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Mother's perceptions of work-family conflict and the relationship to positive parenting, and parental satisfaction

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by

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ABSTRACT

Traditional gender roles portray men as breadwinners and women as caretakers but these roles are slowly changing due to the increase in dual earner families. However, employed mothers continue to be more closely associated with caretaking than employed fathers. Employed mothers face a unique bind between their caretaking and employment expectations. Yet, the relationship between employed mothers' work-family, their parenting and parental satisfaction has not been the subject of rigorous study.

Guided by the concepts of the intensive mothering ideology and ideal worker norm, this dissertation examined the relationships between employed mothers' work-family conflict, positive parenting, and parental satisfaction using nationally representative cross-sectional data collected from mothers. The intensive mothering ideology describes mothers as solely dedicated to children and family with little self-interest while the ideal worker norm defines a good worker as someone solely dedicated to the company with little concern for their personal aspects.

Results suggest that family sacrifices had a greater influence on employed mothers than career sacrifices. This finding appears to indicate that employed mothers continue to compare themselves to the intensive mothering ideology rather than the ideal worker norm. Maternal and family characteristics were also shown to have a relationship with work-family conflict, parenting, and parental satisfaction. This research has important implications for the understanding of maternal work-family conflict and the development of ways to minimize this conflict.

CHAPTER 1.

Introduction

Overview and Rationale

Gender roles for men and women used to be straightforward, with men focusing on paid employment and women focusing on family care. For the last several decades, however, men and women have increasingly focused on both work and family. Today, half of married women work full-time and two-income families are now a majority (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007). Most of these families have children. In particular, 63% of working mothers have children younger than 6 years old and 77% have children 6-17 years old (Health Resources and Services Administration, 2008-2009). The composition of and roles within American families have changed but the expectations regarding who is primarily responsible for the majority of parenting (mothers) has remained constant.

Mothers have been subjected to the "intensive mothering ideology" since the economic transition from family farm work to factory work (Arendell, 2000; Elvin-Nowak & Thomsson, 2001; Guendouzi, 2006; Johnston & Swanson 2006, 2007; Skolnick, 1991). Before mothers were employed outside the home, mothering was not particularly scrutinized. However with the advent of industrial employment for women in factories, the intensive mothering ideology emerged to remind women what a "good" mother does. This mothering discourse depicts the "good" mother as dedicated solely to her child or children and home at the expense of all other dimensions of her life (Elvin-Nowak & Thomsson, 2001; Hays, 1996). Because industrial jobs were developed with men in mind, working mothers were forced to adhere to the "ideal worker" norm which assumes that daytime hours are "company time" and the worker has a spouse to care for

all the personal aspects that occur outside of work such as shopping, housework, and child care (Martin, 2003). These two philosophies create what is referred to as work-family conflict. The increase in female labor force participation combined with static parenting and worker ideals create a unique bind for mothers. In fact, Johnston and Swanson (2007) found that employed mothers must do "cognitive acrobatics" in order to fulfill the worker and mother expectations simultaneously. Previous research shows that women internalize intensive mothering and ideal worker norms regardless of their ability to carry out those expectations (Edin & Lein, 1997; Weigt, 2006).

Despite high employment, women are still expected to give more attention to their families than do men (Hays, 1996). Indeed, employed mothers are more likely than employed fathers to report a conflict between work and home (Dilworth, 2004). The effects of work-family conflict on women, children, and families have not been fully explored but most research indicated the effects on women are negative. Investigators have found work-family conflict to be positively associated with depression, physical ailments, fatigue, stress, and lower family life satisfaction among women (Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1997; Googins, 1991; Van Hooff, Geurts, Kompier & Taris, 2006).

A gap in previous work-family conflict research is that it uses only white samples or disregards or controls race as a factor in the analysis (e.g., Becker & Moen, 1999; Berger at el., 2008; Bianchi & Mattingly, 2004; Blair-Loy, 2001; Burden, 1986; Marks at el., 2001; Milkie & Peltola, 1999; Maume, 2006; Reynolds, 2005; Risman & Johnson-Sumerford, 1998; Zick at el., 2001). Race is important to consider because white and black mothers face different societal assumptions regarding the appropriate ways to

manage home and work. Hill and Sprague (1999) find that more African-American mothers than White mothers see their parental role as provider rather than as solely teacher or guide for their children. This emphasis on the provider role may be because African-American mothers and fathers have faced historically discrimination that hindered their earning power (Hill & Sprague, 1999; Murry et al., 2008). These beliefs may alter the relationship between mothers' perceptions of work-family conflict, and their parenting behaviors and attitudes. Thus, this dissertation includes comparisons of work-family conflict between White and Black in the aforementioned concepts.

Mothers' marital status may also be important. Women today have diverse life paths such as remaining single, divorcing, cohabitating, waiting to marry, and having children outside of marriage (AmeriStat, 2003; American Community Survey 2006; Kurtz, 1995; U.S. Census Bureau, 2006 & 2007; Wu & Wolfe, 2001). Thus, married women account for a shrinking percentage of working mothers. Yet, the majority of work-family conflict studies focused on married or partnered mothers and/or in comparison to married or partnered men (e.g., Becker & Moen, 1999; Bianchi & Mattingly, 2004; Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer & Robinson, 2006; Marks at el., 2001; Maume, 2006; Milkie & Peltola, 1999; Reynolds, 2005; Risman & Johnson-Sumerford, 1998; Zick at el., 2001). Moreover, prior studies that include single parents did not differentiate between women who are never married, divorced, widowed or separated (e.g., Burden, 1986; Weigt, 2006). A few studies examined marital status or family structure in greater detail by including noncustodial ex-partners and cohabiting partners but this research does not examine mothers' work-family conflict (e.g., Bulanda, 2007; Demo, 1992;

Gibson-Davis, 2008). This dissertation therefore compares work-family conflict between married, never married, and divorced/widowed mothers (information on cohabitation is not available).

Another key limitation of the work-family conflict literature is that the mothers' number of work hours is often not clearly defined. Research has investigated employment in terms of career type such as executive, professional, manager, or lawyer (e.g., Becker & Moen, 1999; Blair-Loy & Dehart, 2003; Blair-Loy, 2001; Burden, 1986; Demo, 1992; Risman & Johnson-Sumerford, 1998). Categorizing by career type does not allow an understanding of how much of the mother's time is taken up by work. Studies that categorize mothers' employment by number of hours worked or by full or part-time status include this only as a control rather than to explore employment differences (e.g., Bulanda, 2007; Gibson-Davis, 2008). This dissertation therefore includes comparisons between (full vs. part-time) working mothers.

Few studies have examined how work-family conflict affects parenting (Blair-Loy, 2001). The literature has been limited to examining factors associated with work-family conflict such as level of employment, marital status, health, age, education, income, and timing of children (e.g., Becker & Moen, 1999; Blair-Loy & Dehart, 2003; Marks at el., 2001; Zick et al., 2001). Other research investigates how working mothers' individual characteristics such as marital status and income influence their level of involvement with their children and parenting style (e.g., Bianchi, Cohen, Raley & Nomaguchi, 2004; Blair-Loy & Dehart, 2003; Buland, 2007; Gibson-Davis, 2008; Hawkins, Amato, & King, 2006). A third theme in the work-family literature is how a

mother's employment influences her ability to carry out home responsibilities and conversely, how family responsibilities influence a mother's work abilities (e.g., Bianchi & Mattingly, 2004; Blair-Loy & DeHart, 2003; Maume 2006; Reynolds, 2005; Weigt, 2006).

The potential effects of work-family conflict on women and their families may be numerous. For example, Erdwins et al. (2001) found that mothers with more work-family conflict felt less competent as parents. Mothers with high work-family conflict may therefore suffer from a reduction in parental, marital, and life satisfaction related to their inability carry out their nurturing role as associated with being "good" mothers (Hays, 1996). Mothers with depression have been found to have less structured homes which negatively impacted child adjustment and family functioning (e.g. Foster et al., 2008). This dissertation addresses how mothers' perception of work-family conflict affects several aspects of parenting.

Studies of work-family conflict have also paid little attention to parental satisfaction. Rather, there has been more focus given to family satisfaction (e.g., Hughes & Parkes, 2007; Kiecolt, 2003). Specifically, investigators have explored how control over work hours affected workers' psychological well-being, physical well-being and family life satisfaction (e.g., Chesley & Moen, 2006; Danna & Griffin, 1999; Rogers & DeBoer, 2001). Researchers have also examined how work-family conflict influences job satisfaction (e.g. Danna & Griffin, 1999) as well as marital happiness/satisfaction (e.g. Furdyna, Tucker & James, 2008). Lastly, the literature examines how work-family conflict affects general life satisfaction (Grant-Vallone & Donaldson, 2001).

It is essential to examine women's perceptions of their work-family conflict and *parental* satisfaction in particular because of its potential effects on children, mothers, and spouses/partners. Mothers with high work-family conflict can be more irritable, impatient or withdraw from children and spouse/partner (Murry et al., 2008; Perry-Jenkins et al., 2000). In some cases, mothers with high work-family conflict can become depressed making it difficult for them to carry out daily tasks such personal care, child care, cooking, cleaning, organizing, maintaining relationships, and working (Perry-Jenkins, Repetti & Crouter, 2000). Maternal depression leaves children, and a spouse/partner with less social and emotional support. Wickrama et al. (1995) found that when mothers felt satisfied with their parenting they also reported that their physical health was better which may make it easier to balance work and family. This dissertation examines the relationship between mothers' work-family conflict and parental satisfaction.

A final drawback of the work-family conflict literature is that the main datasets on which studies are based, both quantitative (e.g. 1992 and 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce, 1996 General Social Survey and 1998 Cornell Couples and Careers Study) or qualitative studies (e.g. Becker & Moen, 1999; Dilworth, 2004; Maume, 2006; Milkie & Peltola, 1999; Reynolds, 2005; Risman & Johnson-Sumerford, 1998), are at older. Moreover, many work-family conflict studies are based on small and non-representative samples (Becker & Moen, 1999; Blair-Loy, 2001; Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2004; Marks at el., 2001; Risman & Johnson-Sumerford, 1998). Lastly, the work-family conflict literature often does not examine parenting practices specifically but define

parenting as the hours left after work (e.g. Dilworth, 2004; Milkie & Peltola, 1999; Reynolds, 2005)

Central Objectives

Based on The National Survey of Parents, 2000-2001 this dissertation has three specific objectives: To investigate:

(1) *The relationship between mothers' race (white, black), marital status (never married, married, divorce/widowed), employment (full and part-time), and work-family conflict.*

(2) *The relationship between mothers' work-family conflict, and positive parenting.*

(3) T*he relationship between mothers' work-family conflict, and parental satisfaction.*

Dissertation Organization

Chapter One provides an introduction to the rationale and research questions of this dissertation. Chapter Two reviews the literature, theories, and hypotheses with respect to work-family conflict. Chapter Three explains the data, variables, and methods used to test these hypotheses. Chapter Four examines the relationship between the maternal characteristics (mothers' race, marital status, employment, age, and education) and family characteristics (household income, number of adults and children in the home, having children under the age of 12 years old, and percent of children who are female), and, work-family conflict. Chapter Five presents findings on the relationship between

work-family conflict and positive parenting. Chapter Six presents findings on mothers' work-family conflict and parental satisfaction. Chapter Seven presents a summary of findings and conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER 2.

Background and Hypotheses

The majority of American mothers (between 63% and 77%) are employed (Health Resources and Service Administration, 2008-2009; U.S. Census 2007). Idealized versions of both mothers and workers typically create conflict for working mothers. It is often assumed that paid employment has only negative effects on mothers and their families but empirical evidence shows that mothers' employment has a more positive than negative effect. On the negative side, researchers have linked maternal employment with delayed cognitive development in children (Baydar & Brooks-Gunn, 1991; Belsky & Eggebeen, 1991). On the positive side, studies indicate that employed mothers, compared to full-time homemakers, have less stress, and feel they have more control over their lives (Hoffman at el., 1999). Investigators have also found that mothers' employment provides social support to single and working-class mothers and that they in turn report less depression (Guendouzi, 2006; Hoffman at el., 1999; Repetti, Matthew & Waldron, 1989). Researchers report that mother's employment produces positive child outcomes. For example, daughters of employed mothers are viewed by teachers as more independent leaders in the classroom than daughters of non-employed mothers (Hoffman at el., 1999). Girl and boys with employed mother have higher standardized test scores than children with full-time homemaker mothers (Hoffman at el., 1999). Employed mothers also benefit society in two key ways. First, women make up over half of the work force and are therefore vital to the U.S. economy. Secondly, the benefits associated with mothers' employment results in more well-adjusted children and future citizens.

Whereas the relationship between mother's employment and family outcomes is generally positive, work-family *conflict* has been shown to have negative effects. Investigators found that workers with high work-family conflict report more depression, physical ailments, fatigue, stress, and lower family life satisfaction (Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1997; Googins, 1991; Van Hooff, Geurts, Kompier & Taris, 2006). Mother's compromised health can affect their parenting quality and parental satisfaction. For example, researchers found that depressed mothers have less clear home rules and are less likely to be viewed as an authority by their children than mothers without depression (Foster, Webster, & Weissman at el., 2007). A child lacking parental guidance may be unsure how to interact in the world. In fact, delinquent youth often report having uninvolved or unsupportive parents (Bulanda, 2007; Simons, Johnson & Conger, 1994). Companies suffer due to work-family conflict because workers may miss or quit work due to illness or stress and then the company has to invest money into training new workers (Danna & Griffin, 1999). Ultimately, society is harmed because workers with high work-family conflict are contributing less to the economy. Understanding the dynamics of mothers' work-family conflict may provide ways to support mothers, children, and societal well-being.

Theoretical Approach

Society views women as carrying out their gender appropriately based on their ability to reflect certain traits. Welter (1966) in *The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860* identifies womanhood, and femininity as including women who are "pious, pure, submissive, and domestic" which includes motherhood. These ideals made women and

mothers dependent on men and husbands for their survival and focused their efforts on family and home. In contrast, Friedan (1997) discusses how women's roles expanded during the 1930s to include a career which meant self-reliance and a work identity for women. During the 1940s and 1950s, femininity again began to focus on the needs of children, husband and home and working mothers were considered harmful to child and family well-being (Friedan, 1997, Skolnick, 1991). Although standards of femininity have changed, they all view womanhood as closely associated with motherhood and their ability to nurture and care for others (Arendell, 2000, Bielby & Bielby, 1989; Gerson, 2002). Women who do not prioritize caretaking over their own desires are viewed as deviant or inappropriate by people in society (Arendell, 2000). The motherhood ideology also places caring for family and home above work (Johnston & Swanson, 2006). As a result, employed mothers struggle to carry out their roles as women, mothers and workers simultaneously because of the conflicts between femininity and motherhood caretaking, and worker norms.

Intensive Mothering Ideology. In the U.S., mother's caretaking is generally considered central to child development while father's contributions are viewed as less crucial (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth, and Lamb, 2000; Lamb, 2000). Whereas "good" mothers are associated with nurturance, good fathers are associated with providing financially for the family (Lamb, 2000). The intensive mothering ideology defines a "first-rate" mother as focusing solely on her child, seeking expert advice, and protecting the child from the larger world by investing unlimited amounts of their love, energy, and time (Hays, 1996). Under this view, child success is dependent on maternal

access and time. However, this level of motherly dedication is generally only possible for mothers who are not employed. Yet, not all mothers can withdraw from employment to care for children. White, married, middle-class mothers have greater ability to choose whether or not to work outside the home. Working class, single, and nonwhite mothers have historically had higher rates of employment (Furdyna, Tucker & James, 2008). There is even more pressure on mothers today because two incomes are generally considered necessary to support a family for all women regardless of race and income (unless husbands are particular high earners). Mothers' employment helps to pay for life necessities such as a mortgage, health insurance, and their child's education (Kirk & Okazawan-Rey, 2007).

More recently, a second mothering approach has evolved. This perspective sees the good mother as providing regular emotional and *financial* support to the children. In one study, African-American female attorneys reported that they were more successful at work because they saw motherhood as including breadwinning (Blair-Loy & Dehart, 2003). Secondly, some mothers also felt that adequate self-care was necessary to be a better caretaker and resource to their children (Tronto, 2005). Mothers saw fathers and other pivotal people (e.g., childcare providers) as making it possible for mothers to carry out work and self-care while also exposing children to the others diverse world views and way of living. Overall, these types of mothers view the quality of mother-child relationships as more important than the quantity of mother-child time (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer & Robinson, 2000; Blair-Loy, 2001).

Although motherhood and fatherhood ideals have changed over time, fathers are embracing new roles more slowly than mothers (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth & Lamb, 2000; Elvin-Nowak & Thomsson, 2001; England, 2010; Lamb, 2000; Marsiglio, Amato, Day & Lamb, 2000). Studies of the relationship between parents' gender, work-family conflict, and parenting found that mothers report more work-family conflict than fathers (Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2004; Dilworth, 2004). This reflects the fact that mothers are still doing the majority of childcare and housework (Mason & Goulden, 2004). Even motherhood is changing, mother's accessibility continues to be seen as pivotal to child development even among working mothers.

Ideal Worker Norm. Working mothers, as well as men and childfree women, must grapple with the ideal worker norm prevalent in our society. This norm expects employees to focus solely on company matters with little concern for their personal lives (Hays, 2003; Williams, 2000). Under this norm, the model employee's commitment to the company is measured by their hours worked (Brett & Stroh, 2003). Thus, a dedicated employee is easy to identify because he or she is generally physically present at the company. Owners, supervisors, and coworkers consider outside interests or time away from the company "bad for business" (e.g., Hochschild, 1997). This belief that outside interests hinder employees' productivity continues despite findings that worker respite and relaxation is associated with increased work productivity (e.g., Danna & Griffin, 1999; Hughes & Parkes, 2007; Williams, 2000). A related concept is what Moen and Roehling (2005) calls the "*career* mystic" in which both men and women's fulfillment should come from their full-time employment. What the ideal worker norm and *career*

mystic ignores is the employees' ability to obtain full-time employment can be shaped by the economy (Moen, 2010). If there are poor economic conditions there may be fewer good paying full-time jobs available which makes following the ideal worker norm difficult.

The traditional breadwinning-homemaker model assumes that most workers have a spouse or someone else to care for the worker's personal life. This belief ignores that not all workers, such as single women and men, have someone to care for their personal affairs. Yet, as women's employment increases and as men become more involved in family caretaking, businesses are finding it difficult to ignore workers' personal lives. Changes in employee rights, such as the eight hour work day, have forced employers to recognize that workers have family lives and outside interests. Nevertheless, the worker norm persists in only a slightly changed form. Rather than being physically present, workers are expected to be psychologically present aided by new technologies, such as the internet, cell phone, blackberries, and portable computers, which make it possible to work from home. It may be that the bind has simply changed from a specific business location to an undefined digital space (Spike Peterson, 2003).

The worker norm exerts a unique pressure on mothers to be taken seriously at work because their motherhood status draws attention to their external/non-company interests (Ridgeway, 1993; Williams, 2000). Mothers are given less important tasks within their jobs or are placed in positions with few options for promotion because they are viewed as having a stronger allegiance to their family than work (Noonan & Corcoran, 2004). In fact, Budig and England (2001) find that mothers receive a 7 percent

"wage penalty" per child for motherhood. Crittenden (2001) also discovered through her work experience that she lost around "$600,000 to $700,000" in wages due to "the mommy tax" that mothers receive for taking time out of their careers to care for children. Even when companies have progressive policies to reduce these costs, working mothers rarely take advantage of them because supervisors and coworkers continue to evaluate achievement based on the idealized worker norm which includes worker presence and work focus (Hochschild, 1997; Martin, 2003; Ridgeway, 1993; Valin, 1999).

Key Concepts

Work-family conflict. People's ideas of what is appropriate for women, mothers and workers helped create what researchers call work-family conflict. This concept originated in role theory research and to understand this concept it is helpful to differentiate between role and status. Ihinger-Tallman, Pasley, and Buehler (1995, p. 76) define *status* as "an individual's place in a social structure or set of relationships such as mother, employee, wife, and sister." They define *role* as "a set of expected behaviors patterns, obligations, and privileges attached to a particular social status." Society and individuals then use these statuses and roles to define themselves and direct how they interact with others and make sense of the world (Heiss, 1981; Stryker, 1981). Working mothers have two roles: mother and worker. Role conflict arises when elements of one role are incompatible with all or portions of another role (Heiss, 1981). For example, the intensive mothering ideology says that to be an excellent mother requires a singular focus on childcare. The ideal worker norm says that superior workers concentrate exclusively on work. The mother and worker expectations make it difficult (if not impossible) for

working mothers to successfully carry out both roles simultaneously. Researchers have found that an individual's ability to carry out specific roles successfully can exist on a "continuum of complete segmentation (or separation) to complete integration (merging) depending on how easy it is to carry out the duties outside the designated location (boundary flexibility) and whether the individual can be located in a specific location but involved psychologically and/or behaviorally in another role (boundary permeability)" (Glavin & Schieman, 2011 p. 4). Other investigators found that mother preferred to use role compartmentalization (segmentation) to reduce their work-family conflict and increase their productivity as mothers and workers (Knox, 2010). Mothers' ability to compartmentalize or integrate their roles may be influenced by whether they have a job versus a career because a career may offer more flexibility and permeability than a job.

According to Jackson (1998), there are several limitations to role theory. One concern researchers have is that identifying specific characteristics with a role makes those behaviors seem normative which may reduce an individual's social agency, creativeness, or ability to resist the expectations. Another criticism is that role theory emphasizes maintaining social order by requiring individuals to change their behaviors to fit within the designated categories or risk being viewed as deviant. Role theory also ignores how differences such as race, class, and gender can affect whether or not an individual can or wishes to enact a specific prescribed role. Role explanations also overlook how social roles or systems should or could change to better fit new behaviors such as working mothers. Lastly, researchers worry that role theory is more concerned

with maintaining the status quo than addressing power inequalities and the negative results of conforming.

Conceptualizing work-family conflict. The work-family conflict literature is diverse and varied in its conceptualizations. First, researchers use many different terms to describe the tension between work and family such as "time pressure" (Broman, 1991), "work restrictions" (Maume, 2006), "negative spillover from home to work" (Dilworth, 2004), "work-family conflict" or "work-to-life conflict" and/or "family-work conflict" or "life-to-work conflict" (Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2004; Hill, 2005; Huang et al., 2004; Reynolds,2005), "work interference with family life" and "family interference with work" (Erdwins et al., 2001), "role balance" (Marks et al., 2001; Stuart, 2002), "tradeoffs between paid work and family life" and "work intrusions into family life" (Milkie & Peltola, 1999), and "feelings about time" (Bianchi et al., 2006).

Operationalizing work-family conflict. Investigators also use diverse measurement strategies to gauge work-family tension. For example, Broman (1991) used data from the National Survey of Black Americans which asked respondents a "time pressure" question on *whether or not* "they feel overworked because of their household, family, and work responsiblities.*"* Maume (2006) and Dilworth (2004) used data from the National Study of the Changing Workforce that asked respondents *whether or not* they had specific "work restrictions" and *how often* there was "negative spillover from home to work" due to family or personal responsibilities such as "trouble getting work done on time, doing a good job at work, feeling drained of energy, and working fewer hours per week or having to work more hours." Hill (2005) and Reynolds (2005) also used data from the National

Study of the Changing Workforce that asked respondents *how often* they had specific "work-family conflict or work-to-life conflict" such as "not having enough time for family because of your job, how often they did not have enough energy to do things with family because of your job, not being able to get things done at home because of your job, not being in as good a mood as you would like because of your job." These researchers also asked respondents about "family-work conflict or family-to-work conflict" with questions such as "has your family/personal life: kept you from getting work done on time, kept you from taking on extra work at your job, kept you from doing a good job at work, drained your of energy need for your job, and kept you from concentraing on you job."

Blair-Loy and Wharton (2004) used data from a sample of 500 finance managers and professionals in a large firm which examined "work-family conflict" by asking respondents if they *agree/disagree* that "they had enough time for their children and if their job kept them away from their family too much." Huange et al. (2004) collected original data on 234 dual earner couples caring for children and aging parents. This researcher asked respondents whether they *agree/disagree* with the following "work-family conflict" questions "whether the demands of work interfere with home/family life, whether the time their job takes makes it difficult to fulfill family responsibilities, whether things at home do not get done because of their job demands, whether their job makes it difficult to fulfill family duties." Correspondingly, this researcher asked respondents whether they *agree/disagree* with the following "family-work conflict" questions "the demands of my family interfere with work activities, I have to put off

things at work because of demands on my time at home, things I want to do at my work don't get done because of my family, my home life interferes with my work responsibilities, and family strain interferes with performing job duties." Erdwin et al. (2001) also carried out original research on a sample of 129 married employed women with at least one preschool-aged child. This researchers asked respondents whether they *agree/disagree* with several "work inteference with family life" questions such as "my work schedule conflicts with my family life, whether they come home too tired to do the things they like to do, whether they have so much work on the job that it takes away from personal interests, my family dislikes how often I am preoccupied with work, because my job is demanding they come home irritable, the demands of the job make it difficult to be relaxed at home, work takes up time they would like to spend with family, and their job makes it difficult to be the spouse they would like to be." This authors' corresponding "family interference with work" questions asked respondents if they are "too tired at work because of things I have to do at home, that their personal demands take them away from work, that my supervisor and peers dislike how often I am preoccupied with my personal life, and my personal life takes up time I'd like to spend at work."

Marks at el. (2001) used the Processes of Adaptation in Intimate Relationship Project (PAIR) data to examine "role balance" which asked respondents whether they *agree/disagree* with the following statements that "they are good at keeping different parts of their life balanced, they don't let things slide, they enjoy every part of their lives equally and they put a lot of themselves into things they do." Stuart (2002) used the Family Stress and Children's Cognitive Development data to also examine "role balance"

which asked respondents whether they *agree/disagree* that "they enjoy every part of their lives, they are pretty good at keeping different parts of life balanced and don't let things slide, some things are important but others are a waste of time, everything is special and nothing is more important, there are some parts of my life I don't care about and other parts I care deeply about, I find satisfaction in everything I do, I try to put a lot of myself into everything, and there are some things I like to do so much that I neglect other things I also care about." Milkie and Peltola (1999) used data from the 1996 General Social Survey which asked respondents *whether or not* they made "tradeoffs between paid work and family life" by doing any of the following because of family "refused a job promotion, take on extra work, refuse overtime or extra hours, and cut back on your work." These authors also asked respondents about "work intrusions into family life" with *whether or not* the respondent had to do any of the following because of job responsibilities, "missing a family occasion or holiday, being unable to care for a sick child or relative, and being unable to do the work you usually do around the house." Bianchi et al. (2006) used the National Survey of Parents data (the data used in this dissertation) to discuss the work-family conflict and family-work conflict by asking respondents "how successful they felt at balancing work and family, to what extend have you made sacrifices in your career/job for your personal/family life, and to what extend have you made sacrifices in your personal/family life for your career/job." Previous measurement strategies are summarized in Table 2.1

The previous discussion shows that researchers have used anywhere between one to thirteen questions to assess work-family conflict. When researchers use a series of

questions they often chose to average the questions into a single score or scale (e.g. Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2004; Dilworth, 2004; Erdwins et al., 2001; Hill, 2005; Huang et al., 2004; Marks et al., 2001; Reynolds, 2005; Stuart, 2005). A second approach used by researchers was to create an index (Bianchi et al., 2006; Broman, 1991; Maume, 2006; Milkie & Peltola, 1999). There are three items available in the National Survey of Parents that assessed work-family conflict. These include "how successful you felt at balancing work and family, to what extend have you made sacrifices in your career/job for your personal/family life, and to what extend have you made sacrifices in your personal/family life for your career/job." Various coding strategies have been investigated and are discussed in chapter three.

Maternal characteristics

Relationship between race and work-family conflict

Previous research has shown that mother's race may affect how she perceives work-family conflict. Black married mothers have traditionally had higher employment rates than White mothers (Furdyna, Tucker & James, 2008). Historically, Black husbands struggled to solely provide for their family because they earned less than White men in the same position (Skolnick, 1991). These racial earning inequalities continue to impact men's financial stability. The median earnings for Black men in 2010 were $635 per week, 73.1% of the median earnings of White men (Bureau of Labor Statistics News, 2010). As a result, Black married mother's employment was and continues to be crucial to family survival.

Societal views on women's education and employment have changed and as a result both Black and White women are increasing their education and employment. A corresponding trend is that Black and White women are both postponing marriage until they find a spouse of equal education and career status (Crowder & Tolnay, 2000; Oppenheimer, 1988; Sweeney & Cancian, 2004). Black women struggle more than White women to find a suitable marriage partner due to Black men's limited access to adequate education and employment opportunities (Crowder & Tolnay, 2000). African Americans also have higher divorce rates than other racial categories (McLoyd et. al., 2000). The postponement of marriage, limited partner availability, and divorce has resulted in single motherhood being more prevalent among African-American women (Chen & Morgan, 1991; McLoyd et al., 2000). Often Black single mothers are the only income provider for the family which means that they view their work as crucial to family survival. These mothers may see providing financially (i.e. food, shelter, and clothing) as providing care to their children which may reduce their work-family conflict.

For employed African-American mothers who are married, investigators found that African-American fathers tended to do more household labor and more primary childcare (e.g. bathing and feeding) than other ethnic groups (McLoyd et al., 2000). These authors also found that the more Black mothers worked the more involved Black fathers became in playing, reading, and interacting with children. When African-American mothers are married, African-American fathers may buffer their work-family conflict by carrying out more of the home responsibilities. Due to these marital trends

and interactions Black mothers may have different work-family conflict perceptions then White mothers.

Black mothers' extensive work histories may provide them with greater experience with work-family conflict than White working mothers. Black mothers may have less work-family conflict because they have accepted that they have less time to spend with their children due to their employment. These Black women may place less emphasis on mother-child interactions and more importance on their financial provider role than White women (Hill, Martinson & Faerris, 2004). Employed Black mothers may be able to alleviate some work-family conflict by having others or "othermothers," such as friends, extended family, neighbors and community members, help with childcare (Hill Collins, 1990). Researchers found in African-American communities that childcare help from "othersmothers" reduces work-family conflict (Kotchick, Dorsey & Heller, 2005; Lamborn and Nguyen, 2004). Black mothers may also have less work-family conflict because they view providing financially for the family as an expression of motherly love (Blair-Loy & Dehart, 2003). Lastly, Black working mothers may subscribe less to the "intensive" mothering ideal than White working mothers because this standard was developed for White, middle-class, married mothers.

Hypothesis 1: African-American working mothers will perceive less work-family conflict than white working mothers.

Relationship between marital status and work-family conflict

Previous research has shown that a mother's marital status may affect how she perceives work-family conflict. Married and single mothers spend similar amounts of time in direct childcare but single mothers reported less total time with their children and perceive more work and family sacrifices than married mothers (Bianchi et al., 2006). Separated/divorced and never married mothers may have to rely on extended family or paid childcare for their children more than married mothers (Brewster & Padavic, 2002). These mothers may rely on this external childcare because the former spouse/partner lives outside the residence and there may be past or present relationship conflict (Amato, 2000; Hawkings, Amato & King, 2006; Miller & Davis, 1997). Separated/divorced and never married mothers may feel more work-family conflict than married mothers because they must solely provide an income and childcare with fewer supports.

It is less clear how being a separated/divorced mother versus being a never married mother influences their work-family conflict perceptions because these groups are often merged into a "single mothers" category (e.g. Bianchi et at., 2006). Studying these two groups (separated/divorced and never married) separately may provide insight into how marital status affects mothers' work-family conflict perceptions. For instance, when a job requires overtime, separated/divorced and never married mothers may have to approach work-family conflict differently. A complicating factors is cohabitation, which was not measured reliably in the National Parents Survey. Researchers have found that around half of never married mothers are cohabiting with their children's father (Bumpass & Lu, 2000). Compared to divorced mothers, mothers in the never married

category (including cohabitating women) may have partners who are less committed to developing relationships and caring for their children. Even if the father is present in the home, cohabiting fathers are less committed to relationships are than married fathers (Nock, 1995). Investigators found that divorced father are more dedicated to spending time with their children than never married fathers (Palisi, Orleans, Caddell & Korn, 1991). Never married mothers may have less paternal involvement, compared to separated/divorced mothers, making him less available for childcare. On the other hand, unlike divorced fathers, never married women with cohabiting partners have an extra person available as caregivers, which would help assuage work-family conflict among never-married mothers Investigators have found that fathers who live with their children spend more time interacting and caring for children than fathers who do not live with their children (Berger at el., 2008; Hawkins at el., 2006; Stewart, 2007). Overall, however, research suggests that never married mothers may perceive greater work-family conflict than separated/divorced mothers.

Hypothesis 2a: Single mothers (separated/divorced and never married) will perceive more work-family conflict than married mothers

Hypothesis 2b: Never married mothers will perceive more work-family conflict than separated/divorced mothers.

Relationship between employment and work-family conflict

Mother's employment status may also be important in understanding their perceptions of work-family conflict. Mothers have traditionally worked part-time, as

opposed to full-time, because it allowed them to earn some money while also providing time to care for family and home (Zelizer, 1997). The societal assumption was that if mothers felt too much work-family conflict they could quit their job because fathers provide the majority of the family income. It is less common today for mothers to quit their jobs and more common for them to reduce their work hours. Mothers reported having fewer work-family conflicts if they were able to reduce their work hours (Estes, 2004; Hill, Martinson, & Ferris, 2004; Reynolds, 2005). Researchers have found that employees with greater control of their work hours (i.e. when, where, and how work occurs) had lower work-family conflict than workers with less control (Kelly, Moen & Tranby, 2011; Moen, 2010). Some employed mothers see adjusting their work hours and possibly career advancement as the best way to accommodate family commitments (Becker & Moen, 1999; Johnston & Swanson, 2006). Investigators found that men report more work and family balance when their central role is as financial provider which means their wives are responsible for the caretaking responsibilities (Marks et al., 2001). Fathers are more likely to make family compromises for their work than are mothers (Maume, 2006; Milkie & Peltola, 1999; Reynolds, 2005). Mothers working part-time may receive support and praised from family, friends, community, and society for following the good mothering expectations that mothers working full-time may not receive. Mothers employed part-time may believe that their reduced hours allows them to be there for their children but also gives them time away to build outside interests and have adult contact (Johnston & Swanson, 2006). Investigators have found that participation in one domain (i.e. work) can provide resources for other aspects of an

individual's life such as family. This exchange is often identified as work-family facilitation (Voydanoff, 2008). Researchers have found when mothers can peacefully facilitate work and family they have a higher commitment to doing both roles simultaneously (Mulvaney, McNall & Morrissey, 2010). Some mothers working part-time may feel less work-family conflict than full-time mothers because they may more closely align with the intensive mothering ideology and receive support for their motherhood emphasis from society while continuing a connection to their career/job.

There is an alternative perspective however, that mothers working part-time have more work-family conflict than mothers working full-time. Economic changes such as women's increased education and career opportunities have encouraged women to obtain and keep full-time work (Kirk & Okazawa-Rey, 2007; Teachman, Tedrow & Crowder, 2000; Skolnick, 1991). Today people in society are more likely to assume that women and mothers have full-time employment. In response, businesses and community members have begun to acknowledge that mothers with full-time employment need assistance with work-family conflict. In contrast, people may view mothers working part-time as having adequate time to mother and engaged in work (Webber & Williams, 2008a). Mothers reported that when they moved from full to part-time, their spouses gave them less childcare and housework help (Webber & Williams, 2008a). In fact, mothers working part-time spent more time in household labor than fathers because fathers spent more time at work (Bianchi et al., 2006; Noonan, Estes, & Glass, 2007). Mothers working part-time may continue to feel greater work-family conflict due to a lack of spousal support. Mothers who work part-time may fear being perceived as less

committed to their jobs. Mothers working part-time are often viewed as contingent or temporary workers by employers. Contingent work is characterized by inconsistent and unpredictable hours, lack of benefits such as health care, vacation, pension, and retirement, as well as being viewed by employers and coworkers as less skilled and easily disposable (Cheng, 2010; Polivka & Nardone, 1989). Mothers working part-time may feel that their career/worker identity is underdeveloped because of the limited employment opportunities making them feel less important to society (Cheng, 2010). These mothers may compensate for working part-time by working closer to full-time hours and taking on full-time workloads to validate their worth to themselves, coworkers, employers, and society (Cheng, 2010; Webber & Williams, 2008b). Overall, mothers employed part-time may receive less support from their spouse and employer to carry out their family responsibilities because they are viewed as having more time than mothers employed full-time. Mothers working part-time may also have additional stress because they are pushing themselves to develop their career/worker identity within the limited context of part-time work opportunities. In sum, the literature suggests two alternative hypotheses:

Hypothesis 3a: Mothers working part-time will perceive less work-family conflict than mothers working full-time.

Hypothesis 3b: Mothers working part-time will perceive more work-family conflict than mothers working full-time.

Relationship between age and work-family conflict

A working mother's age may also affect her perceptions of work-family conflict. As a mother ages she may attain more career experience and access to better jobs which may allow more flexibility for dealing with work-family conflict. For example, when an employee starts a job she may have limited access to vacation and sick time, working from home or modifying when work hours occur. As the employee accrues work hours and competence the supervisor may allow her to use work modification because the supervisor believes that she will complete the work effectively. Investigators found that mothers who were in their mid-30s were more likely to work from home at least once a week to manage work-family conflict (Estes, 2004). Mothers in their early 40s reported low levels of work-family conflict (Milkie & Peltola, 1999). As mothers age they may also become more familiar with parenting practices that help reduce work-family conflict. Researchers found that when mothers in their early 30s had an increase in their work hours they also increased their reading and homework time with their children in an attempt to reduce work-family conflict (Zick, Bryant, & Osterbacka, 2001).

Hypothesis 4: Older working mothers will perceive less work-family conflict than younger working mothers.

Relationship between education and work-family conflict

A working mother's education may also influence her perceptions of work-family conflict. The influence of mother's education on work-family conflict is unclear. Highly

educated mothers may have less work-family conflict because they have additional knowledge of diverse ways to manage being a mother and worker compared to less educated mothers. Researchers found that mothers with a college education spend more direct childcare time reading to their children than less educated mothers (Bianchi et al., 2006). Therefore, mothers with a college education may feel less work-family conflict because the time they spend with their children is child centered which corresponds with the intensive mothering ideology (Snyder, 2007). Investigators also found, in a study of Midwestern pregnant and postpartum women, that mothers with some college education had better access to work modification and the ability to adjust work expectations (i.e. schedule flexibility, reduced hours, or family medical leave) than women with less education (Estes, 2004). Researchers have found that mothers' access to work flexibility can help reduce work expectations thereby reducing work-family conflict (Bianchi et al., 2004; Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2004). Educated women may also be better able to redefine traditional gender roles in their homes with spouses than less educated mothers leading to a reduction in work-family conflict.

The converse may also be true that highly educated mothers will perceive more work-family conflict, than less educated mothers, because of the expectations associated with their careers (i.e. travel and long work hours). In fact, mothers with more education were more likely to report negative spillover from home to work than those with less education (Dilworth, 2004). Highly educated mothers may be unable to use work modifications to reduce work-family conflict due to the nature of their work. Researchers found that mothers who were academic faculty, more often than faculty fathers, identify

work related activities (i.e. conferences, writing and publishing) as not open to modifications due professional expectations and promotion time lines (Mason & Goulden, 2004). In fact, investigators found that highly educated mothers often work over 40 hours per week (Bianchi & Mattingly, 2004). The mothers work environment can shape how work-family conflict is perceived. For example, a mother working at a grocery store is not expected to carry out any additional work tasks at home. In contrast, a mother working in business may be expected to make phone calls, return emails, and review paperwork for upcoming meetings from home. Researchers found that when employees had "excessive work pressures, worked more than 50 hours a week, or had high work aspirations" they also reported more work-family conflict (Glavin & Schieman, 2011 p. 16). While both mothers are working the expectations regarding after work time are significantly different which may decrease or increase their perceptions of work-family conflict. In sum, the literature suggests two alternative hypotheses:

Hypothesis 5a: Mothers with more education will perceive less work-family conflict than mothers with less education.

Hypothesis 5b: Mothers with more education will perceive more work-family conflict than mothers with less education.

Family Characteristics

Relationship between household income and work-family conflict

A working mother's income may also influence how she perceives work-family conflict. In fact, researchers have found that mothers with high incomes are able to outsource services such as childcare, food services and housekeeping which may reduce their work-family conflict (Bianchi et al., 2004; Blair-Loy, 2001; Repetti et al., 1989). Researchers found when married mothers contributed more financially to the family it increased their overall well-being and helps them cope with work-family conflict (Rogers & DeBoer, 2001). High income mothers may have more work flexibility as to when their work tasks must be completed which can reduce work-family conflict (Estes, 2004; Glavin & Schieman, 2011; Kelly, Moen & Tranby, 2011). Conversely, lower income mothers may have more set employment hours and are also expected to do all the childcare and household chores (i.e. cleaning, making dinner, supervising and caring for children) without any additional help. Investigators have found that low income mothers report lower well-being and fewer positive interactions with children which can increase work-family conflict (Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2004; Nievar and Luster, 2006).

Hypothesis 6: High income working mothers will perceive less work-family conflict than low income working mothers.

Relationship between number of adults in the household and work-family conflict

A mother's perception of work-family conflict may also be affected by the number of adults within the household. When mothers are the only adult within the household they are expected to carry out their role as mother but also the financial provider role with little or no help. Single mothers may perceive more work-family conflict due to a lack of consistent support from others. In contrast, when there are two adults in the home the assumption is that the other adult can help with childcare and contribute financially which can reduce perceptions of work-family conflict. Researchers found that when mothers are employed fathers help their children with reading and homework more often (Zick, Bryant, & Osterbacka, 2001). On the other hand, a household with three or more adults may indicate that working mothers are caring for elderly parents or extended family (i.e. sibling or niece or nephew) which may increase financial strain and work-family conflict. Researchers reported when employed mothers are caring for a disabled family member it tends to increase their level of depression making it more difficult to manage work-family conflict (Campione, 2008). A result of a mother's care for disabled or extended family members may be fewer resources for parenting and work aspirations possibly causing additional work-family conflict. In contrast, investigators have found that when young mothers reside with their mothers (grandmothers) it provides more economic stability and reduces their work-family conflict (McLoyd et al., 2000). A drawback of having additional adults in the home is that children may seek out the adult that gives the response they want to their requests which may increase maternal work-family conflict.

Hypothesis 7: Mothers in one adult and three or more adult households will perceive more work-family conflict than mothers in two adult households.

Relationship between number of children in the household and work-family conflict

A mother's perceptions of work-family conflict may also be influenced by the number children in the household. The direction of this relationship is unclear. Researchers report mixed findings on how mother's work-family conflict is associated with the number children in the household. Some investigators found that mothers with more children reported more work-family conflict due to the time spent on parenting (Grant-Vallone & Donaldson, 2001; Milkie & Peltola, 1999). In fact researchers found that as the number of the children in the household increases so does the time mothers spend reading or helping with homework (Zick, Bryant, & Osterbacka, 2001). Mothers with more children placed more restrictions on their work as a way to manage work-family conflict (Maume, 2006). In contrast, other researchers found that mothers with more children had less work-family conflict possibility because the older siblings helped care for younger siblings reducing the parenting responsibilities (Dilworth, 2004). While other investigators found no relationship between the number of children and mothers' work-family conflict (Milkie & Peltola, 1999).

Hypothesis 8: Mothers with more children will perceive more work-family conflict than mothers fewer children.

The relationship between children's age and work-family conflict

The age of children within the home may also influence mother's perceptions of work-family conflict. The age of children has produced interesting and conflicting results for employed mothers' work-family conflict. Specifically, researchers found that mothers with younger children report more work-family conflict than mothers with older children (Dilworth, 2004, Maume, 2006; Milkie & Peltola, 1999). These mothers may perceive more work-family conflict because of the additional supervision and attention that younger children require and the societal expectations that mothers do these tasks. They may also perceive additional work-family conflict when children are young because family and career formation often coincide making it difficult to accomplish both tasks effectively. In contrast, other investigators have found that mothers' work-family conflict was unrelated to the presence of preschool age children (Marks et al., 2001).

Hypothesis 9: Mothers with younger children will perceive more work-family conflict than mothers with older children.

On the other hand, mothers with older children may perceive more work-family conflict because these children may be involved in a combination of activities such as sports, after school programs (i.e. girl or boy scouts, chess club, math club, or science club) and employment than younger children. Researchers found that as children age they spend more time in structured activities (Bianchi et al., 2004; Bianchi et al., 2006). For example, these authors found that children age 12-18 spend per week at least 3 hours in

paid employment, 3.9 hours in sports and 3.3 hours visiting with friends. In comparison children age 5-11 years old spend zero hours in paid work, 2.2 hours in sports and 2.3 hours visiting friends per week. Employed mothers may be expected to transport the older children to their activities during or shortly after their work hours which may increase work-family conflict. Some mothers assume that it is their responsibility to provide their children with as many activities as necessary to help enrich their lives which may lead to more work-family conflict (Lareau, 2002).

The relationship between percent of children who are female and work-family conflict

Investigators have not examined how a child's gender influences a mother's perceptions of work-family conflict. It may be that female children increase a mother's feelings of parenting confidence because she can easily interpret female behaviors and concerns thereby reducing her work-family conflict. Researchers found that parents' and children's gender was related to corporal punishment and parental involvement (Simons, Johnson, & Conger, 1994). Female children were more likely than male children to change their delinquent behaviors (i.e. skipping school, drinking alcohol, and stealing) when mothers used corporal punishment. These different child reactions to mother's discipline may create additional work-family conflict because she may then have to devise another technique for correcting her son's misbehaviors. Other investigators showed that parents discipline female and male children differently by requiring male children to be more obedience, respectful and by withdrawing privileges (Hill & Sprague, 1999). In regard to female children parents tended to focus on encouraging happiness and self-esteem rather than specific discipline practices. Mothers may view spending additional time disciplining male children as increasing their home demands leading to

additional work-family conflict. In contrast, these same mothers may view spending time discussing happiness and self-esteem with their daughters as pleasurable and not increasing work-family conflict.

Hypothesis 10: Mothers with fewer female children (more boys) will perceive more work-family conflict than mothers with more female children.

Work-Family Conflict and Positive Parenting

Conceptualization of positive parenting. Researchers have used different ways to conceptualize the quality of parenting. Baumrind (1996) views parenting as a combination of parental "demandingness" and "responsiveness" with respect to parent-child interactions. Demandingness is defined as high parental expectations for a child's behaviors. Responsiveness is defined as the parent's prompt response to a child's needs as well as acceptance and encouragement of the child's point of view. When parents are high or low on these parental characteristics it results in three parenting styles. "Permissive parents" are low on demandingness which means they are less concerned with whether the child follow norms for appropriate behavior expectations but are highly responsive to the child's needs. In contrast, an "authoritarian parent" is highly demanding and expects the child to follow strict behavior rules without question but is less responsive to a child's point of view. Lastly, an "authoritative parent" is highly demanding and expects appropriate child behavior but is also highly responsive to the child's needs and encourages the child to discuss their feelings. Authoritative parenting is

considered the best approach because it encourages children to develop more reasoning and personal responsibility which are positive for themselves and society.

Other research supports the positive effects of authoritative parenting. Specifically, children have fewer behavior problems and better grades when parents had both high expectation and high involvement in their child's life (Amato & Fowler, 2002). When mothers used an authoritative parenting style their children had fewer peers rate the child as mean and reported less hitting (Hoffman & Youngblade, 1999). Teachers also reported the same children acted out less and interacting better with peers than children whose parents used an authoritarian style (Hoffman & Youngblade, 1999). Mothers that were responsive, warm and set clear expectation had children that exhibited fewer fearful behaviors, anxiety, or depression and less aggression or acting out (Estes, 2004; Foster et al., 2008).

Other researchers have developed similar conceptualizations referred to in this dissertation as "positive parenting." Specifically, Snyder (2007) conceptualizes positive parenting as "quality time." This author found through interviewing 220 parents that being a good parent means spending quality time with the children but quality time was defined in three different ways. Some parents believe that quality time is a special time that parents and children spend away from the home and their regular routine. These parents preplan this time in the form of a vacation or special event ("structured-planning parent"). Other parents believe that the child should be the center of the family and the child's interests or hobbies should determine family activities ("child-centered parent"). Lastly, "time-intensive" parents believe that the amount of time family members spent

together was more important than what they do or whether interactions were positive or negative. Demo (1992) views positive parenting in terms of three specific characteristics: "engagement" (one-on-one time), "accessibility" (parents are nearby and available), and "responsibility" (being responsible for the child's care and needs). Similarly, Kotchick, Dorsey and Heller (2005) defined positive parenting as displaying affection and being close to children, monitoring children, and responding to children's behavior in a consistent fashion.

This research suggests that positive parenting includes a combination of time spent with children, the warmth of the parent-child interactions, and monitoring of children. Based on this work, I conceptualize positive parenting among working mothers in terms of three domains: maternal involvement, maternal warmth, and maternal monitoring.

Operationalization of positive parenting. The main drawback of previous work-family conflict studies is that investigators measured parenting simply and indirectly through the number of hours spent in childcare (Dilworth, 2004, Hochschild, 1989, Reynolds, 2005), the number and age of children versus housework, and/or employment hours (Boulis, 2004; Marks et al., 2001; Mason & Goulden, 2004; Maume, 2006; Milkie & Peltola, 1999).

As discussed above, positive parenting in this dissertation is conceptualized as a combination of maternal involvement, maternal warmth, and maternal monitoring. Maternal involvement is measured with a series of questions that asked mothers to report how many days each week they spent time on different activities (i.e. helping with

homework, supervising or watching activities, and driving to activities) and how often they ate their main meal together. Maternal warmth was measured with mother's reports on how typical certain behaviors were during their mother-child interactions such as praising, laughing, and hugging or kissing. Lastly, maternal monitoring was measured with mothers reported knowledge of their child's whereabouts after school and on weekends. This approach is similar to the approaches of previous researchers and is discussed in greater detail in chapter three.

The relationship between work-family conflict and positive parenting

It is important to understand the relationship between work-family conflict and positive parenting because previous research shows that children subject to poor parenting are more likely to have adjustment problems that may extend into their adulthood (Amato & Fowler, 2002; Buland, 2007; Estes, 2004, Foster et. al, 2008; Simons, Johnson & Conger, 1994). It is also necessary to explore the relationship between work-family conflict and positive parenting because employed mother's well-being may also be negatively affected which may result in an increase in depression or anxiety and work-family conflict (Grant-Vallone & Donaldson, 2001).

Some mothers may try to compensate for greater work-family conflict by spending additional time with their children and by putting their children's well-being above their own (Blair-Loy, 2001; Elvin-Nowak & Thomsson, 2001: Goldin, 2004). Other mothers may respond to greater work-family conflict by changing what it means to be a "good" mother to include the mother's well-being and career development as necessary elements for the child's well-being (Blair-Loy, 2001; Demo, 1992; Gerson,

2002; Goldin, 2004; Johnston &Swanson, 2006). The effect of work-family conflict on positive parenting may be nil or may even be negative if she views breadwinning and personal satisfaction as part of being a good mother.

Upholding intensive motherhood through compensation. Working mothers often express guilt over being away from their children (Guendouzi, 2006). This guilt may motivate employed mothers with high work-family conflict to invest more effort into positive parenting. These women may hope that by devoting additional attention to family it will help them feel like "good" women and mothers. Employed mothers may work harder to uphold the intensive mothering expectations by becoming a "supermom" (DeMeis & Perkins, 1996). Researchers found that employed mothers, more so than nonemployed mothers, structure their weekend hours so they are actively engaged with their children in either play, reading a book, or helping with homework (Bianchi et al., 2006; Zick, Bryant & Osterbacka, 2001).

Some employed mothers believe it is the amount of maternal time spent interacting with children that is important to their development (Snyder, 2007). These mothers will take steps to "protect their investment in their children" by giving up their sleep, personal time, and own interest in order to have more time to invest in parenting (Becker & Moen, 1999; Bianchi et al., 2000; Bianchi et al., 2006; Maume, 2006). Researchers have found when some employed mothers put more time into their parenting they felt more competent as mothers (Milkie & Peltola, 1999; Guendouzi, 2006). The combination of guilt and having internalized the intensive mothering ideology may

encourage mothers to compensate by increasing their parenting as a response to high work-family conflict.

Reformulating motherhood. Employed mothers with high work-family conflict may respond by reformulating what it means to be a "good mother." This may include expanding who can mother (i.e. spouse/partner, family, and paid caregivers) and how mothering can be carried out (i.e. by phone, internet, and email). These mothers recognize that being a mother and a worker without experiencing some conflict is unrealistic and they feel that the intensive mothering ideology, defined as the mother's unlimited amounts of love, energy, and time, does not fit their lives. For example, some mothers may be unable to reduce their employment when high work-family conflict occurs because their income is necessary for the families' survival. These mothers may reformulate the mothering ideology to include breadwinning as part of quality maternal care because they are unable to invest unlimited amounts of time into mothering (Blair-Loy & Dehart, 2003). Employed mothers with more education and career options may also wish to reformulate the intensive mothering ideology because they see their career as beneficial to their child's development (Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2004). These mothers may also want to reformulate the intensive mothering ideology because they view having multiple roles (i.e. worker and mother) as giving them more opportunities to feel successful in life (Johnson & Swanson, 2006; Marks, 1977).

One way employed mothers are changing the intensive mothering time commitment is by having other people provide childcare. For example, a study of successful financial executive mothers found that they increased their mothering time by

using technology (i.e. by phone, email and fax) to stay in contact with their children and by hiring experienced childcare providers to serve as substitute mother (Blair-Loy, 2001). These mothers may justify their child's additional daycare time as an opportunity to learn important life skills such as how to get along with others. Researchers have found that children of employed mothers that spent time in daycare were more independent, had higher academic scores, and had less traditional gender attitudes about women than nonemployed mothers whose children did not attend daycare (Demo, 1992; Hoffman & Youngblade, 1999). Fathers are also becoming more involved in childcare which encourages the father-child bond built through shared experiences (Bianchi et al., 2004). In fact, fathers have been identified as providing helpful and unique resources to their children through modeling of progressive gender and work roles, as well as their connection to community members (McLanahan and Sandefur, 1994).

Another approach employed mothers may use to modify the intensive mothering ideology is to redefine how motherly love is displayed. These mothers may view positive parenting as the quality of time between mother and child which means they may set aside short periods of special time to spend with children (structured-planning) or their child's activities may shape how they spend their free time together (child-centered). These mothers describe good mothers as being psychologically and emotionally available rather than always physically present (Johnston & Swanson, 2006). When employed mothers are not home they may use telephone, text message, or internet conversations as a way to be accessible and provide care to their children. These mothers attempt to alternate the time dedicated to the mother and worker role throughout the day (Heiss,

1981). These mothers also realize that there will be times in which work requires more time which means reducing their mothering. These mothers may justify reformulating mothering because they see their financial provider role as making it possible to purchase important items to care for their children (i.e. summer camps, athletics, and tutoring). From this perspective, motherly love is shown by being able to provide resources that help children's life success rather than increasing their parenting. As a result, some mothers may reduce their time in positive parenting (or keep it the same) when faced with greater work-family conflict because they view their children as benefitting from other quality care providers and their incomes. The above literature indicates the potential for two alternative hypotheses:

Hypothesis 11a: Mothers' level of work-family conflict will be positively related to positive parenting.

Hypothesis 11b: Mothers' level of work-family conflict will be negatively related to positive parenting.

Relationship between work-family conflict and parental satisfaction

Conceptualizing and operationalization of parental satisfaction. Mothers' perceptions of parental satisfaction may influence their perceptions of work-family conflict. There have been no studies of the relationship between work-family conflict and parental satisfaction. Researchers tend to explore work-family conflict in regard to family life satisfaction or life satisfaction or a combination of these aspects (Broman, 1988;

Bunker et.al., 1992; Campione, 2008; Dilworth, 2004; Ellison, 1990; Hill, 2005; Hughes & Parkes, 2007; Reynolds, 2005). Parental satisfaction research tends to explore family dynamics separate from work influences (i.e. Rogers & White, 1998). Researchers have also examined parental satisfaction in regard to role identity and maternal health outcomes (i.e. Wickrama et al., 1995)

Researchers that examined parental satisfaction measured it in the following ways. Rogers and White (1998) created a scale that was a combination of the following questions which asked parents "whether their overall relationship with their children is" *very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy,* "whether they feel *very close, somewhat close, or not too close* to their children," "whether their relationship with their children is *better than, the same as or not as good as* that of other parents," "whether their relationship with their children has *improved, stayed the same or worsened* in the last 3 years," and "whether they derive a great deal of *satisfaction, some satisfaction or little satisfaction* from their children." Wickrama et al. (1995) also created a scale that explored parental satisfaction by asking the parent, *on a scale of 1=strongly disagrees to 5=strongly agree,* "whether he/she: agrees that during the past 12 months, being a parent to this child has been an enjoyable experience, is satisfied with the relationship with the same child, is happy with the way things are between you and the child, agrees that this child has been easy to raise during the last 12 months."

The researchers who examined family life satisfaction did so in the following ways. Broman (1988 &1991) also created a scale that explored family life satisfaction by asking parents "how satisfied, *on a scale from 1=very dissatisfied, 2=somewhat*

dissatisfied, 3=somewhat satisfied, and 4=very satisfied, are you with your family life, that is, the time spend and the things you do with members of your family." Bunker et al. (1992) also created a scale that examined family life satisfaction by asking parents "how satisfied, *on a scale from 1=not at all satisfied, 4=satisfied and 7=very satisfied,* they were with: your family life in general; the time you have available for your family/children; and the time your partner has available for your family/children." Dilworth (2004) also created a scale that explored family life satisfaction by asking parents, *on a scale from 1=extremely satisfied, 2=very satisfied, 3=somewhat satisfied, and 4=not too satisfied, all in all, "*how satisfied are you with your family life?" Lastly, Hughes and Parkes (2007) explored family life satisfaction by asking women whether they agree to the following statements, *on a scale from 1=strongly disagree, 4=neither agree nor disagree, and 7=strongly agree,* "in most ways my family life is close to my ideal, the conditions of my family life are excellent, I am satisfied with my family life, so far I have gotten the important things I want from my family life, and I am generally pleased with the quality of my family life."

Investigators examining life satisfaction used the following questions. Ellison (1990) explored life satisfaction by asking respondents, on a scale from *1=very dissatisfied to 4=very satisfied, in general,* "how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?" Broman also (1991) examined life satisfaction by asking respondents, *on a scale from 1=very dissatisfied, 2=somewhat dissatisfied, 3=somewhat satisfied, and 4=very satisfied,* "in general, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?" Lastly, Campione (2008) explored employed women's life satisfaction by asking, *on a*

scale from 1=very happy to 3=very unhappy, "about how they felt about their overall life."

Finally researchers that explored both family life and life satisfaction used the following questions. Hill (2005) and Reynolds (2005) examined life satisfaction by asking parents, *on a scale of 1=very satisfied, 2=somewhat satisfied, 3=somewhat dissatisfied, and 4=very dissatisfied,* "all things considered, how do you feel about your life these day." Hill also inquired about family satisfaction by asking parents, *on a scale of 1=extremely satisfied, 2=very satisfied, 3=somewhat satisfied, and 4=not too satisfied,* "all in all, how satisfied are you with your family life."

This dissertation improves on the previous research by using the National Survey of Parents (2000-2001) which asked mothers both a series of work-family conflict questions (previously discussed) and a series of parental satisfaction questions. In regard to parental satisfaction, mothers were asked to rate their satisfaction with regard to the amount of time they spend, on a scale *from 1= completely dissatisfied to 10=completely satisfied*, with respect to the realms of satisfaction with their children, with the time spent with the whole family and their children's life progress."

Research shows that there is a positive relationship between parental satisfaction and marital happiness (Rogers & White, 1998). In relation to these findings, it is assumed that a similar but negative relationship exists between work-family conflict and parental satisfaction. For example, an employed mother who reports high levels of work-family conflict may feel less competent as a parent and unable to parent as they wish which may lead to lower parental satisfaction. Investigators have found that when mothers report low

work-family they also report greater family life satisfaction and life satisfaction (Dilworth, 2004; Grant-Vallone & Donaldson, 2001; Hughes & Parkes, 2007). Researchers have also found that the negative relationship between work-family conflict and family satisfaction is stronger for working mothers than working fathers (Hill, 2005).

Hypothesis 12: Mother's level of work-family conflict is negative related to parental satisfaction.

Summary of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: African-American working mothers will perceive less work-family conflict than white working mothers

Hypothesis 2a: Separated/divorced and never married mothers will perceive more work-family conflict than married mothers

Hypothesis 2b: Never married mothers will perceive more work-family conflict than separated/divorced mothers.

Hypothesis 3a: Mothers working part-time will perceive less work-family conflict than mothers working full-time.

Hypothesis 3b: Mothers working part-time will perceive more work-family conflict than mothers working full-time.

Hypothesis 4: Older working mothers will perceive less work-family conflict than younger working mothers.

Hypothesis 5a: Mothers with more education will perceive less work-family conflict than mothers with less education.

Hypothesis 5b: Mothers with more education will perceive more work-family conflict than mothers with less education.

Hypothesis 6: High income working mothers will perceive less work-family conflict than low income working mothers.

Hypothesis 7: Mothers in one adult and three or more adult households will perceive more work-family conflict than mothers in two adult households.

Summary of Hypotheses Continued

Hypothesis 8: Mothers with more children will perceive more work-family conflict than mothers fewer children.

Hypothesis 9: Mothers with younger children will perceive more work-family conflict than mothers with older children.

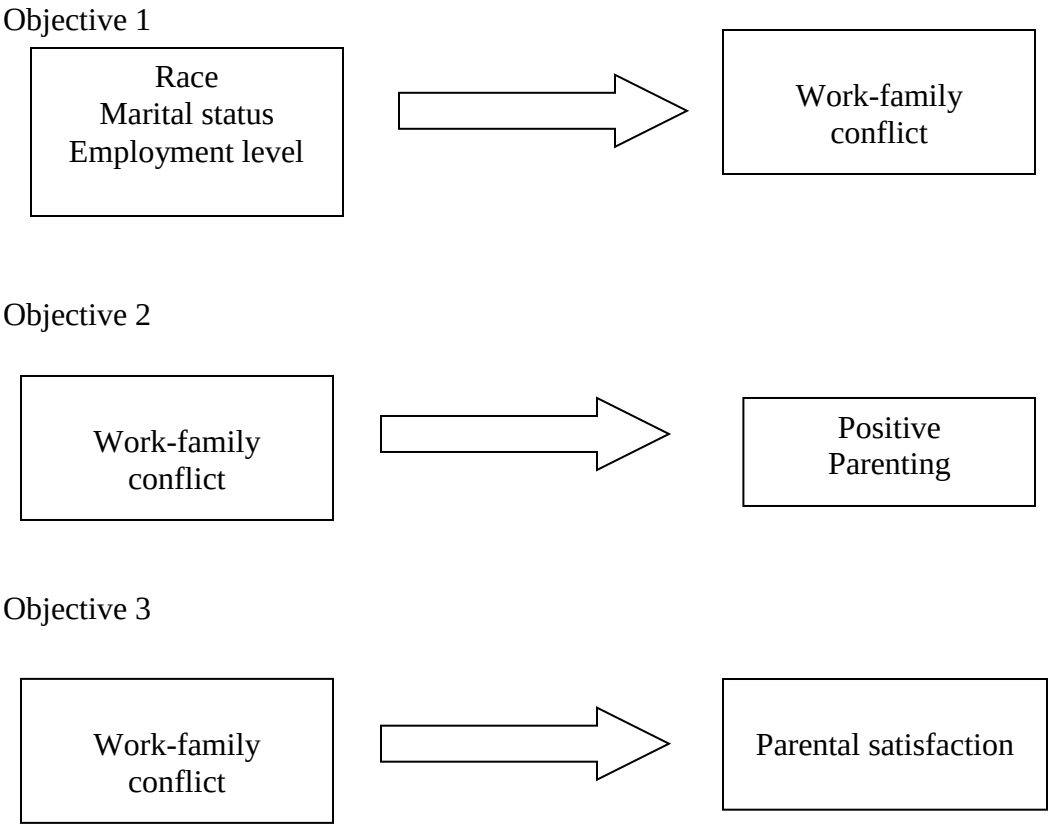
Hypothesis 10: Mothers with fewer female children (i.e. more boys) will perceive more work-family conflict than mothers with more female children.

Hypothesis 11a: Mothers' level of work-family conflict will be positively related to positive parenting.

Hypothesis 11b: Mothers' level of work-family conflict is negatively related to positive parenting.

Hypothesis 12: Mother's level of work-family conflict is negatively related to parental satisfaction.

FIGURE 2.1 Summary of Hypothesized Relationships



CHAPTER 3

Method

Data

This dissertation was based on data from the National Survey of Parents, 2000-2001(NSP) (Bianchi & Robinson, 2000). The NSP when weighted is representative of mothers and fathers from the contiguous 48 states and the District of Columbia. This survey is not of couples but of respondents who are individual mothers and fathers. The survey was designed to yield 1200 interviews with approximately equal numbers of interviews completed for each day of the week. The study used a One Plus list-assisted Random Digit Dial (RDD) frame to identify a sample of parents age 18 or older living with at least one child under the age of 18. A Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing schedule (CATI) was used to collect "yesterday" time diaries which detailed respondents' primary and secondary activities that occurred from midnight to midnight on the previous day. Secondary activities are those that occurred simultaneously with the primary activities. This survey collected information about parents' demographic characteristics, characteristics of their household, and specifically how parents divided their time among work, household tasks, childcare, leisure activities, and the amount of time spent with different family members. The survey also measured parents' feelings about parenting, work, and family life. The overall response rate for this study was 63.5%, which is within the normal range for surveys of this type (Neuman, 2003). The survey included weights to adjust for households with more than one nonbusiness telephone number and to correct

for design, post-stratification and the day of the week that the interview occurred (Bianchi & Robinson, 2000). These weights were employed in all analyses.

Analytic Sample

The analytic sample was comprised of mothers (i.e. fathers were omitted) 18 years or older living with at least one of their children under 18 years old (N=728). Respondents were then narrowed to mothers working full-time or part-time (N=542). The analysis was further limited to mothers with children 5 to 17 years old because questions about parenting were not asked of parents with very young children (N=458). Mothers with missing data on work-family conflict, positive parenting, and parental satisfaction were removed from the sample (N=25). Mothers with missing data on race, education, and marital status were removed (N=11). Missing data on age (N=2) and income (N=18) were coded to the sample mean. The final sample size was 402 employed mothers. The frequency distribution of the sample can be found in Table 3.1 and the full frequency distribution with original categories can be found Table1.

Dependent Variables

Work-family conflict. Below is a description of the key variables in the study with original question wording and response sets. There are several work-family conflict questions available in the National Survey of Parents. The first question is, "How successful do you feel at balancing your job and family life?" The response set was (a) *very,* (b) *somewhat,* (c) *not very,* and (d) *not at all.* Due to small cell size (see Table 1), the categories were collapsed into two categories (a) *very successful,* and (b) *less than very successful.* The second and third questions were, "To what extent have you made

sacrifices in your career or job for the sake of your personal or family life?" and "To what extent have you made sacrifices in your personal or family life for the sake of your career or job?" The response set for both questions were, (a) *a lot,* (b) *some,* (c) *not too many,* and (d) *no sacrifices*. Due to small cell size (see Table 1) (for *not too many,* and no sacrifices the categories were collapsed into (a) *a lot of sacrifices,* and (b) *No/not too many sacrifices*. For work-family conflict a scale was created by summing and averaged the two sacrifice questions (alpha = .44).

Positive parenting. Positive parenting was assessed along four dimensions: parental involvement, warmth, and monitoring.

Parental involvement measured the mother's time spent parenting children and the types of activities she engaged in with her children. The series of questions began by asking mothers, "How many days in the past week have you done the following things with any of your children?" (a) "help them with their homework or checked their homework," (b) "drive them to activities other than school, like sports, music or other lessons or activities with friends," (c) "supervise or watch them participate in activities like sports, music, or other lessons or activities with friends," and, "how many days a week does the family usually sit down and eat the main meal together?" The original response categories for these questions ranged between 0 and 7 days. For parental involvement a scale was created by summing and averaged the questions (alpha = .48). Each parental involvement item was also analyzed separately to be certain that no significant relationships were missed.

Parental warmth was measured by a series of questions that asked "In a typical week, how often do you" (a) "praise any of your children," (b) "laugh together," and, (c) "hug or kiss any of your children." The original response categories were (a) *daily*, (b) *almost daily*, (c) *two or three times a week*, (d) *about once a week*, (e) *less often than once a week*, and (f) *never*. Due to small cell size (see Table 1) for the *almost daily, two or three times a week, about once a week, less often than once a week, and never* categories these categories were collapsed into (a) *daily*, and (b) *less than almost daily*. For parental warmth dummy variables were created for each question and then the questions were summed to create an index (alpha = .61). The responses for the index were 0 (all three less than daily) to 3 (all three daily). Similar to involvement, each item was also examined separately to be certain no important relationships were missed.

Parental monitoring was measured with two questions. The first question asked, "On the most recent school day, how much of the time after school were you aware of where your youngest child was and what the child was doing?" The second question asked, "how about last Saturday and Sunday?" Were you aware: (a) *almost all the time*, (b) *most of the time*, (c) *about half of the time*, (d) *some of the time*, and (d) *almost none of the time*. Due to small cell size (see Table 1) for *almost none of the time, some of the time, and most of the time* the categories were collapsed into (a) *almost all the time*, and (b) *half/most of the time or less*. For parental dummy variables were created for each question and then the questions were summed to create an index (alpha = .67). The responses for the index were 0 (both half/most of the time) to 2 (both all the time). Each item was also examined separately to be certain no important relationships were missed.

The Cronbach alphas for the positive parenting variables are lower than the generally accepted value (.7 or .8) but the alpha may be influenced by the limited amount of questions in the scale or index (Field, 2009).

Parental satisfaction. Parental satisfaction was measured with a series of question in which parents are asked "Now we have some questions about how you feel about some things in their household such as (a) "the amount of time you spend with your children," (b) "the amount of time the whole family spends together," and (c) "how well your children are doing in life." The question response categories ranged from 1 *(completely dissatisfied)* to 10 *(completely satisfied).* For parental satisfaction a scale was created by summing and then averaged the three questions (alpha = .75)

Independent Variables

There were three main independent variables examined in this dissertation. The first variable, mother's race, was measured by asking "are you" with responses (a) *White,* (b) *Black,* (c) *Asian*, and (d) *Other Race*. Mothers reporting Asian and Other Race were removed from the sample due small cell size (see Table 1) The remaining categories were recoded into (a) *White,* and (b) *Black*. White mothers are the reference category. The second key independent variable was mother's marital status in which respondents were asked if they were currently (a) *married,* (b) *separated,* (c) *divorced,* (d) *widowed,* and (e) *never married*. The categories were collapsed in the following manner: (a) *never married,* (b) *married,* and (c) *separated /divorced*. Widowed women were removed from the sample (see Table 1). Unfortunately, information about cohabitation was not ascertained. A composite variable could have been created but the cohabitation cell size would still be

too small for analysis (Bianchi & Robinson, 2000). Married mothers are the reference category. The final variable was mother's employment. Mothers were asked if they were currently: (a) *employed full-time*, (b) *part-time*, or (c) *not employed at all*. Mothers that were not employed were removed from the sample. Employed mothers are the reference category.

Control Variables

Control variables typically associated with work-family conflict were included as controls (see Chapter Two). The first is the mother's age in which respondents reported their age in number of years. Mothers less than 35 years old are the reference category. The second variable was the mother's educational background. Mothers are asked, "What is the last grade or year of school you completed?" The original response set was (a) *none,* (b) *some elementary,* (c) *elementary school,* (d) *some high school,* (e) *high school graduate,* (f) *some college,* (g) *college graduate,* (h) *some graduate school,* and (i) *graduate or professional degree.* One mother with missing data on education was removed. Due to small cell size (see Table 1) the categories of education were collapsed into (a) *high school or less,* (b) *some college,* (d) *college graduate,* and (e) *graduate or professional degree.* Mother with a high school or less education are the reference category.

The third control variable was the mother's income which was constructed by the principle investigators using a series of questions. Respondents first answered a series of questions that asked "if you added together all the yearly incomes, before taxes, of all the members of your household for last year, 1998, would the total be?" (a) *was it more than*

$30,000, (b) *was it more than $20,000,* (c) *was it more than $12,000,* (d) *was it more than $50,000,* (e) *was it more than $75,000,* and (f) *was it more than $100,000?* The respondents with missing values were assigned the median income category for their education level. Based on this, the income variable was (a) *under $20,000,* (b) *$20,001-30,000,* (c) *$30,001-50,000,* (d) *$50,001-75,000,* (e) *$75,001-100,000,* and (f) *$100,001 or more* (Bianchi & Robinson, 2000). For this dissertation, due to small cell size for the *under $20,*000 (see Table 1) the income categories were collapsed into (a) *$30,000 or less,* (b) *$30,001-50,000,* (c) *$50,001-75,000,* (d) *$75,001-100,000,* and (e) *$100,001 or more.* Missing cases were coded to the mean (N=8). Mothers who earned $50,001-75,000 are the reference category.

The number of adults and children within the home were also used as control variables. Mothers were asked, "Counting yourself, how many adults age 18 or older live in this household?" The original response set was the number of adults or children mothers reported. Due to small cell size for number of adults (or children (see Table 1) in the 4-6 categories the responses were collapsed into (a) *1 adult,* (b) *2 adults,* and (c) *3 or more adults*. The reference category was 2 adult households. Mothers were also asked "how many children younger than 18 live in this household?" The original response set was the number of children mothers reported. Due to small cell size for children (see Table 1) in the 4 and 5 categories the responses were collapsed into (a) *1 child,* (b) *2 children,* and (c) *3 or more children*. The reference category was one child households.

The final two control variables were the age and gender of the children in the home. A summary variable was created for both. Mothers were instructed to "report each

individual child's age and sex starting with the oldest child and continuing to their youngest child." A dichotomous variable was coded to indicate the presence of children under 12 years old with *yes=1*. Mothers without children under 12 years old are the reference category. The percent of the children who were girls was calculated by dividing the total number of girls by the number of children in the family. Mothers with 51-100 percent girls are the reference category.

Analysis Plan

Chapter 4: Relationship between work-family conflict and maternal and family characteristics

Results are presented in the subsequent chapters based on the following analysis plan. In Chapter 4, I tested whether the maternal and family characteristics were significantly related to work-family conflict (Hypothesis 1-10). Recall that mother's work-family conflict was measured through three different questions: her report of how successful she felt at balancing her job and family life, to what extent she made sacrifices in her career/job for her personal/family life, and to what extent she made sacrifices in her personal/family life for her career/job. First, I examined the relationship between the work-family conflict variables with a correlation (Table 4.1) and a chi-square test (Table 4.3). I also examined the relationship between the two work-family conflict sacrifice questions with a chi-square test (Table 4.4).. Second, I examined the bivariate relationships between the maternal and family characteristics, and work-family conflict variables with chi-square tests and t-tests, and ANOVAs (with Tukey tests), in the case of variables with more than two categories (Table 4.5). Third, using logistic regression I

conducted multivariate analyses and regressed each work-family conflict variable on race, marital status, and employment status in a series of models, and controlling for maternal age, education, income, number of adults and children, age and sex of children (Table 4.6-4.8). The use of a logistic regression is the best approach for the analyses because the dependent variables are categorical and violated the assumption of linearity required for an ordinary least regression analyses. The use of a logistic regression transforms this categorical non-linear relationship into a linear form (DeMaris, 1995; Field, 2009).

Chapter 5: Relationship between work-family conflict and positive parenting

In Chapter 5, I tested whether mothers' work-family conflict was significantly related to positive parenting (Hypothesis 11a and 11b). The distribution of the positive parenting variables (parental involvement, parental warmth, and parental monitoring) is shown in Table 5.1. Second, I examined the relationships between the maternal and family characteristics, work-family conflict variables and positive parenting. I used ordinary least square (OLS) regression to conduct the multivariate analysis and regressed the parental involvement scale on the work-family conflict scale and individual work-family conflict questions in a series of models that controlled for the maternal and family characteristics (Table 5.2-5.6). I also used ordinary least square (OLS) regression to conduct the multivariate analysis and regressed the individual parental warmth and parental monitoring questions on the work-family conflict scale and individual work-family conflict questions in a series of models that controlled for the maternal and family characteristics (Table 5.8-5.10 and 5.12-5.13). I used logistic regression to conduct the

multivariate analyses and regressed the parental warmth and parental monitoring questions on the work-family conflict scale and individual work-family conflict questions in a series of models that controlled for the maternal and family characteristics (Table 5.7 and 5.11).

Chapter 6: Relationship between work-family conflict and parental satisfaction

In Chapter 6, I tested whether mothers' work-family conflict was significantly related to parental satisfaction (Hypothesis 12). First, the univariate analysis of the parental satisfaction variables are shown in Table 6.1 (means and standard deviation). Second, I examined bivariate relationships between the work-family conflict questions, and parental satisfaction (Table 6.2). Statistically significant relationships were identified using t-tests. Third, using an ordinary least square (OLS) regression I conducted multivariate analyses and regressed parental satisfaction on the work-family conflict scale and individual questions in a series of models that controlled for the maternal and family characteristics (Table 6.3).

CHAPTER 4

Maternal and Family Characteristics and Work-Family Conflict

This chapter presents the relationship between maternal and family characteristics and work-family conflict (Hypotheses 1-10). This chapter first describes issues related to the measurement of maternal work-family conflict. Next, the bivariate relationships between maternal characteristics (mothers' race, marital status, employment status, age, and education) and family characteristics (household income, number of adults and children in the home, presence of a child under 12 years old, and percent of children who are female), and work-family conflict were examined. This chapter concludes with a multivariate analysis in which work-family conflict is regressed on maternal and family characteristics with special attention to mothers' race, marital status, and employment status. The findings were that mother's marital status as never married, versus divorced, had a significant impact on their success at balancing work and family. The remaining maternal and family characteristics did not have a significant impact on mothers' perceptions of success at balancing work and family. For work sacrifices, a mothers' age (i.e. being less than 35 years old) and having a higher income increased feelings of work sacrifice ($p < .10$). For personal/family sacrifice, working full-time versus part-time, having a higher income and younger children increased personal/family sacrifices.

Measurement of work-family conflict

There were no hypotheses formed regarding the relationship between the work-family conflict variables. Table 4.1 shows the correlation between the three measures of work-family conflict. The correlation between career sacrifices and success at balancing

work and family is low (.02) and not statistically significant. The correlation between personal/family sacrifice and balancing work and family is stronger (.13) and significant ($p < .05$). The correlation between personal/family sacrifices and career sacrifices is moderate in size (.29) and significant ($p < .01$). For the purpose of this exploratory chapter these variables will be analyzed separately.

As shown in Table 4.2, 50% of working mothers reported feeling "very successful" and 50% reported feeling "less than very successful" at balancing work and family. Similar proportions of mothers reported "no/not too many" career sacrifices (51%) and "a lot" of career sacrifices (49%). However, somewhat more mothers reported "no/not too many" personal/family sacrifices (57%) than "a lot" of personal/family sacrifices (43%).

Table 4.3 shows the relationship between the three measures of work-family conflict. There was no significant relationship between mothers' perceptions of career sacrifice and their feelings of success at balancing work and family. About 53% of mothers who felt they had made "no/not too many" career sacrifices reported feeling "very successful" at balancing job and family whereas 48% felt "less than very successful." Approximately 47% of mothers who felt they made "a lot" of career sacrifices reported feeling "very successful" at balancing job and family whereas 53% felt "less than very successful."

The relationship between mothers' perception of personal/family sacrifices and their feelings of success at balancing work and family was statistically significant ($p < .05$). About 55% of mothers who reported making "no/not too many" personal/family

sacrifices reported feeling “very successful” at balancing work and family whereas 45% felt “less than very successful.” In contrast, 43% of mothers who reported making “a lot” of personal/family sacrifices reported feeling “very successful” at balancing work and family whereas 57% felt “less than very successful.” To sum up, career sacrifice had no effect on work and family balance where as personal/family sacrifice did have an effect. The direction of the relationship is that mothers reporting less personal/family sacrifice also report more balance between work and family.

Table 4.4 presents the relationship between the extent of mothers’ career and personal/family sacrifice. The relationship between the extent of mothers’ career and personal/family sacrifice is statistically significant ($p < .01$). About 62% of mothers who felt they had made “no/not too many” personal/family sacrifices reported feeling “no/not too many” career sacrifices whereas 38% of mothers felt “a lot” of career sacrifice. Approximately 37% of mothers who felt they had made “a lot” of personal/family sacrifices reported “no/not too many” career sacrifices whereas 64% of mothers felt “a lot” of career sacrifice. In summary, about two-thirds of working mothers with no or little personal/family sacrifice also felt no or little career sacrifice (62%). Similarly, two-thirds of mothers with a lot of personal/family sacrifice also reported a lot of career sacrifice.

Relationship between maternal and family characteristics, and work-family conflict

Table 4.5 shows the percentage distribution of maternal and family characteristics across the three measures of work-family conflict. For variables with two categories significant differences are indicated by an asterisk. For variables with more than two categories see note at bottom of table. Regarding success at balancing work and family (column 1), the relationship was not statistically significant and approximately 50% of

white and black mothers reported feeling “less than very successful” work-family balance. The difference between never married and married mothers is statistically significant and approximately 68% of never married mothers, 50% of separated/divorced mothers and 48% of married mothers reported feeling “less than very successful” at work-family balance. The relationship between full and part-time employment was not statistically significant. About 51% of mothers employed full time and 48% of mothers employed part-time reported feeling “less than very successful” at work-family balance. In regard to mother’s age, the relationship was not statistically significant. About, 53% of women less than 35 years old and 49% of mothers 35 years and older reported feeling “less than successful” at work-family balance. In regard to mothers’ education which was not statistically significant. Approximately, 51% of mothers with an education of high school or less and mothers with some college education reported feeling “less than very successful” at work-family balance. About, 49% of mothers with a four year degree or higher reported feeling “less than very successful” at work-family balance. Next was mother’s household income which also was not statistically significant and in the opposite direction than expected. About 54% of mothers with an income of $50,001-$75,000 and 52% of mothers with an income of over $100,001 reported “less than very successful” at work-family balance. Approximately, 50% of mothers who earned $30,001-50,000 and 49% of mothers who earned $30,000 or less and 44% of mothers who earned $75,001-100,000 reported feeling “less than very successful” work-family balance. The number of adults in the household was not statistically significant. About, 51% of mothers in households with two adults, 49% of mothers in households with one

adult, and 48% of mothers in households with three or more adults in the home reported feeling “less than very successful” at work-family balance. The number of the children in the home was also not statistically significant. About 51% of mothers with one, and 51% of mothers with two children, and 47% of mothers with three or more children reported feeling “less than very successful” work-family balance. The age of children in the home was not statistically significant. Approximately 50% of mothers with and 50% of mothers without a child under 12 years old reported feeling “less than very successful” at work-family balance. Lastly, percentage of female children in the home was not statistically significant. About 56% of mothers with 51-100% female children and 49% mothers with 21-50% female children, and 45% of mothers with 0-20% female children in the home reported “less than very successful” at work-family balance. In summary, never married mothers felt less successful at balancing work and family than married mothers which was the expected direction of Hypothesis 2a. The remaining maternal and family characteristics had no effect on work-family balance.

Regarding work sacrifice (column 2), about, 52% of White mothers and 35% of Black mothers reported “a lot” of work sacrifice, and the difference between White and Black mothers is statistically significant. The difference between separated/divorced mothers and married mothers is statistically significant. Approximately 54% of married mothers, 38% of never married mothers and 37% of separated/divorced mothers reported feeling “a lot” of work sacrifice. Mothers’ employment was not statistically significant. About, 51% of mothers working part-time and 49% of mothers employed full-time reported “a lot” of work sacrifice. Mothers’ age was not statistically significant.

Approximately 52% of mothers less than 35 years old and 47% of mothers 35 years old and over reported feeling “a lot” of work sacrifice. Mothers’ education was not statistically significant. About, 58% of mothers with a graduate or professional degree and 55% of mothers with some college education reported “a lot” of work sacrifice. About 51% of mothers with a four year degree and 43% of mothers with high school or less education reported “a lot” of work sacrifice. The effect of household income is presented next. Mothers who earn over $100,001 and mothers who earn $50,001-75,000 are statistically significant different from mothers who earned $30,000 or less. About 67% of mothers who earned over $100,001 and 62% of mothers who earned 50,001-75,000 reported “a lot” of work sacrifice. About 54% of mothers who earned $75,001-100,000 and 43% of mothers who earn $30,001-50,000 reported “a lot” of work sacrifice. Lastly, 37% of mothers earning $30,000 or less reported “a lot” of work sacrifice. In regard to number of adults in the home there was a statistically significant difference between mothers with two adults in the home and mothers with one adult in the home. About 53% mothers with two adults in the home, 47% of mothers with three or more adults in the home, and 38% of mothers with one adult in the home reported “a lot” of work sacrifices. Next was the number of children in the home which was not statistically significant. Approximately, 53% of mothers with two children, 51% of mothers with one child, and 41% of mothers with three or more children reported of “a lot” of work sacrifices. There was not a statistically significant relationship between mothers with children less than 12 years old compared to mothers with older children. Approximately 51% of mothers without children under 12 years old and 48% with children under 12

years old reported “a lot” of work sacrifices. Lastly for percent of children who are female in the household was not statistically significant. About, 54% of mothers with 0-20% female, 47% of mothers with 21-50% female, and 51-100% female children in the home reported “a lot” of work sacrifice. In summary, Black mothers felt less work sacrifice which supports the direction of Hypothesis 1. Married mothers reported the most work sacrifice which is in the opposite direction of Hypothesis 2a. Mothers who earned $50,001-75,000 and $100,001 or more also reported more work sacrifice which is opposite of the relationship expected in Hypothesis 6. Mothers with two adults in the home felt the most work sacrifice which is the opposite direction of Hypothesis 7. On the other hand, being full-time or part-time employment, age, education, number of children age and gender of children, having a child under 12 years old, were not related to mothers’ work sacrifice.

Regarding personal/family sacrifice (column 3), the relationship between Black and White mothers was statistically significant but in the opposite direction of Hypothesis 1. About 54% of Black mothers and 41% of White mothers reported “a lot” of personal/family sacrifice. Mothers’ marital status was not statistically significant. Approximately, 53% of never married mothers, 44% of married mothers, and 37% of separated/divorced mothers reported “a lot” of personal/family sacrifice. Mothers’ employment was statistically significant. Approximately, 47% of mothers working full-time and 34% of mothers working part-time reported “a lot” of personal/family sacrifice. Mothers’ age was not statistically significant. About 46% of mothers 35 years and over and 39% of mothers less than 35 years old reported “a lot” of personal/family sacrifice.

Mothers' education was not statistically significant. Approximately, 47% of mothers with some college education, 46% of mothers with graduate or professional degree, 42% of mothers with a four year degree, and 41% of mothers with a high school or less education reported "a lot" of personal/family sacrifice. Mothers' household income was not statistically significant. About, 53% of mothers who earned $50,001-$75,000, 52% of mothers who earned over 100,001, 46% of mothers who earned $30,000 or less, 42% of mothers who earned 75,001-100,000, and 33% of mothers who earned $30,001-50,000 reported "a lot" of personal/family sacrifices. The number of adults within the home was not statistically significant. About 47% of mothers with two adults in the home, 41% of mothers with one adult in the home and 33% of mothers with three or more adults in the home reported "a lot" of personal/family sacrifices for work. The number of children in the household was not statistically significant. In regard to children, 45% of mothers with three or more children, 44% of mothers with one child, and 42% of mothers with two children reported "a lot" of personal/family sacrifices. The age of children was marginally statistically significant. Approximately, 47% of mothers with children under age 12 and 36% of mothers with no children under age 12 reported "a lot" of personal/family sacrifices and this relationship was statistically significant. Last the percent of children who are female in the home was not statistically significant. About, 46% of mothers with 51-100% female children, 42% of mothers with 21-50% female children, and 41% of mothers with female children reported "a lot" of personal/family sacrifices. In summary, Black mothers exhibited more personal/family sacrifice which is the opposite direction than hypothesized. Mothers employed part-time exhibited less

personal/family sacrifice which is the direction hypothesized in 3a. Mothers with children under age 12 felt more personal/family sacrifice and this was the expected direction. Whereas marital status, age, education, income, number of adult and children in the home, and percent children who are female were not related to mothers' personal/family sacrifice.

To summarize, Table 4.5 showed the bivariate relationships between success at balancing work and family, work sacrifice, and personal/family sacrifice and maternal and family characteristics. The findings for Table 4.5 provide some support for Hypothesis 1 in that African-American working mothers exhibit significantly less work-family conflict than White working mothers, but only in the domain of work sacrifice. Approximately 35% of Black mothers reported "a lot" of work sacrifices compared to 52% of White mothers. However, Black mothers reported more personal/family sacrifices than white mothers ($p < .10$). Specifically, 54% of Black mothers reported "a lot" of personal/family sacrifices compared to 41% of White mothers. Hypothesis 2a that unmarried mothers have significantly more work-family conflict than married mothers was supported for never married mothers, but not separated/divorced mothers, in the domain of success at balancing work and family. Approximately 68% of never married mothers reported feeling "less than very successful" at balancing work and family compared to 48% of married mothers. Surprisingly, married mother reported significantly more conflict than separated/divorced mothers in the work sacrifices domain. About 55% of married mothers reported "a lot" of work sacrifice compared to 37% of separated/divorced mothers. However, Hypothesis 2b that never married mothers would

perceive more work-family conflict than separated/divorced mothers was not supported because there was no statistically significant relationship. Regarding employment, Hypothesis 3a was supported. Mothers working part-time exhibited significantly less work-family conflict than full-time but only in the domain of personal/family sacrifice. Approximately, 34% of mothers working part-time reported "a lot" of personal/family sacrifice compared to 47% of mothers working full-time. This means that the alternative (Hypothesis 3b) was not supported. Mothers working part-time did not perceive more work-family conflict than mothers working full-time. Similarly, Hypothesis 4 was not supported. Older working mothers did not perceive less work-family conflict than younger worker mothers. Hypothesis 5a that mothers with more education would perceive less work-family conflict than mothers with less education was not supported. Correspondingly, Hypothesis 5b that mothers with more education would perceive more work-family conflict than mothers with less education was not supported. Hypothesis 6 is not supported. High income mothers did not perceive less work-family conflict than low income working mothers. In fact, a higher percentage of high income mothers reported work-family conflict (in the domain of work sacrifice) than mothers who earned $30,000 or less. Specifically, 67% of mothers whose income was $100,001 or more and 62% of mothers whose income was $50,001-75,000 reported "a lot" of work sacrifices compared to 37% of mothers whose income was $30,000 or less. Regarding number of adults in the household, these results do not support Hypothesis 7 that mothers from one adult household and mothers with three or more adults would perceive more work-family conflict than mothers with two adult households. In fact, mothers in two adult households

exhibited statistically significantly more work-family conflict than one adult household (single mothers) in the domain of work sacrifice. Hypothesis 8 was not supported that mothers with more children will perceive more work-family conflict than mothers with fewer children, but there is support for Hypotheses 9, that mothers with younger children will perceive more work-family conflict (in the domain of personal/family sacrifice) than mothers with older children. The gender of the children in the family was not associated with work-family conflict (Hypotheses 10).

Multivariate Results

Table 4.6 presents the logistic regression results of the effects of maternal and family characteristics on mothers' success at balancing work-family conflict. The results are presented as odds ratios, which are the exponentiated values of the regression coefficients ($\exp[b_k]$) and indicate the change in odds of the dependent variable that is associated with a one unit change in the independent variable, net of other predictors in the model (DeMaris, 1995; Field, 2009). Odds ratios less than 1.00 indicate reduced odds of the outcome occurring whereas odds ratios greater than 1.00 indicate increased odds of the outcome occurring.

The first four models show bivariate relationships between mother's race, marital status, employment status, and her feelings of being "less than very successful" versus "very successful" at balancing work and family. These effects mirror the results in Table 4.5. The first model shows the effect of mother's race (Black versus White). The relationship was not statistically significant. Black mothers did not have higher odds of feeling less than very successful at balancing work and family than White mothers.

Model 2 examines the effect of marital status and feelings of success. Unmarried mothers have approximately two times the odds of feeling “less than very successful” at balancing work and family than married mothers and this relationship is not statistically significant. In Model 3, the effect of never married mothers and separated/divorced mothers were examined separately (married is the omitted category). Never married mothers have approximately two times the odds of feeling “less than very successful” at balancing work and family than married mothers and this relationship is statistically significant. Therefore there is some support for Hypothesis 2a that unmarried mothers would perceive more work-family conflict than married mothers, but only for never married mothers. The relationship between never married and separated divorced mothers was also examined. Never married mothers were significantly more likely to experience feeling less than very successful than separated/divorced mothers ($p < .10$) (results not shown). Model 4 shows that part-time versus full-time employment were not significantly associated with feelings of success.

Model 5 includes race, marital status (never married, married, and separated/divorced), and employment (full and part-time) together in the same model. Similar to the bivariate models, being Black and working part-time does not increase the odds of feeling “less than very successful” at balancing work and family. Never married mothers continue to have about two and half times the odds of feeling” less than very successful” at balancing work and family than married mothers. This supports Hypothesis 2a that unmarried mothers would perceive more work-family conflict than married mothers but only for never married mothers. There is also marginal support ($p < .10$) for

Hypothesis 2b that never married would perceive more work-family conflict than separated/divorced mothers (results not shown).

Model 6 includes the variables above along with the characteristics of mothers and their families (mothers' age, education, income, number of adults, number of children, having children under 12 years old, and percentage of children who are female in the family). Marital status was the only maternal characteristic that was statistically significant. Never married mother had about three times the odds of reporting "less than very successful" at balancing family and work than married mothers. Thus, Hypothesis 2a was supported that unmarried mothers would perceive more work-family conflict than married mothers but only for never married mothers. None of the remaining hypotheses regarding maternal and family characteristics were statistically significant.

Similar to Table 4.6, Table 4.7 the first four models show the bivariate relationships between mother's race, marital status, and employment status and feeling "a lot" (versus "not too many") of work sacrifices. The first model shows the effect of mother's race (Black versus White). Black mothers have 48% significantly lower odds of feeling "a lot" of work sacrifice than White mothers. This supports Hypothesis 1 that Black working mothers would perceive less work-family conflict than White mothers. Model 2 shows the effect of marital status. Unmarried mothers have 51% significantly lower odds of feeling "a lot" of work sacrifice than married mothers. These results do not support Hypothesis 2a that unmarried mothers would perceive more work-family conflict than married mothers. In fact, they are in the opposite direction. Model 3 separates never married and divorced/separated mothers (married is the omitted category). Both never

married and separated/divorced mothers experienced significantly less work-family conflict with respect to work. The coefficient is similar in size and direction but the significant of the coefficient for never married mothers was marginal ($p < .10$). Never married mothers had 49% lower odds of feeling "a lot" of work sacrifices than married mothers. Separated/divorced mothers have 51% lower odds of feeling "a lot" of work sacrifices than married mothers. Additional analysis (not shown) found that never married mothers did not have significantly higher odds of feeling "a lot" of work sacrifice than did separated/divorced mothers. So these results do not support Hypothesis 2b. Model 4 shows the effect of part-time versus full-time employment. Part-time mothers did not have significantly higher odds of feeling "a lot" of work sacrifices than full-time mothers. Hypothesis 3a and 3b are therefore not supported. Model 5 shows the effect of race, marital status (never married and married), and employment (full and part-time) on work sacrifice. In this model, being Black, never married, and working part-time did not significantly increase the odds of feeling "a lot" of work sacrifices. However, similar to the bivariate model (Model 3), separated/divorced mothers continue to have 49% higher odds of feeling "a lot" of work sacrifices compared to married mothers.

Model 6 includes the variables above along with the characteristics of mothers and families (mothers' age, education, income, number of adults, number of children, having children under 12 years old, and percentage of children who are female in the family). None of the hypothesized relationships was statistically significant between race, marital status, and employment and work sacrifices. Therefore, Hypotheses 1, 2a, 2b, 3a, and 3b were not supported. Mothers over 35 years old had about 37% significantly lower

odds of feeling "a lot" of work sacrifices than mothers less than 35 years old ($p < .10$). Thus, Hypothesis 4 was supported. However, the hypotheses regarding mothers' education, number of adults in the home, number of children in the home or age and gender of the children were also not supported (Hypotheses 5a, 5b, 7, 8, 9, and 10). Mothers' household income showed some marginally significant relationships at the $p < .10$ level. Mothers whose income was $30,000 or less had about 53% lower odds of feeling "a lot" of work sacrifice than mothers whose income was $50,001-75,000. Mothers whose income was $30,001-50,000 had about 49% lower odds of feeling a lot of work sacrifices than mothers whose income was $50,001-75,000. These results do not support Hypothesis 6 that higher income working mothers would perceive less work-family conflict than low income working mothers and in fact the results show the opposite relationship.

Similar to Table 4.6 the first four models in Table 4.8 show the bivariate relationships between mothers' race, marital status, and employment and feelings of "a lot" of personal/family sacrifices as opposed to "no or not too many." The first model shows the effect of mother's race (Black versus White). Black mothers had about 66% higher odds of feeling a lot of personal/family sacrifices than White mothers ($p < .10$). This result does not support Hypothesis 1 that Black mothers would perceive less work-family conflict than White mothers. Model 2 shows the effect of marital status on personal/family sacrifices. Model 3 separates never married and divorced/separated mothers (married is the omitted category). Neither Hypotheses 2a or 2b are supported. Model 4 shows the effect of part-time versus full-time employment on personal/family

sacrifices. Part-time mothers have about 41% lower odds of feeling “a lot” of personal/family sacrifice than full-time mothers. This finding supports Hypothesis 3a that mothers working part-time would perceive less work-family conflict than mothers working full-time. Correspondingly, Hypothesis 3b was not supported. Model 5 includes race, marital status (never married and married), and employment (full and part-time) in the same model. The effects are similar to the previous bivariate models.

Model 6 includes the variables above along with the characteristics of mothers and families (mothers’ age, education, income, number of adults, number of children, having children under 12 years old, and percentage of children who are female in the family). Again, among the key variables, the only statistically significant effect is full-time versus part-time employment. Mothers working part-time had 54% lower odds of feeling a lot of personal/family sacrifice than mothers working full-time. This result supports Hypothesis 3a that mothers working part-time would perceive less work-family conflict than mothers working full-time. Correspondingly, Hypothesis 3b was not supported. Among the family characteristics, only household income and age of children were statistically significant. Mothers whose income was $30,001-50,000 had 56% significantly lower odds of feeling “a lot” of personal/family sacrifices than mothers than do mothers whose income was $50,000-75,000. This result does not support Hypothesis 6 that higher income mothers would perceive less work-family conflict than low income mothers. Mothers with a child under 12 years old had nearly two times the odds of feeling “a lot” of personal/family sacrifices. This result supports Hypothesis 9 that

mothers with younger children would perceive more work-family conflict than mothers with older children.

In summary, in regard to success at balancing work and family mother's marital status as never married, versus divorced, had a significant impact. The remaining maternal and family characteristics did not have a significant impact on their perceptions of success at balancing work and family.

For work sacrifices, a mothers' age (i.e. being less than 35 years old) and having a higher income increased feelings of work sacrifice ($p < .10$) whereas the results for age are in the expected direction, the results for income were not in the expected direction.

For personal/family sacrifice, full-time versus part-time employment, having a higher income and younger children increased personal/family sacrifices. The results for mothers' part-time employment and children's age were in the expected direction. Again the results for income were not in the expected direction, with higher income women reporting more work sacrifices. A summary of the hypotheses can be found in Table 4.9.

Discussion

Few studies have examined the variations in work-family conflict among working mothers (Mattingly & Sayer, 2006). Previous research has shown that working mothers are enmeshed in two contradictory cultures that may influence their perceptions of work-family conflict. The first is the intensive mothering ideology in which mothers are expected to spend large amounts of energy and time to protect, guide, and nurture their children with little concern for themselves (Hays, 1996). The second is the ideal worker norm which expects employees to be completely dedicated to the company at the expense

of other life aspects (Hays 2003, Williams, 2000). The extent to which working mothers internalize these ideas may be stronger or weaker depending on the mothers' personal and family characteristics. The goal of the chapter was to explore the relationship between mothers' race (White, Black), marital status (never married, married, divorced/separated), employment (full and part-time), and other maternal and family characteristics, and work-family conflict.

Recall that there was little variation on the work-family conflict measures. Mothers' reports of work-family conflict were biased toward feeling successful as opposed to feeling unsuccessful. Mothers' responses on the other two measures of work-family conflict were similarly distributed. This necessitated that the work-family conflict variable be collapsed into two categories. This pattern suggests that mothers may be reluctant to say that they are unsuccessful at balancing work and family or that they have had to sacrifice either at work or in their personal/family life. Mothers may not admit to struggling for balance because they may worry that to complain would be viewed as not carrying out their femininity appropriately. Moreover, a more progressive view of femininity has incorporated financial providing along with caregiving (Friedan, 1997; Welter, 1966). As a result, mothers may work harder to be both the ideal mother and worker (DeMeis & Perkins, 1996). American society values hard work and a "can do" attitude, and discourages complaints. Working mothers may be hesitant to ask for help because society views motherhood as innate and natural. In addition, working mothers may also be comparing themselves to working fathers who often do not ask for family assistance. Working mothers may not realize that fathers are not held to the same

parenting standard as mothers. Fatherhood standards are changing and more emphasis has been placed on being involved in their family and children's lives (Lamb, 2000). These changing standards may result in working fathers' experiencing work-family conflict as well. It is possible that working mothers reports are accurate, but underreporting is the likely culprit because mothers may feel it is less socially desirable to report parenting trouble (Knox, 2010). Mothers may also underreport work-family conflict because they are comparing their conflict to other similar working mothers and see their sacrifices as average in comparison (Milkie & Peltola, 1999).

An important part in understanding mothers' work-family conflict has to do with its measurement. As reviewed in Chapter 2, there are many different terms used to describe work-family conflict and researchers have used anywhere between one to several question to operationalize their measures. The present study used the term "work-family conflict" as opposed to "work-family balance" because balance implies that there is some type of arrangement in which work and family can both receive equal and adequate time. In reality, work and family may each be so time consuming (i.e. large work projects and young children) that the only way to manage is to limit the time dedicated to work or family which may result in feelings of conflict rather than balance. The similarity between the previous research and this study's conceptualization and operationalization provides support that this term and these questions adequately measure mothers' work-family conflict. This investigation does not collapse the measures into an index or scale to allow a better understanding of work-family conflict.

In regard to the multivariate analysis, several maternal and family characteristics (i.e. marital status, employment, maternal age, household income, and child's age) were related to mothers' work-family conflict. This investigation found that never married mothers, and not divorce/separated mothers, were more likely to report feeling less than very successful at balancing work and family than married mothers. Previous research has found that single mothers were more likely to report a lot more family sacrifices than married mothers or fathers (Bianchi et.al., 2006). The results here indicate it is important that the never married and divorced/separated mothers need to be distinguished. These results seem to suggest that having a spouse or ex-spouse may help relieve some of mothers' feelings of work-family conflict.

The present study found that mothers working part-time perceived less work-family conflict than full-time mothers in regard to personal/family sacrifices. Investigators have also found that as mothers' work hours increase they report feeling an increase of work-family conflict (Dilworth, 2004). Mothers who reported feeling rushed, due to multitasking with children, may compensate for work-family conflict by adjusting their work hours to part-time or by being not employed (Mattingly & Sayer, 2006). This finding suggests that when mothers have additional time they spend it on their family as opposed to work.

This investigation found mothers thirty-five years old and older perceived less work-family conflict with respect to work than mothers less than thirty-five years old. Other researchers have also found that mothers in their early forties reported lower work-family conflict than younger mothers (Milkie & Peltola, 1999). Older mothers may have

worked longer and obtained jobs that provide more flexibility allowing more time for family responsibilities (i.e. flextime or telecommuting). Researchers have found that mothers in their mid-thirties were more likely to work from home than younger mothers (Estes, 2004).

Lastly, the present study found that mothers with children under 12 years old perceived more work-family conflict with respect to personal/family sacrifices than mother with older children. Researchers have also found that mothers with young children have more family responsibilities and they struggle with work and family balance (Dilworth, 2004; Milkie & Peltola, 1999). Investigators have also established that women with younger children tend to make more job tradeoff than mothers with older children as a way to manage family responsibilities (Maume, 2006). This finding may indicate that mothers of young children feel they should be dedicating larger amounts of time to care for young children's basic needs while older children are more independent and need less help perhaps reducing work-family conflict.

Interestingly, household income was related to work-family conflict but in the opposite direct than hypothesized. In general, mothers with lower incomes reported less work-family conflict than mothers with higher incomes with respect to career and personal/family sacrifices. Mothers with lower incomes may have fewer sacrifices because their jobs may require less education and training and they would feel less sacrifice when they spend time away from work. Previous research has found that mothers with lower incomes reported more work-family conflict than high income mothers due to the inflexibility of work hours (Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2004). In contrast,

women who have spent a lot of time on career development may have higher opportunity costs because when they take work home they may be unable to complete it due to childcare responsibilities (Longman, 1998). Investigators found in general that middle-income professional women were more likely to want fewer work hours while women managers with the highest incomes were less likely to want fewer work hours (Reynolds, 2005).

While some of the maternal and family characteristics helped explain working mothers' work-family conflict, the majority of the maternal and family characteristics did not significantly influence their feelings of work-family conflict. It may be that other factors (i.e. job flexibility or jobs that support family involvement) have a larger impact on mothers' work-family conflict than the individual characteristics of mothers (Hochschild, 1997). For instance, investigators have found that supervisor flexibility reduced work-hour problems for low-income working urban mothers (Press, Fagan & Laughlin, 2006). Researchers also found that work and family balance policies reduced absenteeism, improved work attitudes and productivity as well as lowering workers stress levels thereby reducing work-family conflict (Hochschild, 1997, Hughes & Parkes, 2007). Researchers of European countries have also found that support for maternal employment as well as paid parental leave and childcare encouraged more mothers to continue full-time work thereby reducing their motherhood wage penalties (Gash, 2009). These strategies also helped to increase fertility in a rapidly aging society.

In conclusion, this study demonstrated that few micro-level factors such as personal or family characteristics of mothers may affect their perceptions of work-family

conflict. Recommendations are difficult because these characteristics are qualities that cannot be changed once a decision to have a child is made. These findings suggest researchers should focus on how larger societal structures influence mothers' perceptions of work-family conflict. After examining these social structures we may uncover the ways that employed mothers are helped to be successful as both worker and mother.

CHAPTER 5

Work-Family Conflict and Positive Parenting

This chapter presents the findings regarding the relationship between maternal work-family conflict and positive parenting. I hypothesized that mothers' level of work-family conflict is positively related to positive parenting (Hypothesis 11a). I also considered an alternative hypothesis that mothers' level of work-family conflict is negatively related (or unrelated to) to positive parenting (Hypothesis 11b). In this chapter, the positive parenting measures (parental involvement, warmth, and monitoring) will be discussed first. This chapter concludes with a multivariate analysis in which aspects of positive parenting were regressed on work-family conflict in a series of models that control for the maternal and family characteristics. The findings were that work-family conflict was not related to positive parenting, except with regard to family dinners. Mothers who reported higher family sacrifices had fewer family dinners than mothers with lower family sacrifices. The maternal characteristics of race, marital status, age of mother, and education had statistically significant relationships with positive parenting. Household income, number of adults, number and age of children, and percentage of female children in the home also had statistically significant relationships with positive parenting.

Measurement of Positive Parenting

Positive parenting was measured with a series of questions in three areas: (a) involvement, (b) warmth, and (c) monitoring. The involvement questions asked mothers to report how many days in the past week they had done the following things with any of their children between the ages 5-17: (a) Helped or checked homework; (b) driven to activities such as sports, music, lessons, or activities with friends; (c) supervised or watched sports,

music, or lessons, or other activities with friends; and (d) family dinners. The response set for these questions were 0-7 days a week. The parental warmth questions asked mothers to report in a typical week how often they (a) praise any of the children, (b) raise their voice to any of the children, (c) laugh together, and (d) hug or kiss any of the children. The response set for the parental warmth questions were (1) never, (2) less often than once a week, (3) about once a week, (4) two or three times a week, (5) almost daily, and (6) daily. The parental monitoring question had two parts. The first asked mothers to report their knowledge of the children's whereabouts after school on weekdays. The second asked about their whereabouts on weekends. The response set for these questions were (1) almost none of the time, (2) some of the time, (3) about half the time, (4) most of the time, and (5) almost all of the time. Descriptive information about these variables (means and frequency distribution) can be found in Table 5.1.

Measuring Work-Family Conflict

Recall that mother's work-family conflict was measured through two questions: (a) to what extent she made sacrifices in her career/job for her personal/family life, and (b) to what extent she made sacrifices in her personal/family life for her career/job. The response set for these questions were: (a) no sacrifice, (b) not too many sacrifices, (c) some sacrifices, and (d) a lot of sacrifices. The question about mother's success at balancing work and family was omitted due to the lack of variation on this item.

Analytic Strategy

Both OLS and logistic regression models were used to assess the effect of mother's work-family conflict on positive parenting controlling for maternal and family characteristics (race, marital status, employment, education, income, number of adults and children in the

home, having a child under 12 years old and percentage of girls in the home). Specifically, OLS models were used for the parental involvement (Tables 5.2-5.6), parental warmth index (Table 5.7), and parental monitoring index (Table 5.11). Logistic regression models were used for the individual parental warmth and parental monitoring measures because they are dichotomous (Tables 5.8-5.10 and Tables 5.12-5.13).

Results

Relationship between work-family conflict and positive parenting

Mother's work-family conflict was not significantly related to parental involvement with one exception (see Table 5.6). There was a marginally significant negative relationship between the mother's work-family conflict (scale) and frequency of family dinners ($p < .10$, Model 1). Analysis of the individual work-family conflict items revealed that this effect was driven by family sacrifices alone (Model 3). As a result, Hypothesis 11a that mothers' level of work-family conflict is positively related to positive parenting was not supported. In contrast, Hypothesis 11b that mothers' level of work-family conflict is negatively related (or unrelated) to positive parenting received some support. There were no significant relationships between work-family conflict and warmth or monitoring which provides further support for Hypothesis 11b.

Relationship between maternal characteristics and positive parenting

There was significant variation in the level and type of positive parenting based on the mother's characteristics. The relationship between maternal and family characteristic and all the dimensions of positive parenting (involvement, warmth, and monitoring) will be reported on in this section. There are slight variations in the p-values between models. As a result, the p-value for Model 1 will be used as the reference value across tables.

Race. Tables 5.3 showed that Black mothers provided significantly more help with homework than White mothers. In contrast, Tables 5.4 and 5.5 showed Black mothers were significantly less involved in driving to and supervising their children's activities like sports, music or other lessons or activities with friends than White mothers. Table 5.13 showed that Black mothers reported more weekend monitoring than white mothers ($p < .10$).

Marital Status. Table 5.2 and Table 5.5 showed that never married mothers had significantly higher involvement (scale) with their children and supervised significantly more activities like sports, music or other lessons or activities with friends than married mothers. Similarly, Table 5.11 and Table 5.13 showed that never married mothers reported significantly higher monitoring (index) and more weekend monitoring than married mothers. Table 5.6 showed that separated/divorced mothers had significantly fewer dinners with their family than married mothers.

Employment. There were no significant relationships between mothers' employment and positive parenting.

Age. Mothers 35 years old or older reported statistically greater involvement (scale), help with their children's homework and family dinners than mothers younger than 35 years old (Table 5.2, Table 5.3, and Table 5.6, $p < .10$). In contrast, mothers 35 years old or older had marginally ($p < .10$) statistically lower warmth (index), as well as significantly lower praise, and hugging/kissing than mothers younger than 35 years old (Table 5.7, Table 5.8, and Table 5.10).

Education. Mothers with a graduate or professional degree reported statistically more involvement (scale), help with their children's homework and supervision or watching of activities like sports, music or other lessons or activities with friends than mothers with a

high school degree (Table 5.2, Table 5.3, $p < .10$, Table 5.5). In contrast, mothers with a four year degree reported significantly lower warmth (index) and less daily laughter with their children (Table 5.7 and Table 5.9). Table 5.9 also showed that mothers with some college were significantly less likely to report that they laughed daily with their children. Table 5.8 showed that mothers with a graduate or professional degree were significantly more likely to report they daily praised their children than mothers with a high school degree ($p < .10$).

Relationship between family characteristics and positive parenting

Income. Tables 5.4 and 5.5 showed that mothers who earned $75,001-100,000 spent significantly more time driving to and supervising their children's activities like sports, music or other lessons or activities with friends than mothers who earned $50,001-75,000 ($p < .10$). In contrast, Table 5.8 showed that mothers who earned $30,000 or less reported significantly more praise than mothers who earned $50,001 to 75,000. Table 5.11 and Table 5.13 showed that mothers who earned $30,001 or less reported significantly lower monitoring (index and weekend) than mothers who earned $50,001-75,000.

Number of adults. Table 5.6 showed that mothers with one adult in the home spent significantly more time in family dinners than mothers with two adults in the home. Mothers with three or more adults in the home reported statistically less involvement (scale, homework and driving to activities) and less monitoring than mothers with two adults in the home (Table 5.2, Table 5.3, Table 5.4. $p < .10$, Table 5.11, Table 5.12, and Table 5.13, $p < .10$).

Number of children. Mothers with two children had significantly greater involvement (scale) and more family dinners than mothers with one child (Table 5.2 and Table 5.6, $p < .10$). Mothers with three or more children also had significantly greater involvement (scale,

homework, and driving to or supervising activities) than mothers with one child (Table 5.2-5.5). Table 5.8 showed that mothers with two children also reported significantly less daily praise than mothers with one child.

Children under 12 years old. Mothers with children under 12 years old spent significantly more time on homework, reported more warmth (index, praise, laugh, and hug/kiss), and more weekday monitoring than mothers without children under 12 years old (Table 5.3, Table 5.7-5.10, and Table 5.12). Table 5.4 showed that mothers with children under 12 years old also spent significantly less time driving to activities like sports, music or other lessons or activities with friends than mothers with older children.

Percentage girls in the home. Mothers with fewer female children in the home had significantly greater involvement (scale, driving to or supervising activities) than mothers with more female children (Table 5.2, Table 5.4, and Table 5.5, variation on p-value some $p < .10$). In contrast, mothers with fewer female children in the home reported marginally significantly lower monitoring (index and weekend) than mothers with more female children in the home (Table 5.11 and Table 5.13, $p < .10$).

Summary

To summarize, work-family conflict is not related to positive parenting, except with regard to family dinners. Mothers who reported higher family sacrifices had fewer family dinners than mothers with lower family sacrifices. Several of the maternal characteristics such as race, marital status, age of mother, and education had statistically significant relationships with positive parenting. There were also several family characteristics such as income, number of adults, number and age of children, and percentage of female children that had statistically significant relationships with positive parenting.

Discussion

Few studies have examined the relationship between mothers' work-family conflict and parenting and especially with respect to parental involvement, parental warmth, and parental monitoring. Previous studies have measured parenting indirectly through the number of hours in childcare, number and age of children, time spent in childcare versus housework, and/or childcare versus employment hours (Boulis, 2004; Dilworth, 2004; Hochschild, 1989; Marks et al., 2001; Mason & Goulden, 2004; Maume, 2006; Milkie & Peltola, 2004). The majority of the work-family conflict research examined how parenting influences work-family conflict (Dilworth, 2004; Marks at el., 2001; Maume, 2006; Milkie & Peltola, 1999). Fewer studies examined the opposite relationship of how work-family conflict influences parenting. Previous researchers have found that employed mothers tend to invest slightly less time into parenting than mothers who do not work (Arendell, 2000; Baydar, Greek & Gritz, 1999; DeMeis & Perkins, 1996). However, when parenting is broken down into its components it was found that employed mothers spend less time passively supervising and more time actively engaged with their children non-employed mothers (Bianchi et. al., 2006; Arendell, 2000; Baydar, Greek & Gritz, 1999). Employed mothers are also more likely to define parenting as the quality of the mother-child exchanges as opposed to hours spend with children (Johnson & Swanson, 2006; Snyder, 2007). Some suggest that employed mothers take into consideration that they have limited time available and plan reading, homework, and other activities with their children after work and on weekends (Zick, Bryant, Osterbacka, 2001; Snyder, 2007). Previous researchers' crude measurement of parenting makes it difficult to fully explore the relationship between mothers' perceptions of work-

family conflict and parenting. The present study's examination of the components of parenting stands in contrast to previous work.

As previously discussed in previous chapters, mothers' work-family conflict is thought to be due to mothers' immersion in two contradictory cultures. The first is the intensive mothering ideology which expects mothers to be solely focused (spending large amounts of time, money and energy) on their children, family, and home at the expense of self-care and outside interests such as employment (Hays, 1996). The second is the ideal worker ideology which expects employees to be solely focused, spending large amounts of time and energy, on their employment to the exclusion of personal or family interest (Hays 2003, Williams, 2000). The goal of this chapter was to explore the relationship between work-family conflict and positive parenting (involvement, warmth, and monitoring) and maternal characteristics such as race (White, Black), marital status (never married, married, divorced/separated), employment (full and part-time), and family characteristics such as income, number of adults and children in the home, age of children and percent of female children.

This research found that employed mothers with greater family sacrifices also reported fewer family dinners. Mothers' work-family conflict appeared to be unassociated with the majority of the positive parenting measures. There could be several interpretations of these findings. The fact that the work-family conflict variables were highly skewed toward less conflict may indicate that mothers may be not admitting that they are experiencing the work-family conflict they feel. These findings may indicate that mothers are being influenced by social desirability (the desire to be viewed as both a competent mother and worker) and there needs to be better (perhaps indirect) work-family conflict measures. These results may

also mean that mothers are managing work-family conflict by reformulating what it means to be a mother, such as to being a financial provider. That is, investing additional time into parenting is not necessary because their income provides financial resources to their children. Employed mothers may also see their maternal work as good for children's emotional development (Hoffman & Youngblade, 1999). Even more interesting is that employed mothers with work-family conflict do not reduce their parental time. This suggests that employed mothers work does not come at the children's expense. Rather mothers reduce time in other areas such as cleaning, getting less sleep and less leisure time (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer & Robinson, 2006; DeMeis & Perkins, 1996).

In regard to the maternal characteristics, Black mothers' greater involvement in homework and weekend monitoring than white mothers may reflect their acceptance that they have less time to spend with their children because historically they see work as part of their role (Johnston & Swanson, 2007). When mothers have limited time with their children they may focus on tasks that are easily measurable such as homework completion. It may also be that fathers or extended family, friends, neighbors, and community members are helping provide some of the other childcare activities in Black families (Kotchick, Dorsey, & Heller, 2005). When others are involved in childcare activities than Black mothers may view their role as reduced to the fundamental parental behaviors such as education and safety. Never married mothers' greater involvement in supervision and monitoring than married mothers may be in response to a lack of involvement by nonresident fathers (Berger at el., 2008; Hawkins at el., 2006; Stewart, 1999). These mothers may realize that their children will miss time with their fathers and attempt to compensate for his lack of parental attention. In contrast, separated/divorced mothers may have fewer dinners with their family than

married mothers because it may be that they are now dividing time with former spouses who wish to spend time alone with the children (Palisi, Orleans, Caddell & Korn, 1991). Older mothers' greater parental involvement than younger mothers may be due to greater career attainment resulting in more work flexibility (working from home) allowing them to invest more time in parenting (Estes, 2004). Similarly, younger mothers' greater investment in parental warmth than older mothers may be due to their limited ability to modify their work hours but these mothers can control the warmth of their expressions regardless of their work commitments. Lastly, mothers with a professional or graduate degree had greater involvement and praise than mothers with a high school degree. In contrast, mothers with a high school degree reported more warmth and laughter than mothers with a four year degree. Mothers with more education may view large amounts of time spent in child centered activities as critical to good parenting but the stress from these time expectations may make warmth and laughter difficult (Bianchi et. al., 2006). The time with children may be more goal-oriented consistent with the concerted cultivation philosophy of parenting (Lareau, 2002).

In regard to family characteristics, mothers who earned $30,000 or less monitored their children less which may be due to inflexible employment hours as well as being responsible for completing the necessary household chores without any additional help. Mothers who earned $30,000 or less also provided more praise to their children. These mothers may feel that being employed is important to the family but they are also aware of the intensive mothering ideology. As a result, they may be compensating for their inability to monitor their children by increasing their positive exchanges when they are available. Lower income mothers may see quality time with their children as any time they have available

while at home (Snyder, 2007). In contrast, mothers who earned $75,001-100,000 had greater involvement in driving to and supervising their children's various activities. These mothers involvement with their children may be due to their ability to purchase some of the other aspects of care such as housekeeping (Bianchi & Mattingly, 2004; Blair-Loy, 2001; Repetti et al., 1989). These mothers may see quality time with their children as the times that are child-centered (Snyder, 2007). Mothers with one adult in the home provided more family dinners than mothers with two parents in the home. Single mothers may see family dinners as providing an opportunity to spend quality time with their children that may be limited by work and other domestic expectations. This finding is in contrast to previous research that single mothers actually eat fewer meals with their children (Stewart & Menning, 2009). In contrast, mothers with three or more adults in the home had lower involvement and monitoring than mothers with two adults within the home. These mothers may be less involved because others caretakers such as the fathers or extended family are doing those tasks. Mothers with three or more adults in the home may find it easier to reformulate the motherhood expectations to include their financial contributions because their children are being well cared for by other nurturing adults (Blair-Loy, 2001). Mothers with two or more children reported greater involvement in homework, driving to and supervising their children's activities and family dinners than mothers with one child. In contrast, mothers with two children reported less child praise. Mothers with more children may believe that doing specific activities is important to their children's well-being and success than providing praise. These mothers may also be doing so many activities that they do not find enjoyment in the activities themselves but in knowing that they provided important opportunities for their children's social development (Snyder, 2007). These mothers may see arranging for

their children's activities as a more typical way (behaviors) to support their children than verbal praise (DeMeis & Perkins, 1996). Mothers with children younger than 12 years old had greater involvement, warmth and monitoring than mothers with children 12 year old or older. Mothers may provide more assistance and monitoring to young children because they are less unable to take care of themselves than older children. Mothers may understand that in order to keep young children safe requires large amounts of attention and supervision. Mothers with fewer female children (relative to male children) had greater involvement than mothers with more female children. Mothers' greater involvement with sons is consistent with research showing higher parental investment in boys than girls (Raley & Bianchi, 2006). Mothers with fewer female children also reported less monitoring probably because parents monitor boys' activities less than girls (Raley & Bianchi, 2006).

In conclusion, this study found that mothers' work-family conflict had almost no impact on their positive parenting behaviors. These results may support the idea that mothers have a more goal-oriented focus of "getting parenting done" rather than worrying about their own work and family conflict issues. Mothers may realize that work-family conflict cannot be avoided and it is simply part of being a modern mom.

CHAPTER 6

Work-Family Conflict and Parental Satisfaction

This chapter presents the findings regarding the relationship between maternal work-family conflict and parental satisfaction. I hypothesized that mothers' level of work-family conflict is negatively related to parental satisfaction (Hypothesis 12). In this chapter, the measurement of parental satisfaction will be discussed first. Next, the chapter describes the bivariate relationship between work-family conflict and parental satisfaction. This chapter concludes with a multivariate analysis in which parental satisfaction was regressed on work-family conflict in a series of models that control for the maternal and family characteristics. The findings were that work-family conflict was negatively related to parental satisfaction. Maternal characteristics such as race, employment status, age, education were significantly related to parental satisfaction. Similarly the percentage of girls in the home was also significantly related to parental satisfaction.

Measurement of Parental Satisfaction

Parental satisfaction was measured with three questions. Mothers were asked to report their level of satisfaction on a scale of 1 = completely dissatisfied to 10 = completely satisfied, with respect to the: (a) time they spend with their children, (b) time they spend as a whole family, and (c) how well their children are doing in life. Descriptive information about parental satisfaction appears in Table 6.1. The working mothers in this sample had a mean score of about 6.7 on their satisfaction with their amount of time with their children. They reported slightly less satisfaction with the amount of time the whole family spends together (mean of 5.8). Lastly, mother reported the highest level of satisfaction with respect to how well their children are doing in life (mean of 8.2). Previous research found that respondents

generally highly rank their family satisfaction or family life satisfaction (Broman, 1991; Hill, 2005; Rogers & White, 1998;

Measuring Work-Family Conflict

As in previous chapters, mother's work-family conflict was measured through two questions: (a) to what extent she made sacrifices in her career/job for her personal/family life, and (b) to what extent she made sacrifices in her personal/family life for her career/job. The response set for these questions were: (1) no sacrifice, (2) not too many sacrifices, (3) some sacrifices, and (4) a lot of sacrifices. The two work-family conflict questions were combined and then averaged to create a total work-family conflict scale (alpha = .44).

Analytic Strategy

First, the bivariate relationship between work-family conflict and parental satisfaction was assessed using t-tests. Then, OLS regression was used to assess the effect of mother's work-family conflict on parental satisfaction controlling for maternal and family characteristics (race, marital status, employment, education, income, number of adults and children in the home, having a child under 12 years old and percentage of girls in the home).

Results

Bivariate Relationship between work-family conflict and parental satisfaction

Table 6.2 shows the bivariate relationship between career sacrifices, personal/family sacrifices and parental satisfaction. The results show that mothers who report "no/not too many" career sacrifice reported significantly lower parental satisfaction than mothers who report "a lot" of career sacrifices ($p < .001$). In contrast, the results also show that mothers who report "no/not too many" family sacrifices have significantly higher parental satisfaction

than mothers who report "a lot" of family sacrifices ($p < .10$). These initial findings present a mixed picture of the relationship between work-family conflict and parental satisfaction.

Multivariate analysis

Table 6.3 shows the relationship between work-family conflict and parental satisfaction controlling for maternal and family characteristics. Mother's work-family conflict was negatively related to parental satisfaction (Model 1). As mother's work-family conflict increased their reports of parental satisfaction decreased. Analysis of the individual work-family conflict items revealed that this effect was driven by family sacrifices as opposed to work sacrifices (Models 2 & 3). The significant bivariate relationship between work-family conflict (in regard to work) and parental satisfaction was spurious and disappeared once controls were added to the model. Hypothesis 12 that mothers' level of work-family conflict is negatively related to parental satisfaction was supported with respect to family sacrifices.

Relationship between maternal characteristics and parental satisfaction

There were several maternal characteristics that were significantly related to parental satisfaction. Only statistically significant relationships will be discussed in this section. Note that there were slight variations in the p-values between models.

Race. Black mothers were significantly more satisfied with their parenting than white mothers (Models 1-3).

Employment. Mothers who worked part-time were marginally significantly more satisfied with their parenting than mothers who worked full time on the career sacrifice item (Model 2, $p < .10$).

Age. Mothers 35 years old or older reported significantly more satisfied with their parenting than mothers younger than 35 years old (Models 1-3).

Education. There was a marginally significant relationship between mother's education and parental satisfaction (Models 1 & 2, $p < .10$). Mothers with some college education reported statistically less parental satisfaction than mothers with a high school degree.

Relationship between family characteristics and parental satisfaction

Percentage girls in the home. Mothers with fewer female children in the home had significantly greater parental satisfaction than mothers with more female children.

Discussion

No studies have examined the relationship between mothers' work-family conflict and parental satisfaction. Researchers tend to explore mothers' work-family conflict in regard to family life satisfaction, life satisfaction, or the combination of family and life satisfaction, or mother's personal well-being. These investigators asked questions such as how satisfied mothers are with their family life, the time spent and the things they do with family members, if their family life is close to their ideal, and how satisfied they feel about their lives as a whole (i.e. Broman, 1988 & 1991; Campione, 2008; Dilworth, 2004; Ellison, 1990; Grant-Vallone & Donaldson, 2001; Hughes & Parkes, 2007). Similarly, research on parental satisfaction deals primarily with family dynamics, role identity and maternal health (Rogers & White, 1998; Wickrama et al., 1995) and not work-family conflict.

As discussed in Chapter 2, employed mothers' perception of their satisfaction with parenting may be influenced by their level of work-family conflict. Mothers are embedded in two cultures. The first is the intensive mothering ideology which asks mothers to be

completely dedicated to family. The second is the ideal worker norm which asks mothers to be solely focused on their careers. These two elements may cause mothers to feel strain that may affect how satisfied they are with parenting. This relationship has not been previously examined.

Some investigators have found no relationship between mothers' employment (whether employed versus not employed) and parental satisfaction (Arendell, 2000). But among employed mothers, researchers have found that when work-family conflict is low mothers have higher family and life satisfaction (Dilworth, 2004; Grant-Vallone & Donaldson, 2001; Hughes & Parkes, 2007). Investigators have also discovered that the negative relationship between work-family conflict, family satisfaction, and life satisfaction is stronger for employed mothers than employed fathers (Hill, 2005).

The present study found that employed mothers with greater work-family conflict and specifically family sacrifices reported significantly less parental satisfaction. It makes sense that sacrificing family time would negatively affect parental satisfaction. That a significant relationship was found for family sacrifices and not work sacrifices may indicate that it is sacrificing family time for their jobs which may lead to low parental satisfaction. Indeed, researchers found that parents often view work as conflicting more with family than family conflicting with work (Gareis, Barnett, Ertel & Berkman, 2009). This finding may also be due to increased parental expectations in regard to what is considered necessary to raise successful children (Laureu, 2002; Senior, 2010). Modern parenting (planned activities, enrichment classes, and talking) requires a significant investment of parental time (Snyder, 2007). Researchers have identified the time parents spend talking with children as the "third shift" because it requires such large amounts of additional emotional energy be invested

(Knox, 2010). When employed mothers are parenting as they believe they "should" it may not increase their immediate satisfaction. These mothers may in the future look back at the hectic schedules and long talks with children and feel satisfied with their accomplishments as parents (Senior, 2010). But in the short term, this parenting style does not translate into their satisfaction with parenting. Despite the focus on "quality" time, the quantity of time parents spend remains important. In other words, for working mothers "being there" for their children remains more important than breadwinning despite women's movement into the workforce. Thus, the intensive mothering ideology prevails.

In regard to the maternal characteristics, Black mothers reported greater satisfaction than White mothers which may reflect that they are better able to balance work and family demands. Historically, Black mothers have had to work to help provide for their families and as a result they may have adapted their parenting expectations accordingly (Furdyna, Tucker & James, 2008). Researchers found that there has been more sharing of household chores and childcare in Black households which may also help to reduce Black mothers' work-family conflict (McLoyd et al., 2000). However, it is important to note that other researchers have found that employed Black mothers reported greater work-family conflict and lower levels of family life satisfaction than White mothers (Broman, 1988 & 1991). Mothers employed part-time reported lower parental satisfaction in regard to their career sacrifices. These mothers may be struggling because they are also comparing themselves to both the intensive mothering ideology and ideal worker norm while also defining parenting as the quality of their interactions identified by type of activity and emotional time invested (Bianchi et. al., 2006; Hays, 2003; Johnson & Swanson, 2006; Snyder, 2007). Mother employed part-time may be viewed as not needing additional partner or employer support but they may have

similar levels of work-family conflict as mothers working full-time. Mothers 35 years or older reported more parental satisfaction than mothers younger than 35 years old. Older mothers may report more satisfaction because they may have more career flexibility and the ability to control how much their work interferes with family (Estes, 2004). Researchers found that control over work hours helped reduce the negative impact of long work hours on the family and worker well-being (Hughes & Parkes, 2007). Mothers with some college education reported lower satisfaction than mothers with a high school degree. This finding may again be the result of how mothers with some college education have higher parenting expectations. These mothers do not have a college degree which may give them access to jobs with flexibility and paid time off to parent in the ways they wish.

In regard to the family characteristics, mothers with fewer female children reported higher parental satisfaction than mothers with more female children. These mothers may feel more parental satisfaction when there are more boys in the home because they have invested more time in parenting them. Researcher shows that parents tend to devote different types of resources to their children based on their gender and beliefs about life success (Raley & Bianchi, 2006). Employed mothers with more boys may believe that an investment in their sons may result in more long term support which may increase their satisfaction.

In conclusion in this analysis I found that employed mothers' parental satisfaction is related to their work-family conflict. Mothers were more influenced by family sacrifices which lends support to the continued importance of the intensive mothering ideology. This connection shows that mothers' parenting ideas combined with work demands can reduce their parental satisfaction. Hopefully mothers could someday adapt their roles to include both mothering and breadwinning.

CHAPTER 7

Summary of Findings and Conclusions

In this chapter, I summarize the key findings from this dissertation and discuss the implications for mothers dealing with work-family conflict. I conclude by discussing this dissertations limitations and possibilities for future research.

Summary

The results for Chapter Four through Chapter Six provided some interesting information concerning employed mothers work-family conflict. Mothers who reported greater family sacrifices also reported fewer family dinners. Similarly, mothers who reported greater family sacrifices also reported lower parental satisfaction. There were also a number of interesting findings in relation to the mothers' personal and family characteristics.

- Black mother reported more help with homework and weekend monitoring, and greater parental satisfaction than White mothers.
- Never married mothers reported less success at balancing work and family, and greater involvement, and monitoring of children than married mothers.
- Mothers employed part-time reported lower personal/family sacrifice and greater parental satisfaction than mothers employed full-time.
- Mothers age 35 years or older reported greater work sacrifices, greater involvement but lower warmth, and greater parental satisfaction than mothers younger than 35 years old.
- Mothers with some college education or greater reported more involvement, less warmth, more praise and less parental satisfaction than mothers with a high school degree.
- Mothers with higher incomes reported greater career and family sacrifices, greater involvement and monitoring than mothers with lower incomes.

- Mothers with one adult in the home reported more family dinners than two adult homes. Mothers with three adults in the home reported lower involvement and monitoring than mothers with two adults within the home.
- Mothers with more children reported greater involvement but lower praise than mothers with one child in the home.
- Mothers with younger children reported greater personal/family sacrifice and greater involvement than mothers with older children.
- Lastly, mothers with fewer female children (more boys) reported greater involvement, lower monitoring, and greater parental satisfaction than mothers with more female children.

Conclusions

Traditional gender roles that strictly portray men as breadwinners and women as caretakers are changing but employed mothers continue to be viewed as more closely associated with caretaking than employed fathers (Hill, 2005). Mothers face a unique bind when attempting to carry out their caretaker role and worker role simultaneously. Some mothers may compartmentalize or separate their work and mothering roles, which has been shown to reduce their work-family conflict (Knox, 2010). For example, Black mothers may have greater parental satisfaction, than White mothers, because they are able to compartmentalize their parenting to helping with their children's homework and weekend monitoring. Similarly, mothers employed part-time may have lower personal/family sacrifice and greater parental satisfaction, than mothers working full-time, because they are also able to compartmentalize work and family. This dissertation showed that family sacrifices appear to have a greater influence on mothers than career sacrifices. When mothers

compartmentalize work and family and if they view family as suffering then their perceptions of work-family conflict tended to increase (Kelly, Moen & Tranby, 2011). These finding may indicate that mothers continue to reference the intensive mothering ideology even when they have careers. This "perfect mother" image can be seen as the "ghost" in the background of employed mothers' lives. Knox (2010) discusses a similar concept in regard to "the ghost of the first marriage" when discussing ex-spouses and remarriage (2010, p.274). The reality is that these perfect mothers only existed for a specific time period and for a specific type of woman (white, middle-class, and married) (Skolnick, 1991). Mothers' attachment to the intensive mothering ideology may also be due to the restrictive structure of employment as full-time, year-around and for an individual's life time (Moen, 2010). Mothers may be unable to find full-time jobs that offer enough flexibility to allow parenting time. Mothers may end up working in part-time or contingent jobs that don't allow career development or personal fulfillment (Cheng, 2010; Polivka & Nardone, 1989). These mothers may see parenting as offering greater opportunities for joy and satisfaction therefore increasing their family investment and connection to the intensive mothering ideology.

Today, two income families are more common than not, due to an increase in mothers educational attainment and the need for their financial help to provide the basic necessities in life such as the mortgage or children's college education (Kirk & Okazawan-Rey, 2007). An outcome of mothers' increased employment is that fathers are more actively taking up household and caretaking responsibilities (Lamb, 2000). It is common to see television programs and books aimed at helping fathers carry out their parenting (Badalament, 2010). But these efforts lag behind women's increased job responsibilities. Until there is greater

parenting diversity in society, the specter of the "good" mother will still be lurking in the background waiting to jump out and show mothers how their parenting is not good enough.

This dissertation also found that mothers' personal characteristics and family characteristics were important for their work-family conflict, positive parenting, and parental satisfaction. This is problematic because what may be causing mothers work-family conflict are characteristics that are less easily changed. Society may need to provide additional support to families to balance the impact of some of these factors. For example, Black mothers tend to have higher employment rates tied to racial discrimination in employment earnings (Furdyna, Tucker & James, 2008). One way to give additional support to families may be to provide financial assistance to families either through employers or governmental policies. Researchers have found that employed mothers who receive paid time off after the birth of a child and day care assistance were quicker to return to work and suffered lower motherhood wage penalties making it easier to provide for the family (Budig & England, 2001; Gash, 2009; Press, Fagan, Laughlin, 2006). Mothers who receive assistance may also have a reduction in their feelings of family sacrifice because they have time to spend with their children and they have access to affordable before and after school programs for their children. Researchers have also found that access to quality before and after school programs improved mothers' well-being even for high-income mothers (Press, Fagan, & Bernd, 2006). Assistance to families has also been tied to increased marital stability for employed mothers which is important because ()divorce is closely tied to the likelihood of being in poverty for mothers and children which can increase mother's feelings of family sacrifice and negatively impact children (Hardoy & Schone, 2008;Kirk & Okazawa-Rey, 2010; Knox, 2007).

One underlying message from this research is that society and especially employed mothers need access to diverse representations of good parenting that include work success. Only then will the ghost of the idealized mother be released from the shadows and employed mothers and fathers can parent in the ways that work best for their families. Secondly, there needs to be more employers or governmental policies that support parenting and work flexibility which would allow parents the time and finances to parent creatively thereby reducing the need to follow the intensive mothering ideology or ideal worker norm. Parental support would mean that all of society would bear the cost of raising children which only seems fair when everyone benefits when parents raise their children well (Budig & England, 2001).

One of the limitations of this study was that there is a social desirability aspect for respondents regarding work-family conflict matters. The complexity of mothers' feelings about work and family cannot be easily captured by straightforward questions because mothers may be reluctant to admit that they have a lot of work and family conflict (similar to marital happiness measures). The limited results for work-family conflict may be related to the small number of questions used to measure the concept. There were only three questions that measured work-family conflict and the question that asked mothers to report how successful they felt at balancing their job and family life was highly skewed toward success. In fact, this question was omitted from subsequent analysis. Another concern is that the work-family conflict questions are double-barreled asking mothers if they have made sacrifices in their career or job for personal or family life. Mothers' perceptions of their employment as either "a job" or "a career" may influence their perceptions of work-family conflict. For example, if a mother is working a job to provide income rather than career

development she may perceive less work-family conflict because her main focus is on family. Employment was measured as part-time or full-time in the data which does not clearly indicate a mother's employment in a job or a career because it is possible that a mother may be working part-time in field she views as her career. Another limitation was the ability to control for mothers' attempts to compartmentalize or merge work and family making it difficult to determine if either approach reduced work-family conflict (Glavin & Schieman, 2011; Kelly, Moen & Tranby, 2011, Knox, 2010). A last concern of this study is that the parental involvement and parental monitoring questions focused on mothers with children age 5 to 17 years old. There may be different work-family conflict results for mothers with children younger than five years old. Researchers have found that parents with younger children have many transitions that may cause additional stress in parent's lives (Knox, 2010).

Future research should examine more diverse ways to assess mothers' work-family conflict information. Another avenue for future investigation would be to investigate intersections between racial and marital status and work-family conflict. Regardless of these limitations this dissertation provides an initial glimpse into the implications of employed mothers' work-family conflict for parenting and parental satisfaction that had not been studied by previous research.

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TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF VARIABLES (*N*=402)

Variable	*N*	%	*M*	*SD*
Work-family conflict				
Success at balancing job and family				
Very successful	200	50.0		
Somewhat successful	187	45.9		
Not very successful	12	2.5		
Not at all successful	3	1.6		
Extent of career sacrifices for personal				
No sacrifices	17	4.3		
Not too many sacrifices	53	14.5		
Some sacrifices	138	32.2		
A lot of sacrifices	194	49.0		
Extent of personal/family sacrifices for career				
No sacrifices	39	11.2		
Not too many sacrifices	115	28.7		
Some sacrifices	67	16.8		
A lot of sacrifices	181	43.3		
Positive Parenting				
Involvement				
Number of days helping with homework				
0 days	108	31.8		
1 day	19	3.4		
2 days	26	6.0		
3 days	38	8.1		
4 days	45	11.0		
5 days	116	27.7		
6 days	7	1.1		
7 days	43	10.8		
Number of days driving child to actitivities				
0 days	108	27.9		
1 day	42	11.6		
2 days	50	12.0		
3 days	68	17.1		
4 days	38	10.4		
5 days	48	9.1		
6 days	16	4.5		
7 days	32	7.4		
Number of days supervising child's activities				
0 days	126	31.4		
1 day	58	16.8		
2 days	74	16.4		
3 days	47	9.5		
4 days	32	9.4		
5 days	30	7.3		
6 days	11	3.2		
7 days	24	6.1		

Note: Unweighted *N*s and weighted percentages or means.

TABLE 1 (Continued)	*N*	%	*M*	*SD*
Number of days family eats together				
0 days	24	6.1		
1 day	23	7.2		
2 days	54	16.5		
3 days	61	12.2		
4 days	43	10.3		
5 days	52	11.3		
6 days	25	5.3		
7 days	120	31.0		
Warmth				
Frequency praise child a week				
Never	0	0.0		
Less often than once a week	1	0.2		
About once a week	5	2.1		
Two or three times a week	44	10.3		
Almost daily	67	14.7		
Daily	285	72.7		
Frequency raise voice to any child				
Never	14	3.6		
Less often than once a week	34	7.6		
About once a week	56	14.4		
Two or three times a week	116	29.9		
Almost daily	48	12.5		
Daily	134	32.0		
Frequency laughed with child				
Never	0	0.0		
Less often than once a week	0	0.0		
About once a week	5	1.5		
Two or three times a week	17	4.7		
Almost daily	45	11.1		
Daily	335	82.7		
Frequency hugged or kissing child				
Never	4	1.0		
Less often than once a week	3	0.7		
About once a week	7	1.4		
Two or three times a week	16	3.5		
Almost daily	25	6.4		
Daily	347	87.0		

TABLE 1 (Continued)	*N*	%	*M*	*SD*
Monitoring				
Awareness of youngest child's whereabouts after school				
Almost none of the time	1	0.2		
Some of the time	7	1.6		
About half the time	7	2.5		
Most of the time	40	10.9		
Almost all the time	347	84.8		
Awareness of youngest child's whereabouts on Saturday and Sunday				
Almost none of the time	4	0.8		
Some of the time	7	2.0		
About half the time	7	2.1		
Most of the time	51	13.0		
Almost all the time	333	82.0		
Parental satisfaction				
Satisfied with amount of time with children				
Completely dissatisfied (1)	16	4.5		
2	9	4.1		
3	20	4.9		
4	20	4.0		
5	64	17.2		
6	31	6.9		
7	51	10.3		
8	96	22.6		
9	26	7.4		
Completely satisified (10)	69	18.0		
Satisfied with amount of time for family				
Completely dissatisfied (1)	18	4.9		
2	17	6.4		
3	35	8.7		
4	29	7.0		
5	104	25.9		
6	32	7.7		
7	58	13.8		
8	55	11.0		
9	14	3.5		
Completely satisified (10)	40	11.1		
Satisfied with how well children are doing				
Completely dissatisfied (1)	0	0.0		
2	1	0.1		
3	1	1.0		
4	4	0.9		
5	15	5.0		
6	29	7.4		
7	50	12.6		
8	103	23.4		
9	99	24.1		
Completely satisified (10)	100	25.4		

TABLE 1 (Continued)	*N*	%	*M*	*SD*
Maternal characteristics				
Race				
White	340	83.6		
Black	62	16.4		
Marital status				
Married	282	68.4		
Separated/divorced	84	21.0		
Never married	36	10.6		
Employment				
Part-time	109	26.2		
Full-time	293	73.8		
Age			36.5	9.0
Education (Grade or Years)				
None (0)	0	0.0		
Some elementary (1-7)	1	0.5		
Elementary (8)	1	0.8		
Some high school (9)	4	2.0		
Some high school (10)	2	0.8		
Some high school (11)	9	4.4		
High school graduate (12)	124	38.2		
Some college (13)	32	7.9		
Some college (14)	68	15.4		
Some college (15)	27	6.0		
College graduate (16)	76	13.6		
Some graduate school (17)	14	3.1		
Graduate or professional degree (18)	44	7.3		
Family Characteristics				
Income				
Under $20,000	27	8.3		
$20,001-30,000	55	17.8		
$30,001-50,000	114	30.6		
$50,001-75,000	86	19.3		
$75,001-100,000	71	13.6		
$100,000 or more	49	10.4		
Number of adults in household				
1	82	20.4		
2	256	62.9		
3	55	12.9		
4	7	1.8		
5	1	0.5		
6	1	1.5		
Number of children in household				
1	131	34.8		
2	166	39.6		
3	81	19.1		
4	21	6.1		
5	3	0.5		
Has child under age 12				
Yes	267	64.2		
No	135	35.8		
Percent of children who are female			47.8	39.2

TABLE 2.1 SUMMARY OF WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT CONCEPTS AND MEASURES IN PREVIOUS STUDIES

Article Author Date	Data	Concepts	Survey Items	Response	Measure	Alpha
Broman, 1991	National Survey of Black Americans	"Time pressure"	In general, do you ever feel overworked because of all the things you have to do (household, family, and work responsibilities)?	1=yes, 0=no	Single item	NA
Maume,2006	1992 National Study of the Changing Workforce	"Work restrictions"	During the past year have you [item] because of family or personal responsibilities? 1. worked fewer hours per week, 2. rearranged your work schedule, 3. refused overtime or extra hours, 4. refused to travel, 5. turned down a promotion, 6. turned down interesting work assignments	1=yes, 0=no	Index ranging from 0 (none) to 6 (all 6)	NA
Dilworth, 2004	1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce	"Negative Spillover from home to work"	How often has your family or personal life 1. Kept you from getting work done on time at your job? 2. Kept you from taking on extra work at your job? 3. Kept you from doing as good a job at work as you could? 4. Drained you of the energy you needed to do your job? 5. Kept you from concentrating on your job? (items reverse coded)	1=very often 2=often 3=sometimes 4=rarely 5=never	Average of all 5 items	0.77

Notes: Not Applicable (NA)

[a] Developed by Netemeyer et al. (1996)

[b] Developed by Kopelman, Greenhaus and Connolly (1983)

[c] Developed by Burley (1989)

[d] Developed by Marks and MacDermid (1996)

TABLE 2.1 (Continued)

Article Author Date	Data	Concepts and Survey Items	Survey Items	Response	Measure	Alpha
Milkie & Peltola, 1999	1996 General Social Survey	"Tradeoffs between paid work and family life"	In your present job, have you ever done any of the following because your responsibilities to members of your family? 1. Refuse a job promotion, 2. Take on additional paid work, 3. Refused to work overtime or extra hours, 4. Cut back on your work	1=yes, 0=no	Index ranging from 0 (none) to 4 (all 4)	NA
		"Work intrusions into family life"	In your present job, have you ever done any of the following because of your responsibilities to the job? 1. Missed a family occasion or holiday, 2. Been unable to care for a sick child or relative, 3. Been unable to do the work you usually do around the house.	1=yes, 0=no	Index ranging from 0 (none) to 3 (all 3)	NA
Hill, 2005	1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce	"Work-family conflict"	In the past three months, how often have you 1. Felt emotionally drained from work? 2. Felt used up at the end of the workday? 3. Felt burned out and/or stressed by work? 4. Not had the energy to do things with your family or other important people in your life because of your job? 5. Not been in as good a mood as you would like to be at home because of your job? 6. Not had enough time for yourself because of your job? 7. Not had enough time for your family or other important people in your life because of your job?	1=very often 2=often 3=sometimes 4=rarely 5=never	Average of all 7 items	0.88

TABLE 2.1 (Continued)

Article Author Date	Data	Concepts and Survey Items	Survey Items	Response	Measure	Alpha
Hill, 2005 (Continued)		"Family-work conflict"	In the past three months, how often have you 1. Felt tired when got up to face job? How often has your family or personal life 2. Kept you from getting work done on time at your job? 3. Kept you from taking on extra work at your job? 4. Kept you from doing as good a job at work as you could? 5. Drained you of the energy you needed to do your job? 6. Kept you from concentrating on your job?	1=very often 2=often 3=sometimes 4=rarely 5=never	Average of all 6 items	0.77
Reynolds, 2005	1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce	"Work-to-life conflict"	1. In the past three months, how often have you not had enough time for yourself because of your job? 2. In the past three months, how often have you not had enough time for your family or other important people in your life because of your job? 3. In the past three months, how often have you not had the energy to do things with your family or other important people in your life because of your job? 4. In the past three months, how often have you not been able to get everything done at home each day because of your job? 5. In the past three months, how often have you not been in as good a mood as you would like to be at home because of your job? 6. Kept you from concentrating on your job? (items reverse coded)	1=very often 2=often 3=sometimes 4=rarely 5=never	Average of all five questions	0.86

TABLE 2.1 (Continued)

Article Author Date	Data	Concepts and Survey Items	Survey Items	Response	Measure	Alpha
Reynolds, 2005 (Continued)		"Life-to-work conflict"	1. How often has your family or personal life kept you from getting work done on time at your job?	1=very often 2=often 3=sometimes 4=rarely 5=never	Average of all five questions	0.79
			2. How often has your family or personal life kept you from taking on extra work at your job?			
			3. How often has your family or personal life kept you from doing as good a job at work as you could?			
			4. How often has your family or personal life drained you for the energy you needed to do your job?			
			5. How often has your family or personal life kept you from concentrating on your job?			
Huang et al., 2004	Study of 234 dual-earner couples caring for both children and aging parents	"Work-family conflict"[a]	1. The demands of my work interfere with my home and family life.	1=strongly disagree 5=strongly agree	Average of all 5 items	.91 wives .90 husbands
			2. The amount of time my job takes up makes it difficult to fulfill family responsibilities.			
			3. Things I want to do at home do not get done because of the demands my job puts on me.			
			4. My job produces strain that makes it difficult to fulfill family duties.			
			5. Due to work-related duties, I have to make changes to my plans for family activities.			

TABLE 2.1 (Continued)

Article Author Date	Data	Concepts and Survey Items	Survey Items	Response	Measure	Alpha
Huang et al., 2004 (Continued)		"Family-work conflict"	1. The demands of my family or spouse/partner interfere with work-related activities. 2. I have to put off doing things at work because of demands on my time at home. 3. Things I want to do at work don't get done because of the demands of my family or spouse/partner. 4. My home life interferes with my responsibilities at work such as getting to work on time, accomplishing daily tasks, and working overtime. 5. Family related strain interferes with my ability to perform job-related duties.	1=strongly disagree 5=strongly agree	Average of all 5 items	.88 (wives and husbands)
Erdwins et al., 2001	A sample of 129 married employed women with at least 1 preschool-aged child	"Work interference with family life"[b]	1. My work schedule often conflict with my family life. 2. After work, I come home too tired to do some of the things I'd like to do. 3. On the job I have so much work to do that it takes away from my personal interests. 4. My family dislikes how often I am preoccupied with my work while I am home. 5. Because my work is demanding, at times I am irritable at home. 6. The demands of my job make it difficult to be relaxed all the time at home. 7. My work takes up time that I'd like to spend with my family. 8. My job makes it difficult to be the kind of spouse or parent I'd like to be.	1=strongly agree, 2=inclined to agree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 4=inclined to disagree, 5=Strongly disagree	Average across all 8 items Both scales were combined to form a single bidirectional measure of work-family conflict	0.70 0.73

TABLE 2.1 (Continued)

Article Author Date	Data	Concepts and Survey Items	Survey Items	Response	Measure	Alpha
Erdwins et al., 2001 (Continued)		"Family interference with work"[rc]	1. I'm often too tired at work because of the things I have to do at home.	1=strongly agree, 2=inclined to agree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 4=inclined to disagree, 5=Strongly disagree	Average of 4 items	0.70
			2. My personal demands are so great that it takes away from my work.			
			3. My superiors and peers dislike how often I am preoccupied with my personal life while at work.			
			4. My personal life takes up time that I'd like to spend at work.			
Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2004	A sample of 500 finance managers and professionals in a large firm	"Work-family conflict"	1. I find enough time for my children.	1=strongly agree, 5=strongly disagree	"Summed into a single scale with the mean response to these two items"	0.63
			2. My job keeps me away from my family too much (reverse coded)			
Marks et al., 2001	Processes of Adaptation in Intimate Relationships project	"Role balance"	1. I am pretty good at keeping different parts of my life in balance	1=strongly disagree 5=strongly agree	Average of all 4 items	.64 wives .54 husbands
			2. I generally don't let things slide,			
			3. Nowadays I seem to enjoy every part of my life equally well, work time, couple time, friend time family, leisure time-I find satisfaction in everything I do,			
			4. I try to put a lot of myself into everything I do			

TABLE 2.1 (Continued)

Article Author Date	Data	Concepts and Survey Items	Survey Items	Response	Measure	Alpha
Stuart, 2002	Family Stress and Children's Cognitive Development Study	"Role balance"[rd]	1. Nowadays, I seem to enjoy every part of my life equally well.	1=strongly agree 5= strongly disagree	Summed into a single scale ranging from 8 (less role balance) to 40 (more role balance)	0.68
			2. I am pretty good at keeping the different parts of my life in balance; I generally don't let things "slide."			
			3. Some things I do seem very important, but others things I do are a waste of my time (reverse coded).			
			4. Everything I do feels special to me; nothing stands out as more important or more valuable than anything else.			
			5. There are some parts of my life that I don't care much about, and there are other parts I care deeply about (reverse coded).			
			6. Work time, classes and study time, partner time, friend time, family time, leisure time-I find satisfaction in everything I do.			
			7. I try to put a lot of myself into everything I do.			
			8. There are some things I like to do so much that I often neglect other things I also care about (reverse coded).			

TABLE 2.1 (Continued)

Article Author Date	Data	Concepts and Survey Items	Survey Items	Response	Measure	Alpha
Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006	National Survey of Parents	"Feelings about time"	1. How successful do you feel at balancing your job and family life?	1= very successful, 2=somewhat successful, 3=not very successful, 5=not at all successful		NA
			2. To what extent have you made sacrifices in your career or job for the sake of your personal or family life?	1=a lot of sacrifices, 2=some sacrifices, 3=not too many sacrifices, 4=no sacrifices at all		
			3. To what extent have you made sacrifices in your personal or family life for the sake of your career or job?			
Malone, 2010	National Survey of Parents	"Work-family conflict"	1. How successful do you feel at balancing your job and family life?	1= very successful, 2=somewhat successful, 3=not very successful, 4=not at all successful		NA
			2. To what extent have you made sacrifices in your career or job for the sake of your personal or family life?	1=a lot of sacrifices, 2=some sacrifices, 3=not too many sacrifices, 4=no sacrifices at all		
			3. To what extent have you made sacrifices in your personal or family life for the sake of your career or job?			

TABLE 2.2 SUMMARY OF PARENTING CONCEPTS AND MEASURES IN PREVIOUS STUDIES

Article Author Date	Data	Concept	Survey Items	Response	Measure	Alpha
Amato & Fowler, 2002	Wave 1 & 2 National Survey of Families and Households	"Parenting Practices"			None	NA
		Support	How often they spend time with their child 1. In leisure activities away from home (picnics, movies, sports, ect). 2. At home working on a project or playing together 3. Having private talks 4. Helping with reading or homework 5. How often you praise your child 6. How often you hug your child	1=never, 4=very often		
		Monitoring	1. Parents reported on time when they allowed the child to be at home alone (before school, in the afternoon after school, all day when there is no school, at night and overnight)	0=child allowed to be alone all of these times, 5= child not allowed to be alone during any of these times		
			2. How often children were expected to tell parents where they are when away from home	1=hardly ever, 4=all the time		
		Harsh Discipline	1. How often they yell at their children 2. How often they spank or slap their children	1=never, 4=very often		

Note: Not Applicable (NA)

TABLE 2.2 (continued)

Article Author Date	Data	Concept	Survey Items	Response	Measure	Alpha
Simons, Johnson & Conger, 1994	Panel study of 332 Midwestern families	"Parental Involvement"			Measures for each dimension were formed by aggregating parent self-report (mother and father), adolescent self-report & observer ratings	NA
		Parent's warth/acceptance	1. I really trust my child	1=strongly disagree 5=strongly agree		
			2. I experience strong feelings of love for him/her			
		Adolescent support/affection	3. Lets you know she/he (parent) really cares about you.	1=never, 7=always		
			4. Listens carefully to your point of view			
			4. Listens carefully to your point of view			
		Parental monitoring	1. How often do you know who your seventh grader is with when he/she is away from home?	1=never, 5=always		
			2. Adolescents report on mothers and fathers using same items			
			3. Observational ratings			
Dilworth, 2004	1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce.	"Amount of time caring for children"	Hours of childcare on work and nonwork days	0-24 hours	A composite score was obtained for respondent and spouse's hours and number of days missed	NA
			How many days in the past 3 months had been missed by the respondent to care for a sick child	0-90 days		
			Number of work days missed in the past 3 months for other family reasons			

TABLE 2.2 (Continue)

Article Author Date	Data	Concept	Survey Items	Response	Measure	Alpha
Reynolds, 2005	1997 National Study of the changing workforce.	"Family Characteristics"	1. Respondent whose children were age 0-5	1=yes, 0=no	None	NA
			2. Respondents whose children were 6-12			
			3. How many hours of child care respondents do on the average workday	0-24 hours		
Marks et al., 2001	The fourth phase of the Processes of Adaptation in Intimate relationships project (PAIR).	"Parental Attachment"	4 items from Parenting Stress Index Example: 1. I expected to have closer and warmer feelings for my children than I do and this bothers me (reverse coded).	1=strongly disagree 5=strongly agree	Average of items	.62 wives .70 husbands
Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006	National Survey of Parents	"Parental Time with Children"	On how many days in the past week have you read or told stories to any of your children betwee the ages of 3 and 12 years old?	0-7 days	None	NA
			On how many days in the past week have you done the following things with any of your children between the ages of 5-17 years old: 1. Helped them with or checked their homework? 2. Driven them to activities other than school, like sports,music or other lessons or activities with friends 3. Supervised or watched them participate in activities like sports, music or other lessons or activiteis with friends?	0-7 days		
			1. How many days does the family usually sit down and eat the main meal together?	0-7 days		

TABLE 2.2 (Continued)

Article Author Date	Data	Concept	Survey Items	Response	Measure	Alpha
Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006 (continued)		Aware of Children's Whereabouts	On the most recent school day, how much of the time after school were you aware of where your youngest child between the ages of 5-17 was and what the child was doing	1=almost all the time, 2=most of the time, 3=about half the time, 4=some of the time, 5=almost none of the time	None	NA
			And how about last Saturday and Sunday? Were you aware:	1=almost all the time, 2=most of the time, 3=about half the time, 4=some of the time, 5=almost none of the time	None	NA
		Positive Interaction	In a typical week, how often do you: 1. Praise any of your children 2. Laugh together 3. Hug or Kiss any of your children	1=daily, 2=almost daily, 3=two or three times a week, 4=about once a week, 5=less often than once a week, 6=never	None	NA
		Parental Activities	We'd like to know whether your enjoy doing some of the activities we just talked about: 1. Taking care of your children 2. Playing games with your children 3. Talking to your children 4. Taking your children place	1=dislike doing 10=enjoy doing	None	NA

TABLE 2.2 (Continued)

Article Author Date	Data	Concept	Survey Items	Response	Measure	Alpha
Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006 (continued)		Parental Activities	Now we have some questions about how you feel about some of the things in your household 1. The amount of time you the whole family spends together 2. How well your children are doing in life	1=completely dissatisfied, 10=completely satisfied	None	NA
Malone, 2011	National Survey of Parents	"Positive Parenting" Involvement	On how many days in the past week have you done the following things with any of your children between the ages of 5-17 years old: 1. Helped them with or checked their homework? 2. Driven them to activities other than school, like sports,music or other lessons or activities with friends 3. Supervised or watched them participate in activities like sports, music or other lessons or activiteis with friends? 1. How many days does the family usually sit down and eat the main meal together?	0-7 days	Scale	.48

TABLE 2.2 (Continued)

Article Author Date	Data	Concept	Survey Items	Response	Measure	Alpha
Malone, 2010	National Survey of Parents	"Positive Parenting"				
		Warmth	In a typical week, how often do you: 1. Praise any of your children 2. Raise your voice to any of your children 3. Laugh together 4. Hug or Kiss any of your children	0=less than almost daily, 1=daily,	Index	.61
		Monitoring	On the most recent school day, how much of the time after school were you aware of where your youngest child between the ages of 5-17 was and what the child was doing And how about last Saturday and Sunday? Were you aware:	0=half/most of the time, 1=almost all of the time	Index	.67

TABLE 3.1 DISTRIBUTION OF VARIABLES (*N*=402)

Variable	*N*	%	*M*	*SD*
Work-family conflict				
Successful at balancing work and family				
Very successful	200	50.0		
Less than very successful	202	50.0		
Extent of career sacrifices				
No/not too many sacrifices	208	51.0		
A lot of sacrifices	194	49.0		
Extent of personal/family sacrifices				
No/not too many sacrifices	221	56.7		
A lot of sacrifices	181	43.3		
Positive parenting				
Involvement				
Number of days helping with homework			3.05	2.48
Number of days driving child to activities			2.53	2.23
Number of days supervising child's activities			2.14	2.14
Number of days family eats together			4.24	2.34
Warmth				
Frequency praise any child				
Less than almost daily	117	27.3		
Daily	285	72.7		
Frequency raise voice to any child				
Less than almost daily	268	68.0		
Daily	134	32.0		
Frequency laugh with child				
Less than almost daily	67	17.3		
Daily	335	82.7		
Frequency hug/kiss child				
Less than almost daily	55	13.0		
Daily	347	87.0		
Monitoring				
Knowledge of whereabout after school				
Half/most of the time or less	55	15.2		
Almost all the time	347	84.8		
Knowledge of whereabout on weekend				
Half/most of the time or less	69	18.0		
Almost all the time	333	82.0		

Note: Unweighted Ns and weighted percentages or means or standard deviations.

TABLE 3.1 (Continued)

Variable	*N*	%	*M*	*SD*
Parental satisfaction				
Satisfied with amount of time with children			6.7	2.6
Satisfied with amount of time whole family spends together			5.8	2.5
Satisfied with how well children are doing			8.2	1.6
Maternal charteristics				
Race				
White	340	83.6		
Black	62	16.4		
Marital Status				
Never married	36	10.6		
Married	282	68.4		
Separated/divorced	84	21.0		
Employment				
Part-time	109	26.2		
Full-time	293	73.8		
Age			36.5	9.0
Education				
High school or less	141	46.7		
Some college	127	29.3		
College graduate	76	13.6		
Graduate school or professional degree	58	10.4		
Family characteristics				
Household income				
$30,000 or less	82	26.1		
$30,001-50,000	114	30.6		
$50,001-75,000	86	19.3		
$75,001-100,000	71	13.6		
$100,001 or more	49	10.4		
Number of adults in household				
1	82	20.4		
2	256	62.9		
3 or more	64	16.6		
Number of children in household				
1	131	34.8		
2	166	39.6		
3 or more	105	25.6		

TABLE 3.1 (Continued)

Variable	*N*	%	*M*	*SD*
Has child under age 12				
No	135	35.8		
Yes	267	64.2		
Child's gender				
Percent of children who are female			47.8	39.2

TABLE 4.1 CORRELATION RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT VARIABLES (*N*=402)

	Success at balancing	Career sacrifices
Extent of career sacrifices	.022	1.000
Extent of personal/family sacrifices	.135*	.293**

Notes: Unweighted *N*s and weighted correlations. Significance tests were carried out using t-tests

#p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

TABLE 4.2 FREQUENCIES OF WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT VARIABLES (*N*=402)

Variable	*N*	%
Work-family conflict		
Successful at balancing work and family		
Very successful	200	50.0
Less than very successful	202	50.0
Extent of career sacrifices		
No/not too many sacrifices	208	51.0
A lot of sacrifices	194	49.0
Extent of personal/family sacrifices		
No/not too many sacrifices	221	56.7
A lot of sacrifices	181	43.3

Note: Unweighted *Ns* and weighted percentages.

TABLE 4.3 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EXTENT OF CAREER AND PERSONAL/FAMILY SACRIFICE AND FEELING OF SUCCESS AT BALANCING WORK AND FAMILY IN PERCENTAGE (*N*=402)

	Work-family Balance		
	Very successful	Less than very successful	Total
Extent of career sacrifices			
No/not too many sacrifices	52.5	47.5	100
A lot of sacrifices	47.1	52.9	100
Extent of personal/family sacrifices			
No/not too many sacrifices	55.3*	44.7	100
A lot of sacrifices	43.1	56.9	100

Notes: Unweighted *N*s and weighted percentages.
Significance tests were carried out using t-tests
#p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

TABLE 4.4 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EXTENT OF CAREER AND PERSONAL/FAMILY SACRIFICE IN PERCENTAGES (*N*=402)

	Career		
Personal/family	No/not too sacrifice	A lot sacrifice	Total
No/not too sacrifice	61.7**	38.3	100
A lot sacrifice	36.5	63.5	100

Notes: Unweighted *N*s and weighted percentages.
Significance tests were carried out using t-tests
#p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

TABLE 4.5 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MATERNAL AND FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS, AND WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT IN PERCENTAGE (*N*=402)

	"Less than very successful" at balancing	"A Lot" of Work Sacrifice	"A lot" of Personal/ Family sacrifice
Maternal characteristics			
Race			
White	50.2	51.7	41.1
Black	50.0	34.6*	53.8[#]
Marital Status			
Never married	67.6	38.2	52.9
Married	47.5[a]	54.4[b]	43.8
Separated/divorced	50.0	37.3	37.3
Employment			
Part-time	48.2	50.6	33.7
Full-time	50.9	48.7	46.6*
Age			
Less than 35	53.0	52.2	39.1
35 and over	48.5	47.0	45.5
Education			
High school or less	50.7	43.2	40.5
Some college	50.5	54.8	47.3
Four year degree	48.8	51.2	41.9
Graduate or professional degree	48.5	57.6	45.5

Notes: Unweighted *N*s and weighted percentages.
Significance tests were carried out using t-tests for variables with two categories and ANOVAS with Tukey tests for variables with three categories

[#]p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[a] Significantly different (p<.10) from never married

[b] Significantly different (p<.05) from separated/divorced

[c] Significantly different (p<.05) from $30,000 or less

[d] Significantly different (p<.10) from one adult

TABLE 4.5 (Continued)

	"Less than very successful" at balancing	"A Lot" of Work Sacrifice	"A lot" of Personal/ Family sacrifice
Family characteristics			
Household income			
$30,000 or less	49.4	36.6	45.8
$30,001-50,000	49.5	43.3	33.0
$50,001-75,000	54.1	62.3[c]	52.5
$75,001-100,000	44.2	53.5	41.9
$100,001 or more	51.5	66.7[c]	51.5
Number of adults in household			
1	49.2	37.5	40.6
2	50.8	53.3[d]	46.7
3 or more	48.1	47.2	32.7
Number of children in household			
1	50.9	50.9	43.6
2	50.8	53.2	41.6
3 or more	46.9	40.7	45.1
Has children under age 12			
No	49.6	51.3	36.3
Yes	50.2	47.5	47.1[#]
Percent of children who are female			
0-20%	44.6	53.5	40.6
21-50%	49.0	47.1	42.3
51-100%	55.9	46.8	46.4

TABLE 4.6 ODDS RATIOS PREDICTING MOTHERS' FEELING "LESS THAN VERY SUCCESSFUL" VERSUS "VERY SUCCESSFUL" BY MATERNAL AND FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS (*N*=402)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Maternal Characteristics						
Race						
White[a]						
Black	0.984				0.752	0.797
Marital Status						
Married[a]						
Unmarried		1.400				
Marital Status[b]						
Married[a]						
Never married			2.298*		2.564*	3.423*
Separated/divorced			1.105		1.144	1.837
Employment						
Full-time[a]						
Part-time				0.883	0.943	0.937
Age						
Less than 35[a]						
35 and over						0.860
Education						
High school[a]						
Some college						0.987
Four year degree						1.002
Graduate or professional degree						0.935
Family Characteristics						
Household income						
$30,000 or less						0.640
$30,001-50,000						0.769
$50,001-75,000[a]						
$75,001-100,000						0.707
$100,001 or more						1.035
Number of adults in household						
One adult						0.654
Two adults[a]						
Three or more adults						0.826

Notes: [#]p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[a] denotes reference category

TABLE 4.6 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Family Characteristics						
Number of children in household						
One child[a]						
Two children						1.022
Three or more children						0.893
Has children under age 12						
Yes						0.944
No[a]						
Percent of children who are female						
0-20%						0.712
21-50%						0.919
51-100%[a]						

TABLE 4.7 ODDS RATIOS PREDICTING MOTHERS' FEELINGS OF "A LOT" VERSUS "NO/NOT TOO MANY" CAREER SACRIFICES BY MATERNAL AND FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS (*N*=402)

Maternal Characteristics	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Race						
White[a]						
Black	0.516*				0.631	0.704
Marital Status						
Married[a]						
Unmarried		0.494**				
Marital Status						
Married[a]						
Never married			0.505[#]		0.588	0.656
Separated/divorced			0.489**		0.509*	0.510
Employment						
Full-time[a]						
Part-time				1.071	0.868	0.825
Age						
Less than 35[a]						
35 and over						0.629[#]
Education						
High school[a]						
Some college						1.522
Four year degree						1.120
Graduate or professional degree						1.366
Family Characteristics						
Household income						
$30,000 or less						0.467[#]
$30,001-50,000						0.509[#]
$50,001-75,000[a]						
$75,001-100,000						0.706
$100,001 or more						1.233
Number of adults in household						
One adult						1.177
Two adults[a]						
Three or more adults						0.819

Notes: [#]p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[a] denotes reference category

TABLE 4.7 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Family Characteristics						
Number of children in household						
One child[a]						
Two children						1.056
Three or more children						0.655
Has children under age 12						
Yes						1.055
No[a]						
Percent of children who are female						
0-20%						1.296
21-50%						0.823
51-100%[a]						

TABLE 4.8 ODDS RATIOS PREDICTING MOTHERS' FEELINGS OF "A LOT" VERSUS "NO/NOT TOO MANY" PERSONAL/FAMILY SACRIFICES BY MATERNAL AND FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS (*N*=402)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Maternal Characteristics						
Race						
White[a]						
Black	1.657[#]				1.635	1.658
Marital Status						
Married[a]						
Unmarried		0.954				
Marital Status						
Married[a]						
Never married			1.459		1.066	0.993
Separated/divorced			0.763		0.609	0.537
Employment						
Full-time[a]						
Part-time				0.592*	0.569*	0.461**
Age						
Less than 35[a]						
35 and over						1.402
Education						
High school[a]						
Some college						1.268
Four year degree						1.025
Graduate or professional degree						1.327
Family Characteristics						
Household income						
$30,000 or less						0.930
$30,001-50,000						0.441*
$50,001-75,000[a]						
$75,001-100,000						0.709
$100,001 or more						1.219
Number of adults in household						
One adult						0.832
Two adults[a]						
Three or more adults						0.565

Notes: [#]p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

TABLE 4.8 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Family Characteristics						
Number of children in household						
One child[a]						
Two children						0.649
Three or more children						0.693
Has children under age 12						
Yes						1.896*
No[a]						
Percent of children who are female						
0-20%						0.749
21-50%						0.846
51-100%[a]						

TABLE 4.9 SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESES

	Bivariate			Multivariate		
	Success	Work	Personal/Family	Success	Work	Personal/Family
Hypotheses 1: White > Black	No	Yes	**No**[b]	No	No	No
Hypotheses 2a: Unmarried > married	**Yes**[a]	**No**[b]	No	**Yes**[a]	No	No
Hypotheses 2b: Never married > separated/divorced	No	No	No	No	No	No
Hypotheses 3a: Part-time < full-time	No	No	Yes	No	No	**Yes**
Hypotheses 3b: Part-time > full-time	No	No	No	No	No	No
Hypotheses 4: Older < younger (mother)	No	No	No	No	**Yes**	No
Hypotheses 5a: More education < less education	No	No	No	No	No	No
Hypotheses 5b: More education > less education	No	No	No	No	No	No
Hypotheses 6: High income < low income	No	**No**[c]	No	No	**No**[d]	**No**[e]
Hypotheses 7: One and three or more adults > two adults	No	**No**[b]	No	No	No	No
Hypotheses 8: More children > less children	No	No	No	No	No	No
Hypotheses 9: Younger children > older children	No	No	Yes	No	No	**Yes**
Hypotheses 10: Less female children > fewer female children	No	No	No	No	No	No

[a]for never married only.

[b]significant but in opposite direction.

[c]signficant at (p<.05) but in opposite direction, for $50,001-75,000 and $100,001 or more only.

[d]significant at (p<.10) but in opposite direction, for $30,000 or less and $30,001-50,000 only.

[e]significant at (p<.05) but in opposite direction, for $30,001-50,000 only.

TABLE 5.1 FREQUENCIES OF POSTIVE PARENTING VARIABLES (*N*=402)

Variable	*M*	*SD*	%
Positive parenting			
Involvement			
Involvement scale (0-7)	2.98	1.43	
Number of days helping with homework	3.05	2.48	
Number of days driving child to activities	2.53	2.23	
Number of days supervising child's activities	2.14	2.14	
Number of days family eats together	4.24	2.34	
Warmth			
Warmth index (0-3)	2.42	0.87	
Praise any child			
Less than daily			27.3
Daily			72.7
Laugh with child			
Less than daily			17.3
Daily			82.7
Hug/kiss child			
Less than daily			13.0
Daily			87.0
Monitoring			
Monitoring index (0-2)	1.67	0.62	
Knowledge of whereabout after school			
Half/most of the time or less			15.2
Almost all the time			84.8
Knowledge of whereabout on weekend			
Half/most of the time or less			18.0
Almost all the time			82.0

Notes: Unweighted *N*s and weighted mean and standard deviations

TABLE 5.2 UNSTANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND STANDARD ERROR FOR EFFECT OF WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT ON PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT SCALE *(N=402)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Work-family conflict scale	-0.065		
	(0.100)		
Career Sacrifice		0.032	
		(0.091)	
Family Sacrifice			-0.092
			(0.074)
Maternal Characteristics			
Race			
White[a]			
Black	-0.341	-0.357	-0.327
	(0.222)	(0.221)	(0.221)
Marital Status			
Married[a]			
Never married	0.633*	0.638*	0.647*
	(0.322)	(0.323)	(0.322)
Separated/divorced	-0.173	-0.149	-0.177
	(0.305)	(0.305)	(0.304)
Employment			
Full-time[a]			
Part-time	0.173	0.187	0.146
	(0.181)	(0.180)	(0.183)
Age			
Less than 35[a]			
35 and over	0.321*	0.316#	0.341*
	(0.166)	(0.166)	(0.167)

Notes: #p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[a] denotes reference category, (Standard Error)

TABLE 5.2 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Education			
High school[a]			
Some college	-0.073	-0.089	-0.074
	(0.187)	(0.187)	(0.186)
Four year degree	0.075	0.068	0.077
	(0.255)	(0.255)	(0.255)
Graduate or professional degree	0.720**	0.701**	0.722**
	(0.288)	(0.288)	(0.287)
Family Characteristics			
Household income			
$30,000 or less	-0.282	-0.264	-0.276
	(0.270)	(0.271)	(0.269)
$30,001-50,000	-0.065	-0.038	-0.068
	(0.229)	(0.229)	(0.227)
$50,001-75,000[a]			
$75,001-100,000	0.387	0.399	0.383
	(0.279)	(0.279)	(0.278)
$100,001 or more	0.124	0.113	0.127
	(0.302)	(0.302)	(0.301)
Number of adults in household			
One adult	0.105	0.092	0.110
	(0.303)	(0.304)	(0.303)
Two adults[a]			
Three or more adults	-0.541*	-0.541**	-0.544**
	(0.221)	(0.221)	(0.221)
Number of children in household			
One child[a]			
Two children	0.359	0.362#	0.338
	(0.222)	(0.222)	(0.222)
Three or more children	0.758**	0.779**	0.737**
	(0.248)	(0.247)	(0.248)
Has children under age 12			
Yes	0.225	0.209	0.247
	(0.187)	(0.186)	(0.187)
No[a]			

TABLE 5.2 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Percent of children who are female			
0-20%	0.278	0.282	0.258
	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.195)
21-50%	0.347#	0.362#	0.348#
	(0.213)	(0.213)	(0.212)
51-100%[a]			
R^2	0.195	0.194	0.198

TABLE 5.3 UNSTANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND STANDARD ERROR FOR EFFECT OF WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT ON INVOLVEMENT WITH HOMEWORK *(N=402)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Work-family conflict scale	0.203		
	(0.175)		
Career Sacrifice		0.176	
		(0.159)	
Family Sacrifice			0.104
			(0.129)
Maternal Characteristics			
Race			
White[a]			
Black	0.783*	0.806*	0.791*
	(0.388)	(0.387)	(0.389)
Marital Status			
Married[a]			
Never married	0.149	0.176	0.132
	(0.564)	(0.565)	(0.565)
Separated/divorced	-0.586	-0.588	-0.613
	(0.534)	(0.535)	(0.534)
Employment			
Full-time[a]			
Part-time	0.045	-0.002	0.048
	(0.317)	(0.315)	(0.321)
Age			
Less than 35[a]			
35 and over	0.611*	0.646*	0.603*
	(0.291)	(0.290)	(0.293)

Notes: #p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[a] denotes reference category, (Standard Error)

TABLE 5.3 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Education			
High school[a]			
Some college	-0.299	-0.305	-0.278
	(0.327)	(0.328)	(0.326)
Four year degree	-0.349	-0.348	-0.342
	(0.447)	(0.447)	(0.447)
Graduate or professional degree	0.836#	0.834#	0.858#
	(0.504)	(0.504)	(0.504)
Family Characteristics			
Household income			
$30,000 or less	-0.028	-0.014	-0.054
	(0.473)	(0.474)	(0.473)
$30,001-50,000	0.196	0.198	0.165
	(0.400)	(0.401)	(0.399)
$50,001-75,000[a]			
$75,001-100,000	0.426	0.422	0.414
	(0.489)	(0.489)	(0.489)
$100,001 or more	0.546	0.549	0.558
	(0.529)	(0.529)	(0.529)
Number of adults in household			
One adult	0.329	0.355	0.341
	(0.532)	(0.531)	(0.532)
Two adults[a]			
Three or more adults	-0.835*	-0.842*	-0.833*
	(0.387)	(0.387)	(0.388)
Number of children in household			
One child[a]			
Two children	0.403	0.365	0.415
	(0.389)	(0.389)	(0.391)
Three or more children	0.944	0.911*	0.932*
	(0.435)	(0.433)	(0.436)
Has children under age 12			
Yes	0.969**	1.007**	0.972**
	(0.327)	(0.325)	(0.329)
No[a]			

TABLE 5.3 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Percent of children who are female			
0-20%	0.127	0.092	0.136
	(0.340)	(0.340)	(0.342)
21-50%	0.043	0.048	0.024
	(0.373)	(0.373)	(0.372)
51-100%[a]			
R^2	0.171	0.171	0.169

TABLE 5.4 UNSTANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND STANDARD ERROR FOR EFFECT OF WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT ON INVOLVEMENT WITH DRIVING *(N=402)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Work-family conflict scale	-0.070		
	(0.159)		
Career Sacrifice		0.092	
		(0.144)	
Family Sacrifice			-0.137
			(0.117)
Maternal Characteristics			
Race			
White[a]			
Black	-0.815*	-0.837*	-0.789*
	(0.352)	(0.351)	(0.352)
Marital Status			
Married[a]			
Never married	0.441	0.456	0.462
	(0.512)	(0.512)	(0.511)
Separated/divorced	0.644	0.685	0.632
	(0.485)	(0.484)	(0.483)
Employment			
Full-time[a]			
Part-time	0.280	0.294	0.233
	(0.288)	(0.286)	(0.290)
Age			
Less than 35[a]			
35 and over	0.231	0.229	0.264
	(0.264)	(0.263)	(0.265)

Notes: #p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[a] denotes reference category, (Standard Error)

TABLE 5.4 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Education			
High school[a]			
Some college	0.315	0.286	0.317
	(0.296)	(0.297)	(0.295)
Four year degree	0.230	0.218	0.234
	(0.405)	(0.405)	(0.404)
Graduate or professional degree	0.656	0.623	0.663
	(0.457)	(0.457)	(0.456)
Family Characteristics			
Household income			
$30,000 or less	-0.390	-0.357	-0.386
	(0.429)	(0.430)	(0.427)
$30,001-50,000	-0.040	0.007	-0.050
	(0.363)	(0.363)	(0.361)
$50,001-75,000[a]			
$75,001-100,000	0.701	0.721#	0.691
	(0.443)	(0.443)	(0.442)
$100,001 or more	-0.06	-0.079	-0.052
	(0.479)	(0.479)	(0.478)
Number of adults in household			
One adult	-0.538	-0.558	-0.526
	(0.482)	(0.482)	(0.481)
Two adults[a]			
Three or more adults	-0.651#	-0.652#	-0.656#
	(0.351)	(0.351)	(0.351)
Number of children in household			
One child[a]			
Two children	0.315	0.313	0.281
	(0.352)	(0.352)	(0.353)
Three or more children	0.932*	0.962*	0.894*
	(0.351)	(0.392)	(0.394)
Has children under age 12			
Yes	-0.811**	-0.830**	-0.772**
	(0.297)	(0.295)	(0.298)
No[a]			

TABLE 5.4 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Percent of children who are female			
0-20%	0.515#	0.514#	0.483
	(0.308)	(0.308)	(0.309)
21-50%	0.890**	0.917**	0.888**
	(0.338)	(0.338)	(0.337)
51-100%[a]			
R^2	0.157	0.157	0.160

TABLE 5.5 UNSTANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND STANDARD ERROR FOR EFFECT OF WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT ON INVOLVEMENT WITH SUPERVISION *(N=402)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Work-family conflict scale	-0.088		
	(0.154)		
Career Sacrifice		0.018	
		(0.139)	
Family Sacrifice			-0.107
			(0.113)
Maternal Characteristics			
Race			
White[a]			
Black	-0.869**	-0.888**	-0.855**
	(0.340)	(0.339)	(0.340)
Marital Status			
Married[a]			
Never married	1.840***	1.844***	1.857***
	(0.494)	(0.495)	(0.494)
Separated/divorced	0.739	0.765[#]	0.737
	(0.468)	(0.468)	(0.467)
Employment			
Full-time[a]			
Part-time	0.355	0.375	0.326
	(0.278)	(0.276)	(0.280)
Age			
Less than 35[a]			
35 and over	-0.068	-0.077	-0.046
	(0.255)	(0.254)	(0.256)

Notes: [#]p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[a] denotes reference category, (Standard Error)

TABLE 5.5 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Education			
High school[a]			
Some college	-0.066	-0.082	-0.069
	(0.286)	(0.287)	(0.285)
Four year degree	0.206	0.198	0.207
	(0.391)	(0.391)	(0.391)
Graduate or professional degree	0.884*	0.864*	0.884*
	(0.441)	(0.442)	(0.440)
Family Characteristics			
Household income			
$30,000 or less	-0.274	-0.256	-0.265
	(0.414)	(0.415)	(0.413)
$30,001-50,000	0.157	0.186	0.158
	(0.350)	(0.351)	(0.349)
$50,001-75,000[a]			
$75,001-100,000	0.788#	0.802#	0.785#
	(0.428)	(0.428)	(0.427)
$100,001 or more	0.572	0.560	0.574
	(0.463)	(0.463)	(0.462)
Number of adults in household			
One adult	-0.919*	-0.933*	-0.915*
	(0.465)	(0.465)	(0.465)
Two adults[a]			
Three or more adults	-0.259	-0.258	-0.262
	(0.339)	(0.339)	-0.339
Number of children in household			
One child[a]			
Two children	0.103	0.109	0.079
	(0.340)	(0.340)	(0.341)
Three or more children	0.694#	0.720#	0.673#
	(0.381)	(0.379)	(0.381)
Has children under age 12			
Yes	0.246	0.226	0.270
	(0.286)	(0.285)	(0.288)
No[a]			

TABLE 5.5 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Percent of children who are female			
0-20%	0.283	0.290	0.261
	(0.298)	(0.298)	(0.299)
21-50%	0.554#	0.569#	0.556#
	(0.326)	(0.327)	(0.325)
51-100%[a]			
R^2	0.149	0.148	0.150

TABLE 5.6 UNSTANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND STANDARD ERROR FOR EFFECT OF WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT ON INVOLVEMENT WITH DINNER *(N=402)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Work-family conflict scale	-0.305#		
	(0.172)		
Career Sacrifice		-0.157	
		(0.156)	
Family Sacrifice			-0.227#
			(0.127)
Maternal Characteristics			
Race			
White[a]			
Black	-0.464	-0.508	-0.456
	(0.381)	(0.381)	(0.381)
Marital Status			
Married[a]			
Never married	0.100	0.077	0.136
	(0.553)	(0.556)	(0.554)
Separated/divorced	-1.488**	-1.457**	-1.463**
	(0.524)	(0.526)	(0.523)
Employment			
Full-time[a]			
Part-time	0.013	0.083	-0.023
	(0.311)	(0.310)	(0.314)
Age			
Less than 35[a]			
35 and over	0.511#	0.465#	0.544#
	(0.285)	(0.286)	(0.287)

Notes: #p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[a] denotes reference category, (Standard Error)

TABLE 5.6 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Education			
High school[a]			
Some college	-0.241	-0.253	-0.265
	(0.321)	(0.322)	(0.320)
Four year degree	0.231	0.203	0.207
	(0.438)	(0.440)	(0.438)
Graduate or professional degree	0.506	0.484	0.483
	(0.495)	(0.497)	(0.494)
Family Characteristics			
Household income			
$30,000 or less	-0.435	-0.430	-0.400
	(0.464)	(0.467)	(0.463)
$30,001-50,000	-0.576	-0.545	-0.544
	(0.393)	(0.394)	(0.391)
$50,001-75,000[a]			
$75,001-100,000	-0.368	-0.348	-0.359
	(0.479)	(0.481)	(0.479)
$100,001 or more	-0.562	-0.579	-0.571
	(0.519)	(0.520)	(0.518)
Number of adults in household			
One adult	1.548**	1.525**	1.541**
	(0.521)	(0.523)	(0.521)
Two adults[a]			
Three or more adults	-0.419	-0.412	-0.426
	(0.380)	(0.381)	(0.380)
Number of children in household			
One child[a]			
Two children	0.617#	0.663#	0.578
	(0.318)	(0.383)	(0.383)
Three or more children	0.461	0.524	0.449
	(0.426)	(0.426)	(0.427)
Has children under age 12			
Yes	0.495	0.434	0.519
	(0.321)	(0.320)	(0.323)
No[a]			

TABLE 5.6 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Percent of children who are female			
0-20%	0.188	0.231	0.153
	(0.334)	(0.335)	(0.335)
21-50%	-0.099	-0.087	-0.077
	(0.366)	(0.367)	(0.365)
51-100%[a]			
R^2	0.108	0.101	0.108

TABLE 5.7 UNSTANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND STANDARD ERROR FOR EFFECT OF WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT ON WARMTH INDEX *(N=402)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Work-family conflict scale	0.038		
	(0.063)		
Career Sacrifice		-0.001	
		(0.057)	
Family Sacrifice			0.042
			(0.047)
Maternal Characteristics			
Race			
White[a]			
Black	-0.198	-0.191	-0.203
	(0.140)	(0.140)	(0.140)
Marital Status			
Married[a]			
Never married	-0.108	-0.108	-0.114
	(0.204)	(0.204)	(0.204)
Separated/divorced	-0.155	-0.164	-0.155
	(0.193)	(0.193)	(0.193)
Employment			
Full-time[a]			
Part-time	-0.032	-0.041	-0.022
	(0.115)	(0.114)	(0.116)
Age			
Less than 35[a]			
35 and over	-0.173[#]	-0.168[#]	-0.181[#]
	(0.105)	(0.105)	(0.106)

Notes: [#]p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[a] denotes reference category, (Standard Error)

TABLE 5.7 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Education			
High school[a]			
Some college	-0.134	-0.129	-0.133
	(0.118)	(0.118)	(0.118)
Four year degree	-0.345*	-0.342*	-0.345*
	(0.161)	(0.162)	(0.161)
Graduate or professional degree	0.233	0.240	0.234
	(0.182)	(0.182)	(0.182)
Family Characteristics			
Household income			
$30,000 or less	0.241	0.235	0.237
	(0.171)	(0.171)	(0.171)
$30,001-50,000	0.143	0.133	0.142
	(0.145)	(0.145)	(0.144)
$50,001-75,000[a]			
$75,001-100,000	0.217	0.212	0.217
	(0.177)	(0.177)	(0.176)
$100,001 or more	0.274	0.278	0.274
	(0.191)	(0.191)	(0.191)
Number of adults in household			
One adult	0.075	0.081	0.074
	(0.192)	(0.192)	(0.192)
Two adults[a]			
Three or more adults	-0.115	-0.116	-0.114
	(0.140)	(0.140)	(0.140)
Number of children in household			
One child[a]			
Two children	-0.155	-0.159	-0.146
	(0.140)	(0.141)	(0.141)
Three or more children	-0.033	-0.043	-0.026
	(0.157)	(0.156)	(0.157)
Has children under age 12			
Yes	0.439***	0.448***	0.431***
	(0.118)	(0.118)	(0.119)
No[a]			

TABLE 5.7 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Percent of children who are female			
0-20%	0.011	0.007	0.019
	(0.123)	(0.123)	(0.123)
21-50%	0.133	0.127	0.131
	(0.135)	(0.135)	(0.134)
51-100%[a]			
R^2	0.129	0.128	0.130

TABLE 5.8 UNSTANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND STANDARD ERROR FOR EFFECT OF WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT ON PRAISE *(N=402)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Work-family conflict scale	-0.048		
	(0.179)		
Career Sacrifice		-0.168	
		(0.167)	
Family Sacrifice			0.056
			(0.131)
Maternal Characteristics			
Race			
White[a]			
Black	-0.518	-0.516	-0.541
	(0.376)	(0.376)	(0.377)
Marital Status			
Married[a]			
Never married	-0.648	-0.682	-0.657
	(0.557)	(0.561)	(0.558)
Separated/divorced	-0.229	-0.262	-0.212
	(0.526)	(0.527)	(0.525)
Employment			
Full-time[a]			
Part-time	-0.008	0.000	0.025
	(0.326)	(0.324)	(0.329)
Age			
Less than 35[a]			
35 and over	-0.171*	-0.734*	-0.741*
	(0.310)	(0.309)	(0.312)

Notes: $^{\#}p<.10$. *$p<.05$. **$p<.01$. ***$p<.001$.

[a] denotes reference category, (Standard Error)

TABLE 5.8 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Education			
High school[a]			
Some college	0.085	0.117	0.070
	(0.329)	(0.331)	(0.328)
Four year degree	-0.361	-0.343	-0.367
	(0.428)	(0.429)	(0.428)
Graduate or professional degree	0.969[#]	1.009[#]	0.952
	(0.579)	(0.582)	(0.579)
Family Characteristics			
Household income			
$30,000 or less	0.911*	0.889[#]	0.925*
	(0.480)	(0.480)	(0.479)
$30,001-50,000	0.443	0.413	0.465
	(0.384)	(0.384)	(0.383)
$50,001-75,000[a]			
$75,001-100,000	0.563	0.545	0.571
	(0.480)	(0.480)	(0.480)
$100,001 or more	0.884	0.890	0.865
	(0.559)	(0.559)	(0.559)
Number of adults in household			
One adult	-0.128	-0.113	-0.144
	(0.522)	(0.522)	(0.521)
Two adults[a]			
Three or more adults	-0.325	-0.317	-0.325
	(0.374)	(0.375)	-0.374
Number of children in household			
One child[a]			
Two children	-0.771*	-0.753[#]	-0.754[#]
	(0.393)	(0.393)	(0.393)
Three or more children	-0.269	-0.279	-0.240
	(0.461)	(0.460)	(0.461)
Has children under age 12			
Yes	0.742*	0.744*	0.710*
	(0.333)	(0.331)	(0.333)
No[a]			

TABLE 5.8 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Percent of children who are female			
0-20%	-0.020	0.002	-0.004
	(0.342)	(0.344)	(0.344)
21-50%	0.052	0.027	0.062
	(0.377)	(0.379)	(0.377)
51-100%[a]			

TABLE 5.9 UNSTANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND STANDARD ERROR FOR EFFECT OF WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT ON LAUGHTER *(N=402)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Work-family conflict scale	0.151		
	(0.208)		
Career Sacrifice		0.089	
		(0.189)	
Family Sacrifice			0.108
			(0.155)
Maternal Characteristics			
Race			
White[a]			
Black	-0.174	-0.149	-0.178
	(0.454)	(0.452)	(0.454)
Marital Status			
Married[a]			
Never married	0.052	0.075	0.035
	(0.681)	(0.680)	(0.684)
Separated/divorced	-0.585	-0.588	-0.601
	(0.587)	(0.587)	(0.585)
Employment			
Full-time[a]			
Part-time	-0.206	-0.234	-0.192
	(0.381)	(0.379)	(0.384)
Age			
Less than 35[a]			
35 and over	0.250	0.274	0.230
	(0.349)	(0.350)	(0.351)

Notes: #p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[a] denotes reference category, (Standard Error)

TABLE 5.9 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Education			
High school[a]			
Some college	-0.780*	-0.775*	-0.764*
	(0.391)	(0.392)	(0.390)
Four year degree	-1.458**	-1.458**	-1.447**
	(0.486)	(0.487)	(0.485)
Graduate or professional degree	0.160	0.162	0.177
	(0.716)	(0.716)	(0.716)
Family Characteristics			
Household income			
$30,000 or less	0.319	0.311	0.300
	(0.550)	(0.552)	(0.548)
$30,001-50,000	0.427	0.416	0.414
	(0.456)	(0.456)	(0.455)
$50,001-75,000[a]			
$75,001-100,000	0.944	0.949	0.930
	(0.602)	(0.603)	(0.602)
$100,001 or more	0.645	0.668	0.646
	(0.623)	(0.622)	(0.623)
Number of adults in household			
One adult	0.127	0.146	0.129
	(0.590)	(0.590)	(0.588)
Two adults[a]			
Three or more adults	-0.386	-0.384	-0.378
	(0.437)	(0.437)	(0.436)
Number of children in household			
One child[a]			
Two children	-0.060	-0.080	-0.039
	(0.453)	(0.454)	(0.455)
Three or more children	-0.092	-0.117	-0.089
	(0.525)	(0.524)	(0.525)
Has children under age 12			
Yes	0.867*	0.893*	0.856*
	(0.383)	(0.382)	(0.385)
No[a]			

TABLE 5.9 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Percent of children who are female			
0-20%	-0.023	-0.048	-0.003
	(0.379)	(0.380)	(0.382)
21-50%	0.449	0.441	0.433
	(0.464)	(0.464)	(0.463)
51-100%[a]			

TABLE 5.10 UNSTANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND STANDARD ERROR FOR EFFECT OF WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT ON HUG/KISS *(N=402)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Work-family conflict scale	0.347		
	(0.244)		
Career Sacrifice		0.217	
		(0.219)	
Family Sacrifice			0.247
			(0.185)
Maternal Characteristics			
Race			
White[a]			
Black	-0.685	-0.643	-0.695
	(0.550)	(0.546)	(0.552)
Marital Status			
Married[a]			
Never married	0.020	0.037	-0.003
	(0.832)	(0.825)	(0.837)
Separated/divorced	-0.269	-0.293	-0.294
	(0.699)	(0.695)	(0.697)
Employment			
Full-time[a]			
Part-time	-0.170	-0.240	-0.140
	(0.459)	(0.454)	(0.461)
Age			
Less than 35[a]			
35 and over	-0.944*	-0.859[#]	-1.009*
	(0.478)	(0.477)	(0.484)

Notes: [#]p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[a] denotes reference category, (Standard Error)

TABLE 5.10 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Education			
High school[a]			
Some college	-0.407	-0.386	-0.373
	(0.455)	(0.455)	(0.451)
Four year degree	-0.482	-0.489	-0.437
	(0.581)	(0.582)	(0.580)
Graduate or professional degree	1.017	0.997	1.070
	(0.870)	(0.868)	(0.871)
Family Characteristics			
Household income			
$30,000 or less	0.456	0.416	0.442
	(0.691)	(0.691)	(0.689)
$30,001-50,000	0.094	0.074	0.087
	(0.534)	(0.533)	(0.533)
$50,001-75,000[a]			
$75,001-100,000	-0.107	-0.087	-0.128
	(0.633)	(0.633)	(0.633)
$100,001 or more	0.308	0.381	0.310
	(0.727)	(0.723)	(0.727)
Number of adults in household			
One adult	0.458	0.532	0.448
	(0.727)	(0.726)	(0.725)
Two adults[a]			
Three or more adults	-0.100	-0.102	-0.081
	(0.488)	(0.486)	(0.488)
Number of children in household			
One child[a]			
Two children	-0.265	-0.303	-0.235
	(0.514)	(0.513)	(0.516)
Three or more children	0.261	0.218	0.262
	(0.694)	(0.693)	(0.692)
Has children under age 12			
Yes	1.676***	1.711***	1.663***
	(0.463)	(0.464)	(0.463)
No[a]			

TABLE 5.10 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Percent of children who are female			
0-20%	0.131	0.073	0.173
	(0.436)	(0.434)	(0.441)
21-50%	0.828	0.809	0.793
	(0.587)	(0.588)	(0.584)
51-100%[a]			

TABLE 5.11 UNSTANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND STANDARD ERROR FOR EFFECT OF WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT ON MONITORING INDEX *(N=402)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Work-family conflict scale	-0.017		
	(0.046)		
Career Sacrifice		-0.002	
		(0.041)	
Family Sacrifice			-0.017
			(0.034)
Maternal Characteristics			
Race			
White[a]			
Black	0.015	0.012	0.017
	(0.101)	(0.100)	(0.101)
Marital Status			
Married[a]			
Never married	0.356***	0.356*	0.359*
	(0.146)	(0.147)	(0.146)
Separated/divorced	0.197	0.200	0.197
	(0.139)	(0.139)	(0.138)
Employment			
Full-time[a]			
Part-time	-0.017	-0.013	-0.021
	(0.082)	(0.082)	(0.083)
Age			
Less than 35[a]			
35 and over	0.034	0.032	0.037
	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.076)

Notes: #p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[a] denotes reference category, (Standard Error)

TABLE 5.11 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Education			
High school[a]			
Some college	-0.063	-0.065	-0.064
	(0.085)	(0.085)	(0.085)
Four year degree	-0.001	-0.002	-0.001
	(0.116)	(0.116)	(0.116)
Graduate or professional degree	-0.037	-0.040	-0.038
	(0.131)	(0.131)	(0.131)
Family Characteristics			
Household income			
$30,000 or less	-0.289***	-0.287*	-0.287*
	(0.123)	(0.123)	(0.123)
$30,001-50,000	-0.116	-0.112	-0.115
	(0.104)	(0.104)	(0.103)
$50,001-75,000[a]			
$75,001-100,000	0.067	0.069	0.067
	(0.127)	(0.127)	(0.127)
$100,001 or more	0.112	0.110	0.112
	(0.137)	(0.137)	(0.137)
Number of adults in household			
One adult	-0.129	-0.131	-0.129
	(0.138)	(0.138)	(0.138)
Two adults[a]			
Three or more adults	-0.259***	-0.259***	-0.260***
	(0.101)	(0.101)	(0.100)
Number of children in household			
One child[a]			
Two children	0.111	0.113	0.108
	(0.101)	(0.101)	(0.101)
Three or more children	-0.001	0.004	-0.003
	(0.113)	(0.112)	(0.113)
Has children under age 12			
Yes	0.130	0.127	0.133
	(0.085)	(0.084)	(0.085)
No[a]			

TABLE 5.11 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Percent of children who are female			
0-20%	-0.145#	-0.143#	-0.148#
	(0.088)	(0.088)	(0.089)
21-50%	0.039	0.041	0.040
	(0.097)	(0.097)	(0.097)
51-100%[a]			
R^2	0.123	0.122	0.123

TABLE 5.12 UNSTANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND STANDARD ERROR FOR EFFECT OF WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT ON MONITORING ON WEEKDAYS *(N=402)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Work-family conflict scale	-0.259		
	(0.236)		
Career Sacrifice		-0.118	
		(0.216)	
Family Sacrifice			-0.219
			(0.179)
Maternal Characteristics			
Race			
White[a]			
Black	-0.675	-0.721	-0.661
	(0.454)	(0.450)	(0.455)
Marital Status			
Married[a]			
Never married	1.041	1.025	1.071
	(0.696)	(0.696)	(0.693)
Separated/divorced	0.948	0.991	0.978
	(0.703)	(0.705)	(0.702)
Employment			
Full-time[a]			
Part-time	-0.224	-0.171	-0.266
	(0.422)	(0.418)	(0.426)
Age			
Less than 35[a]			
35 and over	0.443	0.405	0.478
	(0.378)	(0.375)	(0.382)

Notes: #p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[a] denotes reference category, (Standard Error)

TABLE 5.12 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Education			
High school[a]			
Some college	-0.618	-0.635	-0.629
	(0.407)	(0.407)	(0.407)
Four year degree	0.024	0.005	0.014
	(0.653)	(0.649)	(0.655)
Graduate or professional degree	-0.228	-0.260	-0.224
	(0.744)	(0.744)	(0.745)
Family Characteristics			
Household income			
$30,000 or less	-0.713	-0.706	-0.676
	(0.604)	(0.601)	(0.604)
$30,001-50,000	-0.194	-0.162	-0.176
	(0.511)	(0.510)	(0.510)
$50,001-75,000[a]			
$75,001-100,000	0.969	0.969	1.002
	(0.765)	(0.764)	(0.767)
$100,001 or more	0.999	0.961	1.023
	(0.797)	(0.793)	(0.800)
Number of adults in household			
One adult	-0.303	-0.346	-0.306
	(0.694)	(0.689)	(0.698)
Two adults[a]			
Three or more adults	-0.981*	-0.977*	-1.000*
	(0.439)	(0.438)	(0.439)
Number of children in household			
One child[a]			
Two children	0.693	0.748	0.642
	(0.524)	(0.522)	(0.527)
Three or more children	-0.327	-0.269	-0.348
	(0.548)	(0.543)	(0.551)
Has children under age 12			
Yes	0.917*	0.857*	0.957*
	(0.445)	(0.438)	(0.452)
No[a]			

TABLE 5.12 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Percent of children who are female			
0-20%	-0.320	-0.259	-0.368
	(0.411)	(0.407)	(0.416)
21-50%	0.466	0.488	0.493
	(0.526)	(0.526)	(0.526)
51-100%[a]			

TABLE 5.13 UNSTANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND STANDARD ERROR FOR EFFECT OF WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT ON MONITORING ON WEEKENDS *(N=402)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Work-family conflict scale	0.063		
	(0.208)		
Career Sacrifice		0.096	
		(0.183)	
Family Sacrifice			0.002
			(0.156)
Maternal Characteristics			
Race			
White[a]			
Black	0.915[#]	0.921[#]	0.928[#]
	(0.548)	(0.546)	(0.550)
Marital Status			
Married[a]			
Never married	2.024*	2.030*	2.032*
	(0.599)	(0.896)	(0.901)
Separated/divorced	0.645	0.651	0.630
	(0.658)	(0.657)	(0.656)
Employment			
Full-time[a]			
Part-time	0.138	0.122	0.121
	(0.390)	(0.385)	(0.394)
Age			
Less than 35[a]			
35 and over	-0.039	-0.028	-0.031
	(0.354)	(0.354)	(0.356)

Notes: [#]p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[a] denotes reference category, (Standard Error)

TABLE 5.13 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Education			
High school[a]			
Some college	0.022	0.008	0.028
	(0.395)	(0.396)	(0.395)
Four year degree	0.071	0.066	0.075
	(0.559)	(0.560)	(0.559)
Graduate or professional degree	-0.221	-0.231	-0.209
	(0.597)	(0.597)	(0.596)
Family Characteristics			
Household income			
$30,000 or less	-1.417*	-1.402*	-1.434*
	(0.584)	(0.584)	(0.583)
$30,001-50,000	-0.610	-0.603	-0.627
	(0.518)	(0.517)	(0.518)
$50,001-75,000[a]			
$75,001-100,000	-0.084	-0.075	-0.093
	(0.636)	(0.637)	(0.635)
$100,001 or more	0.106	0.109	0.109
	(0.707)	(0.707)	(0.707)
Number of adults in household			
One adult	-0.718	-0.715	-0.709
	(0.669)	(0.669)	(0.669)
Two adults[a]			
Three or more adults	-0.720#	-0.729#	-0.720#
	(0.428)	(0.428)	(0.428)
Number of children in household			
One child[a]			
Two children	0.141	0.124	0.136
	(0.458)	(0.458)	(0.461)
Three or more children	-0.014	-0.017	-0.030
	(0.516)	(0.515)	(0.517)
Has children under age 12			
Yes	0.216	0.227	0.231
	(0.384)	(0.381)	(0.387)
No[a]			

TABLE 5.13 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Percent of children who are female			
0-20%	-0.645#	-0.662#	-0.654#
	(0.396)	(0.395)	(0.399)
21-50%	0.094	0.101	0.082
	(0.471)	(0.471)	(0.470)
51-100%[a]			

TABLE 6.1 MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF PARENTAL SATISFACTION VARIABLES (*N*=402)

Variable	*M*	*SD*
Parental satisfaction		
Satisfied with amount of time with children	6.7	2.6
Satisfied with amount of time whole family spends together	5.8	2.5
Satisfied with how well children are doing	8.2	1.6

Notes: Unweighted *N*s and weighted mean and standard deviations.
All variables on the same scale 1=completely dissatisfied, 10=completely satisfied.

TABLE 6.2 BIVARIATE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT AND PARENTAL SATISFACTION (*N*=402)

Variable	*M*	*SD*
	Parental	
Extent of career sacrifices		
No/not too many sacrifices***	6.85	2.06
A lot of sacrifices	6.93	1.61
Extent of personal/family sacrifices		
No/not too many sacrifices[#]	6.94	1.95
A lot of sacrifices	6.82	1.71

Notes: Unweighted *Ns* and weighted percentages.
[#]p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.
Significance tests were carried out using t-tests

TABLE 6.3 UNSTANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND STANDARD ERROR FOR EFFECT OF WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT ON PARENTAL SATISFACTION *(N=402)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Work-family conflict scale	-0.300*		
	(0.132)		
Career Sacrifice		-0.101	
		(0.120)	
Family Sacrifice			-0.259**
			(0.097)
Maternal Characteristics			
Race			
White[a]			
Black	0.564#	0.516#	0.583*
	(0.292)	(0.294)	(0.292)
Marital Status			
Married[a]			
Never married	-0.482	-0.496	-0.441
	(0.425)	(0.428)	(0.424)
Separated/divorced	-0.639	-0.594	-0.621
	(0.402)	(0.405)	(0.400)
Employment			
Full-time[a]			
Part-time	0.388	0.456#	0.336
	(0.239)	(0.239)	(0.241)
Age			
Less than 35[a]			
35 and over	0.829***	0.786***	0.871***
	(0.219)	(0.220)	(0.220)

Notes: #p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

[a] denotes reference category, (Standard Error)

TABLE 6.3 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Education			
High school[a]			
Some college	-0.409[#]	-0.432[#]	-0.430
	(0.246)	(0.248)	(0.245)
Four year degree	-0.464	-0.478	-0.467
	(0.336)	(0.339)	(0.335)
Graduate or professional degree	-0.213	-0.247	-0.231
	(0.380)	(0.383)	(0.378)
Family Characteristics			
Household income			
$30,000 or less	-0.484	-0.466	-0.451
	(0.356)	(0.360)	(0.354)
$30,001-50,000	-0.094	-0.047	-0.070
	(0.301)	(0.304)	(0.299)
$50,001-75,000[a]			
$75,001-100,000	-0.052	-0.025	-0.047
	(0.368)	(0.371)	(0.367)
$100,001 or more	0.599	0.576	0.594
	(0.398)	(0.401)	(0.397)
Number of adults in household			
One adult	0.423	0.395	0.421
	(0.400)	(0.403)	(0.399)
Two adults[a]			
Three or more adults	-0.287	-0.282	-0.296
	(0.292)	(0.294)	(0.291)
Number of children in household			
One child[a]			
Two children	-0.429	-0.389	-0.477
	(0.293)	(0.295)	(0.293)
Three or more children	-0.330	-0.262	-0.356
	(0.327)	(0.328)	(0.327)
Has children under age 12			
Yes	0.311	0.249	0.349
	(0.246)	(0.246)	(0.247)
No[a]			

TABLE 6.3 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Percent of children who are female			
0-20%	0.654***	0.692***	0.610**
	(0.256)	(0.258)	(0.256)
21-50%	0.864***	0.886***	0.882***
	(0.281)	(0.283)	(0.279)
51-100%[a]			