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# The Effects of Parent Care and Child Care Role Quality on Work outcomes among dual-earner couples in the sandwiched generation

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# THE EFFECTS OF PARENT CARE AND CHILD CARE ROLE QUALITY ON WORK OUTCOMES AMONG DUAL-EARNER COUPLES IN THE SANDWICHED GENERATION

by

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DISSERTATION APPROVAL

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# ABSTRACT

An abstract of the dissertation of Angela Rickard for the Doctor of Philosophy in Public Administration and Policy presented April 30, 2002.

Title: The Effects of Parent Care and Child Care Role Quality on Work Outcomes among Dual-Earner Couples in the Sandwiched Generation

Research has shown that more men and women are occupying multiple roles as employees and caregivers to a child or an elder. The proliferation of women in the U.S. workforce since the 1960's has resulted in a "typical" American family that no longer consists of an employed father and stay-at-home mother, but rather one in which the father and mother both work outside the home. Indeed, the "dual-earner" family is the dominant family form in the U.S. today and into the foreseeable future. The aging and increased longevity of the American population, coupled with changes in the level and timing of fertility, mean more of these dual-earner men and women will face multigenerational caregiving concerns as they become responsible for caring for their children as well as their aging parents. That is, they will join the so-called "Sandwich(ed) Generation."

The intent of this study is to more fully understand the functioning of the work-family system by examining how the quality of family caregiving roles experiences, that is, the stressors and rewards associated with roles as parent and as caregiver to a frail or disabled parent, affects the work outcomes of absenteeism, work performance, and intention to quit for dual-earner couples in the sandwiched generation. This question was addressed via a longitudinal analysis of data from a sample of 234 dual-earner couples living within the continental United States.

Findings indicated that: child care stress was positively related to change over time in working less effectively for men; the interaction of parent care rewards and parent care stress was related to change over time in absenteeism for women; the interaction of parent care rewards and child care rewards was related to change over time in intention to quit for men; and the interaction of child care rewards and child care stress was related to change over time in intention to quit for women. The implications of these findings for employer-sponsored workplace programs and policies, public policy, and labor unions are discussed.

## DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to L. Darcelin. Thank you for your friendship, patience, and support.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Public administration can be defined as the management of people and materials in the accomplishment of the purposes of the state (White, 1954/1987). As such, Dahl (1947/1987) argued that the "science of public administration must be a study of certain aspects of human behavior" (p. 184). In support of his contention, he noted that "most problems of public administration revolve around human beings; and the study of public administration is therefore essentially a study of human beings as they have behaved, and as they may be expected or predicted to behave, under certain special circumstances" (p. 184).

The literature that serves as the foundation for the science of public administration, i.e., theories of organization, organizational behavior, and management, seems to support Dahl's claim. If one examines the evolution of these theories, one can see their development from those that viewed human beings as simple instruments in the service of machine-like organizations, to those that have recognized and attempted to explain the complex role of human beings in organizations that are viewed as systems. This evolution's current crest is reflected in the research and literature arising out of a recognition of what Kanter (1977) called "the myth of separate worlds" between work and family systems. Indeed, Kossek and Ozeki (1998) have noted that managing work and family role demands is now a critical challenge for individuals and organizations, and a topic of growing importance in such fields as organizational behavior and human resource management.

As Barnett (1998) has pointed out, the belief that work and family constitute separate worlds has had serious consequences for workplace policies and practices.

She notes that when work and family were treated as distinctly separate spheres, family matters could be viewed as belonging at home and having no business in the workplace. Therefore, when a worker let family matters interfere with his or her work, the employee could be seen as negligent in that he or she failed to maintain the proper boundary between work and family. Under this mindset, it was solely the employee's responsibility to take control of the family situation and resolve the problem. The organization had no responsibility to the worker in helping him or her resolve the problem, and thus no workplace policies or practices needed to be implemented to deal with "family matters." Nor, for that matter, was there any need for public policy, since family matters were considered to be an entirely private concern.

Barnett (1998) notes, however, that this solution was doomed to failure, because no matter how hard an employee tried to keep work and family separated, he or she would not be able to do so since "it is not in our nature to make that separation" (p. 24). The result was that conflict continually arose between work and family, and the employee was left alone in trying to resolve it. Moreover, Barnett (1998) notes that this limited, conflict-based view of the interplay between work and family ignored the benefits that workers (and their organizations) derived from occupying multiple roles in that, for example, employees' positive experiences at home could serve to buffer the mental health consequences associated with stressful jobs.

Barnett's (1998) point is well-made, in that more men and women are occupying multiple roles as employees and caregivers to a child or an elder (Loomis & Booth, 1995). The proliferation of women in the U.S. workforce since the 1960's has resulted in a "typical" American family that no longer consists of an employed

father and stay-at-home mother, but rather of one in which the father and mother both work outside the home (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Indeed, the "dual-earner" family is the dominant family form in the U.S. today and into the foreseeable future (Barnett, Raudenbush, Brennan, Pleck, & Marshall, 1995; Bond, Galinsky, & Swanberg, 1998). The aging and increased longevity of the American population, coupled with changes in the levels and timing of fertility, mean more of these dual-earner men and women will face multigenerational caregiving concerns as they become responsible for caring for their children as well as their aging parents (Loomis & Booth, 1995). That is, they will join the so-called "Sandwich Generation" (Raphael & Schlesinger, 1993).

Barnett's (1998) example, that is, that positive experiences in multiple roles can serve to buffer the mental health consequences of stressful jobs, is also well-founded. A number of studies (Barnett & Baruch, 1985; Barnett et al., 1995; Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Stephens, Franks, & Townsend, 1994; Stephens & Townsend, 1997; Voydanoff & Donnelly, 1999) have examined how the quality of experiences in multiple roles (i.e., stressors and rewards associated with roles as spouse, employee, parent, and/or caregiver to a frail or disabled parent) affects a variety of outcomes revolving around mental health and well-being. However, no research to date has dealt with the question, "How does the quality of experiences in multiple caregiving roles affect work outcomes?" This is a question that must be answered in the effort to one day fully understand the functioning of the work-family system.

This study will begin the investigation of that question by examining the relationship between the quality of family caregiver role experiences (specifically, as caregiver to aging parents and as caregiver to children) and three particular work

outcomes (i.e., absenteeism, work performance, and intention to quit - all self-reported) for dual-earner couples in the sandwiched generation. This study will be the first to examine, from a role quality perspective, the effects of experiences in the roles of caregiver to aging parents and to children on work outcomes, thus enhancing understanding of the interactions between work and family systems. The present study also makes a number of other important contributions to the literature. Specifically, it contributes to work/family research by concerning itself with topics that have been identified as needing more study: work-related outcomes (Kossek and Ozeki, 1999); multiple caregiving and work roles (Stephens & Townsend, 1997); working caregivers to elders (Kossek & Ozeki, 1999); and dual-earner couples (Zedeck, 1992), which comprise the majority of American families. The study also makes significant contributions to the literature by using longitudinal data as well as a sample of women and men. Indeed, Barnett (1998) has noted that most work/family studies have involved all-female samples and cross-sectional data, which has limited current understanding of work/social systems. Finally, this study is important because both stressors and rewards stemming from parent care and child care will be examined. Again, Barnett (1998) has noted that an almost exclusive focus on role conflict has resulted in little understanding of the possible benefits of holding various roles.

The rationale for conducting this study, the unique contributions of the study, and the methodology to be used are explained more fully in the chapters that follow. As a starting point, however, some of the literature that serves as the theoretical foundation for the science of public administration is examined in order to better understand the contribution of this study to that field.

# CHAPTER II

# THEORETICAL INFLUENCES ON THE FIELD OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

## The Evolution of Organization and Management Theory

Theories of management, organization, and organizational behavior, upon which the field of public administration rests, have undergone an evolution. They have progressed from those that viewed human beings as simple instruments to be used to achieve a machine-like organization's goals, to those that have attempted to more fully understand the complexity of human behavior within a system that contains the work organization.

One can begin examining this evolution with Taylor's (1912/1987) notions of "scientific management" and the "one best way." Taylor felt that management had a responsibility to determine scientifically how each and every task could be performed in the one best way by workers. Once that method had been determined, employees were to follow it exclusively, and managers were to monitor worker performance to ensure that the appropriate work procedures were followed. An important part of management's job then, according to Taylor (1912/1987), was to control the actions of employees, first by determining the proper actions via rational, scientific method, and then by monitoring the employees' actions. This not only precluded the adaptation of work to individual talents or concerns, but also essentially turned individual employees into instruments or parts that fit into the organization, which was viewed as a machine (Bolman & Deal, 1997; Morgan, 1997).

Other management theories of this time also placed a strong emphasis on "instrumentalizing" employees and meeting the organization's goals, while caring

little about employees and their needs. Fayol's (1916/1996) General Principles of Management, for example, included the principle of "subordination of individual interest to general interest" (p. 56). This principle meant that "in a business the interest of one employee or group of employees should not prevail over that of the concern" (p. 56). To ensure that the general interest of the concern was not lost sight of in favor of individual interests, Fayol recommended "constant supervision" (p. 56).

This managerial predilection for instrumentalizing employees also extended to personnel administration, more commonly referred to now as human resource management, as the principles of scientific management took hold, and means were sought to make personnel administration more objective, rational, and scientific. This was especially evident at the federal level, with the standardization of positions. The content of jobs or groups of similar jobs became the focus of personnel administration, and work came to revolve around positions rather than people (Shafritz, Hyde, & Rosenbloom, 1986). The Classification Act of 1923 institutionalized the principle that rank is vested in the position, not the person, and helped to create a personnel system of interchangeable parts, since one person in any class was considered the equivalent of any other person in that class. Earlier reform efforts around merit (i.e., the Pendleton Act of 1883) had already begun to give personnel administration this faceless flavor, as neutral, objective, job-related standards were instituted to do away with the old personnel practices that had revolved around the individual. These reforms were seen as an important means for improving the efficiency of government (Skowronek, 1982). Although the reform efforts had distinct advantages and did help agencies to better achieve their goals by functioning more objectively, they also, by design, reduced the necessity for

personnel administrators to concern themselves with employees as individuals and deal with them as individuals rather than as positions. The reform movement was about improving government efficiency, not about the treatment of individual employees.

These early schools of thought were soon challenged by theorists who recognized that treating employees like instruments had dehumanizing effects, and that human beings played a much larger role in organizations. What is ironic is that the spark for this change in thinking came out of work that was steeped in scientific management. Specifically, it was the puzzling results that Elton Mayo encountered in his work at the Hawthorne plant, during which he manipulated the environment of a group of employees (i.e., lighting) to examine the effects on their productivity (Roethlisberger, 1969/1978). The researchers found that when lighting was increased in the experimental room, productivity improved, but it also improved in the control room, where lighting was constant. Moreover, when lighting was decreased in the experimental room, production again improved, and it also improved in the control room. The results of the experiment suggested that employees might be more than just mindless instruments subject to management's control and existing only for management's use.

This suggestion was reflected in organization theory when, for example, Simon (1957) used the sociological notion of "role systems" to explain an organization in terms of a complex pattern of communications and relationships that provide members with a stable set of expectations of one another. In this regard, he argued that understanding people is the key to understanding organizations. He noted that, "an organization is, after all, a collection of people, and what an organization does is done by people" (p. 110). March and Simon (1958) put this

more succinctly in their classic work, Organizations, when they stated that, "propositions about organizations are statements about human behavior" (p. 26).

The most important work to expound on the role of human beings in organizations at this time was Barnard's (1968) The Functions of the Executive. Barnard spoke not only of formal organization, but he also introduced the notion of informal organization. That is, he included human beings in organization theory by presenting organizations as social systems in which human beings have free will, make choices, and have individual motives that rarely coincide entirely with organizational purposes. He spoke of organizations as systems of cooperation and noted that people cooperate only to the extent that their own motives are satisfied. As such, Barnard saw the individual as the basic element of organization.

Thus, Barnard marked a transition from classical, rationalistic organization theory to the human relations model (Perrow, 1986) or human resource model (Bolman & Deal, 1997) of organizations, which argued that the key challenge for management was to tailor organizations to people to find ways for employees to get the job done while feeling good about what they were doing. This notion began to manifest itself in management theory with, for example, Herzberg's (1967) motivator-hygiene theory. Specifically, Herzberg (1967) noted that managers typically solve their major concern of, "How do I get an employee to do what I want him to do," (p. 95) by giving employees a kick in the pants, or what he termed the "KITA." He argued that in order for managers to motivate employees to do what the manager wants them to do, they need to pay less attention to "extrinsic hygiene (KITA) factors," such as money, because these cannot serve to motivate but can only serve to avoid dissatisfaction. Instead, he argued, managers should pay more attention to "intrinsic motivator factors," such as the work itself, growth, and

achievement which can produce job satisfaction. Only by meeting employees' needs could managers hope to motivate them to accomplish the goals of the organization. This was much more effective than a KITA.

Perhaps the best depiction in management theory of the struggle between instrumentalizing employees and having concern for them as unique human beings with particular needs within the organization is McGregor's (1960) The Human Side of Enterprise. His objective was to find a managerial method that integrated both organizational and individual interests. His Theory X/Theory Y scheme illustrates the difference in thinking behind these two schools of thought. Under Theory X, management is a process of directing people's efforts, motivating them, controlling their actions, and modifying their behavior. Organizational structure and managerial policies, practices, and programs are used to accomplish this. As McGregor (1960) noted, all of this is done in order "to get employees to put forth adequate effort toward the achievement of organizational objectives" (p. 34).

To replace Theory X, McGregor (1960) offered a different theory of management with a different set of assumptions about workers. Known as Theory Y, it was deeply grounded in Maslow's (1943) "needs hierarchy." McGregor (1960) was especially interested in Maslow's highest need for self-actualization, specifically noting that people have a need for "self-fulfillment," that is, for realizing their potential and continuing their self-development. However, McGregor also recognized that people were not having their self-fulfillment needs met in the workplace when he stated that, "People today are accustomed to being directed, manipulated, controlled in industrial organizations and to finding satisfaction for their...self-fulfillment needs away from the job" (p. 181). Thus, he offered up Theory Y, in which management is a process of creating opportunities for

employees, releasing their potential, and encouraging their growth. Techniques such as decentralization, delegation, and participative and consultative management could be used so that employees could meet their self-fulfillment needs in the workplace, with the fortunate consequence being that the organization's goals would also be met. McGregor (1960) noted that, "Theory Y relies heavily on self-control and self-direction" (p. 56).

Around this same time, Argyris (1957) summarized several studies that indicated that when there are incongruencies between the needs of individuals and the requirements of a formal organization, healthy individuals will tend to experience frustration and may adapt via a variety of methods, which include: withdrawing through absenteeism; withdrawing by leaving the organization; and withdrawing by becoming disinterested in their work. Thus, Argyris (1957) laid a foundation for why it is in management's interest to be concerned about the employee needs that so interested McGregor (1960).

Just as management theory began to recognize the tension between treating employees as instruments versus treating them as individuals within an organization, so too did human resource management (i.e., personnel administration) theory. Sayre (1948), for example, concluded that personnel administration had become characterized more by procedure, rule, and technique than by purpose and result. He argued that "in...the 'machine age,' human beings have too often been looked upon as mere functional entities and adjuncts to the machine," and he called on personnel administrators to engage in "person-centered thinking" (p. 33). That is, "the personnel administrator should think about the individual's needs and behavior...What demand is the work situation making on him that he is unable to

meet? Conversely, what demands is he making on his work situation that are not being satisfied?" (p. 33).

The demands of theorists like Sayre (1948) were soon responded to by personnel specialists with job-redesign notions such as "job enlargement" (i.e., increasing the number and variety of tasks a worker performs) and "job enrichment" (i.e., increasing a worker's control over the planning and performance of a job and participation in setting organization policy) (Muchinsky, 2000). These were meant to increase employees' sense of achievement in their work, to meet employees' needs in the workplace, and to treat employees more as individuals. However, one can see that these changes centered around positions and the work itself, rather than people.

The face of organization and management theory soon changed again as theorists picked up on Bertalanffy's (1956) work in biology, in which he attempted to demonstrate that many of the entities studied by scientists--nuclear particles, atoms, molecules, cells, organs, organisms, ecological communities, groups, organization, societies, solar systems--are all subsumable under the general heading of "system" (Scott, 1998). The systems perspective began to dominate organization theory with the release of Katz and Kahn's (1966) The Social Psychology of Organizations in which they conceptualized organizations as open systems and emphasized the interdependence of organizations with their environments. Open systems were characterized by ill-defined, permeable boundaries, and all systems could be viewed as being made up of subsystems that continually interacted and affected each other and were subsumed by still larger systems. Katz and Kahn (1966) saw the open system approach as a means of analyzing the social and institutional context within which people live, and much like Simon (1957), they

saw all social systems, including organizations, as consisting of a system of roles, i.e., "the patterned activities of a number of individuals" (p. 17). In fact, Kahn (1964) noted that "the life of a person can be seen as an array of roles which he plays in the particular set of organizations and groups [company, union, church, family, etc.] to which he belongs" (p. 8).

In the management literature, the systems perspective was well-articulated in Senge's (1990) The Fifth Discipline. Senge (1990) understood three matters that most previous writers concerned with organization and management did not seem to grasp: (1) the (work) organization should be reconceptualized as extending beyond work to include the family; (2) work and family can be seen as systems that interact and affect each other; and (3) employees' needs cannot be met completely within the (work) organization.

Senge (1990) discussed a matter that still receives very little attention in the organization and management literature: the "war" between work and family. Senge (1990) felt that the boundary between work and family is artificial, and that, in fact, there is a natural connection between a person's work life and all other aspects of life his/her life. He depicted an archetype of the work and family systems in which each is represented as a "reinforcement loop." The two loops are connected by a feedback loop, such that success in one realm means more resources will be devoted to that realm and fewer resources will be available for the other realm. This, of course, makes for a disastrous situation within one of the realms.

He argued that people should not be content to simply accept the fact that work inevitably conflicts with family life. Rather, he noted that conflicts between work and family are one of the primary ways through which traditional organizations limit their effectiveness. In this regard, he felt that the first step

management must take is to acknowledge that it cannot build an organization on a foundation of broken homes and strained personal relationships.

Senge (1990) extended these views by contending that a "manager's fundamental task is providing the enabling conditions for people to lead the most enriching lives they can" (p. 140). He believed that such enrichment was not necessarily to be found at work, and he felt that individuals must have a personal vision which comes from within and identifies their ultimate intrinsic desires for themselves, rather than for the organization. In this regard, he noted that, "Traditionally, organizations have supported people's development instrumentally--if people grew and developed, then the organization would be more effective...In the type of organization we seek to build, the fullest development of people [should be] on an equal plane with financial success. This goes along with our most basic premise: that practicing the virtues of life and business are not only compatible but enrich one another" (p. 144).

In sum, Senge's (1990) important contribution to the organization and management literature, for the purposes of this discussion, is his recognition that family and work are naturally connected and affect each other, and thus the work organization cannot be conceptualized apart from the family. In this regard, he argued that organizations need to do away with divisive pressures and demands that make balancing work and family so burdensome for employees. He felt this was necessary not only because organizations should be committed to their employees, but also because it is necessary in order for organizations to fully realize their capabilities.

Senge's (1990) argument accords with that of writers in the human resource management arena during this same time period. For example, Solomon (1994)

chastised employers for not offering enough work/family initiatives to help employees manage work and family, and Towers Perrin (1994) issued a report which called for a "new employer/employee deal" revolving around work/family programs. This issue was also heating up in the public policy arena as the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) was passed in 1993, providing that covered employers allow eligible employees to take a total of 12 weeks' (unpaid) leave during any 12-month period for: the birth, adoption, or foster-care placement of a child; caring for a spouse, child, or parent with a serious health condition; or the employee's own serious health condition.

Today, despite these advances in organization and management theory, as well as notable increases in the number of "family-friendly" programs being offered by employers in the 1990's (Kossek & Ozeki, 1999), and the historic passage of the FMLA, employees are still having difficulty managing the roles they occupy within their work and family systems.

Work & Family Systems: Examining Multiple Roles and their Effects

That employees are struggling to manage their work and family roles is evident in the results of a survey conducted by Consumer Clearinghouse in 1998, which concluded that:

> The nation's employers are not offering sufficient work/family benefits...to prevent workers from calling in at the last minute to take time off to deal with their family and personal needs. The result is businesses will lose hundreds of millions of dollars this year - up one-third from 1997. The cost to employers of unscheduled absenteeism per employee increased 32% to $757 in 1998 from $572 in 1997...'Family issues' led the

> reasons for unscheduled absenteeism, accounting for 26% of those unscheduled sick days...The cost of unscheduled absences should make it possible to demonstrate that implementing an appropriate mix of work/family programs will have a positive impact on the bottom line (p. 23).

From a role and systems perspective, the above situation can be seen as one in which the work and family systems are interrelating, such that the demands associated with occupying a role(s) in the family domain are interfering with or are incompatible with role occupancy demands in the work domain. This so-called work-family conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985) has resulted (in this illustration) in the work outcome of absenteeism. That work-family conflict (WFC) is related to absenteeism is well-established by a number of studies (e.g., Gignac, Kelloway, & Gottlieb, 1996; Hammer, Bauer, & Grandey, 1999a; MacEwen & Barling, 1994). Such conflict has also been found to be related to other work outcomes, including intention to quit (e.g., Boles, Johnson, & Hair, 1997; Smith, Buffardi, & Holt, 1999) and performance problems (e.g., Frone, Yardley, & Markel, 1997; Greenhaus, Bedeian, & Mossholder, 1987; Hammer, Neal, Brockwood, & Colton, 1999b; Netemeyer, Boles, & McMurrian, 1996).

Rather than employing this work and family conflict model of multiple role demands, however, one can view the multiple role experience in terms of the time and energy available to individuals. For example, some researchers espouse the "scarcity hypothesis," which posits that individuals have limited time, energy, and emotional resources that can be exhausted by the competing demands associated with multiple roles (Baruch, Biener, & Barnett, 1987; Goode, 1960). Other researchers advocate for the "enhancement hypothesis," which argues that multiple

role occupancy can serve to increase personal resources (e.g., personal proficiency, increased social support, financial gain) (Buffardi, Smith, O'Brien, & Erdwins, 1999; Marks, 1977; Stephens et al., 1994; Thoits, 1983). This postulate has an expectation of positive consequences stemming from occupying multiple roles because of the increase in personal resources.

While this latter perspective encourages researchers to inquire into the positive aspects of roles, it still shares the former perspective's weakness of focusing on role occupancy alone or solely on the number of roles occupied in making positive (rather than negative) predictions about the effects of individuals' multiple roles. Neither of these perspectives is concerned with examining the actual quality of role experiences, i.e., the relative amounts of benefits and costs experienced in a given role (Stephens et al., 1994). Such a role quality perspective allows one to account for how different individuals may experience multiple roles in terms of costs and benefits and to better explain the complexity of inter-role rewards and stressors. Thus, it is not simply the number of roles occupied, but the specific rewards and stressors associated with each of those roles that affect outcomes (Barnett & Baruch, 1985; Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Baruch & Barnett, 1987; Stephens et al., 1994).

In order to better understand the manner in which family and work systems interrelate and affect each other, this study will examine how the quality of dual caregiving roles in the family realm (i.e., the rewards and stressors associated with being a caregiver to aging parents and a caregiver to children) affects three outcomes in the work realm: absenteeism, intention to quit, and work performance. In doing so, this study will add to the many bodies of literature that now undergird the science of public administration, that is, organization theory, organizational

behavior, management theory, human resource management, systems theory, role theory, and work and family.

From a management and human resource management perspective, the three work outcomes chosen for examination are especially important. Indeed, it already has been noted that absenteeism costs employers hundreds of millions of dollars a year (Consumer Clearinghouse, 1998). Likewise, Kaufman (1994) has observed that substantial costs are incurred by employers when new workers must be hired due to turnover. These costs include such things as expenses associated with interviewing and testing, substandard production from new hires, and substantial training costs. Kaufman (1994) notes that the cost to an organization of hiring a white-collar employee ranges from between two weeks' and two months' pay, and between two days' and two weeks' pay for a blue-collar employee. Finally, regarding work performance, it may be impossible to fully measure the many direct and indirect costs of diminished performance that are incurred by an organization. Poor performance can affect an organization directly via sales, profits, and the like, or indirectly via such means as reduced customer satisfaction that is then passed on by word-of-mouth.

In addition to these "business" concerns about absenteeism, turnover, and work performance, there certainly are many practical implications for employees as well. These outcomes can affect such matters as an employee's pay, his/her retention in a job, his/her ability to secure another job, and his/her relationships with co-workers and supervisors. Thus, research into family factors that affect these work outcomes is beneficial to all concerned.

It is to the general topic of work and family that this discussion now turns, as it is important to understand: (1) current trends in the American work and family

situation; (2) the contributions of this study to the literature on work and family; and (3) findings from a variety of work/family studies that have dealt with the effects of role quality on various outcomes. These findings will aid in making informed predictions about the relationship between the quality of dual caregiving roles in the family and outcomes at work.

# CHAPTER III

# WORK AND FAMILY

## Work and Family Today

For the past several years, researchers have been documenting the changing nature of the American workforce in such reports as Workforce 2000 (Johnston & Packer, 1987) and its sequel, Workforce 2020 (Judy & D'Amico, 1997). The former documented the continuing "feminization" of the workforce, noting that almost two-thirds of new entrants into the workforce between 1988 and 2000 would be women (Johnston & Packer, 1987). It also advised employers that "demands for day care and for more time off from work for pregnancy and child-rearing will certainly increase, as will interest in part-time, flexible, and stay-at-home jobs" (p. 18). The latter report noted that women would continue to make up a large percentage of new entrants into the workforce, and it also emphasized the "graying" of the American population, noting that by 2020, almost 20% of the U.S. population would be 65 or older (Judy & D'Amico, 1997). This report advised that, "U.S. public policy as well as many employers have yet to come to grips with the full implications of America's aging" (p. 3). Much like its predecessor, it concluded that, "American firms will need to continue to compete for the best workers by offering an ever-expanding array of benefits and accommodating a variety of lifestyle and workplace arrangements" (p. 4).

As evidenced by both of these reports, the notion that work and family constitute two separate spheres of life is no longer an acceptable philosophy for employers to espouse. In fact, both work and family have been profoundly affected by the feminization of the workforce and the graying of the population. There has been and continues to be an increase in the number of women, the traditional family

caregivers, in the paid labor force. From 1988 to 1998, the number of women in the workforce increased by 16.4%, and from 1998 to 2008 the number of women in the workforce is expected to increase by 15.3% (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1999). Today, women comprise about 46% of the workforce (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1999) as compared to about 37% in 1970 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1989).

Women's entrance into the workforce has resulted in an increase in the number of families where both the husband and wife are working, that is, in the number of "dual-earner couples" (Offermann & Gowing, 1990). The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (1998) notes that the number of dual-worker families grew by 352,000 between 1996 and 1997, while the number of "traditional" families (in which the husband works and the wife stays home to manage the household and care for the family) declined by 145,000. In 1999, dual-earner families accounted for 63% of all married-couple families, compared to 23% of married-couple families in which only the husband worked, and 6.5% in which only the wife worked (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2000). The fact that more husbands and wives are working means more employees will need to find ways (via public and workplace policies) to handle the family responsibilities that used to be taken care of by a stay-at-home wife.

Work organizations and families have also been affected by the aging of the American population. The proportion of older Americans has tripled in this century, and by 2030, there will be more Americans over 65 than there are children under 18 (Bronfenbrenner, McClelland, Wethington, Moen, & Ceci, 1996). With advanced age, an increasing number of people experience health problems and limitations and require assistance in performing activities of daily living. Indeed, almost half of

those people aged 85 or older (the fastest growing age group in the U.S.) need such assistance (Bronfenbrenner et al., 1996). In 1992, a national survey of Americans found that about one in three men and women aged 55 or over served as informal caregivers to family, friends, or neighbors (Bronfenbrenner et al., 1996). In 1997, a study by the National Alliance of Family Caregivers (NAC) and the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) found that just over 23% of all U.S. households with a telephone had at least one caregiver of a relative or friend who was 50 years of age or older. Of these households, 76% were providing care at the time, while the remainder had done so within the past 12 months.

These developments suggest the need to expand the definition of "family," so that public and workplace policies can better address employees' needs. "Family" has commonly been defined quite narrowly as consisting of two parents and their children (Parker & Hall, 1992). Relatedly, "dependent care" typically has been defined as consisting of care for children (Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Emlen, 1993). These definitions preclude a full examination of the caregiving responsibilities of employed individuals, and thus hinder the establishment of policies to help employees deal with their caregiving responsibilities. In particular, caregivers to parents, grandparents, and other elderly family members and friends have been ignored in much of the mainstream work-family research and in workplace policies (Wagner, Hunt, & Reinhard, 2000). Indeed, even the family-friendly FMLA, which allows eligible employees to take unpaid leave to care for a family member (i.e., child, spouse, or parent) with a serious health condition, defines a parent as "the biological parent of an employee or an individual who stood in loco parentis to an employee when the employee was a son or daughter" (Family

Medical Leave Act of 1993, 29 USC 2611(7)). Thus, it does not include parents-in-law, for example (29 CFR 825. 113(b)).

It is often the case that individuals with elder care responsibilities have multiple role commitments (e.g., spouse, employee, parent) (Penning, 1998). Many studies have shown that adults who provide help to their aging parents also often have responsibility for dependent children. For example, the NAC/AARP study (1997) found that 41% of all caregivers to people aged 50 and over also had children under the age of 18 living at home. Similarly, Neal et al. (1993) found in their study of 9,573 employees in 33 different companies that 42% of the employees who were caring for elders also were caring for children.

The percentage of people with caregiving responsibilities for both children and parents is undetermined as yet. In Neal et al.'s (1993) study, employees with both types of responsibilities comprised 9% of the sample of employees overall. Nichols and Junk (1997) surveyed individuals between the ages of 40 and 65 and found 15% had responsibilities for aging parents and financially dependent children, while Neal, Hammer, Rickard, Isgrigg, and Brockwood (1999) concluded that 9% to 13% of American households having one or more persons aged 30 through 60 consist of dual-earner couples with caregiving responsibilities for one or more frail or disabled parents, as well as one or more children. Regarding the workforce, Durity (1991) found that on the demographics of an organization (i.e., age, gender, marital status), the percentage of employees with both child and parent care responsibilities ranged from 6 to 40. These individuals with dual caregiving roles have been referred to as the "sandwich" or "sandwiched" generation (Fernandez, 1990; Hammer et al., 1999b; Miller, 1981; Neal et al., 1999; Nichols & Junk, 1997;

Rosenthal, Martin-Matthews, & Matthews, 1996), in that they are sandwiched between the needs of their children and their parents, and quite often their jobs.

Work and Family Research: Contributions of the Present Study

There have been a number of studies examining the effects of managing work-role demands and the family-role demands of caring for children (e.g., Hammer, Allen, & Grigsby, 1997; Marshall & Barnett, 1993; Parasuraman, Greenhaus, & Granrose, 1992; Thomas & Ganster, 1995). There also have been studies examining the multiple role demands of people who work and provide informal care to elderly relatives or friends (e.g., Scharlach & Boyd, 1989). However, there have been only a few studies (e.g., Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Neal, 1994; Neal et al., 1993; Stephens & Townsend, 1997; Stone & Short, 1990) that have focused on those people who work as well as hold multiple caregiving roles, and there is a particular shortage of research on the work-related outcomes of having multiple role demands, especially with regard to the role of caregiver to an elder (Kossek & Ozeki, 1999). Moreover, previous research on individuals having multiple role demands has also tended to have a negative focus, at the expense of overlooking the possible benefits of holding multiple roles (Chapman et al., 1994; Neal et al., 1999; Rosenthal et al., 1996; Stoller & Pugliesi, 1989). Finally, Barnett (1998) has noted that most studies are conducted using all-female samples, and that most studies are cross-sectional and therefore are unable to detect long-term effects.

In examining the relationship between experiences in parent care and child care roles and the outcomes of absenteeism, performance, and intention to quit, the present study will contribute significantly in filling these many gaps in the work/family research. It will be one of a handful of studies concerned with multiple caregiving and work roles and will have as its context the dual-earner couple, which

is now the dominant family form, and thus deserves more inquiry into the effects of combining work and family (Zedeck, 1992). The fact that this study is concerned with work-related outcomes for those who hold multiple roles makes it exceptional and very valuable given Loomis and Booth's (1995) finding that more and more dual-earner men and women will face multigenerational caregiving concerns. The fact that this study is concerned with work-related outcomes for those who care for an elder makes it rare (Kossek & Ozeki, 1999), and again of great importance given Bronfenbrenner et al.'s (1996) conclusion that more and more working Americans will be having aging parents, friends, or neighbors who need assistance to lead their lives. That this study is concerned with family role quality and work outcomes makes it one of only four studies that this author could identify. (The other three studies, by Bokemeier and Maurer (1987), Rogers (1999), and Rogers (1996), are discussed below in the "Family Role Quality and Work-Related Outcomes" section.) Indeed, it is the only one that deals with experiences in multiple family roles and work outcomes. Yet such research is sorely needed in order to truly understand the manner by which work and family function as a system and how experiences in family roles affect work outcomes.

Also of significance is the fact that both women and men will be included in the study, as men have been neglected in many caregiving studies, especially those involving caregiving role quality (e.g., Barnett & Marshall, 1991; Barnett, Marshall, & Singer, 1992a; Franks & Stephens, 1992; Stephens et al., 1994). However, men are taking on more caregiving duties (especially with regard to parenting) with the entrance of women into the workforce (Dancer & Gilbert, 1993; Pleck, 1985), and so it is important to examine the effects of caregiving for them as well as for women. Another contribution of this study is the fact that both stressors and rewards

stemming from parent care and child care will be examined, as a number of researchers (e.g., Barnett, 1998; Neal et al., 1999; Stephens et al., 1994) have observed that studies have tended to focus on the problems encountered in the caregiver role or on conflict among roles and have failed to examine the positive aspects of roles. Examining such salutary effects is important so that caregivers can learn about possible ways to offset the detrimental effects that have been amply researched and documented.

This study will also make a much needed contribution to the literature by using longitudinal data (from a sample of sandwiched generation couples) rather than cross-sectional data as has been used in most of the studies in the literature to date (Barnett, 1998). Longitudinal data allow one to establish the correct time order of changes in variables in that variation in the independent variable occurs prior to variation in the dependent variable that it is hypothesized to have caused. Thus, longitudinal research is important because it goes further in establishing causality as compared to cross-sectional research.

Finally, the most significant contribution of this study is the fact that it will be the first to examine the effects of experiences in the roles of caregiver to aging parents and to children on work outcomes (specifically, absenteeism, work performance, and intention to quit) from a role quality perspective. Thus, this study will greatly enhance understanding of the interactions between work and family systems. It is unfathomable that theory has arrived at the point of recognizing work and family as interlinked role systems, and yet there is scant research that focuses on how family role quality affects work outcomes. This study will take a big step toward filling that void.

Research into Role Quality and Role Theory

The notion of examining the actual quality of role experiences in order to determine the effects of multiple roles is a relatively recent development. It was not until the mid-1980's that theorists, such as Barnett and Baruch (1985), seriously began to take such a role quality approach. Since that time, a number of researchers have studied the effects of experiences in different roles on a variety of outcomes. This research will be reviewed so as to: (1) explore how role quality has been measured and operationalized; (2) gain an understanding of the effects of role quality on a variety of outcomes; (3) formulate hypotheses about the relationships between caregiving role quality and work outcomes; and (4) devise an analytical plan for testing these hypotheses. The specific topics to be discussed are as follows: early research establishing family and job role quality as predictors of various well-being outcomes; varying results from research using different indices of role quality; results from studies indicating differences between men and women in the effects of role experiences on various outcomes; parent care role quality research; research on the effects of multiple family roles; and family role quality research concerned with work-related outcomes.

The Effects of Family and Job Role Quality. Early researchers who employed a role quality perspective sought to determine whether the quality of experiences in family and work roles affected various psychological well-being outcomes such as anxiety or stress. In one of the first studies to take a role quality approach in examining the effects of multiple roles, Barnett and Baruch (1985) used a sample of 238 women aged 35 to 55 living in the Boston area who occupied roles as employees, wives, and mothers. They cross-sectionally examined the relationship between the quality of experience (i.e., rewards and concerns) within each role and

three general stress indices: role overload, role conflict, and anxiety. Participants were asked to indicate on a four-point scale the extent to which various items were rewarding or distressing (e.g., watching your children's accomplishments, not having enough control over your children). The difference between the mean level of rewards and the mean level of concerns reported constituted an index of the quality of experience in each role. This difference score was used for analyses rather than a composite rewards score and a composite concerns score because the researchers believed that it captured an important aspect of subjective role quality in that it served as an overall indicator of whether the incumbent experienced the role positively or negatively. Hierarchical multiple regression analysis was used to examine the effects of the quality of experience in each role on the three general outcome variables. The findings indicated negative relationships between the quality of experience in the work role and role overload, and the quality of experience in the parental role and role overload. The quality of experience in the parent role was also a negative predictor of anxiety and role conflict. The quality of experience in the spousal role was not a significant predictor of any of the three stress indices. Thus, this study was among the very first to establish that the quality of experience in various roles (i.e., as parent and employee) can serve as a predictor of well-being outcomes (stress, in this case), at least as far as women are concerned.

In a later study employing the same sample, Baruch and Barnett (1986) examined how the quality of experience in these same roles of employee, wife, and mother affected psychological well-being as measured by indices of self-esteem, depression, and pleasure (assessed by a scale consisting of items measuring happiness, satisfaction, and optimism). Again using role quality difference scores, they found that the quality of experience for each of the three roles served as a

predictor of each of the three indices of well-being, with the sole exception of the role of mother, which did not predict pleasure. Specifically, job role quality and spousal role quality were negatively related to depression and positively related to self-esteem and pleasure, whereas parent role quality was negatively related to depression, positively related to self-esteem, and not significantly related to pleasure. Thus, in this study, spousal role quality was found to be predictive of psychological well-being, whereas it had not been predictive of stress in the Barnett and Baruch (1985) study, indicating that for women the quality of experiences in different roles serves to predict different outcomes.

In another study concerned with women and their family and work roles, Kibria, Barnett, Baruch, Marshall, and Pleck (1990) examined the cross-sectional relationship between the quality of women's experiences in the "homemaking" role and their psychological well-being (measured by indices of positive affect, anxiety, and depression) for a sample of 403 women aged 25 to 55 who were employed as social workers and practical nurses in the Boston area. Following Barnett and Baruch (1985), these researchers asked respondents to indicate the extent to which a number of items were rewarding or distressing and then used the difference between the mean level of rewards and the mean level of concerns reported as an index of the quality of experience in each role. While positive homemaking role quality was found to be associated with increased psychological well-being, an interaction effect was also found, in that the favorable relationship between positive homemaking role quality and psychological well-being was enhanced by positive job role quality. That is, regardless of the level of work role quality, higher homemaking role quality was associated with higher well-being, but this relationship was even more dramatic for women with high work role quality. Essentially, then, Kibria et al. (1990) found

support for the exacerbation hypothesis (Barnett & Marshall, 1993), which contends that rewarding experiences in one role can exacerbate the relationship between rewarding experiences in another role and a given outcome, and similarly, that stressful experiences in one role can exacerbate the relationship between stressful experiences in another role and a given outcome. (This is in contrast to the buffer hypothesis (Barnett & Marshall, 1993) which contends that positive experiences in one role mitigate the impact of negative experiences in another role on a given outcome.) Kibria et al.'s (1990) study is important, therefore, because it established that the quality of experiences in one role can moderate the relationship between the quality of experiences in another role and the outcome of concern.

These two pioneering studies by Barnett and Baruch (1985) and Baruch and Barnett (1986), as well as the study conducted by Kibria et al. (1990), included only women and their family and job roles. As explained by Barnett and Baruch (1987), this has been a recurring theme in the literature, where theoretical formulations regarding men's lives assumed that the paid employee role is central, and non-work roles are peripheral. In contrast, theories about women's lives have assumed the primacy of and commitment to non-workplace roles. Therefore, when women began entering the workplace in large numbers and taking on the additional role of employee, researchers sought to examine the effects of women's multiple role involvement. Only recently have there been more studies involving men and their family roles, with the notable early exception of a study conducted by Bromet, Dew, Parkinson, and Schulberg (1988), as described below.

Considerable research has documented the relationship between marital stress and mental health problems and alcohol problems (e.g., Bullock, Siegal, Weissman, & Paykel, 1972; Coleman & Miller, 1975; Ilfeld, 1982). There is also a

body of evidence linking job stressors and mental health difficulties and/or alcohol problems (e.g., Cooper & Marshall, 1976; Holt, 1982; Karasek, 1979). In 1988, Bromet et al. combined these two bodies of research when they used longitudinal data (over a one-year time period) from 325 male power plant employees to examine the predictive contribution of job and marital stress to psychiatric and alcohol-related problems. They found that job demands (i.e., stressors) contributed to the prediction of affective disorder and alcohol problems, while marital stressors did not. They also found an intra-role interaction; that is, job rewards (i.e., decision latitude) moderated the effect of job concerns on alcohol problems, such that workers with a high level of job demands were more likely to report alcohol problems if they had less decision latitude than if they had greater decision latitude. This study is important because it established role quality as a predictor of various outcomes for men, but it is especially important when considered in light of Kibria et al.'s (1990) findings. That is, the two studies establish that not only are inter-role interactions possible, but intra-role interactions can also occur, such that the rewards associated with a role moderate the relationship between the stressors in that same role and the outcome of concern. Bromet et al.'s (1988) study raises the question of whether to use a role quality index of rewards minus stressors or two separate role quality indices (one for rewards and one for stressors) so as to allow for examination of both inter-role and intra-role interactions.

The Question of Which Role Quality Index to Use. The studies reviewed to this point have all been concerned with role quality as a predictor of outcomes revolving around psychological well-being. In 1991, Aneshensel, Rutter, and Lachenbruch added significantly to theory about the effects of role quality on such outcomes, as well as the most appropriate role quality index to use in exploring

various outcomes, when they noted that researchers often apply a sociomedical model to questions dealing with the mental health consequences of social organizations. That is, researchers often begin with a particular disorder and look backward (conceptually) for potential antecedents of that disorder. In contrast, Aneshensel et al. (1991) argued that for such questions, researchers should apply a sociological model that begins with a particular social structural arrangement and looks forward for potential consequences. They contended that while the sociomedical model may be well-suited for identifying etiological factors for particular disorders, it is inadequate for identifying the mental health consequences of social organizations. They noted that in stress research, the impact of stress on a particular disorder is often mistaken for the impact of stress on mental health in general; this confusion arises because stress research, regardless of discipline, typically considers only one disorder as an outcome, e.g., depression. They noted that this is unacceptable given that, "A basic premise of social stress theory...is that the effects of stress are nonspecific, not limited to any particular disorder" (p. 167). Thus, they pointed out that the presence or absence of a particular disorder is implicitly and inappropriately equated with whether a person has been affected by stress, in that a single disorder is treated as a proxy for all stress-related conditions. Consequently, only people who display symptoms of the particular disorder being investigated are treated as having been affected by stress, while people having any other stress-related conditions are treated as not having been affected by stress. This is appropriate if one is taking an etiologic perspective, in that this latter group does not have the particular disorder being investigated, but it is inappropriate and misleading if one is trying to determine the consequences of exposure to social stress.

To illustrate their point, Aneshensel et al. (1991) gathered data from 3,131 adults in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. They demonstrated that disorder-specific models substantially misrepresent social group differences in the mental health consequences of exposure to stress whenever the impact of stress differs across groups for various disorders. That is, they showed that men and women were similarly affected by stressful events and circumstances in their lives, but the effects of those stressors were manifested as different types of disorders. For example, in reaction to stressors related to negative events that occurred to someone important in their lives, men displayed affect or anxiety-related disorders, whereas women displayed substance-abuse disorders. Thus, Aneshensel et al. (1991) concluded that, "gender differences in the impact of stress are disorder-specific and do not indicate general differences between men and women in stress-reactivity" (p. 176). Aneshensel et al.'s (1991) work is important because it illustrates that men and women differ in their reactions to stressors (which is a topic that is more fully addressed below). Thus, relying solely on a role quality score of rewards minus stressors may not adequately capture differences between men and women. Even without such differences, however, Aneshensel et al.'s (1991) work speaks more broadly to the manner by which role quality should be indexed and used in analyses. That is, it illustrates that it may be necessary to use separate scores for stressors and for rewards in order to adequately examine the relationship between role quality and various outcomes. This point is well-made in a study done by Barnett and Marshall (1991), which is discussed below.

Barnett and Marshall (1991) used cross-sectional data from a sample of 403 employed women to determine whether family role quality (as spouse and as parent) affects the relationship between mental health (i.e., subjective well-being,

depression, and anxiety) and work rewards and concerns. For the spouse role and the parenting role, they used role quality difference scores (i.e., the difference between reward and concern scale scores). For the work role, separate scores for job role rewards and for job role concerns were used in order to look for interaction effects. Regarding subjective well-being, they found that parenting role quality, spouse role quality, and job rewards were each positively related to this outcome, while job concerns were negatively related. They found no significant interactions between job role rewards or concerns and parenting role quality, or between job role rewards or concerns and spouse role quality in predicting subjective well-being.

Regarding psychological distress (i.e., anxiety and depression), Barnett and Marshall (1991) found that job concerns were positive predictors of this outcome, whereas parenting role quality and spouse role quality were negatively related to distress. Moreover, parenting role quality and job rewards interacted, such that high rewards at work buffered the impact of low parenting role quality on distress. In fact, the psychological distress of women with difficult parent-child relationships was no worse than that of women with good parent-child relationships, provided that the women had jobs in which they experienced a high level of rewards. Thus, like Kibria et al. (1990), Barnett and Marshall (1991) found an inter-role interaction, although this time that interaction supported the buffer hypothesis rather than the exacerbation hypothesis.

Finally, Barnett and Marshall (1991), like Bromet et al. (1988), examined intra-role interactions to determine if job rewards buffered the impact of job concerns on mental health. Barnett and Marshall (1991) found a significant interaction between job concern items related to "Overload" and job reward items related to "Helping Others," such that job rewards buffered the effect of job

concerns on psychological distress. That is, when work overload concerns were high, people with high rewards from helping others had lower psychological distress than people with low rewards from helping others.

Overall, then, one can see that if Barnett and Marshall (1991) had not used separate indices for job concerns and job rewards, a great deal of valuable information would have been lost. Thus, it appears that the use of a single index of role quality (e.g., rewards minus stressors) may not capture valuable information that can be gained by looking at the effects of role rewards and stressors separately. The differing results for the two studies that follow is further evidence of this.

Barnett, Marshall, and Pleck (1992b) used a sample of 300 employed, married men in dual-earner couples to examine cross-sectionally the relationship between job role quality, parenting role quality, spouse role quality, and psychological distress, as measured by indices of anxiety and depression. Psychological distress was measured such that a higher score represented less distress, and a difference score of rewards minus concerns was used as an index of role quality. Findings indicated that high job role quality, high spouse role quality, and high parenting role quality were each associated with less psychological distress.

Moreover, Barnett et al. (1992b) also found that spouse role quality moderated the relationship between job role quality and psychological distress, such that when spouse role quality was high, men's distress was not as greatly affected by the quality of their job as it was when spouse role quality was low. They found similar results regarding the moderating effect of parenting role quality. That is, when parenting role quality was high, men's distress was not as greatly affected by the quality of their job as it was when parenting role quality was low.

These results parallel those of Barnett and Marshall (1992), who used the same sample of 300 men in dual-earner couples to examine the relationship between job and spouse role concerns and rewards, their interactions, and psychological distress (i.e., anxiety and depression). In this study, overall role quality was operationalized as a rewards scale score plus the inverse of a concerns scale score for each role. Results were comparable to Barnett et al. (1992b), in that positive overall job role quality and positive overall spouse role quality were each significantly related to lower levels of psychological distress. However, unlike Barnett et al. (1992b), Barnett and Marshall (1992) examined interactions between separate role concerns and role rewards indices rather than interactions between overall role quality indices. In doing so, they found that the relationship between job stress and psychological distress was exacerbated for those men who had troubled relationships with their partners. Thus, Barnett and Marshall (1992) were able to isolate and better understand the nature of the interaction that Barnett et al. (1992b) had previously identified. This adds yet more support to Aneshensel et al.'s (1991) conclusion that additional information can be gained by using separate indices of role rewards and role concerns to examine interactions. As noted previously, Aneshensel et al.'s (1991) work is also important because it illustrated that role experiences affect men and women differently. A study by Barnett and Marshall (1993) supports these two points, as well.

Specifically, Barnett and Marshall (1993) cross-sectionally examined the relationship between the quality of family roles (as spouse and as parent), the quality of the job role, and physical health reports for a sample of 300 men drawn from dual-earner couples. In this study, Barnett and Marshall (1993) not only calculated an overall role quality balance score, but also a rewards score and a concerns score

for each role. They then estimated four separate preliminary regression analyses for each role, using role rewards, role concerns, role rewards plus role concerns (inverted), or a balance score of role rewards minus role concerns, as the indicator of role quality. Using multiple regression analyses, they found that individual role concerns and role rewards were the strongest predictors, and thus those measures were used in all subsequent analyses. Results indicated that neither rewards nor concerns in the spouse role influenced physical health. Job role rewards also did not influence physical health, but job role concerns did, such that a lower level of job concerns was related to better physical health. Similarly, parenting role concerns were found to negatively influence physical health, but parenting role rewards had no significant influence on physical health.

Barnett and Marshall (1993) also were concerned with whether spouse role quality moderated the influence of job role quality on physical health. To test for the "buffer hypothesis," they examined the effects of two different interaction terms (i.e., spouse role rewards x job role concerns and spouse role concerns x job role rewards) on physical health and found no support. To test for the "exacerbation hypothesis," they examined the effects of two interaction terms (i.e., spouse role concerns x job role concerns and spouse role rewards x job role rewards) on physical health and again found no support. Thus, they concluded that the relationship between men's job role quality and physical health did not depend on the level of rewards or concerns that men experienced in their marital relationship.

Barnett and Marshall's (1993) study is important because of the finding that the most significant predictor of men's health was not the balance between role rewards and concerns, but rather role concerns by themselves, thus lending support to the notion of using separate reward and concern indices. Another important aspect

of this study is the fact that it points to possible differences in the effects of role experiences for men and women, in that its results differ from a similar study that was conducted for women by Barnett, Davidson, and Marshall (1991).

Differences in the Effects of Role Quality for Men and Women. In an exploration of the effects of role quality on physical health, Barnett et al. (1991) used a sample of 403 women, aged 25 to 55, who were employed in health-care professions to conduct cross-sectional analyses of the interplay between the quality of family roles (as spouse and as parent), the quality of the job role, and physical health. Findings indicated that: work rewards were related to low levels of poor physical health symptoms; work concerns were related to high levels of poor physical health symptoms; and work rewards and work concerns interacted, such that rewards (i.e., a subscale concerned with helping others) buffered the negative effects of concerns (i.e., a subscale concerned with overload) on physical health.

Like Barnett and Marshall (1993), Barnett et al. (1991) also were concerned with whether spouse role quality moderated the influence of job role quality on physical health. They found that spouse role quality mitigated the relationship between work rewards and physical health symptoms, such that women with more rewarding experiences as spouses were more likely to reap the physical health benefits from work rewards. Taken together, the two studies support the notion that the effects of role quality differ for men and women. Specifically, for women, Barnett et al. (1991) found that work rewards were related to better physical health, but this was not the case for men in the Barnett and Marshall (1993) study. Moreover, in the Barnett et al. (1991) study, spouse role quality was found to moderate the relationship between work rewards and physical health for women, but again this was not the case for men in the Barnett and Marshall (1993) study.

Another study that indicates possible differences in role quality effects for men and women is that of Barnett (1994), who examined the same relationships for women in a sample of dual-earner couples that Barnett et al. (1992b) had previously examined for men in the same sample of dual-earner couples. That is, she used data from 300 women who were part of a sample of 300 dual-earner couples to examine cross-sectionally the relationship between job role quality, parenting role quality, spouse role quality, and psychological distress. Psychological distress (i.e., anxiety and depression) was measured such that a higher score represented less distress, and an index comprised of a rewards scale score plus the inverse of a concerns scale score was used as a measure of role quality. Findings indicated that high spouse role quality and high job role quality, but not high parent role quality, predicted lower psychological distress for the women. This is in contrast to the findings of Barnett et al. (1992b) who found that for the men in sample, high levels of role quality in each of these roles (parent, job, spouse) all predicted lower psychological distress.

Voydanoff and Donnelly (1999) also investigated the relationships between role quality and psychological distress (i.e., depression) using a national sample of 1,342 mothers and fathers who also held roles as spouses and employees. They found that job satisfaction and marital happiness were related to lower psychological distress and that dissatisfaction in the roles of employee and spouse was related to higher distress for both mothers and fathers. However, dissatisfaction in the parenting role was related to higher distress for fathers only.

Still another study that indicates that men's and women's role experiences differently affect outcomes is that of O'Neil and Greenberger (1994). They gathered cross-sectional data from 102 married, employed fathers and 194 married, employed mothers of pre-school children in order to examine variables related to role strain

(i.e., role overload and role conflict). Role quality was assessed by two items pertaining to each role, through which respondents indicated their satisfaction in the role and the extent to which they felt they had lived up to their own standards of performance. Findings indicated that for women, higher quality experiences in their work and parenting roles exerted a negative influence on role strain, whereas for men, only parenting role quality affected role strain. Moreover, for women, parenting role quality moderated the relationship between job commitment and role strain, such that for women who were highly committed to work but not to parenting, high parenting role quality was associated with lower role strain. This moderating effect for parenting role quality was not found for men.

In one of the few studies to examine differences between men and women using longitudinal data, Barnett et al. (1995) explored the relationship between changes over time in marital role quality and changes in psychological distress (assessed via frequency-of-symptoms measures for anxiety and for depression) for a sample of 210 dual-earner couples employed full-time. Findings indicated that as marital role quality deteriorated over time, distress increased for both men and women. However, the magnitude of the relationship was significantly more pronounced for women than for men, lending support in the role quality research arena to the sex-role hypothesis (Thoits, 1992), which predicts that gender moderates the relationship between social roles and distress because the nature of role demands differs for men and women.

Based on the studies discussed in this section, it appears that men's and women's experiences in roles often result in different outcomes, although there does not seem to be a particular pattern that emerges. That is, findings from these studies indicate that: work rewards are positively related to physical health for women, but

not for men; spouse role quality moderates the work rewards-physical health relationship for women, but not for men; parent role quality is positively related to psychological distress for men, but not for women; parent role quality moderates the job commitment-role strain relationship for women, but not for men; and work role quality is negatively related to role strain for women, but not for men. The best conclusion that can be drawn is that men and women should be examined separately for the purpose of exploring possible differences between them in the effects of role experiences on various outcomes. Such an approach is consistent with the work of Aneshensel et al. (1990) and the conclusions reached by them.

This discussion now turns to additional research that involves other issues of concern in the present study, i.e., parent care role quality, multiple family role quality effects, and family-role quality research involving work-related outcomes. This research informs the hypotheses formulated and is therefore important to consider.

Parent Care Role Quality. In 1997, Stephens and Townsend examined the effects of role quality on psychological well-being in their study of 296 women who were primary caregivers to an ill or disabled parent/parent-in-law. In an effort to determine whether experiences in other roles serve to buffer and/or exacerbate experiences in the parent care role, Stephens and Townsend (1997) cross-sectionally examined how stressors and rewards in the roles of mother, spouse, and employee combined with stressors in the role of caregiver to a parent to affect women's psychological well-being (i.e., depression and life satisfaction).

Findings indicated that parent care role stress was positively related to depression, but was not related to life satisfaction. Moreover, regarding exacerbating effects, Stephens and Townsend (1997) found that neither spouse role stress nor

work role stress served as a moderator of the effects of parent care stress on well-being (i.e., life satisfaction or depression). Also, no significant interaction was found between child care role stress and parent care role stress for depression, but a significant interaction was found between child care role stress and parent care role stress for life satisfaction. By performing follow-up slope analyses, they found that a greater level of parent care role stress was associated with a lower level of life satisfaction for women with a high level of stress in the child care role, i.e., high child care role stress exacerbated the effects of parent care role stress on life satisfaction.

Regarding buffering effects, Stephens and Townsend (1997) found no interaction effects between child care role rewards or spouse role rewards and parent care role stress on well-being (i.e., life satisfaction or depression). Also, no significant interaction was found between work role rewards and parent care role stress for life satisfaction, but a significant interaction was found between work role rewards and parent care role stress for depression. Follow-up tests indicated a higher level of parent care role stress was associated with greater depression for women who had a low level of rewards in the work role, that is, high work role rewards buffered the effects of parent care role stress on depression.

In a similar study, Stephens, Franks, and Atienza (1997) used data from a sample of 105 employed women who were caregivers to an ill or disabled parent to examine the relationship between job and parent care role quality (measured by separate role satisfaction and role stress scales) and psychological well-being (i.e., positive affect and depression). They found that job role satisfaction was positively related to positive affect. They also found that parent care role stress and job role stress were each positively related to depression.

Finally, Martire, Stephens, and Atienza (1997) used cross-sectional data from 118 employed women who were providing care to an older impaired parent to determine how the quality of roles (measured as role satisfaction and as role stress) as employee and as caregiver to an elder interact to affect well-being (i.e., physical health, depression, and positive affect). They found that parent care role satisfaction was associated with better physical health and more positive affect. Work role satisfaction was also related to better physical health and more positive affect, as well as lower levels of depression. Parent care role stress was associated with poorer physical health and higher levels of depression, while work role stress was not significantly related to any of the three measures of well-being.

Thus, consistent with other studies discussed to this point, Stephens and Townsend (1997), Stephens et al. (1997), and Martire et al. (1997) found that experiences in the parent care role have similar effects on well-being as do experiences in other roles (i.e., parent, spouse, employee).

Multiple Family Role Quality. Few studies have focused solely on multiple family roles, as compared to multiple family and work roles. Most likely this is because, as Barnett and Baruch (1987) have noted, interest in multiple roles really blossomed when women began to take on the employee role in addition to their previously held family roles. However, given the present study's concern with dual family caregiving roles, these studies focusing just on multiple family roles may help, as well, to inform the present research.

For example, Franks and Stephens (1992) cross-sectionally examined the relationship between role-specific stressors and well-being (i.e., physical health, positive affect, and negative affect), using data from 106 women who occupied the roles of mother, wife, and caregiver to a dependent older family member. Findings

were as follows: child care role stressors and spouse role stressors were negative predictors of physical health; stressors in the role of caregiver to an older family member were negative predictors of positive affect and positive predictors of negative affect; and child care role stressors were significant negative predictors of positive affect and positive predictors of negative affect.

Extending Franks and Stephens (1992) research, Stephens et al. (1994) used cross-sectional data from a sample of 95 women occupying roles as mother, wife, and primary caregiver to an impaired parent or parent-in-law to examine how the quality of role experiences (i.e., stressors and rewards) contributed to four indices of well-being (i.e., physical health, positive and negative affect, and role overload). They found that role stressors were related to poorer well-being and role rewards were related to better well-being. Specifically, physical health was negatively affected by child care role stress, as well as spouse role stress, but was positively affected by spouse role rewards. Role overload was positively affected by parent care role stress and child care role stress. Positive affect was negatively related to parent care role stress, as well as child care role stress, but was positively related to parent care role rewards, as well as child care role rewards. Finally, negative affect was positively related to child care role stress, but negatively related to child care role rewards.

Moreover, Stephens et al. (1994) also found that the accumulation of stress across roles was detrimental to women's well-being, and the accumulation of rewards across roles was beneficial to well-being. That is, women who experienced higher amounts of stress in the parent care role alone had better well-being (on all four indices) than women who experienced higher amounts of stress in all three roles. Also, women who experienced more rewards in all three roles had better

well-being (with regard to positive affect and role overload) than women who experienced more rewards in the parent care role alone, or the parent care role and one other role.

As was the case with the parent care role quality studies reviewed above, these multiple family role quality studies (Franks & Stephens, 1992, and Stephens et al., 1994) are consistent with previous studies reviewed in that they found role stressors to be related to "negative" outcomes and role rewards to be related to "positive" outcomes.

Family Role Quality and Work-Related Outcomes. Very few studies have examined the interplay of the quality of one or more family roles and any sort of work-related outcome. One such study, conducted by Bokemeier and Maurer (1987), investigated the relationship between labor force participation and marital quality among 770 farming and nonfarming married rural couples. The findings, using cross-sectional data, indicated that marital quality was unrelated to respondents' labor force participation. This finding differs from those of a longitudinal study examining marital quality that was conducted by Rogers (1999). Using data from a sample of 771 married men and women living throughout the U.S., she found that marital concerns (measured via the combined score on a 12-item marital instability scale, a 14-item relationship problems scale, and a marital conflict scale) were positively related to increases in wives' income. Furthermore, for wives who were initially unemployed, greater perceived marital concerns were associated with a significant increase in the odds that these wives would eventually enter the labor force. In an earlier study, Rogers (1996) used data from interviews with 1,530 married mothers to examine the relationship between marital role quality (measured via a three-item marital happiness scale and a nine-item marital conflict scale) and

mothers' work hours. She found a negative association between women's marital happiness and full-time employment for mother-stepfather families, but found no such significant relationship for continuously married families.

Given that these are the only studies that have actually examined the main topic of concern in the present study (i.e., using a role quality framework to examine the effects of family role stressors and rewards on work outcomes), it is unfortunate that more information can not be gleaned from them. Of significance, however, is the fact that the cross-sectional findings of Bokemeier and Maurer (1987) were not consistent with the longitudinal findings of Rogers (1999). This result only serves to reinforce the importance of the present study, which uses longitudinal data, as urged by Barnett (1998).

Summary of Findings

The overall findings from the research reviewed above can be summarized as follows: (1) although role quality has been operationalized in a variety of ways, the use of separate scores for role rewards and for role concerns has provided insights about main effects and interaction effects that are not as readily captured using a rewards less stressors score or a rewards plus inverse stressors combined score (e.g., Aneshensel et al., 1991; Barnett et al., 1992b; Barnett & Marshall, 1991; Barnett & Marshall, 1992; Barnett & Marshall, 1993; Bromet et al., 1988); (2) rewards and stressors in many different roles have been found to be related to a wide variety of outcomes (e.g., Barnett et al., 1991; Barnett et al., 1992b; Barnett & Marshall, 1992; Barnett & Marshall, 1993; Bokemeier & Maurer, 1987; Bromet et al., 1988; Martire et al., 1997; Rogers, 1999); (3) role stressors tend to be associated with "negative" outcomes, whereas role rewards tend to be associated with "positive" outcomes (e.g., Barnett et al., 1992b; Barnett & Marshall, 1991; Barnett & Marshall, 1992;

Barnett & Marshall, 1993; Bromet et al., 1988); (4) stressors and rewards in different roles interact to modify relationships between other stressors/rewards and a number of different outcomes (e.g., Barnett et al., 1991; Barnett & Marshall, 1991); (5) stressors and rewards within the same role interact to modify relationships with outcomes (e.g., Bromet et al., 1988; Barnett & Marshall, 1991); (6) results from longitudinal studies are not always consistent with results of cross-sectional studies (e.g., Bokemeier and Maurer, 1987, vs. Rogers, 1999); (7) only a very few marital role quality studies (e.g., Rogers, 1996; Rogers, 1999), and no multiple family role quality studies, have examined the effects of family role stressors and rewards on work outcomes; and (8) relationships between role experiences and outcomes are sometimes different for men and women (e.g., Barnett, 1994, vs. Barnett et al., 1992b; O'Neil & Greenberger, 1994; Voydanoff & Donnelly, 1999).

More discussion of this latter point, regarding gender differences, is required. It is apparent from the literature reviewed that men's and women's experiences in roles may result in different outcomes. Moreover, there is ample evidence from other research into work and family that women and men differ with regard to various predictors (e.g., work-family conflict) and at least one of the outcomes of interest here, specifically absenteeism. As an example, Hammer et al. (1999b) examined the effect of work-family conflict on absenteeism among dual-earner couples with parent care and child care responsibilities. For wives in the study, family-to-work conflict was found to have a positive relationship with absenteeism due to responsibilities for parents. However, the only significant predictor of absenteeism stemming from parent care obligations for the husbands in the study was the demographic control variable, years of education, in that men with more years of education reported more absenteeism due to responsibilities for parent care.

Regarding absenteeism due to responsibilities for children, family-to-work conflict again was a significant predictor for wives, but for husbands, the only significant predictors were the demographic control variables of years of education and age of youngest child.

Findings such as these also speak to potential gender differences in the relationships between predictors and the outcomes of intention to quit and work performance, since it has been shown that higher levels of absenteeism are linked to higher rates of voluntary turnover (Mitra, Jenkins, & Gupta, 1992) and to lower job performance ratings (McElroy, Morrow, & Fenton, 1995). Moreover, if notions such as identity theory (Barnett & Baruch, 1987) are to be believed, gender differences in the pattern of predictors of work-related outcomes should be expected. Identity theory contends that, from an early age, boys and girls are socialized to identify differently with family and work roles, such that females are socialized to view family roles as primary, whereas males are socialized to view work roles as primary (Barnett & Baruch, 1987). Thus, for example, even though men's and women's family roles have changed somewhat with the advent of the dual-earner couple, identity theory would lead one to believe that men with negative experiences in a caregiving (i.e., family) role would be less likely than women to consider quitting their jobs, since their identity is more closely tied to the job. In this vein, Levant (2001) has noted that while there have been changes over the past 30 years in the way women view their gender roles as they have shifted from sole emphasis on family to juggling work and family, men have not had equivalent changes, but rather continue to define their role by emphasizing work. Friedman and Greenhaus (2000) have reached a similar conclusion, noting that gender roles have changed at different rates for men and women, such that most women have drastically increased their

participation in the work domain, yet most men have not had a concomitant increase in their participation in the family domain.

Based on the findings and information presented heretofore then, there is reason to expect differences in the relationships between role quality and work outcomes for men and women. However, it is difficult to speculate about what those differences may be, given that no consistent pattern emerged in the differences found between men and women in the previous studies that were reviewed (e.g., O'Neil and Greenberger, 1994; Voydanoff & Donnelly, 1999). The strongest statement that can be made is that of Aneshensel et al. (1991), who concluded that men and women are both affected by events, circumstances, etc. in their lives, but the effects of those circumstances are often manifested in markedly different ways.

Hypotheses

Given all of the above and the fact that this is the first study to examine the relationships between family role quality and the work outcomes of absenteeism, work performance, and intention to quit, the following general hypothesis is proposed:

Hypothesis 1: There will be a difference in the pattern of role quality predictors for men and women for the outcomes of absenteeism, work performance, and intention to quit.

Based on the above, and the fact that the data are dyadic and include separate measures of individual outcomes for husbands and wives, the following remaining hypotheses will be tested separately for women and for men. Because there are so few studies concerning the effects of family role quality on work outcomes that can be used to formulate hypotheses, these hypotheses follow the general findings that role rewards are associated with "positive" outcomes, while role stressors are

associated with "negative" outcomes (in the workplace). These hypotheses will be tested in longitudinal analyses, using role quality measures from Time 1 and outcomes at Time 2. Figure 1 presents a model of the following six hypotheses:

Hypothesis 2: Parent care role quality will be related to absenteeism, such that: (a) as parent care role rewards increase, absenteeism decreases; and (b) as parent care role stressors increase, absenteeism increases.

Hypothesis 3: Child care role quality will be related to absenteeism, such that: (a) as child care role rewards increase, absenteeism decreases; and (b) as child care role stressors increase, absenteeism increases.

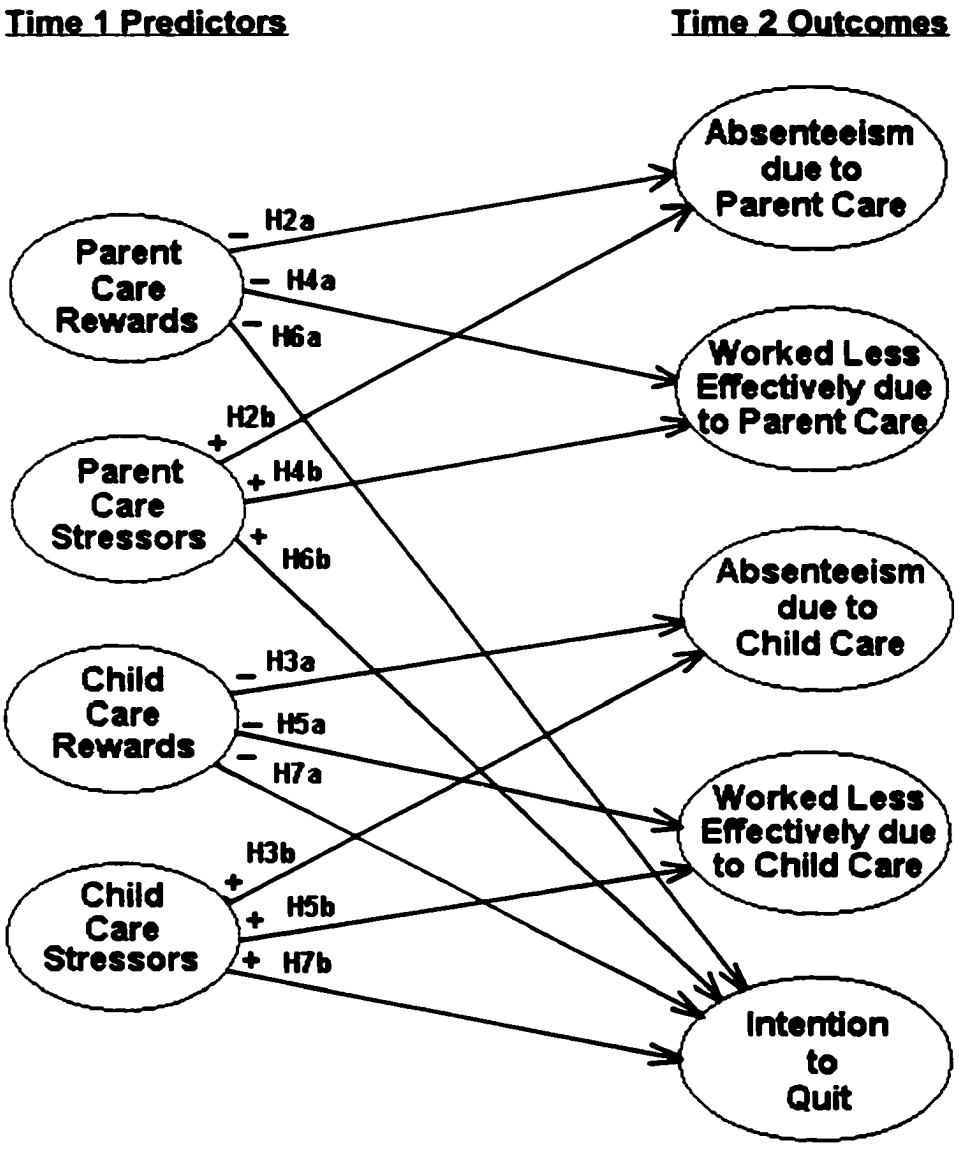
Hypothesis 4: Parent care role quality will be related to work performance, such that: (a) as parent care role rewards increase, work performance improves; and (b) as parent care role stressors increase, work performance worsens.

Hypothesis 5: Child care role quality will be related to work performance, such that: (a) as child care role rewards increase, work performance improves; and (b) as child care role stressors increase, work performance worsens.

Hypothesis 6: Parent care role quality will be related to intention to quit, such that: (a) as parent care role rewards increase, intention to quit decreases; and (b) as parent care role stressors increase, intention to quit increases.

Hypothesis 7: Child care role quality will be related to intention to quit, such that: (a) as child care role rewards increase, intention to quit decreases; and (b) as child care role stressors increase, intention to quit increases.

Figure 1. Hypothesized Relationships among Family Caregiving Role Rewards and Stressors and Work Outcomes.




**Controls:**

**Respective T1 Work Outcome**
**Years of Education**
**Negative Affectivity**
**Gross Annual Household Income**
**Perceived Income Adequacy**

An additional set of hypotheses also is proposed since it has been amply shown that stressors in one role can exacerbate the effects of stressors in another role, rewards in one role can exacerbate the effects of rewards in another role, and rewards in one role can buffer the effects of stressors within the same role or in another role (e.g., Barnett & Marshall, 1991; Barnett et al., 1991; Stephens et al., 1994; Stephens & Townsend, 1997; Voydanoff & Donnelly, 1999). Thus, the following hypotheses concern interactions among the various role rewards and stressors in the present study. These moderator effects for Time 2 outcomes will be tested using interaction terms created from Time 1 role quality measures. The hypotheses, which concern buffering effects, are depicted in general terms in Figure 2 and are as follows:

Hypotheses 2c: The effect of parent care role stressors on absenteeism will be buffered by parent care role rewards. That is, increased parent care role stressors will be associated with increased absenteeism at low levels of rewards in the parent care role, but not at high levels of rewards in the parent care role.

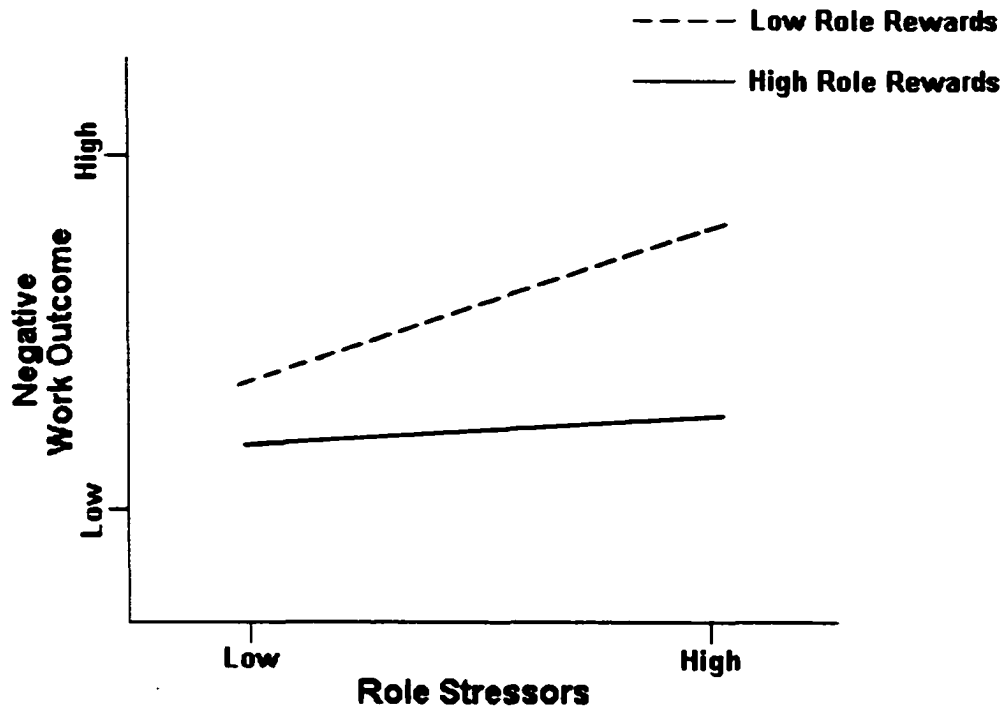
Hypothesis 3c: The effect of child care role stressors on absenteeism will be buffered by child care role rewards. That is, increased child care role stressors will be associated with increased absenteeism at low levels of rewards in the child care role, but not at high levels of rewards in the child care role.

Hypotheses 4c: The effect of parent care role stressors on work performance will be buffered by parent care role rewards. That is, increased parent care role stressors will be associated with poorer work performance at low levels of rewards in the parent care role, but not at high levels of rewards in the parent care role.

Hypothesis 5c: The effect of child care role stressors on work performance will be buffered by child care role rewards. That is, increased child care role

stressors will be associated with poorer work performance at low levels of rewards in the child care role, but not at high levels of rewards in the child care role.

Figure 2. Example of Hypotheses involving a Buffering Effect Interaction between Role Rewards and Role Stressors.




As detailed in the next chapter, the measures selected for absenteeism and work performance were assessed in a role specific way. That is, respondents were asked about absenteeism due to parent care responsibilities, absenteeism due to child care responsibilities, working less effectively due to concern for parents, and working less effectively due to concern for children. Thus, the hypotheses related to each of these outcomes involved only the respective role stressors and rewards. This was not the case for the intention to quit measure, however. Therefore, the interaction of the parent care and child care role quality can be examined with

respect to intention to quit. Accordingly, additional hypotheses concerning this work outcome are offered below:

Hypotheses 6c: The effect of parent care role stressors on intention to quit will be buffered by parent care role rewards. That is, increased parent care role stressors will be associated with increased intention to quit at low levels of rewards in the parent care role, but not at high levels of rewards in the parent care role. (Refer to Figure 2 for a general depiction of this hypothesis.)

Hypothesis 6d: The effect of parent care role stressors on intention to quit will be buffered by child care role rewards. That is, increased parent care role stressors will be associated with increased intention to quit at low levels of rewards in the child care role, but not at high levels of rewards in the child care role. (Refer to Figure 2 for a general depiction of this hypothesis.)

Hypothesis 6e: The effect of parent care role rewards on intention to quit will be exacerbated by child care role rewards. That is, increased parent care role rewards will be associated with decreased intention to quit at high levels of rewards in the child care role, but not at low levels of rewards in the child care role. (Refer to Figure 3 for a depiction of this hypothesis.)

Hypothesis 7c: The effect of child care role stressors on intention to quit will be buffered by child care role rewards. That is, increased child care role stressors will be associated with increased intention to quit at low levels of rewards in the child care role, but not at high levels of rewards in the child care role. (Refer to Figure 2 for a general depiction of this hypothesis.)

Hypothesis 7d: The effect of child care role stressors on intention to quit will be buffered by parent care role rewards. That is, increased child care role stressors will be associated with increased intention to quit at low levels of rewards in the

parent care role, but not at high levels of rewards in the parent care role. (Refer to Figure 2 for a general depiction of this hypothesis.)

Hypothesis 7e: The effect of child care role stressors on intention to quit will be exacerbated by parent care role stressors. That is, increased child care role stressors will be associated with increased intention to quit at high levels of stressors in the parent care role, but not at low levels of stressors in the parent care role. (Refer to Figure 4 for a depiction of this hypothesis.)

Figure 3. Hypothesis 6e - Exacerbating Effect Interaction between Rewards in Two Roles.

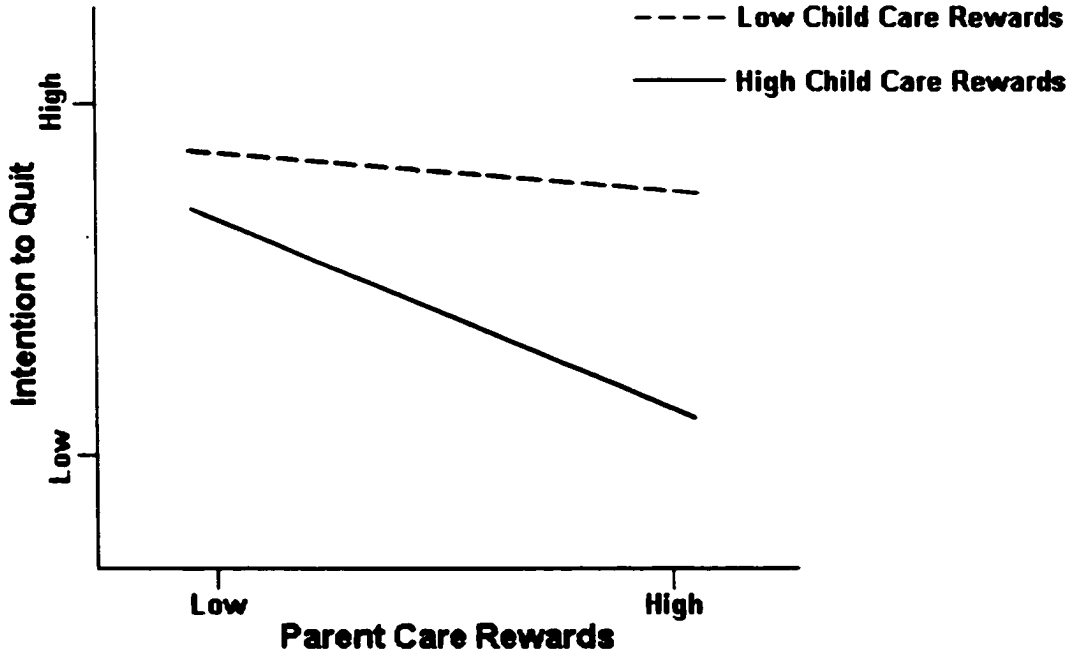
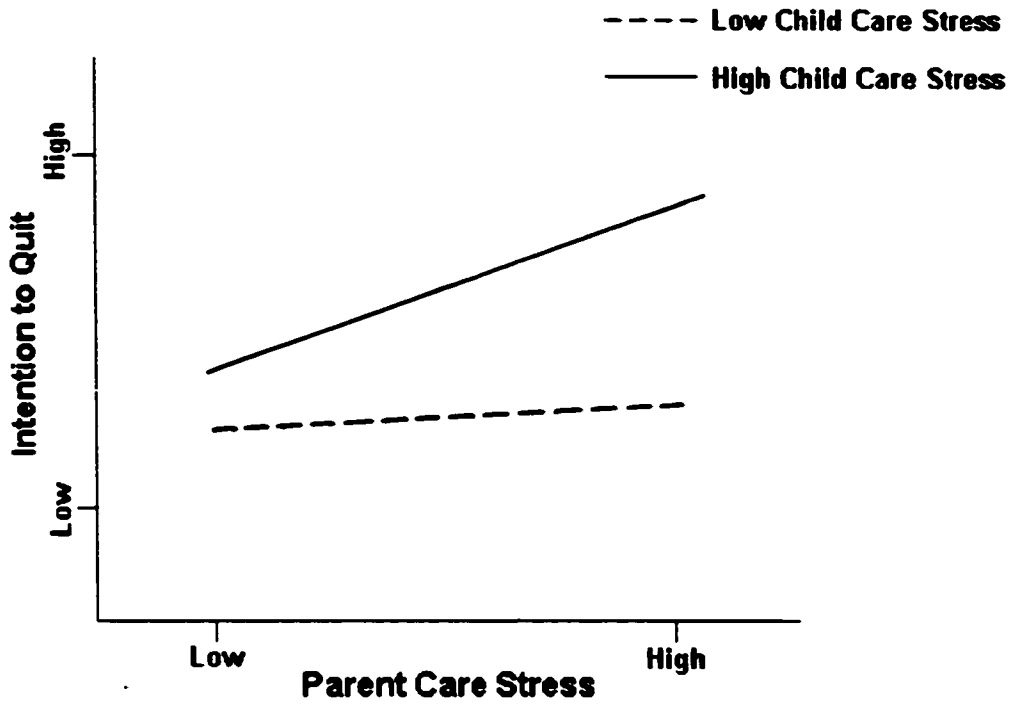


Figure 4. Hypothesis 7e - Exacerbating Effect Interaction between Stressors in Two Roles.



# CHAPTER IV

# METHOD

## Participants

This study was completed as part of a larger longitudinal research project on work and family issues faced by dual-earner couples in the "sandwiched generation." In the first phase of this larger study, focus groups of working, sandwiched-generation couples were conducted in the Portland metropolitan area in the summer of 1997. These groups were convened for two purposes: (a) to test a variety of study recruitment methods; and (b) to aid in the development of items for a mailed survey instrument. The three recruitment strategies tested included two methods of screening via telephone and advertising in local newspapers. The two telephone screening methods included random-digit dialing and use of a targeted list of households. Of the three strategies, the one that proved most effective, from both a cost and yield perspective, was telephone screening using a targeted list of households.

Specific criteria for selection, for both the focus groups and the mailed survey, were: (1) the couple had been married or living together for at least one year; (2) one person in the couple worked at least 35 hours per week and the other worked at least 20 hours per week; (3) one or more children aged 18 or under lived in the home at least three days per week; and (4) together the couple spent at least three hours per week caring for a frail or disabled parent/parent-in-law. The type of assistance provided to parents could encompass a wide array of activities, including transportation, shopping, hands-on care, assistance with finances, home maintenance, emotional support, etc. The fifth and final criterion for inclusion in the study was that the couple have a combined household income of at least $40,000.

The final criterion was established to meet the specific requirement of the project's funding source, the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. The couples who participated in the study had a wide range of incomes (self-reported from $30,000 to $600,000) and a wide range of responses on other variables such as those concerning perceived income adequacy, financial assistance provided to parents, and income spent on caregiving expenses for parents.

Participants from across the continental United States were recruited during the winter and spring of 1998 via telephone screening conducted by trained interviewers using a computer-assisted telephone interviewing system (CATI). The sampling frame consisted of a purchased list of telephone numbers within the continental United States. The list was derived from a larger list of household telephone numbers stratified by age of adults within the household. The numbers were randomly selected within the age stratum of 30 to 60 years of age. It should be noted here that targeted lists such as the one used in this study are derived from a variety of public databases and marketing surveys and do not contain unlisted phone numbers. Thus, households with unlisted phone numbers were not represented in the sample.

The telephone numbers on the list were called until someone answered or until they had been tried a minimum of ten times each at various times during the week and weekend. Each completed screening interview took approximately three minutes. If a respondent's answers to the screening questions indicated that his or her household met the study criteria (except income), that respondent was asked if s/he and her/his spouse or partner would each be willing to complete a survey to be sent by mail. In exchange, as a token of appreciation, couples returning both of their surveys would receive $40. If the respondent expressed willingness on the part of

the couple to participate or to consider participating, the names and address of both members of the couple were obtained, and surveys were mailed.

A total of 33,037 phone calls were made to 8,787 telephone numbers. Screening interviews were completed with 5,565 households (63.3%). Another 1,997 households were reached but refused to complete the screening interview (22.7%). Interviews could not be completed with 104 households (1.2%) due to a language barrier or hearing or speech impairment. The remaining telephone numbers were persistently unavailable (e.g., always busy, always answered by answering machine) ($n$ = 602, or 6.9%), belonged to business or group quarters ($n$ = 156, or 1.8%), or were non-working numbers ($n$ = 363, or 4.1%). This sampling procedure resulted in a sample that was national in scope, although by using a targeted list of telephone numbers, it should be noted that some members of the population were not represented (e.g., people with unlisted numbers).

Through the telephone screening interviews, 741 couples were identified as meeting the screening criteria. These households represented 8.97% of the 8,268 apparently working, non-business numbers, or 13.3% of the 5,565 households with whom screening interviews were completed. Of the 741 couples, 96 (12.3%) respondents reported household incomes below $40,000 and 35 (4.7%) refused to say whether their income was below, at, or above $40,000. Packages were mailed to 624 couples who stated that they were willing to participate or to consider participating in the study. Each package contained two copies of a cover letter, two surveys (described more fully below), and two postage-paid envelopes. Of the 624 couples, 360 returned surveys, for a response rate of 57.7%. Of the 360 couples, 22 (6.1%) no longer met the study criteria. Of the 338 couples, 309 ($N$ = 618

individuals) met the income criterion and were included in the first wave of the study.

Procedure

Most surveys in the first wave of the study were mailed between January and March of 1998, with second and third follow-up mailings being sent as late as July. Surveys from this first wave were returned between February and July, although most were returned in March. After surveys were received from both members of a couple, the appreciation check of $40 was mailed to the couple.

In order to examine changes over time, a second wave of surveys was mailed one year later, in April 1999, to the 309 couples who had participated in Wave 1. Four weeks after this mailing, follow-up telephone calls were placed to those couples who had not yet returned their surveys in order to emphasize the importance of participation. Both members of 234 couples (76.6%) returned surveys in the second wave of the study. Again, an appreciation check of $40 was mailed to each couple once both members' surveys were received.

Measures

The two mailed survey instruments were designed to assess, via self-reporting, a number of work and family variables, including sociodemographic information, role rewards and stressors, absenteeism, intention to quit a job, and work performance. The measures of these variables were adapted from previous studies, as shown below. Means, standard deviations, and reliabilities for measures used in the present study are reported in Tables 1 and 2 for women and men, respectively. Reliabilities are based on Wave 1 data.

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliabilities for All Study Variables for Women

| Variable | N | Mean | Std. Dev. | Alpha |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wave 1 PC Stressors Summary Score | 233 | 12.29 | 7.75 | .83 |
| Wave 1 PC Rewards Summary Score | 233 | 24.47 | 7.27 | .91 |
| Wave 1 CC Stressors Summary Score | 234 | 23.83 | 7.43 | .85 |
| Wave 1 CC Rewards Summary Score | 234 | 29.00 | 3.67 | .88 |
| Wave 1 PC Absenteeism | 219 | 5.06 | 7.53 | |
| Wave 2 PC Absenteeism | 215 | 5.21 | 9.92 | |
| Wave 1 CC Absenteeism | 230 | 13.69 | 13.87 | |
| Wave 2 CC Absenteeism | 224 | 12.16 | 13.42 | |
| Wave 1 PC Work Performance | 231 | 2.26 | .99 | |
| Wave 2 PC Work Performance | 222 | 2.14 | 1.15 | |
| Wave 1 CC Work Performance | 232 | 2.41 | .93 | |
| Wave 2 CC Work Performance | 215 | 2.46 | .95 | |
| Wave 1 Intention to Quit | 233 | 2.11 | 1.13 | |
| Wave 2 Intention to Quit | 224 | 1.91 | 1.22 | |
| Wave 1 Negative Affectivity | 233 | 2.78 | .75 | |
| Wave 1 Years of Education | 234 | 15.26 | 2.68 | |
| Wave 1 HH Income Adequacy | 232 | 2.69 | .77 | |
| Wave 1 Gross Annual HH Income | 225 | 67531 | 25136 | |

Notes. PC refers to Parent Care; CC refers to Child Care; HH refers to household.

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliabilities for All Study Variables for Men

| Variable | N | Mean | Std. Dev. | Alpha |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wave 1 PC Stressors Summary Score | 233 | 10.08 | 7.85 | .89 |
| Wave 1 PC Rewards Summary Score | 232 | 22.30 | 7.88 | .91 |
| Wave 1 CC Stressors Summary Score | 234 | 21.86 | 7.07 | .85 |
| Wave 1 CC Rewards Summary Score | 234 | 28.47 | 4.23 | .92 |
| Wave 1 PC Absenteeism | 214 | 2.64 | 5.35 | |
| Wave 2 PC Absenteeism | 214 | 2.60 | 6.00 | |
| Wave 1 CC Absenteeism | 231 | 7.78 | 10.63 | |
| Wave 2 CC Absenteeism | 222 | 8.87 | 11.98 | |
| Wave 1 PC Work Performance | 233 | 1.84 | .85 | |
| Wave 2 PC Work Performance | 225 | 1.78 | .98 | |
| Wave 1 CC Work Performance | 232 | 2.00 | .85 | |
| Wave 2 CC Work Performance | 218 | 2.07 | .87 | |
| Wave 1 Intention to Quit | 234 | 2.17 | 1.21 | |
| Wave 2 Intention to Quit | 225 | 2.06 | 1.36 | |
| Wave 1 Negative Affectivity | 232 | 2.51 | .70 | |
| Wave 1 Years of Education | 234 | 14.73 | 2.76 | |
| Wave 1 HH Income Adequacy | 234 | 2.79 | .70 | |
| Wave 1 Gross Annual HH Income | 226 | 69667 | 28677 | |

Notes. PC refers to Parent Care; CC refers to Child Care; HH refers to household.

Sociodemographic and Control Variables. Based on the studies discussed above, a number of variables were included as controls. These variables also were found to be significantly correlated with at least one of the outcomes of interest. The variables included negative affectivity (Stephens & Townsend, 1997), gross household income (Barnett & Baruch, 1985; Barnett & Marshall, 1993; Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Stephens & Townsend, 1997), and years of education (Barnett & Baruch, 1985; Barnett & Marshall, 1993; Baruch & Barnett, 1986). Perceived household income adequacy and the Time 1 work outcome of interest also were included as controls due to their correlation with the Time 2 work outcomes.

Negative affectivity was assessed using seven items from the OMNI Personality Survey developed by John (1989). Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement, on a five-point scale from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree, with such items as, "I see myself as someone who is depressed, blue." Positively-worded items were reverse coded so a higher score indicated a stronger negative affect. The internal consistency of this measure was .77 for both women and men.

Perceived income adequacy was measured via an item adapted from Stewart and Archbold (1996) that assessed respondents' perceptions of the adequacy of the couple's household income (i.e., on a scale from 1 = "we can't make ends meet" to 4 = "we always have money left over").

Parent Care Rewards and Stressors. The measures of parent care rewards and stressors were adapted from Stephens and Townsend (1997) and consisted of two scales (eight items and 10 items respectively), with responses coded such that 1 = not at all rewarding (stressful) and 4 = very rewarding (stressful). (See Appendices A and B.) For example, respondents were asked to indicate how rewarding "doing

things to help this parent" had been or how stressful "this parent's criticisms or complaints" had been in the past month. Responses to the items for each scale were then summed. Higher scores indicate higher levels of perceived rewards/stress. The internal consistency reliabilities were .91 for both men and women for the rewards measure and .83 for women and .89 for men for the stressors measure. The separate measures of rewards and concerns were used in this study based on the literature review, which indicated that valuable information can be gained by examining separately the effects of these component parts of role quality (Aneshensel et al., 1991; Barnett & Marshall, 1991; Barnett & Marshall, 1993).

Child Care Rewards and Stressors. The measures of child care rewards and stressors were adapted from Stephens and Townsend (1997) and consisted of two scales (eight items and 13 items respectively), with responses coded such that 1 = not at all rewarding (stressful) and 4 = very rewarding (stressful). (See Appendices C and D.) For example, respondents were asked to indicate how rewarding "doing things to help your child(ren)" had been or how stressful "your child(ren)'s conflicts with others (including siblings)" had been in the past month. Responses to the items for each scale were then summed. Higher scores indicate higher levels of perceived rewards/stress. The internal consistency reliabilities were .88 for women and .92 for men for the rewards measure and .85 for both women and men for the stressors measure.

Absenteeism. Absenteeism can be thought of as one of several behaviors that minimizes a person's time in his/her work role (Hanisch & Hulin, 1991). Other such behaviors include being late and making personal phone calls at work. All of these behaviors taken together can be thought of as absenteeism and are sometimes referred to as physical work withdrawal (Hanisch & Hulin, 1991). To assess these

types of absenteeism due to parent care/child care responsibilities, four items per type of caregiving role were used. Specifically, respondents were asked, "Because of your responsibilities for children [or parents], in the past month, how many times have you had to, or chosen to: (a) miss a day's work; (b) arrive late at work; (c) leave work early; and (d) spend time at work on the telephone." (See Appendix E.) These items were adapted from a measure of work withdrawal behaviors developed by Neal et al. (1993) and are quite similar to the work withdrawal items used by MacEwen and Barling (1994). As in MacEwen and Barling (1994), the four work absenteeism indicators associated with each caregiving role were combined and weighted to form one overall measure of absenteeism. Specifically, the number of times the respondent missed a day of work was weighted by a factor of three; the number of times the respondent arrived late to work was weighted by a factor of two; the number of times the respondent left work early was weighted by a factor of two; and the number of times the respondent spent time at work on the telephone was weighted by a factor of one.

Work Performance. This was assessed using two items (one per caregiving role) which asked respondents to indicate to what extent their work performance was negatively affected by their caregiving responsibilities, first for children and then for parents: "In the past month, how often have you worked less effectively because you were concerned or upset about your parent(s) [child(ren)]?" (1 = never, 5 = most or all of the time). (See Appendix F.) This item was adapted from Neal et al. (1993).

Intention to Quit. Intention to quit/look for a new job was assessed using a single item which asked respondents to indicate their level of agreement, on a five-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree), with the statement,

"I will probably look for a new job in the next year." (See Appendix G.) This item was adapted from Cammann, Fichman, and Klesch (1979), as cited in Cook, Hepworth, Wall, and Warr (1981).

Analyses

Several sets of analyses were conducted. Specifically, these included diagnostic tests, descriptive statistics, attrition analyses, and finally, hierarchical multiple regression to test the hypotheses of the study.

Diagnostic Tests. Several diagnostic analyses were conducted to detect clerical errors, examine suspect data, and detect violations of the assumptions of multiple regression analysis, which was used to test the hypotheses in the study. To begin, missing data were examined in accordance with Tabachnick and Fidell (1999) to ensure that they were missing in a random pattern for variables used in analyses. Specifically, for each variable in the study, a dummy variable was created of cases with missing values and nonmissing values, and then a test of mean differences on the other study variables was conducted to determine if "missingness" was related to any of these other variables. Results indicated no significant relationships between missing data on any one study variable and any of the other study variables.

An examination was conducted for univariate outliers by looking at z-scores for each study variable, as recommended by Tabachnick and Fidell (1999). This examination indicated no extreme standardized scores given the size of the sample. Moreover, although there are no assumptions about the distribution of predictors in multiple regression analysis, leverage and Mahalanobis distance were examined in accordance with Darlington (1990), as well as Tabachnick and Fidell (1999), in order to check for data entry errors. The data for cases with high leverage or

Mahalanobis distance values were examined against respondents' questionnaires to ensure that the data were accurate. No data entry errors were found.

Standardized residuals were examined in accordance with Tabachnick and Fidell (1999) in order to find any outliers in the solution for each regression analysis. No cases were identified that exceeded the suggested cut-off value of $\pm$ 3.3. Studentized (t) residuals and Studentized deleted residuals also were examined for each regression to identify outliers on the dependent variable. For each case that indicated an outlier, the data from the respondent's questionnaire were checked to ensure that they were correctly entered into the database. All entries were confirmed as accurate. Regarding the overall number of residuals for each regression analysis, Darlington (1990) notes that if standard regression assumptions hold, one can expect 5% of the t residuals to be significant at the .05 level, no matter how large the sample. In that regard, he advocates for a test of the standard assumptions of regression (i.e., linearity, homoscedasticity, normality, and random sampling), in which the number of t residuals significant beyond the .05 level is counted and the binomial distribution is used to test whether that number is greater than what would have been expected by chance. This test was applied for each of the regression analyses. Results indicated that for each analysis the number of t residuals significant beyond the .05 level did not exceed the number that would have been expected by chance, thus indicating no assumptions were violated. Additionally, in accordance with Tabachnick and Fidell (1999), residuals scatterplots for each of the regression analyses also were examined to ensure normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity.

Cook's distance, as well as Standardized DFFits and DFBetas, also were examined for all regression analyses to identify cases with influence on the

regression equation (Darlington, 1990; Tabachnick & Fidell, 1999). No influential cases were found. Multicollinearity statistics, i.e., Tolerance and Variance Inflation Factor (VIF), also were examined in accordance with Tabachnick and Fidell (1999) and were found to be within acceptable limits.

Descriptive Statistics. Descriptive statistics were computed and t-tests were conducted to determine differences between women and men. At Wave 1, women had a mean age of 41.8, while men averaged 44 years of age ($t$ (232) = -9.43, $p$ < .001). Women had an average education level of 15.26 years, while men averaged 14.73 years ($t$ (234) = 3.05, $p$ < .01). Participants were primarily Caucasian (94% of women and 95% of men). Women and men each reported an average of 1.8 children under 18 years of age living at home. The average age of the youngest child was 10.7 years of age. Women spent an average of 9.6 hours per week taking care of elderly or disabled parents, while men averaged 7.2 hours per week ($t$ (214) = 3.12, $p$ < .01). Regarding the parent to whom they provided the most help, women reported that they had been helping this parent for almost 8 years, while men reported that they had been helping for just over 8.5 years (no significant difference). On average, women and men reported that this parent was in fair health (i.e., both averaged 3.3 on a scale from 1 (extremely poor) to 6 (excellent)). Women worked an average of 37.7 hours per week, whereas men averaged 49 hours per week ($t$ (233) = -11.91, $p$ < .001). Women's and men's reports of their gross household income did not differ significantly. The average annual household income reported by women was $67,793 (median = $60,000), compared to men's average reported annual household income of $69,930 (median = $60,500). When respondents were asked about their perceptions of the adequacy of their incomes, however, women had a poorer perception, reporting an average of 2.7 (on a scale

from 1 (can't make ends meet) to 4 (always have money left over)) compared to men's reported average of 2.8 ($t$ (232) = -1.97, $p$ = .05).

One year later the second wave of data was collected, and at that time women and men each reported an average of 1.7 children under 18 years of age living at home. Respondents reported that they spent less time, as compared to Wave 1, caring for elderly or disabled parents, with women spending an average of 8.6 hours per week and men averaging 5.5 hours per week. Women continued to work an average of 38 hours per week, and men continued to average 49 hours per week. At Wave 2, women and men both reported higher incomes. The average annual household income reported by women was $74,448 (median = $68,000), while men reported an average annual household income of $74,130 (median = $65,000). Women and men also had improved perceptions of their ability to get along on their income with women reporting an average of 2.8 and men reporting an average of 2.9.

Paired sample $t$-tests (see Table 3) indicated that women had a significantly higher mean than men for Wave 1 parent care stressors (12.21 vs. 10.09, $t$ (231) = 3.61, $p < .001$), Wave 1 parent care rewards (24.51 vs. 22.29, $t$ (230) = 3.83, $p <$ .001), and Wave 1 child care stressors (23.83 vs. 21.86, $t$ (233) = 4.29, $p < .001$). There was no significant difference between men and women on their Wave 1 child care rewards scores, however. There were also significant differences at Wave 2 between women and men with regard to their mean absences due to parent care (5.43 vs. 2.63, $t$ (196) = 3.70, $p < .001$) and due to child care (12.43 vs. 8.88, $t$ (211) = 3.24, $p < .001$). Women also had a significantly higher mean at Wave 2 with regard to how often they had worked less effectively in the past month because they were concerned or upset about their parents (2.16 vs. 1.78, $t$ (213) = 4.43, $p < .001$)

Table 3

Paired Comparison of Men and Women on Selected Study Variables

| Scale/Item | Women Mean | Women SD | Men Mean | Men SD | n | t | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wave 1 PC Stress Score | 12.21 | 7.66 | 10.09 | 7.86 | 232 | 3.61 | .000 |
| Wave 1 PC Rewards Score | 24.51 | 7.25 | 22.29 | 7.89 | 231 | 3.83 | .000 |
| Wave 1 CC Stress Score | 23.83 | 7.43 | 21.86 | 7.07 | 234 | 4.29 | .000 |
| Wave 1 CC Rewards Score | 29.00 | 3.67 | 28.46 | 4.22 | 234 | 1.58 | .116 |
| Wave 1 PC Absenteeism | 5.08 | 7.48 | 2.72 | 5.48 | 201 | 3.71 | .000 |
| Wave 2 PC Absenteeism | 5.43 | 10.26 | 2.63 | 6.10 | 197 | 3.70 | .000 |
| Wave 1 CC Absenteeism | 13.81 | 13.87 | 7.85 | 10.68 | 228 | 5.96 | .000 |
| Wave 2 CC Absenteeism | 12.43 | 13.56 | 8.88 | 12.07 | 212 | 3.24 | .001 |
| Wave 1 PC Wk Performance | 2.26 | .99 | 1.84 | .85 | 230 | 4.90 | .000 |
| Wave 2 PC Wk Performance | 2.16 | 1.14 | 1.78 | .98 | 214 | 4.43 | .000 |
| Wave 1 CC Wk Performance | 2.42 | .93 | 2.00 | .85 | 230 | 6.15 | .000 |
| Wave 2 CC Wk Performance | 2.46 | .95 | 2.09 | .88 | 204 | 5.11 | .000 |
| Wave 1 Intention to Quit | 2.11 | 1.13 | 2.17 | 1.21 | 233 | -.58 | .562 |
| Wave 2 Intention to Quit | 1.92 | 1.23 | 2.07 | 1.37 | 215 | -1.27 | .204 |
| Wave 1 Negative Affectivity | 2.77 | .75 | 2.52 | .70 | 231 | 3.81 | .000 |
| Wave 1 Years of Education | 15.26 | 2.69 | 14.73 | 2.76 | 234 | 3.05 | .003 |
| Wave 1 HH Inc. Adequacy | 2.69 | .77 | 2.79 | .70 | 232 | -1.97 | .050 |
| Wave 1 Annual HH Income | 67793 | 25305 | 69930 | 28990 | 220 | -1.64 | .102 |

Notes. PC refers to Parent Care; CC refers to Child Care; HH refers to household.

and because they were concerned or upset about their children (2.46 vs. 2.09, $t$ (203) = 5.11, $p < .001$). There was no significant difference between men and women with regard to their intention to quit their job.

Attrition Analyses. To determine if there were any differences between people who remained in the study at Wave 2 and those who did not, attrition analyses were run using Cook and Campbell's (1979) example of examining person-centered factors such as socioeconomic variables and situational variables, via Chi-Square tests and $t$-tests, as appropriate. A variety of factors were identified as having the potential to affect participants' continued participation during the longitudinal study. These factors included the participant's: race; education level; age; health; perceived income adequacy; and gross annual household income. The presence or absence of a special needs child, as well as the child's age or the age of the youngest child in the household, also were examined. Other factors included the participant's: perception of stress associated with assisting parents with activities of daily living; parent's health; level of absenteeism due to parent care responsibilities; level of absenteeism due to child care responsibilities; work performance problems associated with concern for parents; work performance problems associated with concern for children; intention to quit one's job; level of parent care rewards; level of parent care stressors; level of child care rewards; level of child care stressors; hours worked per week; life satisfaction; level of depression; negative affectivity; perceived difficulty in combining work and family; significant life events; and significant negative life events.

Significant differences emerged on the following variables only. Women who dropped out of the study in Wave 2 had a significantly lower education level than women who stayed in the study. There was no such relationship for men. Male

respondents who dropped out of the study, however, were significantly younger than male respondents who stayed in the study. Finally, compared to those men and women who stayed in the study, both male and female respondents who dropped out of the study were providing help to a parent who was in significantly poorer health. The implications of these results with regard to generalizability are discussed in more detail below in the limitations section of this paper.

Tests of Hypotheses. Hierarchical regression analyses were used to study the hypothesized relationships between Time 1 role quality (parent care and/or child care, depending on the outcome of interest), and the Time 2 work outcomes of: absenteeism due to responsibilities for parents; absenteeism due to responsibilities for children; working less effectively due to concern about parents; working less effectively due to concern about children; and intention to quit. All analyses were conducted separately for men and women. The study hypotheses were tested with five control variables entered in the first step of each equation. The control variables included: the respective Time 1 work outcome variable; Time 1 perceived household income adequacy; Time 1 gross annual household income; years of education at Time 1; and negative affectivity at Time 1.

In the second step of the equation predicting absenteeism due to parent care responsibilities and that predicting working less effectively due to concern for parents, Time 1 parent care stressors, parent care rewards, and their interaction were entered. Similarly, Time 1 child care stressors, child care rewards, and their interaction were entered in the second step of the equation predicting absenteeism due to child care responsibilities and the equation predicting working less effectively due to concern for children. Finally, in the second step of the equation predicting intention to quit, Time 1 parent care stressors, parent care rewards, child care

stressors, child care rewards, and their various combinations of intra-role and inter-role interaction terms were entered.

To reduce the potential for multicollinearity between an interaction term and its component parts, interaction terms were created with centered variables (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). For any interaction term that proved to be significant in the regression analyses, follow-up analyses were conducted to obtain the simple slopes, their regression coefficients, and their significance values (Aiken & West, 1991). These interactions then were plotted in order to better examine and understand the interaction.

Tables 4 and 5 present the correlation matrices of all study variables for women and for men. Each of the control variables (i.e., income adequacy, gross household income, years of education, negative affectivity, and the respective Time 1 work outcome) were significantly related to at least one of the outcomes of interest. The potential moderating variables (i.e., parent care stress, parent care rewards, child care stress, and child care rewards) were not highly correlated (.062 to -.226 for men and .004 to -.436 for women).

Table 4

Correlation Matrix of Study Variables for Women

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. PC Rewards | -- | | | | | | | | |
| 2. PC Stressors | -.239** | -- | | | | | | | |
| 3. CC Rewards | .085 | -.127 | -- | | | | | | |
| 4. CC Stressors | .004 | .108 | -.436** | -- | | | | | |
| 5. W1 PC Absent. | .029 | .177** | -.134* | .045 | -- | | | | |
| 6. W2 PC Absent. | .072 | -.022 | -.056 | .016 | .282 | -- | | | |
| 7. W1 CC Absent. | .044 | .059 | -.080 | -.136* | .188** | .192** | -- | | |
| 8. W2 CC Absent. | -.004 | .064 | .019 | .065 | .134 | .183** | .390** | -- | |
| 9. W1 PC Wk Perf. | .135* | .290** | -.239** | .211** | .419** | .221** | .213** | .091 | -- |
| 10. W2 PC Wk Perf. | .147* | .231** | -.100 | .163* | .320** | .406** | .188** | .082 | .518** |
| 11. W1 CC Wk Perf. | .068 | .178** | -.181** | .373** | .129 | .107 | .324** | .173* | .607** |
| 12. W2 CC Wk Perf. | -.003 | .184** | -.192** | .333** | .145* | .102 | .274** | .283** | .354** |
| 13. W1 Intent Quit | .004 | -.042 | -.089 | .134* | .006 | -.032 | .184** | .042 | .057 |
| 14. W2 Intent Quit | -.079 | .050 | .090 | -.076 | .019 | .048 | .029 | .036 | -.025 |
| 15. W1 Inc Adeq. | .161* | -.157* | .183** | -.099 | -.044 | .021 | -.066 | -.059 | -.076 |
| 16. Gross HH Inc. | .052 | -.041 | -.030 | .090 | -.020 | .111 | .114 | .157* | .050 |
| 17. W1 Yrs Ed. | -.079 | .106 | -.134* | .102 | .047 | .104 | .140* | .214** | .105 |
| 18. W1 Neg Affect. | -.076 | .246** | -.098 | .267** | .092 | .055 | .133* | .063 | .254** |

Notes. PC refers to Parent Care; CC refers to Child Care; HH refers to Household.

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$.

Table 4 - Continued

Correlation Matrix of Study Variables for Women

| | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10. W2 PC Wk Perf. | -- | | | | | | | | |
| 11. W1 CC Wk Perf. | .399** | -- | | | | | | | |
| 12. W2 CC Wk Perf. | .464** | .500** | -- | | | | | | |
| 13. W1 Intent Quit | .084 | .105 | .091 | -- | | | | | |
| 14. W2 Intent Quit | .034 | -.077 | -.032 | .350** | -- | | | | |
| 15. W1 Inc Adeq. | -.019 | -.129 | -.202** | -.144* | -.086 | -- | | | |
| 16. Gross HH Inc. | .073 | .021 | .042 | -.012 | .002 | .164* | -- | | |
| 17. W1 Yrs Ed. | .145* | .112 | .050 | -.027 | .037 | .008 | .414** | -- | |
| 18. W1 Neg Affect. | .198** | .258** | .293** | .075 | .018 | -.142* | .001 | -.030 | -- |

Notes. PC refers to Parent Care; CC refers to Child Care; HH refers to Household.

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$.

Table 5

Correlation Matrix of Study Variables for Men

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. PC Rewards | -- | | | | | | | | |
| 2. PC Stressors | -.065 | -- | | | | | | | |
| 3. CC Rewards | .178** | -.149* | -- | | | | | | |
| 4. CC Stressors | .062 | .204** | -.226** | -- | | | | | |
| 5. W1 PC Absent. | .068 | .266** | -.148* | .164* | -- | | | | |
| 6. W2 PC Absent. | .133 | .035 | .020 | .043 | .345** | -- | | | |
| 7. W1 CC Absent. | -.022 | .028 | -.061 | .080 | .214** | .079 | -- | | |
| 8. W2 CC Absent. | -.101 | -.030 | .020 | .124 | .105 | .308** | .425** | -- | |
| 9. W1 PC Wk Perf. | .157* | .359* | -.028 | .184** | .400** | .205** | .024 | .058 | -- |
| 10. W2 PC Wk Perf. | .140* | .134* | -.032 | .107 | .183** | .411** | .030 | .014 | .319* |
| 11. W1 CC Wk Perf. | .066 | .187** | -.049 | .414** | .257** | .102 | .254** | .226** | .466** |
| 12. W2 CC Wk Perf. | .043 | .149* | -.091 | .314** | .160* | .177* | .128 | .229** | .197** |
| 13. W1 Intent Quit | -.165* | .056 | -.071 | .039 | -.089 | -.019 | -.084 | .067 | .006 |
| 14. W2 Intent Quit | -.086 | .016 | -.051 | -.044 | -.031 | .005 | .033 | .143* | .031 |
| 15. W1 Inc Adeq. | .123 | -.119 | .093 | -.244** | -.040 | -.023 | .010 | -.097 | .052 |
| 16. Gross HH Inc. | -.007 | .011 | -.068 | .032 | .100 | -.064 | .173** | .088 | .014 |
| 17. W1 Yrs Ed. | -.074 | .171** | -.028 | .080 | .107 | .030 | .190** | .039 | .091 |
| 18. W1 Neg Affect. | -.087 | .128 | -.190** | .180** | .007 | .099 | .009 | -.013 | .086 |

Notes. PC refers to Parent Care; CC refers to Child Care; HH refers to household.

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$.

Table 5 - Continued

Correlation Matrix of Study Variables for Men

| | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10. W2 PC Wk Perf. | -- | | | | | | | | |
| 11. W1 CC Wk Perf. | .131 | -- | | | | | | | |
| 12. W2 CC Wk Perf. | .533** | .339** | -- | | | | | | |
| 13. W1 Intent Quit | -.060 | .017 | .005 | -- | | | | | |
| 14. W2 Intent Quit | .000 | .046 | .078 | .423** | -- | | | | |
| 15. W1 Inc Adeq. | .049 | -.174** | -.080 | -.066 | -.085 | -- | | | |
| 16. Gross HH Inc. | -.080 | .039 | .105 | -.085 | -.107 | .190** | -- | | |
| 17. W1 Yrs Ed. | .110 | .085 | .095 | -.170** | -.006 | -.020 | .366** | -- | |
| 18. W1 Neg Affect. | .144* | .136* | .175** | .218** | .054 | -.215** | -.092 | -.035 | -- |

Notes. PC refers to Parent Care; CC refers to Child Care; HH refers to household.

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$.

# CHAPTER V

# RESULTS

The tests of the hypotheses had the following results:

## Gender Differences

Hypothesis 1. Hypothesis 1 posited that there would be a difference in the pattern of role quality predictors for men and women for the outcomes of absenteeism, work performance and intention to quit. Evidence to support this hypothesis was found. As explained more fully below, the interaction of parent care rewards x parent care stressors predicted absenteeism for women, but not for men (see Hypothesis 2c); child care stressors predicted work performance for men, but not for women (see Hypothesis 5b); the interaction of parent care rewards x child care rewards predicted intention to quit for men, but not for women (see Hypothesis 6e); and the interaction of child care rewards x child care stressors predicted intention to quit for women, but not for men (see Hypothesis 7c).

## Absenteeism

Hypothesis 2a/2b. Hypothesis 2 posited that parent care role quality would be related to absenteeism, such that: (a) as parent care role rewards increased, absenteeism would decrease; and (b) as parent care role stressors increased, absenteeism would increase. Results from these regression analyses are reported in Table 6 for women and for men. For women, the control variables accounted for a significant amount of variance in Time 2 absenteeism due to parent care responsibilities, with Time 1 absenteeism ($\beta = .370$, $p < .001$) and years of education ($\beta = -.155$, $p < .05$) having significant regression weights. The latter indicated that a higher level of education at Time 1 was associated with lower absenteeism at Time 2. For men, control variables also accounted for a significant amount of variance,

Table 6

Hierarchical Regression Results Predicting T2 Absenteeism due to Parent Care Responsibilities (PC Absenteeism)

| Variables | Outcomes: T2 PC Absenteeism (Women) N=193 | | | T2 PC Absenteeism (Men) N=190 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | β | R-Square | ΔR-Square | β | R-Square | ΔR-Square |
| Controls | | .182*** | .182*** | | .163*** | .163*** |
| T1 PC Absenteeism | .370*** | | | .384*** | | |
| Negative Affectivity | -.047 | | | .097 | | |
| Years of Education | -.155* | | | -.052 | | |
| Income Adequacy | .006 | | | -.060 | | |
| Gross Annual HH Income | .054 | | | -.010 | | |
| Predictors | | .205 | .023 | | .176 | .013 |
| Parent Care Rewards | .033 | | | .088 | | |
| Parent Care Stressors | -.037 | | | -.028 | | |
| PC Rewards x PC Stressors | -.153* | | | .076 | | |

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

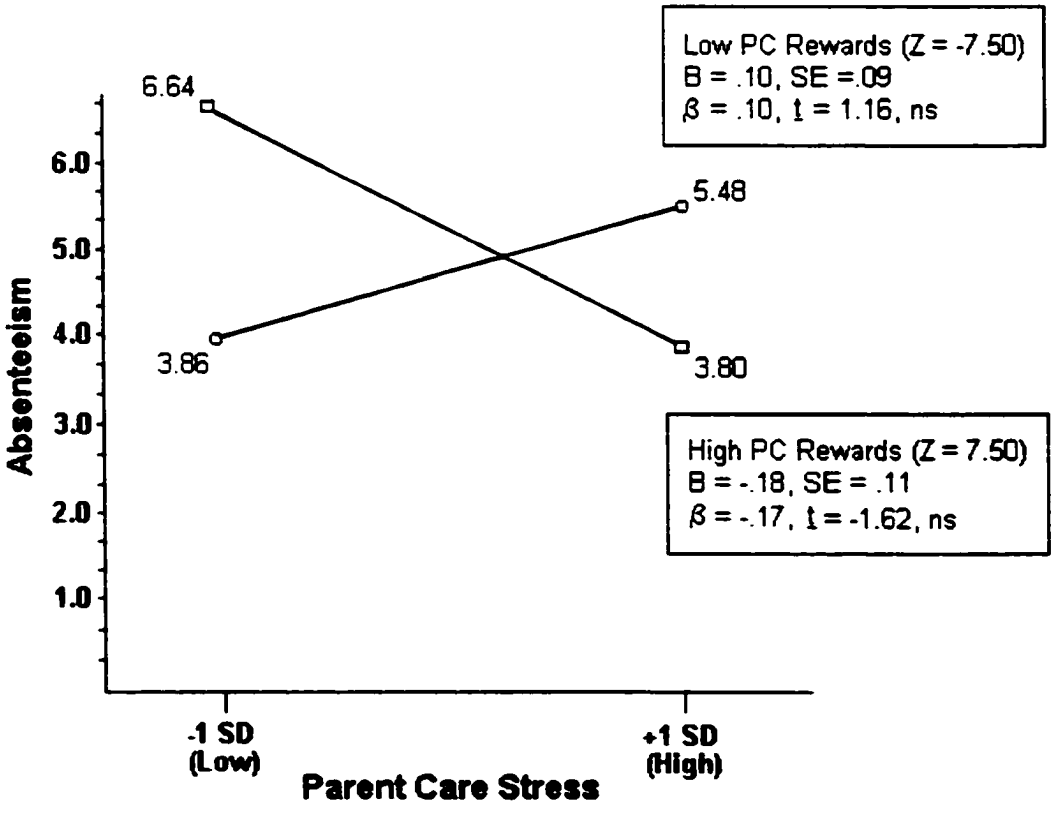
with Time 1 absenteeism ($\beta = .384$, $p < .001$) having a significant regression weight. However, neither rewards nor stressors in the parent care role at Time 1 had a significant effect on absenteeism due to parent care at Time 2 for women or for men. Thus, Hypothesis 2 (i.e., H2a/H2b) was not supported for women or for men.

Hypothesis 2c. Hypothesis 2c posited that parent care role rewards would buffer the effect of parent care role stressors on absenteeism. To test for this buffering effect, an interaction term of Time 1 parent care rewards x parent care stress was created and included in the model to predict Time 2 absenteeism due to parent care for women and for men. Results from these regression analyses are reported in Table 6 for women and for men. The results indicated that the interaction of Time 1 parent care role stress x parent care role rewards had a significant effect ($\beta = -.153$, $p < .05$) on absenteeism at Time 2 for women only.

A follow-up simple slope analysis was conducted for this interaction to determine the significance of the slope of absenteeism on parent care stress at low parent care rewards (one standard deviation below the mean, equivalent to a parent care rewards score of 24.34 - 7.50, or 16.84) and high parent care rewards (one standard deviation above the mean, equivalent to a parent care rewards score of 24.34 + 7.50, or 31.84). Figure 5 displays these slopes. The slope of absenteeism on parent care stress was not significantly different from zero at either low parent care rewards ($\beta = .10$, ns) or at high parent care rewards ($\beta = -.17$, ns). However, Figure 5 reveals that the interaction is driven by the intersection of a negative and a positive simple slope. That is, the relationship between parent care stress and absenteeism is positive for the low parent care rewards group and negative for the high parent care rewards group. In other words, a greater level of parent care stress was associated with a higher level of absenteeism for those respondents with low rewards in the

parent care role as compared to those respondents with high rewards in the parent care role. This result is consistent with that predicted (see Figure 2), which stated that higher parent care stress would be related to higher absenteeism for respondents with low parent care rewards but not for respondents with high parent care rewards. However, one also should note in Figure 5 that high rewards and low stress in the parent care role were related to higher levels of absenteeism, which is not consistent with the hypothesized relationship depicted in Figure 2. Thus, Hypothesis 2c was only partially supported for women, and was not supported for men.

Figure 5. Women's Absenteeism - Interaction of Parent Care Stress and Parent Care Rewards.



Hypothesis 3a/3b. Hypothesis 3 posited that child care role quality would be related to absenteeism, such that: (a) as child care role rewards increased, absenteeism would decrease; and (b) as child care role stressors increased, absenteeism would increase. Results from these regression analyses are reported in Table 7 for women and for men. For both women and men, the control variables accounted for a significant amount of variance in Time 2 absenteeism, with Time 1 absenteeism having significant regression weights ($\beta = .349$, $p < .001$, for women; $\beta = .438$, $p < .001$, for men). However, neither rewards nor stressors in the child care role at Time 1 had a significant effect on absenteeism due to child care at Time 2 for women or for men. Thus, Hypothesis 3 (i.e., H3a/H3b) was not supported for women or for men.

Hypothesis 3c. Hypothesis 3c posited that child care role rewards would buffer the effect of child care role stressors on absenteeism. To test for this buffering effect, an interaction term of Time 1 child care rewards x child care stress was created and included in the model to predict Time 2 absenteeism due to child care for women and for men. Results from these regression analyses are reported in Table 7 for women and for men. The results indicated that the interaction of child care rewards x child care stress at Time 1 had no significant effect on absenteeism due to child care at Time 2 for women or for men. Thus, Hypothesis 3c was not supported for women or for men.

Table 7

Hierarchical Regression Results Predicting T2 Absenteeism due to Child Care Responsibilities (CC Absenteeism)

| | Outcomes | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Variables | T2 CC Absenteeism (Women) N=210 | | | T2 CC Absenteeism (Men) N=211 | | |
| | β | R-Square | ΔR-Square | β | R-Square | ΔR-Square |
| Controls | | .178*** | .178*** | | .201*** | .201*** |
| T1 CC Absenteeism | .349*** | | | .438*** | | |
| Negative Affectivity | .020 | | | -.051 | | |
| Years of Education | .135 | | | -.079 | | |
| Income Adequacy | -.048 | | | -.125 | | |
| Gross Annual HH Income | .062 | | | .047 | | |
| Predictors | | .196 | .018 | | .210 | .009 |
| Child Care Rewards | .016 | | | .053 | | |
| Child Care Stressors | .004 | | | .083 | | |
| CC Rewards x CC Stressors | .129 | | | -.053 | | |

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

Work Performance

Hypothesis 4a/4b. Hypothesis 4 posited that parent care role quality would be related to work performance, such that: (a) as parent care role rewards increased, work performance would improve; and (b) as parent care role stressors increased, work performance would worsen. Results from these regression analyses are reported in Table 8 for women and for men. For women, the control variables accounted for a significant amount of variance in Time 2 working less effectively due to concern about parents, with Time 1 work performance ($\beta = .488$, $p < .001$) having a significant regression weight. For men, the control variables also accounted for a significant amount of variance, with both Time 1 work performance ($\beta = .287$, $p < .001$) and years of education ($\beta = .149$, $p < .05$) having significant regression weights. The latter indicated that a higher level of education at Time 1 was associated with working less effectively at Time 2. Neither rewards nor stressors in the parent care role at Time 1 had a significant effect on working less effectively due to concern about parents at Time 2 for women or for men. Thus, Hypothesis 4 (i.e., H4a/H4b) was not supported for women or for men.

Hypothesis 4c. Hypothesis 4c posited that parent care role rewards would buffer the effect of parent care role stressors on work performance. To test for this buffering effect, an interaction term of Time 1 parent care rewards x parent care stress was created and included in the model to predict Time 2 working less effectively due to concern about parents for women and for men. Results from these regression analyses are reported in Table 8. The results indicated that the interaction of parent care rewards x parent care stress at Time 1 had no significant effect on working less effectively due to concern about parents at Time 2 for women or for men. Thus, Hypothesis 4c was not supported for women or for men.

Table 8

Hierarchical Regression Results Predicting T2 Worked Less Effectively due to Concern for Parents

| Variables | Outcomes: T2 Worked Less Effectively due to Concern for Parents (Women) N=210 | | | T2 Worked Less Effectively due to Concern for Parents (Men) N=214 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | β | R-Square | ΔR-Square | β | R-Square | ΔR-Square |
| Controls | | .274*** | .274*** | | .136*** | .136*** |
| T1 Worked Less Effectively due to Concern for Parents | .488*** | | | .287*** | | |
| Negative Affectivity | .064 | | | .127 | | |
| Years of Education | .086 | | | .149* | | |
| Income Adequacy | .041 | | | .068 | | |
| Gross Annual HH Income | .010 | | | -.126 | | |
| Predictors | | .290 | .016 | | .149 | .013 |
| Parent Care Rewards | .105 | | | .115 | | |
| Parent Care Stressors | .123 | | | -.006 | | |
| PC Rewards x PC Stressors | .021 | | | -.011 | | |

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

Hypothesis 5a/5b. Hypothesis 5 posited that child care role quality would be related to work performance, such that: (a) as child care role rewards increased, work performance would improve; and (b) as child care role stressors increased, work performance would worsen. Table 9 contains the results from these regression analyses for women and men. For both women and men, the control variables accounted for a significant amount of variance in Time 2 working less effectively due to concern children, with Time 1 work performance having significant regression weights ($\beta = .438$, $p < .001$, for women; $\beta = .293$, $p < .001$, for men) and negative affectivity having significant regression weights ($\beta = .152$, $p < .05$, for women; $\beta = .140$, $p < .05$, for men). Thus, a higher level of negative affectivity at Time 1 was associated with working less effectively due to concern about children at Time 2. Also for men, when child care rewards, concerns, and their interaction were included in step 2 of the regression, the increment in R-square was significant, accounting for an additional 3.1% of the variance in working less effectively. The regression weight for child care stress ($\beta = .197$, $p < .01$) was positive, indicating that a higher level of child care stress at Time 1 was associated with working less effectively due to concern about children at Time 2. Thus Hypothesis 5b was supported for men. However, Time 1 child care rewards did not have a significant effect on working less effectively at Time 2 for men, and thus Hypothesis 5a was not supported for men. For women, neither rewards nor stressors in the child care role at Time 1 had a significant effect on working less effectively at Time 2. Thus, neither Hypothesis 5a nor 5b was supported for women.

Hypothesis 5c. Hypothesis 5c posited that child care role rewards would buffer the effect of child care role stressors on work performance. In order to test for this buffering effect, an interaction term of Time 1 child care rewards x child

Table 9

Hierarchical Regression Results Predicting T2 Worked Less Effectively due to Concern for Children

| Variables | Outcomes: T2 Worked Less Effectively due to Concern for Children (Women) N=204 | | | T2 Worked Less Effectively due to Concern for Children (Men) N=209 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | β | R-Square | ΔR-Square | β | R-Square | ΔR-Square |
| Controls | | .281*** | .281*** | | .137*** | .137*** |
| T1 Worked Less Effectively due to Concern for Children | .438*** | | | .293*** | | |
| Negative Affectivity | .152* | | | .140* | | |
| Years of Education | -.044 | | | .040 | | |
| Income Adequacy | -.121 | | | -.022 | | |
| Gross Annual HH Income | .077 | | | .096 | | |
| Predictors | | .293 | .012 | | .168* | .031* |
| Child Care Rewards | -.024 | | | -.018 | | |
| Child Care Stressors | .104 | | | .197** | | |
| CC Rewards x CC Stressors | -.018 | | | .012 | | |

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

care stress was created and included in the model to predict Time 2 working less effectively due to child care for women and for men. Results from these regression analyses are reported in Table 9 for women and for men. The results indicated that the interaction of child care rewards x child care stress at Time 1 had no significant effect on working less effectively due to child care at Time 2 for women or for men. Thus, Hypothesis 5a was not supported for women or for men.

Intention to Quit - First Order Effects

Hypothesis 6a/6b. Hypothesis 6 posited that parent care role quality would be related to intention to quit, such that: (a) as parent care role rewards increased, intention to quit would decrease; and (b) as parent care role stressors increased, intention to quit would increase. Results from these regression analyses are reported in Table 10 for women and for men. For both women and men, the control variables accounted for a significant amount of variance in Time 2 intention to quit, with Time 1 intention to quit having significant regression weights ($\beta = .323$, $p < .001$, for women; $\beta = .432$, $p < .001$, for men). However, neither rewards nor stressors in the parent care role at Time 1 had a significant effect on intention to quit at Time 2 for women or for men. Thus, Hypothesis 6 (i.e., H6a/H6b) was not supported for women or for men.

Hypothesis 7a/7b. Hypothesis 7 posited that child care role quality would be related to intention to quit, such that: (a) as child care role rewards increased, intention to quit would decrease; and (b) as child care role stressors increased, intention to quit would increase. Results from these regression analyses are reported in Table 10 for women and for men. For both women and men, the control variables accounted for a significant amount of variance in Time 2 intention to quit, with Time 1 intention to quit having significant regression weights ($\beta = .323$, $p < .001$,

Table 10

Hierarchical Regression Results Predicting T2 Intention to Quit

| Variables | Outcomes: Intention to Quit (Women) N=212 | | | Intention to Quit (Men) N=215 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | β | R-Square | ΔR-Square | β | R-Square | ΔR-Square |
| Controls | | .108*** | .108*** | | .190*** | .190*** |
| T1 Intention to Quit | .323*** | | | .432*** | | |
| Negative Affectivity | -.008 | | | -.048 | | |
| Years of Education | .040 | | | .099 | | |
| Income Adequacy | -.027 | | | -.043 | | |
| Gross Annual HH Income | -.015 | | | -.098 | | |
| Predictors | | .171 | .063 | | .228 | .038 |
| Parent Care Rewards | -.054 | | | .013 | | |
| Parent Care Stressors | .041 | | | -.042 | | |
| Child Care Rewards | -.003 | | | -.025 | | |
| Child Care Stressors | -.124 | | | -.044 | | |

Table 10 - Continued

Hierarchical Regression Results Predicting T2 Intention to Quit

| Variables | Outcomes: Intention to Quit (Women) N=212 | | | Intention to Quit (Men) N=215 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | β | R-Square | ΔR-Square | β | R-Square | ΔR-Square |
| **Predictors** | | | | | | |
| PC Rewards x PC Stress | -.089 | | | .023 | | |
| CC Rewards x PC Stress | .086 | | | .126 | | |
| CC Rewards x PC Rewards | .059 | | | .205* | | |
| CC Rewards x CC Stressors | .160* | | | -.139 | | |
| PC Rewards x CC Stress | .043 | | | .111 | | |
| PC Stress x CC Stress | .070 | | | .082 | | |

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

for women; $\beta = .432$, $p < .001$, for men). However, neither rewards nor stressors in the child care role at Time 1 had a significant effect on intention to quit at Time 2 for women or for men. Thus, Hypothesis 7 (i.e., H7a/H7b) was not supported for women or for men.

Intention to Quit - Interactions

Hypothesis 6c. Hypothesis 6c posited that parent care role rewards would buffer the effect of parent care role stressors on intention to quit. To test for this buffering effect, an interaction term of Time 1 parent care rewards x parent care stress was created and included in the model to predict Time 2 intention to quit for women and for men. Results from these regression analyses also are reported in Table 10 for women and for men. The results were that the interaction of parent care rewards x parent care stress at Time 1 had no significant effect on intention to quit at Time 2 for women or for men. Thus, Hypothesis 6c was not supported for women or for men.

Hypothesis 6d. Hypothesis 6d posited that child care role rewards would buffer the effect of parent care role stressors on intention to quit. To test for this buffering effect, an interaction term of Time 1 child care rewards x parent care stress was created and included in the model to predict Time 2 intention to quit for women and for men. Results from these regression analyses are reported in Table 10 for women and for men. The results were that the interaction of child care rewards x parent care stress at Time 1 had no significant effect on intention to quit at Time 2 for women or for men. Thus, Hypothesis 6d was not supported for women or for men.

Hypothesis 6e. Hypothesis 6e posited that child care role rewards would exacerbate the effect of parent care role rewards on intention to quit. To test for this

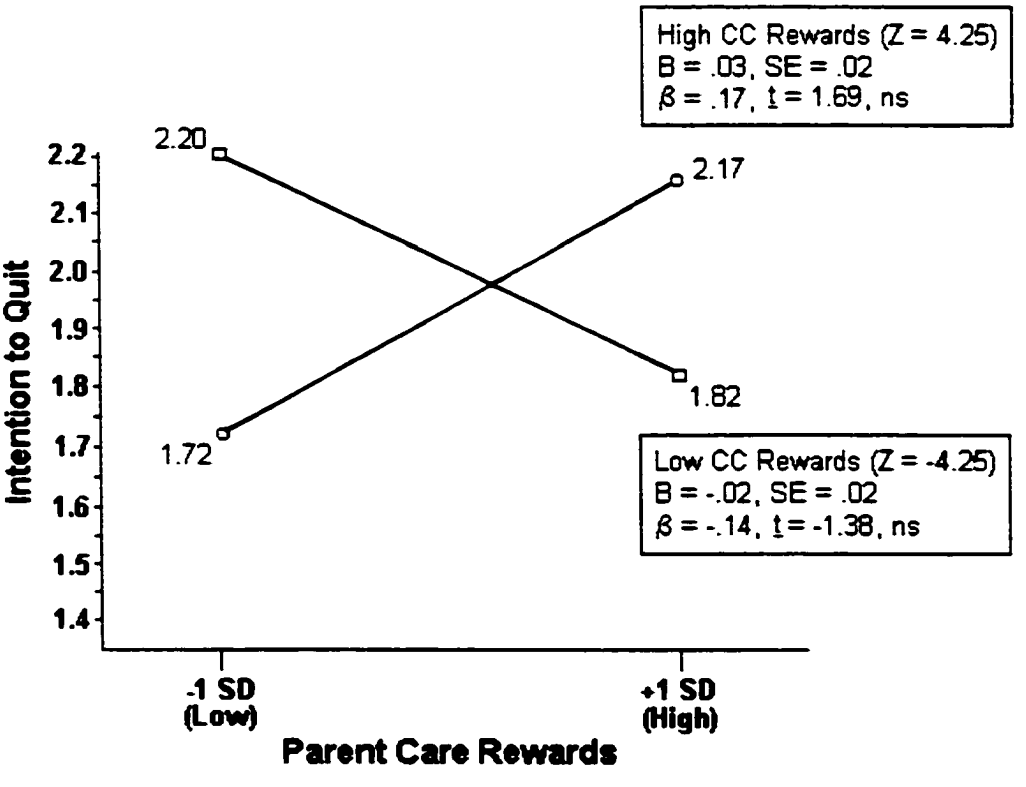
exacerbation effect, an interaction term of Time 1 child care rewards x parent care rewards was created and included in the model to predict Time 2 intention to quit for women and for men. As revealed in Table 10, for women the interaction of child care rewards x parent care rewards at Time 1 had no significant effect on intention to quit at Time 2, but for men this interaction did have a significant effect ($\beta = .205$, $p < .05$).

A follow-up simple slope analysis was conducted for this interaction to determine the significance of the slope of men's intention to quit on parent care rewards at low child care rewards (one standard deviation below the mean, equivalent to a child care rewards score of 28.99 - 4.25, or 24.74) and high child care rewards (one standard deviation above the mean, equivalent to a child care rewards score of 28.99 + 4.25, or 33.24). As illustrated in Figure 6, the slope of intention to quit on parent care rewards was not significantly different from zero at either low child care rewards ($\beta = -.14$, ns) or high child care rewards ($\beta = .17$, ns). Rather, the interaction is significant because of the intersection of a positive and negative simple slope such that the relationship between parent care rewards and intention to quit is positive for the high child care rewards group and negative for the low child care rewards group. In other words, a greater level of parent care rewards was associated with lower intention to quit for those respondents with low rewards in the child care role, and a greater level of parent care rewards was associated with higher intention to quit for those respondents with high rewards in the child care role. This finding was not consistent with that predicted (see Figure 3), which stated that higher parent care rewards would be related to lower intention to quit for respondents with high child care rewards (due to the exacerbating effect of the child care rewards), but not for respondents with low child care rewards. To

the contrary, as Figure 6 illustrates, intention to quit was similarly elevated for those respondents with low parent care rewards/low child care rewards and for those respondents with high parent care rewards/high child care rewards.

Thus, while the interaction of child care rewards x parent care rewards did significantly affect the work outcome of intention to quit, the nature of the interaction was not as hypothesized; therefore, Hypothesis 6e was not supported for men or for women. (This finding of no support for the hypothesis does not diminish the importance of this significant interaction for providing insight into the workings of "sandwiched" roles. This point is discussed more fully in the next chapter.)

Figure 6. Men's Intention to Quit - Interaction of Parent Care Rewards and Child Care Rewards.

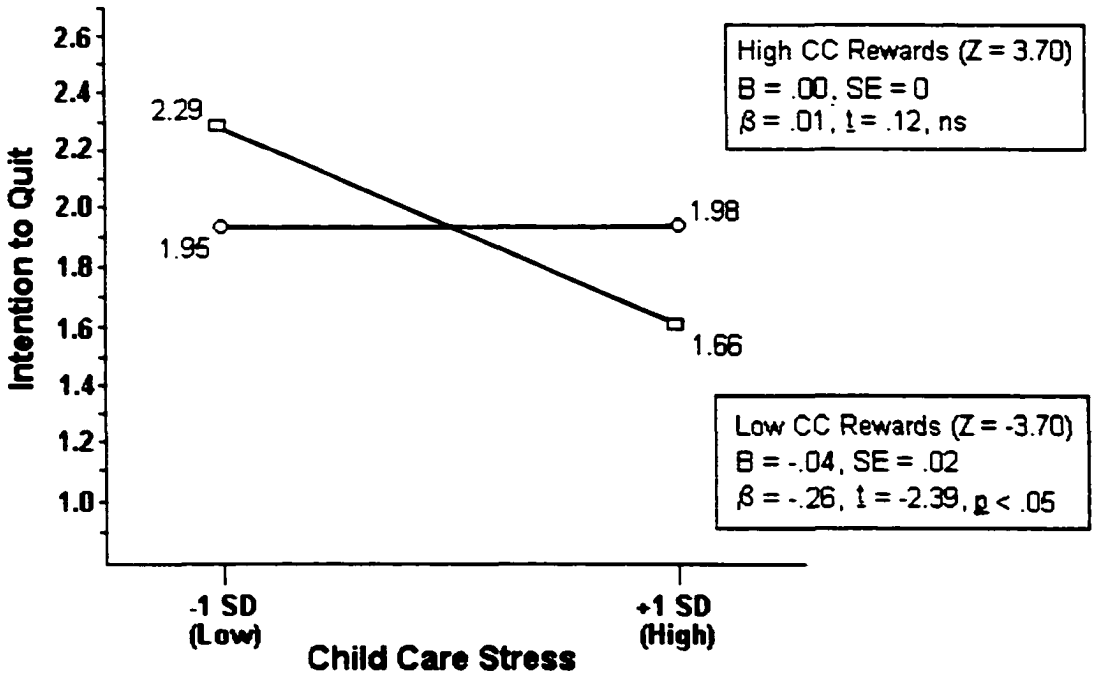


Hypothesis 7c. Hypothesis 7c posited that child care role rewards would buffer the effect of child care role stressors on intention to quit. To test for this buffering effect, an interaction term of Time 1 child care rewards x child care stress was created and included in the model to predict Time 2 intention to quit for women and for men. As shown in Table 10, the interaction of child care rewards x child care stress at Time 1 did not have a significant effect on intention to quit at Time 2 for men. However, this interaction did have a significant effect ($\beta = .160$, $p < .05$) on intention to quit at Time 2 for women.

A follow-up simple slope analysis was conducted for this interaction to determine the significance of the slope of women's intention to quit on child care stress at low child care rewards (one standard deviation below the mean, equivalent to a child care rewards score of 28.99 - 3.7, or 25.29) and high child care rewards (one standard deviation above the mean, equivalent to a child care rewards score of 28.99 + 3.7, or 32.69). Figure 7 displays these slopes.

The slope of intention to quit on child care stress was not significantly different from zero at high child care rewards ($\beta = .01$, ns), but was significant ($\beta = -.26$, $p < .05$) at low child care rewards. The sign of the significant coefficient indicates that a greater level of child care role stress was associated with lower intention to quit for those respondents with low rewards in the child care role. This finding was not consistent with that predicted by the hypothesis (see Figure 2 for an example of the buffering effect hypothesized), which stated that higher child care role stress would be related to higher intention to quit for respondents with low child care rewards but not for respondents with high child care rewards. To the contrary, Figure 7 illustrates that although high child care rewards did buffer the

Figure 7. Women's Intention to Quit - Interaction of Child Care Stress and Child Care Rewards.




effect of child care stress on intention to quit, child care stress was related to lower, rather than higher, intention to quit.

Thus, while the interaction of child care rewards x child care stress did significantly affect the work outcome of intention to quit for women, the nature of the interaction was not as hypothesized; therefore, Hypothesis 7c was not supported for women or for men.

Hypothesis 7d. Hypothesis 7d posited that parent care role rewards would buffer the effect of child care role stressors on intention to quit. To test for this buffering effect, an interaction term of Time 1 parent care rewards x child care stress was created and included in the model to predict Time 2 intention to quit for women and for men. As shown in Table 10, however, the interaction of parent care rewards

x child care stress at Time 1 had no significant effect on intention to quit at Time 2 for either women or men. Thus, Hypothesis 7d was not supported for women or for men.

Hypothesis 7e. Hypothesis 7e posited that parent care role stressors would exacerbate the effect of child care role stressors on intention to quit. To test for this exacerbation effect, an interaction term of Time 1 parent care stress x child care stress was created and included in the model to predict Time 2 intention to quit for women and for men. Table 10 reveals that the interaction of parent care stress x child care stress at Time 1 had no significant effect on intention to quit at Time 2 for either women or men. Thus, Hypothesis 7e was not supported for women or for men.

# CHAPTER VI

# DISCUSSION

## Interpreting the Study's Findings

Overall Findings. The primary purpose of this study was to more fully understand the functioning of the work-family system via an examination of the relationship between the quality of family caregiver role experiences (as caregiver to aging parents and as caregiver to children) and the work outcomes of absenteeism, work performance, and intention to quit. The results of this longitudinal study provide partial support for the hypotheses tested and demonstrate that family role quality can significantly affect the work outcomes of absenteeism, working less effectively, and intention to quit. The results also provide some insight into how dual caregiving roles as parent and as caregiver to aging parents can affect work outcomes for members of the sandwiched generation.

Regarding the study's findings, one can begin by examining the effects of the control variables that were included in the regression analyses. Recall that the control variables were selected based on their inclusion in the role quality studies reviewed and/or their correlation with at least one of the work outcomes. The controls of income adequacy and gross household income had no significant effect on any of the work outcomes when entered with other variables in the regression analyses. In contrast, the respective Time 1 work outcomes did have a significant positive effect on the Time 2 work outcomes in each analysis conducted, as expected. Also, negative affectivity was significantly related to working less effectively due to concern for children for both men and women such that a higher level of negative affectivity at Time 1 was associated with working less effectively at Time 2. Finally, years of education was a significant predictor for work outcomes

for both men and women. Specifically, years of education was negatively related to parent care absenteeism for women, indicating that a higher level of education at Time 1 was associated with lower absenteeism at Time 2. A negative relationship between education level and parent care absenteeism was found for men as well, but it was not significant. Rather, for men, years of education was positively related to working less effectively due to concern for parents, indicating that a higher level of education at Time 1 was associated with working less effectively at Time 2. This same positive relationship was found for women, but it was not significant. When considered in total, these results indicate that while respondents with higher education levels may have had lower absenteeism due to parent care at Time 2, this may be offset by the fact that they were working less effectively due to parent care concerns.

Turning now to the hypotheses, an important overall finding in the study was the fact that, as postulated in Hypothesis 1, differences did emerge in the pattern of role quality predictors for men and women. While such a finding does not provide statistical evidence of gender differences, it does supply a basis for future researchers to more fully explore possible differences between men and women in the effects of role quality on various outcomes in general, as well as possible differences in the effects of family caregiving role quality on work outcomes. The effects of family caregiving role quality on work outcomes in the present study is the topic to which this discussion now turns.

Absenteeism. Neither Time 1 parent care rewards, parent care stress, child care rewards, nor child care stress significantly affected Time 2 absenteeism for men or for women in the regression analyses (see Tables 6 and 7 respectively). To understand these findings for men and their parent care role, one can examine the

zero order correlations from Table 5 and see that neither Time 1 parent care rewards nor Time 1 parent care stressors were highly or significantly correlated with Time 2 parent care absenteeism (.133 and .035 respectively). In contrast, the control variable of Time 1 parent care absenteeism had a moderately high, significant correlation (.345) with Time 2 parent care absenteeism, and was able to significantly affect this outcome variable in the longitudinal regression analysis.

Similarly, in examining the correlations among the variables for women in Table 4, one can see that neither Time 1 parent care rewards nor Time 1 parent care stressors had high, significant correlations with Time 2 parent care absenteeism (.072 and -.022 respectively). In contrast, Time 1 parent care absenteeism had a higher, significant correlation with the outcome variable (.282) and did significantly affect the outcome variable when used as a control in the longitudinal regression analysis.

Neither Time 1 child care rewards nor child care stress affected Time 2 absenteeism due to child care for women. This is an especially interesting finding given that child care stress has been shown in cross-sectional studies to predict a variety of other outcomes for women, such as poorer physical health, greater negative affect, and lower positive affect (Franks & Stephens, 1992). Similarly, child care rewards have been shown in cross-sectional studies to predict a number of outcomes for women, such as better physical health, lower negative affect, and greater positive affect (Stephens et al., 1994).

Again, however, one can gain some understanding of this finding by examining Table 4 and noting that neither Time 1 child care rewards nor stressors were highly or significantly correlated with Time 2 child care absenteeism (.019 and .065, respectively). In contrast, Time 1 absenteeism had a much higher, significant

correlation with Time 2 absenteeism (.390) and did significantly affect Time 2 absenteeism when entered into the regression analysis along with the other variables.

A similar situation is at work for men with regard to the child care role. That is, one can see from Table 5 that Time 1 child care rewards and stress also were not highly or significantly correlated with Time 2 child care absenteeism (.020 and .124, respectively). Again, one can see that Time 1 absenteeism had a moderately high, significant correlation with Time 2 absenteeism (.425). Thus, when Time 1 absenteeism was entered along with the other variables into the regression analysis for Time 2 absenteeism, it had an independent effect, whereas the other variables did not.

Notwithstanding the above explanation, the question remains as to why Time 1 role stressors and rewards did not affect the absenteeism outcome at Time 2 as hypothesized. To better understand these relationships, a selected number of exploratory cross-sectional regression analyses were conducted at Time 1 using the same model depicted in Figure 1 (but without Time 1 absenteeism as one of the control variables). Findings from these analyses indicated, for example, that parent care stress was significantly related to parent care absenteeism for both men and women such that as stress increased, absenteeism increased, which is consistent with the hypothesized relationship in the present, longitudinal study.

Thus, these cross-sectional findings, combined with the significant zero order correlations between Time 1 absenteeism and Time 2 absenteeism described above, indicate in the present example that the lack of significant findings in the longitudinal analysis for men and women is not due to the fact that there is no relationship between parent care role quality and the work outcome of parent care absenteeism, but rather is due more to a lack of change over time (i.e., one year in

the present study) in parent care absenteeism. Had the time lag between Time 1 and Time 2 been different (i.e., longer or shorter), there likely would have been a greater change in the outcome variable (as parent care responsibilities change) and a greater possibility for finding significant longitudinal results.

In this regard, it should be noted that although longitudinal studies concerned with role quality are rare, the results of such studies have been known to conflict with the results from cross-sectional role quality studies. For example, using longitudinal data, Bromet et al. (1988) found that marital stress did not significantly affect mental health or alcohol problems, despite findings from a number of studies conducted with cross-sectional data that document such relationships. Likewise, neither marital stress nor occupational stress predicted symptoms of psychological disturbances, which was in contrast to the results of prior cross-sectional research.

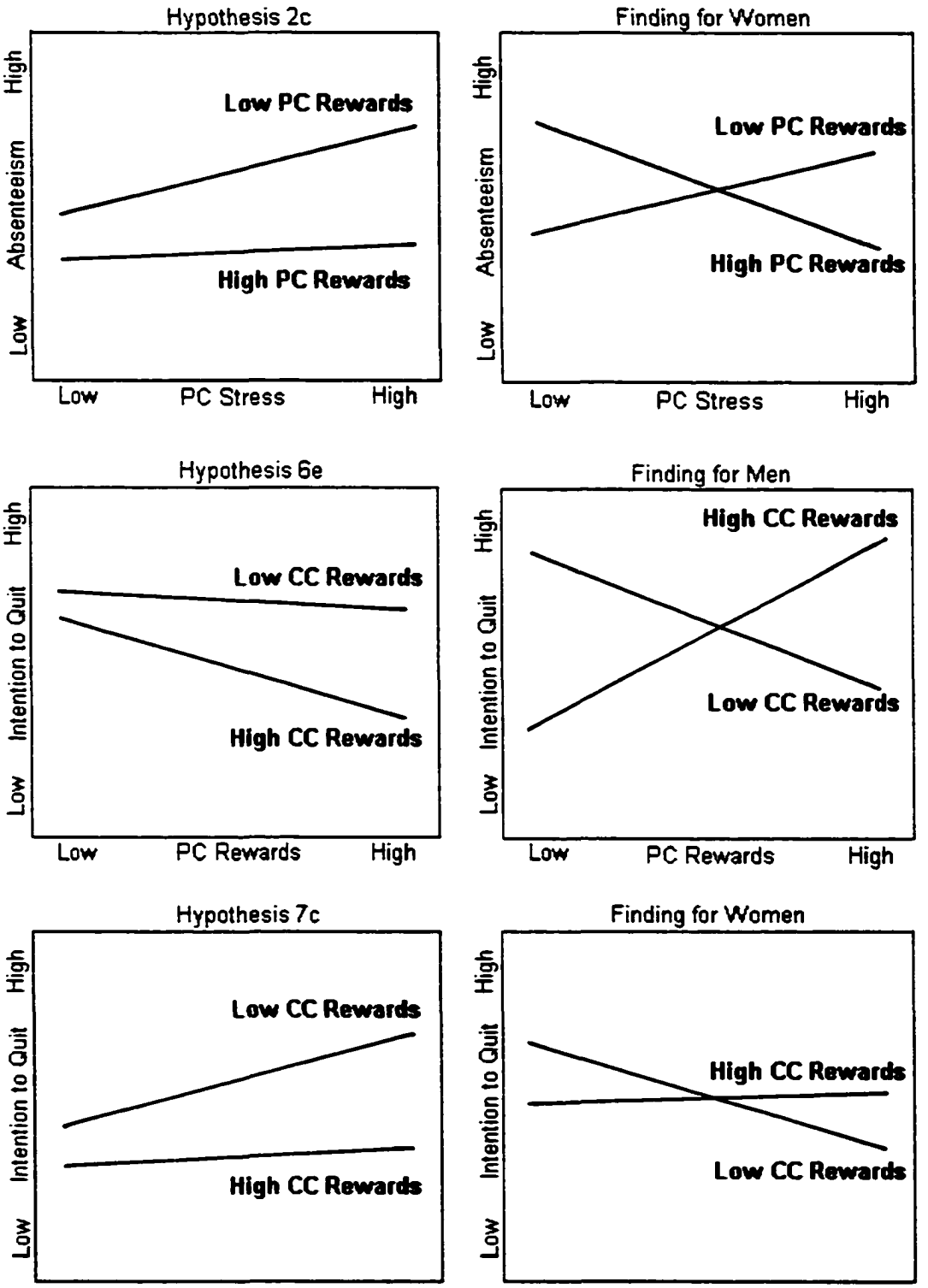
Turning now to the role quality interaction terms that were hypothesized to affect absenteeism, one will recall that these were created from individual predictors which, as explained above, had no significant effects. Thus, it would be understandable if these interaction terms also had no effect. Moreover, Aiken and West (1991) have noted that statistical tests for interaction terms have low power in general. Despite these limitations, an interaction term was found to be significant for women, but none was found significant for men. This may be explained in part by the fact that men reported lower levels of both types of absenteeism as compared to women in the study (as indicated previously, for Wave 2 absenteeism due to parent care, mean of 2.63 vs. 5.43, $t(196) = -3.70$, $p < .001$, and for Wave 2 absenteeism due to child care, mean of 8.88 vs. 12.43, $t(211) = -3.24$, $p < .001$). Moreover, men's responses to the absenteeism questions resulted in a narrower range as compared to women's (e.g., men's absenteeism due to parent care ranged from 0 to

44, whereas women's ranged from 0 to 90), and this reduced range could make it more difficult to detect effects. Indeed, Johns (1994) has noted that this situation is fairly common in studies involving absenteeism measures.

For the women in the study, the interaction of Time 1 parent care rewards and parent care stress was significantly related to change in absenteeism due to parent care such that when parent care stress was high, women with high rewards in the parent care role had decreased levels of absenteeism at Time 2 as compared to women with low rewards in the parent care role, which was consistent with the hypothesized relationship (see Figure 8). However, the nature of this interaction was also such that women with low stress and high rewards in the parent care role had increased, rather than the expected decreased, levels of absenteeism. This indicates that high rewards in the parent care role can have a two-fold effect. That is, greater rewards can serve to lessen the effect of high stress on absenteeism, but they can also be related to increased levels of absenteeism when combined with low stress, perhaps because when women are primarily enjoying rewards from their parent care role, they are more willing to be absent from work in order to partake in that parent care role and its associated rewards.

This result indicates a need for closer examination of the hypotheses that were postulated for this study with regard to absenteeism. Specifically, the literature review of role quality studies clearly illustrated that role stressors tend to be associated with "negative" outcomes such as increased levels of psychological distress, whereas role rewards have been found to be associated with "positive" outcomes such as better physical heath reports. Based on this pattern that emerged from the literature, in the present study role stressors were hypothesized to be

Figure 8. Comparison of Hypothesized and Actual Findings for Interactions



related to increased absenteeism, and role rewards were hypothesized to be related to decreased absenteeism. Given the results of this study, however, one must question whether absenteeism should automatically be considered a "negative" outcome for an employee. Certainly if an employee is missing time at work due to parent care responsibilities, even though she would prefer not to, that could be considered a negative outcome. However, if an employee is missing time at work to willingly participate in her family role and enjoy its associated rewards, that could be considered a positive outcome for the individual (as opposed to the organization). Indeed, it may be that some degree of absenteeism from work is healthy for an employee who is trying to manage work and family demands. Other researchers (e.g., Neal et al., 1993) also have reached such a conclusion.

Finally, regarding absenteeism and women, one should note the significance of the fact that parent care role quality did predict absenteeism, while child care role quality did not. As discussed previously, few studies have examined work-related outcomes and family responsibilities, and of those few, most have studied only the caregiving demands associated with dependent children, as opposed to the caregiving demands associated with aging parents. Thus, the finding in the present study serves to reinforce the point made by researchers such as Kossek and Ozeki (1999) and Neal et al. (1999), that work-family research should not only include employees' parenting responsibilities, but also their elder care responsibilities, in order to better understand work-family relationships.

Work Performance. For the men in the study, Time 1 child care stress did prove to be a significant predictor of change in work performance due to concerns about children, such that higher child care stress at Time 1 was related to a worsening in work performance at Time 2 (see Table 9). This finding was consistent

with the hypothesized relationship and with a number of previous studies that have found role quality stressors to be related to negative outcomes (e.g., Barnett & Marshall, 1993; Voydanoff & Donnelly, 1999). However, Time 1 child care rewards were not a significant predictor of change in work performance for men. By examining the zero order correlations in Table 5, one can understand this difference in findings for child care stress and child care rewards. Specifically, Time 1 child care stress had a highly significant correlation with Time 2 work performance (.314), whereas Time 1 child care rewards did not (-.091). Thus, when child care rewards were entered into the regression analysis along with other variables, such as Time 1 work performance, they failed to have an effect on Time 2 work performance, whereas child care stress was able to affect this outcome despite the moderately high correlation between Time1 and Time 2 work performance (.339).

As with child care rewards, neither parent care rewards nor parent care stress had a significant effect on work performance for men. Similarly, women's work performance was not affected by stressors or rewards in either the parent care or child care roles. To better understand these findings for men and their parent care role, one can examine Table 5 and see that neither Time 1 parent care rewards nor Time 1 parent care stressors were very highly correlated with Time 2 work performance (.140 and .134 respectively). However, Time 1 work performance was highly and significantly correlated with Time 2 work performance (.319). Thus, Time 1 work performance was able to significantly affect the outcome variable when entered into the regression equation as a control variable in the longitudinal regression analysis, whereas Time 1 parent care rewards and stress were not.

Similarly, in examining the correlations among the variables for women in Table 4, one can see that parent care rewards and parent care stress were each

significantly correlated with Time 2 work performance (.147 and .231 respectively). However, Time 1 work performance was also significantly, and quite highly correlated with Time 2 work performance (.518). Thus, when Time 1 parent care rewards and Time 1 parent care stress were entered into the regression analysis with Time 1 work performance as a control variable, they failed to have an independent effect on Time 2 work performance, whereas Time 1 work performance did.

The same situation is in effect for women with regard to their child care role. That is, Time 1 child care rewards and child care stress were each significantly correlated with Time 2 work performance (-.192 and .333 respectively). However, Time 1 work performance was also significantly and more highly correlated with Time 2 work performance (.500). Thus, when Time 1 work performance was entered into the regression equation as a control variable with Time 1 parent care rewards and Time 1 parent care stress, they did not have a significant independent effect on Time 2 work performance, whereas Time 1 work performance did.

As was done with the work outcome of absenteeism, a selected number of exploratory cross-sectional regression analyses were conducted at Time 1 using the same model depicted in Figure 1 (but without Time 1 work performance as one of the control variables) in order to better understand the relationships between role quality and work performance. Findings from these analyses indicated, for example, that parent care stress was significantly related to work performance for both men and women such that as stress increased, respondents worked less effectively, which is consistent with the hypothesized relationship in the present, longitudinal study.

These cross-sectional findings, combined with the significant longitudinal finding for men with regard to child care stress, indicate that there is a relationship between parent care/child care role quality and work performance. The significant

correlations between Time 1 parent care/child care role stressors/rewards and Time 2 work performance support this conclusion as well. However, the significant zero order correlations between Time 1 work performance and Time 2 work performance also indicate that there was not a great deal of change over time (i.e., one year in the present study) in work performance. Thus, the failure to find additional significant first order effects in the longitudinal analysis for men and women is due more to a lack of change over time in work performance than to a lack of relationship between family caregiving role quality and the outcome of work performance. It is possible that a third wave of data or a shorter or longer time lag between Time 1 and Time 2 would have revealed a greater change in the outcome variable (as parent care or child care responsibilities changed) and thus produced a greater possibility for finding significant longitudinal results.

It is also possible that examining the accumulation of role stress or role rewards across roles might better explain variance in the work performance outcome for women. Previous research using multivariate analyses of variance has found that for women, the combined effects of stress/rewards across multiple roles is predictive of outcomes such as well-being (e.g., Stephens et al., 1994). Future research should consider taking a role accumulation approach to determine if this is also the case for work outcomes.

With regard to the role quality interaction terms that were hypothesized to affect work performance, recall that they were created from the individual role stress and rewards variables. Except for child care stress, these predictors had no significant effects on work performance, as was explained above. Therefore, it is understandable that the interaction terms also had no effect on the work performance outcome.

Intention to Quit. Neither Time 1 parent care rewards, parent care stressors, child care rewards, nor child care stressors significantly affected the work outcome of intention to quit in the longitudinal regression analyses for men or women. Again, this can be understood by examining the zero order correlations among the variables entered into the regression analyses. For both men and women, Time 1 intention to quit had a much higher, significant correlation with Time 2 intention to quit than did rewards or stressors in the parent or child care roles. Thus, these role quality variables failed to have a significant independent effect on Time 2 intention to quit when entered into the regression analysis with other variables, including the control of Time 1 intention to quit.

A select number of exploratory cross-sectional analyses were conducted at Time 1 in order to better understand the relationship between caregiving role quality and intention to quit. It was found that parent care rewards did significantly affect intention to quit for men such that as parent care rewards increased, intention to quit decreased. This finding is consistent with the relationship that was hypothesized in the present longitudinal study, and indicates, as was the case with absenteeism and work performance, that there is a relationship between caregiving role quality and the work outcome of intention to quit (at least as far as men are concerned). However, the lack of change in intention to quit, as evidenced by the relatively high, significant correlation between Time 1 intention to quit and Time 2 intention to quit, would certainly make it difficult to find such a relationship in the present longitudinal analysis.

Despite finding no significant first order effects for the parent care and child care role quality predictors on intention to quit, there were significant interactions found for men and women. For the men in the study, the inter-role interaction of

parent care rewards and child care rewards significantly affected intention to quit, such that when parent care rewards were high, men with high rewards in the child care role had greater intention to quit than men with low rewards in the child care role (see Figure 8). This result was not consistent with the hypothesized relationship, which postulated that those respondents with high parent care rewards and high child care rewards would have lower intention to quit. The nature of this interaction was also such that men with low parent care rewards and low child care rewards had greater intention to quit. These results are very similar to and quite consistent with the results described above for women's absenteeism, in which there were two starkly different scenarios affecting the outcome of interest. In this case, the scenarios are such that men with low parent care rewards and low child care rewards are more inclined to quit (perhaps so they can concentrate on their family roles, where they are experiencing few rewards) and those men with high parent care rewards and high child care rewards are also more inclined to quit (perhaps because they are enjoying so many rewards in the family realm).

These results further reinforce the previous discussion regarding determinations about what constitutes a "negative" outcome. That is, the hypotheses formulated for this study assumed that intention to quit was a negative outcome for the study participant and that role rewards would therefore be associated with lower intention to quit, whereas role stressors would be associated with higher intention to quit. The above results indicate that intention to quit may not be a negative outcome for a person who is realizing many rewards in his family roles and thus wishes to immerse himself more fully in those roles. Such an intention, if it came to fruition, would be a positive outcome for the former employee who is enjoying high family role quality, (although it would obviously still be negative for the organization).

The women in the study also experienced a significant (intra-role) interaction affecting intention to quit in that child care rewards buffered the effect of child care stress on intention to quit (see Figure 8). Specifically, high child care stress was associated with decreased intention to quit at low levels of rewards in the child care role, but not at high levels of rewards in the child care role. While this is a buffering effect, it is not consistent with the hypothesized relationship, which postulated that high child care stress would be associated with lower intention to quit at high levels of child care rewards.

As both men and women experienced a significant interaction effect that affected their intention to quit their job, it is important to compare these findings (refer to Figure 8). Recall that for the men in the study, intention to quit was affected by the interaction of child care rewards x parent care rewards, such that low parent care rewards combined with low child care rewards resulted in greater intention to quit, and high parent care rewards combined with low child care rewards resulted in lower intention to quit. For the women in the study, the interaction of child care rewards x child care stress affected intention to quit, such that high child care stress combined with low child care rewards resulted in lower intention to quit, while low child care stress combined with low child care rewards resulted in higher intention to quit. Thus, the interaction of child care stress x child care rewards affected intention to quit quite differently for women when compared to the manner in which the interaction of parent care rewards x child care rewards affected intention to quit for men. This result lends strong support to the notion that valuable information can be gained about the effects of experiences in roles when separate measures of role rewards and stressors are used in analyses as opposed to composite role quality

indices. Moreover, it serves as an indication that role quality may affect men and women differently, which is a point that was made earlier in this discussion.

It is also important to note here that the effect of the child care rewards x child care stress interaction on intention to quit for women was not at all consistent with the effect of the parent care rewards x parent care stress interaction on absenteeism for women (see Figure 8). That is, high child care stress combined with low child care rewards resulted in lower intention to quit, yet high parent care stress combined with low parent care rewards resulted in higher absenteeism. These findings are in conflict with findings from studies that have found that: (1) parent care role quality (i.e., stressors and rewards) and child care role quality similarly affect outcomes for women (e.g., Franks & Stephens, 1992); and (2) higher levels of absenteeism are linked to higher rates of voluntary turnover (Mitra et al., 1992).

One possible explanation for the seemingly inconsistent findings in the present study may have to do with its longitudinal nature. Specifically, in the present study, it may be that when employees experience low parent care role quality (i.e., high stress and low rewards), absenteeism serves as a viable work "solution" over time, perhaps because the parent care responsibilities are crisis-related or are perceived (rightly or wrongly) to be relatively short-term (as compared to child care responsibilities). In contrast, employees who are faced with low child care role quality, may not view quitting their job as a practical alternative given the definite, on-going nature of their child-rearing responsibilities. Another possible explanation for this inconsistency may be that the outcome measure in this study concerned intention to quit rather than actual turnover. Although a person might think about quitting her job or even intend to do so, any number of factors can affect actual

behavior, including factors completely outside the person's control (e.g., high unemployment rates and difficulty with finding a different job).

The findings with respect to women's intention to quit do appear to lend support to those theories that argue for the positive gains to be had from multiple roles, i.e., the expansion hypothesis (Marks, 1977; Thoits, 1983) and/or expansionist theory (Barnett & Hyde, 2001). That is, when child care rewards were low and child care stress was high, women's intention to quit was lower, which was not expected. Perhaps there are rewards in the work role that women are reaping that make them less inclined to think about quitting their jobs. Future research should include work role quality measures to explore the possible stress buffering effects of work rewards on intention to quit.

Finally, with regard to intention to quit, it is important to recognize the insight that the results provide concerning the sandwiched generation. To begin, one must bear in mind that the intra- and inter-role interactions for women and men respectively were found to be significant in regression analyses which also included, and thus took into account, the individual parent care and child care role rewards and stressors. That is, the effect of the child care rewards x child care stress interaction on intention to quit for women and the effect of the parent care rewards x child care rewards interaction on intention to quit for men were each independent of parent care stress, parent care rewards, child care stress, and child care rewards. Moreover, for women, the finding that the effect of the parent care stress x parent care rewards interaction on absenteeism was different than the effect of the child care stress x child care rewards interaction on intention to quit indicates that the quality of experiences in sandwiched roles can have very different results on outcomes that have been shown in previous research to be positively correlated.

The finding for men is also important because it shows that sandwiched roles (i.e., child care rewards x parent care rewards) can interact with each other and have a combined effect over and above the individual roles such that the effect of experiences in one role depends on the nature of experiences in the other role.

Conclusions. In summary, the results of the present study support the following conclusions:

1) Experiences in family caregiving roles can have independent as well as interactive effects on work outcomes;
2) Separate indices of role stressors and role rewards, along with their interactions, should be included in models relating caregiving roles to work outcomes;
3) For members of the sandwiched generation, it is especially important to examine the effects of inter- and intra-role interactions in order to better understand the manner in which rewards and stressors in their dual caregiving roles affect work outcomes; and
4) The quality of experiences in family caregiving roles can affect different work outcomes for men and women.

Future Research

A number of suggestions have been made to this point regarding directions for future research. They are summarized here and additional suggestions also are offered.

The present study examined the relationships between caregiving role quality and the three work outcomes of absenteeism, work performance, and intention to quit, using longitudinal data. Given that this study was the first to be concerned with such relationships, a limited number of cross-sectional analyses also were conducted

on an exploratory basis in order to inform the discussion and better understand the longitudinal results. Future research should be conducted using cross-sectional data so as to more fully examine the relationships between caregiving roles and the work outcomes of interest here and thus better understand the work-family system.

Regarding work outcomes, one will recall that in the present study, the effect of the child care rewards x child care stress interaction on intention to quit for women was inconsistent with the effect of the parent care rewards x parent care stress interaction on absenteeism for women. One possible explanation for this finding is that the outcome measure used in the study concerned intention to quit rather than actual turnover. Future studies should consider examining, both cross-sectionally and longitudinally, the effects of parent care and child care role quality on a variety of other work outcomes such as actual job turnover, reduction in work hours, limitation in work-related travel, refusal to relocate, declination of promotion, and subjection to attendance or performance-related counseling. Research such as this is vital because it addresses the implications of family caregiving role quality for work-related outcomes, and thus speaks to business-related reasons why a work organization should be concerned about the quality of an employee's family life.

Regarding family caregiving roles, it is worth reiterating here that future studies concerned with this topic should be sure to include examination of the parent care role. As noted previously, many studies to date have examined only the caregiving demands associated with dependent children. However, the results of the present study indicate that parent care role quality predicted absenteeism for women and the interaction of parent care rewards with child care rewards affected intention to quit for men. Thus, future studies should examine employees' parenting

responsibilities and their elder care responsibilities in order to better understand work-family relationships.

The present study illustrated that valuable information can be obtained by using separate role reward and stress indices to examine both intra- and inter-role interactions in the parent care and child care roles. Future research also might consider the possibility of examining the accumulation of stress or rewards across roles to explain variance in work outcomes given that previous research has found that the combined effects of stress/rewards across multiple roles is predictive of outcomes such as well-being (e.g., Stephens et al., 1994). A role accumulation approach could be used to determine if this is also the case for work outcomes.

Future research also should consider including work role quality measures to better understand work-family relationships and work outcomes. It is especially important to explore the possible stress buffering effects of work rewards given the findings in the present study indicating that when child care rewards were low and child care stress was high, women's intention to quit was lower rather than higher, as expected. There may be rewards in the work role that women are reaping that make them less inclined to think about quitting their jobs.

Relatedly, the present study included a number of sociodemographic control variables that were significantly correlated with at least one of the outcomes of interest and/or had been included in previous role quality studies. Future research should be sure to carefully consider controlling for other structural factors and characteristics that may affect family role quality and/or the relationship between family role quality and the outcomes of interest. Such factors might include number of hours worked, health of the parent being helped most, number and ages of

children, and some measure of the support network that an employee has in place either at home or in the workplace.

As noted previously, participation in the present study was limited to couples with household incomes of at least $40,000 per year. Also, the vast majority of participants were Caucasian. Thus, future research should be conducted with samples that are more racially/ethnically diverse, and also include lower-income employees and single working parents.

To build on the present longitudinal study, future research should consider gathering three waves of data or consider using longer or shorter time lags when collecting a second wave of data. Regarding the latter point, researchers such as Williams and Alliger (1994) have suggested that family role experiences have an almost immediate effect on some outcomes. Thus, it may be that a shorter time lag would allow for a fuller examination of the relationship between family caregiving role quality and work outcomes over time. Such an examination is important given that results from the present study indicate that employees may accommodate perceived short-term versus long-term caregiving responsibilities differently in the workplace.

The present study indicated differences in the pattern of role quality predictors for men and women. Future research should attempt to statistically determine if the relationship between caregiving role quality and work outcomes varies by gender. To this end, Judd, Kenny, and McClelland (2001) describe an analytic approach using multiple regression to assess whether the magnitude of a treatment effect in within-subject designs is moderated by a stable concomitant variable such as gender. Alternatively, an approach such as structural equation modeling may be used (Maruyama, 1998).

Finally, future research dealing with couple-level data may wish to explore the possible crossover effects of one member's parent care and child care role rewards and stressors on the other member's work outcomes, as previous studies have found such crossover effects involving variables such as work-family conflict (e.g., Hammer et al., 1997).

Implications for Employer-Sponsored Workplace Programs & Policies

The findings of this study have practical implications for the workplace, in that they lend support for the aforementioned hue and cry for work/family initiatives. Specifically, it has been shown in this study that women who experience low parent care stress/high parent care rewards and women who experience high parent care stress/low parent care rewards both have higher levels of absenteeism. Similarly, it has been shown that men who experience high parent care rewards/high child care rewards and men who experience low parent care rewards/low child care rewards both have higher levels of intention to quit. It has also been noted that, from the employee's perspective, this may or may not be all bad; from the employer's perspective, however, this is most likely a negative outcome because of the direct and indirect costs associated with absenteeism, turnover, and diminished work performance. So the question becomes, "What can be done to change the nature of these role quality/work outcome relationships?"

It seems that the "problem" can be attacked from either side of the relationship. From one side, an employer could implement intervention programs aimed at improving the quality of employees' family roles. For example, since high parent care stress and low parent care rewards are related to increased absenteeism, an employer could offer family-supportive benefits and services such as those outlined by Neal, Hammer, Brockwood, Caubet, Colton, Hammond, Huang, Isgrigg,

and Rickard (2001). These include employee assistance programs with stress management, crisis intervention, personal and family counseling, and support groups for employees with elder care responsibilities. An employer could also offer educational services related to caregiving, which might include newsletters and guidebooks, resource libraries with access to the Internet, and seminars. In this regard, employers would need to be prepared for the possibility of a temporary increase in employee absenteeism since there has been research showing that employees who take advantage of educational seminars miss more days of work due to elder care during the seminars than they did prior to attending them (Ingersoll-Dayton, Chapman, & Neal, 1990). It is presumed that this occurs because the employees are looking into resources and services they learned about in the seminars. Despite this finding, the long-term effect of the resources and services gathered via the seminars should be an improvement in parent care role quality, which would negatively affect absenteeism.

Other intervention alternatives might include: information and referral services, as well as case management services to assist employees in assessing and addressing an elder's needs; adult day care or respite care for the elderly to reduce the employee-caregiver's stress; or subsidies, vouchers, or discounts to provide the aforementioned services. Employers also could make dependent-care assistance plans available to employees so that they could use pre-tax payroll deductions to pay for work-related dependent care expenses, thus helping to alleviate concerns that employees might have about the care their parents are receiving while they are at work. Alternatively, employers could make long-term care insurance available to employees. Obviously, many of these same interventional efforts could be

implemented for employees with child care responsibilities since increased child care stress was shown to be related to working less effectively (at least for men).

Employers also could assist employees in increasing the rewards associated with their family roles since, for example, high rewards combined with high stress in the parent care role served to lessen levels of absenteeism (at least for women). For example, employers could sponsor family events that would appeal to elders, so that employees can spend more quality time with their aging parents. They could also offer concierge services that would run errands for employees, so that these employees could spend more quality time with their parents during leisure hours rather than running errands for the parent.

Although it is certainly possible and worthwhile to attempt to enhance employees' family role quality, the "problem" could also be attacked from the other side of the relationship by offering employees alternatives to being absent or quitting their jobs. Indeed, this may be the only method at an employer's disposal, given that in some situations, high role quality is related to greater levels of absenteeism and intention to quit, and an employer certainly should do nothing to diminish the high role quality that any employee enjoys. Here, then, employers would need to examine their workplace policies. Again, Neal et al. (2001) provide a comprehensive review of policy areas to be examined. For example, employers could increase flexibility in employees' work schedules by offering compressed work schedules (e.g., working four 10-hour days as opposed to five eight-hour days), flextime which allows employees to vary their starting and stopping times at work, job sharing, or part-time work options. Such policies would most likely require cross-training employees to ensure that work assignments are covered. Employers could also enhance workplace flexibility by allowing employees to work at home or at another location away from

the office. Similarly, employers could implement policies to help employees relocate to other offices, if it would help alleviate a hardship created by family care responsibilities being carried out from a distance. Finally, employers could examine their leave policies to ensure that they provide maximum flexibility for employees to attend to emergency situations that arise.

It is important to note here that research has shown that when organizations offer resource and referral programs, flexible work arrangements, and policies aimed at helping employees to better manage work and family, two important elements in determining the effects of such programs and policies are the organization's culture (e.g., Solomon, 1994) and employee perceptions of supervisor support/sensitivity to work-family needs (e.g., Goff, Mount, & Jamison, 1990). Thus, organizations would also need to provide training to managers to ensure that programs and policies are implemented as expected.

From an organizational theory standpoint, one can see that the above discussion revolves around the notions of debureaucratization (Eisenstadt, 1959) and organizational accommodation (Denhardt, 1968). Specifically, it is evident that the environment in which bureaucratic organizations function has changed substantially over time (e.g., changing demographics of the workforce, as well as the population), such that it is difficult for organizations to maintain those characteristics that are common to most bureaucracies: specialization of roles and tasks; prevalence of autonomous, rational, nonpersonal rules in the organization; and a general orientation toward rational, efficient implementation of specific goals. Indeed, structural characteristics such as these do not develop in a vacuum, but rather develop and endure based on the type of "dynamic equilibrium" that the organization develops in relation to its environment (Eisenstadt, 1959). Thus,

changes in the environment, such as the feminization of the workforce, are forcing organizations toward a new equilibrium which is being achieved via debureaucratization.

In debureaucratization, the various outside nonbureaucratic roles impinge on the bureaucratic role to such an extent that belief in the importance of notions such as specific bureaucratic roles and autonomous bureaucratic rules in the implementation of goals begin to fade (Eisenstadt, 1959). Such is the case today, where the line between work and family roles is blurring to such a degree that organizations must re-think their rationalistic, nonpersonalistic approach to business and the development and implementation of strict rules and policies if they are to survive in today's environment. Organizations are turning to organizational accommodation, that is, nonbureaucratic means of pursuing the goals of the organization (Denhardt, 1968) in order to survive. Consequently, one sees today's organizations concerning themselves more with employees' non-work related needs (in order to attract and maintain a more productive workforce so that the goals of the organization can be met).

While concepts such as debureaucratization and organizational accommodation are certainly evident in today's organizations, which have come a long way in offering family-responsive/family-friendly programs, many organizations are reluctant to implement such programs and policies. In fact, despite the tremendous costs associated with absenteeism, turnover, and poor work performance, as well as the much publicized changes in workforce composition and the long-standing pleas from researchers for more family-responsive programs, most companies continue to employ workplace programs and policies that are structured for a family in which the father works and the mother stays home and cares for the

house and the children (Gordon, 1993). For example, a 1998 study conducted by Galinsky and Bond, and involving 1,057 for-profit and non-profit companies (employing 100 or more people) located throughout the U.S. found that family-friendly programs and policies still are not the norm. Specifically, only 37% allowed employees to job-share; 33% allowed employees to work at home on a regular basis; 24% allowed employees to vary starting and quitting times on a daily basis; 53% provided for maternity with some replacement pay; 13% provided for paternity leave with some replacement pay; 9% offered child care at or near the worksite; 23% provided elder care resource and referral services; and 56% offered an Employee Assistance Program. Finally, only 31% agreed that it was "very true" that management takes employees' personal needs into account when making business decisions.

These numbers really are not surprising, given that employers strive to be economically efficient. Indeed, if classic economic rationality is to be believed, employers will introduce family-responsive policies only to the extent that such policies have been shown to increase profitability (Glass & Fujimoto, 1995). Therefore, employers usually will voluntarily implement such policies only out of self-interest (i.e., because they improve productivity, decrease absenteeism, etc.) (Auerbach, 1990). Thus, it appears that environmental dynamics are not enough to entice employers to offer work-family programs. Rather, hard evidence of the salutary effects of family-friendly policies on the bottom-line for any particular organization would be more persuasive. Unfortunately, there has not been a great deal of research into the effects of these programs in organizations (Marshall & Barnett, 1994). General findings, however, indicate that: workers with more flexible jobs report greater job satisfaction, which has been shown to be related to retention

(Marshall & Barnett, 1994); flexible scheduling also is associated with greater job satisfaction; satisfaction with child care arrangements is related to lower absenteeism (Goff et al., 1990); and employees working in family-supportive workplaces have a stronger intention to remain with their companies (Galinsky & Bond, 1998). Also, research done by such groups as Work/Family Directions has produced conservative estimates that spending $1 on family-responsive programs yields more than $2 in direct-cost savings (as cited in Solomon, 1994).

While these findings indicate that some family-responsive programs may be helpful for reducing negative workplace outcomes, one would be hard-pressed to say that all family-responsive programs have such empirical evidence. Nonetheless, it seems that workplace family-responsive programs are a tool that employees perceive as important and valuable. Indeed, as work-family concerns began to dawn, Fernandez (1986) noted that many employees believed that corporations should take the lead in resolving work and family issues through family-responsive policies. Moreover, research has shown that employees' efforts at trying to better manage work and family usually involve temporary or permanent changes in their work patterns, such as switching to a part-time schedule, using flextime, or job sharing (Greenhaus, 1988). Similarly, Karambayya and Reilly (1992) noted that employees will engage in work restructuring, in which they cut back their work demands, if permitted, in order to better manage their work and family responsibilities. Research by Frone and Yardley (1996) also found that when employees have difficulty managing work and family, they perceive family-supportive programs (i.e., flextime, compressed work schedules, job sharing, child-care assistance, work-at-home, and reduced work hours) as being more important.

Implications for Public Policy

Given these employee views and the fact that employers have been slow to voluntarily implement family-friendly programs and policies, it seems that government intervention in the form of workplace policy mandates or other public policy efforts would be a viable alternative for affecting family role-work outcome relationships and easing the dual burden of work and family for American workers. However, government initiatives to address these problems have not been readily forthcoming. If one adheres to the notion that public policies are statements about the values of a society (Hayes, 1992), then this dearth of public policy concerning work and family matters is the one true test of the priorities of this nation, despite what many policy-makers say about "putting families first" (e.g., Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, 2002; National Republican Congressional Committee, 2002).

While the Family Medical Leave Act (FMLA) was passed in 1993, its scope (leave for the birth or adoption of a child, or care for a spouse, child, or parent with a serious medical condition, or for the employee's own serious medical condition) is really quite narrow, in that it does not provide workers with the everyday flexibility they need to manage family and work, and it provides for no other program or benefit besides unpaid leave. Moreover, the fact that an earlier, more generous version of the act was vetoed suggests that other major legislation would be difficult to get passed. In this regard, Lindblom (1959) has argued that the American political system provides very limited capacity for responding to pressing public problems with significant policy change (e.g., new policy initiatives or major modifications to existing policies) because of limits on available information and the necessity to bargain and compromise to gain political support for any initiative. Rather,

Lindblom (1959) suggests that public policy changes through a succession of small steps that may add up to a significant difference over a period of time. That is, policy changes through "disjointed incrementalism."

Even if this is true, then there are certainly small changes that can be made to the FMLA and/or various state family leave laws to make them more family-friendly and to affect the role rewards/stressors-work outcomes relationships that this study examines. For example, as currently written, the FMLA excludes recently hired employees and employers with fewer than 50 employees. In doing so, it fails to cover 50% of employed fathers and 40% of employed mothers (Minehan, 2000). To make the FMLA more effective in helping working families, the coverage of the act could be expanded to include employers with fewer than 50 employees, even if this required providing employees of such organizations with less than the full 12 weeks of leave as currently prescribed. This would not be unreasonable, given that there are already three states that have comprehensive family and medical leave laws that apply to employers with fewer than 50 employees, and 12 states with laws that apply to employers with fewer than 50 employees should any employee meet specific circumstances such as maternity disability (National Partnership for Women & Families, 1999).

The scope of these family leave laws could also be expanded to include situations other than leave for birth, adoption, or a serious medical condition. For example, participation in children's educational activities might be included, so as to increase the rewards that parents' experience in their child care role. Also, routine medical, dental, or other professional appointments might be added, in order to decrease the stress that employees experience when they have a need to accompany an aging parent or a child on such an occasion. Also, with regard to the scope of the

FMLA, the definition of "parent" could be expanded to include parents-in-law of employees.

Provision could also be made for some amount of paid leave. This would certainly lower the stress affiliated with child or parent care and could also serve to increase rewards associated with these roles, since employees might be more inclined to take paid leave to be with and comfort their family members. There is, in fact, precedent for this given that Puerto Rico, which is under U.S. jurisdiction, already requires under its family leave law that employers pay at least half salary for eight weeks to women on maternity disability leave (National Partnership for Work & Families, 1999). Related to this notion of providing paid leave, the Department of Labor could propose new regulations to allow states to amend their unemployment compensation laws to provide paid leave not only for new parents (Minehan, 2000), but also for long-term parent care.

Another statute that could be examined and incrementally changed is the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), which now requires employers to pay time and a half for all work beyond 40 hours for non-exempt employees. This statute could be modified to allow employees to take time off (i.e., compensatory time) at time and a half if they chose to do so. This would certainly give employees an alternative to being absent from work and provide them with more flexibility in their schedules to enjoy their family roles. Again, there is precedent for this, in that compensatory time has been available to federal employees since 1985 (Office of Personnel Management, 2001). Regarding the FLSA, it may also be worthwhile to consider whether the standard 40-hour work week is still appropriate. A change here could vastly increase the amount of flexibility that employees have in their work schedules to attend to and enjoy family roles and decrease absenteeism. For example, it might

benefit some employees to work 35 hours one week and 45 hours in the next, but this would trigger overtime for the employer under the current statute, and thus is typically not entertained by employers. If such a change in the law were considered, it would, of course, have to be approached cautiously and thoughtfully to guard against a return to the abuses that employees endured before the 40-hour work week became the standard.

There are other means available to enhance family role quality, as well. For example, many of the child care role stressors that were measured in this study revolve around concerns over children's problems at school and concerns about what children are doing after school. To address these stressors, federal and state policymakers should concentrate on child care programs for younger children and school-aged children. There have been several proposals in this area, but few have come to full fruition. Most recently, a proposal for "The Strengthening Working Families Act" was outlined in April, 2001 (Bayh, 2001). This act would provide $1.2 billion over 10 years to encourage employer-sponsored child care by allowing employers to claim a tax credit for activities such as: acquisition, expansion, or repair of on- or near-site child care facilities; direct company subsidization of the operating costs of a child-care facility; direct company payment or reimbursement to employees for their child care expenses; contracting with a non-profit child care resource and referral service; reservation of child care slots in licensed child care facilities; and expenditures for training and education of child care workers. There is no reason why such tax credits could not be expanded to cover provision of adult day care or respite care for elders, or after-school programs for older children, including extended learning time programs.

As Rubin (1997) has noted, tax breaks (such as those described above) are a much-used policy tool. They can be used not only to encourage employers to provide or sponsor child care, but also to help relieve stress and increase rewards that employees experience in their parent care and child care roles. For example, The Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 contained two benefits for working families: an increase in the Earned Income Tax Credit for married couples with children, and a provision to make the child tax credit partially refundable even to families with no tax liability (Kim & Lemieux, 2001). Tax breaks such as these, that put money back into the hands of working families, give these families greater control to make personal decisions which can affect the level of stress and rewards that they experience in their family roles. For example, families might use the money to access better quality child care, adult day care, or in-home services, or they might use it for an outing that provides the family with quality time together.

It should be noted here that even where tax credits are concerned, incremental changes also can be made in order to improve conditions for working families. For example, the Taxpayer Relief Act of 1997 created a $500 child tax credit for low- and middle-income working families with children under age 17, on top of the existing income tax exemption for parents of children. There is also a child and dependent care tax credit, which some lawmakers have proposed expanding (Waller, 1998). However, the dependent care tax credit is nonrefundable and therefore does not help many low-wage earners who have no tax liability to be reduced by the credit. Also, the dependent care tax credit applies only to families who purchase child care, as opposed to those who use informal (unpaid) care for children or parents. Rather than expand the dependent care credit as it currently

exists, it might be better to re-fashion it to be more like the child tax credit, which now has been made partially refundable under The Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001.

In addition to tax breaks, the federal government has used grants to states as a means of effecting public policy. The advantage of such grants is that they can be devised, if necessary, so that states are required to match the funds being made available. Grants have been given to states for many years to provide child care assistance to working poor parents (Waller, 1997). There is no reason why such grants could not be expanded to more fully cover dependent care in general so as to better meet the needs of working families and relieve the stress associated with parent care as well as child care. In this regard, it is important to note here that the federal government, when effecting policy through grants, would be wise to make better use of single flexible block grants rather than falling back into the habit of doling out multiple grants with differing eligibility criteria. Such multiple funding streams have been found in recent welfare reform efforts, for example, to force states to apply new sets of rules to families as they moved from welfare to workfare, and then to low-wage, unsubsidized jobs in the labor market (Waller, 1998). Thus, as they moved through the system, families sometimes had to find new child care providers or even reapply for assistance as they were converted from one grant-funded program to the next (Waller, 1998).

This point raises one final suggestion regarding public policy, that is, the U.S. needs a national family policy to address the many issues raised by the demands of work and family, rather than a piecemeal approach to these pressing concerns. The changing demographics of the nation not only affect employees' parent and child care responsibilities, but also affect who is available to participate

in the labor force, as well as the nature of demands for goods and services. These, in turn, affect and are affected by the economic mood of the country, the unemployment rate, and so forth. Because there are so many variables to be considered when addressing these issues, there should at least be some effort made to broadly look at them and their relationships to determine what would be best for the country as a whole. Such a comprehensive approach has been quite elusive, however, despite long-term efforts on the part of well-meaning legislators such as Pat Schroeder (Schroeder, 1989, 1998).

Implications for Unions

To this point, two avenues for affecting family role quality-work outcome relationships have been discussed: voluntary implementation of workplace programs and policies by employers and government-initiated workplace policies and/or programs. There is yet another avenue available, however. That is, employees can take a more active role in securing from employers the family-responsive programs and policies they feel they need, rather than waiting for employers or policy-makers to initiate such programs and policies on their behalf. A mechanism available for this is collective bargaining, which is discussed below.

It was noted previously that employees view family-responsive programs as desirable. However, even if employees do want more family-responsive programs in the workplace, they often are in no position, as individuals, to make demands of their employers (Auerbach, 1990). Labor economic theory explains that employers have an advantage over employees in the labor market, in that the average worker is at a bargaining disadvantage in negotiations with employers because s/he is a seller in a market with excess supply (i.e., unemployment) (Reder, 1994). Because of their superior bargaining power, employers can extract additional effort from employees

when variations in business cycles arise without having to reciprocate when variations in employees' personal circumstances (e.g., family matters) arise. Employers are in a better position to exit a relationship, and thus they can assume a take-it-or-leave-it attitude when it comes to bargaining with employees (Feuille, 1994). This threat to exit leaves employees with no voice and at a bargaining disadvantage. Rather than exercising the option to exit (and look for more family-responsive programs at other firms or concentrate on their family caregiving roles), employees can turn to unions, which can provide them with a collective voice and allow them to make demands upon employers (Feuille, 1994).

The effects of unions can be remarkable, as the following comparison illustrates. As the decade of the 1990's began, the United States was the only industrialized country (except South Africa) without legislation providing for job-guaranteed and (usually) paid maternity leave, without a national system of child care, and without an explicit family policy (Cowell, 1993). Indeed, when one compares the U.S. to its European counterparts in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), one can see that European workers enjoy many more general benefits, such as more holidays, annual vacation, paid sick leave, paid maternity leave, severance pay, and unemployment benefits (Freeman, 1994). All of these benefits are statutorily mandated in Europe. One of the factors that differentiates the U.S. from these European countries is the extent of unionization. Of the 29 countries in the OECD, the U.S. has the lowest level of unionization. In fact, the U.S. work force has the lowest union representation of all countries in the developed world (Freeman, 1994). The other factor that differentiates the U.S. from its OECD neighbors is the type of unionization in place. In Europe, unions play a large role at the industry or national level, as part of a social movement, to set

national social policy, whereas in the U.S., the union movement is business-oriented and based largely on autonomous local unions which bargain for better conditions from individual employers (Freeman, 1994).

While unions in the U.S. cannot readily change the collective bargaining environment in which they must operate, they certainly can use the mechanisms that are in place to negotiate for the policies that are important to their constituency. Lack of such things as adequate on- or near-site care, referral services, child care subsidies, flextime or part-time work schedules, or flexiplace are an employment condition just like any other about which a union would negotiate. Unions have traditionally focused their bargaining efforts on "bread-and-butter" economic issues, such as wages and benefits like retirement (Crain, 1994), and economists have agreed that unions have been an important force in raising wages and living standards for American workers (King, 1996). Moreover, experts have noted that unions are harbingers to family benefits, in that it was unions that originally negotiated such family-friendly benefits as the eight-hour day, health benefits for family members, sick leave, and vacation time (Roberts, 1997). Thus, there is no reason to believe that they could not also be a force in assisting employees in gaining these new family-friendly workplace benefits. That is, through collective bargaining, unions can negotiate for the programs their members need in the workplace so as to better manage family roles.

In the past, unions have resisted certain family-responsive programs like flextime, because these policies go against traditional union positions regarding shorter workweeks and mandatory overtime pay. Today, however, fewer unions are continuing to take that stance (Robertson, 2000). This is because they are coming to recognize that the increasing numbers of workers (especially females) who have

family responsibilities make such things as flextime or part-time employment a desirable option (Engberg, 1993). Thus, unions are advocating for flexible jobs, for example, in which a worker may choose to work less than full-time while maintaining his or her seniority and fringe benefits (Engberg, 1993). Indeed, Cornfield (1993) has found that unions have been making greater gains in satisfying collective bargaining goals of special interest to female workers, such as provisions for child care. During the 1980s, the labor movement was an active part of the coalitions supporting child care legislation and family and medical leave (Cowell, 1993), and in the 1990s, the AFL-CIO worked to bring family-responsive programs into the mainstream of collective bargaining (Roberts, 1997).

Some unions are also coming to realize that the increase in the number of women in the labor force may be a boon for them, after having gone through a long period of decline and loss of membership in the private sector since the beginning of the 1970s (Cowell, 1993). While women are still less likely than men to be union members, surveys have indicated that non-unionized women are more interested in joining a union than non-unionized men (Schur & Kruse, 1992), and women continue to join U.S. unions at a higher rate than do men (Mellor, 1995). The gender gap is closing as evidenced by the fact that in 2001, 11.5% of employed women were union members, compared to 15.2% of employed men (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2001). Still, this gap persists due to women's disproportionate placement in the large, difficult-to-organize service sector, the entry of greater numbers of women into the labor force right at the time that employer anti-union campaigns were increasingly sophisticated, and unions' inexperience with organizing female workers (Schur & Kruse, 1992). However, more and more unions are attempting to organize in the service sector, and in many service-based unions women have

acquired a more powerful role (Engberg, 1993). As of 1995, Goldberg estimated that approximately 10% of top local officers were women, and that number was rising.

The organizing style that has been identified as effective with female workers is one that concentrates on building union consciousness and focuses on issues of particular concern to women (work and family issues, pay equity, and discrimination) (Green & Tilly, 1987). In her interviews with 22 union organizers, Crain (1994) found that half of the organizers identified child care, flextime, family issues, and maternity leave as important issues in their organizing campaigns. She further found that while organizers preferred to use the label "family issues" rather than "women's issues" and believed that these issues were relevant for men, when they attempted to raise union consciousness and rally male workers around these issues, they were unsuccessful. Based on 981 surveys of organizers for 44 unions, Crain (1994) concluded that in practice "family issues" are dealt with primarily by those organizing female work forces, because women continue to bear primary responsibility for child care and family matters. This is consistent with Briskin and McDermott's (1993) finding that the more that women participate in unions, the more the union agenda is shaped by women's needs.

The results of the present study, however, indicate that family issues are not just women's issues. Indeed, work outcomes for both women and men were shown to be affected by the stressors and rewards that participants experienced in their family roles. Thus, although organizers may use whatever semantics they need to in crder to organize workers and rally members around issues, they would be wise to bear in mind that work-family concerns affect both men and women, whether these men and women realize it or not.

Conclusion

Three avenues for affecting family role quality-work outcome relationships were discussed above: voluntary implementation of workplace programs and policies by employers; government-initiated workplace policies and/or programs; and collective bargaining. None of these is a best solution, however. Clearly, employers will only voluntarily implement workplace policies and programs to the extent that they meet a business need such as attracting and retaining talented employees. Moreover, their use of such programs certainly will decrease in slow economic times. Obviously, political support for family-friendly laws waxes and wanes with every election, as well. Similarly, collective bargaining is not a complete solution in that as of 1997, just 12% of the private sector labor force and 35% of the public sector labor force were unionized (Cozzetto & Pedeliski, 1999). Rather, the best solution for affecting family role quality-work outcome relationships is to take steps down all three of these paths in order to effect noticeable change.

# CHAPTER VII

# LIMITATIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

## Limitations

While this study has a number of strengths, it also has some limitations. The sample used is predominantly Caucasian, which means that racial/cultural differences cannot be tested, and findings may not generalize to other races or cultures. Also regarding generalizability, it should be noted that participation in this study was limited to couples with household incomes of at least $40,000 per year, so the results may not apply to couples with household incomes below $40,000. Nor are the results of this study likely to be representative of single working parents who have responsibilities for parents as well as children.

Regarding generalizability, it also should be noted that the attrition analyses conducted for this study indicated that women who dropped out of the study in Wave 2 had a significantly lower level of education than did woman who stayed in the study. Also, men who dropped out of the study in Wave 2 were significantly younger than men who stayed in the study. Finally, for both men and women, respondents who dropped out of the study in Wave 2 were providing the most help to a parent who was in significantly poorer health as compared to those who stayed in the study. These findings indicate that the results of this study may not be generalizable, then, to people with these characteristics. Moreover, the fact that men and women who dropped out of the study were providing the most help to a parent who was in significantly poorer health as compared to those who stayed in the study may have affected the results of the study in that an even stronger relationship between parent care role quality and the work outcomes of interest may have been found had these people remained in the study.

Regarding other limitations of the study, all measures used were self-reported, which makes them susceptible to social desirability bias and other errors. Also, some of the measures consisted of one item, which makes them less likely to be reliable than multiple item measures.

Finally, it should be noted that the size of the sample used in the present study may not have allowed adequate statistical power to detect all hypothesized moderation effects, in particular those of smaller magnitude (Aiken & West, 1991).

Contributions

The primary goal of this dissertation was to more fully understand the interplay between work and family systems via a role quality perspective, that is, by examining the relationships between parent care role quality and child care role quality and the work outcomes of absenteeism, work performance, and intention to quit, for dual-earner couples in the sandwiched generation. This study adds to the many bodies of literature that now undergird the science of public administration, i.e., organizations and organization behavior, management, human resource management, role theory, systems theory, and work and family. It also contributes to filling a number of gaps in the existing work/family research, in that it examined multiple caregiving and work roles within the context of the dual-earner couple, working caregivers to elders as well as children, and work-related outcomes. Other contributions include the fact that it involved longitudinal analysis, a sample of both women and men, and a focus on the positive, as well as negative, aspects of roles. Of most significance is the fact that this study is the first to use a role quality theoretical framework to examine the effects of experiences in the roles of parent

and caregiver to a parent and the aforementioned work outcomes, thus enhancing understanding of the interactions between work and family systems.

Findings from this study indicate that experiences in family caregiving roles can indeed have independent, as well as interactive, effects on work outcomes for men and women. This study, therefore, lends support to previous research that indicated that using separate indices of role stressors and role rewards, along with their interactions, allows for more in-depth understanding of the effects of role quality on various outcomes. Findings from this study also indicate that the quality of experiences in family caregiving roles affects work outcomes differently for men and women.

The results of this study point to a number of practical implications for employers, policy implications for lawmakers, and collective bargaining implications for unions. While it is evident that employers and lawmakers are slow to act on research findings, studies such as this one add to the growing amount of evidence that employers and policymakers need to examine the state of work-family programs in their companies and the nation, respectively, given the importance of the outcomes of interest examined here (i.e., absenteeism, work performance, and intention to quit). The findings of this study also illustrate for employees that their family roles can affect work outcomes either positively or negatively. Employees need to be conscious of this and take whatever steps they can to ensure their own well-being, rather than waiting for other parties to act on their behalf.

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# Appendix A

## Parent Care Role Stressors

Parent Care Role Stressors

Still thinking about this parent [i.e., parent or parent-in-law being receiving the most help], please indicate how STRESSFUL each of the following has been for you in the past month. If a particular problem did not occur with this parent in the past month, please circle "0."

| Not at all stressful | Just a little stressful | Somewhat stressful | Very stressful | Did not occur |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 0 |

a. This parent's emotional problems or moods (e.g., depression, loss of interest, sadness)

b. This parent's memory or cognitive problems (e.g., living in the past, forgetfulness, confusion, repetitive questions)

c. This parent endangering him/herself (e.g., wandering off, driving when they shouldn't)

d. This parent's aggressive or inappropriate behaviors (e.g., not respecting others' privacy, accusing others)

e. This parent's communication problems (e.g., inability to express him/herself)

f. This parent's agitation (e.g., being constantly restless, pacing)

g. This parent's possible alcohol of other substance use

h. This parent's difficulty sleeping

i. This parent's complex medical care needs

j. This parent's criticisms and complaints

# Appendix B

## Parent Care Role Rewards

Parent Care Role Rewards

Next, we focus on the more positive aspects of being a caregiver. Please indicate how REWARDING each of the following has been in the past month. If something did not occur in the past month, please circle "0."

| Not at all rewarding | Just a little rewarding | Somewhat rewarding | Very rewarding | Did not occur |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 0 |

a. Doing things to help this parent

b. Feeling needed by this parent

c. Seeing this parent do things for him or herself

d. Doing things with this parent

e. Seeing your relationship with this parent mature and grow

f. Fulfilling family obligations or expectations

g. This parent showing appreciation for what you do for him/her

h. Giving back to this parent some of the care s/he gave to you

# Appendix C

## Child Care Role Stressors

Child Care Role Stressors

Now think about being a PARENT to any or all of your children. Please indicate how STRESSFUL each of the following has been in the past month.

| Not at all stressful | Just a little stressful | Somewhat stressful | Very stressful | Did not occur/NA |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 0 |

a. Your child(ren) having problems at school

b. Your child(ren) not living up to their potential or to your expectations

c. Your child(ren) not doing what they're supposed to do without being asked

d. Problems in communicating with your child(ren)

e. Your child(ren)'s possible alcohol or other substance use

f. Your child(ren)'s conflicts with others (including their siblings)

How STRESSFUL has it been to:

g. Discipline or correct your child(ren)

h. Supervise or check on your child(ren)

i. Offer guidance or advice to your child(ren)

j. See that your child is (children are) cared for when they are sick

k. Help with your child(ren)'s school work or school activities

l. Help with your child(ren)'s personal care (e.g., grooming, dressing)

m. Arrange or provide transportation for your child(ren)

# Appendix D

## Child Care Role Rewards

Child Care Role Rewards

Now let's focus on the more positive aspects of being a PARENT to any or all of your children. Please indicate how REWARDING each of the following has been in the past month.

| Not at all rewarding | Just a little rewarding | Somewhat rewarding | Very rewarding |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

a. Doing things to help your child(ren)

b. Feeling needed by your child(ren)

c. Sharing in your child(ren)'s accomplishments

d. Doing things with your child(ren)

e. Seeing your relationship with your child(ren) mature and grow

f. Watching your child(ren) develop as (an) individual(s)

g. Fulfilling family obligations or expectations

h. Passing on to your child(ren) some of the care that your parents gave you

# Appendix E

## Absenteeism

Absenteeism

Because of your responsibilities for children or parents, in the past month, how many times have you had to, or chose to:

| | Due to responsibilities for any of your **children** | Due to responsibilities your **parents or parents-in-law** |
|---|---|---|
| Miss a day's work | _____times | _____times |
| Arrive late at work | _____times | _____times |
| Leave work early | _____times | _____times |
| Spend time at work on the telephone | _____times | _____times |
| Take time off during the work day | _____times | _____times |

# Appendix F

## Work Performance

## Work Performance

In the past month, how often have you worked less effectively because you were concerned or upset:

| | Never | Seldom | Sometimes | Frequently | Most or all of the time |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. About your child(ren) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. About your parent(s) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

# Appendix G

## Intention to Quit

Intention to Quit

For each statement below please circle the response indicating the extent to which you are or disagree.

| | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Neither agree nor agree | Agree | Strongly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I will probably look for a new job in the next year | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |