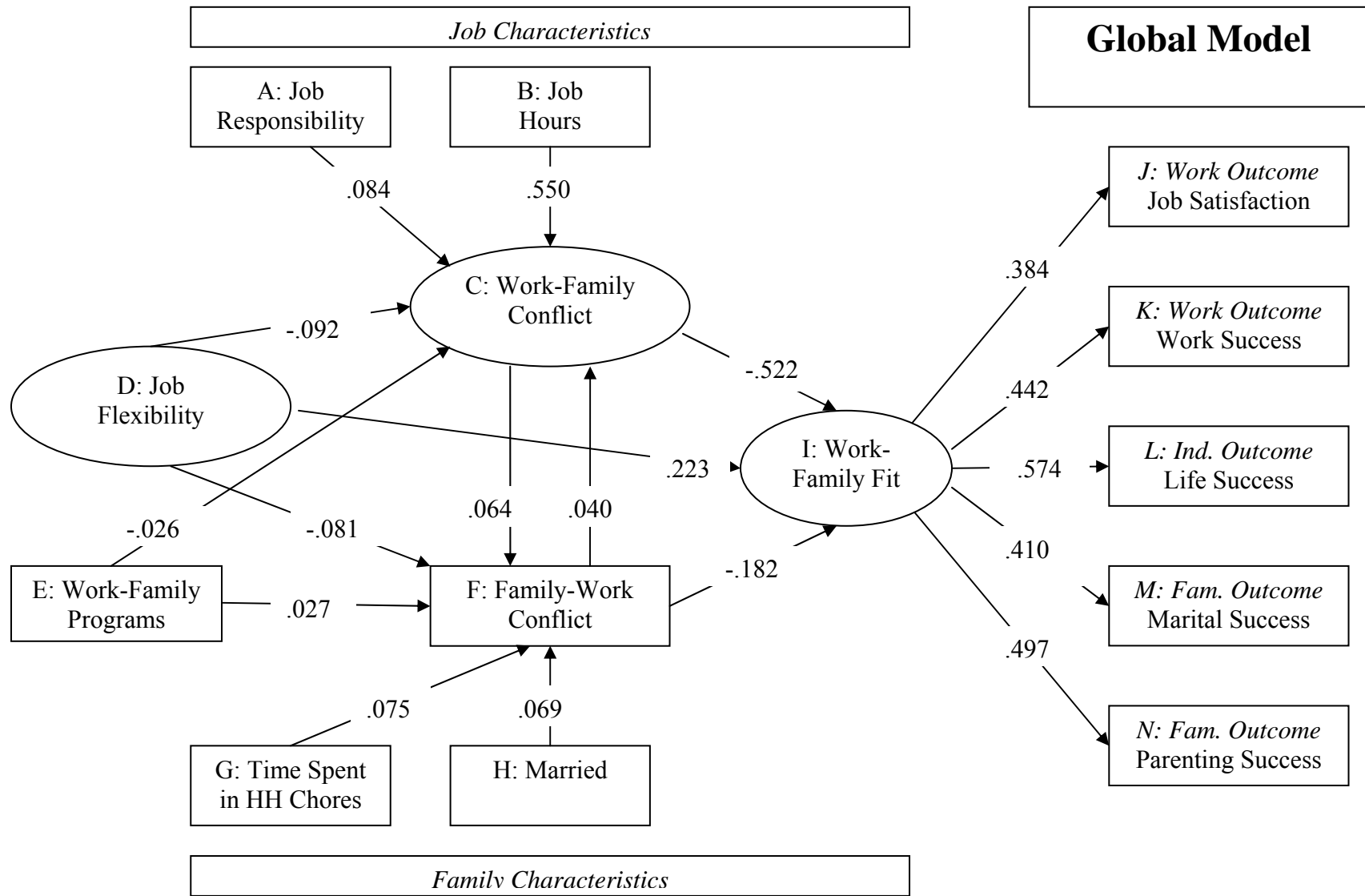
H4: The same work-family interface model will fit six two-group models based on gender by family life stage.

The fourth hypothesis was generally supported. The work-family interface model fit six two-group models based on family life stage by gender with acceptable parameters. The two-group model, male and female workers with no kids and less than 35 years of age presents goodness of fit indexes with acceptable parameters ($\chi^2 = 3253$, $df = 298$, $p < .000$; CFI = .936, TLI = .901, RMSEA = .0316). For workers with no kids and age 35 or less, thirteen of the eighteen paths were significant in the predicted direction for women and twelve of eighteen paths for men (See Table 13).

The two-group model for male and female workers in the first parenthood stage presents goodness of fit indexes with acceptable parameters ($\chi^2 = 563$, $df = 298$, $p < .000$; CFI = .957, TLI = .933, RMSEA = .0297). For workers in the first parenthood stage nine of the eighteen paths were significant in the predicted direction for both women and men (See Table 14).

The two-group model for male and female workers with preschool children presents goodness of fit indexes with acceptable parameters ($\chi^2 = 2291$, $df = 298$, $p < .000$; CFI = .950, TLI = .922, RMSEA = .0313). For workers with preschool children twelve of the eighteen paths were significant in the predicted direction for women and thirteen for men (See Table 15). The two-group model for male and female workers with school children presents goodness of fit indexes with acceptable parameters ($\chi^2 = 2258$, $df = 298$, $p < .000$; CFI = .948, TLI = .919, RMSEA = .0320).

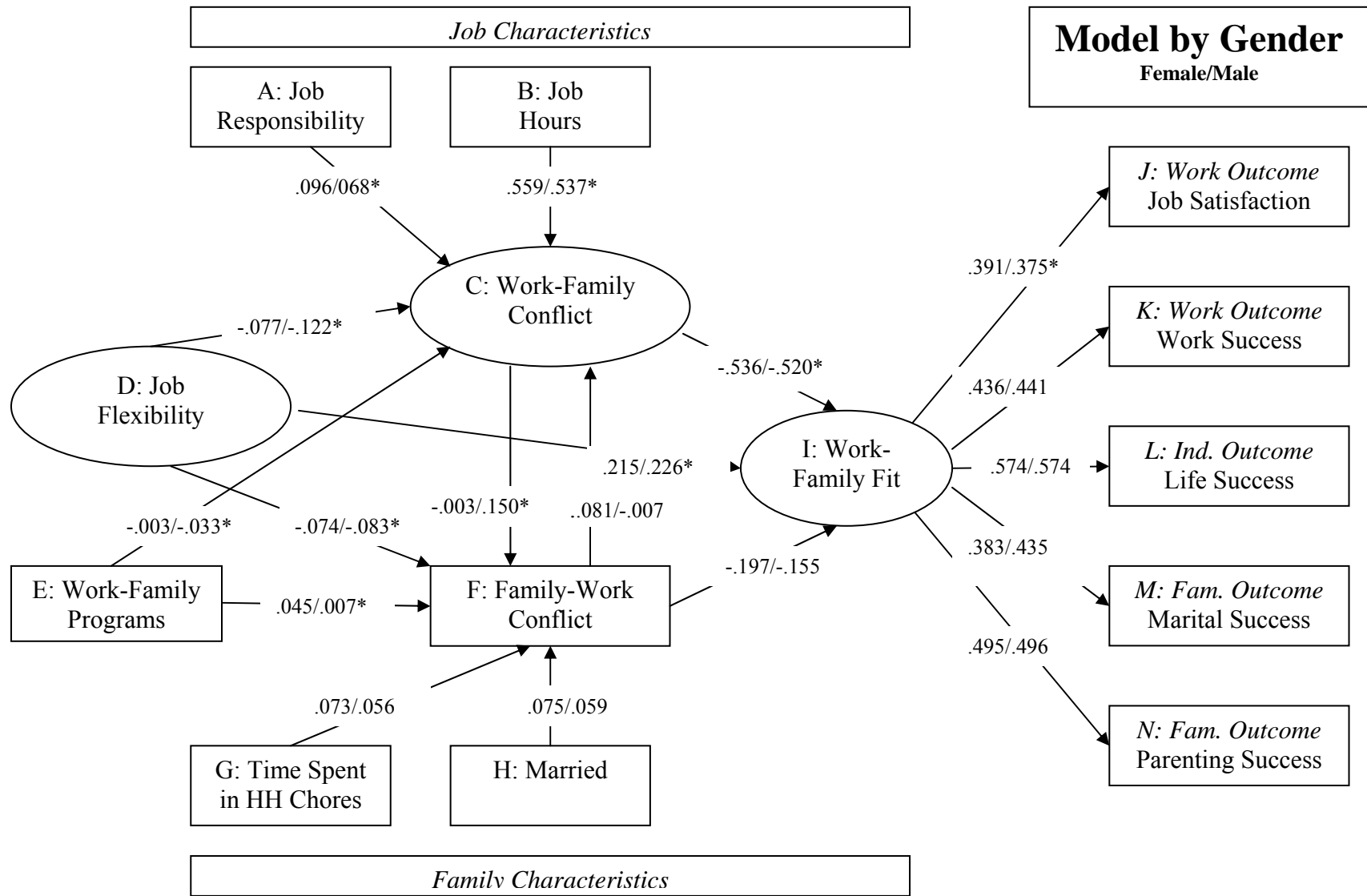
Figure 3
Structural equation modeling standardized parameter estimates for the model of the work-family interface (global sample)



(ns) = not statistically significant ($p > .05$)

^aGlobal Model: $\chi^2 = 13312$, $df = 149$, $p < .000$; CFI = .942, TLI = .910, RMSEA = .046

Figure 4
 Standardized Parameter Estimates for Two Group Model by Gender



* = Significantly different ($p > .05$)

^aT Two Group Model by Gender: $\chi^2 = 13108$, $df = 298$, $p < .000$; CFI = .943, TLI = .911, RMSEA = .0324

For workers with school children twelve of the eighteen paths were significant in the predicted direction for women and fourteen for men (See Table 16).

The two-group model for male and female workers with teenagers presents goodness of fit indexes with acceptable parameters ($\chi^2 = 2813$, $df = 298$, $p < .000$; CFI = .939, TLI = .905, RMSEA = .0346). For workers with teenagers eleven of the eighteen paths were significant in the predicted direction for women and thirteen for men (See Table 17).

The two-group model for male and female workers with no kids and more than 50 years of age (empty nest stage) presents goodness of fit indexes with acceptable parameters ($\chi^2 = 1455$, $df = 298$, $p < .000$; CFI = .918, TLI = .872, RMSEA = .0386). For workers with no kids at home and age 50 or more (empty nest stage) eleven of the eighteen paths were significant in the predicted direction for women and ten for men (See Table 18).

R4: How will the strength of the path coefficients in work-family interface model differ for male and female workers?

The structural equation modeling standardized parameter estimates for male and female workers are reported in Table 19. (Refer back to methodology for tests of group differences). Six paths were not significantly different between males and females. They were time spent in HH chores to family-work conflict (path g), married to family-work conflict (path h), work-family fit to life success (path p), work-family fit to marital success (path q), work-family fit to parenting success (path r), and work-family fit to work success (path o).

Among those paths that were significantly different I will report some of the most notable differences. In the two-groups model the negative relationship of job flexibility to work-family conflict (path c) was strongest for male workers (path coefficient = $-.122$) and weakest for female workers (path coefficient = $-.077$). The positive relationship of work-family programs to family-work conflict (path f) was stronger for female workers (path coefficient = $-.045$) than for male workers (path coefficient = $-.007^{(ns)}$). The relationship of work-family conflict to family-to-work conflict (path i) was positive for males (path coefficient = $.150$) and slightly negative for females (path coefficient = $-.003^{(ns)}$). The relationship of family-to-work conflict to work-family conflict (path j), on the other hand, was slightly negative for males (path coefficient = $.007^{(ns)}$) and positive for females (path coefficient = $-.081$). The negative relationship between family-to-work conflict with work-family fit (path m) was stronger for female workers (path coefficient = $-.197$) than for male workers (path coefficient = $-.155$).

R5: How will the strength of the path coefficients in work-family interface model differ for workers at different family life stages?

The structural equation modeling standardized parameter estimates for the six life stage groups are reported in Table 20. Model Comparison treating the six groups all together shows that three of those paths do not present any significant differences among any groups: the three paths are job flexibility to work-family conflict (path c), job flexibility to family-work conflict (path e), and family-work conflict to work-family conflict (path j). All the other paths present some significant difference among at least two of the groups, even if this analysis is not able to specify which ones. However, we can report the biggest raw differences among any two groups for each significantly

different path (See table 20). The relationship of job responsibility to work-family conflict (path a) ranges from a path coefficient of .58 for workers with teenagers to .111 for workers with school children. The relationship of job hours to work-family conflict (path b) ranges from a path coefficient of .540 for workers with no children and less than 35 years of age to .570 for workers with teenagers. The relationship of work-family program to work-family conflict (path d) ranges from a path coefficient of -.133 for workers in the first parenthood stage to .035^(ns) for workers with school children. The relationship of work-family programs to family-work conflict (path f) ranges from a path coefficient of -.014^(ns) for workers with no children and less than 35 years of age to .067^(ns) for workers in the empty nest stage. The relationship of time spent in household chores to family-work conflict (path g) ranges from a path coefficient of .031^(ns) for workers with no children and less of 35 years of age to .137 for workers in the empty nest stage. The relationship of being married to family-work conflict (path h) ranges from a path coefficient of -.060^(ns) for workers with school children to .038 for workers with no children and less than 35 years of age. The relationship of work-family conflict to family-work conflict (path i) ranges from a path coefficient of .047^(ns) for workers in the empty nest stage to .154^(ns) for workers in the first parenthood stage. The relationship of job flexibility to work-family fit (path k) ranges from a path coefficient of .193 for workers in the first parenthood stage to .242 for workers with preschool children. The relationship of work-family conflict to work-family fit (path l) ranges from a path coefficient of -.493 for workers in the first parenthood stage to -.535 for workers with teenagers. The relationship of family-work conflict to work-family fit (path m) ranges from a path coefficient of -.247 for workers with preschool children to -.137 for workers with no children and less

than 35 years of age. The relationship of work-family fit to job satisfaction (path n) ranges from a path coefficient of -.404 for workers with school children to -.363 for workers with no children and less than 35 years of age. The relationship of work-family fit to life success (path p) ranges from a path coefficient of .530 for workers in the empty nest stage to .606 for workers with school children. The relationship of work-family fit to marital success (path q) ranges from a path coefficient of .380 for workers in the empty nest stage to .454 for workers in the first parenthood stage. The relationship of work-family fit to parenting success (path r) ranges from a path coefficient of .425 for workers in the empty nest stage to .554 for workers in the first parenthood stage. The relationship of work-family fit to work success (path o) ranges from a path coefficient of .393 for workers with no children and less than 35 years of age to .528 for workers with in the first parenthood stage.

R6: How will the strength of the path coefficients in work-family interface model differ for male and female workers at each of the different family life stages?

The structural equation modeling standardized parameter estimates for male and female workers at different life stages are reported in Table 13 through 18.

No Children and Age 35 or Less. For workers with no kids and age 35 or less, most of the paths did not show significant differences between male and female workers. However, the positive relationship between work-family conflict and family-work conflict (path i) was significantly stronger for male workers (path coefficient = -.194) than for female workers (path coefficient = .085). The positive relationship of job flexibility to work-family fit (path k) was also stronger for male workers (path coefficient = .218) than for female workers (path coefficient = .200). On the other hand, the negative

relationship between work-family conflict and family-to-work fit (path l) was stronger for female workers (path coefficient = $-.561$) than for males workers (path coefficient = $-.503$).

Transition to Parenthood Stage. For workers in the transition to parenthood stage, most of the paths did not show significant differences between male and female workers. The only two that showed a significant difference were job responsibility to work-family conflict (path a) and family-work conflict to work-family conflict (path j). In the first case (path a) the positive relationship was stronger for female workers (path coefficient = $.148$) than for male workers (path coefficient = $.056^{(ns)}$). In the second case the relationship was positive for females (path coefficient = $.129^{(ns)}$) but negative for males (path coefficient = $-.127^{(ns)}$).

Preschool Children Stage. For workers with preschool children four paths were significantly different for male and female workers. The positive relationship of job hours to work-family conflict (path b) was significantly stronger for female workers (path coefficient = $.562$) than for male workers (path coefficient = $.526$). The positive relationship of work-family conflict to family-to-work conflict (path i) was stronger for male workers (path coefficient = $.148$) than for female workers (path coefficient = $.040$). Similarly, the positive relationship between job flexibility and work-family fit (path k) was stronger for male workers (path coefficient = $.244$) than for female workers (path coefficient = $.232$). Finally the negative relationship between family-work conflict and work-family fit (path m) was stronger for female workers (path coefficient = $-.250$) than for male workers (path coefficient = $-.200$).

Elementary Children Stage. For workers with elementary children five paths were significantly different for male and female workers. The positive relationship of job hours to work-family conflict (path b) was significantly stronger for female workers (path coefficient = .576) and weakest for male workers (path coefficient = .524). The negative relationship of job flexibility to work-family conflict (path c) was stronger for male workers (path coefficient = -.154) than for female workers (path coefficient = -.042^(ns)). The positive relationship between work-family conflict and family-work conflict (path i) was stronger for male workers (path coefficient = .124) than for female workers (path coefficient = .004^(ns)). On the other hand, the positive relationship between family-work conflict and work-family conflict (path j) was stronger for female workers (path coefficient = .084^(ns)) than for male workers (path coefficient = .008^(ns)). Finally, the negative relationship of family-work conflict and work-family fit (path m) was stronger for female workers (path coefficient = -.207) than for male workers (path coefficient = -.162^(ns)).

Teenagers Children Stage. For workers with teenagers five paths were significantly different for male and female workers. The negative relationship of job flexibility to work-family conflict (path c) was significantly stronger for male workers (path coefficient = -.156) than for female workers (path coefficient = -.049^(ns)). The negative relationship of job flexibility to family-work conflict (path e) was stronger for male workers (path coefficient = -.089) than for female workers (path coefficient = -.045^(ns)). The positive relationship between work-family conflict and family-work conflict (path i) was stronger for male workers (path coefficient = .148) than for female workers (path coefficient = .043^(ns)). On the other hand, the relationship between family-work

conflict and work-family conflict (path j) was positive for female workers (path coefficient = .060^(ns)) and negative for male workers (path coefficient = -.043^(ns)). Finally, the negative relationship of family-work conflict and work-family fit (path m) was stronger for female workers (path coefficient = -.210) than for male workers (path coefficient = -.174).

Empty Nest Stage. For workers in the empty nest stage five paths were also significantly different for male and female workers. The positive relationship of job responsibility to work-family conflict (path a) was significantly stronger for female workers (path coefficient = .141) and weaker for male workers (path coefficient = .055^(ns)). The negative relationship of job flexibility to work-family conflict (path c) was significantly stronger for male workers (path coefficient = -.132) and weaker for female workers (path coefficient = -.017^(ns)). The positive relationship of time spent in household chores to family-work conflict (path g) was stronger for female workers (path coefficient = .150) than for male workers (path coefficient = .064^(ns)). The relationship between work-family conflict and family-work conflict (path i) was positive for male workers (path coefficient = .150^(ns)) but negative for female workers (path coefficient = .030^(ns)). Finally, the relationship between family-work conflict and work-family conflict (path j) was stronger for female workers (path coefficient = -.117^(ns)) than for male workers (path coefficient = -.054^(ns)).

Discussion

The primary purpose of this study was to explore how factors affecting the work-family experience may differ for male and female workers at different life stages. This analysis is important because certain similarities and differences at specific life stages

may not be evident when women and men workers are treated as homogenous groups. As suggested by Greenhaus and Foley (2007), within-gender differences need to be considered because “gender may enter the work-family nexus in complex ways through its interaction with other variables” (p. 34).

The results of this study show that it is a valid pursuit, and that in spite of predominant gender similarities when male and female workers are treated as homogenous groups, there are gender differences that are revealed only when life stages are included in the analysis.

As hypothesized, the model fits the global data, the data by gender, the data across life stages, and the data across life stages-by-gender. The same relationships among work-family variables exist for both genders, all life stages, as well as by gender for all life stages.

However, differences noted in the means of the model variables as well in the size and direction of effect among the variables’ relationships, reveal shifts for both genders and among genders at different life stages. This affirms the value of a life course perspective on the work-family interface (Moen & Sweet, 2004) and provides a more detailed perspective of work-family linkages over the life course. The inclusion of life course variables in the study of work and family provides important insights. It is not sufficient to treat men and women as two homogeneous groups when studying the influences of gender on work-family issues. This study affirms that within-gender differences may be as important as between-gender differences to better understand the work-family interface. One of the key factors that creates within-gender differences is the variation in work and family role demands that men and women face during the life

course. Karasek's (1979) job-strain model is useful to explain the importance of considering life stages together with gender. His model predicts that stress will be higher in situations where people do not have enough control over the stressful environment. This situation is typical for parents, especially mothers, of young children since young children have higher demands and they are more unpredictable than older children. Lower levels of control over the work and family interface result in higher levels of work-family conflict and gender differences.

The results of this study comparing male and female workers as a homogenous group, irrespective of life stages, show that men still work on average more hours than women, are less aware of and use fewer family programs, spend less time in household labor, and in general experience more work-to-family conflict. This conflict is mainly experienced as interruptions at home because of work, and missing family obligations and dinners. However, the results suggest that in spite of these differences, male and female workers do not experience substantial differences in their life, family or work success, or job satisfaction. In short, they seem to have similar levels of work, life, and family success (and job satisfaction) in spite of different levels of work characteristics, family characteristics, and work-to-family or family-to-work conflict.

The inclusion of life stages in the analysis of this study provides a more informative and detailed picture of gender differences, something that cannot be seen when treating all male and female workers as a homogeneous group. In several cases the inclusion of life stages shows that some gender differences or similarities are only temporary, limited to one or few life stages, and they are not necessarily gendered characteristics of the entire life course.

Several studies suggest that the prevailing strategy among couples in America is to adopt a neotraditionalist arrangement, one in which it is given priority to the husband's career when family demands increase (e.g. Clarkberg & Moen, 2001; Moen & Sweet, 2003). As suggested by Moen and Sweet (2004) this situation is the consequence of "cultural schema" and "institutional practices" designed for a workforce "that could fit the age-graded (and gendered) career template of continuous, full-time schooling, culminating in continuous, full-time (or more) employment for those serious about their jobs, ending in an abrupt transition into full-time, continuous retirement" (p. 215). Those who don't fit this model (at this point in history probably the majority of families), experience more conflict and personal troubles. Many of the problems of working families are a consequence of the "failure to respond effectively to changes in gender and age demographics, life stages sequences, and the new context of work" (p. 218). It is necessary to have greater flexibility in work hours, work weeks, and work years during the life course with a special attention to the specific needs and wants of male and female workers.

These findings suggest that the inclusion of children makes an important difference. When couples become parents, they tend to reorganize their division of labor inside and outside the home to respond to the new demands of children. Male and female workers seem to continue to experience parenthood in gendered ways, with women continuing to have the primary responsibility for their homes and children and men focusing on earning an income. In spite of the rising cultural importance of "hands-on" fathering (Bianchi, 1995), complete household gender equality has not yet been reached.

This conclusion is supported by several results of the present study. For example, in the case of job hours, the inclusion of life stages in the analysis shows that male workers do not work more than female workers in all stages of life, but mostly in those in which children are young. When children under the age of 12 are present, the gender difference augments to almost three times the average gender difference in the overall sample. On the other hand, results show that there are almost no gender differences in the number of hours worked in the first stage (no children and age 35 or less) and in the last one (empty nest stage), while workers with teenagers children present a gender difference in job hours that is only slightly less than what is found in the overall sample. Similarly, in the case of work-to-family conflict, male workers as a homogeneous group have more work-to-family conflict than female workers, but when life stages are included in the analysis, results show that male workers experience even more work-to-family conflict than female workers in the stages in which they have younger children. In the preschool children stage, for example, the gender difference is about two times the gender difference for the entire sample. However, almost no difference in work-to-family conflict across gender is found among workers in the empty nest stage, and the difference is smaller than in the global average in the first stage and in the teenagers children stage. This suggests that when young children are present, male workers increase their commitment to paid work, creating more conflict with family responsibilities. Similarly, male workers are less aware and use fewer work-family programs than female workers especially when they have preschool and elementary children. During those stages the gender difference is almost two times the difference among male and females in the global sample. For workers in the teenagers stage, the gender difference decreases but is

still bigger than for the overall sample. When no children are present and parents are young, gender difference is smaller than in the overall sample. These results suggests that male workers are more concerned with being successful in their jobs in those stages of life than women are.

In the case of family-to-work conflict, a life stage analysis reveals that the apparent lack of gender differences found when comparing male and female workers in the overall sample is misleading. In fact, while there is still no gender difference in the first life stage (no children), female workers with preschool and elementary children report significantly higher levels of family-to-work conflict than male workers. This reflects the increased concern and commitment of women with their family responsibility when children are young. Similarly, time spent in household chores presents more gender difference (women spend more time) for workers with preschoolers and especially for workers with elementary and teenagers children. In these life stages gender differences are one and half times the difference in the overall sample and in the empty nest stage but almost four times the difference among workers in the first stage (no children).

Results from the SEM analysis confirm that, during the central stages of life, gender differences are more evident than in other life stages. For example, gender difference in the negative relationship of family-to-work conflict to work-family fit is only significantly different for workers with preschool, elementary, and teenagers children (and in these cases it is always stronger for women) and the positive relationship between job hours and work-family conflict shows only to be significantly stronger for female workers with preschool and elementary children than for male workers, but is not significantly different in the other life stages.

These relationships show a pattern similar to that revealed by the analysis of the means and suggest that gender differences are stronger in the middle stages of life.

These findings suggest that children are making an important difference in the work-family interface for how male and female workers divide their responsibilities. But why is this happening? Why do gender differences increase as much as they do during the central stages of the life course? Should we try to eliminate all differences between males and females and make them interchangeable?

These results show that in spite of different work and family characteristics between workers of different gender and life stages, there are no significant differences among male and females workers in the main family, work, and life outcomes, suggesting that those initial differences do not necessarily lead to a worse quality of life for women when compared to men. Different work and family characteristics and commitments, and even different levels of work-family conflict, when not too extreme, may still lead to similar levels of work, family, and life outcomes because men and women have chosen to pursue what is more important for them and for their family.

Perhaps women are not always forced by circumstances but sometimes, or even most of the time, they choose to live differently than men during certain stages of their life. Perhaps they prefer more time at home nurturing and caring for their children during part of their life, even if this implies working fewer hours and receiving a lower salary.

More needs to be done in our society to make sure that women are freely choosing to reduce their involvement in paid work to stay home rather than following this path because is the only available alternative. However, perhaps the egalitarian trend in our society will not lead to the same results across all stages of life.

If the egalitarian trend was regularly increasing over time, one would expect in these results an increasing trend across life stages toward more gender differences. However, these results show that in the middle stages of life, when children's demands are stronger, gender differences are more evident. Rather than a straight line, a parabola better describes the pattern of gender differences across life stages.

This does not necessarily contradict the idea that over time new generations are becoming more egalitarian, but it shows that becoming a parent has still more influence than other cultural norms, and perhaps this will never completely change, despite all the pressure that contemporary society puts on men, women, and employees.

These results indicate that a trend toward more gender equality is present in our society, since fewer gender differences are found in the first stage of life, when children have not yet arrived and workers are younger. It looks like women may experience more gender equality in our society if they choose to focus on their jobs and not marry or at least not have children, since children still seem to be the strongest determinant of more traditional gender roles, if not in theory, at least in practice. Most women do not want to have to choose between a career and a family, but this study suggests that it is not gender per se that is creating the difference (as could have been the case in the past), but it is the presence of children that encourages and supports more traditional gender roles in the work-family life of men and women.

This study shows that more gender differences are found in the central stages of life when children require a great deal of temporal and economic resources from their parents. However, when life stages are not considered, the first and last stages in some

cases offset each other and conceal some of the major gender differences in the central stages of life.

Sanchez and Thompson (1997) similarly found that typically mothers are still primarily responsible for the household and that “contemporary fatherhood” has not altered this pattern. In spite of rapid change in other social relations, domestic relations more strongly resist change. According to Spain and Bianchi (1996),

Women juggle a variety of roles out of preference and necessity. They will become more successful at it the closer society gets to defining the balancing act as a “family” rather than “women’s” issue. Until that time, women will continue to pay a higher price than men for negotiating the transition necessary to combine family and employment (p. 198-199).

The results of this study, however, may also suggest that women may “juggle” these roles more out of preference than out of necessity. In fact, as mentioned previously, work, family and life outcomes are similar across groups, independent of life stages or gender. The general pattern that emerges is that male and female workers experience different types of conflict and responsibilities, especially in the central life stages, but somehow they manage to enjoy a similar level of success or satisfaction in spite of these different situations. If women's “choices” were more out of necessity than those of men, we would expect that they would experience substantially less success in their family, life, and work outcomes.

Limitations

This study used a dataset of uncommon size (n=41,813). This allowed comparison between multiple groups in a way that it is rarely possible with more common dataset.

However, these data came from only one corporation, IBM, whose employees tend to be more highly educated, have higher salaries, and have more experience with computer technology than the general population (Hill et al., 2003). Therefore, the model used and the results obtained may not be easily tested on other similar datasets, and their generalization may be limited.

The response rate was relatively low (43%) but after comparing the demographic questions with the IBM human resources database, it was noticed that the only important difference was that women participated in the survey only slightly more than men.

Instead of validated scales, that could better measure the constructs, several single-item measures were used in the analyses. For example, several outcome measures (Life Success, Work Success, Marital Success, Parenting Success, and Job Satisfaction) are subjective measures that may measure perceptions rather than objective outcomes of success or satisfaction in those domains. Also, the measure of understanding/use of work-family programs includes two dimensions at the same time

Another limitation was the use of the individual employee as the unit of analysis instead of the couple or even the family. According to Barnett and Gareis (2006) future research should incorporate family-level effects "with the unit of analysis expanded to include partners, children, and other members of the employee's work-family system" (p. 218).

A final limitation of this study is the use of cross-sectional data. To assess work-family linkages changes over the life course, longitudinal data should be used to avoid confusing gender differences between workers at different life stages with cohort effects. Although this study presents several limitations, it may be considered an important first

step toward a better understanding of the interactions between gender and life stages in the work-family interface. Future research should build on the foundation provided by this study and investigate more thoroughly the mechanisms and reasons for gender differences during the central stages of life.

Conclusion and Implications

This study was a first step toward a better understanding of similarities and differences among male and female workers across the life course.

The findings of this study indicate that children still make a big difference in the lives of men and women and that parenthood creates or maintain a more gendered family and work life. This lends empirical support to the assertions that work-family linkages are deeply embedded within life course location and temporal and social structural contexts (Moen & Sweet, 2004; Grzywacz, Almeida, & McDonald, 2002). Life stages need to be included in the analysis to properly understand the shifts in effect sizes or directions of effect across genders.

Several work-family programs have been already created and implemented by many organizations, such as child care, elder care, flexibility in when or where the work is done, compressed work week, paid and unpaid leave of absence, and so on. Some organizations have developed work-family policies but they do not apply them consistently and managers have high discretion in deciding when and who can use them. Other organizations are more engaged in providing consistent work-family benefits but they are limited by economic conditions and bottom line considerations and they may “sacrifice” work-family benefits when necessary. Finally, in some organizations work-

family or work-life initiatives have become part of the general strategy and of the general employment contract.

However, in those organizations that are more committed to work-family initiatives, there should be a greater awareness of the differences in the needs of men and women at different life stages. Work-family policies, programs, or benefits should be better tailored to the different demands and situational constraints of workers across their life. Work-family programs and policies that recognize how work-family linkages change over time and how they are influenced by gender in conjunction with life stage and other contextual factors could improve work-family fit and work, family, or life success for a variety of employees.

For example, several studies (e.g. Moen & Sweet, 2003, Clarkberg & Moen, 2001) show that most dual-earner couples, and especially women with young children, desire to work fewer hours, but current policies penalize reducing work hours (Moen & Sweet, 2004). Also, when couples are considered the social unit it becomes clear that the combined efforts of men and women, as expressed by work hours, have risen in the last decades (Clarkberg & Moen, 2001) but American workers are putting in more hours than they would like (e.g. Moen & Sweet, 2002; 2003). Currently there is an under-supply in the U.S. of part-time jobs that offer benefits and possibilities of advancement while organizational cultures and job designs push workers to "prove" their commitment by working beyond regular hours (Moen & Sweet, 2004).

A more tailored offering of work-family programs, however, should be accompanied by a greater flexibility in choosing what programs to use. Instead of companies trying to determine too strictly who or when a work-family program can be

used, individual employees should be allowed to use any program that may benefit their work and family life. In most cases, individuals and families know what will work best for them and the same “package” may not work well for all people who are classified in the same group.

This study shows that when workers become parents, on average, gender differences increase. This implies that male and female workers may need different options even when they are in the same family life stage. For example, when children are young, male workers may need more job flexibility in when and where they work, while female workers may need more part-time options. However, individual and family circumstances may vary even in the same family life stage group and this requires a response from employers that allows for greater flexibility in choosing work-family programs.

According to Moen and Yu (2000), “members of working couples, their family circumstances, and their respective work arrangements are always in flux” and “the very heterogeneity of the work and family environment of working couples-and of the workforce-suggests the need for diverse and alternative arrangements to promote their life quality” (p. 315).

Unfortunately, sometimes there may be limits to the real possibilities offered to workers, since their work-life strategies are constrained by structural options. For example, “most workers can’t choose to work part-time on a job that has an upward career trajectory” (Moen & Yu, p. 316).

Because of this, the individual choice or response to a set of circumstances will always be a factor to be considered when offering work-family benefits. Not all

employees will make the same choices even when they are in the same age group, family life stage, or gender. While it is useful to divide people in groups and come up with a greater variety of benefits that should appeal them, it is important to recognize that people facing a very similar life situation may look for different benefits. For example, not all married women will choose to use child care and keep working full-time. Some of them will prefer a part-time option that does not penalize their career.

Organizations should be aware that life circumstances, beliefs, and choices will necessarily create a greater variation in the needs of their workers and they should be ready to offer a variety of options to help employees to improve their life quality and make the best of their circumstances and choices.

Future research could benefit from exploring how the fit of the model may change with the addition of other important work-family variables that were not adequately measured in this study because the data were collected in a corporate setting. For example, gender attitudes may also moderate the effects of parenthood on the division of labor. The inclusion of other variables could help understand better why effect sizes or directions of effect across genders change (or not change) across life.

This study, as most research in the work and family field, has focused on conflict and not on facilitation or enhancement. Research suggests that these two opposite processes are not mutually exclusive (Powell & Greenhaus, 2004; Greenhaus & Foley, 2007) and it would be important to gain further understanding of the nature of the relationship between work-family conflict and facilitation for males and females workers at different life stages.

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Table 4
*Means Comparing Male Workers and Female Workers on Variables of the Work-Family Interface
(two-group model)*

Variables	Male <i>M</i>	Workers <i>SD</i>	Female <i>M</i>	Workers <i>SD</i>	Male- Female <i>ES^a</i>
JOB CHARACTERISTICS					
A: Job Responsibility	1.22	.50	1.15	.420	0.15
B: Job Hours (Hours Per Week)	50.41	9.44	47.79	10.55	0.26*
C: WORK-TO-FAMILY CONFLICT					
B17A: Missed significant family obligation	3.03	1.69	2.68	1.66	0.21*
B17C: Missed scheduled vacation	1.92	1.18	1.82	1.13	0.09
B17E: Interruption at home	4.39	2.33	3.45	2.22	0.40*
B17G: Missed regular dinner	4.84	2.52	4.28	2.57	0.22*
B17H: Missed sleep	4.22	2.38	4.32	2.39	-0.04
D: JOB FLEXIBILITY					
A04A: Flex-Place	3.21	1.16	3.11	1.19	0.09
A04B: Flex-Time	3.13	.98	3.04	0.99	0.09
MB07B: Work from home acceptable	3.57	1.29	3.60	1.35	0.02
E: Access/Use of Programs	2.06	.75	2.28	.74	-0.29*
F: FAMILY-TO-WORK CONFLICT	2.30	.92	2.38	0.82	-0.10*
FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS					
G: Time Spent in HH Chores	3.57	1.29	4.29	1.3	-0.54*
H: Married (% Yes)	72%	.45	58%	0.49	0.30*
I: WORK-FAMILY FIT					
B01: Manage demands of work/family life	2.89	.92	2.91	.943	-0.02
xMB24E: Success in work-life balance	4.47	1.15	4.48	1.12	-0.01
WORK OUTCOMES					
J: Job Satisfaction	3.64	0.87	3.69	0.86	-0.06
K: Work Success	4.84	1.01	4.77	0.96	0.07
PERSONAL OUTCOME					
L: Life Success	5.03	1.07	5.04	1.08	-0.01
FAMILY OUTCOMES					
M: Marital Success	5.37	1.22	5.35	1.24	0.02
N: Parenting Success	5.45	1.10	5.57	1.07	-0.11

^a ES (Effect Size) = $\frac{M_2 - M_1}{SD \text{ Pooled}}$

* ES \geq .20

Table 5
Means Comparing Male and Female Workers with No Children and below 35 Years of Age on Variables of the Work-Family Interface

Variables	Male <i>M</i>	Workers <i>SD</i>	Female <i>M</i>	Workers <i>SD</i>	Male- Female <i>ES^a</i>
JOB CHARACTERISTICS					
A: Job Responsibility	1.05	.24	1.06	.25	-0.04
B: Job Hours (Hours Per Week)	50.04	9.34	49.08	8.95	0.11
C: WORK-TO-FAMILY CONFLICT					
B17A: Missed significant family obligation	2.93	1.72	2.76	1.71	0.10
B17C: Missed scheduled vacation	1.92	1.20	1.80	1.12	0.10
B17E: Interruption at home	4.25	2.45	3.35	2.18	0.38*
B17G: Missed regular dinner	4.95	2.49	4.64	2.52	0.12
B17H: Missed sleep	4.13	2.40	4.23	2.34	-0.04
D: JOB FLEXIBILITY					
A04A: Flex-Place	2.91	1.14	2.79	1.16	0.09
A04B: Flex-Time	3.01	1	2.87	.99	0.14
B07B: Work from home acceptable	3.30	1.35	3.21	1.39	0.09
E: Access/Use of Programs	1.86	0.74	1.96	0.73	-0.14
F: FAMILY-TO-WORK CONFLICT	2.22	.87	2.21	.83	0.01
FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS					
G: Time Spent in HH Chores	3.65	1.2	3.9	1.25	-0.20*
H: Married (% Yes)	31%	0.46	31%	0.46	0.00
I: WORK-FAMILY FIT					
B01: Manage demands of work/family life	2.94	.914	2.99	.90	-0.05
B24E: Success in work-life balance	4.33	1.12	4.36	1.08	-0.03
WORK OUTCOMES					
J: Job Satisfaction	3.57	.87	3.58	0.84	-0.01
K: Work Success	4.73	1.03	4.66	.96	0.07
PERSONAL OUTCOMES					
L: Life Success	4.89	1.14	4.94	1.12	-0.04
FAMILY OUTCOME					
M: Marital Success	5.30	1.31	5.44	1.26	-0.11
N: Parenting Success	4.66	1.27	4.53	1.15	0.11

^a ES (Effect Size) = $\frac{M_2 - M_1}{SD \text{ Pooled}}$

* ES \geq .20

Table 6
Means Comparing Male and Female Workers during the Transition to Parenthood on Variables of the Work-Family Interface.

Variables	Male <i>M</i>	Workers <i>SD</i>	Female <i>M</i>	Workers <i>SD</i>	Male-Female <i>ES^a</i>
JOB CHARACTERISTICS					
A: Job Responsibility	1.12	.34	1.08	.28	0.13
B: Job Hours (Hours Per Week)	50.30	9.26	46.10	10.17	0.43*
C: WORK-TO-FAMILY CONFLICT					
B17A: Missed significant family obligation	3.80	1.43	3.18	1.53	0.42*
B17C: Missed scheduled vacation	3.18	1.75	2.71	1.76	0.26*
B17E: Interruption at home	1.97	1.24	1.82	1.11	0.12
B17G: Missed regular dinner	4.65	2.30	3.50	2.21	0.49*
B17H: Missed sleep	4.93	2.37	3.88	2.47	0.43*
	4.22	2.33	3.95	2.36	0.12
D: JOB FLEXIBILITY					
A04A: Flex-Place	3.20	.91	3.13	1.02	0.07
A04B: Flex-Time	3.12	1.12	3.02	1.17	0.09
MB07B: Work from home acceptable	3.07	1.12	2.91	1.01	0.16
	3.50	1.31	3.52	1.36	-0.02
E: Access/Use of Programs	2.02	0.76	2.24	0.77	-0.29*
F: FAMILY-TO-WORK CONFLICT	2.46	.89	2.55	.86	-0.10
FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS					
G: Time Spent in HH Chores	3.72	1.21	4.32	1.29	-0.47*
H: Married (% Yes)	92%	0.27	85%	0.36	0.23*
I: WORK-FAMILY FIT					
MB01: Manage demands of work/family	2.58	.88	2.58	.89	0.00
MB24E: Success in work-life balance	2.77	.859	2.72	.881	0.06
	4.40	1.16	4.44	1.12	-0.04
WORK OUTCOMES					
J: Job Satisfaction	3.59	.85	3.74	.78	-0.18
K: Work Success	4.74	1.02	4.71	.93	0.03
PERSONAL OUTCOME					
L: Life Success	5.24	1.05	5.26	1.04	-0.02
FAMILY OUTCOMES					
M: Marital Success	5.60	1.15	5.52	1.09	0.07
N: Parenting Success	5.66	1.10	5.60	1.24	0.05

^a ES (Effect Size) = $\frac{M_2 - M_1}{SD \text{ Pooled}}$

* ES \geq .20

Table 7
Means Comparing Male and Female Workers with Preschooler Children on Variables of the Work-Family Interface.

Variables	Male <i>M</i>	Workers <i>SD</i>	Female <i>M</i>	Workers <i>SD</i>	Male- Female <i>ES^a</i>
JOB CHARACTERISTICS					
A: Job Responsibility	1.23	.50	1.14	.39	0.20*
B: Job Hours (Hours Per Week)	50.97	9.79	43.68	11.60	0.65*
C: WORK-TO-FAMILY CONFLICT					
B17A: Missed significant family obligation	3.25	1.69	2.63	1.63	0.37*
B17C: Missed scheduled vacation	1.94	1.16	1.72	1.07	0.19
B17E: Interruption at home	4.62	2.33	3.58	2.26	0.44*
B17G: Missed regular dinner	5.27	2.47	3.86	2.46	0.55*
B17H: Missed sleep	4.39	2.40	4.11	2.32	0.12
D: JOB FLEXIBILITY					
A04A: Flex-Place	3.25	1.08	3.25	1.16	0.00
A04B: Flex-Time	3.17	.97	3.15	.99	0.02
B07B: Work from home acceptable	3.56	1.28	3.72	1.34	-0.17
E: Access/Use of Programs	2.08	.77	2.48	.71	-0.52*
F: FAMILY-TO-WORK CONFLICT	2.43	.85	2.62	.82	-0.23*
FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS					
G: Time Spent in HH Chores	3.52	1.33	4.42	1.32	-0.64*
H: Married (% Yes)	91%	0.28	86%	0.34	0.16
I: WORK-FAMILY FIT					
B01: Manage demands of work/family life	2.74	.89	2.69	.91	0.06
B24E: Success in work-life balance	4.45	1.13	4.51	1.10	-0.05
WORK OUTCOMES					
J: Job Satisfaction	3.65	0.85	3.73	.83	-0.10
K: Work Success	4.84	1.00	4.71	.95	0.13
PERSONAL OUTCOME					
L: Life Success	5.1	1.06	5.12	1.01	-0.02
FAMILY OUTCOMES					
M: Marital Success	5.30	1.16	5.22	1.16	0.07
N: Parenting Success	5.49	1.10	5.58	1.03	-0.08

^a ES (Effect Size) = $\frac{M_2 - M_1}{SD \text{ Pooled}}$

* ES \geq .20

Table 8
Means Comparing Male and Female Workers with School Child on Variables of the Work-Family Interface.

Variables	Male <i>M</i>	Workers <i>SD</i>	Female <i>M</i>	Workers <i>SD</i>	Male- Female <i>ES^a</i>
JOB CHARACTERISTICS					
A: Job Responsibility	1.30	.57	1.22	.50	0.15
B: Job Hours (Hours Per Week)	51.23	9.40	46.07	11.62	0.48*
C: WORK-TO-FAMILY CONFLICT					
B17A: Missed significant family obligation	3.83	1.40	3.31	1.43	0.36*
B17C: Missed scheduled vacation	3.28	1.65	2.84	1.63	0.27*
B17E: Interruption at home	1.95	1.17	1.82	1.16	0.11
B17G: Missed regular dinner	4.55	2.28	3.61	2.25	0.41*
B17H: Missed sleep	5.05	2.50	4.00	2.56	0.41*
4.36	2.35	4.30	2.36	0.03	
D: JOB FLEXIBILITY					
A04A: Flex-Place	3.40	.90	3.44	.96	-0.04
A04B: Flex-Time	3.37	1.05	3.36	1.14	0.01
B07B: Work from home acceptable	3.18	.95	3.22	.93	-0.04
3.69	1.25	3.82	1.30	-0.14	
E: Access/Use of Programs	2.16	.74	2.53	.68	0.50*
F: FAMILY-TO-WORK CONFLICT	2.37	.83	2.54	.79	-0.21*
FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS					
G: Time Spent in HH Chores	3.47	1.32	4.55	1.3	-0.76*
H: Married (% Yes)	89%	0.31	80%	0.4	0.26*
I: WORK-FAMILY FIT					
B01: Manage demands of work/family life	2.65	.91	2.67	.93	-0.02
B24E: Success in work-life balance	2.82	.90	2.74	.94	0.08
4.48	1.14	4.60	1.16	-0.10	
WORK OUTCOMES					
J: Job Satisfaction	3.71	.87	3.79	.82	-0.09
K: Work Success	4.88	.97	4.84	0.92	0.04
PERSONAL OUTCOME					
L: Life Success	5.03	1.04	5.09	1.03	-0.06
FAMILY OUTCOMES					
M: Marital Success	5.25	1.22	5.17	1.25	0.07
N: Parenting Success	5.40	1.07	5.57	.99	-0.16

^a ES (Effect Size) = $\frac{M_2 - M_1}{SD \text{ Pooled}}$

* ES \geq .20

Table 9

Means Comparing Male and Female Workers with Adolescents on Variables of the Work-Family Interface.

Variables	Male <i>M</i>	Workers <i>SD</i>	Female <i>M</i>	Workers <i>SD</i>	Male- Female <i>ES^a</i>
JOB CHARACTERISTICS					
A: Job Responsibility	1.33	.60	1.22	.51	0.19
B: Job Hours (Hours Per Week)	50.39	9.17	48.65	10.42	0.18
C: WORK-TO-FAMILY CONFLICT					
B17A: Missed significant family obligation	2.94	1.62	2.56	1.58	0.23*
B17C: Missed scheduled vacation	1.94	1.18	1.85	1.12	0.08
B17E: Interruption at home	4.35	2.21	3.38	2.18	0.43*
B17G: Missed regular dinner	4.53	2.51	4.24	2.61	0.11
B17H: Missed sleep	4.18	2.37	4.52	2.45	-0.14
D: JOB FLEXIBILITY					
A04A: Flex-Place	3.40	.92	3.32	1.01	0.08
A04B: Flex-Time	3.35	1.09	3.21	1.22	0.13
B07B: Work from home acceptable	3.19	.99	3.09	1.02	0.10
E: Access/Use of Programs	3.74	1.24	3.80	1.28	-0.05
F: FAMILY-TO-WORK CONFLICT	2.16	.71	2.42	.70	-0.36*
FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS					
G: Time Spent in HH Chores	2.28	.81	2.42	.78	-0.17
H: Married (% Yes)	90%	0.31	73%	0.45	0.46*
I: WORK-FAMILY FIT					
B01: Manage demands of work/family life	2.81	.94	2.85	.92	-0.04
B24E: Success in work-life balance	2.99	.94	3.02	.96	-0.03
WORK OUTCOMES					
J: Job Satisfaction	4.63	1.15	4.67	1.11	-0.04
K: Work Success	3.71	.87	3.79	0.87	-0.09
PERSONAL OUTCOME					
L: Life Success	4.92	1	4.90	.96	0.02
FAMILY OUTCOMES					
M: Marital Success	5.10	1.02	5.13	1.01	-0.03
N: Parenting Success	5.44	1.22	5.33	1.47	0.09
	5.45	1.08	5.59	1.04	-0.13

$$^a \text{ES (Effect Size)} = \frac{M_2 - M_1}{\text{SD Pooled}}$$

* ES \geq .20

Table 10
Means Comparing Male and Female Workers with No Children below 18 and above 50 Years of Age on Variables of the Work-Family Interface.

Variables	Male <i>M</i>	Workers <i>SD</i>	Female <i>M</i>	Workers <i>SD</i>	Male- Female <i>ES^a</i>
JOB CHARACTERISTICS					
A: Job Responsibility	1.20	.50	1.20	.51	0.00
B: Job Hours (Hours Per Week)	48.01	8.99	48.91	9.46	-0.10
C: WORK-TO-FAMILY CONFLICT					
B17A: Missed significant family obligation	2.36	1.47	2.33	1.514	0.02
B17C: Missed scheduled vacation	1.77	1.09	1.84	1.17	-0.06
B17E: Interruption at home	3.95	2.28	3.20	2.13	0.33*
B17G: Missed regular dinner	3.79	2.39	3.82	2.53	-0.01
B17H: Missed sleep	3.77	2.33	4.40	2.47	-0.26*
D: JOB FLEXIBILITY					
A04A: Flex-Place	3.33	1.15	3.30	1.23	0.03
A04B: Flex-Time	3.22	1.00	3.10	1.00	0.12
B07B: Work from home acceptable	3.76	1.26	3.90	1.26	-0.14
E: Access/Use of Programs	2.20	.69	2.38	.67	-0.26*
F: FAMILY-TO-WORK CONFLICT	2.09	.78	2.28	.78	-0.24*
FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS					
G: Time Spent in HH Chores	3.63	1.3	4.44	1.24	-0.60*
H: Married (% Yes)	79%	0.41	55%	0.5	0.51*
I: WORK-FAMILY FIT					
B01: Manage demands of work/family life	3.16	.94	3.19	.96	-0.03
B24E: Success in work-life balance	4.74	1.13	4.70	1.11	0.04
WORK OUTCOMES					
J: Job Satisfaction	3.69	.88	3.80	.87	-0.13
K: Work Success	4.97	1.01	4.97	.97	0.00
PERSONAL OUTCOME					
L: Life Success	5.21	.98	5.16	1.05	0.05
FAMILY OUTCOMES					
M: Marital Success	5.65	1.11	5.58	1.26	0.06
N: Parenting Success	5.60	1.05	5.79	1.02	-0.18

^a ES (Effect Size) = $\frac{M_2 - M_1}{SD \text{ Pooled}}$

* ES \geq .20

Table 11

Means Comparing Workers in Different Life Stages on Variables of the Work-Family Interface (6-group model)

Variables	No Children (Age < 35)		Transition To Parenthood		Preschool Children		Elementary Children		Teenagers Children		Empty Nest (Age > 50)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
JOB CHARACTERISTICS												
A: Job Responsibility	1.06	.25	1.11	.32	1.19	.46	1.26	.54	1.29	.57	1.21	.50
B: Job Hours (Hours Per Week)	49.52	9.14	48.74	9.88	47.70	11.22	49.00	10.71	49.77	9.64	48.48	9.24
C: WORK-TO-FAMILY CONFLICT	3.48	1.46	3.57	1.49	3.58	1.46	3.60	1.44	3.49	1.44	3.12	1.40
B17A: Missed signif. family obligation	2.84	1.71	3.02	1.78	2.98	1.69	3.09	1.66	2.81	1.62	2.35	1.49
B17C: Missed scheduled vacation	1.86	1.16	1.93	1.21	1.84	1.13	1.90	1.17	1.91	1.16	1.81	1.13
B17E: Interruption at home	3.75	2.35	4.20	2.33	4.17	2.36	4.13	2.32	4.00	2.25	3.58	2.24
B17G: Missed regular dinner	4.78	2.51	4.56	2.45	4.66	2.57	4.59	2.58	4.43	2.55	3.81	2.46
B17H: Missed sleep	4.19	2.37	4.12	2.34	4.27	2.38	4.33	2.36	4.31	2.41	4.08	2.43
D: JOB FLEXIBILITY	2.98	.97	3.17	.95	3.33	.96	3.41	.92	3.37	.96	3.39	.98
A04A: Flex-Place	2.84	1.16	3.08	1.14	3.25	1.11	3.36	1.09	3.30	1.14	3.31	1.19
A04B: Flex-Time	2.93	1.00	3.01	.98	3.16	.97	3.19	.94	3.15	1.01	3.16	1.01
B07B: Work from home acceptable	3.25	1.38	3.50	1.32	3.63	1.31	3.75	1.27	3.75	1.25	3.83	1.26
E: Access/Use of Programs	1.91	.74	2.09	.77	2.26	.77	2.32	.74	2.25	.72	2.28	.69
F: FAMILY-TO-WORK CONFLICT	2.22	.85	2.49	.88	2.51	.84	2.44	.82	2.34	.80	2.18	.78
FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS												
G: Time Spent in HH Chores	3.79	1.24	3.94	1.27	3.91	1.40	3.95	1.42	3.90	1.40	4.03	1.34
H: Married (% Yes)	.31	.46	.89	.31	.89	.31	.85	.35	.83	.37	.67	.47
I: WORK-FAMILY FIT	2.66	.90	2.60	.88	2.60	.90	2.66	.92	2.78	.924	2.95	.93
B01: Manage demands of w-f life	2.96	.91	2.76	.86	2.71	.90	2.78	.92	3.00	.95	3.17	.95
B24E: Success in work-life balance	4.35	1.10	4.43	1.14	4.48	1.12	4.52	1.15	4.65	1.14	4.72	1.12
WORK OUTCOMES												
J: Job Satisfaction	3.57	.85	3.64	.83	3.68	.84	3.74	.85	3.74	.88	3.74	.88
K: Work Success	4.70	1	4.74	1	4.78	.98	4.86	.95	4.91	.99	4.97	.99
PERSONAL OUTCOME												
L: Life Success	4.92	1.13	5.24	1.05	5.09	1.04	5.06	1.04	5.12	1.02	5.19	1.02
FAMILY OUTCOMES												
M: Marital Success	5.38	1.29	5.57	1.13	5.27	1.16	5.22	1.23	5.41	1.24	5.61	1.18
N: Parenting Success	4.61	1.22	5.63	1.16	5.53	1.07	5.47	1.04	5.50	1.07	5.66	1.05

Table 12

Effect Sizes for Life Stage Groups on Variables of the Work-Family Interface (6-group model)

Variables	No Child Transition	No Child Preschool	No Child Elementary	No Child Teenagers	No Child Empty Nest	Transition Preschool	Transition Elementary	Transition Teenagers
JOB CHARACTERISTICS								
A: Job Responsibility	-0.20*	-0.36*	-0.50*	-0.53*	-0.47*	-0.18	-0.29*	-0.33*
B: Job Hours (Hours Per Week)	0.08	0.18	0.05	-0.03	0.11	0.09	-0.02	-0.11
C: WORK-TO-FAMILY CONFLICT	-0.06	-0.07	-0.08	-0.01	0.25*	-0.01	-0.02	0.06
B17A: Missed family obligation	-0.10	-0.08	-0.15	0.02	0.29*	0.02	-0.04	0.13
B17C: Missed scheduled vacation	-0.06	0.02	-0.03	-0.04	0.04	0.08	0.03	0.02
B17E: Interruption at home	-0.19	-0.18	-0.16	-0.11	0.07	0.01	0.03	0.09
B17G: Missed regular dinner	0.09	0.05	0.07	0.14	0.38*	-0.04	-0.01	0.05
B17H: Missed sleep	0.03	-0.03	-0.06	-0.05	0.05	-0.06	-0.09	-0.08
D: JOB FLEXIBILITY	-0.20*	-0.36*	-0.44*	-0.40*	-0.41*	-0.17	-0.26*	-0.21*
A04A: Flex-Place	-0.21*	-0.35*	-0.45*	-0.39*	-0.40*	-0.15	-0.25*	-0.19
A04B: Flex-Time	-0.08	-0.23*	-0.27*	-0.22*	-0.23*	-0.15	-0.19	-0.14
B07B: Work from home acceptable	-0.18	-0.28*	-0.37*	-0.37*	-0.42*	-0.10	-0.20*	-0.20*
E: Access/Use of Programs	-0.24*	-0.45*	-0.54*	-0.45*	-0.50*	-0.22*	-0.31*	-0.22*
F: FAMILY-TO-WORK CONFLICT	-0.32*	-0.34*	-0.26*	-0.14	0.05	-0.02	0.06	0.19
FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS								
G: Time Spent in HH Chores	-0.12	-0.09	-0.12	-0.08	-0.19	0.02	-0.01	0.03
H: Married (% Yes)	-1.21*	-1.16*	-1.08*	-1.04*	-0.73*	0.00	0.11	0.16
I: WORK-FAMILY FIT	0.07	0.07	0.00	-0.18	-0.32*	0.00	-0.07	-0.24*
B01: Manage demands of work/family	0.23*	0.27*	0.20*	-0.04	-0.23*	0.05	-0.02	-0.26*
B24E: Success in work-life balance	-0.07	-0.12	-0.16	-0.27*	-0.33*	-0.04	-0.09	-0.19
WORK OUTCOMES								
J: Job Satisfaction	-0.08	-0.13	-0.20*	-0.20*	-0.20*	-0.05	-0.12	-0.11
K: Work Success	-0.04	-0.08	-0.16	-0.21*	-0.27*	-0.04	-0.13	-0.17
PERSONAL OUTCOME								
L: Life Success	-0.28*	-0.15	-0.13	-0.18*	-0.24*	0.14	0.17	0.12
FAMILY OUTCOMES								
M: Marital Success	-0.15	0.09	0.13	-0.02	-0.18	0.26*	0.29*	0.13
N: Parenting Success	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.09	0.15	0.12

ES (Effect Size) = $(M_2 - M_1) / SD$ Pooled ES \geq .20

Table 12– (Continued)

Effect Sizes for Life Stage Groups on Variables of the Work-Family Interface (6-group model)

Variables	<i>Transition Empty Nest</i>	<i>Preschool Elementary</i>	<i>Preschool Teenagers</i>	<i>Preschool Empty Nest</i>	<i>Elementary Teenagers</i>	<i>Elementary Empty Nest</i>	<i>Teenagers Empty Nest</i>
JOB CHARACTERISTICS							
A: Job Responsibility	-0.22*	-0.14	-0.19	-0.04	-0.05	0.09	0.14
B: Job Hours (Hours Per Week)	0.03	-0.12	-0.20*	-0.07	-0.08	0.05	0.13
C: WORK-TO-FAMILY CONFLICT	0.31*	-0.01	0.06	0.32*	0.08	0.33*	0.26*
B17A: Missed family obligation	0.42*	-0.07	0.10	0.38*	0.17	0.45*	0.29*
B17C: Missed scheduled vacation	0.10	-0.05	-0.06	0.03	-0.01	0.08	0.09
B17E: Interruption at home	0.27*	0.02	0.07	0.25*	0.06	0.24*	0.19
B17G: Missed regular dinner	0.30*	0.03	0.09	0.33*	0.06	0.30*	0.24*
B17H: Missed sleep	0.02	-0.03	0.02	0.08	0.00	0.11	0.10
D: JOB FLEXIBILITY	-0.22*	-0.09	-0.04	-0.06	0.04	0.02	-0.02
A04A: Flex-Place	-0.19	-0.10	-0.04	-0.05	0.05	0.04	-0.01
A04B: Flex-Time	-0.15	-0.03	0.01	0.00	0.04	0.03	-0.01
B07B: Work from home acceptable	-0.26*	-0.09	-0.09	-0.15	0.00	-0.06	-0.06
E: Access/Use of Programs	-0.26*	-0.08	0.01	-0.03	0.10	0.06	-0.04
F: FAMILY-TO-WORK CONFLICT	0.38*	0.08	0.20*	0.39*	0.12	0.32*	0.20*
FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS							
G: Time Spent in HH Chores	-0.07	-0.03	0.01	-0.09	0.04	-0.06	-0.09
H: Married (% Yes)	0.50*	0.12	0.17	0.58*	0.06	0.45*	0.39*
I: WORK-FAMILY FIT	-0.38*	-0.07	-0.24*	-0.38*	-0.17	-0.31*	-0.14
B01: Manage demands of w-f life	-0.44*	-0.07	-0.31*	-0.49*	-0.23*	-0.41*	-0.18
B24E: Success in work-life balance	-0.26*	-0.04	-0.15	-0.21*	-0.11	-0.17	-0.06
WORK OUTCOMES							
J: Job Satisfaction	-0.12	-0.07	-0.07	-0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00
K: Work Success	-0.23*	-0.08	-0.13	-0.19	-0.05	-0.11	-0.06
PERSONAL OUTCOME							
L: Life Success	0.05	0.03	-0.03	-0.10	-0.06	-0.13	-0.07
FAMILY OUTCOMES							
M: Marital Success	-0.03	0.04	-0.12	-0.29*	-0.15	-0.32*	-0.16
N: Parenting Success	-0.03	0.06	0.03	-0.12	-0.03	-0.18	-0.15

ES (Effect Size) = $(M_2 - M_1) / SD$ Pooled ES $\geq .20$

Table 13

Structural Equation Standardized Parameter Estimates for Male and Female with No Children (Two-Group Model).

Path Description	Female	Male	Significant Difference
(a) Job responsibility → Work-family conflict	.066	.041 ^(ns)	N.S.
(b) Job hours → Work-family conflict	.536	.540	N.S.
(c) Job flexibility → Work-family conflict	-.116	-.078	N.S.
(d) Work-family programs → Work-family conflict	-.015 ^(ns)	-.035 ^(ns)	N.S.
(e) Job flexibility → Family-work conflict	-.064	.076	N.S.
(f) Work-family programs → Family-work conflict	.003 ^(ns)	-.034 ^(ns)	N.S.
(g) Time spent in HH chores → Family-work conflict	.030 ^(ns)	.028 ^(ns)	N.S.
(h) Married → Family-work conflict	.032 ^(ns)	.044 ^(ns)	N.S.
(i) Work-family conflict → Family-work conflict	.085	.194	Sig.
(j) Family-work conflict → Work-family conflict	-.007 ^(ns)	-.024 ^(ns)	N.S.
(k) Job flexibility → Work-family fit	.200	.218	Sig.
(l) Work-family conflict → Work-family fit	-.561	-.503	Sig.
(m) Family-work conflict → Work-family fit	-.150	-.122	N.S.
(n) Work-family fit → Job satisfaction	.368	.353	N.S.
(o) Work-family fit → Work success	.392	.391	N.S.
(p) Work-family fit → Life success	.545	.551	N.S.
(q) Work-family fit → Marital success	.396	.414	N.S.
(r) Work-family fit → Parenting success	.453	.443	N.S.

(ns) = not statistically significant ($p > .05$) - *Male and Female No Children Model* ($\chi^2 = 3253$, $df = 298$, $p < .000$; CFI = .936, TLI = .901, RMSEA = .0316)

Table 14

Structural Equation Standardized Parameter Estimates for Male and Female during the Transition to Parenthood (Two-Group Model).

Path Description	Female	Male	Significant Difference
(a) Job responsibility → Work-family conflict	.148	.056 ^(ns)	Sig.
(b) Job hours → Work-family conflict	.560	.536	N.S.
(c) Job flexibility → Work-family conflict	-.168 ^(ns)	-.149 ^(ns)	N.S.
(d) Work-family programs → Work-family conflict	-.118 ^(ns)	-.110 ^(ns)	N.S.
(e) Job flexibility → Family-work conflict	-.031 ^(ns)	-.056 ^(ns)	N.S.
(f) Work-family programs → Family-work conflict	-.051 ^(ns)	.043 ^(ns)	N.S.
(g) Time spent in HH chores → Family-work conflict	.100 ^(ns)	.061 ^(ns)	N.S.
(h) Married → Family-work conflict	.090 ^(ns)	-.010 ^(ns)	N.S.
(i) Work-family conflict → Family-work conflict	.102 ^(ns)	.231 ^(ns)	N.S.
(j) Family-work conflict → Work-family conflict	.129 ^(ns)	-.127 ^(ns)	Sig.
(k) Job flexibility → Work-family fit	.151 ^(ns)	.201	N.S.
(l) Work-family conflict → Work-family fit	-.552	-.555	N.S.
(m) Family-work conflict → Work-family fit	-.173	-.215	N.S.
(n) Work-family fit → Job satisfaction	.360	.423	N.S.
(o) Work-family fit → Work success	.517	.509	N.S.
(p) Work-family fit → Life success	.446	.614	N.S.
(q) Work-family fit → Marital success	.570	.473	N.S.
(r) Work-family fit → Parenting success	.554	.542	N.S.

(ns) = not statistically significant ($p > .05$) - *Male-Female Transition to Parenthood Model* ($\chi^2 = 563$, $df = 298$, $p < .000$; CFI = .957, TLI = .933, RMSEA = .0297)

Table 15

Structural Equation Standardized Parameter Estimates for Male and Female with Preschool Children (Two-Group Model).

Path Description	Female	Male	Significant Difference
(a) Job responsibility → Work-family conflict	.109	.086	N.S.
(b) Job hours → Work-family conflict	.562	.526	Sig.
(c) Job flexibility → Work-family conflict	-.099	-.105	N.S.
(d) Work-family programs → Work-family conflict	-.013 ^(ns)	-.046 ^(ns)	N.S.
(e) Job flexibility → Family-work conflict	-.108	-.101	N.S.
(f) Work-family programs → Family-work conflict	.038 ^(ns)	.015 ^(ns)	N.S.
(g) Time spent in HH chores → Family-work conflict	.052 ^(ns)	.052 ^(ns)	N.S.
(h) Married → Family-work conflict	-.021 ^(ns)	.018 ^(ns)	N.S.
(i) Work-family conflict → Family-work conflict	.040 ^(ns)	.148	Sig.
(j) Family-work conflict → Work-family conflict	.036 ^(ns)	-.032 ^(ns)	N.S.
(k) Job flexibility → Work-family fit	.232	.244	Sig.
(l) Work-family conflict → Work-family fit	-.486	-.535	N.S.
(m) Family-work conflict → Work-family fit	-.250	-.200	Sig.
(n) Work-family fit → Job satisfaction	.394	.345	N.S.
(o) Work-family fit → Work success	.450	.439	N.S.
(p) Work-family fit → Life success	.588	.591	N.S.
(q) Work-family fit → Marital success	.399	.466	N.S.
(r) Work-family fit → Parenting success	.514	.531	N.S.

(ns) = not statistically significant ($p > .05$) - *Male-Female Preschool Children Model*- $\chi^2 = 2291$, $df = 298$, $p < .000$; CFI = .950, TLI = .922, RMSEA=.0313

Table 16

Structural Equation Standardized Parameter Estimates for Male and Female Workers with School Children (Two-Group Model).

Path Description	Female	Male	Significant Difference
(a) Job responsibility → Work-family conflict	.136	.096	N.S.
(b) Job hours → Work-family conflict	.576	.524	Sig.
(c) Job flexibility → Work-family conflict	-.042 ^(ns)	-.154	Sig.
(d) Work-family programs → Work-family conflict	-.026 ^(ns)	-.032 ^(ns)	N.S.
(e) Job flexibility → Family-work conflict	-.076	-.097	N.S.
(f) Work-family programs → Family-work conflict	.012 ^(ns)	.019 ^(ns)	N.S.
(g) Time spent in HH chores → Family-work conflict	.056 ^(ns)	.092	N.S.
(h) Married → Family-work conflict	-.073	-.037 ^(ns)	N.S.
(i) Work-family conflict → Family-work conflict	.004 ^(ns)	.124	Sig.
(j) Family-work conflict → Work-family conflict	.084 ^(ns)	.008 ^(ns)	Sig.
(k) Job flexibility → Work-family fit	.235	.226	N.S.
(l) Work-family conflict → Work-family fit	-.500	-.521	N.S.
(m) Family-work conflict → Work-family fit	-.207	-.162	Sig.
(n) Work-family fit → Job satisfaction	.394	.407	N.S.
(o) Work-family fit → Work success	.457	.464	N.S.
(p) Work-family fit → Life success	.608	.598	N.S.
(q) Work-family fit → Marital success	.404	.448	N.S.
(r) Work-family fit → Parenting success	.543	.519	N.S.

(ns) = not statistically significant ($p > .05$) - *Male-Female School Children Model* - $\chi^2 = 2258$, $df = 298$, $p < .000$; CFI = .948, TLI = .919, RMSEA = .0320

Table 17

Structural Equation Standardized Parameter Estimates for Male and Female Workers with Adolescents (Two-Group Model).

Path Description	Female	Male	Significant Difference
(a) Job responsibility → Work-family conflict	.079	.049(ns)	N.S.
(b) Job hours → Work-family conflict	.596	.535	N.S.
(c) Job flexibility → Work-family conflict	-.049 ^(ns)	-.156	Sig.
(d) Work-family programs → Work-family conflict	-.005 ^(ns)	.003 ^(ns)	N.S.
(e) Job flexibility → Family-work conflict	-.045 ^(ns)	-.089	Sig.
(f) Work-family programs → Family-work conflict	.043 ^(ns)	-.006 ^(ns)	N.S.
(g) Time spent in HH chores → Family-work conflict	.099	.065	N.S.
(h) Married → Family-work conflict	-.035 ^(ns)	-.022 ^(ns)	N.S.
(i) Work-family conflict → Family-work conflict	.043 ^(ns)	.148	Sig.
(j) Family-work conflict → Work-family conflict	.060 ^(ns)	-.043 ^(ns)	Sig.
(k) Job flexibility → Work-family fit	.244	.226	N.S.
(l) Work-family conflict → Work-family fit	-.548	-.526	N.S.
(m) Family-work conflict → Work-family fit	-.210	-.174	Sig.
(n) Work-family fit → Job satisfaction	.380	.368	N.S.
(o) Work-family fit → Work success	.456	.454	N.S.
(p) Work-family fit → Life success	.578	.598	N.S.
(q) Work-family fit → Marital success	.356	.433	N.S.
(r) Work-family fit → Parenting success	.465	.497	N.S.

(ns) = not statistically significant ($p > .05$) - *Male-Female Adolescents Children Model* - $\chi^2 = 2813$, $df = 298$, $p < .000$; CFI = .939, TLI = .905, RMSEA = .0346

Table 18

Structural Equation Standardized Parameter Estimates for Male and Female Workers no Children below 18 and above 50 Years of Age (Two-Group Model).

Path Description	Female	Male	Significant Difference
(a) Job responsibility → Work-family conflict	.141	.055 ^(ns)	Sig.
(b) Job hours → Work-family conflict	.587	.548	N.S.
(c) Job flexibility → Work-family conflict	-.017 ^(ns)	-.132	Sig.
(d) Work-family programs → Work-family conflict	-.015 ^(ns)	-.034 ^(ns)	N.S.
(e) Job flexibility → Family-work conflict	-.046 ^(ns)	-.085 ^(ns)	N.S.
(f) Work-family programs → Family-work conflict	.082 ^(ns)	.052 ^(ns)	N.S.
(g) Time spent in HH chores → Family-work conflict	.150	.064 ^(ns)	Sig.
(h) Married → Family-work conflict	-.005 ^(ns)	-.040 ^(ns)	N.S.
(i) Work-family conflict → Family-work conflict	.030(ns)	.150(ns)	Sig.
(j) Family-work conflict → Work-family conflict	-.117(ns)	-.054(ns)	Sig.
(k) Job flexibility → Work-family fit	.203	.190	N.S.
(l) Work-family conflict → Work-family fit	-.534	-.492	N.S.
(m) Family-work conflict → Work-family fit	-.139	-.140	N.S.
(n) Work-family fit → Job satisfaction	.403	.397	N.S.
(o) Work-family fit → Work success	.437	.452	N.S.
(p) Work-family fit → Life success	.533	.533	N.S.
(q) Work-family fit → Marital success	.353	.405	N.S.
(r) Work-family fit → Parenting success	.436	.430	N.S.

(ns) = not statistically significant ($p > .05$) - *Male-Female Empty Nest Model* - $\chi^2 = 1455$, $df = 298$, $p < .000$; CFI = .918, TLI = .872, RMSEA = .0386

Table 19

Structural Equation Standardized Parameter Estimates for Global Model and for Males and Females (Two-Group Model).

Path Description	Global ^a	Female Model ^b	Male Model ^b	Significant Difference
(a) Job responsibility → Work-family conflict	.084	.096	.068	Sig.
(b) Job hours → Work-family conflict	.550	.559	.537	Sig.
(c) Job flexibility → Work-family conflict	-.092	-.077	-.122	Sig.
(d) Work-family programs → Work-family conflict	-.026	-.003 ^(ns)	-.033	Sig.
(e) Job flexibility → Family-work conflict	-.081	-.074	-.083	Sig.
(f) Work-family programs → Family-work conflict	.027	.045	.007 ^(ns)	Sig.
(g) Time spent in HH chores → Family-work conflict	.075	.073	.056	N.S.
(h) Married → Family-work conflict	.069	.075	.059	N.S.
(i) Work-family conflict → Family-work conflict	.064	-.003 ^(ns)	.150	Sig.
(j) Family-work conflict → Work-family conflict	.040	.081	-.007 ^(ns)	Sig.
(k) Job flexibility → Work-family fit	.223	.215	.226	Sig.
(l) Work-family conflict → Work-family fit	-.522	-.536	-.520	Sig.
(m) Family-work conflict → Work-family fit	-.182	-.197	-.155	Sig.
(n) Work-family fit → Job satisfaction	.384	.391	.375	Sig.
(o) Work-family fit → Work success	.442	.436	.441	N.S.
(p) Work-family fit → Life success	.574	.574	.574	N.S.
(q) Work-family fit → Marital success	.410	.383	.435	N.S.
(r) Work-family fit → Parenting success	.497	.495	.496	N.S.

(ns) = not statistically significant ($p > .05$) - ^aGlobal Model: $\chi^2 = 21483$, $df = 170$, $p < .000$; CFI = .911, TLI = .8680, RMSEA = .055

^bTwo-Group Model By Gender: $\chi^2 = 13108$, $df = 298$, $p < .000$; CFI = .943, TLI = .911, RMSEA = .0324

Table 20
Structural Equation Standardized Parameter Estimates for Six-Group Model.

Path Description	Global ^a	No Kids ^b	Transition ^b	Preschool ^b	Elementary ^b	Teenagers ^b	Empty Nest ^b	Sig. Diff.
(a) Job responsibility → Work-family conflict	.084	.051	.101	.1	.111	.058	.103	Sig.
(b) Job hours → Work-family conflict	.055	.540	.566	.567	.563	.570	.569	Sig.
(c) Job flexibility → Work-family conflict	-.092	-.094	-.144	-.087	-.093	-.105	-.062 ^(ns)	N.S.
(d) Work-family programs → Work-family conflict	-.026	-.032 ^(ns)	-.133	-.043	.035 ^(ns)	-.008 ^(ns)	-.029 ^(ns)	Sig.
(e) Job flexibility → Family-work conflict	-.081	-.067	-.054 ^(ns)	-.110	-.096	-.074	-.070 ^(ns)	N.S.
(f) Work-family programs → Family-work conflict	.027	-.014 ^(ns)	.011 ^(ns)	.039 ^(ns)	.031	.014 ^(ns)	.067 ^(ns)	Sig.
(g) Time spent in HH chores → Family-work conflict	.075	.031 ^(ns)	.086 ^(ns)	.073	.100	.093	.137	Sig.
(h) Married → Family-work conflict	.069	.038	.033 ^(ns)	-.003 ^(ns)	-.060	-.030 ^(ns)	-.026 ^(ns)	Sig.
(i) Work-family conflict → Family-work conflict	.064	.139	.154 ^(ns)	.051	.052 ^(ns)	.104	.047 ^(ns)	Sig.
(j) Family-work conflict → Work-family conflict	.040	-.017 ^(ns)	-.014 ^(ns)	.015 ^(ns)	.041 ^(ns)	-.005 ^(ns)	.039 ^(ns)	N.S.
(k) Job flexibility → Work-family fit	.223	.210	.193	.242	.240	.234	.195	Sig.
(l) Work-family conflict → Work-family fit	-.522	-.532	-.534	-.493	-.506	-.535	-.515	Sig.
(m) Family-work conflict → Work-family fit	-.182	-.137	-.22	-.247	-.200	-.188	-.139	Sig.
(n) Work-family fit → Job satisfaction	.384	.363	.403	.370	.404	.374	.399	Sig.
(o) Work-family fit → Work success	.442	.393	.528	.446	.465	.458	.446	Sig.
(p) Work-family fit → Life success	.574	.549	.586	.591	.606	.590	.530	Sig.
(q) Work-family fit → Marital success	.410	.405	.454	.430	.427	.401	.380	Sig.
(r) Work-family fit → Parenting success	.497	.445	.554	.524	.533	.487	.425	Sig.

(ns) = not statistically significant ($p > .05$) - ^aGlobal Model: $\chi^2 = 13312$, $df = 149$, $p < .000$; CFI = .942, TLI = .910, RMSEA = .0460

^bSix Group By Life Stage: $\chi^2 = 12095$, $df = 894$, $p < .000$; CFI = .941, TLI = .908, RMSEA = .0191

APPENDIX A

U.S. Families

The high rate of divorce and separations in the 1960s and 1970s left many families with only one single adult member (Hernandez & Myers, 1988). For single mothers even full-time, full-year employment did not guarantee remaining above the poverty line (Menaghan & Parcel, 1990).

Despite these negative consequences, especially for single women, during the 1960s and the 1970s married women began to decrease their economic dependency on their husbands (Sorensen & McLanahan, 1987) even if the earning gap forced women to work longer hours to contribute enough income to their families. In 1970, only 36% of all American married couples between the ages of 18 and 64 were composed of two earners, but this number had risen to 60% by the year 2000 (Jacobs, 2003). Since that time the proportion has diminished to 51% in 2005 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2006).

In addition to paid work, people still need to do domestic labor (Jacobs, 2003). According to Jacobs (2003) men with working wives work an average of 45 hours per week, and women with working husbands average 37 hours per week, while domestic labor range between 37 hours per week in the case of childless married couples to 54 hours for those families with children. This means that the workload of many married couples is equivalent to three full-time jobs. In the case of single parents it is even worse, since most of them are solely responsible for two full-time jobs when adding the housework to the paid work outside their home (Bellavia & Frone, 2005). The result of this added overload for families is an increase of work-family conflict and subsequent added stress and potential health problems for all family members.

APPENDIX B

Classical Hypotheses about the Work-Family Interface

According to Cohen (1997) the relationship between work and non-work (or family) domains was initially the basis of three different hypotheses: the segregation (or segmentation) hypothesis (Dubin & Champoux, 1977), the compensation hypothesis, and the spillover hypothesis. A fourth important hypothesis in the work-family literature is the role strain or scarcity hypothesis.

The Segregation Hypothesis

The segregation hypothesis is the earliest and it postulates that no relationship exists between work and family (non-work). Segregation is the separation of work and family such that the two domains do not affect one another (Burke & Greenglass, 1987). According to Barnett (1999) the segregation or "separate-spheres model" reflects the demographic and attitudinal realities prevalent in the 1960s and 1970s when "the two worlds of work and family were conceptualized as totally separate and in competition" (p. 146) and when they paralleled gender segregation. Originally segregation was seen as a natural division of the two domains because of their separation in time and space and because they served different functions (Dubin, 1973).

This theoretical perspective assumes that the two domains of work and family are separate temporally, functionally, and psychologically and that activities in each domain make unique demands on people. An inevitable struggle between competing demands is an assumed consequence for people who try to fulfill demands in both family and work roles. Moreover, managing these conflicting demands is mainly a women's issue and the failure to keep work free of family intrusions is a sign of a lack of adequate boundaries or of wrong priorities. This view was reinforced by the prevalent corporate culture that required that employees not allow family matters

to interfere with work responsibilities. The insertion of more women with young children into the workforce was highly incompatible with this culture.

Besides the case of women, the segregation view has been applied most frequently in research to blue-collar workers who have more unsatisfying jobs and for whom the segmentation of the two domains is seen as a natural process (Lambert, 1990). However, research suggests that segregation does not occur naturally but it is the result of efforts by the worker to separate work and family. Piotrkowski (1979) found that people may use active segregation as a method of coping with stress from a domain: people may consciously suppress family-related feelings and concerns while at work or vice versa, in order to maintain a boundary between work and family.

The Compensatory Hypothesis

The compensatory hypothesis postulates that workers may compensate or make up for the lack of satisfaction or deprivation experienced at work by trying to find more satisfaction in the other domains (Burke & Greenglass, 1987; Champoux, 1978). Dubin (1967) concluded that the "industrial man seems to perceive his life as having its center outside of work for his intimate human relationships and for his feelings of enjoyment, happiness, and worth" (p. 68).

This perspective best applies to workers whose jobs are usually uninvolved and unsatisfying. In the work-family literature two forms of compensation have been distinguished. First, an individual may reduce involvement in one domain that is producing dissatisfaction and increase involvement in a more satisfying domain (Champoux, 1978). This form of compensation is based on a reallocation of importance or time between domains. Second, an individual may pursue rewards (experiences that may fulfill the individual's desires and increase satisfaction) in one domain to react to dissatisfaction in the other domain (Zedeck, 1992). This form of compensation may still be differentiated between supplemental and reactive compensation

(Zedeck, 1992). Supplemental compensation is sought for when rewards in one domain are insufficient. In this case the individual will seek rewards in the "compensatory" domain to add to those in the unfulfilling domain (Evans & Bartolome, 1984). Reactive compensation, on the other hand, occurs when a person seeks contrasting experiences in one domain to compensate for undesirable experiences in the other (Zedeck, 1992). Both forms of compensation seek for compensatory rewards in different domains, but the supplemental compensation is sought because of insufficient positive experiences, such as when people seek autonomy at home to compensate for lack of it at work. Reactive compensation is a consequence of too many negative experiences, such as when a worker rests at home after a difficult day at work (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000).

The Spillover or Generalization Hypothesis

The spillover hypothesis postulates that alienation from one domain is carried-over or generalized to the other domain. Spillover refers to the effects of one domain that generate similarities between the two domains (Burke & Greenglass, 1987). The effects of work or family "spill" over from one domain to another (Crouter, 1984; Kelly & Voydaboff, 1985). Similarities that spill over include values, affects (such as mood and satisfaction), skills, and behaviors.

Spillover may happen because of similarity between constructs in the two domains (e.g., as exemplified by the positive relationship between job and family satisfaction) or because experiences are transferred from one domain to the other (e.g., work stress is manifested at home) (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000).

Spillover can be positive or negative and go from the work domain to the family domain or vice versa. However, this concept was initially (Wilensky, 1960) linked to a negative view of the work domain, whereby negatives experiences are carried over to the family domain.

The Role Strain Hypothesis

The role strain perspective on the work-family interface is based implicitly on the scarcity perspective (Marks, 1977). This hypothesis assumes that because time and energy are fixed and limited resources, individuals who participate in multiple roles experience substantial resource drain (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000).

To try to fulfill multiple roles results in the depletion of these scarce resources. Grzywacz and Marks (2000) believe that "work-family research has been dominated by the role strain perspective of the work-family interface...postulating that responsibilities from different, separate domains compete for limited amount of time, physical energy, and psychological resources" (p. 112).

According to Geurts and Demerouti (2003) this hypothesis cannot be completely identified with distinctions between compensation and spillover since it could be considered a form of reactive compensation (such that for example leisure time become nothing more than relax from overwhelming work) or as spillover of negative load effect from work. However, Lambert (1990) noticed that psychologists have most often interpreted the work-non work (or family) conflict as a form of negative spillover of strain built up at work and then "discharged" into family life.

Despite evidence to the contrary, Baruch and Barnett (1986) noticed that the scarcity hypothesis is held in high regard by many scholars and that it has generated a substantial amount of research over the past several decades on the measurement, antecedents, and consequences of work-family conflict and, according to several scholars (e.g., Greenhaus and Foley, 2007), work-family conflict is the most widely studied concept in the work-family literature.

Because of the importance of the concept of work-family conflict in the literature and its centrality in this study, the literature about work-family conflict will be reviewed separately and more extensively later in this paper. For now it is sufficient to say that this construct is usually

defined as "a form of interrole conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect" (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985, p. 77). Therefore, individuals who experience extensive work-family conflict compromise their effectiveness or positive affect in one life role because of their experiences in another role.

Recent Perspectives on the Work-Family Interface

Recently new perspectives on the work-family interface have moved away from the classical distinction between compensation and spillover, since these two processes cannot be clearly separated. In fact, compensation and spillover may even operate simultaneously and depend on specific characteristics of the individuals and groups involved (e.g., age, gender, parental status).

Role strain hypothesis is still dominant in the work-family literature, but at the same time more researchers are now focusing on the idea that participation in multiple roles can also "enhance" or "facilitate" each other and not necessarily result in strain or conflict. People may be able to integrate, harmonize, balance, or "fit" the two domains together. New concepts and theoretical perspectives have been used recently to explain the work-family interface. This paper will now review the literature about some of the most important: the role enhancement hypothesis and the related concepts of work-family enhancement or facilitation; the concepts of balance and fit; the ecological system theory and the work-family boundary/border theory.

The Role Enhancement Hypothesis

Although work-family research has been focused and dominated by the role strain and scarcity perspective, Marks (1977), Sieber (1974), and others (e.g. Kabanoff, 1980) have laid the foundation for a more positive view of the work-family interface. This parallel body of theory, the role enhancement hypothesis, opposes the role strain hypothesis and can be associated with the

idea of positive spillover. The basic assumption of this approach is that the fulfillment of multiple roles is not necessarily associated with the depletion of energy (Marks, 1977). According to Marks the process of consumption of human energy is inseparably connected to the process of production of human energy.

Long and Porter (1984) further suggest that the psychological consequences of role accumulation depend not only on the number of roles in which a person is involved in, but also on the nature and characteristics of these roles, since roles differ in obligation associated with them and in social value attached to them. Role participation may lead to energy expansion, gratification, greater self-esteem and a positive response to the role instead of a negative response of strain (Marks, 1977). Similarly Verbrugge (1986) believes that the quality of the role experience is critical in determining whether role engagement leads to gratification or strain.

This perspective postulates that participation in multiple roles might be beneficial to the person because it might provide greater opportunities and better functioning in other life domain (Barnett, 1998). Research supports this perspective. For example, it has been found that marital quality and spouse support is an important buffer for job-related stress, especially for men (Barnett, 1996; Weiss, 1990). Other empirical findings support the role enhancement theory by showing that employed married mothers when compared to unemployed married mothers score higher on measure of physical and psychological well-being (e.g. Thoits, 1983).

Work-Family Enrichment

Since the 1970s and 1980s the idea of positive consequences associated with participation in multiple roles has been described by several different concepts, and the list includes enrichment (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Rothbard, 2001), facilitation (Frone, 2003; Grzywacz, 2002), positive

spillover (Crouter, 1984; Hanson, Colton, & Hammer, 2003), and enhancement (Ruderman, Ohlott, Panzer, & King, 2002).

Although different scholars have used different terminologies, the concepts used all point to a similar concept. For example, Greenhaus and Powell (2006) defined work-family enrichment as "the extent to which experiences in one role improve the quality of life in the other role" (p. 73). Grzywacz (2002) defined work-family facilitation as the extent to which an individual's active involvement in one domain facilitates enhanced engagement or processes in another domain.

Enrichment has been characterized as a bidirectional concept, since work can enrich family life (work-to-family enrichment) and family can enrich work life (family-to-work enrichment).

Because of the slow development of this line of research, work-family research has continued to be dominated by a conflict perspective (Barnett, 1998; Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1999) and this dominance has positioned work and family roles as "enemies" (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000) that continually interfere with one another. The possibility that work and family can be "allies" has not yet produced a comparable number of studies or findings as the conflict perspective.

According to Grzywacz (2002), however, separate lines of empirical research provide support for each of Sieber's (1974) explanations regarding how role accumulation can lead to enhancement for individuals and groups. Originally Sieber identified four mechanisms by which multiple role participation can facilitate or "enhance" the quality of life: role privileges (rights and benefits derived from one role that improve life in another role), status security (support or satisfaction experienced in one role helps with coping with the problems and dissatisfaction in the other role), status enhancement (resources provided by a role enhance experiences in another role), and personality enrichment (skills or knowledge developed in one role can be applied to the other

role). Using Sieber's (1974) ideas, Kirchmeyer found that positive spillover from family to work was more prevalent than negative spillover and that conflict and enhancement were independent dimensions of the work-family interface (Kirchmeyer, 1992, 1993).

Since work-family facilitation literature is still underdeveloped, there are only a very few studies that include gender differences among their results. Greenhaus and Foley (2007) report that in their review two-thirds of the studies showed that work-to-family facilitation was stronger for women than for men. This result confirms the finding that women are more likely than men to use their income (Crittenden, 2001) or other job-related facilitation such as job autonomy or networking (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000) to benefit their children's lives. This finding, according to Greenhaus and Foley (2007) may be explained by considering that women usually feel more responsible for their families well-being than their husbands and this gives them an extra motivation to use the resources they acquire on their job to improve their family life. Another study by Hill (2005) reported that no gender differences were found for work-to-family facilitation or family-to-work facilitation.

Work-Family Balance

The pursuit of a balance between work and family or work and life is a fairly recent concern. It has emerged because of growing concerns about contemporary demographic developments that are bringing about dramatic changes in the gender and age of the work force (Crosbie & Moore, 2004).

Most writers use the phrase "work-family balance" as if its meaning was self-evident. For many this phrase means that work and family are somehow integrated or harmonious. According to Frone (2003) however, closer examination of empirical research shows that there are two more precise meanings of this concept. The first and more influential definition is a lack of conflict or

interference between work and family roles. According to this definition balance is the absence of interrole conflict as defined by Greenhaus and Beutell (1985). The second definition, however, includes the concept of work-family facilitation (or enhancement, positive spillover). In this case balance is more than the absence of conflict but it includes the presence of positive elements.

Greenhaus, Collins, and Shaw (2003) suggest that "despite the presumed virtue of work-family balance, the concept has not undergone extensive scrutiny" (p. 511). These authors argue that most of the major reviews of work-family relations "either do not mention work-family balance or mention balance but do not explicitly define the concept" (p. 511). To compensate for this shortcoming of the family literature Greenhaus et al. (2003) offer the following definition of work-family balance: "the extent to which an individual is equally engaged in—and equally satisfied with—his or her work role and family role" (p. 513). Their definition is broad enough to include positive and negative balance. Since role engagement can be further divided into elements of time and psychological involvement, Greenhaus et al. (2003) propose that work-family balance has three components: time balance (an equal amount of time devoted to work and family roles); involvement balance (an equal level of psychological involvement in work and family roles); satisfaction balance (an equal level of satisfaction with work and family roles). Greenhaus et al. (2003) view work-family balance as a continuum between a situation in which an individual is imbalanced in favor of a particular role (for example, work) to a situation in which the individual is imbalanced in favor of the other role (e.g., family).

Work-Family Fit

The work-family fit construct was first introduced by Pittman (1994) and was defined as "the perception of a suitable correspondence between work and family that goes beyond the absence of role conflict" (p. 185). Work-family fit "reflect[s] a feeling of comfort with the balance

of the demands made upon the worker and his family” (p. 186). Barnett (1998) conceptualizes fit as "the extent to which the worker realizes the various components of her or his work-family adaptive strategies" (p. 167). The fit construct does not assume an inherent conflict between work and family. It is about the family's adaptive strategies and the extent to which couples are able to optimize their family adaptive strategies.

Grzywacz and Bass (2003) agree that fit is more than simply absence of conflict but is a combination of enhancement and conflict. However, they stress the fact that it is necessary to specify the combination of enhancement and conflict that best facilitates individual, work and family outcomes. Grzywacz and Bass (2003) therefore define work-family fit as "the extent to which work-family facilitation can eliminate experiences of work-family conflict, or the extent to which work-family facilitation creates an environment that can tolerate experiences of work-family conflict" (p. 250).

According to Voydanoff (2005) the concept of fit has been used inconsistently in previous research, creating confusion in the literature, especially with the concept of balance. The case can be made that the use of the concept of fit is more valuable than that of balance since it is better grounded in theory (i. e., person-environment fit theory) and it includes more clearly elements of both conflict and enhancement.

Ecological Theory

The ecological system theory postulates that individual development is best understood if it is studied in the context of the interaction between the characteristics of the person and the characteristics of the environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1989). Ecological system theory proposes a model of human development that includes feedback loops between the individual and his/her environment which affect each other. The environment comprises a hierarchy of four systems: the

microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, and the macrosystem. In the context of work-family research the most important microsystems are the home and the workplace. The work-family interface is a mesosystem that includes the two microsystems of work and family (Bronfenbrenner, 1989).

According to Grzywacz and Marks (2000), "in contrast to the individual, deterministic perspective of structural-functionalist role theory, Bronfenbrenner's ecological system theory... suggests that the work-family experience is a joint function of process, person, context, and time characteristics" (p. 112). Each of these characteristics exerts an additive and potentially interactive effect on a person's experience of the work-family interface which reflects the adequacy of fit between the person and his or her environment.

Boundary/Border Theory

According to boundary/border theory, work and family constitute different domains which influence each other but that have contrasting purposes and cultures like two different countries (Clark, 2000). For some individuals, the transition is easy, for others the contrast is much greater and requires extreme transition. People who are border-crossers make daily transitions between the two domains. The degree of flexibility and or permeability of boundaries will affect the level of integration and the ease of transition between domains (Ashforth, Kreiner & Fugate, 2000; Clark, 2000). Flexibility is the degree to which a role can be performed outside of the typical spatial and temporal boundaries of its domain. For example, some workers can work from home while others cannot. Borders are also characterized by their permeability. Permeability is defined as "the degree to which elements from other domains may enter" (Clark, 2000, p. 756). For example, a worker may have a home office separated from other rooms in the home. However, the border can be very permeable because family members may enter the office and interrupt frequently.

Boundary/border theory suggests that boundaries that are flexible and permeable facilitate integration between domains and when domains are integrated transitions should be easier, but at the same interferences or conflicts could be more frequent. On the other hand, when work and family domains are more segmented, transitions should be more difficult but fewer interferences and conflicts may result from it.

APPENDIX C

Work-Family Conflict

Time-based conflict refers to time pressures associated with the fulfillment of one role that makes it physically impossible to meet demands from the other domain or at least produce a preoccupation with one role even when attempting to meet the demands of another role (Bartolome & Evans, 1979). For example, working on a week-end may result in missing a soccer game with one's family. Strain-based conflict exists when strain in one role affects a person's performance in another role. Tension, anxiety or fatigue in the work domain makes it difficult to fulfill the demands of family role. For example, when a father is always getting home very tired because of work he may not be emotionally available to his family even if he is physically present.

Specific patterns of behavior used in one domain may be incompatible with the other domain or at least with expectation of those involved in the other domain. For example, managers may have a hard time "switching hats" at home, where they are expected to be warm, nurturing, and patient, after a day in the office where they are expected to be assertive, aggressive, and emotionally detached.

Work-Family Conflict Frameworks

The rational view postulates that the amount of conflict one individual perceives increases in proportion of the number of hours the person expends both in family and work roles (Higgins, Duxbury, & Lee, 1994). Under the rational view there is a direct correspondence between objective conditions and self-reported levels of work-family conflict. Therefore, the more hours a person spends in work activities, the more work to family conflict the person will experience; the more hours a person spends in family activities, the more family to work conflict the person will experience. The rational view is well exemplified by Pleck (1977) who predicted that men would

experience more work-to-family conflict and that women would experience more family-to-work conflict, because men are more involved with work, and women with family. This prediction was the direct result of a traditional worldview that still emphasized a gendered division of labor. However, one curious finding of the literature is that there seems to be a lack of major gender differences in many studies of work-family conflict (e.g. Eagle, Miles, & Icenogle, 1997; Frone et al., 1992) and this cannot be easily explained by the rational view.

An alternative way of looking at work-family conflict that can explain why Pleck's (1977) predictions have not been clearly confirmed by empirical studies is the gender role or gender role-expectations framework. According to this view, role expectations will affect men's and women's perceptions of work-family conflict differently (Gutek, Searle, & Klepa, 1991). This framework predicts that hours spent working in the opposite gender's domain will have a greater negative psychological impact on a person's perceptions of work-family conflict than hours spent in her or his own domain. Therefore, additional hours worked in one person's own sex role traditional domain (women at home and men at work) will be felt as less of an imposition than more hours worked in the other sex's traditional domain. If we accept this view, then Pleck's (1977) predictions need to be reversed or at least it is necessary to take into consideration the potentially moderating effect of gender role expectations.

A third framework employed to analyze work-family conflict is offered by Karasek (1979). Karasek suggested that role demands and control are two operating forces that influence work-family conflict. He postulated that it is the combination of low control and heavy role demands that is associated with high level of stress. According to this perspective, men traditionally were at an advantage since in order to fulfill their family expectation of being a good provider they did not need to meet additional demands within the home but women were usually unable to take time

away from work to fulfill their family role (Barnett & Baruch, 1987). Moreover, men traditionally had more control of their time. Since traditional roles have changed, currently this framework needs to be applied more carefully to men and women by considering within-gender differences. However, the main postulates of this perspective are still useful.

APPENDIX D

Personality Characteristics

Positive qualities such as conscientiousness, agreeableness, and a secure relationship style have been linked to low levels of work-family conflict, while negative qualities such as neuroticism or negative affectivity have been linked to high levels of work-family conflict (Bruck & Allen, 2003; Carlson, 1999; Grzywacz & Marks, 2000). It is probable that dispositional characteristics affect work-family conflict indirectly by increasing levels of work stress and family stress (Stoeva, Chiu, & Greenhaus, 2002).

Organizational Concepts of Life Course Perspective

The organizational concepts of the life course perspective include trajectories and transitions. Social trajectories are lifelong sequences of roles in people's lives and they include family and work roles. Life transitions represent a change in state, such as when one gets married or when children leave home. Transitions are always embedded in the trajectories that give them distinctive forms and meanings, and trajectories are shaped by prior, and prospective, transitions (Elder, 1995). At each phase of the process, the choice of certain options instead of others results in a different life course. During life transitions, substantial change in direction represents potential "turning points" (Elder & Johnson, 2000).

Work-Family Initiatives

Those companies who developed the first family initiatives tailored them specifically for women. They reflected the ideological assumption that women are the primary caregivers in the family. Currently most family initiatives are gender neutral in language but most employers and employees still consider them mainly a women's issue.

Researchers have classified employers' work-family initiatives in many ways. Anderson, Coffey, and Byerly (2002) distinguish between formal and informal initiatives. Formal organizational initiatives include schedule flexibility and dependent care benefits that are currently the most prevalent work-family programs (Friedman & Johnson, 1997). These programs were initially designed as a response to the needs of an increased number of working mothers. Dependent care benefits may include several provisions, such as leave to care for dependents and help to secure child care. Whether these benefits actually minimize conflict between work and family is still an open question (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998).

Rodgers (1992) suggests that flexible work hours and schedule are consistently rated as the most valuable option provided by an employer. This may be particularly true for fathers. One study by Hill, Hawkins, Martinson, and Ferris (2003) suggests that fathers value flexibility in when and where work is done much more than they value childcare programs or reduced hours. Several studies have shown that flexible work hours reduce absenteeism (Dalton & Mesch, 1990) and have positive effects on productivity and job satisfaction (Baltes, Briggs, Huff, Wright & Neuman, 1999).

The formal offering of family-friendly policies is not a sufficient indicator of the family-friendliness of an organization. In fact, many employers, following business considerations, limit flexibility to a reduced number of employees or to a limited part of the workday. In many cases informal policies are probably even more important than formal ones. The culture of an organization usually determines whether work-family benefits are really available and to whom they are. In several cases, the use of family-friendly policies is discouraged or has negative career effects (Williams, 2000).

APPENDIX E

References for Appendixes

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